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Oscar Diaz Fouces
Esther Monzó (eds.)

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OSCAR DIAZ FOUCES & ESTHER MONZÓ (EDS.)

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Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante
Campus de San Vicente s/n
03690 San Vicente del Raspeig
Publicaciones@ua.es
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Fax: 965 909 445

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WHAT WOULD A SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO TRANSLATION BE LIKE?

Oscar Diaz Fouces

Universidade de Vigo

Esther Monzó

Universitat Jaume I

*“Penseu que el mirall de la veritat
s’esmicolà a l’origen en fragments peti-
tissims, i cada un dels trossos recull tan-
mateix una engruna d’autèntica llum”.*

Salvador Espriu (1948)

“Remember that the mirror of truth
was shattered in the beginning into
tiny fragments, and yet each bit re-
flects a spark of genuine light”.

Salvador Espriu,
traducció de Philip Polack (1989)

Most of the usual definitions of Sociology consider it to be a discipline that deals with the systematic study of human societies, following the accepted rules of scientific methodology. It is also common to emphasise that this is not a unitary science, but rather a way of dealing with the collective side of human phenomena. This circumstance becomes especially apparent in the wide range of topics that could be addressed, as well as the number of approaches and applicable methods. Thus, if you look at the list of thematic areas covered by the committees of the International Sociological Association, you can expect to find areas such as the Sociology of Religion, the Sociology of Health or the Sociology of Education, alongside others such as the Sociology of Science, the Sociology of the Arts, and Sociocybernetics, Social Psychology or Social Indicators. In fact, its current list of 55 subject areas is not intended to be closed and conclusive and, therefore, you may want to add on the Sociology of Knowledge, Ethnomethodology, Sociobiology or even the Sociology of Sociology, among many other possibilities. Some scholars suggest that, properly

speaking, it would be more appropriate to consider Sociology as a *bundle of disciplines*. At the end of the day, it is very common to refer to a *sociological glimpse*, which can be diverse, focus on the most varied dimensions of human activity and, indeed, it is easily seen to pervade several other disciplines.

The aim of this monographic issue is to bring together several sociological glimpses of the field of Translation Studies. To stress this fact, we have entitled it “Sociology Applied to Translation” (SAT). This label was chosen because we sought to highlight the opportunity to attract resources, methods and tools from other epistemological areas (those of the social sciences) and perform a selective appropriation of them for our disciplinary field. Indeed, SAT could be constructed by integrating and interpreting selected theories and methodologies. We could build the structure upon the social ontology by Pierre Bourdieu, use the lights provided by the Sociology of Professions to illuminate the reasons, versions and effects of evolution and involution of occupational groups such as ours, establish paths between the plots by following the action-research of Kurt Lewin, adapting and linking theories, methods and applications to get involved in the world and improve it, or to sit down and listen to it and listen to ourselves with a *dramaturgical perspective* in the style of Erving Goffman or with Garfinkel’s Ethnomethodology... It would definitely be an attractive technique for building a theoretical and methodological body that would be applicable to the phenomena of translation and interpretation where the leading characters are the agents and their coexistence.

Note that appropriation as a means of growth is nothing new to us or, for that matter, to many others. In the purest anthropophagic style of De Andrade, Translation Studies has already digested what appeared to be productive from the fields of Linguistics, Literature, Studies on Cognition and Computing. The fundamental difference with respect to the previous examples is that in all these cases, Translation had already in some way been an object of interest and productive study. In the field of Sociology, however, this circumstance has not occurred (at least not with the same intensity), except for some worthy exceptions, such as the work of Heinich (1984) or the monograph by Rodríguez Morató (1997) about the professional circumstances of translators of books; also the articles contained in the monographic volume on *Traduction: les échanges littéraires internationaux* in issue 144 (2002) of the journal founded by Bourdieu entitled *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*. Other exceptions include diverse works about the directionality of exchanges of cultural products, such as the one by Sapiro, and some work concerning the management of multilingualism, such as that of Colomer (1996), which

contains a rather interesting application of Game Theory. Paradoxically, there is a sociologically-oriented approach called *Sociology of Translation* (also known as *Actor-Network Theory*) that is not directly concerned with what the title suggests at first glance (cf. e.g. Akrich, Callon & Latour 2006), although its applicability to the study of language management processes is far from negligible, as shown by works such as that of Buzelin (2005).

This absorption of propositions from sociology has enabled Translation Studies to furnish itself with relevant and inspiring works. Some remarkably interesting papers in the field of interpretation, like those by Angelelli (2004), Wadensjö (1998), García (2002) or Kahane (1986), are steeped in Erving Goffman's micro-sociological programme, which is aimed at clarifying the structure of the interaction between two or more individuals when they are both physically present, and Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology, directly related to the work of the conversationalists (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson).

The aims of the Sociology of Language, Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Planning obviously converge in some areas with those of Translation Studies. This is especially true with regard to the study of the role to be played by interlinguistic management practices in the normalisation of subordinate languages, standardisation and the role of linguistic mediators as encoders, which is evidenced in works such as those by Corbeil (1992), Cronin (1995), Niska (1998), Aragüés (1988), Millán-Valera (2000), Paquin (2000), Xirinnacs (1997), Baxter (2002), Diaz, García & Carreras (2002), Jaffe (1999), and Erkazanci (2008). The introduction to Branchadell & West (2005) presents an interesting list of papers and monographic works dealing with some of these aspects, and the same volume contains a large number of studies that exemplify them.

From the so-called Sociology of Communication (in itself a disciplinary intersection under construction) we have received notions such as that of the *gatekeeper* (Lewin 1947), used in works such as those by Vuorinen (1997), Fujii (1988), Hursti (2001) or Hautanen (2006), and sometimes overlapping with sociolinguistic approaches, such as in Davidson (2000). It must not be forgotten, however, that some theoretical instruments produced in the field of Communication Studies can be traced back to work with a clearly defined Translation Studies profile, such as what is known as Lasswell's paradigm, which is almost certainly not too far removed from some of the elements present in Nord (1988), albeit only implicitly.

The Sociology of Professions, an area that is chiefly English-speaking and with chronologically and conceptually distant proposals, is gaining momentum in Translation Studies, in relation to both translation and interpretation.

Proof of this is the latest volume of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2009), but, as noted by Turner (2007: 181) for the case of interpretation, “The aspiration of theorising and practically realising the key features of an interpreting profession [...] has been central to the field in various forms for many years”. This sociological glimpse has been part of the pool of knowledge in our discipline since the unpublished master’s thesis by Tseng (1992), cited in Mikkelsen (2001). And the perspectives adopted in its evolution from the feature approach (introduced into our field in Tseng 1992, or Rudvin 2007) to the more recent systemic glimpse (applied in Monzó 2002, 2003) have been represented in our discipline.

However, the proposal that has undoubtedly attracted most attention from researchers in Translation Studies is the economics of practice by Pierre Bourdieu, whose studies reflected a certain amount of interest in the impact of translation activity on the social fields. In our disciplinary neighbourhood, from the earliest contributions that worked primarily with the key concepts of field (Gouanvic 1997) and habitus (Simeoni 1998), the number of contributions which have applied parts of Bourdieu’s ontology has increased sharply in recent years (Gouanvic 1999, Wolf 2002, Inghilleri 2003, Sapiro 2003, Sela-Sheffy 2005, Thoutenhoofd 2005, Gouanvic 2007, Heilbron & Sapiro 2007, Wolf 2007b). Indeed, the degree to which researchers in translation/interpreting feel that this framework fulfils their objectives has led to the publication of monographs using Bourdieu’s ideas as a shared theoretical background, an example being the work published by Inghilleri in 2005, which contained contributions focused mainly on literary translation and interpretation (Blommaert 2005, Buzelin 2005, Gouanvic 2005, Hanna 2005, Inghilleri 2005b, Thoutenhoofd 2005, Vidal Claramonte 2005). In this volume, you will also find proposals that are based on the application of this model and which adopt different objects of study, together with others that use the foundations of Bourdieu’s ontology in a less direct way to explain social states and processes.

As we see it, the possibility of actually constructing a field like SAT (without going into futile nominalistic discussions) means necessarily first acknowledging the fact that the *varied* nature of the contributions included within this framework very probably has to do with the very diversity of methods and instruments, goals and approaches of the sociological glimpse. From this standpoint, we understand that the range of possible sociological approaches to Translation Studies is not circumstantial, but reflects the very nature of this perspective. If we accept that the functionalist approach by Talcott Parsons is no less sociological than Oswald Wilson’s Sociobiology, it does

not seem very legitimate to claim that the studies on interpretation inspired in micro-sociology are any less representative of a hypothetical Sociology of Translation than the application of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and symbolic capital to the analysis of the translation of American science fiction or the sociolinguistic argument that communities which use minority languages have to practise forms of compulsory translation in order to gain access to international markets. Of course, it is absolutely legitimate to hypothesise the existence of a Sociology of Translation in the strict sense of the word, to attempt to delimit the scope of a sociological approach that is *useful* to explain phenomena related to translation (as does, for example, Pym 2006) or to describe and to configure the scientific space of a Sociology of Translation (sometimes with direct references to a hypothetical *social turn* or even a *Sociology of Translation Studies*), as is the case of Chesterman (2006), Gambier (2006), Pöchhacker (2006) or Wolf (2006, 2007) (Wolf's contribution in this volume challenges this option). In any case, for the time being, this is not the aim of the editors of the volume you now have in your hands.

This volume has no intention whatsoever to cover all the possible views at our disposal as a disciplinary field or to summarise a hypothetical "Sociology of Translation". Based on the idea that theoretical, methodological and sometimes even epistemological perspectives are different, coexistent and equally subject to the dictates of scientific method, the aim of this volume is to highlight the interest in learning more about what sociology can tell us when we invite it round to our place. The danger, however, is obvious: building a branch of our studies on borrowed foundations could lead us to a scattered collection of isolated ideas. The efforts made to gather research works, like the one proposed in this second issue of *MonTI*, provide models, methods, data and contexts that help us understand the multifaceted phenomena of translation and interpretation, and constitute an invitation to keep on with the collective construction of the space for SAT with new proposals that expand even further the diversity of contexts, data and conclusions, which make it possible to share the same theoretical models for evaluating hypotheses in other contexts, to follow the same methods for different purposes, to accumulate new data from different populations or to raise new questions about the conclusions that are put forward. It becomes essential to grasp the worldview provided by the different sociological theories and test their validity for our field. We need more studies that share the framework and that allow us to see whether the hypotheses remain valid beyond moments in time, territorial spaces or social agents. We are sure this collection will inspire you to continue and replicate research studies, and we hope that this inspiration may become

a collective task performed by our area in order to further the evolution of SAT.

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COM ÉS UNA SOCIOLOGIA APLICADA A LA TRADUCCIÓ?

Esther Monzó Nebot

Univesitat Jaume I

Oscar Diaz Fouces

Universidade de Vigo

“Penseu que el mirall de la veritat s’esmicolà a l’origen en fragments petitíssims, i cada un dels trossos recull tanmateix una engruna d’auténtica llum”.

Salvador Espriu (1948)

«Remember that the mirror of truth was shattered in the beginning into tiny fragments, and yet each bit reflects a spark of genuine light».

Salvador Espriu,
traducció de Philip Polack (1989)

La majoria de les definicions usuals per a *Sociologia* la consideren una disciplina que s’ocupa de l’estudi sistemàtic de les societats humanes, tot seguint les regles acceptades del mètode científic. També és habitual de subratllar el fet que no es tracta d’una ciència unitària, sinó més aviat d’una *manera* d’abordar els fenòmens humans, en el seu vessant col·lectiu. Aquesta circumstància es fa palesa, precisament, en la gran varietat de temes susceptibles de ser abordats, bé com la pluralitat dels enfocaments prioritzats i dels mètodes aplicables. Així, si consulteu el llistat dels camps temàtics dels comitès de la *International Sociological Association*, no us haureu de sorprendre per trobar-hi àrees com la Sociologia de la Religió, la Sociologia de la Salut, o la Sociologia de l’Educació al costat d’unes altres com la Sociologia de la Ciència i la Sociologia de les Arts, i tot plegat en companyia de la Sociocibernètica, la Psicologia Social o els Indicadors Socials. En realitat, el seu llistat actual de 55 àrees temàtiques no té cap propòsit d’exhaustivitat, de manera que, a poc que el continueu completant, trobareu dades sobre la Sociologia del Coneixement, l’Etnometodologia, la Sociobiologia o, fins i tot, la Sociologia de la Sociologia, entre moltes altres

possibilitats. Alguns estudiosos suggereixen que, parlant amb propietat, seria més adequat considerar la Sociologia un *feix disciplinar*. Al capdavant, és molt comú referir-se a una *ullada sociològica* que es pot realitzar de maneres diverses, que s'interessa per les més variades dimensions de l'activitat humana, i que, de fet, impregna amb facilitat uns altres àmbits disciplinaris.

Aquest monogràfic vol reunir, precisament, algunes ullades sociològiques sobre el camp de la Traductologia. Per subratllar aquest fet, l'hem intituat "Sociologia *aplicada a la Traducció*" (SAT). Amb aquest lema volem destacar l'oportunitat d'atreure recursos, mètodes i instruments d'unes altres contrades epistemològiques (les pròpies de les ciències socials) i de procedir-ne a una apropiació selectiva per al nostre camp disciplinar. En efecte, la SAT podria erigir-se a partir d'una incorporació i interpretació de teories i metodologies escollides. Podríem bastir-ne l'estructura sobre l'ontologia social de Pierre Bourdieu, il·luminar-la amb els focus que la sociologia de les professions situa sobre raons, versions i efectes de l'evolució i involució de grups ocupacionals com els nostres, establir camins entre parcel·les resseguint la recerca-acció de Kurt Lewin, adaptant i vinculant teories, mètodes i aplicacions per intervenir en el món i millorar-lo, o seure'ns a escoltar-lo i a escoltar-nos amb una *perspectiva dramaturgica* a l'estil d'Erving Goffman, o amb l'Etnometodologia de Garfinkel... Certament, seria una tècnica atractiva per construir un cos teòric i metodològic aplicable als fenòmens de la traducció i la interpretació on els protagonistes fossin els agents i la seva convivència.

Observeu que l'apropriació com a via de creixement no és pas nova a casa nostra, i val a dir que tampoc d'altri. Amb els àmbits de la Lingüística, de la Literatura, dels Estudis sobre la Cognició o de la Informàtica, la Traductologia ja ha paït, a l'estil antropofàgic de De Andrade, allò que li ha semblat productiu. La diferència fonamental amb els exemples anteriors és que, en tots aquests casos, la Traducció ja hi havia estat d'alguna manera un objecte d'interès i d'estudi productiu. En el camp de la Sociologia, tanmateix, aquesta circumstància no s'ha donat (no pas amb la mateixa intensitat, si més no), tret d'alguna excepció honrosa, com ara el treball de Heinich (1984) o la monografia de Rodríguez Morató (1997), sobre les circumstàncies professionals dels traductors de llibres; els articles que recull el volum monogràfic sobre *Traduction: les échanges littéraires internationaux* al número 144 (2002) de la revista fundada per Bourdieu, les *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*; també altres treballs dispersos relacionats amb la direccionalitat dels intercanvis de productes culturals, com el de Sapiro, i algun treball relacionat amb la gestió del multilingüisme, que podem exemplificar amb el de Colomer (1996), amb una aplicació força interessant de la Teoria dels Jocs. Paradoxalment,

existeix una orientació de tall sociològic anomenada *Sociologia de la Traducció* (també coneguda com a *Teoria de l'Actor-Xarxa*) que no s'ocupa directament d'allò que una lectura superficial del títol fa pensar (cf. p.ex. Akrich, Callon & Latour 2006), encara que la seva aplicabilitat a l'estudi dels processos de gestió lingüística no sigui gens negligible, com ho demostren treballs com el de Buzelin (2005).

Amb aquesta digestió de propostes de factura sociològica, la Traductologia ha sabut fornir-se ja amb treballs rellevants i inspiradors. Treballs d'interès aclaparador en l'àmbit de la interpretació, com els d'Angelelli (2004), Wadensjö (1998), García (2002), o Kahane (1986), estan impregnats del programa micro-sociològic d'Erving Goffman, orientat a esclarir l'estructura de la interacció entre dos o més individus, en situació de copresència física, així com l'Etnometodologia de Garfinkel, directament relacionats amb el treball dels conversacionalistes (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson).

També els objectius de la Sociologia del Llenguatge, de la Sociolingüística i de la Planificació Lingüística presenten àmbits de confluència evidents amb la Traductologia, especialment pel que fa a l'estudi del paper que correspon a les pràctiques de gestió interlingüística en la normalització de les llengües subordinades, l'estandardització i el paper codificador que correspon als mediadors lingüístics, com ho demostren treballs com els de Corbeil (1992), Cronin (1995), Niska (1998), Aragüés (1988), Millán-Valera (2000), Paquin (2000), Xirinacs (1997), Baxter (2002), Diaz, García & Carreras (2002), Jaffe (1999), Erkazanci (2008). La introducció a Branchadell & West (2005) presenta un catàleg interessant d'articles i monografies que s'ocupen d'alguns d'aquests aspectes, i el mateix volum aplega un bon nombre d'estudis que els exemplifiquen.

Des de l'anomenada Sociologia de la Comunicació, en si mateixa una cruïlla disciplinar en construcció, ens han arribat nocions com la de *gatekeeper* (Lewin 1947), que utilitzen treballs com els de Vuorinen (1997), Fujii (1988) (1988), Hursti (2001), o Hautanen (2006), de vegades encavallant-se amb aproximacions sociolingüístiques, com ara Davidson (2000). Tot plegat sense oblidar que alguns instruments teòrics generats a l'àmbit dels estudis sobre la Comunicació poden rastrejar-se en treballs de tall nítidament traductològic, com és el cas de l'anomenat Paradigma de Lasswell que, segurament, no és gaire lluny d'algun dels elements presents a Nord (1988), ni que sigui de manera implícita.

També la Sociologia de les Professions, un àmbit essencialment anglòfon i amb propostes cronològicament i conceptualment distanciades, està agafant embranzida en estudis traductològics, tant pel que fa a la traducció com a la

interpretació. N'és una mostra el darrer volum de *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2009), però, com apunta Turner (Turner 2007: 181) per al cas de la interpretació, "The aspiration of theorising and practically realising the key features of an interpreting profession [...] has been central to the field in various forms for many years". Aquesta ullada sociològica ha estat present en el nostre bagatge disciplinari des de la tesi de màster inèdita de Tseng (1992), citada a Mikkelsen (2001), i les perspectives adoptades en la seva evolució, des de l'enfocament per trets (Rudvin 2007) fins a la més recent visió sistèmica (Monzó 2002, 2003), han tingut representació en la nostra disciplina.

Tot i així, la proposta que sens dubte ha aclaparat l'atenció dels investigadors en traductologia és l'economia de la pràctica de Pierre Bourdieu, el qual va mostrar en els seus estudis cert interès per l'impacte de l'activitat traductora en els camps socials. En el nostre veïnatge disciplinari, des de les primeres aportacions que treballaren principalment els conceptes clau de camp (Gouanvic 1997) i habitus (Simeoni 1998), les aportacions que s'han fet ressó de part de l'ontologia bourdiana s'han anat multiplicant amb els darrers anys (Gouanvic 1999, Wolf 2002, Inghilleri 2003, Sapiro 2003, Sela-Sheffy 2005, Thoutenhoofd 2005, Gouanvic 2007, Heilbron & Sapiro 2007, Wolf 2007b). Un exemple de la satisfacció dels investigadors amb les propostes del sociòleg francès és el volum que Inghilleri va editar el 2005, amb contribucions bàsicament centrades en la traducció literària i la interpretació (Blommaert 2005, Buzelin 2005, Gouanvic 2005, Hanna 2005, Inghilleri 2005b, Thoutenhoofd 2005, Vidal Claramonte 2005).

A parer nostre, la possibilitat d'arribar a bastir un àmbit com la SAT (i més enllà d'estèrils discussions nominalistes) passa, necessàriament, per un reconeixement previ del fet que el caràcter *divers* de les aportacions que s'hi emmarquen té a veure, molt probablement, amb la varietat mateixa de mètodes i d'instruments, d'objectius i d'enfocaments de l'ullada sociològica. Des d'aquest punt de vista, entenem que la pluralitat dels possibles enfocaments sociològics sobre la Traductologia no és pas circumstancial, sinó que reflecteix la naturalesa mateixa d'aquesta perspectiva. Si no és *menys sociològica* l'aproximació funcionalista de Talcott Parsons que la sociobiològica d'Oswald Wilson, tampoc no ens sembla gaire legítim establir que els estudis d'inspiració micro-sociològica sobre la interpretació siguin *menys representatius* d'una hipotètica Sociologia de la Traducció que l'aplicació dels conceptes de camp, habitus i capital simbòlic de Pierre Bourdieu a l'anàlisi de la traducció de ciència-ficció americana, o que l'argumentació sociolingüística del fet que les comunitats que utilitzen llengües minoritzades hagin de practicar formes

de traducció obligatòria per poder accedir als mercats internacionals. Per descomptat, és absolutament legítim de postular l'existència d'una Sociologia de la Traducció en sentit estricte, d'intentar delimitar l'abast d'una aproximació sociològica *útil* per explicar els fenòmens relacionats amb la traducció (com ho fa, per exemple, Pym 2006), de descriure i configurar l'espai científic d'una Sociologia de la Traducció (de vegades, amb referències directes a un hipotètic *social turn*, o fins i tot a una *Sociologia dels Estudis de Traducció*), com és el cas de Chesterman (2006), Gambier (2006), Pöchhacker (2006) o Wolf (2006; 2007a) (la contribució de Wolf en aquest volum qüestiona aquesta opció). No és, en qualsevol cas, l'objectiu que s'han proposat, en aquest moment, els editors del volum que teniu a les mans.

El volum que us presentem no pretén, en cap moment, abastar totes les possibles ullades que tenim a la nostra disposició com a camp disciplinar, ni condensar una hipotètica "Sociologia de la Traducció". Des de l'evidència que les mirades teòriques, metodològiques, de vegades fins i tot epistemològiques, són diverses, coexistents i igualment sotmeses als dictats del mètode científic, aquest volum es proposa destacar l'interès per conèixer de més a prop el que la sociologia ens pot dir quan la invitem a casa nostra. El perill, però, resta evident: construir una branca dels nostres estudis sobre fonaments prestats podria dur-nos a una dispersió d'idees incomunicades. Els esforços de recopilació de recerques, com el que proposa el segon número de *MonTI*, ofereixen models, mètodes, dades i contextos que ens ajuden a entendre els fenòmens polièdrics de la traducció i la interpretació, i que constitueixen a la fi una invitació per seguir construint col·lectivament l'espai de la SAT amb noves propostes que amplien encara més la diversitat de contextos, dades i conclusions, que permeten compartir models teòrics per avaluar les mateixes hipòtesis en altres contextos, seguir els mateixos mètodes per a propòsits diferents, acumular noves dades amb distintes poblacions o construir noves preguntes sobre les conclusions aportades. Esdevé essencial capir la cosmovisió que ens aporten les diferents teories sociològiques i triangular-ne la validesa per al nostre camp. Necessitem més recerques que comparteixin el marc i que ens facin veure si, més enllà de moments històrics, espais territorials o agents socials, les hipòtesis continuen vàlides. En aquest recull trobareu inspiració per replicar recerques i continuar estudis, i esperem que aquesta inspiració pugui esdevenir un treball col·lectiu de la nostra àrea cap a l'evolució de la SAT.

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TRANSLATION ‘GOING SOCIAL’? CHALLENGES TO THE (IVORY) TOWER OF BABEL

Michaela Wolf

Department of Translation Studies, University of Graz

Abstract

The discussion of “turns” or “paradigmatic shifts” which we can witness in the last few years in Translation Studies undoubtedly testifies to the discipline’s increasing establishment and recognition within the scientific community and of the increasing practice of a transdisciplinary research. These shifts also include what has been called the “sociological turn”, which comprises the cluster of questions dealing not only with the networks of agents and agencies and the interplay of their power relations, but also the social discursive practices which mould the translation process and which decisively affect the strategies of a text to be translated.

This paper seeks to foreground some of the reasons which conditioned the upcoming of this “sociological turn” and will critically discuss if we can talk of a “turn” in its own right. A case study on the issue of interpreting in the World Social Forum will illustrate the necessity to broaden both traditional concepts, and, consequently, the domains of teaching and research once we take a shift towards a social perspective on the translatorial activity seriously.

Zusammenfassung

Die Diskussion über “Turns” oder “paradigmatische Wenden”, die in den letzten Jahren in der Translationswissenschaft geführt werden, ist zweifellos ein Zeichen sowohl für die Etablierung und Anerkennung der Disziplin innerhalb der *scientific community* als auch für die verstärkte Interdisziplinarität in der Forschung. Zu diesen Paradigmenwechseln zählt auch die so genannte “soziologische Wende”, in deren Kontext Fragen bezüglich Netzwerke von AkteurInnen und das Zusammenspiel ihrer Machtverhältnisse ebenso abgehandelt werden wie die sozialen, diskursiven Praktiken, die den Übersetzungsprozess im Allgemeinen und die diesbezüglichen Übersetzungsstrategien im Besonderen bedingen.

Mein Beitrag versucht einigen der Beweggründe nachzugehen, die für das Aufkommen der “soziologischen Wende” verantwortlich sind und diskutiert auf kritische Weise, ob in diesem Zusammenhang von einer eigenen “Wende” gesprochen werden kann. Wenn die gesellschaftliche und soziale Perspektive auf die Übersetzungstätigkeit tatsächlich verstärkt in den Blick genommen wird, so ist eine Erweiterung traditioneller Konzepte in Forschung und Lehre unabdingbar. Eine Fallstudie zum Thema Dolmetschen im Weltsozialforum illustriert diese Notwendigkeit.

Keywords: Translation sociology. “Sociological turn”. Methodology. Ethics. Translation and activism.

Schlagwörter: Übersetzungssoziologie. “Soziologische Wende”. Methodik. Ethik. Übersetzung und Aktivismus.

1. Introduction

In a recent thematic issue of *Hermes*, “Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator”, Chesterman claims that the increasing number of recent research tendencies which in one way or another focus on the figure of the translator rather than on translations as texts, would justify the introduction of the term “Translator Studies” (Chesterman 2009: 13, emphasis in the original). He takes James Holmes’ “map of translation studies” (1988) as a starting point and suggests to re-map it by including the agents involved in the translation process with their own history, interests and approaches to their profession. According to Chesterman, the relevant branches of this subfield of Translation Studies are cultural (dealing with values, ideologies, traditions, etc.), cognitive (tackling mental processes, decision-making, attitudes to norms, etc.), and sociological (covering the agents’ observable behaviour, their social networks, status and working processes, etc.) (see *ibid.*: 19). This is not the place to discuss the conceptualisation of such a subfield of Translator Studies, and especially its danger to excessively subjectivize the translation process by focusing on the particular agents’ perspective. What seems relevant to the purpose of this paper, however, is Chesterman’s emphasis on the activity of the agents involved in the translation process, which ultimately implies a shift in the viewpoints on translation beyond those dealt with in the last decades.

In what follows I would like to shed some light on the reasons and conditions responsible for such a shift, or “turn”. In particular, I will discuss the potential achievements of a “sociological turn” and its implications on the ethical and societal essence of the translator’s activity. My main claim is that taking the view on the translator as a constructed and constructing subject in society seriously entails a shift in the view of both the translation concept and the research domain of Translation Studies.

2. A “sociological turn”?

The discussion of a scientific discipline’s shifts of paradigm might be seen as a sign of its establishment within the scientific community and a stage in the scientific branch’s “evolution” which allows for questioning its results and

conquests also from outside. Recently, this question has been asked by various Translation Studies scholars, among which by Snell-Hornby in her volume *The Turns of Translation Studies. New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (2006). A shift of paradigm or “turn” undoubtedly designates – up to a certain degree – a break-up with traditional views on a certain subject, in this case on translation in the widest sense, and the introduction of new perspectives which of course not necessarily discard once and for all long-lasting perceptions, but take established approaches as a basis for both a starting point for sketching new horizons and further developments in a specific area.

In her book *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* (2006), Bachmann-Medick asks how “turns” generally come about in the humanities. Her initial point is that disciplines which in a way or another have to do with culture or which can be considered part of the cluster of domains within Cultural Studies, are not involved in the “impassioned discussion of scientific ‘revolutions’” (ibid.: 18, my translation). Thus, she insists on distinguishing between “paradigms” and “turns”, and in doing so, draws on Marcus and Fischer: turns are “relatively ephemeral and transitional between periods of more settled, paradigm-dominated styles of research” (1986, quoted in ibid.: 18). According to her, a turn moves through three stages that characterize “turns” in general. The first stage is the expansion of the object or thematic field: this implies a shift from the level of object of new fields of research to the level of analytic categories and concepts. Secondly, the dynamics of turns is characterized by the formation of metaphors, such as “culture as translation”. Metaphorization is transcended once its potential of insights moves across disciplines as a new means of knowledge and into theoretical conceptualisation. The third stage is that of methodological refinement, provoking a conceptual leap and transdisciplinary application (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 26-27, 2009: 4).

It seems as if Translation Studies is particularly inclined towards the shift of paradigms, or “turns”. This results partly from the fact that its subject is by nature located in the contact zones “between cultures”, and is therefore exposed to different constellations of contextualisation and structures of communication, but also from the make-up of the discipline itself. The multifaceted forms of communication which mould the issues undertaken within Translation Studies call for us to go beyond disciplinary boundaries. In such a view, the “cultural turn” is without doubt the most decisive turning point the discipline has taken since its rise in the Sixties of the twentieth century. All major approaches, in one way or another, had taken into consideration cultural factors in translation – be it the linguistic ones (Nida 1964),

the functional ones (Vermeer 1986) or the descriptive ones (Toury 1995). But none of them had extensively focused on the implications the text’s surroundings would have on the text production, and the “outdoor” factors which shape the translation’s deeper impact were hardly discussed. In 1990, Bassnett and Lefevere took a decisive move when they stated:

There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. [...] [T]ranslation as an activity is always doubly contextualized, since the text has a place in two cultures. (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: 11)

Translations thus always reflect the historical and cultural conditions under which they have been produced. This also means that the object of study since then has been redefined: what is studied is basically the “text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs” (ibid.: 12). This broadened perspective opened up new methodologies which were developed to shed light on the translation process revealing the power relations underlying any translation activity and therefore pointing to the fact that translation can never be neutral (see Bassnett 1998: 136). Additionally, new approaches to translation studies were given a boost, often in a common interdisciplinary effort to widen the discipline’s horizon. As a consequence, the years that followed saw an enormous increase and refinement in publications on feminist translation, postcolonial translation and ethnographic approaches, among others.

About one and a half decades later, the insights gained from this newly developed perspective lead into a view of translation as a social practice which, among others, foregrounded the role of the agents involved in the translation process. Gradually, the conviction took shape that any translation is necessarily bound up within social contexts: on the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation, and as a result the strategies adopted in the translation itself. At this point, the question arises whether we can talk about a “sociological turn” (or “social turn”, see Wolf 2006). Snell-Hornby doubts that we can talk about a “sociological turn”:

As the topic [of social implications on translation] has been around for so long, it is debatable whether it is now creating a new paradigm in the discipline: at all events translation sociology is a welcome alternative to the purely linguistic approach, and it is an issue of immense importance with a wealth of material for future studies. (Snell-Hornby 2006: 172)

In terms of Bachmann-Medick's criteria for the existence of a "turn" in the humanities, the stages outlined above seem to have already been taken by what has been labelled a "sociological turn": the categories developed, partly drawing on approaches elaborated in sociology, testify to refined methodological tools enabling the conceptualisation of the social conditions underlying the translation process also in a transdisciplinary perspective. This is proven by a number of works which have contributed to the emergence of a "sociology of translation" and have delivered valuable insights into the functioning of the translation process, the construction of a public discourse on translation and of the self-image of translators, among other crucial issues (see e.g. Gouanvic 1999; Wolf & Fukari 2007; Pym, Shlesinger & Simeoni 2008).

3. Potential implications of a "sociological turn"

I have sketched elsewhere the milestones which marked the development of a "sociology of translation" (see particularly Wolf & Fukari 2007 and Wolf, forthcoming; see also Chesterman 2006). Here, I rather want to point to the consequences of a sociological viewpoint on translation: What can we gain when adopting a sociological perspective? Which insights can we expect once we apply sociologically oriented methodological tools to the translation process at its various stages? Of course we should be aware that, despite the growing interest in possible sociologies of translation, sociology does not always have all the answers, and it will not provide any immediate panacea for the problems of Translation Studies, as Pym rightly points out (Pym 2009: 30).

This said, foregrounding the benefits of sociologically oriented analyses is on the agenda. My focus will be on two issues: one is the question of ethical decisions which govern the translation practice and the translator's behaviour, the other is the socio-political awareness as a key feature in viewing translation as a social practice. Dealing with the agents' ethical and socio-political responsibilities undoubtedly challenges traditional perspectives on the translator's role in society.

3.1. *The role of ethics in sociologically oriented Translation Studies*

With reference to the globalization context, Michael Cronin asks whether translators have the task to counteract global asymmetries, at least in the translation field, in order to promote a democratic cultural exchange:

The consequences for the development of different cultures of the serious imbalance in translation traffic lead to an extended notion of what constitutes the translator's responsibility in the era of globalization. The translator's responsibility is conventionally thought of in textual terms. [...] Accurate

rendering of social, political and cultural contexts is implicit in the textual transformation, though generally noted in its absence rather than in its presence. However, the question might be asked whether, in the present circumstances, this is enough. (Cronin 2003: 134)

Cronin makes a plea in favour of "an activist dimension to translation which involves engagement with the cultural politics of society at national and international level" (*ibid.*) and particularly emphasises the significance of translation training institutions and their pedagogical programmes for promoting the translator's responsibility.

Since the mid-nineties of the 20th century several scholars have made ethics an issue in varying contexts. Traditional discussions of ethics have been concerned primarily with the duties of translators or with their rights, as Chesterman has critically revealed. According to him, the typical issues have been the general concept of loyalty to the various parties concerned; the acceptable degree of freedom in the translating process, plus the issue of whether translators have the right or duty to change or correct the original; linked to these, the argument about the translator's invisibility, understood as an ideal of neutrality; and finally, what are the translator's rights in terms of intellectual property (Chesterman 1997: 147). Chesterman proposes a different view of translation ethics, based on that of value and argues that, also in the context of translation, duties and rights are secondary notions depending on notions of value. The values he discusses in relation to translation norms are clarity, truth, trust, and understanding, which he considers a fairly comprehensive framework for the analysis of translation ethics.

For decades, the study of translation has widely been a speculation about ethics, largely inspired by the desire to arrive at a general set of principles that would be morally acceptable for the organisation and evaluation of the translator's task. This is the claim made by Arrojo (1997: 5). She and a variety of other authors (Pym 1997, Koskinen 2000, and others) agree, however, that the discussion of ethics in translation cannot be restricted to the notion of fidelity or other related issues. In a not so remote history, the translator was expected to have an "ideal ethical behavior and attitude towards the so-called 'original' and its language, author, context and cultural environment, as well as to her or his own language and culture" (Arrojo 1997: 5). The consequences for the translator's general behaviour from such a set of expectations are obvious and constitute the main concerns of translation specialists throughout the centuries, such as: Who should be primarily served by the translator's task – the "original" author, text and culture, or the priorities of the target culture? Is the translator entitled to make such decisions and to determine the

limits and the goals involved in her or his task? Who should be in charge of these decisions? A general, allegedly universal theory of translation (ibid.: 6)?

When ethics therefore cannot be seen only in the realm of the fidelity paradigm, which are the other elements which make up for the construction of the issue?

Venuti argues against the conventionally limited view of ethics and focuses on a view of translation which indisputably constitutes an interpretation of the foreign text; in addition he stresses that “canons of accuracy are articulated and applied in the domestic culture and therefore are basically ethnocentric, no matter how seemingly faithful, no matter how linguistically correct” (Venuti 1998: 82). It seems a truism that “canons” as used by Venuti are closely related to – and conditioned by – norms. The ethical values inherent in such norms are generally professional or institutional, and they are constructed by a range of persons involved in the translation procedure: agencies, academic specialists, publishers and reviewers, and readers. Subsequently, they are assimilated by translators, who adopt varying attitudes, ranging from acceptance to ambivalence to interrogation. Consequently, “any evaluation of a translation project must include a consideration of discursive strategies, their institutional settings, and their social functions and effects” (ibid.). The social aspect involved in ethical questions therefore cannot be ignored: Social figurations play a major role and not only shape the discursive strategies adopted in the course of the translation process, but are also responsible for the make-up of the settings in which the various agents operate.

Under a different perspective this idea has also been developed by Pym: In his book *Pour une éthique du traducteur* (1997) he stresses, among other things, that translators are not primarily responsible towards the original author, neither to the commissioner nor to the readers, but mostly towards the profession and thus to their fellow translators. This claim not only results in multiple questions regarding its implications for the translation process, but also calls the translator’s role to action. Consequently, the translator’s ethics concerns primarily the way in which he or she establishes the social and intercultural relationships that determine his or her practice. The translator is thus a professional with a range of responsibilities and the duty to carry out an intercultural task.

The concepts of ethics illustrated so far seem to imply that there exists a global translatorial ethics. Under the condition that such a global ethical stance exists in relation to translation, the question arises if such an ethics is desirable and practicable. In Translation Studies we can witness opposing opinions on these questions. Arrojo, for instance, in the context of her

discussion of an ethics in terms of translation, criticizes any universalistic claim:

No single conception or law of translation can ever be unanimous, immortal or universal for the simple reason that it will always belong to a certain time and space and, thus, cannot avoid being a reflection of the circumstances, interests, and the priorities of those who formulate and accept it. (Arrojo 1997: 10)

And, as a logical consequence, Arrojo is of the opinion that “the only sound universal principle to maintain is exactly that of the refusal of any absolute universal” (ibid.: 22). Even if such a plea against a universalistic view of ethics seems plausible and acceptable for the context of translation, it is without doubt that on a national scale we can witness a considerable lack in professional and ethical codes which regulate the translators’ ethical behaviour and their responsibility. Prunč admits in this context that the very addressees of such codices as a rule are the users of translation products, which implies that usually these codices are no reference points for the actual translatorial work (Prunč 2004: 168). Universalistic claims in the context of categories such as ethics are of course not only a problem to Translation Studies, but touch upon any field where human agency is involved. Factors like space and time – as mentioned by Arrojo – are crucial in the discussion of translatorial ethics, as will be shown in the case study below.

Despite divergent opinions on the question of ethics in translation, it remains true that translators – in whatever labour setting they are operating – should be in the position to pursue their work in a self-confident and self-critical way. Simultaneously, they should have the right to dispose of the same rights as other social agents in the communication process and consequently put in the position to abandon their traditional position of (supposed) neutrality and invisibility – as long as they are willing to assume responsibility. Such a responsibility is additionally conditioned by socio-political features. When Cronin points to the fact that “[t]ranslation makes us realize that there have been and are other ways of seeing, interpreting, reacting to the world” (Cronin 2003: 70), such a view of the translating activity has serious consequences for the translator’s professional, social and political position in society. The era of globalization – and last, but not least, the present financial crisis with its yet unexplored consequences for the translation activity – has additionally shaped the translator’s role:

In a world where individual nation-states are increasingly enmeshed in financial and information networks, where multiple linguistic and national identities can inhabit a single state’s borders or exceed them in vast diasporas, where globalization has its serious – and often violent – discontents, and

where terrorism and war transform distrust into destruction, language and translation play central, if often unacknowledged, roles. (Bermann 2005: 1)

As a result, translators, but also translation training centers or professional associations should be aware that in a situation where political control and its accompanying regulatory mechanisms have been ruling economic, social and cultural production and exchange, they not only have a role of crucial importance, but also have to engage with questions relevant for the past, present and future of humanity. Translation not only reflects and transfers existing knowledge, but continuously creates new knowledge, thus revealing its often neglected political and ideological dimension. Yet translation can both promote asymmetrical power relations between languages or cultures and offer a form of resistance as can be seen in the postcolonial context, among others. Tymoczko, too, engages in the question how to move forward in understanding the ethics and ideology of translation and in developing an approach to the political empowerment of translators (Tymoczko 2007: 206). The activist dimension of the translation activity connected to this claim brings us to the second central point of a view of translation as a social practice: the agents' socio-political responsibility and its implications for their position in society.

3.2. Translation and activism in a socio-political context

The characteristics of a "politics of globalization" (see Bourdieu 2002: 3) such as the weakening of the nation-state, the formation of multinational corporations, and the rise of new information and communication technologies have brought about not only the destruction of the welfare state and the reinforcement of the security state, but also led to the continuing exclusion of millions of people from participating in the wealth produced within globalized structures. As pointed out and theorized by Hardt and Negri, the scrambling sovereignty of traditional political and economic configurations has resulted in decentred and deterritorializing patterns which lack centres of power as well as fixed boundaries or barriers (Hardt & Negri 2000: XII). Yet, power relations are still a constituting feature of global circulations.

Against this background, the developments of routines in a globalizing world have had a serious impact on the translator's profession. On the one hand, the profound transformations in global exchange have brought about new labour settings; on the other, new codes of reference have been created for the translatorial activity which additionally bear a potential of change for traditional views on the translator figure and his or her translatorial practice, ultimately questioning (Eurocentric) concepts of translation. First and foremost, the transformations in the global arena bring to the fore an aspect

widely neglected in the operating zones of translators, and also interpreters: their political agenda. In what follows, I would like to discuss this political agenda in the context of the World Social Forum, which challenged traditional roles and triggered off a newly shaped kind of responsibility of translatorial agents, primarily characterized by a radical commitment to change in society.

Social Forums in particular are "conceived as an open meeting space for deepening the [...] democratic discussion of ideas, the formulation of proposals, the free exchange of experiences and the articulation of civil society organizations and movements that are opposed to neoliberal globalisation and the domination of the world by capital and by any other form of imperialism" (World Social Forum India 2006). "Another world is possible", the leitmotiv of the Social Forums on various geographic scales, obviously involves differentiated communication strategies in order to allow for a permanent political and social process, substantiated in the forum events and its projects, campaigns and proposals. Consequently, the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2002 and subsequent meetings with the aim to discuss and challenge neoliberal practices of exchange have not only drawn the attention to the importance of social movements and NGOs as powerful actors in global politics, but have also called to action the mediators between the cultures involved.

In such a context, volunteer translators and interpreters and their various networks give evidence of the concrete political agenda manifest in this field.¹ One of these networks of volunteer interpreters and translators, Babels, subscribes to "the right of everybody to express themselves in the language of their choice" (Babels charter 2004). The commitment of Babels, however, is not at all limited to the activity of interpreting and translating. Rather, as one of those transnational social movements which, in general terms, strive at advancing global change and at building a radically new social order (Cohen & Arato 1992: 4) by deploying resistance strategies which aim at challenging the existing global exchange of production, its members see themselves explicitly as Social Forum organisers with the particular emphasis to promote discussion on cultural domination and the circulation of ideas between the various movements of civil society. Babels aims at giving a voice to all persons participating in the Social Forums with the objective to offer the broadest possible arena for inter- and transcultural communication. Yet, the political stance of the Babels activists came soon under scrutiny. The conflict was initiated – and made public – by the German interpreter Peter Naumann, who had worked in

1. These networks cannot be dealt with in detail in the context of this paper; the most important ones are Babels, ECOS, Tlaxcala, Translators for Peace, among many others.

various World Social Forums as a professional interpreter and in 2005 severely criticised Babels in the electronic journal *Communicate!*, edited by AIIC, the International Association of Conference Interpreters, by denouncing the “barbarizing of communication at the 2005 World Social Forum” (Naumann 2005a). His major criticism focused on the lack of professionalism of Babels’s interpreters in the 2005 World Social Forum as well as on the “misuse of voluntary activities” and the “selling out of established standards of quality”. The most problematic aspect of his critical comments, however, is the sarcastic rhetoric of Naumann’s remarks, denouncing that Babels “thoughtlessly sent the babelitos to the front and to the slaughter”, and labelling Babels interpreters as “the innocents, the dilettantes, the semi-professionals, the perfect fools and an army of the well-intentioned” (ibid.). Though not member of AIIC, the standards of the “code of professional ethics” elaborated by AIIC implicitly are referred to by two AIIC members in their messages posted in *Communicate!* in the wake of Naumann’s article. AIIC brings together more than 2600 “professional conference interpreters” in over 80 countries and claims to uphold professional standards of behaviour and performance (AIIC 2009).²

The conflict between Babels and Naumann of course cannot be seen as a dispute on a personal scale, but rather on a more global scale which involves ideological and ethical questions and also concerns issues like the existence or/and shape of a “culture of conflict”. It has to be stressed, however, that like any other social movement, Babels is affected by internal disagreements and cannot be considered a space where members continually collaborate in mutual respect and harmony. This is not so much due to communicative reasons which result from the great variety of languages and discourses adopted between Babels members, but particularly to reasons pertaining to different forms of protest, varying relationships to political parties, among many other reasons. It is obvious that the more conflicts are brought about by intensive transnational cooperation, the more activism is confronted with differences in interpretations and conceptions of appropriate collective strategies (Smith 2002: 507; see also Gerlach 2002). The struggle for shared strategies and language of resistance is as old as resistance. The role of language in global social transformation is undoubtedly crucial, and beyond communication skills,

2. For the context of this paper, it is not meant to give an exhaustive account of the controversy Babels – Naumann. This section should rather illustrate the significance of political and ideological issues in the realm of the so-called “sociological turn”. For further reading on the Babels – Naumann issue see Pöchhacker 2006 and Boëri 2008. See also some of the articles on the ECOS website <http://www.translationactivism.com/ArticleIndex.html>.

technology and above all resources necessary for a smooth communication in a Social Forum setting, politics are heavily involved. This has been particularly stressed by Altvater, one of the key persons of Transcultural Development Studies, in the wake of the interpreting problems which arose in the 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre:

The question of translating is much more than a technical question. It is a major political issue. The open area of a World Social Forum can be filled politically only [...] if the communication between 150.000 people from 135 countries is established (Altvater 2005, my translation).

The divergent views between Naumann and Babels – and presumably other movements engaged in alter-globalization organizations – are thus heavily marked by politically and ideologically diverging opinions.

The reconstruction of this “struggle field” with the help of Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic forms will deliver the groundwork to better understand the mechanisms underlying this struggle and to constitute the basis for a thorough critique of this specific field. Additionally, it will detect the social and political responsibilities of the agents involved and identify the conditions which shape this particular field.

First, the distribution of the various Bourdieusian capitals which are put at stake in the field seems to be revealing for the understanding of the field’s functional mechanisms. Naumann’s cultural capital is obviously based on his long experience as conference interpreter (nearly three decades), although he does not seem to have an academic degree in translation or interpreting studies (Naumann 2009). In his comments, he explicitly points to the various features which make up his cultural capital: professional experience, traditional knowledge of European thinkers set wittingly throughout his “observations”, knowledge of the history of conference interpreting, especially of the “founding fathers”, knowledge of interpreting training curricula with particular reference to “classical standards of quality”. These features are diplomatically invested in the field. Naumann’s symbolic capital is primarily shown in the array of domains where he had interpreted, whereas his social capital is reflected, on the one hand, in the obviously close relationships he proves to have with some prominent professional conference interpreters in the field, and, on the other, in the manifestations of solidarity attributed to him by two colleagues involved in AIIC who joined the discussion list with some supporting comments, substantiated by several “rules of [professional] conduct” (Naumann 2005a).

Babels, many of whose members discussed Naumann’s letter in the weeks following its publication in *Communicate!*, invests much less capital in the

struggle field. To start with, cultural capital concentrates on a specific commitment to the Social Forum agenda, validated by experts of knowledge and the determination to exchange knowledge and experience between the culture specific agents involved in the Social Forums. Babels' social capital is very strong due to the very nature of the movement, but also in relation to the partly very prominent "clients" they serve and they interact with. Especially in view of these clients it seems contradictory that symbolic capital in this particular struggle field is invested only on a quite low level.

As far as the *habitus* of these agents is concerned, Naumann's *habitus* is closely linked to his cultural capital and is particularly shaped by the setting he is working in. This can best be seen in some of his remarks: "[In Social Forums] professionalism becomes unavoidable, for it is the best interpreters of the old school who are needed" (Naumann 2005a), or "militancy and ultrazealous views are no guarantee of intelligence" (ibid.), or "Babels hardly appears to be capable of developing and thus also not of learning, and therefore any pedagogical efforts would be futile" (Naumann 2005b). Babels' *habitus*, on the other hand, seems much broader as a combination of various secondary forms of *habitus* – those acquired through practices throughout the life, and particularly in one's specific profession – and are not more or less exclusively linked to the practice of interpreting.

In addition, it is emphasized by some Bourdieusian scholars, that the *habitus* can only incorporate and assimilate features which guarantee a certain "linkage" (Krais & Gebauer 2002: 64): this implies a sort of blockage which prevents the subject from absorbing "everything which is in the world" (ibid.). This seems to partly explain why an understanding between the parties involved happens to be particularly difficult: the conditions underlying this "blockage" are of complete different nature for both parties. Naumann and many of his colleagues have incorporated norms and conventions elaborated by professional associations like AIIC, while Babels – not least due to its network character and in particular as a result of its political claim – sets different priorities and thus other strategies in order to "get the message across". This argument might be proven by having a look at the key terms detected throughout the discussion: while Naumann and his AIIC colleagues put terms like "professionalism", "standards" or "professional competence" in the center of their comments, Babels rather uses notions like "horizontality", "solidarity", or "equality".

The relevance of the *habitus* in the context of translating and interpreting becomes obvious once it is realized that the *habitus* is primarily shaped in translation and interpreting training institutes, the main socializing factor

for the agents’ future community practice. What seems necessary in such a context is a clear statement in favour of a shift from training translators and interpreters for the market – as practiced in the great majority of established departments of Translation Studies – to training them for society. Such a claim implies a series of profound transformations in existing curriculum programmes with a particular focus on the inclusion of issues related to politics, ideology and sociology, among others, and thus constituting issues pertaining to any transcultural activity.

4. Conclusion

Recognizing the relevance of translation in shaping cultures and societies reveals the importance of its ethical and political agenda and challenges traditional views on translation concepts. With reference to ethics, it seems as if recently established ethical codes have been challenged through volunteer interpreting. As has been discussed in a previous chapter of this paper, it is a truism that ethics never concern the individual’s consciousness only. Slavoj Žižek points out that ethics is nourished through what Hegel calls “objective mind” (“objektiver Geist”), a “collection of non-written rules, which build the basis of the individual’s activities and which tell us what is acceptable and what is not acceptable” (Žižek 2007: 39, my translation). Yet, present-day neoliberal and oppressive politics tend to undermine what seems one of our highest achievements, that is – in Žižek words – “the growth of our spontaneous moral sensibility”.

With reference to translation and interpreting, this means, among others, taking a clear position: When the already mentioned Altvater calls for an “international campaign” in order to “politically confront and hopefully resolve the political issue of translation” (Altvater 2005, my translation), it seems obvious that not only the interpreters of the Social Forums are called to action, but, if we want to take the issue of “translation and activism” seriously, scholars are called to actively involve themselves and contribute to shaping such a campaign. Within the context of this commitment to engaging and involving in the political agenda, translators, interpreters and scholars are both called to interfere in the debate and to help “creating the collective structures of a collective spirit”, to say it with Bourdieu’s words (Bourdieu 2002: 3), in order to develop the analytical tools for contesting the symbolic (and non-symbolic) effects, generated by the neoliberal multinational arena.

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COURT INTERPRETING 2009: AN UNDERVALUED AND MISUNDERSTOOD PROFESSION? OR: WILL JUSTICE SPEAK?

Ruth Morris

Department of Interpreting and Translation Studies, Bar-Ilan University

Abstract

The article addresses a number of topical issues relating to court interpreting. After examining a number of issues discussed among US interpreters in July 2009, it considers the provision of court interpreting in a number of different English-speaking jurisdictions, including the position of agencies. It presents the cost of a lack of judicial awareness of the issues involved in providing competent interpreting in legal proceedings, and looks at how rare languages are dealt with in the United States. It examines best practice and how this can quickly turn into worst practice. It considers the situation in Canada's Province of Ontario, where a class action has been brought against the Ministry of the Attorney General for failing to provide competent interpreting services. The discussion poses a number of questions, and considers whether court interpreting is condemned to be an undervalued and misunderstood profession in many jurisdictions, or whether there is reason to hope for improvement.

Résumé

Cet article aborde des questions d'actualité liées à l'interprétation au tribunal. Après avoir étudié plusieurs sujets débattus par des interprètes aux Etats-Unis en juillet 2009, l'article se penche sur la fourniture de l'interprétation auprès des tribunaux dans divers systèmes juridiques anglophones, ainsi que sur l'attitude des agences. Il est fait état du manque de sensibilité du milieu judiciaire et de la gestion des langues rares aux Etats-Unis. Une étude des meilleures pratiques et de leur évolution potentielle et rapide en mauvaises pratiques, est réalisée. L'article dresse un état des lieux de l'interprétation auprès des tribunaux dans la Province de l'Ontario au Canada où un recours collectif a été entamé contre le Ministère du Procureur général face à son incapacité à fournir des services d'interprétation compétents. La discussion porte sur

plusieurs questions et s'interroge sur l'avenir de l'interprétation au tribunal: est-elle condamnée à être sous-estimée et incomprise dans de nombreuses juridictions ou y a-t-il lieu d'espérer une amélioration?

Keywords

Reasonable understanding. Competent. Professional. Outsourcing. Arrangements.

Mots-clé

Compréhension raisonnable. Compétent. Professionnel. Externalisation. Dispositions.

Introduction: Interpreters in the US legal system - July 2009

In July 2009, Wisconsin Democrat Senator Herb Kohl introduced the State Court Interpreter Grant Program Act (S. 1329), designed to create a federal grant program in order to ensure that high quality interpreter services are made available to non-English speakers appearing in state courts in the USA. NAJIT, that country's National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, issued a letter of support for Senator Kohl's Act (NAJIT 2009).

At the same time, a job advertisement for a part-time Spanish interpreter at the Franklin County Municipal Court, Ohio, was circulated on the NAJIT listserve. The overview indicated that "[t]he Court employs Spanish-language interpreters to provide interpreting and translating services to Spanish-speaking persons... Interpreters assist the judges, magistrates, attorneys, Court employees, and others in communicating with Spanish-speaking defendants, victims, witnesses, family members, and others having business before the Court". However, the eleven specifications for this position were extremely comprehensive, and combined not only job specifications but also elements of a code of ethics and practice:

1. Perform three types of court interpreting: sight interpreting, consecutive interpreting, and simultaneous interpreting.
2. Provide spoken language Spanish interpretation services to the Court.
3. Sight interpret Spanish or English documents as required during Court proceedings, interviews, and other Court-related communicative events.
4. Assist the Court with communication with Spanish speaking defendants, victims, witnesses, and other individuals as necessary.
5. Produce written translations of documents, such as official Court forms, public signs, notices, posters, and Court correspondence.
6. Maintain the confidentiality of conversations that are of a confidential nature and serve impartially as required by court interpreter ethics.
7. Perform interpreter duties according to established standards and in an accurate, impartial manner, and abide by any applicable rules or standards for interpreters adopted by the Supreme Court of Ohio.

8. Interpret in a manner that includes everything that is said, preserves the tone and level of language, and neither changes nor adds anything to what is said.
9. Attend ongoing training to improve and maintain Spanish interpreter skills, as well as ongoing training regarding court interpreter standards of ethics and conduct, including any applicable rules or standards for interpreters adopted by the Supreme Court of Ohio.
10. Perform other duties as assigned.
11. May be assigned to other positions in other departments of the Court if needed.

The advertisement stated that candidates “must have a combination of education, experience, skills, and personal characteristics that demonstrate the candidate’s ability to perform the duties of the position”. The successful candidate was expected to have at least the following qualifications and meet the following requirements:

1. A high school diploma or equivalent.
2. Ability to read, write, speak, understand, and communicate fluently in both Spanish and English.
3. Two years of full-time experience in Spanish interpreting and translating in a public setting.
4. Basic understanding of legal terminology and procedures.
5. Ability to render precise, accurate interpretations from English into Spanish and Spanish into English without omissions or additions.
6. Ability to render interpretations promptly without hesitation.
7. Thorough knowledge of the methods, techniques and procedures used in interpreting in consecutive and simultaneous modes.
8. Ability to interpret both simultaneously and consecutively.
9. Ability to sight interpret Spanish and English documents.
10. Knowledge of the ethical codes of interpreters and protocol of interpreting, including any applicable rules or standards for interpreters adopted by the Supreme Court of Ohio.
11. Knowledge of common office practices, procedures, and equipment.
12. Proficiency in operating a personal computer and using, or being able to learn, Microsoft Office products including Word, Outlook, and Excel.
13. Have good time management skills; be highly organized and detail-oriented.

14. Ability to prioritize work, work independently without daily supervision, perform a variety of duties, and manage a variety of projects simultaneously in a high pressure atmosphere under sometimes severe time constraints.
15. Ability to effectively and professionally communicate verbally and in writing in English to diverse audiences.
16. Pleasant personality; ability to interact and maintain effective working relationships with judges, other elected officials, employees, law enforcement officers, lawyers, and other conducting business with the Court.
17. Conscious of and sensitive to the diversity within the Court's jurisdiction and able to interact professionally with this diverse population of people from many different geographic, socioeconomic, religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds on a regular basis.
18. Professional appearance and demeanor appropriate for the position and expected of a representative of elected officials.
19. Demonstrated dependability, reliability, and excellent attendance record.
20. Patience, objectivity, maturity, effectiveness under stress, initiative, adaptability, leadership, and sound judgment.

In addition to this highly complete listing of desirable qualities in a court interpreter – qualities which the advertisement thinks can be met by somebody with a high school diploma, and which seem to require the individual to be a translator as well as office coordinator and administrator – the advertisement goes on to specify that preferred qualifications include “an associate's or bachelor's degree in Spanish or Court Interpreting; a certificate or other evidence of having completed a course on court interpreter ethics and conduct standards offered by the Ohio Supreme Court, the Franklin County Municipal Court, or an equivalent training; certification by a member of the Consortium for State Court Interpreters Certification or Court Interpreter Certification from the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts; and previous interpreting experience in a judicial, law enforcement, or legal environment”. And just in case applicants have extra skills to offer, for good measure the point is made that additional consideration would be given to applicants who have any of the following qualifications: “paralegal certification or other advanced schooling in any subject; fluency in a language other than Spanish or English; the ability to speak and write a language commonly used by people

of Somalia for whom English is a second language; or proficiency in American Sign Language (ASL)”.

The author of the advertisement has done a commendable job in describing the complete range of attributes that should be possessed by the perfect interpreter/translator employee working in the legal system. However, this part-time position pays \$18.54 an hour, equivalent to \$19,281.60 a year. In response, one comment on the NAJIT listserv was: “This is ludicrous... long on requirements and too short on pay!” Another contribution to the thread read: “It gets worse. I spoke to an owner of an interpreting agency in Columbus, OH last week about a possible assignment. She informed me that they pay \$20 an hour for free lance court interpreters and \$12 an hour for medical interpreters!” (emphasis in original). A third communication suggested, “Perhaps a NAJIT committee could help these states/hiring organizations come up with realistic fees befitting the preparation and credentials needed for our profession, not to mention cost of living, business costs, etc.? This issue is not Ohio’s alone, our profession is undervalued and misunderstood in many places across the nation”. And last, in hope but perhaps unrealistically: “If there was a law created by Congress for this profession, then there may be standards placed on wages that are uniform across the US”.

With regard to the NAJIT letter of support for Senator Kohl’s initiative, one member observed in a *cri de coeur* which correctly identifies the basic predicament of those who wish to provide professional interpreting services to the legal system:

It is infuriating ... that although states purport to want to professionalize interpreting on the one hand, on the other, they are awarding contracts for interpreting to agencies that want to pay less and less every year (since that is how they were able to win the contracts in the first place), thus creating a situation where professionals are supposed to work for the pay that laborers make, while having to spend money on education, testing, certification, professional courses, dictionaries, and all of the other things that make us professionals.

Added to the panoply of July 2009 documents that give court interpreters pause for thought is the Brennan Center for Justice report on Language Access in State Courts (Abel 2009). Its executive summary identifies the following hair-raising facts:

Across the country, people are stuck in a Kafkaesque nightmare: they must go to court to protect their children, homes or safety, but they can neither communicate nor understand what is happening. Nearly 25 million people in this country have limited proficiency in English (LEP), meaning that they cannot protect their rights in court without the assistance of an interpreter. At least

13 million of those people live in states that do not require their courts to provide interpreters to LEP individuals in most types of civil cases. Another 6 million live in states that undercut their commitment to provide interpreters by charging for them. And many live in states that do not ensure that the “interpreters” they provide can speak English, speak the language to be interpreted, or know how to interpret in the specialized courtroom setting. Many of those states are violating Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which requires state courts receiving federal assistance to provide interpreters to people who need them. (Abel 2009:1)

Abel goes on to identify the high costs of state courts’ failure to provide competent interpreters to LEP people in civil cases. Not only do individuals suffer because they cannot protect their children, their homes, or their safety. “Courts suffer because they cannot make accurate findings, and because communities lose faith in the justice system” (Abel 2009:1). Furthermore, society suffers because its civil laws – guaranteeing the minimum wage, and barring domestic violence and illegal eviction – cannot be enforced. Clearly, competent interpreters to work in the legal system are a necessity in the United States, but at the time of writing they are not available in sufficient numbers, whether because of a shortage of qualified individuals, failure on the part of the authorities to employ them, or insufficiently attractive conditions.

In the United States, the federal Civil Rights Act requires state courts that receive federal funds to provide interpreters to LEP individuals in all civil and criminal cases, on the same footing as access to the courts, due process, equal protection and the right to counsel. Abel makes the point that the interpreters must be provided without charge. Courts must ensure that interpreters have essential language and interpreting skills. Judges and other court personnel must know when and how to use interpreters. And, courts must accord LEP individuals the same treatment they accord other individuals (Abel 2009:1).

The points cited above from the Brennan Report’s executive summary are a mixture of legal requirements and common sense. However, throughout the USA, courts are shirking their responsibilities. For the report, interpretation services were examined in 35 states. The findings were as follows: (1) 46% fail to require that interpreters be provided in all civil cases; (2) 80% fail to guarantee that the courts will pay for the interpreters they provide, with the result that many people who need interpreters do not in fact receive them; and (3) 37% fail to require the use of credentialed interpreters, even when such interpreters are available (Abel 2009: 2).

Given this picture of a very specific United States legislative background and the gaping loopholes that exist in practice, this paper will now look at related situations in various English-speaking countries.

Judicial professionals' perceptions of interpreters

In some parts of the English-speaking legal world, acts and regulations have been passed with the goal of guaranteeing the provision of language-mediation services in the legal system – largely, but not always exclusively, the criminal justice system. In the United States, following the passing of the Court Interpreter's Act of 1978 (28 USC 1827), “each federal court is required to provide, at judiciary expense, a certified or otherwise qualified interpreter in judicial proceedings instituted by the United States for a party who speaks only or primarily a language other than English” (U.S. Code Title 28, Part V, Chapter 119, § 1827. Interpreters in courts of the United States, <http://www4.law.cornell.edu/uscode/28/1827.html>). Among other things, the Act stipulates: “The Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts shall establish a program to facilitate the use of certified and otherwise qualified interpreters in judicial proceedings instituted by the United States”. Following the passing of the Act, changes have also taken place on state level too that have led to various acts, regulations and programs relating to the provision and qualifications of interpreters in legal systems.

However, basically every system has its Achilles' heel. There is frequently some factor – often due to a particular person, or an all-pervading ethos – that makes systems tend to either the wonderful or the terrible. Sometimes plain economic factors may dominate. At other times, local politics may play the same role. Thus a particular state's flourishing interpreter program may deteriorate out of all recognition with the departure of a particular individual from a state court administrator's office or similar. Alternatively, a new supreme court justice may have priorities that do not include interpreter issues, and hence a program may be only able to coast along, perhaps offering nothing more than testing and certification. Although some individuals may be dedicated to access-to-justice issues, a great deal will depend on actually obtaining funding grants, which in cash-strapped times are likely to become increasingly hard to obtain. To a large extent, such factors lead to many systems having to start all over and duplicate much of what was originally accomplished when a program was initially established. For an account of a demise of this type, see “Requiem for an Interpreters Office, 1985 – 2001” (Anonymous: *Proteus*, NAJIT Newsletter, 10:3).

As a result, even if the longed-for situation comes about where judicial professionals come to perceive interpreters as professionals providing an invaluable system in their legal systems, financial and administrative aspects may lead to a deterioration in the quality of the interpreters recruited for their courts. It is a rare judge who sees fit to personally and relentlessly pursue issues relating to court interpreters in his courthouse, as did Judge Casey Hill in the Brampton courthouse in Toronto (see Canada: Mr. Justice Casey Hill and *Sidhu* below). The fact that regulations frequently provide “let-out clauses” allowing waivers from credentialing in the case of rare languages is often used by administrations as an excuse not to insist on adherence to quality standards that are set down in regulations and tenders. The result is a lamentable deterioration in quality or a failure to uphold what were intended to be professional standards.

Court interpreting in California, England and Wales, Ireland and Scotland

Judicial interpreters’ working conditions, career prospects, pay and conditions vary greatly worldwide. There is also considerable diversity in arrangements for the provision of interpreters to the legal system. In addition, a given situation may change out of all recognition as a result of a policy switch, with interpreters who have made substantial efforts to become trained, qualified and experienced suddenly finding that the basic premises on which they based their professional decisions have altered out of all proportion. A professional profile that was expected to put the interpreter in a relatively high socio-economic bracket may be transformed almost overnight as a result of administrative decisions from on high, as well as commercial decisions at the bottom of the pyramid.

Career aspects are frequently a thorny issue, even in California, which is a relatively linguistically enlightened jurisdiction. Interpreter pay levels may remain unchanged for many years, with advancement for interpreters an alien concept to administrations. In 2007 Los Angeles County court interpreters went on strike for six weeks but failed to gain a desired pay increase. Interpreters were seeking salary steps, to provide pay increases based on years of service, arguing that Court employees were entitled to this. As one interpreter put it, “everyone would agree that’s a good starting salary,’ but without annual pay increases, ‘our starting salary is our ending salary. There is no career path” (Hong 2007). In all settings, court personnel may treat court interpreters as complete outsiders, even if they regularly work in the court system and are legally recognized as “officers of the court” (*R. v. Sidhu*, para. 292). Vital

advance access to documentation is often refused to interpreters; sometimes, however, court staff are amenable to requests, being aware of interpreters' need to prepare. Interpreter frustration can relate to many issues, and not just monetary ones.

The new millennium has brought a marked trend towards outsourcing the provision of judicial interpreters to commercial agencies. Overall, experiences have not been positive. As the following survey of a number of English-speaking jurisdictions will show, whatever actual arrangement is chosen in order to deal with the provision of interpreting services in the legal system – whether it is to use commercial agencies, a national register, an office of court interpreters, or non-profit state or private corporations – it is only as good as those who run, oversee, administer and supervise these entities. What is good must be kept that way and further improved; what does not work properly must be scrapped and a viable alternative introduced. Training, testing, certification, quality assurance, efficiency and “delivery of the goods” in the form of competent language mediation for the legal system in a given country are (or should be) universal requirements. For a variety of reasons, few countries manage to consistently achieve good practice in all of these.

Identifying a problem, researching the area or areas in which it exists, making recommendations for policy and practical steps to address the problem is a common approach. It is one that was adopted in the early 1990s in Britain with regard to interpreting in the legal system. At first, all seemed well. A system of interpreters competent to work with the public services called the NRPSI – National Register of Public Service Interpreters – was introduced in 1994. Such individuals were required to be qualified in at least one of four options: English law, Scottish law, health and local government-related services. The body currently in charge of the Register – a company called The NRPSI Ltd (a wholly owned, not-for-profit subsidiary of the Chartered Institute of Linguists) – states that its role is “to maintain a register of Public Service Interpreters” (PSIs). People on the Register were supposed to be holders of the industry benchmark Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI). Interpreters whose names appear on the Register are told that the latter is dispatched to subscribers – public service organisations and agencies that they work through – who, it assures interpreters, “will contact you direct for work”. It is at pains to point out that “[t]he National Register cannot guarantee a steady source of income”. Furthermore, it states, “The National Register does not commission interpreters as an agency would. Therefore public service organisations that subscribe to the National Register save on unnecessary agency charges and interpreters are able to negotiate their pay directly with the public

service” (<http://www.nrpsi.co.uk/news/index.htm>). In reality, however, outsourcing to commercial agencies has become dominant in various parts of Great Britain. In this connection, the NRPSI chair, Brooke Townsley, made a number of points in the May 2007 National Register Newsletter. He admitted that there was much to be done at the NRPSI and noted that the NRPSI “can and must deal with the issues that it is empowered to address”. Among these are “concerns about the nature and function of the register, about the availability of the register and to whom, and the responsiveness of the register to its registrants”. Other critical issues need to be addressed by the public service interpreting profession through its professional membership bodies and trades unions, in conjunction with service providers. “Among these are issues of terms and conditions for all PSIs, standardisation of remuneration, outsourcing contracts and the activity of agencies and intermediaries”. He finishes on this note: “I hope some of the concerns that rightfully belong to the NRPSI are addressed in this newsletter. I don’t expect it to resolve them. It is, however, a start” (Townsley 2007).

Some of the issues hinted at by Townsley have subsequently become highly controversial on the British public service interpreting scene, and should be borne in mind by anyone considering following the British example. Thus available qualified, competent interpreters who are members of the Register, which has somehow been “acquired” by certain commercial agencies, are reportedly being forced to either work through the latter, at a fee far below that which they had expected to be paid in return for their investment in their qualifications and careers, or to largely remain unemployed. The interpreters whom the agencies actually provide are often unqualified, even though frequently qualified interpreters are available. A number of known legal cases in England and Wales which failed as a result of the incompetent interpretation resulting from this situation, whether at the police station or in courts, have been documented (Interpreters and Translators Bulletin. [n.d.] “Malpractices Dossier”).

A similar cautionary tale comes from Ireland, where the American Lionbridge company was awarded a four-year court interpreters contract in 2006, and finally began supplying individuals in March 2007, judges were soon complaining about the quality of individuals sent to interpret in their courts, as well as the company’s inefficient assignment practices. Reportedly, when the Courts Service put out a request for tender for interpreting services in 2005 they set the bar too low, arguing at the time that there were not enough qualified interpreters in the country and consequently they had to make do with what was available. Writing in the October 2007 bulletin of the local

translators' and interpreters' association, the ITIA, its secretary, Mary Phelan, observed that all interpreters working in the courts were allegedly interviewed by Lionbridge and "must attend a one-day training course. Most are speakers of other languages rather than trained interpreters. A one-day training course is obviously totally insufficient to train court interpreters" (Phelan 2007). Worryingly, although the Courts Service spent over two million euros on interpreting in 2006, there is no provision for monitoring the standard of interpreting or for testing interpreters to ensure that they meet basic minimum standards.

According to Phelan, the Courts Service paid Lionbridge €46 per hour. In turn, Lionbridge paid either €25 or €20 or €17.50 to the interpreters. Reports of €15 per hour have even been heard. The rates varied depending on when the interpreters were recruited – those recruited more recently were paid less. Phelan comments that the reduction in pay was an alarming development. Interpreters used to complain that the hourly rate never increased despite inflation, but they never expected such reductions. Phelan suggested that Lionbridge favoured the more recently recruited interpreters for interpreting assignments because they cost less. The ITIA has well qualified, experienced interpreters in a number of languages, she points out, but they are not prioritised for work in the courts. Many members refuse to take on this type of work because the rate of pay is far too low for experienced, competent interpreters who can work in other sectors (conference/business) for much higher rates where they are paid per day or per half day. Indeed, many comment that Lionbridge pays reasonable rates for translation work.

Two newspaper articles in the same issue of the ITIA Bulletin also provide corroboration of reports from court interpreters who observed that Lionbridge's provision of interpreters was not working. Thus in the Cork District Court there were two interpreters for Polish when only one was required, whereas in Letterkenny District Court no Polish interpreter was available. Phelan observes that clearly something was wrong with the booking system if this was happening across the country. She made the point that not only should there be no problem locating Polish interpreters; there were many highly qualified Polish interpreters in Ireland, many of them holding post-graduate degrees in Translation and Interpreting (Phelan 2007: 5). Phelan concludes her article with a number of pointed and far from rhetorical questions:

Our members tell us of court cases where it is quite obvious to onlookers that the interpreters are interpreting only a fraction of what is said. What is

the point of spending over two million euros on interpreting if the service provided is largely inadequate? (Phelan 2007: 4)

Her conclusion: “The Courts Service and Lionbridge have totally underestimated the level of difficulty of court interpreting”.

How long are we going to have to wait for the Courts Service to improve the situation? There is an urgent need for proper, accredited training for court interpreters along with independent testing. Court interpreting should be seen as a viable profession for the languages most in demand. Do we really have to wait for a miscarriage of justice for the situation to change? (Phelan 2007: 3-4)

In the same edition of the ITIA Bulletin, the editor, Elizabeth Hayes, comments that these are “difficult times for qualified, competent interpreters in Ireland”. She goes on to observe that when Lionbridge won the contract for the courts, the main concerns to the ITIA were rates and quality. Rates have indeed been slashed but even more worrying, on a medium- to long-term basis, is the question of quality. For people who perhaps do not come into contact regularly with the translation and interpreting world, she says, perceptions of who an interpreter is and what they do will be seriously damaged by media reports of what is happening in the courts. “Incompetent, unqualified bilingual people (I hesitate to call them interpreters) are being employed to do work that should be reserved for professionals. The reputation of all our interpreters is at stake here” (Hayes 2007: 1).

As a case study of pernicious practice inadvertently generated by attempts to improve efficiency and quality, the researcher can do no better than to examine the Scottish situation. During the writing of the present article, several reports appeared concerning the provision of court interpreting in Scotland's criminal justice system (Lalmy 2009, McLaughlin 2009, Taylor 2009), in addition to earlier publications that addressed the same issue. These include a study about immigration lawyers' difficulties with interpreters in Glasgow (Theiner 2003), a May 2009 report in *Journal Online - The Members' Magazine of the Law Society of Scotland* entitled “Court interpreting service put out to tender. £6m contract offered to improve quality”, an article headed “Justice system compromised by unqualified interpreters: Fears of miscarriages in cases involving migrants” (Bynorth 2008), and *The Scotsman's* somewhat sensationalist “Translation errors may see criminals escape” (Howie 2007).

In particular, a study of *Foreign Language Interpreters in the Scottish Criminal Courts* (1998) was commissioned “in response to concern about the arrangements for and standards of the provision of foreign language interpreters in the Scottish courts”. The concern arose from the results of research

conducted in England and Wales in 1991 which concluded that arrangements were poorly developed and that interpreters were often inadequately trained and qualified. The 1998 Scottish research, which covered the whole of the country, aimed to provide a geographical portrait of the use of foreign language interpreters in the criminal courts, to establish the quality of service being provided, and to identify, where possible, areas in which the service could be improved. Based on the study's research, it can be seen that over the last decade, even following the influx of migrants to Scotland in the early part of the millennium nothing has changed – except perhaps for the worse. The summary refers to the fact that “there are instances where the quality of court interpreting has been poor. This is most evident from interpreters themselves who felt they did not provide an adequate service on their first assignments”. As has been shown, ten years later members of the legal profession and professional interpreters are themselves acting as whistleblowers on the system's inadequacies. The report's summary goes on to state that the difficulties identified show the need for greater training of interpreters to prepare them for court work. “This, at its most basic level, should cover the do's and don'ts of court interpreting and the need for training in legal terminology also requires to be addressed”. Written prior to the arrival of large numbers of migrants from Eastern Europe, the report stated: “One potential problem is that an increased effort in terms of training could mean valuable resources are used to train ‘one off’ interpreters as currently the low volume of business means that many interpreters only work in court once or a very few times. Cases do not arise often enough to keep court interpreters in regular employment”. While this is a standard problem in all systems, with larger numbers of non-English speakers, today the argument is less persuasive. The last point in the report's summary has remained just as valid as ever: “The low rate of pay was also cited as a problem related to the competence of interpreters”.

The content of all these documents indicates that the use of many unqualified, untrained, inexperienced and unsuitable so-called interpreters for legal work has led over the years to below-standard interpreting in Scotland, some instances of which have been documented. The situation has even led to the collapse of a number of prosecutions, at considerable cost to the taxpayer and to the detriment of the administration of justice (see Bynorth 2008). In 2002 the Scottish Executive's Central Research Unit published a literature review entitled *Translating, Interpreting and Communication Support Services Across the Public Sector in Scotland* (McPake and Johnstone 2002). The purpose of this review was “to inform the Translation, Interpreting and Communications Support Services Framework Group in its work to develop a

national cross-sectoral framework of standards for these services. Guiding principles for the work of this group include the goal of meeting the communications support and language needs of the community and avoiding discrimination through failure to deal with these issues and other barriers to equal access” (Scottish Forum for Public Service Interpreting and Translating, 2000: *Good Practice Guidelines*; cited in McPake and Johnstone 2002: i). However, the document’s abundant insights, references, information about policy options, including material on guidelines and standards, ensuring quality of interpretation and support for interpretation, monitoring and evaluation have clearly not been acted on by the criminal justice system in this particular part of Great Britain. The influx of Eastern Europeans into Scotland in the early 2000s arising from the expansion of the European Union resulted in a sharp rise in demand for certain languages. As a result of dissatisfaction with the existing situation, in March 2009 the Scottish government issued an *Invitation to Tender for the Provision of Interpreting, Translation and Transcription Services Framework Agreement* (<http://www.publiccontractsscotland.gov.uk/Search/Search_Print.aspx?ID=MAR059861>). The approach outlined in the tender was designed to:

- Improve quality and coverage of Service Delivery, measured against clear and consistent Key Performance Indicators
- Improve sharing of knowledge and best practice
- Increase efficiencies in process and reduced duplication of procurement effort
- Increase efficiencies in process and reduced duplication from implementation of statement billing

In connection with this administrative move, Taylor quotes a Scottish Court Service Spokesperson as saying: “The Scottish Court Service has to provide translators to support the delivery of justice within courts. This new contract delivers better value for public money, greater efficiency, and the Scottish Court Service requires translators to have the Diploma in Public Services Interpretation” (Taylor 2009). The absence of any mention of quality of interpreting services in this quotation is noteworthy.

The upshot of the award of the tender was a deterioration in court interpreters’ working conditions. Concerned at the country’s unsatisfactory court-interpreting situation, in late 2009 Scotland’s professional interpreters set up a new professional body, the Scottish Association of Interpreters & Translators (SITA). Some of the new association’s members reportedly threatened to boycott court hearings and hold demonstrations to highlight their cause. “They claim that inadequate translation services could lead to foreign nationals either being wrongly convicted or escaping justice,” writes McLaughlin

(2009), going on to cite the Miscarriages of Justice Organisation Scotland (MOJO) as saying that the cutting of costs signals a “very dangerous move”, and threatens to undermine defendants’ rights to a fair trial under the European Convention on Human Rights. In addition to due process and access-to-justice criteria, the working conditions offered to the interpreters under the 2009 tender are presented as being extremely unsatisfactory. According to McLaughlin’s report, the arrangement means that even self-employed interpreters with years of experience are guaranteed only £36 for a day’s work, inclusive of travel costs: “Many say they are being ‘starved’ out of their profession as a result – one veteran is now eking out a living as a taxi driver – and replaced by individuals with insufficient training and a potentially dangerous ignorance of the legal system”. Under the new rules introduced by the new agency to which the tender has been awarded, Scottish interpreters have in effect had their pay cut insofar as for the first 70 miles interpreters in Scotland will not be getting paid for either their travel time or travel expenses (<http://si-ta.org/forum>).

Whereas interpreters in California tend to be both qualified and experienced and also employees of the court system, not infrequently they are frustrated as the result of a lack of a career path. However, few of them seem to leave the profession. In contrast, in many parts of England and Wales, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, quality standards are tending to fall rapidly as a result of a poorly designed and poorly managed outsourcing system based on the use of freelance interpreters. The well-qualified may leave the profession as a result of their inability to earn a living wage under the pernicious outsourcing system, leaving only the inexperienced and incompetent to service the justice system.

Best practice in New Jersey and the Southern District of New York: and a sorry tale in Arizona

In the outsourcing-oriented world of the early twenty-first century, subcontracting what is wrongly perceived as a commodity often seems to the administrators of court systems a way to solve all their problems with providing interpreters. Increasingly, however, this apparently attractive option is coming to be perceived by those who can see further than pennies and cents, and are both provided with and listen to feedback from the courts, as being associated with serious problems over interpreter quality and provision. Sometimes an “in-house” interpreter’s office is considered the better solution. Here too the human factor can be all important, on all levels. In the State of New Jersey, for example, the influence of a supportive Chief Justice in the 1980s helped

launch a language services section in the Administrative Office of the Courts which supports the Judiciary's goal of ensuring that persons with limited English proficiency (LEP) have equal access to the courts and support services (personal communication). New Jersey's Language Services "seeks to improve court interpreter services by coordinating the court interpreter testing program; developing and implementing policies in related areas, and performing administrative tasks such as managing statistics, providing the Registry of Interpreting Resources and piloting new ways of enhancing delivery of interpreting services". The recently retired long-serving head of the New Jersey Language Services Section, Robert Joe Lee, played a major role in not only guaranteeing stability but also striving to constantly improve the provision of both spoken and sign language interpreting in the State's courts, and to keep up with trends resulting from migration and other developments (see <http://www.judiciary.state.nj.us/interpreters/index.htm>). The same can be said of the head of the SDNY Interpreters Office which serves the U.S. District Court in the Southern District of New York. Working conditions and interpreter quality are incomparably better at the latter than at the State Court a few hundred meters down the road (personal observation). Financial aspects are only part of the explanation for the edge that interpreting at the Federal court has over its state counterpart, as is clear from the professionalism reflected in its website. In particular, attention is drawn to the various parts of the "Best Practices" tab, where separate documents address issues specifically arising for judges, assistant US attorneys, attorneys examining witnesses through an interpreter, and translations (see <http://sdnyinterpreters.org/>). As in the New Jersey case, the long-serving head of and chief interpreter at the SDNY Interpreters Office, Nancy Festinger, is responsible for much of the professionalism of everything provided by her section. Even in such a well-run, well resourced courthouse such as the Federal Court for the Southern District of New York, lawyers and judges are proactively encouraged and helped to follow best practice by the court interpreting section (see Festinger 2003). Clearly best practice does not just happen: it has to be made to happen and efforts must be invested in keeping it that way.

Elsewhere in the country, in Arizona, another, far more dismal picture emerges. In an article entitled "Requiem for an Interpreters Office, 1985 – 2001" (Anonymous: *Proteus*, NAJIT Newsletter, 10:3), the author (who asked that his/her identity not be revealed), outlines how from the mid-1970's standards were established in Maricopa County in parallel with the work carried out in California and nationwide, following the passing in 1979 of the Federal Court Interpreters Act. Up until 1978, "interpreters" in Maricopa County were

bilingual law library clerks sent to “help out” when needed in the courtroom. That year an examination began to be administered, “although the way it was scored left a great deal to be desired as to validity and reliability” (Anonymous 2001). The Phoenix staff interpreters set to work on establishing standards, creating a professional organization and drafting proposed legislation to set a minimum competency level for court interpreters. In Maricopa County, these efforts were successful: an Office of the Court Interpreter (OCI) was created, with a chief interpreter position and a body of rules and regulations written and approved by the bench. “By the early 1980’s, the structure of the qualifying exam had been streamlined, professional interpreters were hired and the quality of interpreter services rose appreciably” (Anonymous 2001). By 1985, the county had three staff interpreters and a pool of five qualified freelance interpreters. The interpreting department at the Superior Court in Maricopa County had by this time earned a national reputation. The office administered its own written and oral examinations and the court respected the qualification procedure. Interpreter salaries were the highest in the state. The professional atmosphere attracted “people with the right stuff”.

However, by 1986, the administrator and the presiding judge who had overseen and supported the steps taken by the Phoenix staff interpreters were both gone, the former to retirement, the latter to the federal bench. Then came a change in administration at the Superior Court that would impact interpreter practice for the rest of the century. The new administrator and presiding judge showed scant interest in maintaining the standards previously agreed upon. Over the next few years, the court administrator re-classified many positions. The court administration eliminated the role of staff interpreters in administering the written examination, setting their own interviews, orienting new judges on interpreting issues, evaluating interpreter practice, discussing policy as it affected their practice, and recruiting potential staff interpreters. By the mid-1990’s, the court administration side-stepped the county’s human resources department and created its own in-house department for personnel matters. This department was charged with interpreter recruitment, although many other positions continued to be recruited through the county system. Under their aegis, the number of qualified interpreter candidates plummeted: in just three years, the number of applicants passing the written test was reduced by more than half. Senior interpreters believed this was because the court’s human resources department failed to identify and attract competent practicing interpreters from other jurisdictions.

The court administrator and human resources director created a new position, called a “staffing services manager”. The position was filled by a person

with a graduate degree in language, whose work experience includes banking and teaching Spanish to the CIA. This new manager's mission was to hire more interpreters, or to be precise, to "fill interpreter positions". The oral exam (in use to qualify interpreters since the 1980s) was waived. New applicants were required only to take a written exam (a multiple-choice language competency test) and have an interview. The requirement in the job description, that interpreters have at least one year of paid professional experience, was waived.

The anonymous author of the "requiem" finished with the following lament:

The state association has no influence over practice in the field. No statute, rule of court, or policy is in place stating that interpreters need any qualification other than the avowed ability to speak Spanish.

For many years, we worked hard to create a professional practice that many judges took for granted as the norm. No one on the bench now remembers how interpreters struggled back in the seventies: most of the new judges were in high school then. Speed is now of the essence in all things judicial, and the Office of the Court Interpreter has all but in name been dismantled. Let us have a moment of silence. (Anonymous 2001)

The question that must be asked is this: Which is more representative of court interpreting practice in the US federal and state court system: the best practice that was achieved by the mid-1980s in Arizona, or the dismal, "dumbed-down", non-professional approach that subsequently replaced it? At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, can it be said that, in the United States, on both a Federal and a state level, on the whole professional standards and certification prevail, for Spanish at least, which represents a very large proportion (around 90%) of all interpreted proceedings? What is undeniable is that increasing globalization has led to greater linguistic diversity in the court system, both civil and criminal, of many countries. The greater numbers of those who need and are being provided with interpreting services necessarily constitute an additional burden on the cash-strapped judicial system and the taxpayer.

The cost of judicial lack of awareness of best practice:

***Pagoada* in Kentucky**

In addition to the quantitative problems caused by the results of an increasingly globalized world, there always remain pockets of ignorance: for example, some judges are not aware that being bilingual is not the same as being able to interpret competently, nor that there is a major difference between

translators and interpreters. Costly appeals, not to say miscarriages of justice and retrials, have resulted from such lack of awareness. While certain states and cities make major efforts to secure appropriate interpreters and strive for best practice, others lag behind, sometimes grievously. Where there has been progress, as in Maricopa County, Arizona, ground may subsequently be lost, and headway gained can be sacrificed to administrative mismanagement. On the other hand, awareness is creeping in and some states are gradually making up lost ground.

The 2001 Kentucky case of Santos Adonay Pagoada is representative of those jurisdictions which previously had no need to address interpreting issues. Pagoada, a 32-year-old Honduran man, had been sentenced in his original trial to 40 years on a murder conviction. In the *Pagoada* appeal, Judge Noble identifies the issue at stake – the quality of interpreting at previous proceedings and hence whether Pagoada received a fair trial on murder charges – and refers to this as “a question of first impression” for Kentucky. Hence, she goes on to say, “the Court has read and studied for the past year, trying to get a grasp on the scope of the problem, and how to adequately address it” (*Pagoada v. Kentucky*, No. 97CR-1002, p. 1). The essential point in the court’s reasoning was that in order to be “present” and to be able to participate in his defence, Pagoada had to have an acceptable level of understanding of the proceedings.

Framer (2001) discusses and analyses the issues arising in the case. She notes that during a crucial part of the trial, the judge held a side bar with the attorneys, Pagoada, and the interpreter with the commendable intention of making absolutely sure that the defendant understood his right to testify or not to testify. At times, however, the interpreter’s rendering was nonsensical, composed of words that sounded like Spanish but which are not part of the Spanish lexicon, such as “carecto,” “satusfichado,” “factos,” and “consecuencias”. Instead of the word “vida” which means “life” in Spanish, she used the word “libra”, which means “scale” in Spanish. Framer observes that the effect was that of listening to somebody imitate a person speaking a foreign language. The interpreter also carried on independent conversations with the defendant and did not interpret these conversations back to counsel or the judge. However, the judge was unaware of the abysmal quality of the interpreted version. Framer provides a small excerpt to illustrate the tenor of these exchanges:

Judge: And based on their decision, if he is convicted if they find him guilty of any level on which I instruct....

Interpreter [to Pagoada, in Spanish]: In their decision, in any part of the court if it's high low it's theirs, they will make the decision.

Judge: As to whether he committed the murder.

Interpreter: [in Spanish] If you committed the assassinated.

Judge: Here is what he needs to know. If he is, if he believes that he can convince a jury that he was defending himself, he needs to make that decision as to where enough has been said, or if he needs to say more.

Interpreter: [in Spanish] She says that the [*judados*] are going to make that decision. If you think that they have heard a lot of evidence to defend you, that you were defending your life, then that's fine, but if not, then you should give them an explanation why you think you, you were defending your life. Do you think that they did hear lots of evidence to say, oh yes, this guy was defending his life?

Judge: All right then, I think that whether he accepts it or not, it has been explained to him as adequately as it possibly can be. (Framer 2001)

Clearly the judge was acting on the assumption that what he said was being accurately conveyed to and understood by the defendant, not that he was being provided with something that was closer to nonsense in Spanish. The underlying reasons for this assumption were stated clearly in the decision on the *Pagoada* motion:

- Out of ignorance, all assumed that one who speaks Spanish or is born in a Spanish-speaking country can interpret. This case reveals that this is a false assumption. (3-4)
- No distinction was made between interpreting skills and translation skills, which according to testimony differ considerably, so that one who can translate adequately from the written word may well lack the skills to interpret orally and simultaneously in the legal context. No one was aware of this distinction at the time. (*Pagoada v. Kentucky*: 4)

The *Pagoada* court then succinctly stated the consequences of this failure to provide proper interpreting services, for both Pagoada himself and for fundamental due process: "Because Pagoada did not have accurate, comprehensible statements made to him for most of the interpretation, his position is analogous to that of persons under a disability in competency proceedings" (*Pagoada v. Kentucky*: 5).

After observing that there is nothing easy about any trial where liberty is at stake and a victim is at loss, and that it is even less so when there are multiple languages involved, the court summed up by saying: "However, fundamental due process requires a level playing field, and that all persons answering to the law of the land be given a similar opportunity to answer" (*Pagoada v. Kentucky*: 7). After observing that Pagoada was entitled to such fairness regardless of his ability to speak and comprehend English, it concluded: "Perfect

understanding is not required to mete fairness, but a reasonable understanding is" (*Pagoada v. Kentucky*: 7).

In an 'author's note' to her 2001 article about Pagoada's original trial, Frammer identifies the major difference that competent interpreting can make. She reports that in April 2002, after a successful appeal for ineffective assistance of counsel that went hand in hand with the use of untrained and unqualified interpreters, Pagoada won a new trial, where he was provided with two federally certified interpreters. While eleven jurors favoured acquittal one juror held out. Ultimately, after deliberating for 10 hours and being sequestered overnight, the jurors compromised to find Pagoada guilty of reckless homicide, and he was released from prison for time served. It would not be overstating the case to say that the competent interpretation at the retrial made all the difference between the original 40-year jail sentence for murder and being found guilty of reckless homicide at a retrial.

Dealing with rare languages in the United States – Vai in Maryland (*Kanneh*) and Tigrinya in Florida (*Tesfamariam*)

On a brighter note, interpreter networking, particularly using email, to locate appropriate individuals for rare languages has become common at the time of writing, and is often far more effective than the efforts of a court secretariat. Two early twenty-first century cases will illustrate the point effectively. One involves bad practice; one good. One is the Maryland case of Mahamu Kanneh, who was indicted in December 2004 on nine counts of rape, sex abuse and child abuse in the Circuit Court for Montgomery County. His trial was repeatedly postponed over a 35 month period for a variety of reasons, mainly the time it took to process the DNA evidence, and above all the court's inability to secure a qualified interpreter in the defendant's native language, Vai. The lower court eventually dismissed the case on the grounds that the defendant's right to a speedy trial had been violated (*State v. Kanneh*, 403 Md. 678).

The State of Maryland appealed. In its conclusion, the Court of Appeals of Maryland observed that although the delay in this case was significant, in light of the complex nature of the case, "[b]ecause there was no bad faith on the part of the State in securing or failing to secure an interpreter, which was the primary reason for the delay" (*State v. Kanneh*, 403 Md. 678 at 694), it found that this factor did not weigh heavily against the State. In fact, the State had managed to locate three Vai interpreters, the last of whom was in fact present at the last hearing at which the charges were dropped. At a motions

hearing on November 1, 2005, the parties discussed their efforts to secure an interpreter for Kanneh. Neither the State nor Kanneh's attorney had been able to locate an interpreter, and for that reason, the trial judge postponed the case until January 23, 2006. At a motions hearing on January 13, 2006, although it appeared that the parties had found an interpreter, "they realized that this interpreter was not qualified to perform simultaneous interpretation for a trial that had the potential to last four or five days" (*State v. Kanneh*, 403 Md. 678 at 686). As a result, the trial judge postponed the trial date until May 8, 2006.

Again, at a motions hearing on May 3, 2006, the parties informed the court that it was likely that they would be unable to secure an interpreter by the trial date, and the trial date was postponed until October 16, 2006. The Court of Appeals document indicates that the court did subsequently locate an interpreter; however, "because of that interpreter's personal feelings regarding child abuse cases, she left the courtroom and did not return" (*State v. Kanneh*, 403 Md. 678, footnote 5 at 687); later someone else was secured to interpret the proceedings, and she was present during a motions hearing on February 16, 2007. On that date, however, the interpreter indicated that she had "just had some pretty serious surgery" and the court rescheduled the trial date for July 30, 2007, because it would be "cruel and unusual to expect a person having just had some major surgery to be compelled to be here in discomfort" (*State v. Kanneh*, 403 Md. 678, at 687).

A newspaper report indicated that many of the appellate judges seemed sceptical that Kanneh really needed an interpreter in the first place, since he had lived in the United States for years and attended high school there. However, the assistant attorney general involved said that Kanneh's attorney argued at the circuit court level that Kanneh could understand basic English but did not know enough to help with his own defence; furthermore, the prosecutor wanted to protect Kanneh's rights and so made every attempt to accommodate his request (Tamber 2008: 1).

Although the trial judge, Katherine Savage, stated when she granted Kanneh's motion to dismiss the charges that the efforts to get an interpreter had been "Herculean", according to Tamber, the assistant public defender disagreed. Tamber quotes the latter as saying: "I would suggest to the court that what we have in terms of the court's efforts, the timing of the efforts, the record does not support that there was a diligent pursuit of a translator or an interpreter from the get-go..." (2008: 1). In fact, with help from the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators, The Washington Post identified three Vai interpreters Thursday, including one in Gaithersburg. Lionbridge, a company that offers interpretation services, reportedly said it

could provide Vai speakers on short notice (Londoño 2007). Immigration officials took Kanneh into custody after the state charges against him were dropped, and a deportation order was entered in November 2007 (Grzincic 2008).

A contrasting case involves a Tigrinya-speaking defendant on murder charges. The authorities in Broward County, Florida, had to find a Tigrinya interpreter to translate for Mesfin Tesfamariam, a man from Eritrea who had been in the United States for only about a year prior to his arrest on murder charges in July 2007. The supervisor for the Broward court interpreters, Ramon Grau, “had to sift through local contacts to eventually track down Tekeste Bereket, from New Jersey”. Grau commented, “This doesn’t happen very often. Sometimes interpreters have to come from Palm Beach or Miami, but never New York or New Jersey, and not this type of language or dialect”. Money from the state court’s revenue trust fund paid Bereket’s \$600 daily fee, airfare, lodging and meals (Alanez 2009). Succinctly put, where there’s a will and a willingness to pay appropriately, there’s a way.

Canada: Mr. Justice Casey Hill and *Sidhu*

Over the border, in Canada, practice is similarly patchy. As far as French and English are concerned, on the whole the situation is satisfactory. However, the same cannot be said of other languages. The following account reflects the power that can be exercised by an unprofessional, lazy, negligent and recklessly uncaring individual in the position of interpreter coordinator, combined with the judicial authorities’ blatant ignoring or failure to heed complaints about interpreters, training, monitoring and procedures raised by inquiries, judges, prosecutors, counsel and even Ministry staff.

A judicial study of interpreting in one of Ontario’s busiest and most multicultural courthouses revealed that for five years it had been using interpreters who are so woefully unqualified that they routinely failed the provincial accreditation test and, in some instances, may not have been able even to read the language they were being paid to interpret. It was when Mr. Justice Casey Hill began hearing what he originally believed would be an ordinary appeal alleging unacceptable trial delay at the Peel Region courthouse that he discovered, instead, the scandal that was long in the brewing. This courthouse, which opened in 2000, is Ontario’s second largest and, as Justice Hill noted, “with the jurisdiction’s multicultural demographics, [...] the highest user of interpreters” in the province, serving a daily transient population of tens of thousands. Yet despite the inherent vulnerability of so many Peel Region residents – newcomers to Canada not fluent in English, sometimes poor and

likely to be easily intimidated by the court process – those accused of crimes were often abjectly served by the justice system.

Mr. Justice Hill heard evidence that from 2001 through the early part of 2007, unaccredited interpreters – responsible for translating a total of 10 languages into English – who had failed the Ontario test at least once had worked a total of 2,670 days. In the same time period, 19 interpreters – translating 25 other languages – who had never taken the test at all worked 592 court days. This information is contained in a review of interpreter invoices, a document which according to Mr. Justice Hill reveals that “for years, in addition to trials,” these unaccredited and unskilled interpreters worked assignment court, contested bail hearings and consent releases and guilty pleas and sentencings at both the Ontario Court and Superior Court levels (*R. v. Sidhu*, para. 252). Though the problem was revealed in the summer of 2004 to Justice and government officials, the practice continued in Peel Region, with Justice Hill noting that in 2007 alone, unaccredited interpreters were used 54 times in court, and unaccredited interpreters who had failed the test worked in 96 instances (Blatchford 2005a).

While the judge found that much of the blame for the situation in Peel Region lay with two individuals – a woman named Forouz Masrour, a government employee since 1991 and the “interpreter co-ordinator” for the provincial Attorney-General’s Ministry in Brampton, and Gerri Wyatt, the supervisor of court operations – he also found that “management ignored or abandoned constitutional and access to justice values unreasonably discounting the seriousness of the concerns involving [the interpreter’s] interpretation competency” (*R. v. Sidhu*, para. 323), minimized the complaints that were coming in about the interpreters, and viewed what was a key ‘access to justice’ matter as a labour-relations problem (Blatchford 2005a).

The following situation graphically illustrates the kind of situation that can result from careless, not to say potentially criminally reckless unethical behaviour, in this case by an interpreter co-ordinator. A Hindi-speaking woman called Manjeet Bhandhal was hired at the Brampton courthouse at a time when what they needed was a Punjabi-speaking interpreter. Ms. Bhandhal was apparently quite open that she had never spoken Punjabi before in her life, but was nonetheless assigned to do just that in weekend bail courts. An official with the Ontario Attorney-General’s ministry told Judge Hill that he believes Ms. Bhandhal cannot even read Punjabi. It appears that the quality of her interpretation played a role in a case that ended in a mistrial. The person who assigned her was Forouz Masrour, the interpreter co-ordinator at the courthouse. In her evidence before Judge Hill, she admitted that she

considered weekend bail court “a game” because “there would not be anyone who would create problems” there. “Apparently, the fact that at bail court, accused people can lose their liberty was not a pressing concern for Ms. Masrour” (Blatchford 2005b).

Against this background, in April 2008 a class action was instituted in the Ontario Superior Court of Justice against the Ministry of the Attorney General of the Province of Ontario (*Sidhu vs. Ministry of the Attorney General*). The action, it is stated, arises out of the Province’s failure to provide competent interpreters in court proceedings, and the class proceeding is on behalf of all individuals who have suffered because of incompetent interpreters. The claim asserts that the Ministry of the Attorney General’s Court Services Division is responsible for providing competent interpreters in court proceedings. However, it is alleged that the Province has used unaccredited individuals as interpreters without advising the court, the parties or counsel, and that the Province does not adequately train, test or monitor interpreters. It is further alleged that the Province continued to use incompetent interpreters even after it became aware that they were not competent to interpret court proceedings. The Province is alleged to have ignored or failed to heed complaints about interpreters, training, monitoring and procedures raised by inquiries, judges, crowns, counsel and even Ministry staff (Girard 2007).

Court interpreting: An undervalued and misunderstood profession, or reason to hope?

After this bird’s eye view of the court interpreting situation in a number of jurisdictions, we are left with a number of questions, rather than ready answers. Can legislation help? Despite Section 14 of Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Mr. Sidhu did not get a fair trial because the interpreter who was provided was not competent. In Ohio, will the Franklin municipal court’s detailed requirements attract a competent individual at the meagre salary being offered? Even if Senator Kohl’s federal grant program is passed, will it in fact ensure that high quality interpreter services are made available to non-English speakers appearing in court? In the USA, is the shortage of qualified court interpreters in state courts a result of a lack of funding that can be addressed by the authorizing of \$15 million per year, over five years, for a State Court Interpreter Grant Program? If states are given assistance to develop, implement and improve state court interpreter certification programs in order to ensure fair trials for individuals with limited English proficiency, will those authorities that need these court interpreters actually pay them sufficiently well to make the profession of court interpreter one to which suitable

individuals will be attracted, and will it become a career? Can Canada's *Sidhu* class action, if it succeeds, change the outlook and concomitant practice of the Ministry of the Attorney General of the Province of Ontario? If, as is alleged in this class action, the Province of Ontario has ignored or failed to heed complaints about interpreters, training, monitoring and procedures raised by inquiries, judges, crowns, counsel and even Ministry staff, what is the point of striving for quality? Are such efforts condemned to failure? Is this specific to Canada, or is it made special by the detailed action taken by Mr. Justice Hill in combination with several concerned lawyers to ferret out and publicize the shameful truth?

Perhaps a pessimistic note is not justified. While admitting that the failings identified in the Brennan Report "take a heavy human toll", and often violate federal law, Abel goes on to point out: "Fortunately, the picture is not entirely bleak. Each of the failings is avoidable" (Abel 2009: 2). She notes that in the last decade, the states have begun to develop programs to recruit, test and assign court interpreters. At least 40 states have joined the Consortium for State Court Interpreter Certification, to obtain access to exams assessing the competence of their interpreters. As a result, states seeking to improve their interpreter programs have examples to follow. Encouragingly, she reports, a revitalized federal Department of Justice is now energetically enforcing civil rights laws. And federal legislators are looking for ways to provide state court systems with additional funding for essential court interpreter services. "With this report," she writes, "we hope to facilitate and accelerate all of these efforts, to help states meet their obligations, and to ensure that, in the end, justice will speak" (Abel 2009: 2). Washington State, Oregon, California, New Jersey, New York and a few other states do well at providing competent interpreters in criminal and often civil cases. Most larger states and metropolitan cities are doing well for the most part. In contrast, in rural counties and in states with a smaller limited-English speaking population, there tend to be no training, no policies, and no interpreter program. Some systems outsource to commercial language agencies with no knowledge, no training, and no standards.

Is there any hope that the situation in Scotland will improve? Over a period of more than a decade, research identifying issues, literature reviews and the introduction of an outsourcing system do not appear to have brought about any improvement. Will outsourcing in Ireland remain a fact of life despite user dissatisfaction with the service provided? Is there any chance that interpreters in California, dissatisfied with their lack of career prospects, will leave the profession? Will training and continuous education be introduced

for court interpreters as part of their career development? Will the judicial profession come to understand the professionalism that is needed in order to provide competent court interpreting? Only time will determine the answers to these and numerous other questions. Advocacy on the part of court interpreter associations and their members continues, but as economic and other factors increasingly come to the fore in determining practice in the legal system, the likelihood of positive change diminishes.

Those concerned about court interpreting issues should not only hope for improvement, but also continue to work to ensure that court interpreting is no longer an undervalued and misunderstood profession. It would be good to think that within a reasonable time span, the question in this article's subtitle – "will justice speak?" – will no longer need to be posed. Experience, however, has shown that this may be wishful thinking. Writing about the contractual provision of interpreters to public services in Scotland, Lalmy (2009) writes: "Now let's consider how this set up between agencies and the public service users has worked so far. The first thing to say is that it did not work out as well as it should have". In terms of performance, he argues, there has been a failure because of what he identifies as "complacencies" from both the agencies in providing unqualified interpreters and from the public services who "unquestionably accept their services despite previous appalling experiences". Lalmy further points out that despite the various press headlines over the last five years or so pointing out those agencies failing to provide adequate interpreters, he has still not come across a case where public services have sued an interpreting agency for breach of contract. He wryly comments that it can only be assumed that "the loop[hole] in the system is exploited by one party and accepted by the other", relying mainly on footnote (i) in the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service Protocol which states: "On occasion it is recognised that interpreters who do not have the preferred qualifications and experience will require to be engaged". Writing in 2009, Lalmy argues that over the last decade there was plenty of time for the agencies to bring up to standard those interpreters not fully qualified on their register, and such an exception would solely apply to a very specific dialect from a remote part of the world. This particular loophole seems to be responsible for the yawning abyss between stated intentions about best practice and actual deficient hands-on practice that enables the Scottish legal system to continue, under a brand-new tender, to perpetuate its former shortcomings. Scotland is but one example of a legal system's attitude to the undervalued and misunderstood profession of court interpreting.

Epilogue

The same month that Franklin County Municipal Court published its demanding notice of vacancy for a court interpreter, it fired a Spanish-language interpreter who had been employed there for two and a half years because he could not interpret legal terms, “possibly jeopardizing the constitutional rights of thousands” (Czekalinski 2009). According to court documents, the individual in question made up words, including the Spanish word for “defendant,” and guessed when he did not understand legal terms in English. Furthermore, in a June 2009 hearing regarding his qualifications, the man in question testified that he had “not mastered legal vocabulary in English or Spanish, for sure,” but because everything is repetitive in the courtrooms he had a “well-enough grasp of actual phrases and words”. The *Columbus Dispatch* report finished with the bald statement that there was no standard qualification process for interpreters in Ohio, according to a 2006 Supreme Court report. “At that time, 32 percent of interpreters working in Ohio’s courts had received no related training” (Czekalinski 2009).

Footnote: Losing a child in the translation

Most of this article has focused on interpreters who work in the court system. However, the ramifications of inadequate linguistic arrangements by the public services inevitably have a far wider impact on the lives of second-language speakers than the narrower court setting, although often that is where those affected finish up. For example, a US Spanish-language radio programme at the beginning of June 2009 discussed the forced-adoption case of Chatina migrant Cirila Baltazar. It was reported that a court in Mississippi was about to terminate the parental rights of this Mexican immigrant woman, who was also facing the risk of deportation. By court order, the US born child was subsequently given in adoption to a local family. Advocates were challenging the process arguing that the woman, a Chatino-speaking migrant from the highlands in Southern Mexico, had not been able to defend herself (<http://www.archivosderb.org/?q=en/audio/by/guest/cirila_baltazar_cruz>).

On its website, the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR) noted that the hospital provided her with an “interpreter” who is from Puerto Rico and does not speak Chatino, the language of the mother. Because of the language barrier and the misunderstanding by the hospital’s interpreter who only spoke Spanish and English, a social worker was called in. The latter reported “evidence” of abuse and neglect because, according to the NNIRR report, the “baby was born to an illegal [sic] immigrant”; the “mother

had not purchased a crib, clothes, food or formula” (most Latina mothers breast feed their babies); “she does not speak English which puts baby in danger” (<<http://www.nnirr.org/action/index.php?op=read&id=229&type=0>>).

The NNIRR report further stated that Ms. Baltazar Cruz’s baby was removed from her two days after birth at the hospital and given to an affluent local attorney couple who were unable to have children. The authorities made no effort to locate a Chatino interpreter, Ms. Baltazar Cruz’s native tongue. Organizers from MIRA, the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, located an interpreter who is fluent in Chatino in Los Angeles and with her help interviewed the mother extensively.

The mother, the report continued, was accused of being poor and not being able to provide for her child. No one asked the mother to provide evidence of support. Reportedly she owns a home in Mexico and a store which provides both secure shelter and financial support, not counting the nurturing of a loving family of two other siblings, a grandmother, aunts, uncles and other extended family.

Through the Internet, at least, appears that there is some chance of justice speaking, even if it is in a whisper.

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A GLIMPSE INTO THE SOCIALIZATION OF BILINGUAL YOUNGSTERS AS INTERPRETERS: THE CASE OF LATINO BILINGUALS BROKERING COMMUNICATION FOR THEIR FAMILIES AND IMMEDIATE COMMUNITIES

Claudia V. Angelelli

San Diego State University

Abstract

Work on bilinguals who act as family interpreters, while not focused particularly on the development of translation and interpreting abilities, contributes to our understanding of life experiences of the individuals who begin to interpret early in their lives (Valdés and Angelelli 2003). With some exceptions (Harris 1977, 1978, 1980, 1992; Toury 1984, 1995) very little has been written about the lived experiences of young interpreters and/or about their socialization as family interpreters. Since most of the community interpreters of today were interpreters in their late childhood and adolescence, getting a glimpse into their lives and experiences may help researchers (and teachers of interpreting) understand the *habitus* and ideology of these individuals who later may populate interpreting classrooms and workplaces. This paper explores some of their experiences and perceptions as well as the controversies surrounding their role. The paper ends with some suggestions for incorporating coursework on translation and interpreting at high school levels

Resumen

Los estudios sobre individuos bilingües que actúan como intérpretes para la familia, si bien no se concentran en el desarrollo de aptitudes de traducción e interpretación, contribuyen a nuestro entendimiento acerca de las experiencias de vida que han tenido estos individuos que comienzan a interpretar a edades tempranas (Valdés y Angelelli 2003). Con la excepción de algunas investigaciones (Harris 1977, 1978, 1980, 1992; Toury 1984, 1995) se sabe muy poco acerca de las experiencias de los

intérpretes jóvenes y acerca de su socialización como intérpretes de la familia. Dado que muchos de los intérpretes comunitarios de hoy han servido como intérpretes de familia cuando eran pequeños o adolescentes, el poder aprender acerca de las vidas y experiencias de estos individuos permitiría a los investigadores (como así también a los profesores de interpretación) comprender el *habitus* y la ideología de aquellas personas que podrían asistir a clases de interpretación o que trabajarían como intérpretes. Este trabajo explora algunas de las experiencias y percepciones así como también las controversias que despierta dicho papel y finaliza con algunas sugerencias para incorporar tareas de traducción o interpretación en las escuelas.

Keywords

Circumstantial bilingualism. Elective bilingualism. Societal language. Language broker. Linguistic minorities.

Palabras clave

Bilingüismo circunstancial. Bilingüismo electivo. Lengua societaria. Mediador lingüístico. Minorías lingüísticas.

1. Introduction

When a family of immigrants settles on a new land where a societal language different than their own is spoken, it is not unusual to see bilingual youngsters brokering communication for their families and immediate communities. Research has reported occurrences of this in Latino communities in the US (between English and Spanish see Valdés 2003; Valdés, Chavez and Angelelli 2000; Zentella 1997) as well as between other language combinations in the US (De Ment, Buriel and Villanueva 2004 report on Chinese, Vietnamese and also Mexican youngsters) and in other multilingual communities of the world (e.g. see Harris 1977, 1978, 1980, 1992; Harris and Sherwood 1978 for research on English/French bilingual youngsters interpreting and acting as ambassadors for recent immigrants in Canada).

Earlier work on bilinguals who act as family interpreters, while not focused particularly on the development of translation and interpreting abilities, contributes to our understanding of life experiences of the individuals who begin to interpret early in their lives (Valdés and Angelelli 2003). With the exception of early work on young interpreters (Harris 1977, 1978, 1980, 1992; Toury 1984, 1995) and recent historical work on translation and interpreting (Baker 1998; Karttunen 1994), very little has been written about the lived experiences of interpreters and/or about their socialization as family interpreters. Since most of the community interpreters of today were interpreters in their late childhood and adolescence, getting a glimpse into their lives and experiences may help researchers (and teachers of interpreting) understand the *habitus* and ideology of these individuals who later may populate interpreting classrooms and workplaces. In the next sections of this paper we explore some of these experiences. We start with a brief discussion on the bilingualism of these young interpreters. Then we look at the controversies surrounding their role as family interpreters and the relationship of this controversy and empirically founded arguments. In so doing we look at how young interpreters perceive themselves and how they are perceived by their families and the immediate communities which use their services. In this paper it is not my intention to take a position on the use of children or adolescents as

interpreters in private family matters or public service settings. I concur with those who argue that it is the responsibility of the institutions and organizations that interact with speakers of minority languages to provide them with interpreting services so that they can fully participate in society. Rather, I intend to expose and reflect on situations that surround the lives of bilingual youngsters. The paper ends with some suggestions for incorporating coursework on translation and interpreting at high school levels.

2. Definitions and Typologies of Bilingualism

Bilingual youngsters who act as language brokers for their families vary significantly in their age, level of language ability in each of the languages they use, degree of literacy in both languages they speak, motivation, affect, and views on the tasks they perform. Most of these bilingual youngsters become family interpreters because they have a certain degree of command of two languages. In other words, it is not just their bilingualism, but rather their ability to put their bilingualism to work to broker communication for their immediate family that sets them apart to become family interpreters.

Bilingualism is complex and multifaceted. The mainstream literature on interpreting fails to problematize sufficiently the relationship between interpreting and bilingualism. In a way it assumes that language competency is monolithic and that equilingualism can be assumed. Statements such as "complete mastery of both languages" are encountered frequently in the literature on professional interpreting (e.g. see AIIC 2005), and language mastery is assumed to be a pre-requisite to interpret (cf. Vazquez Mayor 2007, Angelelli and Valdés 2003, Angelelli 2002 for exceptions). Researchers working in the field of bilingualism (Valdés and Figueroa 1994) have attempted various definitions of it and have proposed various typologies (Valdés and Figueroa 1994: 7-20). For the purpose of this paper we will limit our discussion to the terms elective and circumstantial bilinguals.

Most of the young interpreters who broker communication for their families are children of immigrants, and therefore can be considered circumstantial bilinguals. In 1994 Valdés and Figueroa (10-19) suggested the following distinction among bilinguals. An elective bilingual is an individual who becomes bilingual by choice, and a circumstantial bilingual is forced by life circumstances to add a language other than the mother tongue to fully participate in the new society. In other words, a person, be it a child or an adult, becomes bilingual by choice, when there is a desire to learn another language either to travel, become familiar with another culture, etc. In the case of a child, the choice is not necessarily his/her own, as much as it is made by his/

her parents. Regardless of who makes it, it is still a choice to be made by members of the family. In other words, the individual could participate fully in all aspects of society (have access to education, health, or community services, justice) using his/her language of origin without the need to add another language. The language of the individual and the language of the society where he/she lives are one and the same.

On the other hand, when an individual/group of individuals is forced by circumstances, such as immigration, mixed marriage, geographic disasters, economic or political struggles, etc. to leave the country of origin and to move into another one where the societal language is different from that of the homeland, the individual/group of individuals has to acquire the societal language in order to fully participate in society. This second type of bilingualism is referred to as circumstantial bilingualism. Unlike elective bilingualism that generally occurs in individuals, circumstantial bilingualism is more frequent among groups that move together to the target nation (e.g. families, extended families, neighborhoods, small communities). These young bilinguals generally have not acquired another language based on a choice, as it is the case of bilinguals who populate second or foreign language classes, but rather had to acquire the language in order to survive in and integrate themselves into the new society.

Most of the bilingual youngsters who become family interpreters are circumstantial bilinguals. As mentioned earlier, they are socialized into this role given their abilities with languages and with processing information and their willingness to help their families. When a family settles down in a new society, children and youngsters have more chances of acquiring the new language as they attend school and interact more with others (Zentella 1997, Valdés *et al.* 2003). It is therefore not unusual than when parents, grandparents or any other family/community member need to communicate and cannot do so in the societal language, and no interpreters are available to met their communicative needs, those family members who are indeed fluent in the new societal language offer their help so that other family members can communicate. They generally are the younger generations of a family of immigrants, those that are being schooled in the new societal language. The language broker role performed by circumstantial bilinguals, however, is not uncontroversial, especially when performed by minors. In the next section we explore the main issues surrounding the roles of young bilinguals as language brokers.

3. A controversial role

As mentioned earlier, the language-broker role is often performed by circumstantial bilinguals who are attending elementary, middle or high school. This role however, is not necessarily limited to children and young adolescents. De Ment, Buriel and Villanueva (2004: 259-261) report on Asian and Latino college students who continue to be called upon to translate for their parents, as immigrant parents continue at times to feel uncomfortable with their English language abilities and their limitations in communication.

While some researchers (for example Grosjean 1982; Harris 1977, 1978, 1980, 1992; Harris & Sherwood, 1978; Hakuta 1986; Malakoff & Hakuta 1991; Pfaff 1997; Toury 1984, 1995; Valdés 2002; Valdés, Chavez & Angelelli 2003; Valdés, Chavez, Angelelli *et al.* 2003; Zentella 1997) have studied the abilities of these youngsters in order to understand and demonstrate the special cognitive, linguistic and sociolinguistic abilities they exhibit as they perform the role of family (volunteer) interpreter, other sectors mostly represented by professional associations (CHIA, MMIA), organizations such as The Office of Civil Rights, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the National Center for Cultural Competence, Georgetown University Center for Child and Human Development, and the legislature, either expressly discourage or severely condemned the use of minors in health care interpreting. Even when there are instances in which bilingual youngsters have to interpret for their parents and members of their immediate families because society cannot meet their communicative needs, the presence of these bilingual youngsters is either denied or regarded with some suspicion. This may be due to the fact that US welfare departments, as well as other agencies receiving federal assistance through the Department of Social Services in charge of administering Public Assistance (e.g. food stamps or child support programs), are required to ensure effective bilingual services to serve the needs of non-English speaking populations. So having children performing roles that agencies should be offering is definitely problematic. According to the Modern Language Association data of 2005, 57.59 percent of California residents age five and older speak English as a first language at home, while 28.21 percent spoke Spanish. In addition to English and Spanish, 2.04 percent speak Filipino, 1.59 percent spoke Chinese (which includes Cantonese [0.63 percent] and Mandarin [0.96 percent]), 1.4 percent speak Vietnamese, and 1.05 percent speak Korean as their mother tongue. In total, 42.4 percent of the population speaks languages other than English. Over 200 languages are known to be spoken and read in California (Modern Language Association, 2005).

Evidently these demographic changes increasingly challenge all aspects of U.S. society, especially in the delivery of services such as healthcare, justice and education. In spite of the fact that government-funded programs for health care institutions, for example, have been mandated to provide interpreting services to limited-English-speaking patients (Allen 2000), the truth remains that, in spite of the linguistic diversity observed in California like in many other parts of the United States and the world, and in spite of all the rules and regulations, when a family of Latino immigrants settles in America, and parents do not speak the societal language, it is often the case that bilingual youngsters act as language interpreters (Valdés, Chavez, Angelelli *et al.* 2000), on behalf of their family.

Due to the use of ad-hoc interpreters, various bills and regulations have been created to impede children from interpreting for relatives, including their parents in health care institutions (Yee, Diaz and Spitzer 2003). Additionally, untrained interpreters such as a bilingual janitor or native speakers (or bilinguals who volunteer to act as interpreters) have been notably criticized when used in health care institutions (Allen 2000; Baker, Hayes and Fortier 1998; Cambridge 1999; Gilbert 2005; Marcus 2003). Interestingly, it appears that the use of untrained interpreters (among whom we include bilingual youngsters) has started a discussion regarding the value of health care, how societies struggle to accommodate the linguistic needs of its members, and how access to services for speakers of non-societal languages in a multilingual society continues to be problematic. For more information about this tension the reader is directed to Valdés, Chavez and Angelelli (2003: 63-66).

4. Bilingual Youngsters Brokering Communication: what research reveals

Between 1996 and 2001 Valdés, Chavez, Angelelli *et al.* conducted an ethnographic study on Latino bilingual youngsters brokering communication between members of their families and the community of the South Bay area in California. Participating in this ethnographic study were eleven families and 25 bilingual youngsters enrolled in two different high schools. Thirteen were entering ninth graders enrolled in a remedial summer school program (all of them Latinos and spoke Spanish at home) and twelve were juniors and seniors advanced in Advanced Placement Spanish (ten Latinos who spoke Spanish at home and two students from India enrolled in Spanish as a Foreign Language). The student population was considered at risk of abandoning school.

These twenty five students were asked to take part in a simulated interpreting task in order to identify, study and assess their interpreting skills. The simulation task lasted between twelve and fifteen minutes and the script was

representative of what these youngsters were asked to do in their schools (e.g. interpret in the principal's office between the principal and a parent, during teacher-parent conferences, translate materials to be sent home, etc.). The simulated interpreting tasks were audio and video taped, fully transcribed and analyzed for content and language (for a complete discussion on performance see Valdés, Chavez, Angelelli *et al.* 2003: 99-118). Although these youngsters' language abilities were varied and most of them (except for the 2 students from India) were acquiring English, which resulted in some linguistic disfluencies (e.g. lack of verb or pronoun agreement, transfer of syntax structures, wrong choice of lexical items), they manage to produce and understand highly complex chunks of information in two languages and keep up with communicative demands. Through systematic observations of the bilingual youngsters at school and at home, as well as by a series of in-depth interviews with eleven of the youngsters themselves and their families and teachers, we gained an understanding of how, when, why and with whom young interpreters use the two languages and the circumstances in which they interpret. This research also shed light on the perceptions that youngsters have of their own role as family interpreters, as well as the perceptions that both parties using them to communicate (parents and community members) have about them

4.1 Self-perceptions of young interpreters

Thirteen youngsters volunteered for in-depth interviews. With the exception of one, all came from working-class families, were foreign born, and had emigrated at an average age of eight. When youngsters were asked to recall the situations in which they interpreted more frequently they mentioned at home, in their apartment complex where they sometimes helped other neighbors, in the neighborhood, at church, in stores, at school, in work settings and at health care, business and legal settings. Their recollection of settings coincides with those of their parents except for the church. Youngsters explained how they interpreted because they had to help their families as no one else was there for them. They spoke of what they did with some pride. In many cases they also shared they had volunteered their help to members outside their families, as they realized they could not communicate in English and they could lend a hand.

In order to ascertain their level of English and Spanish, we used both languages during the interviews. For the most parts, participants answered in the language they were asked and in only two occasions they changed to their more dominant language. When asked to evaluate their language proficiency, students reported to perceive both languages as "the same", although some of

them mentioned they felt more comfortable in Spanish. When asked to discuss their performances, or how they knew if they were doing a good job, they mentioned they could tell they were successful when they could understand the message and made the other two parties understand the same message too. They were able to articulate more and less successful experiences, which is revealing about their metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness.

4.2 Perceptions of both parties using young interpreters

Like any immigrant group in the US, Latino parents arrived knowing little or no English and settled in neighborhoods where they found affordable housing and where they were able to carry most of their everyday business in Spanish. Sometimes, Spanish was not enough. Of the eleven families interviewed, one came from Guatemala, one from Mexicali, four from Michoacán, three from El Salvador, one from Jalisco and one from Guerrero. During the interviews parents reported that they enlisted the help of their children when they need to communicate in English and interpreters are not provided. Examples included communicative needs at home (answer the telephone, talk to people at the door), at the apartment complex (talk to the manager, explain safety rules), at school (to enroll a child in school, make an appointment, communicate with teachers, translate information received from school in English), at clinics and other health care institutions (to make an appointment, to communicate with doctors and nurses), at work settings (for filling out applications), in stores (to ask questions, to shop), and at other organizations, such as the Department of Motor Vehicles to obtain a driver license, or businesses or legal settings. Parents talked about having their sons or daughters interpreting for them as part of a family team effort, even when they could have friends interpret for them they also brought their children because they were an extra set of ears in the conversation, they valued the trust they had on them. They were family. They reported always appointing the older child as the family interpreter because they thought older children had spent more years at school and therefore their English could be stronger, and also because some public or business settings would not take younger children very seriously. Parents also expressed that they preferred children who were confident, extroverted, good-natured, and who liked to be social and friendly.

In terms of community and school perceptions, when we started our observations, we realized that our inquiries on the use of young interpreters were met with suspicion and hostility (Valdés *et al.* 2003: 64). This was due to existing requirements governing access to services (see section 3).

Interestingly, while initially teachers classified the students as low level English speakers, their English skills were functional when interpreting for their families. Although they committed minor mistakes which caused linguistic dis-fluencies, they managed to communicate the meaning of the message which was well understood by the interlocutors. It was evident that when the youngsters were interpreting, they were able to understand English at an advanced/sophisticated level (Valdés *et al.* 2000 & 2003). Additionally, their interpreting abilities were so sophisticated that they could even transmit the tone and stance of the English message to their parents. Neither the experiences these youngsters had, nor the validation of their talents were in sync between school and home. Many times at school, bilingual adolescents were placed in the lowest ESL course, however at home they were able to read, translate and interpret complex and intricate materials in English for their parents and family members.

Additionally, the common trend for children of second and third generation immigrant families is to accept and adjust to the new culture and its language, which tends to lead to the loss of their native language. In spite of this trend, the students in our study acquired English and maintained their home languages (e.g. Spanish and Hindi). Even though teachers of the language used at home (Spanish) disapproved on the non-standardness of their Spanish, these adolescents functioned successfully in interpreting for new arriving immigrants of diverse educational backgrounds and ages. These young interpreters were often called upon to aid teachers at school by interpreting for a new student or to translate written messages to be sent to the parents at home.

An enlightening finding in the study of bilingual youngsters acting as interpreters (Valdés *et al.* 2000) is that many of these gifted bilinguals executed various forms of interpreting in the educational setting with no difficulty for their families with absolutely no training. This was also the case for the participants in the study of Puerto Rican children living in New York (Zentella 1997). These young interpreters facilitated complex communication actions as language brokers who acted as a go-between during the interactions and were able to perform them quite successfully, even with some linguistic dis-fluencies between two monolingual individuals (for additional information and transcripts see Valdés *et al.* 2003: 147). In a way, these young interpreters were carrying out a similar task to the one professional translators and interpreters perform. What sets them apart from professional interpreters is that they are not socialized into the idea of neutrality, due to the fact that they are mediating different interactions between members of communities with which they have strong bonds and cultural ties. Another distinction between

professional interpreters and young interpreters is that while professionals may have some choice among interactions, settings, topics and situations in which they participate, bilingual youngsters acting as interpreters are faced with challenging situations in which they do not always chose to perform. Many times the situations involve the welfare of their family members. This makes the act of interpreting much more personal and sensitive for them, and, to some degree, some may perceive that their participation in these situations is a moral obligation.

5. Arguing for Turning our Attention to the Interpreting Skills of Bilingual Youngsters

As it has been unequivocally demonstrated by research, bilingual youngsters who perform as young interpreters are talented and unique individuals. As I have argued above, the way in which these young bilinguals, who are heritage speakers of a non-societal language, go about mediating communicative needs reveal important information about their abilities. Interestingly, in the United States, these abilities generally are perceived as average or even as non successful by their regular schooling programs. It is not unusual to see heritage speakers tracked in English as a Second Language classes, or remedial English.

In a society as diverse as the United States, nurturing and enhancing the linguistic talents of heritage speakers and young bilinguals who may or may not become language interpreters later in their lives is an imperative. This became evident through recent tragedies involving the nation's inability to deal with less commonly taught languages (e.g. the tragedy of September 11th when intelligent services in the US failed to understand communications in Arabic due to a lack of specialized linguistic capacity). Bilingual youngsters are an untapped linguistic resource for our nation. In addition to national security and international interactions, the US is a linguistically diverse territory and many times educated interpreters are not available to deal with every day communicative needs of its people. Many times, however, these linguistic talents go un-nurtured and overlooked in spite of the increased need for interpreters.

If programs were created to enhance their special linguistic abilities then bilingual youngsters would be able to recognize the value of knowing two or more languages. In addition, they would value their own interpreting and translating skills that they use to help members of their communities. As bilingual youngsters attempt to help monolinguals whose linguistic needs are not accommodated by our society it would be beneficial for them to receive

positive attention in a classroom, be encouraged to speak two languages, and be assisted in improving their skills as interpreters. It would also help them as they begin the road of socialization into this role. That is why a curricula or classes based on their skills and needs would promote and prolong their learning and most definitely benefit them in the future (Angelelli, Enright and Valdés 2002).

In the Foreign Language Curriculum in K-12 (and K-16) reflection upon one's own bilingualism is not present. Through simple definitions and examples, in an introductory course on Translation and Interpreting at high school, students could be encouraged to reflect on their own bilingualism. They could work through constructs such as English Language Learner, Language Minority Student, Heritage Language Learner, as well as Balanced Bilingual. They could look at examples that come from empirical data (observations and interviews Valdés *et al.* 2000 and Angelelli, Enright and Valdés 2000). The following paragraph illustrates an example of a story that introduces terms that students may use to reflect on their own bilingualism.

Example 1

Now, let's follow Lucila through her language learning experiences. We know that when she was little she spoke only Spanish. After being in school for a few years she started to speak and read English. Little by little, Lucila's English was stronger than her Spanish because school consisted of 100% English instruction. Once that happened, Lucila's dominant language changed from Spanish to English. The **dominant language** is the language in which we feel more comfortable when we express ourselves, either orally or in writing. Even though the first language she learned was Spanish, or her **native language**, because of her experiences, her dominant language as she got older changed from Spanish to English.

In addition, in Example 2 we see a sample activity that could be used with students to reflect on their own bilingualism. Students could be reading about bilingualism, discussing the different types of bilinguals, reflecting on their own linguistic history, on what is commonly said about bilingual individuals, and they could learn to identify common myths and facts.

Example 2

1. What are some myths involving bilingualism? Turn to your neighbor, and tell him or her two of them and explain why it is a myth. Then give your work partner the opportunity to do the same.
2. How does an individual get defined as a language minority student?
3. Can you be bilingual and be 100% fluent in two languages? Why or why not?
4. Think of and discuss ten positive aspects about being bilingual.

When considering implementing translation and interpreting in high school as a way of nurturing the talents of bilingual youngsters, schools could approach this task in various ways, from adding activities to a language class, to adding a course to a language arts curriculum, to designing a whole curriculum that would complement the teaching and learning of the societal language and a foreign/second one (for complete guidelines for designing translation and interpreting curriculum at the high school level the reader is directed to Angelelli, Enright and Valdés 2002). The only criteria required is that the school/community presents high levels of bilingualism/multilingualism; that the school/community is committed to providing and promoting bilingual education, and that the school/community has a large number of students interested in learning about and developing skills in interpreting and translation. It is important to emphasize is that, in order to implement these activities or courses, teachers do not need extensive experience in interpreting and translating, as they will not be preparing professional interpreters. Rather, they will be using translation and interpreting techniques and exercises to enhance what students are already doing, to validate their experiences, and to teach languages. What is needed is enthusiasm and interest and a desire to explore their own resources and talents in this area. Many different kinds of schools can effectively support a Translation and Interpreting program by following guidelines available to educators.

6. Conclusion

Every society must engage in Language Planning and Policy as part of ordinary business in all sectors of society as well as to protect the human rights of individuals within its borders. A society's policies governing its official language, as well as contemplating access on the part of speakers of minority languages, has profound effects on the identities, cultures, and social status of the speakers of those minority languages. One could assume that a crucial part of those policies should deal with how linguistic minorities gain access to information in order to access services (health, community) and enjoy rights (education, justice). A policy governing language interpreting is a crucial and necessary service in a multilingual society to afford all individuals equal access to services and information in society. In the absence of such policies, individuals get organized in ways that are available to them. In this paper we took a glimpse at how bilingual youngsters step up to the plate to help their parents and members of their immediate families with their communicative needs. In so doing, and may be unintentionally, these bilingual youngsters begin their process of socialization as interpreters. They perform similar tasks to

what community interpreters do and they exhibit various degrees of success without any education or preparation for these tasks. While discussing these interpreting experiences, both young interpreters and their family members refer to what they do as a team effort, as part of what children and youngsters do to help the family. Youngsters were not chosen to interpret by chance, but rather on the basis of their language skills and maturity.

Ideally all members of society should have their linguistics needs met. In the absence of this, families get organized and resort to their family members, some of them quite young. Although some of these interactions could be considered problematic, as in any instance where children are exposed to topics that are not suitable for their age, the talents these bilingual youngsters exhibit cannot be denied. Identifying and nurturing the talent that these bilinguals display should not continue to go unnoticed. Rather, those talents need to be nurtured and celebrated.

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BOURDIEU Y LA TRADUCCIÓN E INTERPRETACIÓN EN LOS SERVICIOS PÚBLICOS. HACIA UNA TEORÍA SOCIAL

Carmen Valero Garcés y Laura Gauthier Blasi

Universidad de Alcalá, Madrid

Resumen

Dentro de los Estudios de Traducción, la Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos (TISP) es un área relativamente reciente (Critical Link 1995) en lucha todavía por conseguir el reconocimiento académico y profesional que se merece dentro y fuera de los límites que marca dicha disciplina. Gran parte de las dificultades para conseguir esa aceptación y reconocimiento se halla en la controversia que envuelve el papel del traductor e intérprete en sus actuaciones en los servicios públicos. En un intento por explicar la actuación de estos intérpretes, que con frecuencia va más allá de la invisibilidad y del mero trasvase lingüístico, y siguiendo la influencia que la teoría social de Bourdieu está teniendo en otras áreas de los *Estudios de Traducción* (Simeoni 1998; Heilbron y Sapiro 2002; Inghilleri 2003, 2005), es nuestra intención tratar de aplicar los conceptos fundamentales (*habitus*, *campo*, *illusio* y *capital simbólico*) de las teorías bourdianas a la TISP y analizar el papel del intérprete desde sus presupuestos, así como sugerir nuevas vías de investigación para el desarrollo de una teoría sociológica de la TISP.

Abstract

Within Translation Studies (TS), Public Service Interpreting and Translation (PSIT) is a relatively recent area (Critical Link 1995) still fighting for academic and professional recognition inside and outside the limits of that discipline. The growing interest in PSIT is undoubtedly linked to the migration phenomenon and the intervention of intermediaries (interpreters and translators) who make communication possible is generally recognised. But the controversy about the role(s) these intermediaries have to perform in public services seems to be one of the main difficulties to obtain academic and institutional acceptance and recognition. Following the influence of Bourdieu's

social theory in certain areas of TS (Simeoni 1998; Heilbron and Sapiro 2002; Inghil-
leri 2003, 2005), it is our intention to apply the basic concepts of his theory (*habitus*,
field, *illusion* and *symbolic capital*) to PSIT in an attempt to explain the performance of
these 'visible' interpreters. New areas of research in the development of a sociological
theory of PSIT will also be suggested.

Palabras clave

Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos. Sociología. Bourdieu. Inmigra-
ción. Lenguas y culturas minoritarias.

Keywords

Public Service Interpreting and Translating. Sociology. Bourdieu. Migration. Minority
Languages and Cultures.

1. Introducción

La Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos (TISP) es una modalidad nacida de la necesidad inmanente de la sociedad de comunicarse cuando convergen lenguas y culturas distintas. Dado su fuerte carácter social, son necesarios los intentos de teorizarla y de traspasar la reflexión de la traducción sobre sí misma para abrazar otras áreas de conocimiento.

Una visión pluridisciplinaria permitiría que se considerasen los fenómenos inherentes a la sociedad intercultural y cómo éstos repercuten sobre una interacción triangular entre un profesional de los servicios públicos, los usuarios que no comparten la lengua y la cultura en la que se hallan y los traductores e intérpretes (T/I) que facilitan esa comunicación.

En esta línea Berman (1989: 675) definía el modo de elaboración de una teoría de la traducción como “la utilización reflexiva de la experiencia que es la traducción y no como una teoría que vendría a describirla, analizarla y a veces regirla”. Partiendo de estas ideas y basándonos en las manifestaciones empíricas de la TISP, el presente artículo trata de esbozar las premisas de una teoría sociológica, o socio-traductología como algunos se han atrevido a llamarla (Gambier 2007: 207), de la TISP al aplicar las nociones bourdianas de *habitus*, *campo*, *illusio* o *capital simbólico* al espacio de una conversación triangular considerada como un microcosmo del espacio y del juego social. A la vez, se ahondará en la figura del T/I en los servicios públicos para tratar de esbozar su perfil según los aspectos revelados por la aplicación de estos nuevos conceptos a dicha modalidad de comunicación. Propondremos como punto de partida una definición de la TISP para, a lo largo de las páginas que siguen, presentar el verdadero alcance que pueda tener esta visión pluridisciplinar sobre la teorización de la TISP.

2. Definición de conceptos

2.1. ¿Qué se entiende por TISP?

La era de migración que conoce el siglo XXI hace necesario un nuevo planteamiento de la realidad social. En este sentido, la TISP nace del encuentro entre

culturas como modalidad intrínseca a las múltiples necesidades del hombre de comunicar. Sin embargo, el intento de institucionalizar la TISP está sometido, por un lado, a la aceptación y al reconocimiento del avance de nuestras sociedades hacia sociedades multiculturales e interculturales y a los nuevos principios que conllevan y, por otro lado, al reconocimiento de los inmigrantes como usuarios de las instituciones y servicios públicos. Comenzaremos por definir los conceptos de multiculturalidad e interculturalidad, conceptos que permiten ampliar las perspectivas de los *enjeux* bourdianos –o lo que está en juego– de la TISP.

La multiculturalidad consiste en la existencia en el seno de una misma sociedad de grupos que poseen diferentes códigos culturales como consecuencia de las diferencias étnicas, lingüísticas, religiosas o nacionales. Por otro lado, la interculturalidad sería una respuesta al pluralismo de la sociedad multicultural. Palop (1997: 51) añade al respecto que el propio término de “intercultural” hace referencia a la capacidad de convivencia, a la comprensión mutua y a la interacción de colectivos que poseen culturas distintas y que pueden ocupar un mismo espacio territorial.

Para facilitar esa capacidad de convivencia la TISP y su papel fundamental de enlace lingüístico en una situación de comunicación en la que conviven en un mismo espacio grupos pertenecientes a diferentes culturas ofrece un marco ideal al entrar en juego “un microcosmo intercultural, comprensión mutua e interacción entre colectivos que poseen culturas distintas”, según Palop (1997: 51). Baumann (1999: 163), por su parte, afirmaba que el ideal multicultural consistía en una visión permanente de igualdad a través de todas las diferencias culturales. Para él, la multiculturalidad debía llevar a “formular una cuestión capaz de poner en interrelación una división considerada como absoluta en cualquier contexto”. Más adelante, añadía que (1999: 169) “nada de lo que se halla en la vida social se basa en lo absoluto, ni siquiera la idea de lo que es una mayoría o un grupo cultural”.

Wadensjö (1998: 33) define, por su parte, la TISP como una modalidad que tiene lugar en el ámbito de los servicios públicos para facilitar la comunicación entre el personal oficial y los usuarios: en las comisarías, las oficinas de inmigración, en los centros de salud, las escuelas u otros servicios similares. Lesch (1999: 93), en este sentido, realzaba las asimetrías existentes en estos tipos de interacción al afirmar que el objetivo principal de la TISP consistía en “un intento de equilibrar las relaciones de poder entre el emisor y el receptor priorizando la necesidad de comunicar”. Cluver (1992: 36), al enfocar la tarea del T/I sobre las necesidades de los usuarios de los servicios públicos, decía que la TISP no sólo “consiste en proporcionar la información en otras

lenguas sino en transmitirla de un modo más asimilable para las comunidades marginadas". Valero y Mancho (2002: 15-23) van más lejos en este sentido al afirmar que la TISP puede definirse como la comunicación con un público específico que responde a una minoría cultural y lingüística y que desconoce, más allá del simple hecho lingüístico, los sistemas de valores, las prácticas y las representaciones de la sociedad en la que se hallan acogidos.

Es este último punto el que nos permite entrever la fuerte dimensión social que adquiere la TISP en su práctica, tanto en sociedades en las que se favorece la multiculturalidad como en las que se favorece la interculturalidad, y donde los conceptos bourdianos ofrecen un marco ideal para teorizar sobre la naturaleza de la misma. Comenzaremos por definir dichos conceptos básicos.

2.2. *El juego social de Bourdieu: aproximación a los conceptos de habitus, campo y capital simbólico*

Según Pierre Bourdieu (1980: 88), el mecanismo de la organización social se ha de entender en base a dos conceptos claves, el *habitus* y el campo. El concepto de *habitus* es lo que permite entender la organización social como un sistema de relaciones formado por estructuras invisibles. Esta noción implica que los sujetos o agentes son socialmente producidos en estados anteriores al sistema de relaciones sociales; e indica que las prácticas de estos sujetos están condicionadas, por un lado, a toda la historia incorporada en forma de *habitus* y, por otro lado, a la producción de diferencias entre los sujetos sociales en función de las condiciones en las que han sido producidas. El *habitus* es, por tanto, un esquema a partir del cual se percibe el mundo y se actúa en él y se constituye fundamentalmente en base a las primeras experiencias (*habitus* primario) y a aquellas referidas a la vida adulta (*habitus* secundario):

[Los *habitus* son] sistemas de disposiciones duraderas y transponibles, estructuras estructuradas predispuestas a funcionar como estructuras estructurantes, es decir, como principios generadores de prácticas y de representaciones que pueden estar objetivamente adaptadas a su fin sin suponer la búsqueda consciente de fines y el dominio expreso de las operaciones necesarias para conseguirlos, objetivamente "reguladas" y "regulares" sin ser para nada el producto de la obediencia a reglas, y siendo todo esto objetivamente orquestado y sin ser el producto de la acción organizadora de un jefe de orquesta. (Bourdieu, 1980: 88-9)¹

Bourdieu (1984: 115), en un escrito posterior, añade:

1. Las traducciones del presente artículo han sido efectuadas por las autoras del mismo.

El *habitus* es por tanto un producto de la estructura social y a la vez lo que permite que se reproduzcan estas estructuras sociales por tratarse de la interiorización de las mismas. Es este aspecto el que permite relacionarlo con las clases sociales; un *habitus* de clase adquirido que perpetuará las experiencias, las prácticas y las categorías de percepción y apreciación que corresponden a cada posición social.

Este aspecto del *habitus* es fundamental en cuanto a su relación con la TISP, una modalidad que se caracteriza por tomar en cuenta si no tanto la clase social, sí el aspecto cultural –o *habitus* cultural– en juego en una interacción triangular.

Y si el *habitus* consiste en una interiorización de lo exterior a raíz del cual se forma o perpetúa el sistema de relaciones, el campo constituye esa esfera de vida social en la que se desarrolla su práctica. Y en él se da tanto un campo de fuerzas como un campo de luchas dentro del cual los agentes se enfrentan, con medios y fines diferenciados, según su posición en la estructura del campo de fuerzas y contribuyendo de este modo a conservar o a transformar su estructura. Para Bourdieu, los campos funcionan como universos sociales relativamente autónomos, con reglas y sentido de juego propios, y es en esos campos dónde se desarrollan los conflictos específicos entre los agentes involucrados. La educación, la burocracia, la religión, la ciencia o el arte, por citar algunos, son campos específicos, es decir, estructurados conforme a esos conflictos característicos en los que se enfrentan diversas visiones que luchan por imponerse. Cada campo se constituye por la acción de tres agentes:

1. La existencia de un capital común (conocimientos, habilidades, poder, etc.);
2. La lucha por su apropiación;
3. Una jerarquización entre quienes detentan el capital y aquellos que aspiran a tenerlo.

Por ello, y según Bourdieu (1997: 48-49), un campo puede definirse también como

los objetivos e intereses específicos que son irreducibles a los objetivos e intereses propios a otros campos [...] y que no son percibidos por alguien que no ha sido construido para entrar en este campo. [...] Para que funcione un campo, necesita de objetivos y de gentes preparadas para entrar en el juego, dotadas del *habitus* que implica el conocimiento y el reconocimiento de las leyes immanentes del juego, de los objetivos, etc.

Los campos están, pues, ocupados por agentes sociales con *habitus* y capitales distintos que compiten tanto por los recursos materiales como por los

recursos simbólicos del campo. Estos capitales, aparte del capital económico, están formados por el capital cultural, el capital social, y por cualquier tipo de capital que sea percibido como natural, formando así parte del capital que Bourdieu denomina capital simbólico. El capital simbólico es una propiedad cualquiera, es la fuerza física o el valor guerrero que, percibido por unos agentes sociales dotados de las categorías de percepción y de valoración que permiten percibirla, conocerla y reconocerla, se vuelve simbólicamente eficiente, como una verdadera fuerza mágica: una propiedad que responde a unas expectativas colectivas socialmente constituidas o a unas creencias que le permiten ejercer una especie de acción a distancia, sin contacto físico (Bourdieu 1997: 171-172).

Este capital simbólico (Bourdieu pone como ejemplo, entre otros, el honor en las sociedades mediterráneas) sólo existe en la medida que es percibido por los otros como un valor. Es decir, no tiene una existencia real sino un valor efectivo que se basa en el reconocimiento por parte de los demás de un poder a ese valor. Para que ese reconocimiento se produzca tiene que haber un consenso social sobre “el valor del valor”, por así decirlo. Dicho de otro modo, el capital simbólico no es más que el capital económico o cultural cuando se le conoce y reconoce. Bourdieu (1984: 114) asemeja el campo a un lugar de juego, el cual necesita para funcionar de objetivos y de gentes preparadas, “dotadas del *habitus* que implica el conocimiento y el reconocimiento de las leyes inmanente del juego y de lo que está en juego”. Este sentido del juego, definido por Bourdieu (1994: 154) “como uno de los privilegios de haber nacido en el juego mismo”, supondrá tener un sentido de su posición dentro del mismo. Y cada agente tendrá un conocimiento práctico, corporal, de su posición en el espacio social.

A modo de síntesis se puede decir que, según la visión bourdiana de la organización social, los campos funcionan como esferas autónomas, con reglas y sentido del juego propios en el que se definen modos específicos de dominación dentro de cada campo y en relación con otros campos. Los agentes de dichos campos tienen integrados los *habitus*, es decir, principios adquiridos, generadores de prácticas y de representaciones que permiten, sumado a los recursos de que disponen, jugar en los distintos campos sociales. De este modo, contribuyen a reproducir y transformar la estructura social.

El *habitus* consiste, pues, en nuestra manera de representarnos el mundo exterior para actuar en él; funciona de manera inconsciente en nosotros y define nuestras percepciones y actuaciones dentro del juego, y según las posiciones que cada uno ocupa en él. Ello nos permite superar las diferencias derivadas de los estilos de vida propios de una clase, implica la totalidad de

sus actos y pensamientos a partir de los cuales se toma una u otra decisión y engloba el conjunto de conductas y juicios aprendidos.

2.3. Relaciones entre la TISP y las teorías bourdianas. Posibles líneas de investigación

Las nociones bourdianas suscitan numerosas posibilidades o líneas de investigación que permitirían ahondar en la teoría de la TISP. Un primer planteamiento nos permite reforzar y realzar los *enjeux* de la misma al considerar el microcosmo como un espacio de juego. Efectivamente, la elaboración de una teoría social de la TISP supondría la deducción de las reglas del juego partiendo de las acciones observables de los jugadores. Para ello, tendremos que determinar el tipo de juego que se esconde tras ciertas acciones, establecer quiénes son los actores que están jugando, y cual es el espacio en el que se desarrolla ese posible juego (campo). Una vez establecidos todos estos parámetros, habrá que deducir de las propias acciones el tipo de juego que practican los T/I y, en última instancia, conseguir su reconocimiento por parte de otros campos.

A partir del estudio de los campos, si los agentes que integran el triángulo de la comunicación en la TISP (usuarios de los servicios públicos, traductores e intérpretes y proveedores de servicios) forman parte de un campo específico y han integrado *habitus* distintos, cabe preguntarse: ¿cómo se organizará la comunicación?; ¿el T/I tendrá entonces que pasar de un campo a otro?; ¿es posible tal hecho?; ¿la traducción o interpretación adaptada al contexto será entonces más apropiada que una traducción o interpretación literal?

Estas preguntas nos llevan a contemplar la perspectiva del estudio de los *habitus* o principios generadores de prácticas y de representaciones desde distintos ángulos. Por ejemplo, permitirán estudiar las relaciones de poder susceptibles de establecerse entre los diferentes agentes y entre las dos lenguas y culturas del T/I para, a partir de ahí, tratar de elaborar una teoría capaz de cohesionar las particularidades inherentes a la práctica de la TISP, nutriéndose para ello de los estudios empíricos realizados previamente.

En las páginas que siguen propondremos unos primeros planteamientos teóricos que permiten vislumbrar el alcance de las nociones bourdianas en la teorización de la TISP.

3. Primeros planteamientos teóricos

3.1. *Imbricaciones de las nociones bourdianas con la TISP*

Gouanvic (2007: 81-82), en su aplicación de las teorías bourdianas a la traductología, subraya que la traducción en general, entendida como práctica (lo cual nos permite englobar también a la interpretación), pertenece al campo que otorga el texto a traducir y, por tanto, los objetivos de estas traducciones son los de los campos meta. Wadensjö (1993: 33), tal y como ya hemos indicado, en su definición de la TISP indicaba como ámbitos en los que se desarrolla dicha especialidad las comisarías, las oficinas de inmigración, los centros de ayudas sociales, las escuelas u otros servicios similares, ámbitos que podrían considerarse campos.

El *habitus* del T/I, siguiendo a Gouanvic (2007: 82), sería el resultado de la convergencia entre dos lenguas y culturas; es decir, su *habitus* consistiría en su bilingüismo y su biculturalidad, y desde la práctica de la traducción e interpretación se podrían observar los *habitus* necesarios a cada campo, ya que tal y como subraya dicho autor (2007: 84):

La traducción no es un campo homogéneo y resulta capital efectuar distinciones entre los tipos de prácticas de traducciones en los campos específicos. [...] No se puede hablar del *habitus* como de una trayectoria social sin tener en cuenta el estado de los campos en los que los agentes ejercen su práctica.

Así, si el objetivo de la TISP es, y en este punto estamos de acuerdo con Cluver (1992: 36), la transmisión de información de un modo más asimilable por la comunidad minoritaria, sería interesante poder observar el *habitus* que permite alcanzar este objetivo en los campos específicos como puede serlo, por ejemplo, el sentido de la posición que permite reajustar las prácticas y entender las representaciones sociales de las dos partes para facilitarles la entrada en el juego.

En este entramado de relaciones no se puede obviar la noción de *poder*. El desequilibrio (social, económico, educativo) entre los agentes que participan y que caracteriza a la TISP no es sino “un intento de equilibrar las relaciones de poder entre el emisor y el receptor priorizando la necesidad de comunicarse” (Lesch, 1999: 93). Gouanvic (2007: 90) afirma igualmente que “la traducción está (pues) marcada por las relaciones de poder entre el campo fuente y el campo meta”.

En este sentido, Crozier y Freidberg (1977: 20) explican que la acción colectiva funciona sobre el principio de integración de los actores sociales entre ellos, cada uno movido por sus objetivos individuales divergentes y unidos por la persecución de objetivos colectivos. Esta integración supone una

relación –según la concepción relacional de la organización social propuesta por estos autores–, en la que dos o más actores tratarán de actuar el uno sobre el otro, y por tanto poner en marcha una relación de poder que se realizará de dos modos distintos: i) bajo coacción o ii) mediante la negociación. La negociación o intercambio, según una relación de poder concebida como lazo estructural del espacio social y de los actores entre ellos mismos, se ve rodeada por zonas de incertidumbre (o margen de libertad o de actuación de los actores), y los que por su situación, sus recursos o sus habilidades sean capaces de controlarlas, utilizarán este poder para imponerse frente al resto.

En este espacio de negociación, la relación de poder se entenderá como una relación de reciprocidad en la que los actores persiguen la consecución de un objetivo común que condiciona la consecución de sus objetivos individuales. A su vez, esta relación de reciprocidad se halla en desequilibrio puesto que cada actor sabrá cómo actuar frente al otro para lograr obtener a raíz de la negociación la consecución de sus objetivos individuales. Es así como Crozier y Friedberg (1977: 73) explican que esta interrelación puede a su vez definirse como “una relación de fuerza en la que uno puede obtener más a su favor pero en la que, del mismo modo, uno nunca se encuentra totalmente desprovisto frente al otro”. En este sentido, Bourdieu (2002: 19-20) afirmaba que “estas estructuras sólo pueden funcionar gracias a la complicidad de los agentes que han interiorizado las estructuras según las cuales el mundo se organiza” y refiriéndose al hecho lingüístico, afirmaba que en cuanto dos locutores empezaban a hablar, no sólo entraban en juego sus competencias lingüísticas, sino también sus competencias sociales, entendiéndose que la palabra o el derecho al habla dependía de los capitales simbólicos en juego y reconocidos “según las categorías de percepción que éstos imponen” (Bourdieu 1982: 28):

Lo que está en juego es la relación objetiva entre sus competencias no sólo lingüísticas, sino también el conjunto de sus competencias sociales; su derecho a hablar que depende objetivamente del sexo, la religión, el estatuto económico y el estatuto social.

En la TISP, en primer lugar, esta reflexión nos permitiría observar las relaciones de poder ejercidas entre la lengua y la cultura dominante y la lengua y la cultura minoritaria. En segundo lugar, y del mismo modo, podría ser interesante estudiar, si existen, las relaciones de poder que se ejercen, consciente o inconscientemente, entre las lenguas y las culturas del propio T/I. Esto nos permitiría también observar el capital simbólico del T/I, la noción de *illusio* así como los *descentramientos* o desplazamientos en los objetivos que se producen entre el campo meta y el campo de partida, en el sentido que propo-

ne Bourdieu y que Gouanvic (2007:88), al referirse a la traducción literaria, explica del siguiente modo:

Los determinantes socio-históricos que han producido las obras y sus objetivos en el espacio literario fuente están por naturaleza en ruptura con los objetivos del campo literario meta en el cual se enmarca la traducción.

Aplicado el concepto de *descentramiento* al campo de la TISP, donde la falta de homogeneidad entre las partes es una característica, podríamos hablar de determinantes socioculturales tales como la asimetría de conocimiento, la imposibilidad de comunicación lingüística, choques culturales y desequilibrios sociales y educativos, de forma que a la hora de trasvasar el mensaje a la otra lengua, necesariamente se producen desplazamientos en los objetivos del campo meta y del campo de partida.

Inghilleri (2003: 243-245), en su aplicación de las teorías bourdianas a la actividad de interpretar, considera que el *habitus* del intérprete y el campo en el que la interpretación tiene lugar pueden jugar un papel crucial en lo que se considera como una “traducción legítima” dentro de un contexto preciso. Inghilleri se pregunta si el campo de la traducción e interpretación puede ser considerado como un campo en el sentido en el que lo usa Bourdieu. Simeoni (1998: 19) prefiere hablar de pseudotraducción o “potencial campo de la traducción” (*pseudo, or would-be field of translation*). Sin embargo, Inghilleri prefiere considerar que los T/I poseen competencias especializadas que generan y son generadas por el capital de formas lingüísticas y culturales que, aunque claramente ligadas a otros campos, se adquieren de forma única y se ponen a funcionar de forma diferente en contextos particulares de la traducción y de la interpretación.

Esta influencia de lo social en el uso de la lengua no pasa desapercibida para el sociólogo francés. Para él, la lengua, en el sentido de capital lingüístico diferenciado, está primeramente asociada con los rasgos formales de las lenguas (variación fonológica, léxica, estilística), pero también con las variedades de uso autorizado de una lengua particular. Así afirma:

El acto de la traducción y de la interpretación nunca son una mera transferencia textual (oral o escrita) sino que se ven afectados consciente o inconscientemente por la producción y reproducción de significados culturales. Los traductores e intérpretes, como todos los agentes sociales, se posicionan de algún modo dentro del proceso de producción.

Tales afirmaciones vienen a contradecir o distanciarse de la idea tradicional de la pasividad y subordinación del T/I a las normas de su profesión (normas de aceptabilidad y adecuación). Los T/I no pueden verse sometidos a normas estrictas sino que dicha actividad debe contemplarse en el contexto completo

en el que ocurre, y ello determina que la actividad de traducir e interpretar se vea en un constante “tira y afloja” entre cierta regularidad y cambios inevitables; o como diría Bourdieu, tanto la constancia como los desplazamientos de las normas se pueden dar en cualquier lugar y momento en el nivel superior o macroestructural, en el local o en la interacción de ambos niveles.

3.2. *Hacia el esbozo de la figura del T/I en los servicios públicos.*

Siguiendo a Bourdieu, Inghilleri (2003: 252), en su estudio sobre entrevistas a personas que solicitan asilo y refugio y recogiendo información de otros autores (Anker 1991, Barsky 1996, Blommaert y Maryns 2001), apunta que el objetivo principal de todos los participantes, incluyendo el de los T/I, consiste en producir significados que sean aceptables en la cultura / entorno de llegada. Comenta que el solicitante (el “otro” ente lingüístico y cultural en este contexto) debe hacer un relato de su persecución inteligible y creíble dentro de y para el contexto cultural de la lengua de llegada. En otras palabras, su relato debe hacerlo de forma adecuada a la realidad política, cultural y lingüística de este contexto.

Esta norma “translacional”, orientada hacia la cultura de llegada interactúa con la suposición de que el contexto de la oficina de asilo es monolingüe pese a que la realidad implica que el proceso mismo de asilo deba ser multilingüe; no se produce un desplazamiento (o modo específico de comunicar las informaciones teniendo en cuenta las pluralidades), y la actuación de las partes (policía, juez, abogado, solicitante de asilo, etc.) no busca o no puede reajustarse al contexto.

Esta suposición de monolingüismo va más allá de la relación entre la lengua en la que la ley está escrita y el lenguaje legal mismo, o entre el significado preciso que se quiere comunicar y el significado de las palabras en la lengua oficial. Por ello, se hace necesario reconocer la importancia del conocimiento cultural requerido para descifrar esos significados de modo que asegure tanto como sea posible su comprensión y el resultado de la acción.

Tomemos como ejemplo el derecho a un T/I –para retomar a Bourdieu– como parte del capital simbólico que la TISP fue adquiriendo en el campo jurídico español, al convertirse en un derecho reconocido en la Constitución. Puede darse el caso de que dicho derecho no sea considerado como capital por el solicitante de asilo o el inmigrante detenido al no ser un derecho reconocido en las leyes de su país de origen; puede ocurrir también que dicho derecho se aplique con restricciones o que varíen las condiciones de aplicación. Por ejemplo, que sea el Estado el que ponga al intérprete, o que sea el usuario el que deba llevarlo, o bien que no haya intérprete disponible en una

lengua concreta y tal derecho no se pueda ejercer. Sea cual sea el caso, el fin es producir una situación de monolingüismo.

El acto de interpretar o traducir no es, pues, una mera producción textual, sino que está consciente e inconscientemente relacionado con su entorno, elemento crucial en el que entraría en juego la consideración del *habitus*. Efectivamente, estos actos tienen lugar entre y a través de la interpretación entre un T/I y los clientes, T/I y los jueces, u otros profesionales, y un T/I y las instituciones. A la hora de negociar estas relaciones (con frecuencia de forma simultánea) los intérpretes pueden encontrarse en medio de potenciales agendas de conflicto.

La investigación de Anker (1991: 252-264) proporciona al respecto un buen ejemplo. En dicho estudio se analizan entrevistas de asilo en EE.UU. cuyos participantes son el juez, la abogada (bilingüe), el solicitante de asilo y el intérprete. Comenta la existencia de dos tipos de intérpretes: el intérprete profesional acreditado (similar al intérprete jurado) y el intérprete contratado, sin formación específica y acostumbrado a realizar también otras tareas (traducir, dar información cultural, ayudar, etc.). En una de las entrevistas, el intérprete contratado tradujo “failure” literalmente como “fracaso” y la abogada del solicitante (bilingüe) interrumpió diciendo que la traducción correcta en ese contexto sería “daño físico”. Más adelante, se preguntó al intérprete acerca de su traducción y dijo que la traducción correcta sería la que dio la abogada. Sin embargo, él había seguido el método de trabajo llamado “conduit model” o interpretación literal lo que le llevó a dar una respuesta literal, sin tener en cuenta el contexto, ni adaptar su interpretación.

Con este ejemplo, se pone de relieve la existencia de un conflicto en cuanto al método de trabajo: entre la adhesión a un modelo de traducción literal y la necesidad de una traducción adaptada al contexto como puede ser el modelo conocido como de abogacía (“advocacy model”) (ver Cambridge 2002: 51). Lo mismo ocurrió con la traducción de “cuartel” por parte del intérprete como “the police station or the barracks” mientras que para la abogada significaba “army barracks” ya que quería precisar ante el tribunal el tipo de centro al que se refería para reforzar la petición de asilo y no dar lugar a dudas u otras interpretaciones.

Según las investigaciones de Inghilleri (2003: 258), los intérpretes contratados (que contaban con poca formación) tendían a interpretar siguiendo el modelo de traducción literal, mientras que los intérpretes que habían recibido más formación (los intérpretes certificados en este caso) tomaban decisiones de forma más libre, acercándose más al modelo de la abogada bilingüe. Sin embargo, sus interpretaciones, a veces, les llevaban a omisiones o alteraciones

de los testimonios originales del solicitante de asilo. Tal hecho lo demuestra el testimonio de un intérprete cuando dijo que omitía ciertos nombres porque no quería molestar al juez con tantos nombres. Y otro intérprete eludió interpretar una pregunta porque le parecía “una pregunta dañina” (“a hurtful question”) para el solicitante. La investigación también demostraba que aquellos intérpretes contratados (sobre todo cuando provienen de un contexto cultural similar al del solicitante) se involucraban más en los casos, con cierta tendencia a mejorar los testimonios y a aconsejar durante las sesiones previas al juicio. Se demostró también cierta tendencia a utilizar la tercera persona y hablar con los clientes antes de traducir la información en inglés.

En definitiva, y a raíz de los ejemplos y observaciones citadas, la consideración de las nociones de Bourdieu a la hora de interpretar ayudaría al intérprete a posicionarse. Efectivamente, ser consciente de las prácticas y representaciones de cada uno de los agentes integrantes del juego ayudaría a la negociación de significados por parte del intérprete, cuando éste debe decidir entre lo que el solicitante “dice”, lo que el solicitante “quiere decir”, a lo que hay que añadir lo que el solicitante “debería decir”.

Tal situación se reproduce también en otros contextos habituales en el entorno de la TISP: consultas médicas, entrevistas de padres de alumnos y profesores, interrogatorios de policías e inmigrantes detenidos, etc. Los T/I deben conocer los distintos discursos (legal, médico, etc.), saber moverse en ese campo, y conseguir que las estrategias y convenciones formen parte de su *habitus* con el fin de poder reproducir lo que los hablantes investidos de esa autoridad (médicos, jueces, maestros) dicen.

Las preguntas que surgen son múltiples: ¿Qué ocurre cuando el *habitus* y capital del T/I están más cercanos de un participante en la comunicación que del otro?, ¿y cuando ambos pertenecen a campos distintos y tienen *habitus* y capitales distintos?, ¿y cuando el *habitus* y capital del T/I está más cerca de su interlocutor inmigrante que del funcionario?, ¿o del defensor que del acusador?, ¿del paciente que del médico?, ¿del inmigrante que del policía? O bien ¿cuando el T/I pertenece a grupos minoritarios influirá este hecho en su lectura y trasvase de los textos?, ¿los T/I representarán igualmente su papel?, ¿participarán del mismo modo en el juego si compartieran el origen o perteneciesen al mismo grupo o género?, ¿influirá la idea que tengan acerca de conceptos como la justicia o la injusticia, o el enfrentarse a situaciones difíciles, sentimientos encontrados en la labor del T/I?, ¿qué ocurre cuando lo que es delito en un país no lo es en el otro y no existe, por tanto, un vocablo preciso?

Estos y otros muchos interrogantes que se plantean autores como Vidal (2005: 275), encuentran respuesta en las investigaciones recientes de Angelelli (2003), Valero y Martin (2008), Garre (1999), Feldman (2000) o Brunette (2003). Estos autores cuestionan la universalidad de las teorías y la objetividad del T/I. Traducir es reescribir, idea que se ha explicado desde áreas tan distintas como los estudios culturales, teorías feministas, teorías literarias o escuelas filosóficas. Las teorías sociológicas de Bourdieu no son sino una aportación más. Desde esta perspectiva, las investigaciones demuestran gran variedad en las estrategias utilizadas para compensar las asimetrías culturales y/o lingüísticas entre la lengua/cultura de llegada y la de partida. Dichas estrategias están más cercanas del modelo abogacía que del modelo de traducción literal y sugieren toda una serie de preguntas acerca de la toma de decisiones del T/I relacionadas con el conocimiento del papel que los participantes tienen del hecho de interpretar en sí, los potenciales conflictos que pueden surgir por los diferentes propósitos (*skopos*) que emergen de cada participante dentro de la actividad de interpretar o traducir, o la naturaleza inter- e intra-cultural de la actividad de interpretar.

La respuesta a tales preguntas puede enfocarse no solamente como un problema relacionado con la calidad de la interpretación o de la traducción, o el buen o mal quehacer de los T/I. La decisión de seguir el método de interpretación o traducción literal (el T/I intérprete invisible) o el método de abogacía (el T/I visible) puede deberse tanto a cuestiones relacionadas con la formación, como con la experiencia o el compromiso cultural de los solicitantes. Pero también, puede influir en esta decisión el impacto de estas posibles influencias que afectan en la toma de decisiones y que pueden explicarse a través de las relaciones entre los conceptos de campo, *habitus* y normas que se dan en el contexto de la traducción y de la interpretación y que acompañan al acto mismo de trasladar la información.

El T/I suele actuar en campos monolingües/monoculturales y debe ser capaz de crear la ilusión de la transparencia a través de las decisiones que toma. Estas decisiones pueden concluir o no en negociaciones entre las partes (pedir que repita algo, que vaya más lento, que expliquen algún concepto...). También puede no buscar esa negociación y simplemente asumir que debe transmitir el mensaje y hacer sentir, por ejemplo, al tribunal en un juicio que la comunicación prosigue sin problemas, mientras que una traducción literal podría causar más dificultades al producir tal vez un texto demasiado formal o que sonase extraño en ese momento, o que haga sentir o recordar al tribunal la presencia del “otro” –con su lengua y cultura distintas–, rompiendo así las reglas del juego de los juicios o de la consulta médica o la entrevista de

asilo. De ser así, el T/I dejaría de ser “invisible” o de ser el eslabón capaz de mantener ese contexto monolingüe de estos encuentros en los que el “otro” no tiene cabida. La conclusión –y estamos de acuerdo con Inghilleri en este punto–, es que los campos políticos y legales y sus correspondientes *habitus* son, a veces, más influyentes que las propias decisiones del T/I a la hora de actuar en contextos determinados.

A continuación proponemos un breve análisis de una interacción con el fin de hacer hincapié sobre los trastornos que pueden ocurrir en una entrevista en contexto monolingüe en la que las interacciones siguen esquemas altamente sistematizados.

3.3. *Culturas en contacto: ejemplo de trastorno en la sistematización de una interacción en un contexto monolingüe*

El análisis del fragmento que se expone a continuación en torno a una consulta médico-paciente inmigrante en la que este último no domina la lengua ni la cultura del entorno sanitario español (Gauthier 2009) pone de manifiesto que al no compartir el *habitus*, el sentido del juego y la posición que cada actor / jugador debe ocupar produce trastornos en la sistematización de la entrevista.

(1) Ejemplo 1:

Médico: Ustedes van a la Calle Ferial.

Paciente: Aha.

Médico: Con este papel.

Paciente: Aha.

Médico: Y allí le van a decir qué día tiene que ir para hacerse la placa
¿sabe lo que es una placa?

Paciente: ¿Ah?

Médico: Una radiografía.

Paciente: Vale

Médico: Pero tiene que pedir la cita.

Paciente: Vale.

Médico: ¿Vale?

Paciente: Vale.

En este fragmento de conversación, el médico entrecorta su misma frase cuatro veces con el fin de liberar más espacio de habla al paciente para asegurarse de que éste entienda sus instrucciones. Si los *enjeux* de la interacción consisten en la consecución de los objetivos comunes e individuales de cada uno de los actores en el seno de la interacción, el médico debe asegurarse de que el paciente entienda los medios propuestos para ello (la cura del paciente). En relación con los modos de dominación que se ejercen en la interacción según las categorías de percepción que imponen los capitales simbólicos en juego, el médico

es quien tiene *de facto* el monopolio del acto de habla. Sin embargo, en esta situación, y para la consecución de los objetivos en juego, el médico debe otorgar más turno de palabra al paciente y con ello, conferirle más poder de habla.

En un proceso de negociación sistematizado como suelen serlo las entrevistas médico-pacientes, compartir el *habitus* generador de prácticas y de representaciones permite que cada uno encuentre su lugar en dicho espacio al tener integrado un sentido de la posición que engloba las experiencias, las conductas o los comportamientos. Sin embargo, en la entrevista médico-paciente inmigrante, este último llega a ocupar la posición del “otro-ajeno-desconocido”, lo que ampliará las zonas de incertidumbre sobre las que tiene que actuar el médico (y aumentará así la perspectiva sobre la que ambos tienen que actuar).

En el siguiente ejemplo se observa como el proceso de control (sobre las zonas de incertidumbre) del médico sobre el paciente, proceso que permite la sistematización de la interacción y la reafirmación social de los campos de fuerzas simbólicas que filtran a través de las figuras médico/saber – paciente/ignorancia, se ve afectado:

(2) Ejemplo 2

Auxiliar: ¿Cuántos años tienes?

Paciente: 25-27

Auxiliar: 25-27, vale. (Risas).

Los actores no logran entrar del todo en el proceso del juego (uno al dar una respuesta aproximada, el otro al no poder considerar como válida esta respuesta aproximada). Al no “saber” cómo interactuar el uno con el otro, la relación de poder que permitiría la sistematización no tiene forma ya que el juego de control sobre las fuentes de incertidumbre escapa a la percepción de los actores.

En el ejemplo 3 se presenta una interacción triangular en la que interviene el médico, la paciente que no conoce español y habla el dialecto marroquí, y el acompañante marroquí que hace de intérprete, el cual muestra, entre otros aspectos, su visibilidad al no limitarse a un simple traslado de las palabras, y el resultado de cuya intervención, si bien parece inexacto, podría también explicarse de otro modo desde las teorías bourdianas al considerar que el intérprete, además de las evidentes dificultades de dominio del español, trata de producir un mensaje adecuado para su interlocutor en ese preciso momento y contexto cultural:

(3) Ejemplo 3

Médico: Dile que el bocio es un aumento del tamaño del tiroides, que es un glándula

Intérprete: Te dice que es un trozo de carne que extirpan y no vuelve

Médico: Y ya no tiene tiroides, entonces no puede aumentar el tamaño porque ya no tiene.

Intérprete: A ti te han quitado el tiroides, y si no hay no puede nacer/aparecer.

Así en la primera intervención del intérprete, éste no traduce la explicación del médico (“el bocio es un aumento del tamaño del tiroides, que es una glándula”), sino que hace una interpretación aparentemente libre (“te dice que es un trozo de carne que extirpan y no vuelve”), pero que podría estar motivada por la situación. Y en su segunda intervención vuelve a introducir cambios en su interpretación al dirigirse directamente a su interlocutora utilizando la segunda persona (“A ti te han quitado el tiroides”) mientras que el médico utilizó la tercera persona (“Y ya no tiene tiroides”). Desde la teoría social bourdiana, dicha actuación se ve como la necesaria actuación del intérprete (no como una desviación) que, metido dentro de ese entramado social más amplio que el simple acto interpretativo, debe adherirse a las constricciones sociales, políticas, institucionales, culturales o personales del momento.

4. Conclusión

A lo largo de este artículo hemos tratado de aplicar algunos conceptos de las teorías del sociólogo francés Bourdieu a la Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos con el fin de esbozar algunas líneas de investigación que nos permitan desarrollar una teoría sociológica de la TISP. A modo de resumen, podríamos concluir nuestro estudio en las siguientes líneas:

Bourdieu consideraba la sociología como un deporte de combate; un juego –social– con su sistema de reglas propias donde los jugadores nacidos en el espacio de juego integran las primeras reglas esenciales que les permiten entrar en dicho juego. Entrar en el juego significa, por tanto, tener el sentido del juego, siendo uno de los privilegios ligados al hecho de haber nacido en el juego mismo. Es este privilegio el que permite desplegar de un modo más o menos inconsciente las prácticas inherentes a las reglas del juego y a partir de las cuales se tejerá el espacio social organizado según su sistema propio de valores. Es también a raíz de ello que cabe preguntarse ¿qué pasa cuando un jugador no sabe jugar? Y es, a nuestro juicio, la pregunta clave sobre la cual debe nacer la teoría de la TISP elaborada a partir de la observación de las reglas del juego social. La presencia del T/I serviría para que los jugadores jugasen de acuerdo con las reglas, serviría para crear esa *illusio* o ilusión de transparencia (o de contexto monolingüe) que conlleva prácticas y representaciones propias. La TISP consistiría, en definitiva, en una reescritura, pero no

para intentar reproducir el mensaje original, sino para producir un texto de acuerdo con el entorno, el receptor y la cultura de llegada.

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OUTLINE OF A SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION INFORMED BY THE IDEAS OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

Jean-Marc Gouanvic

Concordia University

Laura Schultz

Translator

Abstract

In this article I put forward a sociology of translation informed by the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. Founded on a theory of action, this theory may be defined as a theory of translation practice. Translation practice is examined here through the study of the translation of symbolic goods, specifically American literature into French. The notions of 'field', 'habitus' and 'illusio' are briefly analysed and applied to American literature in French. The habitus of Marcel Duhamel and Maurice-Edgar Coindreau are examined, as well as the illusio specific to the science-fiction field. Bourdieusian sociology serves as a foundation for raising questions that are often discussed in translation studies but not dealt with in the article –questions of ethics, censorship, resistance, power...

Résumé

Dans cet article nous présentons une sociologie de la traduction informée par les idées de Pierre Bourdieu. Fondée sur une théorie de l'action pratique, cette théorie peut être définie comme une théorie de la pratique traductive. La pratique traductive est envisagée sur l'étude de la traduction de biens symboliques, spécifiquement de la littérature américaine en français. Sont brièvement analysées les notions de champ, d'habitus et d'illusio, appliquées à la littérature américaine en français. Les habitus de Marcel Duhamel et de Maurice-Edgar Coindreau sont examinés, ainsi que l'illusio propre au champ de la science-fiction. Sur ces notions de sociologie bourdieusienne, se greffent certaines questions qui se posent en traductologie mais ne sont pas traitées dans l'article, les questions de l'éthique, de la censure, de résistance, de pouvoir...

Keywords

Bourdieuian sociology of translation. Field. Habitus. Illusio. American literature. French literary fields.

Mots-clé

Sociologie bourdieusienne de la traduction. Champ. Habitus. Illusion. Littérature américaine. Champs de littérature en français.

1. Introduction

The dedication of one of the first issues of *MonTI* to applied sociology in translation studies is all but insignificant. The new journal highlights that the social aspect is fundamental in translation and that sociology can offer an appropriate theoretical framework for addressing the issue. We would like to present a model for a potential sociology of translation that invokes the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, whom we believe to be one of the sociologists whose theory is most applicable to translation¹.

One of the advantages of a sociology of translation founded on Pierre Bourdieu's social ideas seems to reside in that a Bourdieusian sociology of translation is based on a social theory of symbolic goods, and in that this theory does not reduce literary objects to simple consumer goods. Thus, Bourdieu's theory is not essentially a theory of the strategic functions of social practice. As a result, the discourse of translation is less likely to succumb to functionalism or mechanism. Certainly, Bourdieu's theory was not designed for translation, but there is nothing precluding a sociological theory of translation from drawing upon his ideas. He initiated a discussion on translation in a text entitled "The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas", but did not pursue it further². We will strive modestly to continue this examination.

1. A number of sociologists have offered possible adaptations of their theory to translation, for example Niklas Luhmann (adapted by Theo Hermans) and Bruno Latour (Hélène Buzelin). Theo Hermans and Hélène Buzelin could be referred to in order to further grasp the conditions of application of their theory.

2. Bourdieu states: "The fact that texts circulate without their context, that – to use my terms – they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that the recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings..." (Bourdieu 1999: 221).

2. Theory of Literary Translation Practice

Bourdieuian social theory is a theory of action³, meaning that it theorizes practice, which we extend to translation, to translation practice. At first glance, this conception brings to mind that of Antoine Berman, who defines translation studies as a reflection on *experience*⁴, a term which literally denotes practice. Nevertheless, practice as defined by Berman is distanced somewhat from the way it is defined by Bourdieu. On the one hand, we have a philosophical vision of practice (Berman's *experience*), and on the other, a sociological vision of practice. However, it would be possible to imagine practice encompassing experience (or vice versa) considering the importance of philosophical reflection in the development of Bourdieu's sociological framework⁵.

In order to analyse what translation practice means, we will focus on the translation of literary texts, in this case American literary texts into French. If we consider American literature translated into French from James Fenimore Cooper (1820) all the way to, say, Henry Miller (1960), it becomes evident that the publication of translations of American writers into French is regulated according to existing divisions in the target French culture, or the culture of translation, as demonstrated by the theoreticians of the Polysystem school⁶. What constitutes these divisions? In Bourdieu's theory, these divisions are what the sociologist dubs *fields*, as heterogeneous space is specified into autonomous fields. It is the distribution of texts according to specific traits that contributes to define fields. In literature, fields are defined as: realist fiction, science fiction, detective novel, youth fiction, etc. *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) was published in French in NRF/Gallimard's "Du monde entier" series in 1931 (*L'adieu aux armes*, translated by Maurice-Edgar Coindreau), while Isaac Asimov's *The Caves of Steel* (1954) was published in French by Hachette's "le Rayon fantastique" series (Hachette/Gallimard) in 1956 (*Les cavernes d'acier*, translated by Jacques Brécard), Dashiell Hammett's *The Dain Curse* (1929) was published in French by Gallimard's "Série Noire" in 1950 (*Sang Maudit*, translated by Henri Robillot; first publication in 1933 also with Gallimard), and Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884 and 1885) is published in French by A. Hennuyer's "Bibliothèque nouvelle de la jeunesse" series in 1886 (*Les aventures de Huck Finn, l'ami de Tom Sawyer*, adapt-

3. Cf. P. Bourdieu's work entitled *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (1998).

4. See Berman (1989).

5. This practical dimension of the social theory of translation is fundamental: it unquestionably dismisses the classic, widespread opposition between theory and practice. We will not dwell on this subject.

6. See Gideon Toury (1995) in particular.

ed by William-Little Hughes). Every of these texts, be it source or translation, belongs to its own specific literary space⁷: the fields of realist fiction, science fiction, detective fiction, and youth fiction in our examples. All of these fields correspond to distinctive literary genres, with the exception of youth fiction, which is defined by its receiving public and is multi-genre. These translation characteristics are not only related to reception: they are also traits of the entire translation process, from pre- to post-production. In particular, they relate to translation agents (translators, publishers and managers of series, literary agents, literary directors, editors in chief of magazines, critics, etc.)⁸.

3. Translation and Source and Target Literary Fields

Symbolic (literary) goods, whether indigenous or imported, find a place in the target culture's literary fields. This positions the works in a unique relationship with the social world (economic, political...). The relationship that takes place in the field is marked by the phenomenon of refraction, in such a way as the literary work's field acts as a prism, eliminating any future interpretations of the work according to reflection theories⁹.

If we compare, for instance, the volume of translations of Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) to J.F. Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), it is evident that there is a plethora of translations of Cooper's novel, with dozens of translations published since 1826. Conversely, *A Farewell to Arms* has only been translated once (which was done by Maurice-Edgar Coindreau and published in 1931). This situation came about because of an absence of international legislation related to the publishing profession and copyright laws until 1886, when the Berne Convention was signed (a Convention which the U.S. did not sign, as a matter of fact). The lack of a legal framework in 1826 is essential for the explanation of this disparity. Nevertheless, legal progress is but one aspect of more fundamental progress, founded on the autonomy of literature in relation to other marketable activities.

7. According to Bourdieu, it is impossible to discuss "literary fields" before the time of Baudelaire and Flaubert (in France). The literary "field" emerged as a result of the inversion of world economic values and the tendency toward autonomy concerning economic needs. See Bourdieu (1983).

8. All of the examples of translation that we have referenced thus far are characterized by their insertion into specific literary fields (in the Bourdieusian sense of the word). Differentiated, specific and autonomous literary fields did not yet exist in the United States of James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Harriet Beecher Stowe, etc. This leaves a sociological imprint on the translation of particular ways of life (see Gouanvic 2003).

9. See Bourdieu (1996).

Bourdieu designates such activities as belonging to the literary field. But what is a field? Bourdieu defines a field as follows:

[...] the literary field is a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (1990a: 143)

Bourdieu defines a field according to the struggles that occur between the agents with a view to similar stakes, which can be summed up as the acquisition of the monopoly of symbolic violence, that is to say the gentle violence that aims to impose upon a field (in terms of literature, that of science fiction, for example) that which is legitimate to produce, publish, and value as science-fiction literature and as a specific discourse by saying what is and what is not science fiction, and is worthy of being admired as science fiction (or any other genre, built up as and in a specific and autonomous field). Translation is based on the same realities expressed by these notions, in allowing texts to move (and to be transformed) beyond the cultural and linguistic frontiers under which they are produced.

However, in translation, the fact of importing a symbolic good in a receiving culture contains another determining factor linked to symbolic capital, which is related to imported works and the global legitimacy of the source language/culture. Thus, the rise in popularity of Americanism that hit Europe, particularly France, after the Second World War may be interpreted in terms of the legitimacy of American culture and way of life that was imposed upon post-war European countries. Translation is a clue to a more general American hegemony in business, science and technology, a hegemony then translated into symbolic capital in literary fields. As stated by John Brown (1971): "The most lucid of critics, notably Harry Levin who put forth 'Some European Views on Contemporary American Literature' in *The American Writer and the European Tradition* (University of Minnesota Press 1950), notes that the success of American writers is not entirely of an artistic origin, but it stems from the prestige of a people playing a global role" (our translation, p. 16).

4. The Habitus of Translators

What is the role of the translator under such conditions? Like the literary agent, publisher, critic (and all other agents that are involved in the importation of the source work, its publication and its reception in the target space or specific field), the translator invests his or her capacities in translating according to experience acquired in the translation practice of a given field.

Thus, the team of translators brought together one at a time by Marcel Duhamel for the translation of American novels for the “Série Noire” (Gallimard) was not created without difficulty, but through trial and error, and such long procedures were founded on Duhamel’s strict control of texts. Duhamel thus created a team of translators with diverse backgrounds, but rarely intellectual. The translators’ personal histories were such that they would have to adapt their primary *habitus* in order to be consistent with Duhamel’s style of translation, who gave an absolute priority to orality. Initially it was Janine Hérisson (secretary and then translator), Henri Robillot (translator), Minnie Danzas (secretary and translator), who were trained on the job. To get an idea of their style of translating, the notion of *habitus* is useful, in that it refers to the social trajectory of the translators at the time they acquired a *practice* of translation specific to the “Série Noire”. Bourdieu defines the *habitus* as follows:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce “habitus”, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (1990b: 53)

The *habitus* is based on the technical acquisition of method and style proper to a specific literary field (or, according to circumstance, general literary field), but it is also based in a relational way on the social space of producers. The *habitus* of a translator, founded on distinctions between practices, is constructed on competition with the translations of other publishing houses. The “Série Noire” was in fierce competition with les Presses de la Cité, whose series “Un Mystère” put forth translations that Duhamel generally considered inadequate. Moreover, competition was latent with La Librairie des Champs-Élysées¹⁰ (“Le Masque” series), who came up against the “Série Noire” particularly in the detective-fiction reading public. Translators, like any agents, define their actions in relation to one another. The action guidelines received from the literary or series manager come from the distinction that the manager attempts to promote in his or her literary practice and that gives his or her actions specific characteristics. We have analyzed the *habitus* of Marcel

10. In a note to Claude Gallimard from the early 1950s, Duhamel wrote: “‘Le Masque’ pays what it pays, but asks for 120 pages of *charabia*, cut up into books of 3 at 400 pages each, of which we most often keep the uncut version” (our translation).

Duhamel and Maurice-Edgar Coindreau (2007) and it was found that the habitus of Faulkner's and of Southern American writers' translator (Coindreau) was on one hand conditioned by his intellectual education, namely with his trajectory as a specialist in the Spanish language and culture which led to his *agrégation* in Spanish. On the other hand, his habitus was determined by his *Vendée* origins and *Chouannerie*, a bloody episode of the French Revolution. Coindreau saw Faulkner's experience as similar to that of the Chouans, which Faulkner confirmed. He recognized the homology between the Chouans and the characters in his novels, who had to live in the South after its defeat in the American Civil War. Coindreau did not translate other various writers, in particular Ernest Hemingway¹¹, because of a predilection for his work. Rather, it was because Gaston Gallimard expressly requested it of him, and Gaston Gallimard was a man that could not be turned down.

Duhamel's habitus is the exact opposite of Coindreau's. As much as Coindreau was a French intellectual, an *agrégé* of Spanish, Duhamel was obviously educated according to circumstance. He left school early (probably at the age of 12). Circumstance led him to England with his half-sister. There, he learned English by working in a Manchester hotel during the First World War at the age of 15. He then performed his military service in Turkey where he met Jacques Prévert and Yves Tanguy, who became life-long friends. In 1924, he settled at 54 de la rue du Château¹² with his friends. This small community would become one of the first cradles of the emerging surrealist movement. He tried his hand at translation without any intentions of being published. Just before the Second World War, he became involved with Tobis-Klangfilm, where he participated in the dubbing of American detective films with Bogart, Paul Muni, etc. During and at the end of the war, he made close ties with Éditions Gallimard, founding "La Série Noire" in 1945.

Coindreau and Duhamel's respective ideas on literature do not have much in common: Coindreau appreciated literature rather as historical failures overcome by fiction. Conversely, Duhamel's preferred novels represented struggles against the unjust domination of the underprivileged, not necessarily expressed seriously, but in a lighthearted way. This might explain why the translation of a novel such as *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) was abandoned by

11. In fact, Coindreau (1974) profoundly detested Hemingway. He considered that the genuine writers of the Lost Generation were not the Parisian expatriates of the 1920s, but Faulkner, Goyen and O'Connor.

12. It was with Marcel Duhamel's (1972) salary that they were able to live on rue du Château, as Duhamel was the manager of Hotel Ambassadeur, his father-in-law's property (his mother was remarried).

Coindreau and picked up by Duhamel after approximately 50 pages. Steinbeck's worldview is much more consistent with Duhamel's ideas, in particular concerning the importance of the federal state, the social consequences (on the rural class) of the 1929 stock-market crash and the critique of banks and financial institutions.

5. *Illusio* and Translation

In P. Bourdieu's theory, the practice of textual producers (writers and translators) is accounted for by the *illusio*, "that originating adherence to the literary game which grounds the belief in the importance or interest of literary fictions" (1996: 333). Literary fields feature a distinctive and specific *illusio* in accordance with readers' tastes. The *illusio* of science fiction is founded on the representation of alternate universes that are conveyed through themes representing environmental, biological and/or socio-historical otherness: stories of advanced technologies (for example, robots), planets inhabited by forms of extraterrestrial life, of past or future far-away lands. The expressive storytelling techniques that are employed are as complex as in any other genre. They are characterized through distinctive semiotic (lexical) techniques, the use of which Marc Angenot dubs "fiction-words" (1978), which designate the type and model whose entire meaning is to be conjectured by the reader (Gouanvic 1999: 76-77). In the translation of these fiction-words, the entire story is conveyed. In Isaac Asimov's *The Caves of Steel* (1954), fictitious technolects abound: *Laws of Robotics*, *Spacers*, *Subetherics*, *Textron*, *Keratofiber*, etc. These fiction-words create the *illusio* of the science-fiction narrative that the translator must translate in such a way that the reader will adhere to the fiction, creating a make-believe world that is just as convincing in French as in English. Now, obviously it is not the fiction-words that are difficult to translate. The fiction-words mentioned above are translated as *les Lois de la robotique*, *les Spaciens*, *Subéthérique*, *Textron*, *Kératofibre*... English and French are etymological sister-languages. American science-fiction writers create fiction-words from Greco-Latin roots, as do the translators. The translator's task is to deliver the novel's rhetoric, and to do so with a similar plausibility to that of the original: the fictionalizing of hypothetical science and technology, representation of human and extraterrestrial groups, and the effects of science on society. If the translator does not carefully perform his or her task, the translated text will not contain the same *illusio* potential as the original. This would lead the work to be "unsuccessful" with the francophone reader, who could then risk abandoning the reading of the novel or adopt a negative opinion of the original author who is lauded in his or her home culture. The

literary *illusio* is, as stated by Bourdieu, characterized by an adherence to the literary game offered in autonomous and specific literary fields. Translation consists in homologically reconstructing the original text's *illusio* in the receiving language and culture, and once a translator achieves the creation of a homological *illusio*, we are potentially presented with an ethical translation, which is due to the coincidence of the *illusio* of texts.

6. Conclusion

We see apparently that Pierre Bourdieu's theory is liable to contribute a fruitful framework to translation studies with its sociological analysis of practice. Bourdieusian sociology allows for all of the characteristics of translation to be addressed: from the influences on translation in the source society to the translation as a product in the target society, translation agents (most importantly the translator, but also the publisher, series director, critic...), and translation as production. This final aspect is the nodal point of P. Bourdieu's theory and makes his ideas particularly interesting from a translation standpoint. By placing oneself in relation to the practice (as defined by Bourdieu) of translation, it is not only possible to analyse it in its space, in relation to its agents and their habitus, the rules governing the text's *illusio* (which we outlined in this article), but it is also possible to examine the symbolic capital of the cultures in question, the homology of the translation and the original, and perform a contrastive analysis of source and target texts... With these notions it is possible to ask oneself questions concerning ethics, censorship, resistance, power struggles, and the limits of translation. In particular, questions may arise concerning other "translation" practices (in the greater sense of the term), such as adaptation by abridgment. The aspect of adaptation via abridgment in translated youth fiction is our current focus. After dealing with the translation of American realist novels from 1920 to 1960 (2007), we are addressing a new question: will an ethic of adaptation arise alongside the ethics of translation?¹³ Is it not strange that we hand children adapted novels that could be classified as unethical from a translation point of view? It is questions such as these that Pierre Bourdieu's theory applied to translation attempts to answer.

13. What then becomes of an adaptation, as adaptations are generally deemed to be ethnocentric and/or hypertextual? See Berman (1984).

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‘STARS’ OR ‘PROFESSIONALS’: THE IMAGINED VOCATION AND EXCLUSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF TRANSLATORS IN ISRAEL¹

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University

Abstract

Inquiring into the suspended professionalization of the translation occupation in Israel, this article examines two types of self-presentational discourses and status strategies – that of top literary translators, on the one hand, and that of technical translators, subtitlers and non-elite literary translators, on the other. Analysis of the former is based on several hundreds of profile articles and other reports in the media, which foreground 23 acclaimed translators, while that of the latter is based on interim findings from open-ended interviews with 22 non-elite translation workers (selected from a larger sample accumulated in an ongoing research project; Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2008). Whereas the former show unambiguous use of a *vocational* rhetoric, which includes denial of economic considerations, artistic-like occupational competence and a claim for the role of culture custodians, the latter betray an ambivalent use of this elitist discourse, wavering between embracing and rejecting it. This complex discursive dynamics suggests an artization process which, so I hypothesize, serves as a buffer to professionalization in the field.

Resum

Amb l'examen de la professionalització suspesa de l'ocupació traductora a Israel, aquest article estudia dos tipus de discursos d'autopresentació i estratègies d'estatus:

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1. The paper reports interim findings of research sponsored by the Israel Science Foundation (ISF 619/06), "Strategies of Image-Making and Status Advancement of a Marginal Occupational Group: Translators and Interpreters in Israel as a Case in Point" by Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Miriam Shlesinger. I thank Michal Abramovich, Tanya Voinova and Netta Kaminsky for their valuable assistance.

d'una banda, els dels traductors literaris, i de l'altra, els dels traductors tècnics, subtituladors i traductors literaris que no pertanyen a l'elit. L'anàlisi del primer grup es fonamenta en diversos centenars d'articles retrat i altres reportatges en els mitjans de comunicació, que situen en primer pla 23 traductors reconeguts, mentre que la del segon grup es basa en resultats provisionals d'entrevistes obertes amb 22 treballadors de la traducció no pertanyents a l'elit (seleccionats a partir d'una mostra més àmplia reunida en un projecte de recerca en curs; Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2008). Mentre que el primer grup fa palès un ús inequívoc d'una retòrica *vocacional*, que inclou la negació de consideracions econòmiques, competències laborals amb valors artístics i la reivindicació d'una funció de guardians culturals, el segon revela un ús ambivalent d'aquest discurs elitista, que oscil·la entre l'assimilació i el rebuig. Aquesta complexa dinàmica discursiva és indicativa d'un procés d'artització que, d'acord amb la hipòtesi que plantejo, serveix per amortir la professionalització del camp.

Keywords

Professionalization. Artization. Professional identity discourse. Vocation rhetoric. Elite literary translators. Non-elite translators.

Paraules clau

Professionalització. Artització. Discurs identitari professional. Retòrica de vocació. Traductors literaris d'elit. Traductors aliens a l'elit.

1. Introduction

The status of translators as invisible, submissive and underrated manpower in the production of imported texts has long been discussed and lamented (Venuti 1995, Simeoni 1998). Obviously, translators' alleged invisibility has to do with the weakness of their status as a profession (Chan 2005, Chriss 2000, Dam & Zethsen 2008, Fraser & Gold 2001, Gouadec 2007, Hammond 1994, Monzó [forthcoming], Robinson 1997). In this respect, the situation in Israel is an illustrative example: there, translation is not even officially recognized as a profession by state authorities (for example, for calculating income tax), nor is it effectively organized by professional associations². This means that translators have neither compulsory licensing, nor a monopoly over their work, their knowledge base and the entry of new members to their field. Anyone is allowed to translate. There is no obligatory formal training, nor regulation of conditions of work and fees. Translators' careers are fragmentary and informal, and often remain a part-time, secondary occupational path.

This state of affairs seems puzzling in view of the potential power of translators as culture mediators, especially in multicultural or peripheral social settings, such as the Israeli society. There, bi-nationalism, coupled with an influx of immigrants and guest workers, on the one hand, and a rapid development based in international exchange, on the other, create an ever-growing demand for translators and interpreters. Given these market prospects, the question arises why professionalization in the field of translation is suspended. In the sociological literature, professionalization is usually seen as a mechanism of gaining status, by systematizing and monopolizing exclusive expert knowledge, skills and procedures, and creating boundaries so as to guarantee closure and control (Abott 1988, Freidson 1994, Lardon 1977,

2. For the situation in Israel see Harel 2003, Yariv 2003, Translation fees 2003 (<http://planet.nana.co.il/managers/meravz/article73.html>; 15.9.2003), Kermit 2004 (the only items available with regards to fees and rates are internet sources and journalistic reports). The only Israeli Translators Association (ITA) is a voluntary body and its members are less than half the estimated number of practitioners. For basic information, see the Association's website (<http://www.ita.org.il>).

Shuval & Mizrachi 2002, Torstendahl & Burrage 1990). This process can be seen as a type of autonomization process, as described by Bourdieu (1986): championed by small-scale occupational elites, it involves both an accelerating dynamics of closure and exclusivity vis-à-vis other occupations, as well as distinction and hierarchy between different groups and actors inside the field.

In fact, nascent attempts at professionalization have continuously been advocated by small groups of Israeli 'commercial' translators and TV and film subtitlers, as well as conference interpreters. These attempts include establishing professional organizations, diploma programs and academic training, as well as courses and workshops, developing working tools, and even proposing accreditation exams and a unified ethical code. Yet, except for the case of conference interpreters, all these initiatives have never gained momentum (cf. Elsaka 2005). Most of the practitioners remain indifferent or unaware of, if not hostile to them. In the absence of serious objective obstacles to explain the suspension of this process, I look for answers on the level of their professional *ethos and self-images* that generate status relations in this field.

1.1. *Status relations in the field of translation in Israel*

Clearly, rejection of trends of professionalization is not equally spread among the different translatorial sectors. A most revealing fact is that, unlike the case of highly professionalized occupations (notably medicine), in the field of translation it is the *elite* group that expresses the strongest objection. Within the heterogeneous and stratified translator community, a small group of *literary* translators create the most overtly distinguished and elitist group, who enjoy privileges and leadership position and are recognized as the spokespersons of the field.

In this article I will examine parameters of the construction and diffusion of an anti-professionalizing ethos, as emerging from the image-making discourses of translators³. My analysis is based on two different sources. The first one includes several hundred profile articles, newspaper interviews, surveys and other reports of and about translators published in journals and daily newspaper supplements (including internet magazines) from the early 1980's to the present. All this material foregrounds a small group of 23 *acclaimed*

3. My analysis in this paper is confined to practitioners who translate into Hebrew, since, in spite of the fact that Hebrew and Arabic have equal status as official languages of the state, and the fact that Arabic is quite widely spoken in Israel today, in practice Hebrew is the major domestic target language of the various branches of translation activities in Israel.

literary translators, 13 men and 10 women, who have led a lively self-presentational discourse during the last decades⁴. Findings from this source will be compared with findings from my second source, a sample of 22 interviews with anonymous technical translators, subtitlers and non-elite literary translators, which is part of an interim output of a research project in progress (Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2008)⁵. Since my aim is to compare findings from these two sources, I include in this sample only those of our interviewees who perform, if sometimes only occasionally, literary translation in addition to technical translation and/or subtitling or interpreting.

My purpose in analyzing these materials is to trace tendencies in the two groups regarding their self-imaging strategies and the value categories they mobilize to make sense of their job and create their occupational dignity. I ask how all this helps maintain status structures in this field. While the theory of occupational prestige focuses on objectively measurable factors such as income or formal education (Treiman 1977, Kraus & Hartman 1994, Semyonov *et al.* 2000), I am interested in what the practitioners themselves identify as their cultural resources, or *symbolic capital* to use Bourdieu's terminology (1985), which is believed to often have stronger impact on creating status boundaries than purely material or economic interests (see also Lamont 1992, 2000).

While professionalization processes entail imposing standardized formal criteria and impersonal expertise, the status dynamics of elite literary translators centers on personal charisma of select individuals. In spite of the alleged humbleness of translators as an occupation, these people enjoy the visibility of public celebrities. They create a system of stardom, based on various parameters of fame, which include, first and foremost, exposure to the media, winning prizes, and access to exclusive networks in the literary and intellectual fields. An important component of their fame is also the fact that they all have additional respectable careers related directly to these fields, mainly as poets and authors, literary editors and critics, or university professors⁶. As

4. Four of these translators died during the last decade. The 23 translators in the sample are the most heard or mentioned (most frequently and in diverse channels) among some dozens of literary translators that have occasionally been given exposure in the media over the given period of time. Interestingly, whereas the overall population of translators in Israel shows a female majority (see note #9), the majority at the top circle is still masculine

5. See note #1; 78 interviews with people working in different branches of translation have been accumulated so far.

6. Out of these 23 translators, 4 are known as authors and 9 are poets (5 of whom are known as both); 11 of them work or worked as literary editors (8 in publishing houses;

such, their opinion is often also sought by the media in connection to general high-culture matters, beyond translation.

Let me say my argument in advance: Top literary translators promote an anti-professionalizing ethos, which makes recourse to models borrowed from the fields of art and serious leisure (Sela-Sheffy 2005, 2006a). Their strategy, so I suggest, creates an alternative autonomization dynamics in this field, that of 'artization', which not only secures their own privileged position but also serves as a point of reference for larger translation sectors, and hence works as a serious alternative strategy and a buffer to institutional professionalization in the field at large.

In what follows I will first describe briefly the occupational discourse of elite literary translators (for an in-depth discussion see Sela-Sheffy 2008), and then look for comparables or differences in the discourse of the non-elite translators in my sample. Let me begin by outlining what I see as the main elements of this occupational discourse, namely, *the way elite literary translators define their occupational role, and the types of expert knowledge they promote.*

2. The canonical discourse of elite literary translators: Vocation vs. a paid profession

As emerges from the bulk of published material at hand, top literary translators (both male and female) have established a highbrow rhetoric through which they construct their self-image as 'genuine translators' to distinguish themselves from all other translators, whom they call 'mere technicians', namely those "who [merely] transfer words from one language to another" (Litvin in Karpel 1994: 29). This rhetoric is dominated by the tendency to glorify their trade as a *vocation* rather than just as a means of earning a living, which entails a declared hostility for, and avoidance of material and economic considerations. While, as a rule, translators' fees in the literary publishing industry are generally at the bottom of the pay scale (e.g., Harel 2003, Lev-Ari 2002, Translation fees 2003), top literary translators are known to be disproportionately better paid, enjoying individual contracts according to their personal reputation (e.g., Wollman 1987). Nevertheless, almost none of them (except one) would admit that they do translation for money (the exception actually reflects the rule; e.g., Neuman 1987, Wollman 1987). Down-to-earth discussions of mundane technicalities, such as conditions of work or wages,

the others are editors of literary periodicals); 10 have or had an academic career; 6 are or were literary critics; 2 are members of the Academy of The Hebrew Language, and another one serves as an advisor to the Academy.

are inconceivable in their discourse, which dwells, instead, on questions of Culture and Art. If they complain that their job is tough, demanding and underpaid (e.g., Mirsky 1986), it is by way of asserting their unconditional commitment. One of these senior prominent translators voices this conviction most clearly upon receiving the Ministry of Education and Culture Prize for translators (1988), as follows:

[I] translate neither for livelihood nor for prizes. When I identify with a writer and [...] admire him, I want to translate him, whether they pay me or not. I should add, that fees are low, which fact discourages young talents from making translation their profession. (Kaspi in Zeidman 1988, 21)⁷

Idealizing a job as a vocation is observed in many professions (Estola *et al.* 2003). This rhetoric implies a sense of personal excellence and social commitment, both deriving from inborn exceptional talent and sensibilities as well as moral and ethical virtues, such as a sense of perfection and ideals, integrity, devotion, and even self-sacrifice for the benefit of the community. In cases of an impaired occupational status, this rhetoric serves as a neutralization strategy (Hunt & Miller 1994) by evoking a higher *value* code, to compensate for prestige-threatening material components such as lower income, or lack of standardized professional rules and measurable parameters of achievements and lack of closure. This rhetoric is therefore also very common among artists, as well as other semi-professional or underrated occupations such as teachers (Estola *et al.* 2003, Gordon 1997), midwives (Foley 2005), craft-artists (Mishler 1999), or popular musicians (Groce 1989), among many others.

The vocation discourse of Israeli elite literary translators includes the following two main elements:

2.1. A pre-destined story of becoming

Although all of these translators are well educated, usually college and university graduates, and often with exposure to foreign languages from an early age, they tend to present their becoming translators not as a rational decision, fitting their education and social status, but rather as determined by their inborn inclination and compelling drive from childhood, which have inevitably (albeit unplanned) been realized in their choice of work. Their prototypical narrative is that of a coherent natural growth from early age, which includes a latent incubation phase, followed by a moment of revelation, culminating in a

7. This and all subsequent quotations of translators' texts are translated from the Hebrew by me.

life-long commitment. Here is a typical story of such a moment of revelation, by one of Israel's highest-ranked translators:

[...] when I was a little girl, I came across the problem of transferring from one language to another. There were two translations of Oscar Wilde's fairy-tales in the house, [...] one enchanted me, and the other lacked anything that could deeply penetrate, that moved me. [...] and I remember that I told myself I wanted to discover where this magic lies, how the musicality of language is created. (Mirsky in Melamed 1989: 32)

Once she started, she says,

[...] I simply became addicted to it. [...] It is such addictive work, that I absolutely can't detach myself from it. [...] And like all addictions, I guess, it starts completely by chance. (ibid.)

Hinging on a natural gift, translation is presented in these stories as something that can never be systematically acquired by training. Hence the ambivalence, not to say resentment, these translators often express towards formal training including academic channels, and their emphasis on never-ending autodidactic learning and traditional master-apprentice forms of acquiring their trade (ibid., also Nagid 1998: 26).

2.2. *Mystified expert knowledge and personal qualifications*

By contrast to professional discourse that accentuates an explicit body of knowledge, based on standardized methods and theories and formal unified training, the vocation discourse of top literary translators reveals a tendency to *avoid definition* of such explicit knowledge and skills. Instead, their required competence remains obscure, based entirely on intuition: "Translation is [...] a story consisting of alchemy, wonder, almost magic" says Mirsky (Melamed 1989: 33); and elsewhere:

[...] I do not believe in a theory of translation whatsoever. [...] I have certain guidelines, but the trouble is that many of them contradict each other, and since I try hard to be faithful to all these principles at once, it turns out that I look at the work of translation as a mission impossible by definition. (*Moz-nayim* [a literary magazine] 1983: 25)

This allegedly indefinable competence entails an unusual artistic-like personal aptitude, including, notably, creative and sensitive spirit and a passionate state of mind. These translators frequently talk about emotional identification with the translated work, excitement and a reliving of the creative experience of literary writing, for instance: "You listen to the music of the language and reconstruct the text. This is a kind of rewriting which I do through the ear" (Mirsky in Moskuna-Lerman 1990: 32); "In translation I

repeat the process of creation" (Litvin in Snir 1988; also in Karpel 1994: 29); "When you translate, you walk around the whole day with a word, a sentence, [you] wake up at night, 'Yes, I found it!' – and forget in the morning. Exactly like a person in love" (Ben-Ari in Katzenelson 2000: 28). This competence also entails an artistic-like ethics, such as, notably, claiming artistic license, for instance, by denying readership constraints ("How many people will read the poem I translate? In the moments in which I translate I do not think of it"; Nitzan-Keren in Cohen 2000), or by insisting on freedom in selecting the material they translate:

[...] I have never translated a book that I was not a hundred percent happy about. One way or the other, the repertoire of experiences in all the *books* I have translated have been composed of things that in certain respects are directly linked to my life. (Saari in Katzenelson 2000)

Moreover, in the absence of formal criteria and qualifications, an exceptional personality becomes an important component of these translators' professional visiting card. "Translation is an obscure profession, and the translator is an obscure person [of whom] a special blend of qualities is required [...]" (Ron in Lanir 1987), seems to be a motto which is applicable to much of their discourse. Even if many of them lead quite a normative middle-class lifestyle⁸, they often portray themselves as unconventional individuals or as outsider intellectuals by mentality (Carey 1992). The bohemian lifestyle of Mirsky, which has been repeatedly narrated in her portrait-articles in literary supplements over the years, constitutes an important element of her public persona and cultural charisma: the articles describe her Russian-like personality, her being a divorcee, without children, living alone in an urban setting, her love for books and music, her working at home long into the nights, or her drinking and smoking habits (Mirsky in Melamed 1989; Moskuna-Lerman 1990, Kadosh 1994, Landsman 2000, Karpel 2002, and elsewhere). Even more revealing, however, are similar testimonies by those who lead more conventional lives: Litvin admits that "there is a bourgeois side" to her life, which includes a solid marriage, a well-off livelihood and a grand residence in a high-status neighborhood, but she says this side of her life "is not very deep" (Karpel 1994: 76):

For many years I have had the complex of a newcomer. But it took [me] time to understand that I am a stranger because of my personality, which is slightly different. I would feel a little bit a stranger everywhere. [...] It is a mental

8. While eleven translators have or had a conventional family life, 2 are divorced and 6 are single, 2 of whom are homosexuals.

situation which is known to many creators (Karpel 1994: 30; also Manor in Karpel 1997).

In addition, these translators propagate two alternative role-images which foreground the types of knowledge and professional ethics in which they claim primacy and on which they draw for prestige and build their public persona as *cultural custodians*, as follows:

[a] *A profound knowledge of the canonical domestic language and cultural lore.* This type of knowledge evokes the role image of translators as orthodox gatekeepers, performing a national mission as *culture guardians and educators*. Being a solid, though quite scarce, resource, a perfect command of all layers of the literary Hebrew often serves as the yardstick according to which translators are prized or condemned by the critics (e.g., Lev-Ari 2002). Naturally, this knowledge is claimed primarily by senior translators, who are better educated in the higher and ancient layers of Hebrew, and who tend to exhibit this knowledge as their exclusive expertise so as to block the admission of novice translators into their sanctuary. These translators often complain about the deterioration of the Hebrew language and culture, and express their sense of duty in preserving and spreading the legacy of Hebrew (e.g., Porat 2002 and elsewhere). However, such a conservative attitude is sometimes also adopted by translators of the younger generations, for whom demonstrating this type of knowledge and ethics indicates a radical elitist stance vis-à-vis their peers: “[...] when I read many poetry translations of recent years, I get the impression that the translator’s task is merely to entertain the reader”; one of them warns,

[...] This means, in practical terms, that whole sections of Hebrew are blocked for the translator of poetry, because they are identified by the public as ‘highbrow’, ‘archaic’ etc. [...] This absurd idea means that there does not and should not exist any classics whatsoever. [...] In such conditions of cultural amnesia, [and] lazy reading habits, I find the work of translating poetry more important and interesting than anywhere else in the world. (Dykman 1996: 2)

[b] By contrast, a *close acquaintance with and mastery of foreign languages and cultures* is also claimed by these translators, evoking the role-image of *culture ambassadors, responsible for cultural updating*. As such, this type of knowledge implies sophistication and cosmopolitanism, which constitute highly valued resources for cultural brokers in Israel. Those who build on this kind of knowledge tend to demonstrate their experience as people of the world and to express a sense of responsibility to rescue the local culture from provincialism and stagnation. Calling their job an “enrichment authority”

(Arad in *Moznayim* 1983: 26), they claim the role of culture importers who “transfer [from other cultures] the models according to which masterpieces in Hebrew will be later created”, maintaining that “[...] Translators pave the way for what will come next” (Litvin cited in Snir 1988: 19). Beyond just knowing foreign languages, they capitalize on their familiarity with foreign *cultures*, recounting the influence of their experience of living abroad (e.g., Ron in Becker 2001) or being exposed to their foreign languages from childhood (e.g., Nitzan-Keren in Cohen 2000), on their personal disposition and professional choices. Often they say their incentive to translate is the desire to share with the local readership experiences that are inaccessible to them: “[T]he reading material I got in my hands has always been written in foreign languages” says one of them, “[...] and I remember telling friends the content of books they could not read [...]. This is how the translator in me was born” (Bronowski 2002: 13).

Evidently, the vocational discourse described above is nurtured exclusively by elite *literary* translators, who play by the rules of the literary field, where market demand and economic prospects are limited. Under such conditions in the literary market, individuals’ chances of success largely depend on their self-promotional image-making abilities, and the higher one’s position the stronger one’s symbolic distinction tendencies. The greatest disparity is thus created between the visible minority of top literary translators and the wide periphery of minor-league fameless ones. However, commercial translators and subtitlers are not exposed to the same market structure at all. While their services are inevitable, their prospect of gaining fame as individuals is nil. And yet, they, too, hardly seek status honor and security in professionalization.

3. The occupational discourse of non-elite translators: An evasive use of the vocation discourse

Let me now sketch briefly some of the main characteristics of the discourse of non-elite translators, as emerges from the interviews in my present sample. The 22 translators I selected here are all women, between 33 and 70 years old⁹. They all do literary translation, if sometimes only occasionally, or as a side track, along with technical translation (14), subtitling (5), or both (3), or

9. Ten of them are between 33 and 55 years old, the other 12 are between 55 and 70. Although the overall collection of our research interviews is not intended as a sample corpus, the demographic data collected to date point to predominately female interviewees, with a broad and balanced age range. The interviewing method was open-ended, applying a narrative approach, with an emphasis on life history. The interviews are all recorded, lasting 90-120 minutes each, and carefully transcribed and documented. Since

with technical translation plus interpreting (4). Whereas top literary translators reject signs of professionalization and see translation as part of their general literary-intellectual activity, most of the translators in the present sample express no objection to being recognized as professionals. While the former present their translating work as a calling, innocent of economic constraints, over two-thirds of the interviewees in my sample treat translation as a major job on which they depend for a livelihood. For 13 of them translation is their main job; 14 have been working in translation between 8 and 24 years, two have been doing it for over 40 years. While, moreover, the former limit themselves to literary translation exclusively (usually specializing in specific languages and genres), the latter, as already mentioned, usually do more than one translating job.

How do these structural differences translate into differentiated image-making strategies in these two groups? Interim findings from the interviews at hand suggest that the difference is not dichotomous. These findings show that, by and large, the interviewees consent to, rather than renounce, the status hierarchy imposed by the discourse of elite translators and accept its underlying value-scale, albeit with ambivalence. Their ambivalence emerges from the complex ways they waver between embracing and rejecting elements of this elitist canonical discourse, thereby exhibiting a resourceful negotiation of their own occupational status and self-esteem (for other examples of such discursive identity and status negotiations see, e.g., Snow & Anderson 1987, Foley & Faircloth 2003, Sela-Sheffy 2006b). Let me examine a few examples of these self-imaging negotiations.

3.1. *A contingent story of becoming*

By contrast to the paradigmatic story of becoming narrated by elite translators, the career story of most of the interviewees in my non-elitist sample is an indecisive sequence of 'one thing has led to another'. Although many of them do mention they had natural predilection for languages and literatures from an early age, they also recount at length their hesitations and down-to-earth practical considerations, including, first and foremost, economic prospects and time investment, as well as adapting their working conditions to their needs (for instance, 13 of them are mothers who prefer working at home), or education background and qualifications (they are all university graduates). Moreover, they never hesitate to tell about their difficulties, to complain

the translators in this group are not public personae, anonymity of the interviewers is guaranteed, including concealing names and other personal details.

about clients or wages, or to express disenchantment with their job¹⁰. As a result, translation often (though not always) appears in their career narrations as a default opportunity, one among other possible occupations related to the Humanities. "M", for instance, was a journalist, "until I became a mother", she explains:

because [then] it was already impossible to meet deadlines and be available all the time [...] but during my working at [a newspaper] I became familiar with quite a lot of publishers and all this world [...] and in the first years I used to do it as a side work, I made this money in addition to... it was not my main occupation, eh... [...] because, listen, I quit the job in journalism, and still one has to make a living. Not that making a living of translating books is easy, but this is a matter of capacity, and it is a matter of whether you take yourself seriously and tell yourself "I sit 5-6 hours a day [and] translate and I meet deadlines", which is also – payment arrives quicker [if you do] – and luckily, maybe because [mine] is a language which is not widespread [in Israel, so] I'm also being relatively [better] rewarded... I'm not saying generously but fairly [...].

Although they are not entirely lacking aspirations to intellectual goals and achievements, by and large, their stories reveal a tendency to deny responsibility in selecting this occupation, and ascribe it to random circumstances and practical constraints beyond their control. This rhetoric is often used to rebut an implied negative judgment (Hunt & Miller 1994) and maintain one's dignity by drawing a distance between 'what I do for a living' and 'the real me'. The following fragmentary hesitant story by "H", for instance, is typical:

[...] and then I went again to work in another place, again as a secretary, again I did not fit there... finally I decided... that is... I realized I needed... to do something else... and.... that's it, I decided to translate... but no, not really, eh... I started subtitling but, [...] ah! I know [...] it started with the fact that I did not know what I was going to do, so I contacted [a translation company] and started typing for them... and then they started giving me translation [tasks]... [...] I don't remember... for the love for cinema, you know, often people start from the love of... cinema, they have this kind of ideal... [...] The truth is that I once applied, there was a company [...] and [the person in charge] said "come, we'll give you a test"... and I did not go...

10. The following extract from "A" interview is typical:

I'm not one of ... [those] people, there are those among my colleagues who sit from morning to night [...] and translate, and work [...]....I'm... not, not like that, I never wanted to do it, and I never meant to do it...eh... it doesn't suit me as far as... my life goes, [...] with the house, with the children and... eh... [I] work very few hours a day [...] therefore I also selected this kind of clients who do not need urgent tasks. [...] On the whole this is quite... a tough and tiring work, that is, you can't, you do need to be attentive and aware of what's happening, but it is terribly boring... eh... [...]

eh... I regret it of course because I could have translated real cinema which is... there you [can] earn a lot more money

Unlike elite literary translators, they speak readily about their academic education or other training frameworks¹¹. Furthermore, over half of them (13) in fact mention formal translation training in their record, even if they hardly explain why it was needed. Often this information is inserted in their stories to signal a turning point in their translating career; yet, again, it is rarely narrated as a goal or an important accomplishment in its own right. This fact is attested, for instance by the following story of “R”, who enrolled for translation studies almost by chance, after doing occasional translation jobs during her student days:

This was really at the end of [my] psychology schooling and somehow I was distracted, [...] I finished psychology, started eh... diploma studies in communication... simultaneously... I realized [this program] was absolutely bad, something very... not high quality... and I started looking, and I said “wait a minute!”, [it was] like [I could have] turned my side work into something more central in my life <laughs> and that’s it, that’s it [...] so it was a rather... intuitive decision, terribly spontaneous, for, I just was debating, it was on the bus [...] and I said “OK”! and I turned back, ...[...] it was the end of the year, and I wanted to find out if I was still able to enroll to translation [diploma program], and it was an idea [that struck me], and they said...”the test is next week”...[...] I found myself in translation [studies].

3.2. *Ambivalent evocation of artistic-like expert knowledge and personal qualifications*

Another common discursive technique of rebutting an implied negative judgment is appealing to a higher-ranked vocation (Hunt & Miller 1994). While for most of the interviewees in this sample *literary* translation is a side job (some perform it only occasionally), they nevertheless talk about it very keenly. But at the same time they admit that this line of work is neither easily accessible nor profitable, and hard to seriously pursue and rely on as a livelihood. “M”, for instance, reports that until her child was born she translated only very few books; now the number has increased, but she says,

[...] it has evolved gradually. Now they [the publishers] approach me, but I also often find myself [trying to] interest publishers in books that appear

11. All of them are university graduates (5 have an MA degree and one a PhD), mostly in the Humanities (their main areas are Languages, Linguistics and Literature; 2 graduated in Theatre or Cinema, 5 in the Social Sciences), and 13 have translation training on their CVs, mainly as graduates of diploma programs.

[abroad]. Not that this really works, because they tend... there's a... there're very few publishers who are willing to take the risk and take a book that has not appeared in English and has not succeeded [...]

And "O" recounts:

There have been two or three books I translated, say, in the late 1980s which remain [my only literary translation experience]... romances, thrillers, things like that, I didn't... I didn't cross the line...like, eh...if I had stayed [in this business] maybe then I could have...been promoted both in the material I translated and in...the money I got, but at that time it was [easier] to make a living of subtitling, that is, until eh...

However, as much as literary translation can hardly become a major occupational option for most of these practitioners, they often echo in their talk the rhetoric of top literary translators and the mental disposition it entails; though, again, with ambivalence. Typically, they are quite evasive about their competence as translators, and maintain that it is not easily definable. They may sometimes accredit themselves (unlike top literary translators) with such professional skills as high proficiency, diligence and perfectionism. However, their talk reveals that, as a rule, they put more weight on creativity and intellectual sensibilities as their prime assets. "O", for instance, consistently expresses higher esteem for intellectual ethics rather than 'just' the technical skills of a subtitler; yet she is also mindful not to sound too presumptuous, and neutralizes such a possible impression by wavering between claiming and disavowing her artistic-like disposition:

You need eh... beside humility, also [to have] a lot of dominance, because you appropriate it to yourself, the translated output is your own creation. [...] [translation] is a kind of creation. It is a kind of creation, I explicitly... a kind of learning, also. True, I can't take this kind of... important knowledge to the supermarket, [...] but it makes my day. [...] Don't get me wrong, you can make money of these things, [but] I simply don't have the right personality for it... [...] Of course, of course it is a kind of creation, otherwise why would I have insisted that my voice will be preserved [in the translation]... in movies I can say [translating] also combines my love for cinema, that is, I am very eh... involved, [but] again, I feel I do not eh... read and experience enough because of this need... this need to produce work [...] a kind of creation, I know, I eh...I always say that if I had stayed in the film industry I would have certainly ended up being an editor, for I don't feel that I still have something... to say, and... I wrote a lot as a child, but this is finished, [...]

"G", a technical translator, embraces the artistic-like reverence for the Text with a capital T, as opposed to trivial documents, by using a bunch of appropriate phrases and metaphors that signalize her highbrow mental disposition: "[...] I'm actually *filled with satisfaction* when I see... that a text that I worked

on is now *flowing beautifully* and... [...] when I see that I've [managed to] *maintain the original mood* of the text [...]. And yet she feels she has to justify her creative aspirations in the context of technical translation: "[...] especially when this is translation of a text which is somewhat more *free*, not *soulless* documents... [...] *even the content of a Web site*, there is room in it for [some] *freedom*, that it is not, not a *soulless* text [...]. [Emphases added]

Similarly, while most of these practitioners report quite a conventional lifestyle, which often means family life and raising children, they also tend to emphasize non-conformist aspects in their personality. These aspects include, notably, a sense of individualism and unusual temperament, to which translators often resort so as to explain such 'oddities' as failure to persist in other jobs or a predilection for working at home. Note, for instance, the cautious way in which "H" goes about conveying her non-conventional disposition and exceptional aptitude:

[...] I think I started completely by chance... in some computer company, where I worked... eh and I was a secretary there... and... I was *absolutely unfitting for the job* [...] on the one hand I was *over qualified*, and on the other I *could not bear being told what to do* [...] so eh... since *they wanted to keep me* but *did not want me to serve as a secretary*... so I think they asked me to translate. [Emphases added]

Finally, in the absence of formally defined professional knowledge, the knowledge of foreign languages – in most cases English, but sometimes also other languages – stands out as their utmost symbolic capital. As such it outweighs by far knowledge of Hebrew, the domestic language into which they translate and in which they are actually requested to exhibit proficiency. This type of knowledge is mobilized in their talk by way of enhancing their general intellectual image, but (unlike the case of top literary translators) is hardly evoked to signal cosmopolitanism and sophistication, or claim they are performing a social mission. Rather, they talk about their linguistic inclinations in terms of *personal* potential or empowerment, namely, as a unique talent or a highbrow autodidactic self-improving hobby. Here is, for instance, how "I" reflects on her passion for languages since childhood, against all odds:

[...] It comes from a natural gift for languages, from my attraction to languages, even today I have enormous interest in languages [...] I can pick up languages very easily, I can chat in... Italian, German, in... Spanish, without even having ever learned them in my life [...]. When I was a child, by the way, I learned French at one point [...] my dream was to learn French. If... if my parents had had money then I would have told them to send me also to... I wanted French lessons so badly

Since all but four of the interviewees in this sample are native Israelis, without any international background, acquiring foreign languages at an early age is presented as an individual heroic accomplishment involving talent, resourcefulness, investment and determination, as is testified by "A":

From early youth, [...] I developed a special liking for the English language, for languages in general, and for the English language in particular... eh... yes... it was actually my hobby, in my spare time, eh... [...] which means I used to read, I started reading in English beyond what was [demanded] at school... I started listening to as much English as I could find...the only thing I had was the radio, there was nothing else in those days...[...] eh... I listened to records... a lot. I learned all the words by heart... I used to sit with dictionaries... and that's how I learned, both words and structures... I also appropriated a cockney accent <laughs>

However, unlike elite literary translators, they do not mobilize this type of knowledge to claim the social role of cultural custodian, and express no aspirations to the role-image of cultural ambassadors, or to that of cultural gatekeepers, as do elite literary translators. Being aware of this expected role, when approached directly with this question, "A" does not reject the idea of the translator as a cultural mediator, and yet she dissociates herself personally from it:

<sighs> ... yes and no... I don't know, that is, yes, generally... and the kind of translation I do... is not so much...eh... translation is definitely... a matter of ideology, indeed, with regards to this idea of culture transference, of the ability to... eh... that is to... to... give the wide audience who do not speak different languages the ability to get to know another culture, of course there is an enormous ideological importance to it... [but] I personally eh... do not deal with it so much, so from my point of view it is not so much eh... [...]

4. Conclusion

The above sketchy comparison between the self-presentational discourse of top literary translators and that of non-elite translators was attempted to examine status strategies in the field of translation in Israel. Top literary translators create and publicize a consistent anti-professionalizing discourse of *vocation*, the main elements of which are, (1) denial of practical and economic constraints; (2) mystification of the professional rules and foregrounding of personal traits; and (3) claiming the social role of cultural custodians by mobilizing the role-images which entail two exclusive knowledge types – that of the domestic language and that of foreign languages. This vocational discourse encourages an artization process, which, promoted by *celebrated liter-*

ary translators, enhances their distinction and supports their privileged status as an elite group in the translation industry.

The question arises as to what extent their imagined cultural mission corresponds with their actual role in society at large. It stands to reason that elite literary translators have much less influence on shaping everyday cultural practices than do the majority of fameless translators, who work for the consumer importation market, from TV and film subtitling, to translation of manuals, prescriptions, contracts, magazines or even pulp fiction, not to mention software localization. And still all these 'commercial' translators express no urge for an alternative, professionalizing, strategy of status improvement in their occupational space.

Contrary to what might have been expected, findings from the sample of 22 interviews with non-elite translators suggest that a great deal of the rhetoric of top literary translators is actually embraced by them as a point of orientation that sets their dominant categories and values. All these practitioners express ambivalence regarding their own job, and make use – though quite evasively – of the vocation discourse of literary translators, to rebut negative judgment. By and large, their status claim is largely based on mystification of their professional competence and personality, though they do not go all the way with it. While most of them speak freely about practical incentives in working as translators, such as working conditions and fees, change of career, or getting a job that suits their qualifications, they also make a point of justifying their choice in terms of intellectual challenge and self-fulfillment. While they are open about being unable to pursue literary translation as their major line of work, they consent to the hierarchy it imposes and acknowledge the alleged higher talents and ethics it requires.

In other words, although they have much more at stake in economic terms, they do not develop a serious alternative source of symbolic capital, but rather appropriate the canonical discourse as a source of prestige and adapt it to their situation. All this suggests that their lack of professionalization is not necessarily a matter of no choice. Apparently, the symbolic justification it provides to the non-standardized status of their job overshadows the promise of professionalization. In short, as much as the artistic-like vocational discourse stimulates a distinction mechanism to the benefit of *literary* translators, it also permeates the field at large. Being so widely accepted, it discourages attempts at professionalization. Apparently under conditions of weak institutional boundaries and an unprotected market the symbolic resources it provides are more available and easier to utilize for status advancement than creating a structural institutional change.

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION: OUTLINE OF AN EMERGING FIELD

Esperança Bielsa Mialet

Department of Sociology, University of Leicester

Abstract

This article explores the emerging field of the sociology of translation, focusing especially on two key areas: literary translation and news translation. While literary translation is a major area in translation studies, news translation has until recently received relatively little attention. It is argued that a sociological input to the study of both literary and news translation reveals not only important aspects of the social context in which translation occurs and contributes to a renewed understanding of the field, but also makes translation studies relevant to other disciplines, in particular sociology and globalisation research.

Resum

L'article revisa el camp emergent de la sociologia de la traducció, amb un èmfasi especial en dues àrees clau: la traducció literària i la traducció periodística. Mentre que la traducció literària és un àmbit de gran importància en Traductologia, la traducció periodística ha rebut fins fa poc una atenció reduïda. L'article planteja que introduir la sociologia en l'estudi de la traducció literària i periodística posa de relleu no tan sols aspectes importants del context social en el que es dona la traducció i contribueix a una comprensió renovada del camp, sinó que també fa que la traducció esdevingui rellevant per a altres disciplines, en especial la sociologia i la recerca en globalització.

Keywords

Sociology of translation. Sociology of culture. Literary translation. News translation.

Paraules clau

Sociologia de la traducció. Sociologia de la cultura. Traducció literària. Traducció periodística.

This article explores the emerging field of the sociology of translation, focusing especially on two key areas: literary translation and news translation. While literary translation is the oldest and one of the most fertile fields of inquiry in translation studies, news translation has until recently received relatively little attention. It is argued that a sociological input to the study of both literary and news translation reveals important aspects of the social context in which translation occurs that have remained largely unexamined, and helps to elucidate the function of translation in the global literary and news fields. A sociological perspective on translation also contributes to a renewed understanding of the discipline and makes translation studies relevant to other fields, in particular sociology and globalisation research.

Although the sociology of translation is a relatively new field, two different scholarly traditions have provided significant research in the area, especially in the last two decades. On the one hand, the discipline of translation studies (hereafter TS), which has increasingly come to adopt sociological approaches for the study of intercultural relations and, on the other, the work of a strand of French sociology influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's approach to the sociology of culture, which explicitly focuses on the social nature of translation and its place in the field of cultural production. Before giving an outline of this interdisciplinary field more fully, it is thus necessary to briefly introduce these perspectives and outline their relevance for a sociology of translation.

There is a significant body of writings on the practice of translation which go back to antiquity. However, TS is a recent discipline which emerged in the 1970s out of the field of applied linguistics. Of particular relevance for sociological approaches to translation is what has been termed the cultural turn in TS, which coincides with a major expansion of the discipline. The term "cultural turn" was first used in a collection of essays edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere in 1990 entitled *Translation, History, and Culture*, to refer to a change in the object of study of TS away from a linguistic approach primarily devoted to translator training to a cultural studies approach, and is thus a markedly different development to what is known as the cultural turn in the social sciences, largely associated with postmodernism. In TS, the cultural turn signals a move away from textual concerns (primarily seen in

terms of equivalence and faithfulness of the translation to the original text) towards wider cultural concerns and the study of how translations function in their cultures of destination, and towards notions of cultural manipulation, ideology and power. Consequently, it can be argued that the cultural turn makes TS an interdisciplinary field the focus of which is the study of cultural interaction (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998: 6).

In more recent years, this study has been characterised by the increasing use of sociological theories, especially those of Pierre Bourdieu, applied to translation. Thus, one of the leading journals in the discipline, *The Translator*, dedicated a special issue to the theme of “Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translating and Interpreting”, published in 2005. In the same year, an international conference with the title “Translating and Interpreting as a Social Practice” was organised, with the aim of contributing to a conceptualisation of a general translation sociology. The selected outcomes of this conference have been published in an edited book entitled *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Wolf and Fukari 2007).

On the other hand, the almost total neglect of issues related to translation in British and American sociology contrasts with the increasing interest it has attracted in French sociology in recent years. A special issue of *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the journal founded by Bourdieu, on “Translation: International Literary Exchanges” was published in 2002. Research has been carried out on the nature of the profession and self-perception of literary translators, and on the social role of translation in international literary exchanges by scholars like Natalie Heinich, Gisele Sapiro, Johan Heilbron, Isabelle Kalinowski, and Pascale Casanova. Casanova herself has produced a historical account of the international literary field in which translation plays a key intermediary role, which will be discussed in detail in the first section of this article.

In both traditions, TS and French sociology of culture, research has predominantly been limited to literary translation. Recently, new research has been undertaken into the previously neglected major areas of news translation (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Cortés Zaborras and Hernández Guerrero 2005), localisation (Pym 2004) and ethnography (Sturge 2007), while the pivotal role of translation in the context of globalisation has also been tackled (Cronin 2003, 2006), and arguments for an enlargement of the discipline in response to global developments and power inequalities consistently formulated (Apter 2006; Tymoczko 2007). This article considers in detail two major areas of interest to the sociology of translation: literary translation, as its oldest, most established pursuit, and news translation, one of the newer

areas that are developing fast in this interdisciplinary field. A last, concluding section inquires into the relevance of a sociological perspective on translation and what it can offer to the discipline of TS.

1. A sociology of literary translation

This section tackles book translation or literary translation¹, which constitutes a small part of global information flows but is the area that has been more profusely researched in both TS and cultural sociology. As a preliminary point, two significant differences between literary translation and technical translation must be pointed out. Firstly, in literary translation, the author and the source text usually enjoy a sacralised position so that translations tend to be considered second order reproductions, devoid of originality and subservient to the original text. Secondly, literary translation implies the transfer of cultural capital, while so called technical translation is primarily viewed as a transfer of information. These two specific features of literary translation shape the nature of transnational literary exchanges in important ways. This will be analysed in detail in what follows.

Book translation expresses existing inequalities in information flows and the global dominance of English. British and American book production are characterised by a low number of translations. Since the 1950s, the number of translations into English has remained roughly between 2% and 4% of total book production, declining even further over the past decade. Translations accounted for just 1.4% of books published in 2001 in Britain and 2.07% of books published in 2004 in the United States (as compared, for example, with 22.9% in 2002 in Italy or 7.3% in 2004 in Germany). Conversely, since World War II, English has been the most translated language worldwide (Venuti 2008: 11). These figures give a clear view of what the dominance of Anglo-American culture means: most countries receive a large number of English language book imports (as well as other cultural products such as films and television programmes), so that the presence of Anglo-American values in other cultures is high, while the UK and US are, in Venuti's words,

1. Literary translation refers in this context to translations published in books, whether they are of literary works or not, as opposed to technical translation (industry, publicity, news and media, etc.). This is Heinrich's definition (1984: 264) and is also used by Kalinowski (2002: 48). However, others consider scientific translations to be technical translations. For instance, Venuti classifies translations from humanistic disciplines as literary, but scientific texts as technical translations (2008: 34).

aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to foreign literatures, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with British and American values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognising their own culture in a cultural other. (Venuti 2008: 12)

Nevertheless, as Gayatri Spivak has remarked, the dominant position of English as a global language also implies a growing market for translations from non-European languages, as translated texts are often treated as a quick way to “know a culture” (2005: 94).

In a cultural field shaped by inequalities in global information flows and the prestige of dominant European literatures but, at the same time, by what Spivak considers “spurious and hyperbolic admiration” of certain non-European literatures, a general theorisation of the specific role of translation becomes a necessary means of explaining the nature of transnational cultural exchanges. In this context, Johan Heilbron conceives an emerging world-system of translation, pointing out that

Transnational cultural exchange is not simply the reflection of the structural contradictions in the world economy... Cultural exchanges have a dynamic of their own which is based on a certain autonomy vis-à-vis the constraints of the world market. (1999: 432)

However, the predominance of national literary histories and their focus on literary production narrowly conceived in terms of creation of original works to the exclusion of the significant role played by rewritings, has tended to obscure the import of these exchanges, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. In addition, a sociology of translation must be concerned with investigating its role in the transfer of cultural capital, which has until recently similarly been neglected in sociological accounts. Thus, in spite of his interest in the international circulation of ideas and of his very useful general remarks on the export of social theory (Bourdieu 2002, 1993b), Bourdieu omitted the role of translation in his account of the field of cultural production, which remained limited to a national context (1993a).

However, the central importance of international exchanges in the literary field has been explored in a book by Pascale Casanova entitled *The World Republic of Letters* (2004). In this pioneering work, the author undertakes to enlarge Bourdieu's account of the field of cultural production to the international context, showing that literatures are constituted relationally in a highly unequal international field. This perspective, which places transnational literary exchanges at the very centre, offers the most elaborate account of the role of translation in the cultural field to date.

Casanova shows how the international literary field, which she calls the world republic of letters, was created in the 16th century in the struggle of the vernaculars against the dominance of Latin and has since then expanded progressively. Its geography is based on the opposition of a literary capital, Paris, which represents the autonomous pole, and the regions which are dependent on it. It is thus a highly unequal structure. Inequalities are defined by linguistic and literary capital, or what she calls “literariness” – some languages are considered more literary than others and incarnate literature itself, while others, newcomers to the world republic of letters, have to fight for literary existence.

While literature is initially national, bound to language and to political and national institutions, there is, according to Casanova, a process of progressive autonomisation. Autonomous fields become denationalised, universal, and Paris acquires in the 19th century a unique role, a power of universal consecration, becoming the capital of those who proclaim themselves nationless: the artists, and in particular it is the more autonomous writers from dominated national spaces who will seek exile in Paris. Indeed, following Casanova, the literary power of a central nation can be measured by the literary revolutions produced in its midst by peripheral writers who become universally recognised (her list is long and includes names like Faulkner, Joyce and Beckett, as well as numerous Latin American and African writers).

According to Casanova, Paris dominates the literary world, is the measure of literary modernity and consecrates the texts arrived from the peripheries. In this context, translation becomes an important element of valorisation and consecration of texts from the peripheries, and of diffusion of literary modernity from the centre to the margins, while translators are key cosmopolitan intermediaries – they export texts from one space to another whose literary value is established in the process. Casanova’s achievement lies not just in demonstrating the significance of translation as an essential instrument of unification of the literary space, but also in distinguishing between the different functions that translation fulfils in this context (see 2004: ch. 4). Firstly, in the direction from centre to periphery, translation serves a basic function of capital accumulation: for poorer languages, it is a means of gaining capital, antiquity, nobility. Through translation the great universal texts are nationalised (as for example in German romantic translations of the classics of Greek and Roman antiquity, which served to challenge the centrality of French translations and opened a new status for German as a literary language). On the other hand, translation means the international diffusion of central literary capital and expresses the power of a language and a literature.

In this context, translation can also serve as an instrument of “temporal acceleration”, particularly in the struggle of the more autonomous writers (who are often polyglot and translators), in making possible the importation of the central norms and works that certify literary modernity to the periphery.

Secondly, Casanova is especially interested in a different function of translation in transfers from the periphery to the centre of the literary space, which she calls consecration or literarisation. Translation gives writers in dominated languages literary recognition, international existence, and also allows and reinforces the existence of an autonomous international position within their national field. For the dominant languages, it is a way of appropriating works from the peripheries. James Joyce, who was rejected in Dublin, ignored in London, prohibited in the US and consecrated in Paris is, in this context, her most obvious example.

An extreme case of dominated writers who have opted for central recognition are translated writers, a notion Casanova has borrowed from Salman Rushdie (1991: 17) to designate immigrant writers who have adopted the dominant tongue. Translated writers from disinherited literatures are torn by a structural contradiction that obliges them to choose between translation into a literary tongue that separates them from their national public but gives them artistic existence, and their reclusion in a “small” tongue that condemns them to invisibility or to a literary existence that is limited to their national literature. Translated writers, as figures caught in between highly unequal linguistic and literary exchanges, express in their biographies the contradictions of their global lives.

Casanova’s account contrasts with a purely quantitative view of centrality based on the directionality of translation flows, such as Venuti’s. Similarly, Heilbron, who has characterised the international translation system by its highly hierarchical structure and its unevenness, as well as by the firm dominance of English, has argued that the most central languages tend to have the lowest proportion of translations in their own book production (1999: 439; see also Heilbron and Shapiro 2007: 96). However, the quantitatively smaller, often neglected function of translation in consecrating peripheral texts is of key importance because, as Casanova demonstrates, it is in this form that the great literary revolutions that help to radically change the whole of the literary space take place. Significantly, while English is central in the first type of translations from the centre to the periphery, the low number of translations that are published as a percentage of total book production in English (as we have seen, less than 3% both in Great Britain and the US) means that it plays a much more marginal role in consecrating peripheral texts (attracting mainly

Commonwealth writers and thus having a role of regional rather than global importance), which ultimately undermines its centrality in the international literary field.

Perhaps then as a corrective both to overly quantitative views of translation flows and to Casanova's account, which is exclusively focused on the field of literature and the centrality of French, it can be productive to refer to sociological translations, a remarkably understudied field. Sociological translations, as a particular type of book translation, are a form of literary translation as defined above, but should arguably also be considered humanistic or literary translations in Venuti's sense. As such, they conform to the two general characteristics of literary translation highlighted at the beginning of this section: firstly, they tend to be perceived as secondary reproductions, subservient to the original text and author, rather than as creative works in their own right; secondly, sociological translations are fundamental for the transfer of cultural capital in the scientific field.

In contrast with the literary field, the sociological (and social scientific) field is characterised today by the unquestioned centrality of English. Following Casanova's argument, a measure of the central scientific power of the American and British academies is to be found in the scientific revolutions produced by peripheral scientists who have become universally recognised through English. Clear contemporary examples are Manuel Castells and Ulrich Beck. While Manuel Castells is a translated writer and it is highly unlikely that his influential *The Information Age* would have achieved the global impact it has if it had been written in one of his native languages (Catalan and Spanish) rather than English, Ulrich Beck's work gained international recognition only through its translation into English. Yet, beyond these famous names, the centrality of English in the social scientific field also rests on the thousands of relatively unknown researchers who ordinarily seek to publish their research in English in the most prestigious journals of the field, contributing to enhance the central scientific capital of these publications and, at the same time, seeking the international credentials that will advance their own positions in their national fields.

Sociological translations are an important part of the texts sociologists read, functioning, like literary rewritings, as originals in the scientific field (cf. Lefevere 1992). Most sociologists today have come into contact with classical sociological theory and with a significant part of contemporary theory only through translation, and rewritings are an important component of the intellectual history of sociology. However, very few studies of these sociological translations, which are often undertaken by sociologists, exist. Sociological

rewritings, the conditions in which they are produced and their relationship with other forms of scholarly labour and with the sociological field at large have been marginalised in a culture that values originals and the sacrality of authorship. For example, as Uta Gerhardt notes, “the translation of Max Weber’s classic *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has never been dealt with as an achievement in its own right” (2007: 41). In spite of this lack of attention, Talcott Parsons’ translation has achieved the status of a “classic” and is thus arguably an exception, but the fact that its significance has been silenced in accounts of Parsons’ work ultimately corroborates the inferior status which sociological rewritings – as second-order reproductions, mere copies – are attributed. Yet, their study can shed light not only on particular texts and the transformations they undergo when they travel, but also on the nature of different academic fields from a comparative perspective and on the importance of the international dimension for the constitution of social theory.

Translations have a key role in introducing new ideas, concepts and perspectives into fields that can never be seen in isolation from a wider international context, and it is often foreign theory, circulated and made available in translation, which helps to challenge established positions and open the way to key innovations. At the same time, translations, by virtue of the transformations they undergo in different contexts, travel to places that are beyond the reach of originals, and must truly be considered not their extension but their afterlife, in Benjamin’s sense. Therefore, to ignore the relevance of Parsons’ *Protestant Ethic as a translation*, not only leads to a gap in the study of both Parsons’ and Weber’s work, but to fundamental misunderstandings regarding the way social theory travels across national fields.

Anglo-American sociology has been consistently blind to the important role translation plays in the discipline, both in mediating the international circulation of theory and in key methodological aspects of social research, a lack of interest that can in part be explained as a product of current global inequalities and the dominant position of the Anglo-American academy in the world. Sociologists have often undertaken translation as part of their scientific work. Yet, whether in the case of Parsons’ classic version of Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic*, or in less well known instances, such as David Frisby’s translation of Simmel’s *Philosophy of Money* or Eric Dunning’s rendering of Elias’ *The Germans*, this dimension of sociological work and its impact on the intellectual history of the discipline has remained largely unstudied.

The neglected significance of translation in the international circulation of theory serves to challenge the belief in symmetry and equal exchanges in

global information flows and helps to shed new light on processes of (cultural) globalisation. In this context, translation – whether as capital accumulation or as consecration – appears as much more than a linguistic exchange and is revealed to fulfil basic functions in the transmission of cultural and scientific capital. A perspective that places translation at the centre serves to leave behind a national or comparatist angle and to assume a renewed understanding of the global circulation of both literature and social theory as based on highly unequal international exchanges which are essential in the constitution of the global literary and scientific fields.

2. Initial steps for a sociology of news translation

In contrast with literary translation, news translation is an area that until recently has received comparatively little attention. Translation studies has remained largely uninterested in textual practices that, to a great extent, tend to be carried out by journalists rather than translators. Media sociology has neglected the study of the linguistic processes that make it possible to produce and communicate news across geographic, cultural and linguistic boundaries. Yet, modern journalism is, since its very inception, global in scope, and has developed through the establishment of a global infrastructure for the production and circulation of news (for a historical account of the constitution of the modern journalistic field see Bielsa 2008; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, ch. 3). Translation has, from the very beginning, been at the centre of global news production. The first news agency, Agence Havas (Agence France-Presse's predecessor, founded in 1835), was initially created as a translation agency in 1832. Multilingual journalists played an important role in the establishment of worldwide networks for the production of news, at a time in which the telegraph helped to generate an unprecedented demand for foreign news in metropolitan centres. Today's popular image of the global journalist as a key agent of globalisation is derived from the classic figure of the foreign correspondent that by the end of the 19th century was already fully established. Powerful news organisations – not just the news agencies, which became news wholesalers specialising in the production of raw news to be sold to other news organisations, but also prestigious newspapers like *The Times* – prided themselves on their foreign correspondents, and the coverage of international conflicts was established as an important news source, to be only matched in the second half of the 20th century by other themes of global interest such as sport.

It is worthwhile asking ourselves about the reasons why TS has not devoted a great deal of attention to news translation in the past. The first of these is

inevitably related to what I have already mentioned: the fact that it is mostly journalists rather than translators who are ordinarily engaged in news translation. An important feature of news translation is that it has been very successfully incorporated as an integral part of the production of news in major news organisations. Translation is seen as an important task of the journalist or news editor, who reshapes and edits information, making it ready for publication. It is generally believed in news organisations that only journalists – especially trained to respond to the journalistic criteria of news relevance and background knowledge of the target reader, and also to conform to the house style of the news organisation – are capable of successfully performing these tasks, and translation is not fundamentally perceived as any different from the editing of journalistic texts. This apparently seamless integration of translating news within the ordinary process of news production, together with a predominant textual practice based on fluency, which makes the translated text appear as if it was an original, is responsible for what I have referred to elsewhere as the double invisibility of news translation (Bielsa 2007: 151; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 72-3).

The second reason for ignoring news translation is that it does not fit very well with what until recently was still a fairly dominant view of translation based on equivalence as a central concern. News translation operates in fundamentally different ways than literary translation. In the first place, the sacrality of the author and of the original text, a product of the relative autonomy of the literary field, does not apply to the sphere of news. On the contrary: legal and organisational factors have traditionally determined that the news text is normally seen as a collective product, so that no single person is solely responsible for the shape and appearance of the final text. This refers not just to the fact that news texts are edited by people other than the journalists who originally wrote them; edited texts are usually also checked by a second pair of eyes and the same applies to translations. In addition, news translation responds to needs that are very different than those normally associated with the worldwide circulation of literary texts. A precondition for the successful transmission of news texts across geographical and linguistic boundaries is their thoroughgoing transformation so that, even if the news source is the same, the text can fully respond to the particularities of a new context in which the narrated events will impact in different ways. This explains why radical changes such as the full rewriting of titles and leads (first paragraphs), the restructuring of the order of paragraphs, and the addition and/or elimination of information are the norm rather than the exception in news translation. Moreover, in many cases, not even a single source text

exists, and information is drawn for a number of sources and texts that are recombined to form a new unit. This process is not essentially dissimilar from what happens in the localisation industry, and has been adequately conceived by Anthony Pym, who argues that a localised text is not called to represent any previous text but it is rather part of a process of constant material distribution (2004: 5). Pym has also crucially maintained that "Translations are thus to be assessed as new texts designed to serve new purposes, without any necessary constraint by equivalence" (2004: 55).

With reference to current inequalities in global information flows, the central importance of English in the field of news must be qualified. The global dominance of English is echoed in the power of the two Anglo-American giants, Reuters and Associated Press, in the field of news. Only one other news agency, Agence France-Presse, is considered today a global player, but in terms of revenue it follows at a considerable distance from the other two. Moreover, in the field of television news, the dominance of the former two is even stronger, as there are today only two organisations of global significance: Reuters Television and Associated Press Television. Curiously, English seems to be established as the *lingua franca* in the global transmission of news images, which circulate exclusively with English language captions even in organisations like Agence France-Presse. The growing presence of English in organisational matters is also generally perceivable in non-English news agencies such as France-Presse and Inter Press Service, where it has progressively become the main language for coordinating operations at the international level. In terms of news markets and audiences, the global dominance of English is also favoured by current geopolitical imbalances. The US is today a pivotal source of news for any agency, and all the big players have sought to consolidate and expand their presence in the main news centres of Washington and New York. In some cases, such as that of France-Presse, this has led to a multilingual rather than monolingual composition, where French as well as Spanish language journalists work alongside their English counterparts in order to produce and distribute news from the US to their linguistically diverse audiences more efficiently. On the other hand, as France-Presse's case demonstrates, successfully penetrating the US market has become the key to establishing a global presence in the field of news, while the weight of English also increases with the agency's crucial expansion into the Asian news markets. This is what mainly distinguishes France-Presse from other important news agencies such as the Spanish EFE, which remain regional, rather than global, in scope.

Nevertheless, the field of global news is also characterised by the central importance of the European news markets. This developed early on, in the second half of the 19th century, when expanding worldwide telegraphic news went hand in hand with a growing appetite for the latest news in the metropolitan centres. It firmly established the field of news as a multilingual space. Thus, news wholesalers have traditionally produced newswires in the main European languages, including English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese (the only addition to these is Arabic in the second half of the 20th century), which are the languages of their most important consumers in quantitative terms. In the case of small European languages, translation is undertaken by national news organisations. Therefore, the fact that, very much like in the localisation industry, people consume news in their own language means that multilinguality is ensured and that translation will remain a fundamental practice in the production of news, drawing a complex map of practices at the local, regional and global levels.

The relevance of translation tends to be ignored or downplayed in accounts that emphasise present trends towards homogenisation and the increased importance of fewer and fewer sources in the field of global news. There is no doubt that Western news organisations have shaped the field of global news in major ways, successfully spreading the Western media model and Western values (ranging from objectivity and impartiality to the importance attributed to elites or to the topics and regions considered to be newsworthy), which have become hegemonic. It is also true that unprecedented privatisation, deregulation and commercialisation of media industries in recent decades has increased the influence of a few powerful organisations and made it no longer affordable for smaller ones to obtain their own sources. These factors have contributed to the homogenisation of news in important ways. Thus, for example, Oliver Boyd-Barrett states that “News agencies contribute to the homogenization of global culture in form and in source, while greatly multiplying the texts available within these standardized discourses” (1997: 143), while others emphasise the primacy of Anglo-American ideologies in the field of global news (Marchetti 2002; Paterson 1998).

However, it is also important to take into account translation’s crucial intervention in obtaining news in situations that often imply interlingual transfer and the need to interpret and translate sources, as well as in producing news texts destined to reach diverse audiences in linguistic, geographical and cultural terms. Rather than taking translation for granted, in order to speak of homogenisation trends in the field of global news it is necessary to examine the way translation processes shape the nature of news and to assess the

degree to which translation can be considered a form of violence in Venuti's sense, i.e. to what extent does translation serve to reduce the cultural other as the recognisable, the familiar or even the same, therefore completely domesticating the foreign text (2008: 14).

News translation is generally characterised by the primary objective of transmitting information to readers fast in a clear and effective way and by the need to conform to the prevailing style, rules and practices of the receiving language. As I have already mentioned, this entails a significant degree of transformation of the source text, which can be perceived in terms of thoroughgoing domestication. However, there is also the scope for a degree of foreignisation, or at the very least of hybridisation, which is implied by the impossibility of exact translation, the fact that no two languages have identical semantic and syntactic structures, and more generally by the necessity to adapt to the background knowledge and expectations of new target readers and to produce texts that can successfully function as news in different contexts. In addition, practices vary widely in different countries, types of media and news organisations. Close empirical analysis of news texts and the transformations they undergo through translation is therefore required in order to elucidate its role, and this often brings an extremely rich and unforeseen array of textual practices to light (see, for example, a detailed textual analysis of domesticating and hybridising translations in various accounts of Saddam Hussein's trial in British and European newspapers in Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, ch. 7). This diversity is an expression of the fact that, although we are increasingly watching, listening to and reading about the same events worldwide, a multitude of local versions and narratives of global events exists.

The study of translation in the field of news reveals the central importance of these ubiquitous but, at the same time, invisible processes that constitute an interconnected network of textual practices worldwide, and challenges overly mechanistic notions of Western dominance and trends towards the homogenisation of global news.

3. Implications of a sociological perspective on translation: a change of paradigm?

The third and last section of this article focuses on what a sociology of literary translation and a sociology of news translation have in common, in an attempt to elucidate what is specifically sociological about them and how this impacts on traditional conceptions of translation. It is argued that the sociology of translation involves a thoroughgoing change of perspective and thus a radical rethinking of prevailing paradigms in TS. Three main interrelated

aspects of this proposed change of paradigm will be examined: firstly, the introduction of a global perspective that can account for literary and journalistic flows worldwide and challenge approaches that have tended to remain limited to the national level; secondly, an overcoming of the text versus context dichotomy that has prevailed in TS; thirdly, an incorporation of what is often referred to as the sociological imagination to the main aims and methodologies of TS.

Firstly, the most immediate consequence of examining both literary and news translation in terms of transnational exchanges and global information flows through a sociological perspective is a challenge to approaches that have tended to remain largely limited to a predominantly national and/or comparatist perspective. A sociological perspective implies a change of focus and reveals a completely new dimension of translation that only becomes visible at the global level. In this context, a useful tool has been the deployment of the sociological concepts of (world) system and/or field, and their application to the specific history of both literature and news. A traditional systemic approach puts the emphasis on the enduring structures that determine the behaviour of social agents, giving primacy to the functioning of social systems. From the 1970s, world systems theory introduced an international perspective to the systemic approach, focusing primarily on global inequality, perceived in terms of the relations that are established between an industrialised core and a dependent, exploited periphery. World systems theory has been applied to translation studies, most effectively by Heilbron, who presents a structural analysis of the international flows of translated books, explicitly seeking to account for both the unevenness of flows and the varying role of translations within different language groups (1999: 431). Significantly, as the author points out, it is only through the recognition of the global dimension that the role and nature of translation in local contexts can be adequately described:

The analysis of this world-system, and the position which various language groups occupy within it, is a precondition for understanding the role of translations in specific local or national contexts. The significance of translation within language groups, for example, is shown to depend primarily on the position of the language within the international system. (1999: 432)

On the other hand, the Bourdieusian notion of field has allowed the conceptualisation of the literary and the journalistic fields, among others, in terms of objective networks of positions, while also focusing on their specific historical development. If Bourdieu himself remained predominantly limited to a national perspective on the French cultural and educational fields, others

have revealed the full potential of his notion of fields from a transnational perspective. Casanova's analysis of the function of translation in the international literary field has been commented upon above in some detail. A perspective that places translation at the centre serves to leave behind a national or comparatist angle and to assume a renewed understanding of the global circulation of literature as based on highly unequal international exchanges, which are essential in the constitution of the global literary field. Similarly, a sociological perspective reveals the importance of translation practices in the field of global news, a space marked not only by global asymmetries and the power of a small number of big organisations but also, at the same time, by the multiplicity of texts available.

Secondly, and intimately related with the first point, sociological approaches and concepts such as those of system and field have also fundamentally challenged the traditional dichotomy of text versus context that has tended to predominate in TS. Since the cultural turn, issues of power, manipulation and ideology started to become central in the discipline, in a clear move away from exclusively textual concerns towards wider cultural concerns. However, this had the effect of reinforcing, rather than eliminating, the text versus context dichotomy, with the danger of falling into somewhat rigid descriptions of texts and their contexts, which could be seen as two separate realms. Sociology's focus on social structures and their effects on agents' actions abolishes this dichotomy by placing a new emphasis on the empirical study of translation practices and the institutional arrangements that regulate them, and on the varying role and function of translation in different language groups and/or cultural contexts. Sociology thus seeks to account for the situation or context within which the text acquires its meaning. However, sociology must also address the textual dimension if it is to avoid falling into a reductionist, sociologistic explanation of which it sometimes has been rightly accused. In other words, a systemic approach must incorporate a dimension of textuality. Perhaps the best, still unsurpassed model for such an undertaking is the work of Theodor Adorno, which seeks to describe how the social has crystallised in the text, and of which his essays on lyric poetry, where a hidden collective current is shown to underlie the most individualistic and detached lyric subject, and on Kafka are excellent examples (Adorno 1991, 1967).

Thirdly and finally, perhaps the most significant contribution that sociology can make to the study of translation, beyond certain concepts or theoretical and methodological orientations, is what the sociologist and public intellectual Wright Mills once called the sociological imagination. Not limited to

sociology as an academic discipline and sometimes well developed in other areas such as journalism, fiction and history, the task and promise of the sociological imagination is, according to Wright Mills, the understanding of history and biography, and of the relationship between the two within society:

The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. (2000: 5, originally published in 1959)

It is this intersection between biography and history that ultimately allows us to grasp the most intimate aspects of our lives in connexion with wider social realities and to situate ourselves historically in our times, so as to better cope with and to orient ourselves in the rapidly changing world in which we live. This constituted for Wright Mills the cultural value of the social sciences in contemporary society, once the limitations of highly specialised technological means have become widely perceivable, as a form of self-consciousness and of pursuit of more general intellectual interests. This is also what sociology has to offer to the study of translation.

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UNCOVERING THE HIDDEN ACTORS WITH THE HELP OF LATOUR: THE ‘MAKING’¹ OF *THE SECOND SEX*

Anna Bogic

University of Ottawa

Abstract

This paper seeks to respond to current and on-going criticism of the first and only English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*. It reconsiders the translator-publisher dynamic by applying Bruno Latour's sociological framework in order to arrive at more detailed and comprehensive conclusions. After briefly presenting the publication, reception, and the criticism of the English translation, this paper investigates into the case study with the help of Latour and the letters from the Smith College Archives. The study was based on the reading of historical documents – more than a hundred letters between the translator, Howard M. Parshley, and the publishing house, Alfred A. Knopf. A brief overview of Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is presented and then followed by two examples of application of the theoretical framework. The paper concludes by insisting that the involvement of multiple actors and their influence on translation products should receive more attention when considering the work of translators.

Resum

Aquest article vol respondre a les crítiques actuals a la primera i única traducció a l'anglès de *Le deuxième sexe* de Simone de Beauvoir. Replanteja la dinàmica traductor-editor aplicant el marc sociològic de Bruno Latour per tal d'assolir conclusions més detallades i de major abast. Després d'una breu presentació d'aquesta publicació, de la recepció i de la crítica de la traducció a l'anglès, l'article investiga l'estudi de cas amb l'ajuda de Latour i de les cartes dels arxius del Smith College. L'estudi es fonamenta

1. Refers to the article by Hélène Buzelin entitled “Translations in the ‘making’” (2007).

en la lectura de documents històrics: més d'un centenar de cartes entre el traductor, Howard M. Parshley, i l'editorial, Alfred A. Knopf. S'ofereix també una breu revisió de la Teoria Actor-Xarxa de Latour, seguida de dos exemples d'aplicació al marc teòric. L'article conclou insistint que la implicació de múltiples agents i la seva influència en els productes traduïts hauria de rebre major atenció en examinar el treball dels traductors.

Keywords

Sociology of translation. Actor-network theory. Letter correspondence. *The Second Sex*. English translation.

Paraules clau

Sociologia de la traducció. Teoria actor-xarxa. Correspondència postal. *El segon sexe*. Traducció a l'anglès.

1. Introduction

This paper seeks to respond to current and on-going criticism of the first and only English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*. Published in 1953 under the title *The Second Sex*, the English translation has been widely read in the English-speaking countries, mainly as private reading or as part of the Women's Studies programs. Since the American and European feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, *The Second Sex* has been referred to as the "feminist bible" or the foundation of modern feminism (Moi 2008, Gillman 1988). Interestingly, the work has not been studied sufficiently in the academic circles of philosophy departments. I have discussed elsewhere (Bogic 2009b, forthcoming) the circumstances surrounding the translation and the philosophical mistranslations, which were largely a result of the translator-publisher dynamic. What is more, the "packaging" of the translation not as a philosophical treatise on women, but rather, as a scientific study was explained to be a result of the publisher's view of the book and the belief that a scientific study would be more commercially successful (Bogic 2009a, 2009b; Englund 1992, 1994). Consequently, Beauvoir's glaring absence from the philosophical cannon can partly be explained by a deficient English version that mistranslated the philosophical content. In view of this context, this paper will reconsider the translator-publisher dynamic through the reading of letter correspondence and by applying Bruno Latour's sociological framework in order to arrive at more detailed and comprehensive conclusions.

2. Publication and Reception of *The Second Sex*

Following its publication in 1953 in the United States, *The Second Sex* was received with mixed reviews. Both criticized and praised, the work became a bestseller and was reviewed in American journals and newspapers, such as *The New Yorker*, *Newsweek*, *The Nation* and *The Saturday Review of Literature*. In *The Nation*, Patrick Mullahy wrote that *The Second Sex* "is in many ways a superb book, brilliantly written with a broad scope and keen psychological insight;" however he warned that "because of certain political leanings Mme. de Beauvoir has to be read with critical caution" (Mullahy 1953). In

a lengthy, ten-page article, the American literary critic and writer Elizabeth Hardwick wrote an engaging review in which she admitted that the book was “an accomplishment”. Nevertheless, she developed a long list of criticisms that, among others, included a severe critique of the fantastic size and scope of the book that in the end “lacks a subject”.

Despite the criticism of the immediate reception, the book became a quick bestseller and sold 22,000 copies in the first week of its publication (Galster 2007: 186). However, the discussions on the book fell silent shortly after the first wave of reception, and for the remainder of the 1950s there were no significant studies of *The Second Sex*. It was not until the early 1960s and later 1970s that Beauvoir's ideas resurfaced when American feminists like Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique*, 1963) and Kate Millett (*Sexual Politics*, 1970) produced pivotal feminist literature that propelled women's liberation movements on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Their works and others further developed Beauvoir's ideas but applied them to a new context. In the United States, an increasing number of women were choosing professional careers, and significant advancements in law and legislation, such as contraception and abortion rights, were being fought for. The book that they read and were inspired by was an English translation completed and published in 1953 by a small, respected, family-run publishing house, Alfred A. Knopf – a publishing house that would later become one of the most prestigious and successful publishers in the US.

Knopf's view of the book placed more importance on the scientific aspects as opposed to the author's philosophical, existentialist framework and terms. As discussed in a fascinating study by Sheryl A. Englund (1992, 1994), the Knopf firm “packaged” and later promoted the English version in ways that would amplify its scientific cachet in the belief that this approach would generate higher sales. Furthermore, Knopf's understanding that the book was “a modern-day sex manual for women” (Bair 1990: 432) reinforced a more sensationalist promotion: “[They] sold the book by subtly fostering the prurient interest they hoped the topic would naturally engender as an aside to de Beauvoir's argument, while simultaneously taking pains to validate the work with intellectual cachet” (Englund 1992: 103). While this was the view of the publishing house, the translator's view, a zoology professor Howard M. Parshley, was much more appreciative of Beauvoir's complex work: “Simone's book is no superficial, popular treatise; it is for literate and serious readers. I feel it would be a crime to try to jazz it up” (Parshley's letter to Blanche Knopf, February 25, 1950). The letter correspondence between Parshley and Knopf clearly shows that Parshley was fully aware of the philosophical content in

the book but was discouraged by the publisher to render it in English.² While *The Second Sex* did become a bestseller in its immediate reception and a steady seller afterward, the criticism of its translation would come much later.

3. Criticism of the English Translation

In 1983, an American philosophy scholar, Margaret A. Simons, published a groundbreaking article entitled “The Silencing of Simone de Beauvoir: Guess What’s Missing from *The Second Sex*”. Simons conducted a comparative study of the source text and the target text and discovered that 10 to 15% of the original was missing and that numerous cuts, condensations, philosophical mistranslations and *contresens* made Beauvoir sound like an incoherent and confused philosopher. What is more, she claimed that Parshley’s translation voided the book’s philosophical content and was thereby guilty of “obscuring [Beauvoir’s] links to a philosophical tradition” (Simons 1983: 563).

Following this article, Beauvoir’s official biographer Deirdre Bair produced an article in 1987 discussing the same issues regarding the deficiencies of the English version. Through her argumentation, Bair also placed the responsibility of the text’s poor quality on the translator, Parshley. Joining her in this effort, other scholars followed with their work in the 1990s and 2000s, in which they exposed an array of different shortcomings of the translation all the while placing the spotlight on the translator. For example, Elizabeth Fallaize presented her analysis of the cuts she found in Beauvoir’s chapter entitled “The Married Woman” (Fallaize 2002). Fallaize listed the results of her careful analysis of all the cuts in the section on housework and evaluated the loss for the English-speaking readers. Specifically, she commented on the removal of quotations and individual testimonies which, in the source text, enriched Beauvoir’s study with intimate, women’s experiences.

Similarly, in another examination of *The Second Sex*, Meryl Altman (2002) discovered that the English version did not contain nearly as many references to Stekel’s psychiatric case studies as Beauvoir included in her French text. Another highly influential article by a Beauvoir scholar, Toril Moi, entitled “While We Wait: The English Translation of *The Second Sex*” put forth the argument that the philosophical incompetence of the translation is detrimental

2. Given the space/length restriction, this paper will not go into all the details regarding the arguments, tensions and conflicts discovered in the letter correspondence. However, the complexity of the translation process was thoroughly analyzed in my thesis project *Rehabilitating Howard M. Parshley: A Socio-historical Study of the English Translation of Beauvoir’s Le deuxième sexe, with Latour and Bourdieu*.

not only to Beauvoir as a philosopher, but also to feminist philosophy in general. Specifically, she presented numerous examples where Parshley not only cut and omitted parts of the original text, but also sections where he rewrote Beauvoir's text. In place of deleted quotations, Parshley sometimes provided a summary of the content of the quote. Clearly showing frustration, Moi openly asks the question: "What could possibly justify such editing?" (1011). However, what appears to be missing from this article is any inquiry into the role of Harold Strauss, the editor-in-chief, or Blanche Knopf, the vice-president, or the numerous editors and copy editors who revised the text thoroughly before releasing it for printing.

The critics have been vocal in their calls for a re-translation and have accused Parshley of "sexist selecting" (Simons 1983: 561) and ideologically motivated cuts (Moi 2002: 1010). Twenty-seven years after the public revelation of the deficiencies in the translation, the Knopf firm has finally authorized and commissioned a new translation. The new rendition of Beauvoir's philosophical treatise is expected to be released in April 2010 by Knopf Doubleday Publishing.³

4. Investigating with the Help of Latour and the Letters from the Archives

This paper presents a study that was based on the reading of historical documents: more than a hundred letters between the translator, Howard M. Parshley, and the publishing house, Alfred A. Knopf.⁴ In this epistolary exchange, Parshley conducts a dialogue with the editor-in-chief, Harold Strauss, the vice-president, Blanche Knopf, and the president, Alfred A. Knopf. These exchanges constitute the primary content of the correspondence; however, there are letters between the translator and book reviewers and other writers that are revealing of the translator's opinions and beliefs.

In the investigation of the conditions surrounding the English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*, the letter correspondence is an extremely important source of information that can provide answers within the

3. The following description of the new translation can be found on the Knopf/Doubleday website: "This long-awaited new translation pays particular attention to the existentialist terms and French nuances that may have been misconstrued in the first English edition, and reinstates significant portions of the "Myths" and "History" chapters, including Beauvoir's accounts of more than seventy historical female figures that were originally cut due to length". <http://www.randomhouse.com/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9780307265562>

4. The letter correspondence is kept at the archives of a women's private college, Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, USA, where Parshley taught for more than thirty years. The letters were kindly donated by Parshley's daughter, Elsa Parshley Brown.

context of Translation Studies. Interestingly enough, the so-called “invisibility” of the translator, so often criticized by Translation Studies scholars and stemming mainly from Lawrence Venuti’s pioneering work (*The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 1995) is brought to the table yet again by this particular case study. Although the correspondence shows that Parshley fought for his recognition since he wanted to have his name printed on the covers and dust jackets of *The Second Sex* – and thus against “invisibility” –, Parshley became a very visible target of fierce criticism by the international scholarly community, specifically Beauvoir scholars. This kind of negative visibility is perhaps exceptional, but is nonetheless an illustration of the other extreme, the flip side of visibility; such cases should also be studied further. The calls for a re-translation have repeatedly pointed to the weaknesses of the English translation in order to make a worthwhile case for the new translation. This study does not dispute these calls for the re-translation, but wishes to remind that the role of the publisher must be taken into serious consideration as well. The translator whose work has been maligned stood as the sole participant in the translation process. The correspondence that spans a period of more than three years offers an insight into the “manufacture” of the translation. From this perspective, Hélène Buzelin suggests:

Similarly, analysing the process of translation from the viewpoint of a work’s manufacture allows for documenting the editorial and revision work done on the manuscript delivered by the translators and thereby better understanding the role of actors who participate in the making of the text but whose actions and practices have so far received little attention (Buzelin 2007b: 141).

Basing her study on Bruno Latour’s “sociology of translation,”⁵ Buzelin applies the idea of “manufacture” to the production of literary translations. Such an approach to Translation Studies, and in this particular case study of *The Second Sex*, can yield fruitful results. Moreover, it can benefit from the recent work completed by Translation Studies scholars who have been focusing on the introduction of sociological theories (Bourdieu, Latour, Luhmann) to Translation Studies and who have been advocating the “social turn” in the discipline (Buzelin, Gouanvic, Simeoni, Inghilleri, Wolf, Heilbron, Sapiro). Specifically, recent publications such as *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (2007), *Übersetzen – Translating – Traduire: Towards a “Social Turn”?* (2006), and Jean-Marc Gouanvic’s 2007 work entitled *Pratique sociale de la traduction*:

5. Latour’s “sociology of translation” is not to be confused with the current “social turn” in Translation Studies and the development of what has been termed as a “sociology of translation”. In order to avoid confusion, Latourian concept of translation will be separated by quotation marks.

Le roman réaliste américain dans le champ littéraire français (1920-1960) have been setting the path.

Moreover, Buzelin's 2005 article "Unexpected Allies. How Latour's Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analyses in Translation Studies" has encouraged new approaches in the sociology of translation: "I believe that ANT has the potential to help us move one step further in the direction already taken by Bourdieu translation scholars" (215). So far, there have been many studies within Translation Studies which have successfully applied Bourdieu's sociology. However, Latour offers a great potential in orienting Translation Studies scholars toward a more process-oriented approach and a fundamental reconfiguration of the *translating agent* to include multiple mediators.

Application of sociological theories to Translation Studies, in this particular case, is guided by the following objective: to identify all the individuals involved in the translation process and to reveal the extent to which they affected the target text. Highlighting the weighty influence of the publishing house on the translator, and consequently on the translation, this study follows the discipline's shift away from the comparative textual analysis to the agents of the translating act, while attempting to keep the target text within focus.⁶ The conflictual nature of the relationship between the translator and the publishing house surfaces in the letters and requires methodical and careful examination.

The letters serve as the window into "those moments of the translation's 'genesis' that document 'from within' the selection and promotion of a foreign text as well as the translation and editing procedures" (Wolf and Fukari 2007: 24). As suggested by Buzelin, studies of translation "in the making" can disclose information that is hidden, once analysed retrospectively (24). This particular case study of the English translation of Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* is indeed occurring more than 55 years after the fact; but the controversy that still seems to be the subject of numerous attacks on the work ethic and motivations of the translator invites a more thorough look into what could possibly be "hidden" by this complex activity of translation.

6. Michaela Wolf remarks: "The text-bound paradigm which began to be transcended in the approaches that followed the 'cultural turn' seems, in the course of an evolving sociology of translation, to have slipped out of sight of the translation researcher, bringing about the danger of a sociology of translation existing without translation" (Wolf & Fukari 2007: 27).

Before applying Latour's sociological grid on the case study, this paper provides a brief overview of the main concepts in order to clarify the theoretical workings.

5. Brief Overview of Latour's Actor-Network Theory

Since the late 1970s Bruno Latour, together with Michel Callon and John Law, has been developing the actor-network theory (ANT), a theory originally conceived as a tool in science and technology. One of his most recent publications, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, attempts to provide a definitive explanation of actor-network theory since its terms (especially, the concept of *network*) have often been misunderstood.⁷ Focusing on the sociology of science, Latour places his theory in opposition to traditional sociology, which he labels "the sociology of the social," and sides with the school of thought he names "the sociology of associations". According to Latour, traditional sociology (including Pierre Bourdieu) is concerned with studying society and social forces, believes in the undeniable existence of these social forces, and places the emphasis on human actors.

In striking opposition to this stance, Latour wishes to interpret sociology "not as the 'science of the social,' but as the *tracing of associations*" (Latour 2005: 5). In this context, society is a consequence of associations and not their cause; a society needs new associations in order to continue existing. What represents a major departure from traditional sociology is Latour's inclusion of objects and "quasi-objects" side by side with subjects. Objects need to be taken into account as well. Fittingly, translations as inanimate objects would be seen as having a particular role and particular associations.

The underlying theory of the sociology of associations is actor-network theory (ANT), according to which social forces are the result of other entities that influence. The first concept, *actor*, is "something that acts or to which the activity is granted by others" (Latour 1998: par. 16). The term *actor* is limited to humans whereas *actants* encompasses both humans and non-humans.⁸ The actor is not necessarily a point, but a star-like shape "that is made to act by a large star-shaped web of mediators flowing in and out of it" (Latour 2005:

7. Latour discusses the misinterpretations of his theory in "On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications" at <http://www.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-9801/msg00019.html>.

8. Latour distinguishes between actors (usually humans) and actants – a general concept that brings together both humans and non-humans in one and the same entity, for example, an organization like UN, "the UN declared that..." or an abstract concept like "destiny" as in "overcome by destiny".

217). *Network*, the second term in actor-network theory, represents the movement or the traces of the actor; it is a tool for description. Together, actor and network form a unified concept that is conceived as a star-shaped web intertwined with other actor-networks, influenced by them, but not compelled by them – it always comes down to a choice. Put within the context of the case study, the translator would then be seen as an actor-network intertwined with editors, publishers, critics, source-text authors, source texts, translations, letters, reviewers, readers, etc. as other actor-networks, and all of their associations could be traced to reveal their “constantly shifting interactions” (Latour 2005: 68).

The actor-networks are so intertwined that it is difficult to trace the origins or causes of their action. The interactions are unpredictable, and there is a great deal of uncertainty. Therefore, ANT focuses more on practice, on following/tracing the actors in order to arrive at an understanding of what is taking place. It asks the question of *how* something is done in order to face the unpredictability and the uncertainty. According to Latour, ANT does not make any assumptions or try to predict associations; rather, it qualifies what the observer should suppose in order to follow associations.

Two key concepts in ANT are “intermediaries” and “mediators”. Intermediaries are actants that transport meaning or force without transformation. Mediators “transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry” (39). A central notion in ANT is the notion of “translation”, which has a specific, technical meaning: “a relation that does not transport causality but induces two mediators into coexisting”. “Translation” then constitutes “the methods by which an actor enrolls others” (Buzelin 2005: 194-95) or “a process of mediation, of the interpretation of objectives expressed in the ‘languages’ of different intermediaries engaged in an innovative project/process – intermediaries whose viewpoints and interests are not, initially, necessarily the same” (Buzelin 2007b: 137).

ANT has been criticized for being too rooted in the local situation and local causes that no general principles can be derived from it. Its project being to get closer to the original experience, ANT is based on the ethnographic approach of collecting data: following actors, interacting with the observed, inquiring and producing descriptions. What seems to be of interest to the case study of the English translation of *Le deuxième sexe*, however, is the idea of following the actors through the letter correspondence. Moreover, Latour’s emphasis on *how* something is being done can be a useful tool in discovering just how much and what kind of revision and editing *The Second Sex* was subject to and by whom. This invitation to go behind the “closed doors”

of the translation and publishing process can certainly reveal disagreements and strategies that perhaps would not be easily shared by a contemporary publisher.⁹

The historical aspect implies that this investigation is already “after the fact”, and therefore, the ethnographic approach of interviewing and interacting with the observed by the researcher is limited to the historical documents. Nonetheless, by the same token, the historical aspect also implies that the main medium of communication in the early fifties was the epistolary exchange: all the discussions and decisions between the translator and the publisher were recorded in the letter correspondence and in the manuscripts. At the time, telephone conversations were rare and expensive (one conversation between Alfred Knopf and Parshley in the fall of 1949).

ANT theory is slowly gaining in popularity among many other disciplines and is moving away from sciences into humanities, including Translation Studies (Buzelin, Tahir-Gürçağlar, Córdoba Serrano, Abdallah).

6. A Critical Analysis of the Translation Process and its Multiple Actors: Parshley as One of Many

The appealing aspect of the Latourian perspective is the focus on *how* something is done or accomplished. Looking at how the English translation was executed reveals not only the decisions the translator made but also the work of other participants in the translation process. As argued by Buzelin, the difference between the *translator* and the *translating agent* is a significant and telling one: the *translating agent* can consist of several individuals and does not equal the *translator* (Buzelin 2005, 214). This differentiation between the two terms can be developed further to signal the involvement of publishers and editors in the translation.¹⁰

What makes ANT interesting for the case study is the notion of mediators who transform things: input does not equal output. As well, the idea of many actors intertwined with each other, all influencing each other in an entangled net of movements and traces can be useful in interpreting the letter correspondence. Although the letters represent the only “reality” from which

9. Buzelin's research is based on the contemporary study cases, and her articles have discussed the more or less challenged possibility of acquiring access to information.

10. Olga Castro Vazquez suggests in her article (2008) the terms paratranslators and paratranslations in order to highlight the ideological repercussions for the English translation of *Le deuxième sexe*. However, relying on the letter correspondence, this paper posits that actors other than the translator were much more involved in the translation process – beyond the peritexts, for example.

data can be collected, they can be viewed as the (historical) landscape against which movements can be traced. Reading the letters then is equivalent to following the actors. The tracing of their movements and interaction with each other can be mapped out. Their working together can be viewed as the process of “translation” where both the translator and the publisher are mediators who are changing the input. The letters and this research based on the letters treat the translator as the focal point: the actor whose movements are being traced while significant attention is paid to the object, or the target text.

The following two examples will serve as illustrations of instances where the translator was in communication with other participants who transformed the input into a different output. In other words, they acted as mediators and the translation was the object that partook in the exchange.

6.1. Searching for the Missing Quotations

As argued in the article by Margaret Simons (1983), the English translation is missing a large number of quotations (used by Beauvoir in the source text) from literary, scientific and general texts. Simons criticized Parshley for “[hacking] away with abandon, especially in those sections that bored or irritated (in this case) him” (Simons 1983: 562). In addition, she claims: “He eliminated most of Beauvoir’s quotations from the journals of Sophie Tolstoy, which provide her primary source of illustration for the ‘annihilation’ of woman in marriage” (562).

As mentioned above, Meryl Altman analyzed Beauvoir’s references to Stekel’s case studies and their absence in the English version. Altman studied the influence of psychologists and psychoanalysts and their work in Beauvoir’s essay. But when basing her results on the English text, she was astounded to find a significant reduction in references and quotations: “Sur l’ensemble des cas [de Stekel], Parshley en a omis cinq cas et coupé sept, mais surtout, il a eu tendance à les remplacer par une ou deux phrases de résumé” (Altman 2002: 86). In contrast to the target text, the source text contains 56 references to Stekel’s case study and nine quotations of Stekel. Out of the nine quotations, the English version keeps only one in its entirety. In another critical account of Parshley’s work, Toril Moi wrote: “He also eliminates her copious literary references and has little time for psychological or psychoanalytic evidence” (Moi 2002: 1009).

The extent of these cuts can still be seen today in the criticisms of Beauvoir’s thinking by scholars who have read the English translation. For example, Moi notes that “hostile critics of Beauvoir” can claim “that she was uninterested in women, and therefore ‘male-identified,’ yet even the most cursory

reading of the French text shows that this accusation could not be more unfair” (1010). This kind of criticism raises the question: Could the same be true for the translator? Could the reading of the letters reveal that Parshley indeed fought for the inclusion of the quotations, but in the end had to yield to persistent demands made by the editor-in-chief, Harold Strauss?

The following excerpts from the letters are examples of the on-going dialogue on the topic of quotations that span across several letters:

March 27, 1951 Strauss to Parshley: “As a general rule today, the method of fragmentary quotation is not what it used to be. In this technological world, educated people – except for a few Great Books fanatics – are not members of a common republic of letters with a broad common background”.

March 31, 1951 Parshley to Strauss: “As for the quotations from the authors, how else could one give an equally valid notion of their attitudes? [...] Your remarks regarding fragmentary quotation certainly apply to classical authors, but in our case it is not a question of a common republic of letters, for precisely what de Beauvoir is doing is to supply enough of her poets’ and novelists’ own words to enable any reader to get the drift, as it seems to me”.

April 3, 1951 Strauss to Parshley: “I don’t agree with you at all that the quotations give a valid notion of the attitude of these authors [...] American readers will be quite prepared to take general statements from De Beauvoir regarding the opinions of these authors as valid [...] I certainly cannot be dogmatic on the removal of all quotations. I have to give you some leeway”.

March 15, 1951 Strauss to Parshley: “Therefore I think it is essential to do everything possible to lighten the burden of the American reader”.

The correspondence contains more discussions on the removal of quotations and is instrumental in understanding the back-and-forth arguments between the translator and the editor-in-chief. The excerpts are a striking illustration of the decision-making process – discussions on topics that had direct impact and lasting consequences on the content and form of the target text.

6.2. *Piecing the Cuts Together*

Another recurrent argument by the critics of the English translation states that Parshley “dispensed” and “hacked away with abandon” while translating Beauvoir’s work (Simons 1983). However, the reading of the letters reveals a more nuanced view of the issue. From the beginning of the project, even before the translation and publication rights were acquired by Knopf from Gallimard (in November 1949), Alfred Knopf was inquiring about the possibility of cuts. It appears to be one of the first issues discussed in the correspondence beginning in the summer 1949. When Parshley was sent a copy

of *Le deuxième sexe*, he was expected to read and review the book not only for the evaluation of its content and translatability but also for insight into how much cutting and condensing was indeed possible.

The following excerpts illustrate this argument, but also show Parshley's noticeable frustration.

October 9, 1949, Simone de Beauvoir wrote to Blanche: "[je] suis en principe d'accord pour quelques coupures, bien entendu, je tiens seulement à être consultée. Je suppose qu'il n'est pas question de supprimer le passage sur Montherlant auquel j'attache beaucoup d'importance [...]".

November 9, 1949 Alfred to Parshley: "The next question before the house is that of cutting. She has agreed in principle to consider what you would recommend. But we have to show her precisely what you do recommend".

March 18, 1951 Parshley to Blanche: "Cuts or no (more) cuts, the book is bound to be a big one and, in places, as Mr. Strauss says, a tightly reasoned and difficult one; but the author is dealing with profound and difficult ideas, and it is therefore not to be made simple without misrepresentation of the original work".

September 30, 1951 Parshley to Strauss: "I hope that you will bring up in your editorial conferences my strong belief that this work is in its way a classic and that any further considerable cutting would be detrimental to it and would indeed justify the author in the fears she expressed in her letter to me and would go far toward relieving her 'of all responsibility' – something that I would by no means want to do and that the cuts so far made do not do".

Beauvoir was informed about the cuts, through the letters, and she also either agreed or disagreed with the proposed changes. Both Alfred and Blanche were actively involved in acquiring her approval and as a usual practice by a "respectable publishing house," they intended to comply with all the legal obligations. No cuts were to be executed without the author's agreement. However, the intricacy and the "messiness" of the translation process, which was highly influenced by the constant pressure by, paradoxically, the same actors who advocated compliance with the legal aspects, led the translator into a translation practice of cutting more than was initially allowed. In May 1951, Parshley admitted in a letter to Blanche that he had cut more than was originally approved by Beauvoir:

I have a problem to submit. In doing the actual translating I find a good many (mostly brief) passages that I am condensing or, in the case of quotations, even cutting, beyond those for which we have la Beauvoir's specific permission [...] It would be difficult to disentangle all of them so as to write the author for specific permission, and I wonder how you feel about the matter.

Blanche composed her reply the same day, May 16, 1951 and advised Parshley to immediately write “a tactful and very explicit letter to [Beauvoir] explaining” the complications. Parshley wrote immediately to Beauvoir with his concerns and explained that, since his translation had progressed beyond the middle of Volume II, “I find it desirable to condense a good many brief passages and to cut some of the quotations you cite, beyond those for which you have given specific permission”. He assured her that this did not involve omitting or changing her ideas, and he continued: “I hope, with Mrs. Knopf, that you will agree to leave these minor reductions to our judgement, as it would be difficult to refer to them all specifically”. He concluded the letter by once again assuring Beauvoir that his translation left her ideas “intact”. Alfred, Blanche and Strauss were fully aware of the legal implications of Beauvoir’s authority. However, they placed such demands, often deemed “unrealistic” by Parshley, that the translator found himself in a situation where he had to choose between editorial requests and legal restrictions.

Finally, the tension-filled relationship between the translator and the editor-in-chief was well illustrated in one of the letters Strauss wrote to Parshley. The pressure that Strauss was placing on the translator during their three-year collaboration was also the pressure he himself had to face. However, he explained in the following terms: “I’m afraid you’re right about the tension, but it wasn’t and isn’t directed particularly at you. I simply, now as almost always, have more work than I can possibly handle”. He then provided the following explanation:

“When a book is as complicated as DeBeauvoir [sic], and especially when the correspondence concerning it achieves such massive, complex and repetitious characteristics, I find it best quite deliberately to get mad, let my adrenal glands function, and bull it through. You can see for yourself that the process is working as it usually does”. (January 24, 1952)

Once the translation was completed, the president, Alfred Knopf, wrote to Parshley acknowledging his work and revealing a rather unflattering view of the book but maintaining the commercial objective:

“I am reading the Beauvoir and I must say I think you have done a magnificent job on the lady. She certainly suffers from verbal diarrhea – I have seldom read a book that seems to run in such concentric circles. [...] I can hardly imagine the average person reading the whole book carefully. But I think it is capable of making a very wide appeal indeed [...]”. (November 27, 1951)

These examples, and ample evidence from the correspondence, confirm the high level of involvement by other participants or actors, in Latour’s words, who transformed the target text.

The correspondence between Beauvoir and Parshley concerning the cuts, omissions and condensations does not however reveal the extent or the nature of participation of other actors. On the contrary, they remain invisible. The translator had to request Beauvoir's approval and to explain the extent of his cuts, all the while convincing the author that his cuts left her ideas intact. The full context was ignored, and Parshley turned himself into a highly visible and easy target for the future critics and Beauvoir herself, leading the author to proclaim in an interview with Margaret Simons: "I begrudge him a great deal" (Simons 1999: 94).

Ultimately, Beauvoir replied to Parshley's request for further approval but with a request of her own: to be relieved of all responsibility and to indicate that the translation is in fact an adaptation. Such a request, however, was deemed "ridiculous" by Blanche and Parshley, and since there was no more correspondence regarding this complication between the translator/publisher and Beauvoir, who was preoccupied with her own personal matters,¹¹ the Knopf firm decided to go ahead with their original plans.

7. Conclusion

The reading of the correspondence can provide a glimpse into the "manufacturing" process of the text. During the three years, the target text circulated between Northampton, MA (Parshley's residence) and New York, NY (Knopf's location) several times before its publication. Once the translation was done by hand by Parshley, it was typewritten by one or two typists hired by him (who sometimes also made errors). The manuscript would then be sent to Strauss and proofread by him. Parshley and Strauss discussed details via letters and then Parshley would have to change it accordingly and mail it again to the Knopf firm. Blanche would also review the text on occasion and discuss it with Strauss. The copyeditors would receive instructions from Strauss and would change and correct the manuscript. Later, it was circulated around with the in-house readers who supplied their comments. Strauss would receive their feedback as well as the other editors' feedback.

It is rare that translations are only touched by the hands of translators, and perhaps an occasional reviser, before they are printed.¹² On the contrary,

11. In her article (1992), Yolanda Patterson suggests that at this time Beauvoir was highly involved in her transatlantic affair with an American writer and journalist, Nelson Algren.

12. Depending on the publisher's practices and the size of the publication output, some publishers will indeed print works as completed by the translator. However, the general practice of larger and influential publishing houses indicates that the publisher

most major publishing houses consist of numerous departments which are concerned with the specific stages of book publication. Closer examinations of the interaction between different actors, and in this case the translator-publisher dynamic, can often disclose information that is not particularly pleasant. Publishers who are the financial and marketing agents backing the operation certainly have an interest in publishing a saleable book. But, their work and the extent of their involvement must not then be anonymous.

While it should be recognized that publishers assume great financial risks when they publish books, their influence and involvement should receive more attention. Since its conception in 1915, Alfred A. Knopf Inc. has been viewed with high esteem for the quality literature it has published. In his book on the changes of the last sixty years in the American publishing industry, *The Business of Books: How International Conglomerates Took over Publishing and Changed the Way We Read*, André Schiffrin describes how financial pressures and bottom-line oriented management have had detrimental effects on publishing houses. The Knopf firm has not been exempt from this trend: “Even the highly profitable Knopf list gradually jettisoned the more demanding translations and works of philosophy and art criticism on which it had built its reputation” (Schiffrin 2000: 100).

Such financially conservative circumstances could partially explain why Knopf has been so reluctant to invest in a new translation of *Le deuxième sexe*. Likewise, such circumstances should also be kept in mind when considering the quality of the 2010 English translation and the actors involved.

The application of sociological theories can assist in providing more detailed and encompassing examinations. Placing the primary interest with the actors around the translator and their interaction can yield fruitful results that may in turn require further investigation into historical documents. Latour's concepts can be employed to paint a larger picture of the relationships that directly shaped the English translation. The calls for a re-translation are justified by the deficiencies found in the 1953 translation. However, before we put aside the first translation and focus our attention on the second, “beautiful, smooth and true”¹³ translation, perhaps it would be useful, if not wise, to consider the conditions of the “making” of the first English version. This article has aimed to draw some potentially vital lessons regarding the translator-

is more often than not very much involved in every step of the translation process, determining style, tone, vocabulary, etc., according to their view of the target audience.

13. Borrowed from the title of an article by Luise von Flotow, “This time ‘the translation is beautiful, smooth, and true.’ Theorizing Re-translation with the Help of Beauvoir” in *French Literature Series* 36 (forthcoming, 2009).

publisher dynamic in the hope they serve as reminders when considering the work of any translator.

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LA TRADUCCIÓN LITERARIA Y LA BRECHA DE PARALAJE. REFLEXIONES A PARTIR DE UN CUESTIONARIO PILOTO¹

Fruela Fernández
Universidad de Granada

Resumen

La investigación social se ha movido históricamente entre oposiciones conceptuales que el construccionismo sociológico intenta superar. Mediante el análisis de las respuestas y los problemas planteados por un cuestionario piloto dirigido a traductores de literatura, se tratan una serie de planteamientos aplicables a la investigación sociológica de la traducción literaria. Se hace especial hincapié en la indefinición como grupo de los traductores literarios y se plantea la utilidad del concepto “brecha de paralaje” (Slavoj Žižek) como método de análisis interdisciplinar y dialéctico.

Abstract

Historically, social research has alternated between conceptual opposites that social constructionism tries to reconcile. By analyzing the issues raised and responses given to a pilot questionnaire completed by literary translators, this article discusses approaches that could be applied to sociological research in literary translation. Special emphasis is placed on the undefined nature of literary translators as a group and on the usefulness of the “parallax gap” concept (Slavoj Žižek) as a dialectical, interdisciplinary method of analysis.

Palabras clave

Traducción literaria. Traducción profesional. Cuestionarios. Brecha de paralaje. Sociología de la traducción.

Keywords

Literary translation. Professional translation. Questionnaires. Parallax Gap. Sociology of translation.

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1. Introducción: las oposiciones conceptuales en investigación social

Tradicionalmente las investigaciones sociales se han movido entre pares de conceptos opuestos que delimitan su ámbito de trabajo y condicionan su enfoque: material vs. ideal, objetivo vs. subjetivo, colectivo vs. individual (cf. Rubinstein 1981: 10-88; Corcuff 1995: 11-22). Aunque la dependencia respecto a estos *paired concepts* (Bendix & Berger 1959) haya supuesto una traba para la comprensión de fenómenos tan complejos como los sociales, la investigación en este campo no deja de estar asediada, de manera continua, por presencias sutiles de estas dicotomías.

Una de las discusiones más complejas y de influencia más persistente sigue siendo la que enfrenta a “actores” y a “observadores”, cuyo paradigma clásico es la distinción entre los participantes en una determinada situación social y los investigadores que los analizan; oposición que se ha hecho habitual bajo la denominación antropológica *emics* vs. *etics*, planteada por Pike (1954) y reinterpretada posteriormente por Marvin Harris (1964, 1979). Si bien la pareja *emics-etics* sigue siendo controvertida, ya que plantea a su vez nuevos interrogantes (cf. el debate desarrollado en Headland, Pike & Harris 1990), resulta evidente que alude a una preocupación básica de la investigación social: los problemas planteados por la diferencia de perspectivas sobre el “objeto” sociológico que poseen actores e investigadores y las posibles inexactitudes o confusiones derivadas de tal diferencia. El planteamiento ya aparece, por ejemplo, con Durkheim, quien se decantaba en este debate siguiendo una filosofía materialista de la historia: “Consideramos fecunda la idea de que la vida social no debe explicarse por la concepción que se forman quienes participan en ella, sino por causas profundas que escapan a la conciencia [...]” (Durkheim 1897: 250; traducción propia). Justamente de Durkheim y de Mauss proviene el concepto de “ruptura epistemológica” reivindicado por Pierre Bourdieu: en las ciencias humanas, el investigador ha de mantener una vigilancia constante sobre sus métodos, ya que en estas disciplinas “la separación entre la opinión común y el discurso científico es más imprecisa que en otros casos” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Passeron 1975: 27). Del lado contrario se situarían aquellos investigadores y pensadores que no desconfían

de la opinión de los participantes, sino que se centran precisamente en su incitación; desde esta perspectiva, el intelectual o investigador ya no sería el descubridor de algo que “se escapa a la conciencia”, sino el encargado de luchar contra “el sistema de poder” que intercepta el discurso de los participantes y evita que se oiga:

[Tradicionalmente] el intelectual decía la verdad a los que todavía no la veían y en nombre de los que no podían decirla: conciencia y elocuencia.

Ahora bien, los intelectuales han descubierto, después de las recientes luchas [de mayo del 68], que las masas no los necesitan para saber; ellas saben perfectamente, claramente, mucho mejor que ellos; y además lo dicen muy bien. (Foucault 1972: 25)

Aunque probablemente estas dicotomías nunca llegan a ser radicales en ningún sistema de investigación moderno, las distintas herencias e influencias intelectuales, además de la presencia sutil de conceptos asumidos, requieren una vigilancia constante frente a estas separaciones que pueden oscurecer el planteamiento de trabajo. Un planteamiento constructivista, como el que guía esta investigación, parte, por tanto, de la premisa de que es imprescindible “establecer vías de comunicación entre el punto de vista exterior del observador y las formas en que los actores perciben y viven lo que hacen mientras actúan” (Corcuff 1995: 15); planteamiento que exige, asimismo, “reflexividad sociológica” (cf. Bourdieu 2001: 167-220), es decir, un análisis del estudio acerca de su propia relación con el objeto estudiado.

En este sentido, esta investigación también reivindica la noción de “brecha de paralaje” desarrollada por Slavoj Žižek (2005). Técnicamente, se denomina paralaje al aparente desplazamiento de un objeto (astronómico) a causa de un cambio en la posición desde la que se observa; aplicada a la investigación política y social, la paralaje permite hacer referencia al cambio en la percepción de los distintos hechos que constituyen la “realidad” colectiva. Ahora bien, Žižek –en paralelismo con Katarani (2001)– introduce un matiz importante en esta reaplicación: la diferencia que muestra la paralaje social no se puede considerar subjetiva y contingente, sino epistemológica y, por tanto, ontológica, ya que el cambio en la perspectiva de investigación transforma el objeto; desde una línea distinta, Bachelard ya había afirmado que el hecho científico *se construye*. De acuerdo con el planteamiento de Žižek, el análisis crítico más productivo sería, en suma, el dialéctico, aquel que se sitúe justamente en la “brecha” entre las distintas paralajes; es decir, el análisis que no plantee las distintas oposiciones entre perspectivas (como la dicotomía participante–observador), sino que trabaje a partir del intersticio entre ellas (cf. Žižek 2005: 25-29).

2. Análisis de un cuestionario piloto: el problema como posibilidad

2.1. *Propósitos de la investigación y aspectos metodológicos*

Con el objetivo de establecer precisamente las “vías de comunicación” entre el investigador y los actores que puedan definir la “brecha” de trabajo y aportar nuevas perspectivas a una investigación en curso sobre la traducción literaria en España (Fernández 2007, 2008 y en preparación), se confeccionó un cuestionario dirigido a traductores de literatura; el cuestionario debía servir, en cierto modo, como medio de contraste entre los planteamientos de investigación desarrollados hasta entonces y las opiniones de los participantes acerca del ámbito profesional-cultural en el que desarrollaban su actividad. Dicho cuestionario fue pretestado entre mayo y junio de 2008; aunque por razones de espacio no sea posible incluir el cuestionario piloto en este artículo, se detallarán brevemente algunas cuestiones metodológicas que guiaron el proceso, antes de analizar determinados aspectos de interés relacionados con las respuestas de los participantes en la prueba.

En primer lugar, era imprescindible plantear claramente los objetivos de la encuesta para evitar errores de especificación (Cea d’Ancona 2004: 36); esto implica, a su vez, definir los conceptos que permitirían analizar el constructo que se investiga (Cea d’Ancona 2004: 192-193). En este caso, por analogía con las investigaciones previas llevadas a cabo, se intentaba comprender la “valoración” de la traducción y de los profesionales de la traducción dentro del sistema literario español (en lengua castellana, por ser la que concentra a mayor número profesionales). Por tanto, siguiendo distintas combinaciones, se recurrió a unos conceptos fáciles de comprender y de uso habitual, como “importancia otorgada”, “remuneración”, “reconocimiento de la labor profesional”, “respeto de los derechos profesionales” y “visibilidad pública”.

En segundo lugar, se planteaba la cuestión de la longitud del cuestionario, puesto que de ella iba a depender en buena medida el número de respuestas. Por una parte, ha de tenerse en cuenta que un número importante de los posibles encuestados eran profesionales en régimen de autónomo y, en ocasiones, con una situación laboral precaria (cf. Macías Sistiaga & Fernández-Cid 2003), que probablemente no querían dedicar excesivo tiempo a un cuestionario. La tradición en investigación psicosocial avala, por otra parte, un planteamiento basado en la brevedad, ya que, además de afirmar que “la calidad de una escala [...] no puede apreciarse por el número de ítems” (Morales Vallejo 2000: 68), advierte acerca del posible *respondent burden* (Sharp & Frankel 1983): el nivel de molestia experimentado por los encuestados cuando el test se hace largo, hecho que puede afectar indirectamente a la

fiabilidad. Así se puede observar, por ejemplo, que el 62% de las encuestas llevadas a cabo ente 1964 y 1973 tenían 10 ítems (Bidnick 1975) o que se haya cimentado, con posterioridad, la preferencia por un número de ítems situado entre 20 y 40 (Nunnally 1978: 605). Por último, se tuvo en cuenta también el ya asentado Método de Diseño Total (*Total Design Method*) de Dillman (2000), cuyos puntos principales sugieren la sencillez del cuestionario, la búsqueda del interés para el encuestado –haciendo referencia a cuestiones que le importen– y la facilidad para responder. De esta manera, se procuró plantear un número de ítems manejable (15), con una mayoría de preguntas cerradas y medidas según la escala Likert, que facilita tanto la respuesta como la corrección. Asimismo, se añadieron dos preguntas más amplias, de tipo abierto, que permitieran recabar otras informaciones variadas, que se relacionaban con la línea de investigación ya iniciada; aunque los datos obtenidos en tales preguntas plantean más dificultades de sistematización, su interés reside en que proporcionan una “apertura cualitativa” (Ortí 1992) que, en ocasiones, puede ofrecer posibilidades de investigación, como se comentará posteriormente.

Por último, se debía proceder a la selección de la muestra que serviría para evaluar el cuestionario piloto; en este proceso, si bien la opinión de los expertos pueda ser útil, es imprescindible recurrir a sujetos que formen parte de la población estudiada (Cea d’Ancona 2004: 37). El número de casos no necesita ser demasiado alto (se tiende a usar grupos inferiores a 100 personas) y la selección, para los propósitos del análisis, tampoco se requiere que sea aleatoria, aunque en este caso se prefirió mantener el carácter aleatorio de la misma. Para ello, se recurrió a los ficheros de las principales asociaciones de traductores de libros (ACEtt, ACEC y ASETRAD); con esa base, se eligió, por orden alfabético, a 200 personas que cumplieran los siguientes criterios: tener el castellano como lengua de llegada (dado que las condiciones de trabajo varían entre las distintas lenguas oficiales), estar especializadas en traducción literaria-humanística y poseer una dirección de correo electrónico de contacto (fórmula cada vez más habitual, aunque no exclusiva). En este punto, resulta importante tener en cuenta la cobertura del marco muestral (Cea d’Ancona 2004: 41): dado que todos los listados disponibles son y serán siempre restrictivos, ha de considerarse en qué medida puede afectar este hecho a la selección de sujetos. En el caso de esta investigación, es importante observar que todos los sujetos del pretest estaban afiliados a alguna asociación de traductores, lo que implica una voluntad profesional o semiprofesional y una conciencia de sus derechos y de la situación laboral en la que se sitúan: al no existir un colegio profesional de traductores, la pertenencia a una asociación no supone una condición previa, sino una elección; por tanto, se

convierte en una variable importante. Pese a todo, precisamente esa toma de conciencia respecto a su condición laboral podía beneficiar a los propósitos de la investigación, ya que se trabaja con personas cuya opinión tiende a estar formada y asentada. En cualquier caso, con vistas al desarrollo futuro de la encuesta, sería conveniente ampliar el marco muestral mediante otros listados y ficheros, de forma que se evite un posible error de no cobertura (Cea d'Ancona 2004: 105-115).

2.2. *La participación como posible indicador laboral*

Tras el envío de los 200 cuestionarios, se recibieron 84 cuestionarios cumplimentados, aunque sólo 78 de ellos resultaron válidos; asimismo, 10 de los posibles encuestados (5% del total) no recibieron el cuestionario, al ser incorrecta o estar inactiva su dirección de correo. A ello debe sumarse el hecho de que 12 de los encuestados (6% del total) afirmaran haber abandonado la práctica profesional de la traducción; 9 de ellos se excusaron de esta forma en sus correos de respuesta, mientras que 3 lo indicaron en el cuestionario cumplimentado, razón por la cual tuvieron que ser descartados. El porcentaje de respuesta se sitúa, por tanto, en el 42% (39% descontando los no válidos), dato que, si bien no puede considerarse del todo satisfactorio, adquiere más valor por comparación con otras investigaciones previas, como las financiadas por ACEtt en las últimas décadas: la encuesta realizada en 1996 y dirigida sólo a miembros de esta asociación (Macías Sistiaga, Fernández-Cid & Martín Caño 1997) obtuvo un porcentaje de respuesta en torno al 40%, mientras que la realizada en 2002 por el mismo equipo y con un marco muestral semejante (Macías Sistiaga & Fernández-Cid 2003) obtuvo una respuesta del 18%. Conviene detenerse en la explicación que los investigadores contratados por ACEtt sugirieron para este posible descenso en la participación:

La disminución del porcentaje de participación [...] es preocupante tratándose de un grupo caracterizado, como se viene apuntando, por padecer unas condiciones laborales en las que la fragmentación, la incertidumbre, la debilidad de partida en la negociación contractual, se muestran dominantes. La influencia del contexto o marco, en este caso referido al mundo laboral-productivo, ayuda a explicar que estas condiciones, lejos de incitar posiciones más participativas y reivindicativas deriven en manifestaciones de desmotivación y falta de implicación en los asuntos colectivos. (Macías Sistiaga & Fernández-Cid 2003: 5-6)

Este planteamiento de apatía, unido a las frecuentes protestas públicas de las asociaciones de traductores (cf. Azancot 2003; Rodríguez Marcos 2006; Collera 2007) y al porcentaje ya mencionado de personas –pequeño, pero

apreciable— que manifestaban haber abandonado la traducción profesional por razones económicas, muestra un ámbito profesional que se conecta claramente con la descripción que Albert Hirschman (1970) hizo de las entidades y sociedades en crisis, donde los actores se mueven entre la opción de “salida” (*exit*) y la de “voz” (*voice*), es decir, entre el abandono de la entidad y la denuncia de la situación existente. Ciertamente parece que la interacción de estas actitudes evidencia, en sí misma, una situación “crítica” en lo que concierne al ejercicio profesional de la traducción, ya que, por lo general, sólo un sistema con un tipo de funcionamiento erróneo o descompensado muestra con claridad esas tendencias.

2.3. *Los problemas de respuesta y la formación de conceptos*

Por norma, un cuestionario piloto no se emplea con propósitos estadísticos, sino analíticos (Cea d’Ancona 2004: 37), ya que permite afinar las preguntas empleadas y los conceptos utilizados. En el presente caso, las contribuciones derivadas de este análisis no sólo fueron dispares, sino que evidenciaron algunas cuestiones que podrían ser útiles para formar conceptos de trabajo futuro.

En líneas generales, los encuestados apenas manifestaron problemas con la parte principal del cuestionario, correspondiente a las preguntas cerradas: dos personas consideraron que alguna pregunta concreta necesitaba mayor precisión; tres personas manifestaron que el cuestionario resultaba demasiado general, lo que implicaba dificultad para responder; en contraposición, otras cinco indicaron que la brevedad del cuestionario lo hacía fácil de responder y animaba a hacerlo.

Por el contrario, un número muy alto de encuestados manifestaron algún tipo de dificultad para responder a las dos preguntas abiertas del cuestionario: en la primera, se les pedía que —de acuerdo con su experiencia— indicaran editoriales cuyo trato al traductor fuera positivo o negativo; en la segunda, se les pedía que —nuevamente de acuerdo con su experiencia— mencionasen a críticos literarios que prestaran atención a los libros traducidos que analizaban, frente a aquellos que no lo hiciesen.

La abundancia de comentarios que los encuestados plantearon ante estas preguntas no sólo serviría para refinar los ítems en cuestión, sino que, como se irá detallando en los puntos siguientes, propicia la revisión de ciertos conceptos empleados; desde una perspectiva epistemológica reflexiva, que considera el análisis científico como el paso “desde un conocimiento menos verdadero a un conocimiento más verdadero” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Passeron 1975: 20), esta corrección permitiría incluso la apertura de nuevos aspectos de la investigación: como resume la conocida frase de Bachelard, todo

conocimiento científico es siempre un conocimiento “aproximado, es decir, rectificado” (Bachelard *apud* Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Passeron 1975: 20).

2.3.1. El trato con las editoriales: “la zona gris”

La pregunta concerniente a las editoriales muestra una tasa de respuesta muy alta, ya que 68 de los 78 encuestados (87,18%) indicaron editoriales que podrían situarse dentro de alguna de las categorías. Sin embargo, 35 encuestados expresaron su dificultad para responder a esta pregunta de manera clara, poniendo de manifiesto una serie de cuestiones relevantes.

En primer lugar, varios sujetos indicaron, de forma directa o indirecta, la imposibilidad de considerar como “positivo” o “negativo” su trato con las editoriales, dado que el conjunto de aspectos relacionados con su actividad laboral (plazos, información, remuneración) variaba considerablemente de una editorial a otra y dentro de la misma editorial; resultaba, en su opinión, habitual que una editorial cumpliera positivamente en una de las cuestiones, pero ofreciera otros aspectos negativos:

[...] el trato de los editores es difícil de valorar en su conjunto, sin precisar si se trata de cumplimiento de sus obligaciones respecto a derechos, información, trato, facilidades, puntualidad en los pagos, etc. (Sujeto 68)

La división entre trato positivo/negativo a los traductores de las editoriales es demasiado tajante. Puede ser positivo en unos aspectos, aunque paguen poco, etc. (Sujeto 51)

Unas editoriales son estupendas, pero la remuneración siempre es escasa, otras son estupendas y la remuneración es adecuada pero jamás informan de las liquidaciones, etc., etc. (Sujeto 76)

Así, el sujeto 47 habla de “editoriales con un positivo en todo menos en remuneración”; el sujeto 38 cita a editoriales que “pagan poco, aunque tratan muy bien”, frente a otras que “pagan bien pero tratan mal”; el sujeto 32 indica algunas editoriales “pequeñas” que son positivas en “tiempo, atención...”, aunque “no en remuneración”; el sujeto 57 menciona a varias editoriales de trato “negativo” y va precisando las razones de cada elección: “(remuneración, desinformación)”, “(remuneración pésima)”, “(desinformación)”, etc.; lo mismo hace el sujeto 61, que menciona a una editorial con “tarifas irrisorias”, aunque “el trato profesional y personal con la editora es bueno”. El sujeto 53 proporcionaba una imagen muy representativa de la situación, al afirmar que existe “una gran zona gris” entre lo positivo y lo negativo donde se mueven la mayoría de editoriales literarias.

Un aspecto relevante que se relaciona con esta dificultad para valorar la relación editorial es, asimismo, la impresión de que las editoriales, en contra de cualquier tipo de deontología, tratan de manera muy diferente a un traductor y a otro, o incluso a un mismo profesional en distintos momentos:

Habría que señalar que la misma editorial puede tratar de manera distinta a traductores distintos (emolumentos, atención...). (Sujeto 36)

Seguramente, habrá editoriales que traten muy bien a un traductor y a la vez traten mal a otro. Esto dificulta el hecho de poder hablar con propiedad de qué editoriales respetan los derechos de los traductores o les dispensan un trato adecuado. El problema reside principalmente en la falta de poder actuar de manera conjunta, y también en que las editoriales son, al fin y al cabo, las que tienen la última palabra. Ante esta situación, los traductores muchas veces capitulan ante situaciones que en algunos casos pueden ser inaceptables. (Sujeto 29)

Las empresas suelen regirse por parámetros variables y una misma editorial puede mostrar dos conductas contradictorias con respecto a un mismo traductor. [...] Llevo muchos años en la profesión y unos cuantos peleando por los derechos de los traductores y no creo que se pueda demonizar ni santificar a nadie. (Sujeto 37)

A menudo, el trato que recibe el traductor por parte de cada editorial depende fundamentalmente de la persona concreta con la que se acuerda cada trabajo. Es habitual que el empleado de turno de la editorial intente conservar su equipo de traducción si cambia de empresa. (Sujeto 40)

En esta perspectiva de incumplimientos y tratos desiguales, sigue habiendo, en cualquier caso, un problema que se manifiesta como fundamental: la remuneración, que siempre resulta inadecuada para la tarea realizada y que impide, por tanto, una valoración más amplia de las editoriales. Por ejemplo, el sujeto 56 señalaba que no podía mencionar casos, porque “debido a la pésima remuneración he llegado a trabajar para muy pocas editoriales comerciales”. De manera generalizada, el traductor, como elemento más débil de la negociación salarial, se encuentra con una situación donde las elecciones están muy restringidas:

Para ahondar un poco más en el aspecto de la remuneración, hay que destacar también que las tarifas se estancan durante años, y que los editores no se dignan siquiera añadirles el porcentaje de IPC que se calcula cada año. (Sujeto 9)

Para las editoriales, el traductor suele ser el último mono; es decir, cualquier rebaja en el presupuesto del libro afecta en especial a la traducción [...]. (Sujeto 21)

Lo que sí veo es que, si uno acepta lo que le ofrecen, las editoriales no mejoran las condiciones con el tiempo. Es el traductor el que tiene que pedir más. (Sujeto 45)

[...] existe una costumbre tan ancestral de no pagar bien al traductor que es muy difícil cambiar un hábito tan arraigado. (Sujeto 38)

Para mí, el problema más grave de la traducción editorial es que ésta constituye una de las pocas áreas laborales en las que *es el cliente quien fija el precio*, y no el proveedor. Como parece lógico, y como ocurriría en cualquier otro ámbito profesional, cuando es el cliente quien fija el precio, éste lo hace siempre a la baja. (Sujeto 64)

Existe, asimismo, la percepción de que las tarifas han empeorado en términos generales, dado que en las últimas décadas han surgido dos problemas nuevos: el pago por caracteres y la duplicidad de tarifas. La primera de estas cuestiones se ha generalizado entre la mayoría de editoriales y hace referencia a un cambio importante en el sistema de tarificación. Tradicionalmente se pagaba una cantidad por folio; cada folio contiene, aproximadamente, 30 líneas de 70 caracteres cada una, aunque no siempre se llena todo ese espacio (p. ej. textos con diálogos, poemas, etc.). En la actualidad, es habitual que los editores calculen el número total de caracteres del texto y lo dividan entre 2.100, es decir, entre el número de caracteres que contendría un folio “ideal” que estuviese completamente lleno (al que se denomina, técnicamente, “holandesa”). De esta forma, se reduce el pago percibido por traducir textos con espacios, como la poesía, el teatro, las novelas con diálogos frecuentes, los libros de aforismos, etc. De acuerdo con una investigación reciente, este sistema puede reducir los ingresos del traductor cerca de un 20% (Milla & Pino 2006):

Observo que en los últimos 10 años la situación profesional del traductor literario ha mejorado en lo que concierne al respeto de sus derechos como autor de su traducción. Sin embargo, otros aspectos han empeorado, como pueden ser la remuneración, debido a la generalización del recuento automático de Word para computar los caracteres de un texto [...] (Sujeto 9)

[...] el traductor “de a pie” ha ido ganando en derechos y en visibilidad: se le conoce algo más y se le respeta algo más. Ahora bien, en mi opinión hay un aspecto en el que estamos peor que hace años: el traductor cobra, de media, menos que antes (y ya es difícil). La estrategia editorial del recuento de caracteres es francamente mezquina. (Sujeto 17)

El gran problema son los pagos. Con el sistema actual de cómputo por plantilla, te acaban pagando algo así como 8 ó 9 euros por página; teniendo en cuenta las dificultades (y las horas) que implican muchas obras, es complicado que te salgan las cuentas [...]. (Sujeto 24)

Asimismo, se considera como elemento negativo la aparición de una duplicidad de tarifas, que afecta a dos grupos que, por unas razones u otras, no se hallan completamente integrados en el colectivo de traductores: los principiantes y los traductores no profesionales, que compatibilizan la traducción con otros empleos. Por las distintas coyunturas profesionales en que se encuentran ambos grupos y por su desconocimiento de las condiciones laborales, pueden llegar a aceptar tarifas muy inferiores a las habituales, lo que implica, además, un perjuicio para todo el colectivo de trabajadores. Esta tendencia empresarial, consistente en recurrir a los sectores más desfavorecidos del mercado para acordar tarifas inferiores y/o peores condiciones laborales, es una constante dentro de cualquier sector profesional en crisis; se pudo observar, por ejemplo, en abril de 2009 en un ámbito laboral muy distinto, la naval de Sestao, donde los trabajadores convocaron paros como protesta contra la subcontratación de trabajadores inmigrantes con sueldos inferiores, situación que se resolvió con un nuevo convenio que obligó a la empresa al mantenimiento de la igualdad salarial (*El País* 2009):

Los traductores jóvenes trabajan por tarifas de miseria. Hay un dualismo que no había antes. (Sujeto 25)

[...] existen muchas editoriales pequeñas, de catálogo variado (autoayuda, novela negra, romántica, ciencia ficción...), que pagan cantidades vergonzosas y que se aprovechan de la gente que está comenzando (conozco casos de personas que han cobrado ¡4 euros! por página, un insulto). (Sujeto 34)

[...] las cantidades que he cobrado son muy bajas, totalmente desproporcionadas para el tiempo que me ha llevado cada una de estas traducciones; por lo tanto, si no hubiese tenido otros trabajos mientras tanto, sé que lo habría tenido muy difícil para llegar a fin de mes. En mi caso, la traducción ha sido “un extra” (muy arduo, la verdad). (Sujeto 17)

[...] pocos traductores viven exclusivamente de la traducción, por lo cual, los que tienen otro trabajo no necesitan lo que ganan en la traducción para vivir. (Sujeto 38)

La problemática es muy distinta para el veterano o el novel y, sobre todo, para el “profesional” o para el “académico” (profesor universitario o demás) que completa un sueldo o trabaja por “currículum” o por placer. (Sujeto 54)

Un último problema derivado del trato editorial se asocia con la Ley de Propiedad Intelectual (LPI), aprobada en noviembre de 1987, y con la puesta en vigor del Texto Refundido de la LPI en abril de 1996; de acuerdo con la LPI, el traductor se convierte en autor y propietario de su traducción, lo que implica, entre otras cuestiones (Murillo 2007), que se le concede el cobro por derechos

de autor y también por cesiones a terceros (reedición de una obra por parte de una editorial distinta de la que pagó la traducción). En la última de las encuestas financiadas por ACEtt (Macías Sistiaga & Fernández-Cid 2003: 74-78), ya se advertía el incumplimiento habitual de la LPI, además de la desinformación en la que las editoriales mantenían a los traductores; esta situación parece mantenerse, de acuerdo con los comentarios de los encuestados:

La mejoría de la situación de los traductores obedece a un solo factor: la LPI. Su aplicación práctica deja mucho que desear y el trato general que reciben los traductores sigue siendo de pena, salvo escasas y honrosas excepciones por ambas partes. (Sujeto 7)

También observo que todavía no es práctica general el que los editores permitan al traductor revisar las pruebas de la traducción, ni tampoco el envío de información sobre liquidaciones de derechos de autor. Tampoco suelen informar los editores de las cesiones de una traducción a otras editoriales. (Sujeto 9)

El respeto a los derechos profesionales ha mejorado mucho en cuanto no afecta a la remuneración, pero por ejemplo los derechos de autor siguen sin percibirse debidamente. Hay reediciones oscuras, de las que uno se enteraría por Cedro y no por la editorial, o de las que nunca llega a enterarse, cesiones a terceros igualmente oscuras. (Sujeto 25)

Las editoriales siguen redactando contratos que no se ajustan a la LPI. Muchas editoriales no envían liquidaciones anuales. El traductor pierde el control del texto una vez lo ha entregado y no tiene oportunidad de aceptar o rechazar los cambios de correctores o editores. (Sujeto 41)

En suma, el conjunto de precisiones planteado por los encuestados a esta primera pregunta abierta, relativa al trato con las editoriales, define un panorama complejo, confuso y, en general, negativo, donde ni siquiera los propios participantes saben exactamente a qué atenerse; su opinión no puede ser global, en la medida en que forman parte de un mercado fragmentado, inestable y con un marcado desequilibrio. Su situación laboral, por otra parte, no se asemeja a la habitual en las profesiones que podrían denominarse “liberales” o “intelectuales”, sino que se acerca más a la de otros trabajadores no cualificados; una reciente encuesta de CEATL a nivel europeo (Fock, de Haan & Lhotová 2009: 69) señala que los ingresos brutos de una gran parte de los traductores literarios se sitúan *por debajo* de los percibidos por los obreros industriales, no llegando, en diversos países, a igualar siquiera los dos tercios de un salario industrial. El traductor, en suma, se define como un “trabajador proletarianizado”, puesto que el “rasgo específico que distingue a los traductores en la actualidad [...] es su condición individual de prescindibles, intercambiables”

(Martínez-Lage & Sánchez Lizarralde 1997: 13); lo que, por otra parte, no deja de enlazarse con un mercado mundial, más amplio, donde se insiste en la “contingencia” del trabajador y en la necesidad –casi la obligación– de que sea adaptable a las condiciones fluctuantes (Sennett 1998; Bauman 2005). De todo ello se colige, por tanto, la necesidad de que cualquier investigación en este campo tenga en cuenta ese carácter variable, confuso de la situación laboral del traductor literario y la considerable dificultad de estos profesionales para establecer sus parámetros de orientación en el mercado.

2.3.2. La función de la crítica y la conciencia del sistema literario

La segunda de las preguntas abiertas que se incluía en el cuestionario se refería a los críticos literarios y reseñistas; se solicitaba a los encuestados que mencionaran a aquellos que, de acuerdo con su experiencia, concediesen (o no) importancia a la traducción que analizaban. Nuevamente, las respuestas evidencian dificultades en torno al concepto planteado, aunque su carácter sea distinto al que se observaba en la primera de las preguntas abiertas.

En primer lugar, se observa un porcentaje de respuesta relativamente bajo, ya que sólo 34 de los 78 encuestados (43,59%) contestaron. El dato de interés aparece cuando se procede a un desglose por categorías, que indica una diferencia peculiar: entre los encuestados que afirmaban tener la traducción como actividad principal, la tasa de respuesta se reduce hasta volverse poco relevante, pues sólo 14 de los 54 participantes (25,93%) respondieron; por el contrario, en el colectivo, bastante menor, de encuestados que compatibilizaban la traducción con otras actividades profesionales, la tasa aumentaba de manera muy marcada, dado que 20 de los 24 sujetos (83,33%) contestaron. Esta diferencia, aunque sea imprescindible considerarla como provisional por el carácter probatorio del cuestionario, sugiere una posibilidad de trabajo importante: una conciencia muy distinta entre profesionales y no profesionales en lo que concierne a la crítica literaria y su importancia dentro del sistema literario. En líneas generales, los profesionales que se pronuncian en torno a la cuestión suelen apuntar al desconocimiento o desinterés de los críticos, es decir, ponen en duda la propia conveniencia y posibilidad *técnica* de que una traducción sea juzgada por aquellos:

[...]se trata de un terreno para el cual no está preparado técnicamente; la mayoría de la crítica confunde hallazgos o defectos del autor con hallazgos o defectos del traductor, y viceversa. (Sujeto 37)

[...]la mayoría de críticos sólo mencionan el nombre del traductor pero no hacen crítica de la traducción, y cuando dicen algo de ésta suele ser negativo, raras veces positivo. (Sujeto 39)

[...] el juicio sobre la calidad suele resumirse, las menos de las veces, en unas pocas líneas, en la mayoría de casos, con un par de adjetivos. (Sujeto 47)

Las menciones a los traductores suelen ser breves y generales, cuando existen, del tipo “por cierto, la traducción no está mal/es muy mala”. No suele hacerse un análisis riguroso ni con conocimiento de causa. (Sujeto 53)

La pregunta es improcedente. 1. la inmensa mayoría [de los críticos] carece de un conocimiento suficiente de la lengua de origen. 2. y caso de tenerlo es prácticamente imposible que haya podido confrontar completamente ambos textos. (Sujeto 55)

No he leído nunca un comentario inteligente de un crítico en esta materia, sin duda porque desconocen los originales. (Sujeto 59)

Una segunda cuestión en la que coinciden las respuestas de los sujetos –con las matizaciones ya hechas acerca de la amplia diferencia en número– es la relación entre los críticos literarios y la visibilidad que pueden otorgar a una traducción. Aun así, puede apreciarse, de nuevo, cierta disparidad: mientras los profesionales que aluden a este problema señalan la importancia que la visibilidad de los traductores podría tener para la mejora de su situación laboral, los encuestados no profesionales hacen más hincapié en la tarea del crítico como mediador u orientador de la lectura, es decir, como agente que influye en la valoración de la obra traducida:

En mi opinión, el problema de la traducción es [...] el desconocimiento del gran público, que no considera que el traductor sea un profesional cuyo trabajo deba ser reconocido y bien remunerado, cosa que favorece a los editores [...]. Está, además, y por todo lo anterior, el escaso reconocimiento del trabajo del traductor, no sólo por los medios de comunicación (que sólo hablan de la traducción cuando es mala) sino también por los editores (que muchas veces ni siquiera ponen su nombre en los catálogos). (Sujeto 38)

[...] pese a la labor tenaz y constante de la asociación de traductores literarios, ACEtt, por mejorar la visibilidad del traductor en la sociedad, todavía no se han alcanzado buenos resultados, notablemente en la prensa cultural, donde los críticos literarios siguen omitiendo el nombre del traductor en sus reseñas de libros y, desde luego, muy rara vez alaban la labor del traductor. Para denostarla no tienen en cambio tantos reparos. (Sujeto 9)

En los últimos 10 años ha mejorado ligeramente la situación del traductor de libros en cuanto a visibilidad y derechos, no así en cuanto a remuneración y reconocimiento público. Es verdad que nuestra lucha ha dado y sigue dando algunos frutos, pero seguimos encontrándonos con el muro infranqueable de la crítica literaria y los medios de este país que siguen sin reconocer la labor de los traductores en favor de la difusión del libro. (Sujeto 12)

Pocos críticos se detienen en la importancia y/o calidad de la traducción. Generalmente se trata de expertos en el tema que reseñan. La mayoría ignoran al traductor y la traducción, sobre todo, los “figuras” habituales en la sección de Libros que creen “saber” de todo y, encima, condicionan la demanda de la lectura. (Sujeto 22)

La atención a la traducción literaria en la crítica literaria está estrechamente vinculada a la propia actividad como traductor del crítico. Se menciona, acaso, cuando se trata de traductores consagrados o de nuevas versiones de clásicos (Proust, Flaubert, Dickens, etc.) (Sujeto 10)

La ignorancia de los críticos literarios –que, cada vez con más frecuencia, suelen ser periodistas reciclados– en torno a las lenguas y literaturas extranjeras les impide comprender el esfuerzo que supone una traducción y, sobre todo, la importancia de una *buena* traducción. Una literatura depende también de las traducciones. (Sujeto 24)

Todo el engranaje editorial en España está enfocado tan sólo para tener unos rendimientos económicos. Y aquí se supeditan todas las partes, desde las editoriales hasta los lectores. Los críticos, que tendrían que hacer de puente entre ambas partes, actúan de manera contraria y tan sólo contribuyen a agravar la situación. Al final, el traductor en España se ha acostumbrado a pensar que si en una reseña no hablan mal de su traducción, la reseña es buena. El hecho de no verse mencionados es un aspecto positivo, lo cual indica mucho de la propia visión que se tiene en España. (Sujeto 29)

Tanto editores como críticos están sujetos a los vaivenes de la industria y se rinden antes al mercado que a criterios éticos y estéticos propios. (Sujeto 37)

Pese al carácter forzosamente provisional de estas distinciones entre grupos, cabe plantearse con un mínimo de certeza que las disparidades planteadas por esta segunda pregunta sugieren precisiones útiles en la investigación: por un lado, parece percibirse un cierto desinterés del traductor profesional ante la tarea del crítico literario, que se considera, en todo caso, de calidad deficiente; por otro, se advierte con claridad un mayor interés hacia esta tarea por parte de los traductores no profesionales, quienes parecen considerar relevante su tarea dentro del sistema literario (no tanto por una cuestión de calidad como por una cuestión de importancia dentro del sistema de legitimación literario). En la medida en que la crítica constituye una de las principales “formas de dominación literaria” (Casanova 1999: 172) y la traducción es la gran “institución de consagración” literaria (Casanova 1999: 198), estas diferencias en sus zonas de interacción podrían servir como marco para una perspectiva útil de trabajo.

3. Conclusiones: el acercamiento dialéctico y las posibilidades de investigación

En su correo electrónico de respuesta, uno de los encuestados incluía una frase que podría definir la necesidad de una forma de trabajo basada en la interacción: “No se da cuenta uno de lo triste que está el sector hasta que lo piensa”. Este “emerger” de una conciencia diferente respecto a la propia labor alude perfectamente al propósito de investigación: a la vez que el cuestionario interroga a los sujetos y les plantea posibles dudas sobre su actuación, el análisis posterior de estas reacciones sirve igualmente para poner en duda el planteamiento propio del investigador, que se resituará respecto a su objeto de trabajo.

Los problemas planteados por el cuestionario piloto tratado en este artículo ponen de relieve la necesidad de una “vía de comunicación” entre el investigador y los sujetos del campo analizado. Las dos preguntas abiertas que se han analizado podrían considerarse, en un primer momento, simplemente mal formuladas o problemáticas en lo que concierne a la evaluación del cuestionario, ya que ambas presentan, de formas distintas, complicaciones para los encuestados. Sin embargo, desde la perspectiva constructivista y dialéctica, estas necesidades de definición suponen un *marco* donde plantear interrogantes que ayuden a la investigación. El propósito inicial de estas preguntas era hallar *datos*: individuos y empresas que correspondieran a unos parámetros de trabajo; sin embargo, los cuestionarios no satisficieron esa primera intención, sino que mostraron algo distinto: una *situación*, un ámbito más complejo que conlleva unas necesidades de trabajo diferentes a las que se plantearon inicialmente. No se obtuvo, como se pretendía en un principio, un listado más o menos preciso de editoriales de trato “positivo” o “negativo”, ni un conjunto de críticos con diversas actitudes ante la literatura traducida. Sin embargo, se hallaron otras intuiciones que permiten una forma diferente de trabajo. Aunque en todo momento conviene recordar el carácter provisional y no extrapolable de un cuestionario piloto, la abundancia de datos obtenidos, puestos en relación con otras investigaciones previas, permiten definir algunos conceptos útiles para plantear la investigación futura: en primer lugar, se observa una conciencia por parte de los encuestados de hallarse en un sector, el editorial, caracterizado por la confusión, la indefinición y la multiplicidad de tratos, lo que implica una mayor dificultad de orientación personal; por otro, se percibe una cierta impresión polarizada del sector, sobre todo en torno a los ejes novato-veterano y profesional-no profesional; por último, parece plausible considerar una diferencia de actitud entre subgrupos en lo que respecta a la crítica literaria, el sistema literario y la idea de visibilidad. Estos

rasgos parecen aludir, en suma, a un ámbito laboral marcado por la individuación y la sectorización, es decir, un ámbito donde los trabajadores poseen pocos marcos de referencia más allá de los personales y donde las identidades grupales no se forman tanto por la voluntad-actividad conjunta de los miembros, sino por sus condiciones laborales impuestas.

Esta percepción coincide con la desarrollada por otros investigadores, que han señalado la dificultad del sector de la traducción para definirse como profesión a causa de “una socialización deficiente de los profesionales” y de “una identidad común poco definida” (Monzó 2006: 173); la ambigüedad llega hasta el punto de que se plantee la conveniencia de hablar acerca de *varias profesiones* de traductor, en la medida en que los traductores de un ámbito o categoría suelen desconocer las condiciones en que se hallan los de otras (Gouadec 2007: xiii-xiv). Asimismo, estas dificultades de delimitación enlazan con la preocupación expresada por algunos encuestados (nº 7, 9, 22, 26) en torno al intrusismo laboral y la necesidad del asociacionismo, cuestión especialmente compleja, no sólo por la división que causa la posibilidad de regular el acceso profesional a la traducción mediante algún tipo de normas o requisitos (Gouadec 2007: 252-257), sino también porque, en el momento actual, la Directiva Europea de Servicios recomienda a los gobiernos europeos la supresión o flexibilización de la colegiación obligatoria que exige el ejercicio de numerosas profesiones liberales (Editorial 2008). Más allá del carácter ambiguo de la propuesta, lo que evidencia esta inquietud es, nuevamente, la dificultad del colectivo laboral para definirse y, a la vez, la voluntad de una parte para alcanzar alguna clase de identidad colectiva mediante órganos de representación.

Al hilo de esta indefinición, conviene señalar una precisión pertinente de Žižek (1989: 230–232) como crítica a Adorno (1970) y que remite una vez más al problema de los *paired concepts* que se señaló al inicio. De acuerdo con Adorno, en la actualidad no se puede formular una definición adecuada de la “Sociedad”, puesto que, cuando se intenta hacerlo, aparecen una serie de determinaciones opuestas, que se excluyen mutuamente: por una parte, la sociedad como un todo orgánico que abarca a los individuos (“organicismo”); por otra, la sociedad como un vínculo entre individuos atomizados (“individualismo”). Sin embargo, en un acercamiento dialéctico, esta contradicción funciona precisamente como respuesta: el antagonismo que revela el concepto de *Sociedad* funciona como su definición misma –es decir, el objeto de estudio se define justo a través de la característica que parecía impedir el acceso a él–. Las discrepancias, por tanto, que se plantearon a raíz del cuestionario piloto son, al final, las que evidencian el carácter peculiar del grupo analizado:

la dificultad que se encuentra cuando se intenta definir el colectivo de los traductores literarios no sólo constituye una de sus características principales en tanto que objeto de estudio, sino que pone de relieve una vez más el carácter borroso de las categorías humanas (cf. Wittgenstein 1953: 66-71; Rosch 1978; Lakoff 1987) y la vigilancia epistemológica que conviene aplicarles en cualquier investigación social.

Estas precisiones permiten ver de un modo distinto la utilidad de las vías de comunicación entre observador y actores; no se trata tan sólo de una cuestión de datos o conocimientos, sino, sobre todo, de un reajuste de perspectivas y, por tanto, de la posibilidad de construir el objeto sociológico de una manera más precisa. Esta preocupación remite, de nuevo, al concepto de reflexividad y, en especial, a la precaución imprescindible frente al “sesgo escolástico” (Bourdieu 2004: 22), es decir, ante el riesgo de que el investigador, en su acercamiento a los sujetos, acabe por plantear “preguntas de investigador”, preguntas que sólo pueden formularse *desde fuera* y que, por tanto, dificultarán la comunicación con los actores; en el caso del cuestionario piloto que se ha analizado, podría plantearse que las preguntas abiertas, al funcionar en cierto modo como “preguntas de investigador”, obligaron a los encuestados a proponer respuestas diferentes a las esperadas, de marco más amplio, y reveladoras por tanto de unas tensiones que no estaban previstas en las preguntas iniciales. De ahí, en suma, que este sistema de trabajo constructivista, dialéctico, sólo pueda plantearse a partir de una defensa del proceso investigador como “error rectificado” (Bachelard) y desde la conciencia de la utilidad del “falso reconocimiento” (el primer error de identificación permite acceder de forma distinta al objeto estudiado y superar convencimientos propios; cf. Žižek 1989: 97-100).

Por último, cabe apuntar que algunas de las características antagónicas evidenciadas por el cuestionario analizado permiten analizar de una forma más concreta uno de los principales conceptos planteados en la introducción: la “brecha de paralaje” (Žižek 2005). Los planteamientos empíricos confirman el interés que podría tener un acercamiento a la traducción literaria que, en lugar de limitarse a una única perspectiva del ámbito, tenga en cuenta las múltiples oposiciones (paralajes) que conforman el ámbito de trabajo y que, por tanto, tienen presencias variables en sus distintos aspectos: la traducción literaria como elemento cultural indispensable para la literatura universal y, al mismo tiempo, sometido de forma irremediable a cuestiones geopolíticas (Heilbron 1999) y económicas (Fernández 2007a); generadora de prestigio para los autores y, sin embargo, mantenida por tradición como actividad subalterna; fundamental en términos de mercado editorial, pero sustentada en

una profesión insegura y proletarizada. El reconocimiento de ese intersticio formado por el conjunto de paralajes parece un punto de partida idóneo para la investigación, siguiendo un planteamiento sociológico que, en la construcción de su objeto de estudio, logre evitar en la medida de lo posible los efectos limitadores de las oposiciones conceptuales.

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LA MULTITRADUCCIÓ ALS ESTÀNDARDS CATALÀ I VALENCIÀ: EL CAS DE *HARRY POTTER I LA PEDRA FILOSOFAL*¹

Cristóbal Cabeza i Cáceres

Grup de recerca Transmedia Catalonia, Departament de Traducció i Interpretació,
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Resum

En aquest article, en primer lloc definim la multitraduïció i fem una classificació selectiva dels principals productes multitraduïts en llengua catalana. Després de situar la multitraduïció com a objecte d'estudi de la sociologia de la traducció, analitzem el polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana tot fent un repàs pels sistemes lingüístic, politicoeconòmic i comunicativocultural, que determinen d'una o altra manera la multitraduïció. Seguidament, presentem el cas de la multitraduïció de *Harry Potter i la pedra filosofal* tot fent una anàlisi comparativa de les versions catalana i valenciana i analitzant la recepció que va tindre en l'àmbit acadèmic i literari. Per acabar, definim quines relacions s'estableixen en el fenomen de la multitraduïció en llengua catalana entre els diferents sistemes i quina va ser la política de traducció i les normes lingüísticotextuals que es van seguir en fer la multitraduïció de l'estudi de cas.

Abstract

First of all, a definition of multitranslation is given and a selective classification of the main multitranslated products in Catalan is offered. After that, multitranslation is contextualised within the sociology of translation. Then the polysystem of Catalan translation is analysed together with the linguistic, the politicoeconomical and the communicative-cultural cosystems which influence multitranslation. Next, I present

1. Aquesta recerca ha rebut el suport del Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació espanyol FFI2009-08027, *La subtitulació para sordos y la audiodescripción: pruebas objetivas y planes de futuro*, i també de la Generalitat de Catalunya a través de 2009SGR700 i de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

the multitranslation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* into Valencian and a comparative analysis of both the Catalan and the Valencian versions. Then, I review the reception of the Valencian version in the academic and literary spheres. Finally, the relations among the different cosystems are defined with regards to Catalan multitranslation, and the translation policy and the textual-linguistic norms are defined for the case study.

Paraules clau

Multitraducció. Polisistema. Política de traducció. Llengua estàndard. Normes lingüísticotextuals.

Keywords

Multitranslation. Polysystem. Translation policy. Standard language. Textual-linguistic norms.

En la darrera dècada, hi ha hagut dos polèmiques amb un cert ressò social i mediàtic que han tret a debat la qüestió de la multitraduïció. Ens referim a la decisió d'adaptar i publicar en estàndard valencià *Harry Potter i la pedra filosofal* l'any 2001 a partir de la traducció en estàndard català publicada en 1999, i a la polèmica lingüísticopolítica sorgida l'any 2005 entre els governs valencià i català sobre quina havia de ser la traducció en llengua catalana que el Govern espanyol presentara a la Unió Europea del tractat que havia d'establir una constitució per a Europa. Aquests dos casos, el primer de multitraduïció i el segon precisament per evitar-la, han sigut els més sonats i van crear un cert rebombori social en el seu moment. Tot i això, la multitraduïció és una pràctica que sol passar desapercebuda i que, en canvi, es fa diàriament en molts àmbits.

En aquest article, en primer lloc definim la multitraduïció i fem una classificació selectiva dels principals productes multitraduïts (§1). Després de situar la multitraduïció com a objecte d'estudi de la sociologia de la traducció (§2), analitzem el polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana (§3) tot fent un repàs pels diferents cosistemes que la determinen. Seguidament, presentem el cas de la multitraduïció de *Harry Potter i la pedra filosofal* (§4) tot fent una anàlisi comparativa de les versions catalana i valenciana (§4.1) i analitzant la recepció que va tindre en l'àmbit acadèmic i literari (§4.2). Per acabar, presentem les conclusions de la recerca (§5).

1. La multitraduïció i els productes multitraduïts

Entenem per multitraduïció el fenomen pel qual un mateix producte, originalment en una llengua de partida, té diverses versions en una llengua d'arribada que es caracteritzen per estar escrites en diferents modalitats estàndard, ja siga perquè se n'han fet dos traduccions directes des de la llengua original o perquè s'ha adaptat la primera traducció d'un estàndard a un altre.

Cal no confondre aquest fenomen amb el fet que una determinada traducció s'haja fet utilitzant en primera instància l'estàndard valencià (o l'estàndard català, tant és) com és el cas de la traducció dels tres llibres d'*Assaigs* de Montaigne, feta per Vicent Alonso en estàndard valencià i publicada per Proa

el 2006, el 2007 i el 2008. Tampoc trobem que les traduccions dels clàssics siguin assimilables al fenomen de la multitraduïció, ja que en la majoria de casos el traductor juga un paper molt important i és, precisament, allò que dóna novetat al producte. Per exemple, el 2001 Proa va publicar la traducció que Joan Francesc Mira va fer en estàndard valencià de la *Divina Comèdia* de Dante, tot i que ja n'hi havia, de traduccions en estàndard català. L'important d'aqueixa nova versió del clàssic no era la modalitat valenciana que s'havia utilitzat en la traducció, sinó qui l'havia traduït; era la *Divina Comèdia* de Mira.

La multitraduïció, com nosaltres l'entenem, és un fenomen transversal que abraça productes de diversos àmbits que es tradueixen simultàniament en els dos estàndards, el català i el valencià, o bé productes que s'han traduït primer en un estàndard i que després s'han traduït o adaptat a l'altre per raons no purament lingüístiques, sinó més aïna sociològiques. Per tal de dibuixar un mapa de la multitraduïció en la nostra llengua i de mostrar l'extensió d'aquest fenomen, presentem tot seguit una classificació selectiva dels productes multitraduïts en llengua catalana.

1.1. Àmbit editorial

En la llengua catalana, la multitraduïció és una pràctica relativament recent que va naixer precisament en l'àmbit editorial. Podem afirmar que la primera gran multitraduïció en la nostra llengua va ser l'adaptació als estàndard balear i valencià de la *Bíblia Catalana Interconfessional*. La *Bíblia (traducció interconfessional): edició balear, Bisbats de Mallorca, Menorca i Eivissa*, publicada el 1994 per Editorial Claret i la *Bíblia valenciana. Traducció interconfessional* (BVI), publicada en 1996 pel bisbat de Sogorb-Castelló i l'editorial Saó són les úniques versions actuals de la Bíblia escrites en aquests dos estàndards. En la introducció de la BVI (1996: X), on es comenten els “principis de la traducció” [sic], se'ns diu que “la sensibilitat i l'esforç per arribar a formes d'expressió compartides per les tres grans àrees dialectals han acompanyat de manera constant l'elaboració d'aquesta Bíblia”. És a dir, en l'adaptació a l'estàndard valencià es va partir d'un punt de vista convergent amb la resta de modalitats del domini lingüístic. És per això que l'estàndard valencià utilitzat en aquesta multitraduïció usa els determinants *aquest* i *aqueix* i la terminació *-eix* per als verbs incoatius, cosa que, com veurem més avant, canvia en altres productes multitraduïts.

Dins l'àmbit editorial, hi ha un altre gran bloc de productes que es multitraduïxen: els llibres de text per a l'ensenyament. Actualment, els grups empresarials que editen llibres per a l'ensenyament en llengua catalana solen

fer multitraduïccions segons si el consumidor final del producte és valencià o català. Les multitraduïccions valencianes segueixen l'estàndard valencià proposat per l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL) (vegeu l'apartat 3.1.), és a dir, utilitzant els demostratius *este* i *eixe* i la terminació *-ix* per als verbs incoatius.

Per acabar amb l'àmbit editorial, volem incidir en un altre gran bloc de productes: la literatura infantil. És una pràctica habitual en la literatura infantil adaptar el model lingüístic del text meta a la varietat estàndard més propera a la del parlant, ja que, com que es tracta d'una època en que l'usuari està interioritzant la codificació escrita de la llengua que parla, és recomanable que s'hi senta identificat. En canvi, no passa el mateix amb la literatura juvenil, quan l'usuari se suposa que ja ha interioritzat la llengua escrita i és capaç d'enfrontar-se a d'altres varietats estàndard. A l'apartat 4, farem una anàlisi en profunditat de la multitraduïció de *Harry Potter i la pedra filosofal* per aprofundir més en aquesta qüestió.

1.2. Àmbit de les administracions públiques i de les entitats privades

La multitraduïció a les administracions públiques se centra bàsicament en l'administració de l'Estat. Quan l'Estat presenta un text als ciutadans, siga del tipus que siga, la casuística és variada: o bé el presenta només en castellà, o bé, quan ho fa també en llengua catalana, ho fa en una sola versió en estàndard català per a tot el domini o en doble versió en estàndards català (per a Catalunya i Illes Balears) i valencià (per al País Valencià).

En l'àmbit de l'administració estatal a Internet, hem trobat multitraduïccions a les següents pàgines web: [Darrera consulta: 30 de juny de 2009]

Ministeri de Foment: <http://www.fomento.es>

Ministeri de Cultura: <http://www.mcu.es>

Ministeri de Sanitat i Política Social: <http://www.msc.es>

Agència Tributària: <http://www.aeat.es>

Suplements del BOE: <http://www.boe.es/aeboe/>

Seguretat Social: <http://www.seg-social.es>

Senat d'Espanya: <http://www.senado.es>²

2. A part d'oferir-se la web amb multitraduïció, és interessant el cas de la interpretació durant la Comissió General de les Comunitats Autònomes, en què els diputats catalans i valencians tenen dos intèrprets diferents (vegeu Branchadell [2007]).

Cal dir que tota la resta³ de pàgines web de l'administració estatal que hem consultat només presenten una única versió en estàndard català. Seria interessant esbrinar quin és el criteri que es segueix per determinar quan un portal ha de tindre les dos versions o només n'ha de tindre una.

Pel que fa a la diversa producció de documents físics de l'Estat (DNI, paperam administratiu), anuncis televisius, campanyes, o documentació d'empreses que tenen o han tingut alguna mena de gestió pública com ara Telefònica (guies de Pàgines Grogues, Pàgines Blanques o el servei de contestador), l'administració estatal gairebé sempre presenta multitraduccions.

Quant a les entitats privades només hem trobat multitraducció a la pàgina web de Mercadona (<http://www.mercadona.com>) [Darrera consulta: 30 de juny de 2009], empresa d'alimentació valenciana que és la cadena espanyola de supermercats més important amb un capital íntegrament espanyol. Tot i això, al 2007, el Grup Eroski (<http://www.grupoeroski.es>) i la Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo (<http://www.cam.es>) també presentaven multitraduccions a les seues web, és a dir, que sembla que en el cas de les entitats privades, la multitraducció tendeix a disminuir, segurament pel sobrecost que duu darrere.

Quant al model lingüístic d'aquests textos, tant els de l'àmbit administratiu com els de les entitats privades, cal dir que en tots dos casos es segueixen els estàndards que utilitzen les respectives administracions autonòmiques: la Generaliatat de Catalunya i la Generalitat Valenciana, amb la variació lèxica i de morfologia verbal exposades a l'apartat 3.1 i, en el cas valencià, amb l'ús dels demostratius *este* i *eixe* i de la terminació *-ix* per als verbs incoatius, com preconitza l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua.

1.3. Àmbit audiovisual

Dins l'àmbit audiovisual s'engloben tots els treballs de doblatge i subtitulació que es fan en Televisió de Catalunya, Radiotelevisió Valenciana i IB3. Ens referim ací al que s'anomena producció aliena, és a dir, tots aquells productes que no estan rodats originalment en llengua catalana i que necessiten una traducció.

Pel que fa a TV3 i K3/Canal33, la programació es 100% en català, per tant tot el que no és inicialment en català, s'hi dobla. La cosa canvia en Radiotelevisió Valenciana. Canal 9 emet en castellà i en valencià, i els dibuixos animats

3. CIS, Ministeri d'Economia i Hisenda; Ministeri de Política Territorial; Ministeri d'Afers Exteriors; Ministeri de Justícia; Ministeri de l'Interior; Ministeri de Treball i Immigració; Ministeri d'Indústria; Turisme i Comerç; Ministeri de Medi Ambient, Medi Rural i Marí; Ministeri d'Habitatge; Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació; i Ministeri d'Igualtat.

són l'únic producte estranger que es dobla al valencià; les sèries, les pel·lícules i els documentals s'emeten sempre en castellà si no són de producció pròpia, és a dir, en un elevat percentatge dels casos. Pel que fa a Punt 2, el canal emet 100% en valencià, i les sèries, els documentals i les pel·lícules que s'hi emeten es doblen o subtitulen al valencià. Quant a IB3, l'únic producte que es multitraduïx són els dibuixos animats. Si bé també s'hi passen documentals i sèries, es passen amb el doblatge de TV3 o si no n'hi ha, se'n fa, però ja no constitueix multitraduïció. A banda de la producció aliena, ens sembla interessant comentar el cas d'una coproducció de TV3, Canal 9 i TVG (la televisió gallega), *Omar Martínez*, que es va rodar en castellà i té versions doblades catalana, valenciana i gallega.

Per tant, podem afirmar que el gruix de les multitraduïcions en el camp audiovisual el constitueixen els dibuixos animats, seguits dels documentals, les sèries i les pel·lícules, que segueixen els criteris contemplats a l'apartat 3.1.

2. La multitraduïció dins la sociologia de la traducció

Ara que ja tenim una idea de la diversitat de productes que es multitraduïxen en llengua catalana, passem a contextualitzar teòricament el fenomen de la multitraduïció. Com hem comentat en l'apartat 1, la multitraduïció com a fenomen ens interessa per les raons sociològiques que la motiven. És per això que hem fonamentat la nostra base teòrica en els estudis sobre traducció que, en terminologia de García González (2006: 125), es poden encabir en l'etiqueta de sociologia de la mediació lingüística, definida com "a especialidade da teoría da mediación lingüística centrada no estudo dos factores sociais que determinan a práctica da tradución e a interpretación dentro de diferentes comunidades de falantes". Per fer-ho, repassarem una sèrie de teories i de conceptes que ens poden ser útils per a l'estudi dels factors que regulen les activitats de traducció dins la comunitat lingüística catalana i que fan que es produïska el fenomen de la multitraduïció.

2.1. *L'escola de la manipulació*

Com afirma García González (2006: 130), l'acadèmic Holmes postula en 1977 (1977: 93-98) la necessitat de tenir en compte la funció de la traducció en la societat i el paper de la societat en la traducció; per tant, s'enceta així una nova via de recerca en els estudis sobre la traducció que es pregunta sobre les relacions que s'estableixen entre societat i traducció. Arran d'aquest canvi de perspectiva que demana Holmes, sorgeix un grup d'investigadors descriptius que estudien els textos traduïts com a productes elaborats en un context

social determinat (cf. García González 2006: 131). Aquesta nova via d'estudi descriptiva i sistemàtica, según Hurtado (Hurtado 2004: 558),

se denomina escuela de la manipulación y representa, en sus inicios, un enfoque de investigación de la traducción literaria que hace hincapié en la manipulación que se produce en la traducción así como en una orientación hacia la lengua y la cultura de llegada.

L'escola la formaven teòrics de diversos orígens geogràfics. D'una banda hi havia el grup de Tel-Aviv, representat per Evan-Zohar i Toury, que formulen la teoria del polisistema; i de l'altra, el grup europeonord-americà, representat per Holmes, Hermans, Lambert, Lefevere i Bassnett, entre d'altres, que se sol agrupar sota el nom de Descriptive Translation Studies. Com explica García González (2006: 131), Hermans (1985: 10) presenta aquests teòrics com a integrants d'un mateix grup amb interessos diversos, cosa que amb el pas del temps s'anirà accentuant i donarà lloc a evolucions al si del mateix grup.

2.2.1. La teoria del polisistema

La teoria del polisistema la va formular l'israelià Evan-Zohar i la seua base, com explica Hurtado (2004: 562) és una concepció de la literatura

como un sistema complejo, dinámico, heterogéneo, constituido por numerosos subsistemas y en el que, en cada fase de su evolución, coexisten numerosas tendencias diferentes. [...] El polisistema literario está interrelacionado con otros sistemas del entramado de estructuras socioeconómica e ideológicas de cada sociedad.

A partir d'aquesta caracterització, la definició de polisistema seria:

Conjunto de co-sistemas semióticos interrelacionados de forma dinámica y regulados por normas históricas, en el que se inscriben todas las actividades behaviorísticas y sociales del ser humano, incluida la propia traducción. (Rabadán 1991: 294)

Tot i que, en un principi, Even-Zohar concep la teoria del polisistema per a l'estudi del sistema literari, com diu García González (2006: 131) Hermans (1985: 11) la presenta com una teoria prou ampla com per estimular la recerca en una gran varietat d'àmbits, la qual cosa ens permet utilitzar aquesta teoria com a marc teòric per a l'estudi de la multitraduïció.

Si analitzem el polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana, ens adonarem que comprèn una sèrie de cosistemes –per exemple el lingüístic, el políticoeconòmic o el comunicativocultural– que influeixen en l'activitat traductora i que, com veurem en l'apartat 3, juguen un paper molt important en la pràctica de la multitraduïció. La idoneïtat d'aquesta teoria rau en el fet que ens permet analitzar tots aquests cosistemes i la seua influència sobre el

conjunt del polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana, així com caracteritzar un fenomen transversal com el de la multitraduïció que abraça àmbits tant diversos com l'audiovisual, l'editorial, l'administratiu o el de les entitats privades (vegeu apartat 1).

Per tal de completar l'aportació de la teoria del polisistema al nostre objecte d'estudi, analitzarem tot seguit l'altre gran grup que conforma l'escola de la manipulació.

2.2.2. El grup dels Descriptive Translation Studies

Com hem comentat més amunt, l'escola de la manipulació –i la mateixa teoria del polisistema com a part integrant– evolucionen des dels seus inicis en la dècada dels setanta. A finals dels anys huitanta, teòrics com Bassnet i Lefevere se centren en l'estudi dels factors institucionals i ideològics que motluren la traducció, i Lambert se centra en els mitjans de comunicació i les polítiques subjacents (cf. Hurtado 2004: 559). Aquests acadèmics introdueixen el concepte de mecenatge, que Lefevere (1992: 15) defineix com “the powers, (persons or institutions) which help hinder the writing, reading and rewriting of literature”. Aquest concepte ens resulta de gran utilitat en el nostre estudi, ja que, com explicita García González (2006: 145) està determinat per tres elements principals:

- a) Un component ideològic, que implica la necessitat de mantindre un control sobre la forma i sobre el contingut dels originals i sobre la seua traducció.
- b) Un component econòmic, que es tradueix en l'anàlisi del potencial d'una traducció respecte dels beneficis econòmics que puga reportar.
- c) Un component social, que representa l'escriptor [llegiu també traductor] com un subjecte dotat d'un estatus donat que es deriva de la seua posició en el sistema. Si l'autor [o traductor] s'allunya del sistema, corre el risc de perdre el seu estatus.

Pel que fa a les referències a la noció d'ideologia, en el present treball adoptarem la definició que referencia també García González (2006: 146) i que postula Van Dijk (2003: 14) com “entrellaçat de formes, convencions i creences fonamentals, d'un grup i dels seus membres, que ordenen les nostres accions”.

Aquests dos conceptes caracteritzats ací –ideologia i mecenatge– els reprendrem més avant en les conclusions per fonamentar com actuen els agents que promouen la multitraduïció. Per tal de fer-ho, utilitzarem també una altra noció pròpia dels Descriptive Translation Studies: el concepte de norma.

2.2.3. Les normes de la multitraduïció

Toury (1980) introdueix en els estudis sobre traducció el concepte de norma, que procedeix de la sociologia i de la psicologia social, i el defineix com “la formulació dels valors generals o idees que comparteix una comunitat en una situació particular” (Hurtado 2004: 564). Aquesta concepció de norma, no obstant, com explica Marzà (2006: 21) comporta un problema greu a l’hora d’estudiar les normes que ja va detectar el mateix Toury: el que nosaltres podrem observar a través dels textos traduïts (fonts textuais) o la informació proporcionada per agents humans i experts (fonts extratextuais) no seran les normes en si, sinó “casos particulares de comportamiento regulado por normas y, para ser más exactos, los productos de dicho comportamiento” (Toury 1995: 17).

Per tant, una volta hem fet aquesta reflexió, podem dir que la multitraduïció és una de les activitats que englobaríem dins dels “casos particulares de comportamiento regulado por normas”. El que ens interessa, doncs, és saber quines són les normes que regeixen la multitraduïció, cosa que farem analitzant un cas específic de multitraduïció (vegeu l’apartat 4). Abans, però, fem un petit recorregut pels diferents tipus de normes per tal de triar-ne les que més ens interessin per al nostre objecte d’estudi.

Toury distingeix dos grans tipus de normes: les preliminars (aspectes previs a l’acte de traducció) i les operatives (decisions que es prenen durant la realització de la traducció). Dins les normes preliminars, ens interessin les normes que remetien a la política de traducció, entesa aquesta política com al conjunt de factors que regeixen l’elecció dels tipus textuais o els textos individuals que s’hauran de traduir [de multitraduir en el nostre cas] (cf. Toury 2004: 59). El fet que existisca una política de traducció implica que l’elecció dels textos i dels tipus textuais no es fa de forma aleatòria i inclou les decisions preses per tots els agents humans o corporatius que en algun moment opten per fer una multitraduïció. Així, podem incloure des dels governs fins a altres grups de poder com editorials o empreses privades (cf. García González 2006: 137), com hem pogut comprovar en l’apartat 1.

Quant a les normes operatives, ens interessin les lingüísticotextuais, que afecten la selecció del material lingüístic de la llengua d’arribada. Són aquestes normes lingüísticotextuais les que ens ajudaran a fer l’anàlisi del nostre estudi de cas ja que, com diu García González (2006: 140) “a actuación do tradutor está rexida polas decisións tomadas por outros tradutores en casos similares e polas condicións ditadas polo iniciador [o la figura del mecenatge en terminologia polisistèmica]”.

Se'ns presenta ací el factor lingüístic. Si bé és el traductor qui fa la tria lingüística en una traducció, com acabem de veure sovint existeixen uns criteris molt definits pels agents que encarreguen la traducció –potser més accentuats i tot en el cas de la multitraduïció– que poden determinar aquesta tria tant des del punt de vista sintàctic, morfològic o fins i tot lèxic, com comprovarem en l'apartat 4.1.

Així, des del punt de vista teòric de l'escola de la manipulació, podem afirmar que la multitraduïció és un fenomen que s'emmarca dins el polisistema de la traducció i dels cosistemes que hi subjauen, i que està determinat per la política de traducció, per les normes lingüísticotextuals i per la ideologia de la figura del mecenatge. Partint d'aquesta afirmació de base teòrica, el que farem en els apartats següents serà comprovar-la per mitjà de l'anàlisi del polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana i d'un estudi de cas de multitraduïció.

3. El polisistema de la traducció en llengua catalana

Com hem apuntat anteriorment (vegeu l'apartat 2), el polisistema de la traducció rep influències d'altres cosistemes paral·lels. Aquests cosistemes determinen una sèrie de factors que influeixen la traducció en general i el cas específic de la multitraduïció en particular. El que pretenem en aquest apartat és analitzar els tres cosistemes que considerem que influeixen més el fenomen de la multitraduïció –el lingüístic, el politicoeconòmic i el comunicativocultural– cosa que ens ajudarà també més avant a contextualitzar l'estudi de cas (vegeu apartat 4).

3.1. El cosistema lingüístic

Creiem que el cosistema lingüístic és un dels que juguen un paper més important en el fenomen de la multitraduïció. Trobem que això és així perquè si la nostra llengua no tinguera una sèrie de característiques lingüístiques que permeteren la multitraduïció, simplement aquest fenomen no existiria.

D'una banda, amb això ens referim al fet que en l'actualitat existeixen dos entitats normatives amb caràcter legal al si dels territoris de parla catalana: l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC) i l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. Tot i que hi fem esment ací, hem decidit tractar aquesta qüestió com a part integrant del cosistema politicoeconòmic (apartat 3.2.3.), ja que considerem que les raons per les quals es va crear l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua tenen un caire més aïna polític que lingüístic.

De l'altra, una de les característiques que distingeixen la llengua catalana és que al seu si coexisteixen diverses varietats considerades estàndard. Si

busquem la definició clàssica de modalitat estàndard, veurem que és la d'una varietat lingüística ben definida, codificada i acceptada per tota la comunitat lingüística com a norma general i model comú de referència. Aqueixa llengua comuna, general i supradialectal és la que suposadament ha de servir per a possibilitar i garantir la intercomunicació generalitzada en una comunitat lingüística en els àmbits formals (cf. Bibiloni: 1997).

No obstant això, si analitzem aquesta definició de modalitat estàndard, ens adonarem que en la nostra llengua, a pesar de l'alt grau de cohesió interna, no tenim aqueix estàndard comú, general i supradialectal, sinó tres estàndards associats a cadascuna de les tres grans àrees històriques del domini lingüístic: Catalunya, País Valencià i Illes Balears. El que farem tot seguit, doncs, és analitzar els elements de variació que hi ha entre aquests estàndards.

3.1.1. La variació dins la normativa: els estàndards català, valencià i balear

Troblem que és interessant fer un repàs sobre els punts en què divergeixen els tres grans estàndards geogràfics de la llengua catalana: el català, el valencià i el balear, ja que ens servirà més avant per analitzar l'estudi de cas i per saber fins on arriba aquesta variació dins la normativa.

Cal remarcar ací la diferencia entre estàndard i normativa. Mentre l'estàndard és un concepte associat a l'ús de la llengua en els mitjans de comunicació i en els registres formals, la normativa remet als conceptes de correcte o incorrecte d'una determinada forma lingüística. Per referir-nos a les qüestions normatives, hem utilitzat els dos textos normatius que ara per ara tenen vigència legal en el territori de parla catalana: la *Gramàtica normativa valenciana* (Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, 2006) i la *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2002). Cal dir que, mentre que el text de l'IEC està fet des d'una perspectiva global del domini lingüístic, recollint la variació dialectal normativa, el text de l'AVL se centra en les particularitats valencianes, les quals prioritza. El que pretenem, doncs, és analitzar els casos en què dos o més solucions poden considerar-se normatives i estàndard segons la varietat utilitzada. Així, farem una anàlisi des dels punts de vista de l'ortografia, del lèxic i de la morfosintaxi, sense entrar en qüestions orals, ja que el nostre estudi tracta un producte literari.

3.1.2 Ortografia

L'únic punt estrictament gràfic en què divergeixen les normatives de l'IEC i de l'AVL i per tant, l'estàndard valencià del català i del balear, és l'accentuació tancada de la *e* en una sèrie de casos, la qual cosa coincideix amb la realització

fonètica occidental dels mateixos mots. Per tant, l'estàndard valencià accepta l'accentuació tancada de la *e* en els casos següents:

- (a) Totes les paraules agudes acabades en *-e*, *-en* o *-es*: *cinquè/cinqué*, *mos-sèn/mossén*, *espès/espés*, etc.
- (b) Els infinitius acabats en *-èixer*, *-èncer* i *-ènyer*: *conèixer/conéixer*, *convèncer/convéncer*, *atènyer/atényer*, etc.
- (c) La segona i la tercera persona del plural dels imperfets d'indicatiu amb accent en el radical: *feïem/féiem*, *feïeu/féieu*, etc.
- (d) Les paraules planes acabades en *-ol*: *pèsol/pésol*, *tèrbol/térbol*, etc.
- (e) Algunes poques paraules esdrúixoles: *sèquia/séquia*, *sènia/sénia*, *sèpia/sépia*.

Tot i això, com s'apunta a la *Gramàtica normativa valenciana* (cf. AVL 2006: 48) aquesta accentuació tancada de la *e* és optativa i a més:

Per evitar una excessiva discrepància entre les diferents varietats de la llengua, també porten accent greu –tot i pronunciar-se habitualment amb *e* tancada en valencià– dos paraules gramaticals d'ús freqüent (el pronom relatiu i interrogatiu tònic *què* i la conjunció *perquè*), alguns cultismes i neologismes esdrúixols o plans acabats en consonant (èter, sèsam, plèiade, bèstia, sèrie i època) i el topònim València.

3.1.3 Lèxic

La qüestió del lèxic és diferent de la de l'ortografia, ja que tots els diccionaris normatius del domini lingüístic recullen la variació lèxica. Mentre que en el cas de l'IEC, la segona edició del *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* n'és el referent normatiu, en el cas de l'AVL, fins que no estiga enllestit el *Diccionari valencià*, que en pretén ser l'obra normativa, es van declarar oficials en l'Acord normatiu de 20 de maig del 2002

els continguts del programa informàtic SALT 2.0 Traductor i Corrector de València de la Generalitat Valenciana, a excepció de tots els elements lingüístics marcats explícitament com a vulgarismes, estrangerismes i col·loquialismes, els quals seran en el futur objecte d'estudi.

Per fer una classificació lèxica en aquest treball, ens hem guiat per quina és l'entrada principal en els diccionaris esmentats. De tota manera, la qüestió del lèxic en la multitraduïció tampoc no és uniforme com veurem més avant al capítol 4, tot i que siga probablement la que més ens crida l'atenció com a usuaris de la llengua. En aquest apartat també podríem incloure tota la fraseologia i les concurrències lèxiques, però, per qüestions d'espai no hi entrarem. Així, podem fer dos grups pel que fa al lèxic:

- (a) Paraules amb una mateixa arrel però que han evolucionat de manera diferent segons l'àrea dialectal: *Ronyó/renyó, arrencar/arrancar, xiulet/xiulit, ametlla/ametla, cordill/cordell, xemeneia/ximenera*, etc.
- (b) Paraules amb una arrel diferent: *Sortir/eixir, mirall/espill, noi/al·lot/xic, cop/pic/volta, vermell/roig*, i tota la llista que se'n podria fer.

3.1.4. Morfosintaxi

Pel que fa a la qüestió morfosintàctica, en aquest treball ens centrarem en la morfologia verbal, que és la que considerem més important i que presenta més divergències, ja que hi ha unes formes que es poden anomenar incompatibles entre els estàndards i que són les que hi marquen la diferència principal:

	CATALÀ	BALEAR	VALENCIÀ
1ª pers. singular i plural i 3ª del plural del present d'indicatiu de 1ª conjugació	canto cantem canteu	cant cantam cantau	cante cantem canteu
1ª pers del singular dels incoatiu, i acabament -eix	pateixo -eix	patesc -eix	patisc -eix/-ix
1ª persona del present d'indicatiu de la 2ª conjugació	temo	tem	tem
1ª i 2ª persona del plural i gerundi de verbs acabats en -eure	creiem creieu creient	creiem creieu creient	creiem/creem creieu/creeu creient/creent
Present de subjuntiu (1ª, 2ª i 3ª del singular i 3ª del plural) de totes les conjugacions	canti cantis canti cantin	canti cantis canti cantin	cante cantes cante canten
Present de subjuntiu dels verbs incoatiu (1ª, 2ª i 3ª del singular i 3ª del plural)	pateixi pateixis pateixi pateixin	pateixi /-esqui pateixis/-esquis pateixi/-esqui pateixin/-esquin	patisca/-esca patisques/-esques patisca/-esca patisquen/-esquen
Pretèrit imperfet de subjuntiu de la primera conjugació	cantés cantassis cantés cantéssim cantéssiu cantessin	cantàs cantassis cantàs cantàssim cantàssiu cantassin	cantara/-às cantares/-asses cantara/-às cantàrem/-àssem cantàreu/-àsseu cantaren/-assen
Pretèrit imperfet de subjuntiu de la segona conjugació	mengés mengassis mengés mengéssim mengéssiu mengessin	menjàs menjassis menjàs menjàssim menjàssiu menjassin	menjara/-às menjares/-asses menjara/-às menjàrem/-àssem menjàreu/-àsseu menjaren/-assen

	CATALÀ	BALEAR	VALENCIÀ
Preterit imperfet de subjuntiu de la tercera conjugació	partís partissis partís partíssim partíssi partissin	partís partissis partís partíssim partíssi partissin	partira/-ís partires/-isses partira/-ís partírem/-ísseu partíreu/-ísseu partiren/-issen
Verbs amb forma velaritzada en valencià com en la llengua antiga: <i>córrer</i> i <i>obrir</i>	jo corro jo obro jo corri jo obri	jo corr jo obr jo corri jo obri	jo córrec jo òbric jo còrriga jo òbriga

3.1.5. Altres qüestions

A banda de les diferències comentades en aquests tres grans blocs, cal assenyalar uns quants aspectes més, com per exemple la divisió de l'espai en dos del català i balear i en tres del valencià: *això/allò* enfront d'*açò/això/allò* i, per tant, *aquest/aquell* enfront d'*aquest/aqueix/aquell* o *este/eixe/aquell* i *aquí/allí* enfront d'*ací/aquí/allí*.

També cal comentar les diferències en la combinació dels pronoms febles, que en valencià és més pròxima a la llengua clàssica i és *dóna-li'l*, *dóna-li-la*, *dóna-li-ho*, *dóna'ls-los*, *dóna'ls-les*, *dóna'ls-ho* mentre que el català fa *dóna-l'hi*, *dóna-la-hi* i *dóna'ls-hi*. A més el pronom *hi* té un ús molt restringit en valencià, que es redueix al verb *haver-hi* i, depenent de les zones, a d'altres verbs com *veure-s'hi*, *trobar-s'hi*, *jugar-s'hi* i *donar-s'hi igual*.

L'ús dels quantitatius en valencià també canvia quan expressen negació. Així, el valencià utilitza exclusivament *molt* i *massa* (per exemple: No m'agrada massa) on la resta del domini lingüístic utilitzaria preferentment *gaire*. Pel que fa a la negació, cal apuntar també el desconeixement en valencià de la partícula *pas*.

Des del punt de vista de la normativa, aquests són els principals punts en què els dos (o tres) grans estàndards divergeixen. Se'n podria fer una anàlisi molt més exhaustiva tenint en compte construccions, perífrasis, fraseologia o concurrències lèxiques, però arribats a aquest punt, no ho hem considerat necessari per als objectius del treball.

D'altra banda, al llarg de tot l'article, fem referència a "estàndard valencià" i a "estàndard català", però del que es pot extraure de treballs de teòrics com el de Pradilla (2001) o Beltran (1986), es podria plantejar la qüestió en termes d'estàndard occidental i estàndard oriental. És una qüestió en què cal aprofundir, però el fet és que a Catalunya s'utilitza i s'ensenya majoritàriament un únic estàndard basat en el dialecte central, independentment que àmplies

regions com ara les Terres de l'Ebre o el Ponent català pogueren sentir-se més identificades amb l'estàndard valencià o, si més no, pogueren agafar els trets compartits dins l'estàndard occidental i utilitzar-los. No obstant això, la qüestió no és tan simple i hi ha altres factors que determinen el fenomen de la multitraduïció, com veurem tot seguit.

3.2. *El cosistema politicoeconòmic*

Una vegada hem analitzat els factors del cosistema lingüístic que juguen un paper preponderant en la multitraduïció, ara intentarem fer el mateix amb el cosistema politicoeconòmic, és a dir, determinar des l'àmbit polític, legal i econòmic quins factors influeixen en l'existència de multitraduïccions.

3.2.1 L'àmbit politicolegal

En aquest apartat, ens endinsem en un àmbit que se situa entre la qüestió política i la legal, però en el qual s'entrellacen també qüestions sociolingüístiques que explicarem en el moment oportú.

Per analitzar la situació legal de la llengua catalana a l'Estat espanyol hem d'anar a parar a la Constitució de 1978, que és actualment el marc legal comú entre tots els territoris catalanoparlants. L'article número 3 diu: "El castellà és la llengua espanyola oficial de l'Estat. (...) Les altres llengües espanyoles seran també oficials en les respectives Comunitats Autònomes, d'acord amb els seus Estatuts". Si parem atenció, l'única llengua que s'esmenta és la castellana; les altres llengües ni es nomenen ni es xifren, i es deixa en mans de les Comunitats Autònomes definir o denominar la llengua pròpia i determinar-ne el model de cooficialitat. Aquesta fórmula, segons Christine Bierbach (2000: 12), "puede llegar a cementar y legitimar los procesos de dialectalización o, mejor dicho, las ideologías dialectalizantes (...) en detrimento de la unidad y normalización de lenguas como la catalana".

En aquesta afirmació es fa referència als "processos de dialectalització", és a dir, a aquells fenòmens que, encara que no posen en dubte la unitat de la llengua, sí que n'afavoreixen la dialectalització. Açò abraça un àmbit més ampli, ja que d'aquests processos, n'hi ha tant a Catalunya, al País Valencià com a les Illes Balears, encara que no sempre s'identifiquen com a tals ni s'associen necessàriament a la utilització de solucions no normatives. Per citar algun exemple: a Catalunya l'ús dels infinitius sense *-r* quan van seguits d'un pronom feble (*planye's, coneixe's*) pel qual aposta TVC en fer subtítols o diaris com *El Periódico de Catalunya*; al País Valencià l'ús dels demostratius no re-

forçats (*este, eixe*); o a les Illes Balears l'ús de l'article salat en el doblatge de dibuixos animats (*es, sa*).

3.2.2. El nom de la llengua

Un dels aspectes que comentàvem més amunt que se situa entre la qüestió politicolegal i la sociolingüística és el debat entorn al nom de la llengua. Tornant al fet que, segons la Constitució del 78, eren les Comunitats Autònomes les que havien de determinar la llengua pròpia, ens trobem amb un dels esculls que han fet de la llengua catalana un element d'instrumentalització política, sobretot al País Valencià. L'Estatut d'Autonomia valencià diu en el títol primer, article sisè: "1. La llengua pròpia de la Comunitat Valenciana és el valencià. 2. L'idioma valencià és l'oficial a la Comunitat Valenciana, igual que ho és el castellà, que és l'idioma oficial de l'Estat". L'únic nom amb què es fa referència a la llengua pròpia dels valencians és el de "valencià" i "idioma valencià"; enlloc es fa referència al nom reconegut per la romanística internacional, que és el de "llengua catalana". No és el cas de l'Estatut de les Illes Balears, que sí que reconeix el mallorquí, el menorquí, l'eivissenc, etc. com a integrants del sistema lingüístic de la llengua catalana. Això, en el cas valencià, ha permès en determinats moments la manipulació política de la llengua en base al nom oficial, com s'ha fet en no reconèixer els títols d'acreditació de català expeditos per les administracions de Catalunya i de les Illes Balears o fins i tot en el no reconeixement del títol de Filologia Catalana per a acreditar els coneixements de valencià en les oposicions dependents de la Generalitat Valenciana. Ens trobem, doncs, davant d'una situació en què moltes empreses públiques o privades i fins i tot l'Estat (vegeu l'apartat 1.2.) multitradeixen els seus documents segons vagen dirigits als públics català i valencià, basant-se en les "llengües" definides en els respectius Estatuts.

Pel que fa al nom comú des d'una perspectiva social, Sanchis Guarner (1985: 22) afirmava que

la reticència dels valencians és a adoptar el nom de catalana per a la seua llengua, però no a acceptar la unitat lingüística de València, Catalunya i Mallorca, comunitat d'idioma evident que cap valencià no ha negat mai [llevat dels secessionistes durant els últims 40 anys, és clar].

De fet, les denominacions de la llengua catalana al País Valencià des del segle XIII són quasi exclusivament les de valencià i llengua valenciana, incloent-hi "l'ús constant i sistemàtic dels grans escriptors del Segle d'Or valencià" (Sanchis Guarner 1985: 35).

En relació a la qüestió dels noms, una de les propostes més recents per superar-lo sosté que, en realitat, l'existència de dos noms és un fet que sempre

ha caracteritzat la llengua catalana. Aqueixa és la postura d'acadèmics com Joan Solà, Ramon Lapiedra, Artur Quintana, Brauli Montoya, Abelard Saragossà (2004) i Jordi Colomina (2003), que aposten per una nomenclatura de l'estil *valencià-català/valencianocatalà* com ja passa en altres llengües en una situació de dualitat de noms, tot per "contribuir a superar antics recels i enfrontaments eixorcs" i evitar que "els partits polítics subordinessin als seus interessos particulars les necessitats del valencià i de la mateixa societat valenciana".

3.2.3. Les institucions normatives

Com hem avançat en l'apartat 3.1., la llengua catalana té legalment a hores d'ara dos institucions normatives: l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans i l'Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. La creació d'aquest darrer ens en 1998 va ser molt criticada i discutida en l'àmbit acadèmic de tot el domini lingüístic pels dubtosos interessos atribuïbles al partit (PP) i al President (Eduardo Zaplana) que governaven la Generalitat Valenciana en aquell moment. Així i tot, tant la Generalitat de Catalunya com l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans hi donaren un vistiplau de silenci i decidiren no reclamar l'autoritat normativa que fins aleshores havia tingut la Secció Filològica de l'IEC.

Sense entrar a debatre qüestions que encara no han aconseguit un consens en la comunitat filològica catalanovalenciana respecte a l'AVL, trobem que cal remarcar que per primera vegada, dins una llei orgànica valenciana s'ha reconegut la unitat de la llengua, això sí, evitant qualsevol referència al terme català:

El valencià, idioma històric i propi de la Comunitat Valenciana, forma part del sistema lingüístic que els corresponents Estatuts d'Autonomia dels territoris hispànics de l'antiga Corona d'Aragó reconeixen com a llengua pròpia. (Llei 7/1998).

D'altra banda, la base de què parteix l'AVL és la "normativització consolidada", amb la qual cosa van quedar arraconades legalment totes les normes ortogràfiques secessionistes.

L'AVL i, per tant, la Generalitat Valenciana, tot i intentar convergir amb la resta de solucions adoptades en els altres territoris catalanoparlants, prescriu "les solucions valencianes genuïnes" com poden ser l'ús d'*este* i *eixe* o la terminació *-ix* per als verbs incoatius, cosa que, com hem vist en l'apartat 1.2., es pot observar en el model lingüístic de la Generalitat i en les multitraduïcions de textos de caire administratiu o d'empreses privades.

3.2.4. L'àmbit econòmic

Tot i que la qüestió econòmica és una de les peces clau que mouen el món en què vivim, hem trobat una gran mancança d'estudis numèrics ambiciosos sobre l'economia de la llengua. Tot i això, des de la vessant teòrica cal nomenar l'economista valencià Pau Rausell, que ha fet una primera aproximació a la qüestió. Com afirma Rausell (2002: 127-154), que una empresa privada decidisca oferir els seus serveis en la llengua pròpia és un fet en què el factor econòmic té una certa rellevància. És a dir, quan una empresa té la seua pàgina web o retola en llengua catalana, entre d'altres raons, és perquè creu que es beneficiarà econòmicament d'aquest fet. Pel que fa a la qüestió de la multitraduïció, quan, per exemple una editorial decideix fer una multitraduïció d'un producte o quan una empresa decideix oferir la seua web en català i valencià, és perquè pensa que en traurà rendiment econòmic. La qüestió econòmica, llavors, serà especialment important quan ens referim a entitats privades que no tenen cap obligació legal per fer una multitraduïció, i es tractarà, doncs, d'una decisió que formarà part de la seua política de traducció.

3.3. *El cosistema comunicativocultural*

El conjunt de productes traduïts, en tant que productes accessibles en llengua pròpia, entren inevitablement a formar part del mercat de productes d'aquesta comunitat lingüística. Suposadament, en un mercat lliure com el nostre, no ja dins l'Estat espanyol, sinó arreu de tot el domini lingüístic, no hi hauria d'haver cap problema per accedir a tots els productes en la nostra llengua. En canvi, almenys en el cas de Catalunya i el País Valencià, l'experiència ens diu tot el contrari: a Catalunya és difícil accedir a la producció valenciana i al País Valencià, a la catalana. Això implica que hi ha una sèrie de factors específics de la nostra comunitat lingüística que, sens dubte, juguen un paper clau en els productes comunicativoculturals que, de retop, afecten el fenomen de la multitraduïció.

Per aprofundir en aquesta qüestió farem un repàs a la teoria de l'espai català de comunicació formulada pel gironí Josep Gifreu, ja que inclou l'àmbit editorial i l'àmbit audiovisual. Per Gifreu (2007) l'espai català de comunicació és

una estratègia general d'acció no partidista –que ha d'interessar i implicar tots els partits polítics– i no regionalista –que abasta tot el domini lingüístic– per tal de potenciar i vertebrar l'espai cultural català.

La proposta de l'espai català de comunicació té especialment en compte dos dimensions: d'una banda la interior, que busca la intercomunicació de tots els

territoris històrics de la llengua catalana; i de l'altra l'exterior, que es centra en la capacitat de la comunitat lingüísticocultural catalana d'assolir el reconeixement extern com a espai diferenciats en condicions d'igualtat. En aquest article, ens centrarem en la dimensió interior ja que és la que més en interessa per analitzar la multitraduïció.

Gifreu (2007) analitza la situació actual de l'espai català de comunicació i en remarca alguns punts forts com ara el fet que el desplegament de plataformes de difusió pública de ràdio i televisió permetia pensar en possibilitats de producció, d'influència i d'intercanvi entre els territoris, o que algunes iniciatives empresarials en el camp de la comunicació hagen assolit un cert èxit, com ara el setmanari *El Temps*, o el diari electrònic *Vilaweb*. Tot i això, també en remarca alguns punts febles, com ara el fet que manque un mercat protegit de la comunicació i de les indústries culturals en llengua catalana, que els continguts i els referents dels grans mitjans de comunicació distribuïts i consumits als territoris del català s'estiguen espanyolitzant progressivament, o que d'entre els grups poderosos de cultura catalans cap no haja fet una aposta decidida per aquest espai cultural i que, en canvi, hagen orientat les seues aspiracions cap al mercat del castellà.

En aquesta anàlisi, Gifreu (2007) també remarca alguns punts negres, d'especial interès per a nosaltres, com el fet que no hi haja cap canal de ràdio i de televisió que cobrisca, ni tècnicament, ni informativament, ni culturalment les necessitats dels habitants dels territoris històrics de la llengua catalana o que manquen grups privats de comunicació i de cultura consolidats a tot el territori de l'espai català amb capacitat i voluntat de competir en el mercat intern i en el mercat extern. Això ens ajuda a entendre en gran part per què existeix el fenomen de la multitraduïció en l'àmbit editorial i en l'àmbit audiovisual.

4. El cas de *Harry Potter* i la pedra filosofal

Al mes de juny de 1997, l'editorial britànica Bloomsbury va publicar la novel·la juvenil *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, de l'escriptora escocesa Joanne Kathleen Rowling. Les vendes inicials van superar totes les expectatives i l'obra va ser guardonada amb els premis literaris britànics més importants. Tot un fenomen de masses que prompte va travessar les fronteres del Regne Unit. Ràpidament el fenomen Harry Potter es va escampar per la resta de països de parla anglesa i catorze mesos després de la publicació a Anglaterra eixia al mercat una adaptació en anglès americà amb el títol *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, sens dubte en un intent d'aconseguir una major identificació amb el personatge per part del lector nord-americà. Les primeres traduccions

a llengües romàniques tampoc no s'havien de fer esperar i l'editorial Salani (Itàlia) treia al mercat la versió italiana al maig de 1998, tan sols onze mesos després de la publicar-se l'original. La seguirien la versió francesa feta per l'editorial Gallimard-Jeunesse (octubre de 1998), la castellana feta per Salamandra (gener de 1999), la portuguesa feta per Presença, la romanesa feta per Egmont i la catalana feta per Empúries, que van eixir al mercat a finals de 1999. La publicació catalana, doncs, apareix més o menys alhora que ho fan les de les dues llengües romàniques amb menys parlants i menys fortes econòmicament, el portuguès i el romanès, tot i que la situació pel que fa a la normalització de la llengua entre aquestes dues llengües i la catalana dista molt.

Així comença l'aventura catalana de Harry Potter; Empúries, que havia comprat els drets per a l'edició de la novel·la, encarrega la traducció a Laura Escorihuela i, una vegada enllestida, fa la distribució del primer llibre de la saga potteriana per tot el domini lingüístic. La sorpresa ve quan al Principat se'n venen 73.000 exemplars i a les terres valencianes només se'n venen 1.200 (cf. Pinter: 2001). El resultat comercial valencià no és l'esperat i per això la mateixa editorial Empúries decideix encarregar a Salvador Company, escriptor valencià que ja havia treballat amb ells, una adaptació a l'estàndard valencià (cf. Cabeza 2004: 52). Quan l'adaptació està enllestida, Empúries també va decidir que l'edició i la posterior difusió i promoció de l'obra al País Valencià la fera una editorial valenciana, que finalment va ser Tàndem Edicions, ja que era a la mateixa distribuïdora que Empúries. El Harry Potter valencià ix al carrer coincidint amb la primera pel·lícula, al novembre de 2001. Abans d'entrar en més detalls, però, vegem quins vans ser els canvis en l'adaptació valenciana publicada per Tàndem.

4.1. Anàlisi comparativa de les versions catalana i valenciana

El procés que hem seguit ha sigut llegir i comparar alhora el primer capítol, que té vint pàgines. Per veure millor quines diferències hi ha entre la traducció i l'adaptació hem dividit aquesta anàlisi en sis blocs: canvis lèxics, canvis morfosintàctics, canvis morfològics, canvis de millora, possibles canvis que no s'han realitzat i altres aspectes. Per cada bloc donem uns quants exemples contextualitzats i, tot seguit, en donem d'altres sense el context. Al costat de cada exemple hi ha la pàgina en què es pot trobar en cadascuna de les versions. També, al final de cada bloc, hem fet unes consideracions sobre les opcions preses en l'adaptació, tot tenint en compte el que va expressar Salvador Company en una entrevista que li vam fer al juliol de 2004 (cf. Cabeza 2004: 50-61).

4.1.1. Canvis lèxics

Els hem dividits en dos tipus: el primer, quan s'ha fet un canvi per una paraula més coneguda en valencià; i el segon, quan es tracta d'un canvi optatiu.

4.1.1.1. Canvi a una forma més coneguda en valencià

CAT	“...perquè simplement no suportaven les ximpleries.” (7)
VAL	“...simplement perquè no suportaven aquells <u>disbarats</u> .” (9)
CAT	“Era un home gros i fort que gairebé no tenia coll, però que lluia un bigoti enorme.” (7)
VAL	“Era un home gros i fort que <u>quasi</u> no tenia coll, però que lluia un <u>bigot</u> enorme.” (9)
CAT	“...espiant els veïns per sobre de les tanques.” (7)
VAL	“...espiant els veïns per <u>damunt</u> de les tanques.” (9)

CAT	ximple	nen petit	aixecar	aviat	dos quarts de nou	petó
VAL	babau	xiquet menut	alçar	prompte	huit i mitja	bes
CAT	en ple atac de rebequeria	sortia	copet	se li va acudir	trucades	una mica
VAL	en plena rabiola	eixia	colpet	se li ocorregué	telefonades	un poc
CAT	amoïnar	tarda	ensopegar	avui	casa seva	aquí
VAL	inquieta	vesprada	entropessar	hui	sa casa	ací
CAT	Han estat	teva	..., ¿oi?	... ¿oi?	venir de gust	empassar
VAL	Han sigut	teua	..., veritat?	..., no?	abellir	engolir
CAT	a tot plegat	sota	maó	Neguitosa	gaire	cua d'ull
VAL	a tot allò	davall	rajola	Desficiosa	molt	reüll
CAT	de debò	llimona	llaminadura	Força	vermell	busca
VAL	de veres	llima	llepolia	Molt	roig	agulla
CAT	espatlles	cinc cops	cubell d'escombreries	s'hagués tret	anem per feina	enxamparan
VAL	muscles	cinc voltes	poal del fem	s'haguera llevat	ens afanyem	agafaran
CAT	marxem	màniga	ampolles			
VAL	Ens n'anem	mànega	botelles			

Cal notar que alguns d'aquests canvis no es van fer en la multitraduïció de manera sistemàtica. Per exemple, si bé a vegades es canviava *sobre* per *damunt* i *ensopegar* per *entropessar*, d'altres no. En aquest sentit, Salvador Company,

afirmava en l'entrevista que li vam fer (cf. Cabeza 2001: 55) que ell va mantindre sempre les mateixes formes, però que “tant la correctora com Rosa Serrano [l'editora] digueren que no, que s'havien de posar sinònims, per demostrar no sé què. [...] A mi em sembla un criteri docent, pedagògic, però no literari.”. Aquest és un cas de les normes lingüísticotextuals de què parlàvem en l'apartat 2.2.3.

4.1.1.2. Canvis lèxics optatius

Considerem que aquests canvis lèxics no són forçats, ja que les paraules de la traducció original també són pròpies del valencià general.

CAT	“...no volien que el Dudley es fes amb un nen com aquell.” (7)
VAL	“...no volien que el Dudley es <u>relacionara</u> amb un xiquet com aquell.” (10)
CAT	“...i llançava els cereals a la paret.” (8)
VAL	“...i <u>tirava</u> els cereals a la paret.” (10)
CAT	“He vist com li clavava puntades de peu...” (18)
VAL	“He vist com li clavava <u>puntellades</u> ...” (22)

CAL	picar amb els dits	xàfec	Oh, i tant.	Són morts!	afer	a desgrat
VAT	tamborinar amb els dits	ruixats	Oh, ja ho crec.	Estan morts!	assumpte	de mala gana

4.1.2. Canvis morfosintàctics

En la versió valenciana es fa sistemàticament un canvi d'orde de *tampoc no* i *mai no*:

CAT	“Potter tampoc no era un cognom tan estrany...” (10)
VAL	“Potter <u>no</u> era <u>tampoc</u> un cognom tan estrany...” (12)
CAT	“Mai no l'havia vist” (10)
VAL	“ <u>No</u> l'havia vist <u>mai</u> ” (12)

També es fan els canvis corresponents a l'ús en valencià dels pronoms febles.

CAT	“Posats a pensar-hi, ni tan sols estava segur que...” (10)
VAL	“Posats a pensar- <u>ho</u> , ni tan sols estava segur que...” (12)
CAT	“No l'hi retreia...” (10)
VAL	“No li <u>ho</u> retreia...” (13)
CAT	“...com si l'hi haguessin trencat almenys dues vegades.” (14)
VAL	“...com si <u>li</u> l'hagueren trencat almenys dues vegades.” (17)

4.1.3. Canvis morfològics

Els canvis que trobem en aquest bloc es corresponen amb els citats a l'apartat 3.1.4. i se centren en la conjugació verbal i les formes dels possessius. Aquests canvis es fan de manera sistemàtica, per això només en citarem uns quants a tall d'exemple.

CAT	"...era que algú el descobrís." (7)
VAL	"...era que algú el <u>descobriria</u> ." (9)
CAT	"...perquè la seva germana i l'inútil del seu marit..." (7)
VAL	"...perquè la <u>seua</u> germana i l'inútil del seu marit..." (9)
CAT	"...els gats no llegeixen ni mapes ni cartells." (8)
VAL	"...els gats no <u>lligen</u> ni mapes ni cartells." (11)

4.1.4. Canvis de millora

Els canvis que podem considerar que milloren la traducció corregeixen normalment expressions poc genuïnes o errors comesos per influència del castellà i de l'anglès.

CAT	"Ningú d'ells no es va fixar en el gran mussol..." (8)
VAL	" <u>Cap</u> d'ells no es va fixar en el gran mussol..." (10)
CAT	"[a les aus] se les ha vist volar pertot arreu." (11)
VAL	"[a les aus] se les ha <u>vistes</u> volar per totes bandes." (14)
CAT	"Estava clar que, fos el que fos,..." (17)
VAL	" <u>Era evident</u> que, fóra el que fóra,..." (20)
CAT	"Però el Dumbledore estava buscant un altre pica-pica..." (17)
VAL	"Però Dumbledore <u>buscava</u> un altre pica-pica..." (20)
CAT	"...i planetes minúsculs que donaven voltes a l'esfera." (19)
VAL	"...i planetes minúsculs que <u>feien</u> voltes a l'esfera." (21)
CAT	"...per la cantonada de l'altre final del carrer." (21)
VAL	"...per la cantonada de l'altre <u>cap</u> del carrer." (25)

Pel que fa al paper de Salvador Company en aquest cas, cal dir que en l'entrevista que li vam fer (cf. Cabeza 2001: 54) va afirmar que quan tenia dubtes o veia que hi havia alguna cosa que no quadrava consultava l'original en anglès. Per tant, la multitraducció també va ser una revisió que va servir per esmenar i millorar la primera traducció.

4.1.5. Possibles canvis que no es van fer

Ací recollim tot allò que teòricament es podria haver adaptat més encara a una forma valenciana normativa –que incloem entre parèntesis–, però que es va decidir de no fer-ho.

“...per anar a la feina” (faena) (11)
“...i va fer marxa enrere...” (arrere) (11)
“El senyor Dursley es va quedar glaçat.” (gelat) (10)
“...gairebé mai se les veu de dia...” (quasi) (14)
“Però, d'on has tret aquesta moto?” (esta) (23)

Cal remarcar que l'ús i la forma dels demostratius no s'han canviat; és a dir, s'ha mantingut la divisió en dos de l'espai (aquest, aquell) en comptes de canviar a la divisió valenciana, que en fa tres (aquest, aqueix, aquell), i s'han utilitzat les formes reforçades en comptes de les no reforçades, les vives en valencià oral (este, eixe). En aquest cas, Salvador Company afirmava (cf. Cabeza 2004: 51) que això també va ser decisió de Tàndem. Pel que fa a paraules que es podien haver valencianitzat més, Company diu que “o bé que jo vaig badar i ells [Tàndem] també, o bé que arribàrem a l'acord de deixar algunes paraules perquè ells volien imposar paraules del català oriental i fer una barreja”.

4.1.6. Altres aspectes

Hi ha una sèrie de qüestions que cal comentar a part, com per exemple el fet que la versió d'Editorial Empúries utilitza el signe d'interrogació per obrir i tancar les preguntes, mentre que Tàndem només l'utilitza per a tancar-les.

També és interessant observar com s'ha optat per mantindre els accents a la catalana (conèixer, serè, vostè...) en comptes de fer-los a la valenciana, com és habitual en les editorials valencianes (conéixer, seré, vosté...)

Un altre punt és el tractament que utilitzen els professors entre ells: mentre que en la versió catalana es tracten de vós, en la valenciana es tracten de vostè:

(1) “Quina sorpresa, veure-us aquí, professora McGonagall!” (14)

(2) “Quina sorpresa, veure-la ací, professora McGonagall!” (18)

També a l'hora d'afrontar el registre informal de la llengua veiem que hi ha diferències:

(1) “¿D'on has tret aquesta moto? -Me l'han deixat, professor...” (19)

(2) “D'on has tret aquesta moto? -Me l'han deixà, professor...” (23)

En aquest exemple trobem un canvi en la manera de tractar l'oralitat a l'hora de transmetre el caràcter inculte d'aquest personatge, que en la multitraduïció

al valencià s'ha optat per identificar-lo amb el llenguatge parlat (deixada, cau el sufix *-ada* i queda en deixà). D'altra banda, del que extraïem de l'entrevista que li vam fer a Company (cf. Cabeza 2004: 51:-61), la majoria de les opcions que recollim en aquest apartat també tenen a veure amb les normes lingüísticocotextuals que li va donar l'editorial Tàndem.

4.2. Recepció de les versions catalana i valenciana

Quan el novembre de 2001 es va presentar l'edició valenciana del Harry Potter coincidint amb el I Saló Valencià del Llibre i amb l'estrena de la pel·lícula, es va alçar una polseguera al seu voltant que va tindre una repercussió mediàtica relativament important. El primer efecte que va tindre aquesta multitraduïció va ser una major difusió de l'obra en llengua pròpia entre la joventut valenciana, ja que al desembre es publicava una segona edició, amb la qual cosa, segons informació facilitada per Tàndem, va suposar uns 6.000 exemplars al carrer. Tot i això, el món literari i editorial tenia molt a dir i les reaccions no van tardar a aparèixer.

El fet d'haver-hi una adaptació valenciana no seria gens estrany si es tractara d'un llibre destinat a xiquets menors de deu anys, ja que és una pràctica habitual dins el món editorial. Ara bé, el Harry Potter està destinat a un públic dels onze als quinze anys, i en aqueixes circumstàncies era la primera vegada que es feia una adaptació a l'estàndard valencià. Dins l'àmbit editorial i literari valencià hi va haver veus que van criticar molt durament aquesta acció. Josep Gregori, responsable de l'editorial Bromera, va afirmar que aquesta pràctica suposava "un cert perill de fragmentació lingüística" i l'escriptor Toni Cuarella va afirmar que l'edició de Tàndem suposava "el primer pas per a la galleuització del català al País Valencià" (cf. Pinter: 2001). És clar que també hi va haver gent que va veure amb bons ulls l'edició de Tàndem. En aqueix sentit, Rosa Serrano, responsable de l'editorial, afirmava que "si els lectors se senten còmodes llegint llibres com Harry Potter, després transitaran sense problemes cap a les obres catalanes siga en la variant que siga" (Serrano: 2001), tot i que ella mateixa va admetre la incertesa en el món editorial que creava la multitraduïció: "moltes vegades es prenen decisions com a empresa que potser siguen equivocades a llarg termini" (Pinter: 2001).

També es van fer al·lusions a aspectes lingüístics de la traducció original. L'editor d'Empúries, Bernat Puigtobella (2001), ens diu:

Pot ser que la versió catalana de Laura Escorihuela, que ha captat amb molta simpatia la parla dels nanos, sigui molt barcelonina; o que l'oralitat d'aquesta novel·la, plena de modismes, de jocs (i trampes) de paraules [i ens atrevim a afegir també els terminis de lliurament de la traducció], hagi reforçat la

variant dialectal que, per pura densitat demogràfica, és més propera a la nostra editorial.

Joan Solà (2001) critica el llenguatge que s'utilitza en la traducció catalana i el qualifica d'"encarcarat i que no acaba de ser ben nostre". En el mateix sentit es pronuncia Pere Martí i Bertran (2002), qui no dubta de qualificar el llenguatge utilitzat com a "catalanyol" i de manifestar la seua preocupació perquè aquestes traduccions esdevinguin "clàssics nostrats". Joan Francesc Mira (2002) expressa, d'una banda, el seu desgrat pel model lingüístic de la versió catalana i el desig, de l'altra, que el model educatiu propiciara que tots els adolescents catalanoparlants pogueren sentir com a pròpies les diferències en vocabulari i morfologia que hi puga haver entre els dialectes catalans, per acabar donant el vistiplau al model lingüístic utilitzat en la versió valenciana adduint la poca voluntat secessionista o dialectal de l'adaptador, Salvador Company.

Pel que fa als aspectes més sociolingüístics, també se'n fan referències. Per exemple Puigtobella (2001) ens diu que "no ens enganyem: tots coneixem la reticència explícita de molts pares i mestres valencians –i no diguem de les autoritats– davant d'un llibre català publicat a Barcelona". Francesc Esteve, Josep Ferrer, Lluís Marquet i Juli Moll (2001) també plantegen preguntes més generals com si "els Països Catalans funcionen com una comunitat cultural i lingüística normal i completa". En segon terme, es qüestionen si realment aquesta adaptació s'ha fet per motius lingüístics, i posen com a exemple les Terres de l'Ebre o les Illes Balears, on la distància lingüística objectiva és més o menys la mateixa que al País Valencià i no hi va haver cap adaptació. És interessant també la crítica que fan a la Generalitat de Catalunya per haver traduït lleis al català que ja havien sigut traduïdes per la Generalitat Valenciana, o a la Universitat Pompeu Fabra, que va tornar a traduir el Codi Penal, quan ja l'havia traduït l'editorial valenciana Tirant lo Blanch amb la col·laboració de l'Institut Joan Lluís Vives. Aquests autors, al nostre parer, posen el punt sobre la i en afirmar que aquest problema afecta tota la comunitat lingüística i no només una part. També ens resulta reveladora, de cara a les conclusions de l'article, l'afirmació de l'editor de Bromera, Josep Gregori (cf. Pinter: 2001) quan diu que "calia una actuació més comercial que no lingüística per arribar al públic valencià".

5. Conclusions

Al llarg de l'article hem comprovat com la multitraduïció és un fenomen que s'emmarca dins el polisistema de la traducció i dels sistemes que hi subjauen, i que està determinat per la política de traducció, per les normes

lingüísticotextuals i per la ideologia de la figura del mecenatge. En el cas de la llengua catalana, hem determinat una sèrie de cosistemes que estan entrellaçats i que influeixen de manera diferent però simultàniament el fenomen de la multitraducció. El cosistema lingüístic, és a dir, el fet que tinguem una llengua amb diversos estàndards normatius, ja possibilita en si que es produísca aquest fenomen. Per la seua banda, podem afirmar que el cosistema politicoeconòmic és el que més influeix la multitraducció en l'àmbit administratiu, ja que hi ha una entitat normativa per a cada estàndard (AVL i IEC) i perquè política i legalment la llengua té dos noms: català i valencià. Això se suma al guany econòmic que les entitats privades preveuen obtindre quan fan multitraduccions. Pel que fa a les multitraduccions en els àmbits audiovisual i editorial, trobem que el cosistema comunicativocultural és el que més pes té, ja que el fet que els relatius mercats estiguen dividits per fronteres administratives augmenta la dificultat de distribuir-hi les traduccions en llengua pròpia, estiguen en l'estàndard que estiguen.

En el cas específic de la multitraducció de *Harry Potter i la pedra filosofal*, podem afirmar que la decisió d'adaptar l'obra a l'estàndard valencià naix a Catalunya per causes principalment econòmiques i de distribució. Econòmiques, perquè l'editorial Empúries pensa que adaptant el text podrà traure un profit econòmic major dels drets d'autor que ha pagat. De distribució, perquè, efectivament, Empúries no tenia infraestructura per distribuir un llibre a tan gran escala en terres valencianes; per això encomana aqueixa tasca a Tàndem. Queda evidenciat per què es va triar i decidir multitraduir aquest text, és a dir, quina va ser la política de multitraducció d'Empúries. Pel que fa a la ideologia i a les normes lingüísticotextuals de la figura del mecenatge, en aquest cas Tàndem, que era qui s'ocupava de l'edició, queden també paleses a l'anàlisi dels textos i a l'entrevista a Salvador Company: adaptar a l'estàndard valencià, però no amb el model de llengua de l'AVL, sinó mantenint també paraules pròpies de l'estàndard català.

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TRANSLATION AS A MEASURE OF LITERARY DOMINATION: THE CASE OF QUEBEC LITERATURE TRANSLATED IN SPAIN (1975-2004)

María Sierra Córdoba Serrano

University of Ottawa/Monterey Institute of International Studies

Abstract

Recent literary manifestos claim that “the center is no longer the center” (*Le Devoir* 2007). Indeed, it is generally admitted that Quebec literature has been more or less independent from the French field since the 1970's. However, the analysis of the translation of this literature –its international circulation, and the almost compulsory stopover in France before being selected for translation by the agents of other literary fields– reveals various mechanisms through which the French symbolic center still exerts its power. Drawing on the application of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture to the international space (Casanova 1999; Sapiro 2007, 2008; etc.), this article argues that translation could be considered as the ultimate variable when testing literary domination, especially in the case of peripheral fields claiming independence. I will illustrate this through the case of Quebec literature translated in Spain (into Spanish and Catalan) between 1975 and 2004.

Resumen

Ciertos manifiestos literarios recientes alegan que “el centro ya no es más el centro” (*Le Devoir* 2007). Y de hecho, es algo comúnmente aceptado que, desde los años setenta, la literatura de Quebec es relativamente independiente con respecto al campo literario francés. No obstante, el análisis de la traducción de esta literatura –su circulación internacional y su paso casi obligatorio por Francia antes de traducirse en otros campos literarios– pone de manifiesto los distintos mecanismos que, todavía hoy, emplea el centro simbólico francés para ejercer su influencia. A partir de una aplicación de la sociología del campo de Pierre Bourdieu al espacio literario internacional (Casanova 1999; Sapiro 2007, 2008; etc.), en el presente artículo se sostiene que la traducción puede considerarse como una variable imprescindible a la hora de “medir”

la dominación literaria, especialmente la de los campos periféricos que dicen ser independientes. Ilustraré este aspecto por medio del caso de la literatura quebequesa traducida en España (en español y en catalán) entre 1975 y 2004.

Keywords

Pierre Bourdieu. Sociology of translation. International literary space. Translation and literary domination. Quebec literature in Spain.

Palabras clave

Pierre Bourdieu. Sociología de la traducción. Espacio literario internacional. Traducción y dominación literaria. Literatura quebequesa en España.

*Le centre, ce point depuis lequel était supposée rayonner
une littérature franco-française, n'est plus le centre.
(Le Devoir, 24 mars 2007)*

Recently, much has been written about the “Sociological Turn” in Translation Studies. While new ground has been broken, I propose to see this shift as an advance within the descriptive paradigm developed in the 1970’s (known as Descriptive Translation Studies, or DTS, and predicated on Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory), rather than as a total “paradigmatic shift”, as Inghilleri (2005: 125) put it in the issue of *The Translator* entitled *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting*.

Granted, in its earliest formulations, Polysystem Theory and DTS had been accused of overlooking questions concerning power relationships between social groups or polities. As Gentzler put it, Even-Zohar seldom related texts to the “real conditions” of their production, but only to hypothetical structural models and abstract generalizations (1993: 123). Nevertheless, albeit implicitly, the social dimension was present in the early works of DTS scholars. It is important to remember that the dynamic functionalism that inspired Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory had little to do with static and a-historical Structuralism *à la Saussure*, with which it has often been mistakenly identified, and in addition, DTS scholars progressively moved toward more sociologically oriented approaches. For instance, Even-Zohar himself, between 1978, the publication date of his *Papers on Historical Poetics*, and 1990, when the revision of that paper was published in *Poetics Today*, had familiarized himself with Pierre Bourdieu’s work, which he deemed “fascinating” (1990: 3). By the 1990’s, Toury had modified his formalist orientation to adopt a more sociological point of view (see Toury 1999), and Hermans, in his *Translation in Systems* (1999), had insisted on redefining Polysystem Theory in light of Pierre Bourdieu’s and Luhmann’s models.

That said, what does seem to be new is the way in which questions related to translation as a social practice –studied through the prism of the agents and institutions involved, or the social conditions of the circulation and reception of translations –are being tackled. No longer resorting to the help of

rather vague terms such as “patronage” (Lefevre) or “norms” (Toury), scholars are now articulating these questions within more elaborate models, such as Bourdieu’s Sociology of Fields.

While Translation Studies scholars have become more and more interested in Bourdieu, Bourdieu scholars have also become more interested in translation. In passing, it is important to mention that Bourdieu himself did not talk *per se* about translation until the very end of his career. Indeed, given that his field was conceived, at least ideo-typically, as monolithic, homogenous and imminently national, it comes as no surprise that the intercultural practice of translation was not a privileged object of study for the French sociologist. However, in 1989, during a conference at the University of Freiburg, Bourdieu proposed what he referred to as “a science of international relationships in the field of culture”, where translation was addressed.

The paper presented at this conference, “The social conditions of an international circulation of ideas”, was published in 1990 in an issue of *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte/Cahiers d’histoire des littératures romanes* and later, posthumously, in December 2002 in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the prestigious French journal that Bourdieu had founded.

Bourdieu would not later return to the question of translation, but between his presentation at Freiburg and the publication of the paper in *Actes* in December 2002, his disciple Pascale Casanova had published *La République mondiale des lettres* (1999), in which she applied Bourdieu’s sociology of fields to what she called the “international literary space”, and in so doing, elevated the scope of his model to the international level.

Rejecting simplistic superposition between literary and political spaces, Casanova presented an emerging regime of inequality where dominated languages and literatures are subject to the symbolic violence of their dominant counterparts. In this hierarchical universe, translation has two main functions: translation-consecration (i.e. in which writers from dominated literary fields are translated by the central fields, who hold the authority to determine what literature is), and translation-accumulation (i.e. in which dominated fields translate the “classics” in order to accumulate symbolic capital).

Other Bourdieu disciples, working at his Centre de sociologie européenne, would enlarge the model to a global sociological analysis of the circulation of books. In order to do so, they specifically returned to the question of translation, which became a central preoccupation. In September 2002, eight months after Bourdieu’s death, an entire issue of *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* was dedicated to the role of translation in international literary exchanges. The issue, directed by Gisèle Sapiro and Johan Heilbron,

proposes a specifically sociological approach to literary translation. According to the editors (2007: 95), this approach “take[s] into account several aspects of the conditions of transnational circulation of cultural goods: first of all the structure of the field of international cultural exchanges; secondly, the types of constraints, –political and economic– that influence these exchanges; and thirdly, the agents of intermediation and the processes of importing and receiving in the recipient country” (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007: 95).

It is precisely this Bourdieu-inspired sociology of translation –fed by the contributions from Bourdieu’s disciples interested in translation, as much as from DTS scholars interested in Bourdieu– from which this article will borrow its theoretical foundations. In what follows, I will focus on a particular literary exchange, the translation of Quebec literature in Spain, into Spanish and Catalan, from 1975 to 2004. I will start by situating the Quebec literary field within the international literary space theorized by Casanova, before concentrating on the literary exchange in question, in particular the international circulation of the Quebec literature *before* being translated in Spain (i.e. the role of France). I will finally analyze three case-studies that will allow me to illustrate the different forms of the domination mechanisms in this triangular Quebec-France-Spain transfer.

1. Is Quebec literature as independent as its agents claim?

French-Canadian identity became *Québécois* after the Quiet Revolution of the 1960’s. This revolution involved a transition from an ideo-typical identity based on three main ideological axes –agriculturalism, anti-statism and messianism¹– to a new identity equipped with a political content and rooted in a well-delimited territorial space, Quebec. The existence and development of Quebec literature from the 1960’s, as something independent from the French literary field, is tightly linked to this awareness of a collective Québécois national identity. In other words, the *independence*² of the Quebec literary field rests on national foundations.

1. That is, the fact of being an agricultural and rural society, faithful to its country traditions (agriculturalism), the fact that a national destiny is not accomplished around political institutions, but religious ones (anti-statism), and the fact that the providential fate of the French-Canadian “race” is to be spread along the North American continent (messianism), rather than to be limited to a specific territorial entity.

2. A word of caution concerning the term independence is nevertheless necessary here. Independence, as I am using the term, refers to the detachment of Quebec literature from the French literary field, both from its literary norms, and also from its publishing and critical apparatus. I am therefore talking about Quebec literature becoming a field in a Bourdieusian sense, i.e. having its own agents and practices, its own stakes and symbolic

By the 1970's, once the institutionalisation of the Quebec field had been consolidated, not only were Quebec authors not "following" the French norm, but the French center was no longer "decreeing" what was to be retained or rejected in Quebec as "good" literature (Thério 1992). In other words, in order to be legitimated in Quebec, Quebec authors no longer needed to travel to France to obtain their "certificate of literariness" (Casanova 1999). This does not mean, however, that France stopped being a magnet for certain Quebec authors. In fact, as I will show, being published in France has been for certain Quebec authors not only a way to be recognized internationally, and thus get translated, but also a strategy to sell more copies back home, in Quebec.

Although the imprimatur of France has not been strictly necessary for Quebec writers to succeed domestically since the 1970's, I will show, through the examination of translation flows, that when it is a question of exporting Quebec authors, the French "verdict" continues to be of prime importance (and not for instance, or not so far, the verdict of other literary centers, like the American³, British or German). Accordingly, I will argue in this article

struggles, and its own instances of production (i.e. publishing houses), legitimation (critical apparatus) and consecration (school), independent from those of the French. One could argue that while the Quebec literary field becomes independent from France, it also becomes more dependent on national and political imperatives, that is, on the Quebec State, but also the Canadian State, whose patronage has guaranteed its development and export since the 1960's. To avoid any kind of confusion –and given that the "angle of vision" in this article is not that of the center– I will use the term independence (proposed by Aron 1995) to talk about the relationship of the Quebec literary field to that of the French, and heteronomy/autonomy when talking about the relationship of a field (central or not) to external economic forces.

3. The importance of other literary centers, such as the American one (it could be thought as a second magnet for Quebec authors, who are, after all, North American), does not seem to be at stake in the transfer in question. In part, this is due to the 1972 inauguration of the Canada Council Translation Grant Program (which promotes and funds the exchanges between the literatures of Canada), through which most English translations of Quebec works have been published in Canada by Canadian publishers. Needless to say, the English-Canadian literary field does not seem to have enough of a central position (economic or symbolic) to act as a legitimating center. Yet even in the case of Quebec authors passing through the U.S. field, the American legitimation does not seem to have had an impact on Spanish publishers and their selections for translation. I am thinking in particular of the case of Marie- Claire Blais' novel *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel*, which was legitimated in France (it won the prestigious Médicis prize), but also, and more importantly, (I would say), in the U.S., where it was prefaced by the eminent American critic Edmund Wilson, "the broker of Blais' American career" (Grutman 2006: 34), as well as published and globally distributed by Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, an important New York publisher. That Wilson's preface was reprinted in the Italian, Mexican and Danish translations (*ibid.*) was a sign of the influence of the U.S. translation (i.e. legitimation) at an international level. The novel has not, however, been translated in Spain.

that translation could be considered as the ultimate variable when testing literary domination, especially in the case of peripheral fields claiming to be independent.

2. Quebec literature translated in Spain: a triangular transfer

The literary exchange that I will be looking at consists of 77 Quebec fictional works (listed in the appendix) translated into Spanish and into Catalan in Spain between 1975, a key date in contemporary Spanish history (the end of Franco's dictatorship), and 2004, the date at which I started my research.

The first problem one must face in developing such a corpus is how exactly to define "Quebec literature". Is a Quebec work one written by an author born in Quebec? (what do we do then with all the foreign-born authors, known as migrant authors –*écrivains migrants*– and clearly considered as Quebecers by the Quebec literary institution?); by an author who lives in Quebec? (but for how long does an author have to live in Quebec to be considered part of the Quebec literary field?); who has their work published in Quebec? (does this mean that Quebec authors who choose to publish in France should be excluded for this corpus?); who talks about Quebec? (so a Japanese author writing about Quebec should then be included in this corpus?).

To avoid these potential objections, I have restricted my corpus using the Bourdieusian notion of "trajectory", defined as the series of positions that agents occupy in a given field. Consequently, I have retained those authors whose trajectory is intimately linked with the Quebec literary field, that is, authors who have actively "taken position" (Bourdieu 1992) in this field by publishing articles in journals or magazines, who have membership in its writer's associations, who attend conferences, etc. In summary, authors who participate in the symbolic struggles of the Quebec field.

While one of the most salient trends in this corpus as defined is precisely its diversity, the trend that will retain my attention in this article has to do with the international circulation of Quebec literary products: the almost compulsory "stopover" of Quebec fictional works in France before being selected for translation in Spain. In other words, the majority of the Quebecois works chosen to be translated into Spanish in Spain, and to a lesser extent into Catalan, depend on their previous legitimization by the agents of the French literary field, who seem to have the power to decide not only which Quebecois authors are published in France, but also which are published in Spain.

This form of dependence, or domination, with respect to the French center, does not express itself exactly in the same way in every case. Generally speaking, the corpus under study reveals three main forms of domination, that I will qualify as (1) direct domination, (2) indirect (symbolic and economic) domination, and (3) zero domination.

The direct domination group comprises translations of Quebec authors in which the Spanish publisher bought the translation rights directly from the French publisher, whether a Quebec edition (previous or simultaneous to the French one) existed or not. This is the case, for instance, of the translations of Anne Hébert, Nelly Arcan, Jacques Folch-Ribas, and Madeleine Gagnon, among others, a full 33% of the corpus of adult Quebec fiction translated in Spain.

The indirect domination group embraces cases in which, although the translation rights are bought from the Quebec publisher, “passing through” the French center is practically a requirement for the author to be selected for translation by Spanish publishers. This form of domination can be symbolic (i.e. the previous legitimization of the Quebec work by the agents, publishers or critics of the French literary field) or simply economic (i.e. it is a question of distribution: French publishers, even the small ones, often because of simple reasons of geographic proximity, can more easily distribute and promote the work among Spanish publishers). This is the case, for instance, of the translations of Gaétan Soucy, Ying Chen, Yves Beauchemin, and Émile Ollivier for symbolic domination, and Élise Turcotte or Agop Jack Hacikyan, for instance, in the economic domination category. The number of works in this second category amounts to 44 % of the corpus of adult Quebec fiction translated in Spain.

Finally, the third group, “zero domination”, consists of a minority of works (for adults). It is the case, for instance, of the translations of works by Nicole Brossard, Marie Célie Agnant and Jean-Paul Filion. As I will discuss, most of these authors will have to pay a price for not getting “French approval” before being translated in Spain. This third group also includes a very distinct category: Quebec children’s literature. In this case, the stopover in France, whether for symbolic or economic reasons, is rarely required. As we will see later, the central position of Quebec’s children literature within the sub-field of international children’s literature could explain the discrepancy from the trend observed in the adult literature.

3. Case Studies

The first two case studies will follow a chronological order. From the translations of Anne Hébert's works of the 1960's and 70's, I will pass to a contemporary case, Gaétan Soucy's Spanish and Catalan translations. This will allow me to show to what extent the evolution of the relations of domination between the Quebec and the French literary fields have had an impact on the transfer of Quebec authors to Spain. The last section focuses on a specific sub-corpus, children's literature.

3.1 *Publishing in Paris to sell more copies in Quebec (and everywhere else): the case of Anne Hébert*

Born in Quebec in 1916, Anne Hébert moved to Paris in the mid-1950's, where she would spend most of her career. Her literary trajectory (Bourdieu 1992) outside of Quebec and the fact that all her novels were published by the French publisher Le Seuil would not prevent her from being considered a true Quebec author and an important part of the Quebec literary canon. Furthermore, as we will see in the course of this section, not only does a Quebec imaginary haunt her fictional works, but her reception and success can be said, after all, to be mainly concentrated in Quebec, however international (mainly Parisian) Quebec critics and other agents tend to (re)present the acclaim of her work.

The question to ask is whether Anne Hébert would have been so celebrated by the agents of the Quebec literary field if she had not first been legitimated in France. Although it is difficult to answer this question, let me bring to your attention that before moving to France, Hébert had a hard time convincing Quebec publishers to publish her collection of short stories *Le Torrent* (1950).⁴ In fact, she published her first works at her own expense ("Anne Hébert" 2003), and she also self-funded her most famous anthology of poems *Le Tombeau des rois* (1953).

It is true that Hébert was not the first example of this kind to be found in Quebec literary history. In fact *Maria Chapdelaine : récit du Canada français*, by Louis Hémon, considered to be the very first French-Canadian best-seller, was noticed at home only after becoming a success in France: "Since the novel has been proclaimed a masterpiece by French criticism, what we took as a

4. "[They] had rejected *Le Torrent*, saying it was too violent, that French Canada was a young, healthy nation and that this was an unhealthy thing that shouldn't be put into everyone's hands." (My translation.) Source: Anne Hébert's web site: http://www.anne-hebert.com/les_annees_d_apprentissage.htm

stone is now a pearl” (quoted by Héroux 1980: 152). And in fact, Le Seuil was very aware of this mechanism when publishing the works by Hébert. As Françoise Blaise (1991: 235), editor in Le Seuil, put it, a publication in Paris is always perceived as a “certification” (“une homologation”): “Far from harming the recognition of an author in his or her own country, [French publishing] helps instead, especially when it comes with a success. Marie-Claire Blais, Anne Hébert and Yves Beauchemin would agree with this” (ibid.: 236, my translation).

The ties between Anne Hébert and Le Seuil were established through two intermediaries, the French poet Pierre Emmanuel (who was well-connected with Le Seuil) and Albert Béguin (editorial director of the publisher in the mid-1950’s), whom she had met in Quebec (Serry 2007: 180-181). Upon their return to France, Emmanuel and Béguin would show Hébert’s poems to other key agents in Le Seuil, and Béguin would publish some of them in *Esprit*, a review founded in 1932 by Emmanuelle Munier and published by Le Seuil since 1944 (ibid.). Paul Flammand, the founder of Le Seuil, wrote to Hébert to express his admiration for her poems. After several exchanges by mail and in person (Hébert spent 1954 in Paris thanks to a scholarship granted by the Royal Society of Canada), Flammand offered to publish, without conditions, her next manuscript *Chambres de bois*, which would finally appear in 1958 (ibid.). The novel was prefaced by the distinguished French critic Samuel de Sacy.

Although the preface was in principle targeted to a French readership, the fact that it was not eliminated from the edition distributed in Quebec (where it was made available by the Montreal publishing house Format) suggests that Quebecers’ sensitivities would not be offended by what was said (indeed, quite the opposite). The preface presents a heroic portrait of French Canadian society, living and surviving, in spite of adverse circumstances, in the middle of an Anglophone majority. De Sacy insisted that French-Canadian literature was rich and vibrant, and could not be reduced to the “folkloric” or “regionalist” dimension to which the French had usually ascribed it. Moreover, *Chambres de bois* was described by de Sacy as a potential masterpiece, written in “the most simple and pure French language” (de Sacy 1958: 10).

The novel was also awarded the France-Québec prize. What is interesting is that this prize was not well known in France, nor did sales of the novel really ever pick up in France. In fact, although the book sales for *Chambres de bois* were significant (42,200 copies), 93% were sold in Canada, Belgium and Switzerland, and only 7% in France (Serry 2007: 181). Not an isolated event in the history of Quebec-France literary relations, to be sure (ibid.: 182).

If this “pseudo” French *imprimatur* had convinced Quebeckers, had it done the same for others? It is obvious than being published by Le Seuil could not only potentially lead to more sales in Quebec, but also to the sale of translation rights to foreign publishers. Three translations of the novel saw the light, but at a much later date than the original. An English-Canadian translation appeared in 1974, a Romanian one in 1992, and a Catalan edition as late as 2001.

Many more signs of legitimation had to happen (e.g. strong sales of *Kamouraska*, and prizes, including the Femina) before foreign publishers decided to invest in Hébert. Lest we forget that the only “real” sign of French legitimation, the fact of her having been published by Le Seuil, did not have the same impact in 1958 as it would have had today, since at the time Le Seuil did not occupy a position as central as the one it has had since the 1970’s (Serry 2002, 2007).

Although in 1958, the Quebec publishing field was in the process of being consolidated, and thus the choice of France was almost the norm for a Quebec author, by the 1970’s, Hébert could have easily chosen to publish her second novel, *Kamouraska*, at home. However, her choice would again be Le Seuil. After all, Le Seuil could “guarantee” in a certain way her success in Quebec, and the French publisher might also provide her with a better chance of making her way internationally. This was indeed the case with *Kamouraska*, published in 1970.

The book sales were those of a best-seller: almost 90,000 copies, 65% of which were sold this time in France (Serry 2007: 182). A Canadian paperback edition reached 110,000 book sales (*ibid.*), and the critical attention that the work captured was unprecedented for a French-Canadian novel in France (Gerols 1984: 12). Given this critical and commercial success, it comes as no surprise that foreign publishers soon found their way to the novel. Five translations were published in the years immediately following the original. The Spanish and Italian translations appeared in 1972, followed by the English-Canadian version in 1973, the German in 1975, and the Czech in 1977. A second round of translations began in the 1990’s, potentially attributable (at least in part) to Hébert winning the Femina Prize in 1982, with a Dutch translation in 1991, Polish and Chinese versions in 1992, the Danish in 1995, and finally a Romanian translation as late as 2008, almost forty years after the original.

The Spanish translation of *Kamouraska* was published by Plaza & Janés in 1972, at a time when Franco’s official censorship on cultural productions was still in force. Although the translation had certainly gone through the *Juntas de la Censura*, a comparison between the original and the translation reveals

that the latter was not modified in the first edition, nor in subsequent re-editions. This would lead us to believe that the theme of this historical novel was not harmful, and likely useful, to Spanish government priorities at the time. Indeed, the novel might have been seen as a way of reinforcing the *status quo*.

Based on an actual murder committed in 1839 in the village of Kamouraska (Quebec), it tells the story of a woman, Elizabeth D'Aulnières, who, at the deathbed of her second husband, Jérôme Rolland, revisits the story of her tormented youth: the abuses of her first husband, Antoine Tassy, seigneur of Kamouraska, and her secret love for George Nelson, an American doctor exiled in Sorel with whom she conspired to kill Antoine. Nelson would end up killing Antoine himself, and this murder is followed by a trial, but Elizabeth herself is acquitted for plotting this crime of passion.

The emancipating program carried out by Elizabeth fails at the end of the novel and a patriarchal symbolic economy is restored: she no longer sees her lover, and, even if she is not accused of her husband's murder, she is socially condemned for life, and lives unhappily with her second husband. In spite of her liberating attempts, Élizabéth reincarnates the model of a "good" Catholic woman of her time: submissive, mother of several kids, "un ventre fidèle, une matrice à faire des enfants" (K: 11). If, retrospectively, from the 1990's, feminist critics have seen the pre-feminist dimension of the novel (Fortier 2001, Sarkar 2001, etc.), Spanish censors certainly hadn't seen any potential subversive dimension. They would likely have viewed the novel as a moral lesson of what happens to a woman adulterer. It is important to remember that women's adultery was not legalized in Spain until 1977.

Apart from the fact that the translation fit well with the ideological climate of the time, the fact that the work had been published by Le Seuil, which had significantly more symbolic capital than ten years earlier, and that the novel was a critical and commercial success, certainly influenced Plaza & Janés's decision to translate it.⁵

5. The publisher informed me (personal e-mail with Silvia Duso, from the commercial department of Plaza & Janés, May 18, 2007) that the "dossier Kamuraska" had been destroyed because it was old. This is, in fact, one of the effects of overproduction in the contemporary publishing sector: in the absence of space, not only books are thrown away, but also their publishing dossiers. It is thus impossible to know for certain the decision process regarding this translation, but what can be deducted is that the translator did not have a central role in the choice. According to what I have found in the catalogue of the Spanish National Library, we know that José María Martínez Monasterio had frequently translated for Plaza & Janés (25 translations in total, published between the 1970's and 1980's). He translates mainly mass-production authors from English and French, but occasionally consecrated authors such as Nabokov. But what is important

The influence of the Le Seuil edition can even be traced in the summary of the book that appears on the jacket of the Spanish translation. The phrase, “une histoire de passion, fureur et neige” [a story of passion, fury and snow], used in the jacket of the French edition and constantly repeated by the French critics (Gerols 1984: 162), is again reproduced in the Spanish translation. This “tone” is in harmony with the cover that Plaza & Janés had chosen for the translation, which depicts a woman in the foreground, sensually posed with blouse slipping off her shoulders, and in the background, a man on a horse-drawn sleigh, whip in hand, driving hard. All of this rendered the novel “exotic” and apt to appeal to a popular public. All of these publishing strategies seem to have worked with *Kamouraska*. The fact that the novel was published in 1970 by Plaza & Janés, then re-published in 1977, and in the same year produced in paperback edition by G.P. (the publishing house owned by Germán Plaza, who in 1959 would join José Janés to create Plaza & Janés) may indicate that the translation was, at least, a commercial success in Spain.

As mentioned above, the case of Anne Hébert is not the only example of “direct domination” in the corpus under study. *Putain* by Nelly Arcan –also published by Le Seuil (80,000 copies sold in French) translated in Spanish by Seix Barral (2002) and in Catalan by Columna (2002), and republished in Spanish paperback by Planeta (2005)– is the most recent example in this category. That said, with the consolidation of the Quebec literary field and the institutional support dedicated to the export of Quebec authors, the dependence of the Quebec field with respect to the French has taken on new forms.

From the end of the 1980's, and particularly in the 1990's, Quebec authors published in France have usually been previously published in Quebec, or published simultaneously (in the form of a co-publishing agreement between a Quebec and a French publisher). As concerns exporting Quebec authors, and in particular, selling their translation rights to Spanish publishers, two trends can be observed.

First, Spanish publishers buy the translation rights directly from the French publisher, meaning that the Quebec publisher had ceded the rights for the Spanish version (probably thinking that the French publisher had more resources to promote the work among Spanish publishers in any case⁶), as happened in the case of *¿Esta granada en las manos del joven negro es un arma*

here is that Hébert is the only Canadian or Quebec author that he has ever translated. It is then reasonable to think that it was the publishing house who proposed the novel to him, and not the reverse.

6. The drawback of this ceding of rights is that the French publisher is not allowed to apply for translation grants from the Quebec and Canadian governments.

o una fruta? by Dany Laferrière, where El Cobre ediciones bought the translation rights from the French independent publisher Le serpent à plumes, and in the case of *Las mujeres dan la vida, los hombres la quitan*, by Madelaine Gagnon, in which Crítica bought the rights from Fayard. I consider this to be the new form of what I have here called “direct domination”, simply an updated version of the domination we have seen in the Hébert case.

Second, the Spanish publisher buys the rights from the Quebec publisher, but only after France has stamped its *imprimatur*. This is the case, for instance, of *Gatuperios* by Yves Beauchemin, *La ingratitud* by Ying Chen or Gaétan Soucy’s translations. This is what I have called “indirect domination”, and will be the subject of our next discussion.

3.2. *How literary hierarchies are unconsciously internalized by centers and contested by the peripheries: the case of Gaétan Soucy in Spanish and in Catalan*

Apart from certain children’s literature authors, Gaétan Soucy is the Quebec author most translated in Spain. In addition, all the Spanish translations of this author’s work have been published by Akal, a Madrid-based publishing house.⁷ Jesús Espino, Akal’s editorial director, reiterated his satisfaction with respect to this investment in an interview with me on January 14, 2008⁸: “We are very satisfied. We don’t regret at all having published any of the works by Soucy and having gone for him three times and this year, a fourth time. [...] The bet was clear. [...] in spite of the fact that there has not been a success from a sales point of view”.⁹

The translation of *La petite fille qui aimait trop les allumettes*, *La niña que amaba las cerillas*, reached the highest sales of all of Soucy’s Spanish translations, some 1,300 copies (Espino in interview 2008), which obviously is not the reason that motivated Akal to carry on publishing the author. Espino

7. Except for *La absolución (L’acquiescement)*, the first Spanish translation of Soucy, which was published by Andrés Bello, a Chilean-based publishing house with an imprint in Spain. However, this work has been retranslated by Esperanza Martínez and published by Akal in May 2008.

8. The interview, which was recorded, was oral and semi-structured. It took place in Madrid on January 14, 2008 and it lasted approximately one hour. The interview was based on a questionnaire that was sent in advance to Jesús Espino and consisted of open and semi-open questions.

9. My translation of “Nosotros estamos muy satisfechos. No nos arrepentimos en absoluto de haber publicado ninguna de las obras de Soucy y de haber apostado por él tres veces y este año la cuarta. [...] La apuesta está clara. [...] a pesar de que no haya habido éxito de ventas”.

stated that he is very aware of the fact that the literary works they publish are not addressed to a general public and will never be best-sellers. In Bourdieuian terms, Akal clearly belongs to the pole of small-scale circulation, which denies the relevance of economic profit (at least in the short-term) and is characterized by an economic world reversed.

Weak sales do not necessarily imply a bad or non-existent critical reception – quite the opposite. In fact, in contrast with most of the other Quebec authors translated in Spain –who are hardly mentioned by the Spanish cultural press, except for in Catalonia– Soucy has captured the attention of *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Avui*.¹⁰ However, the university criticism, “a natural niche of reception for Soucy”, according to Espino (*ibid.*), has not paid the least attention to him.

Furthermore, the choice to invest in Soucy was not influenced by the hope of getting funds for the translations. Akal could have applied for funding from the Canada Council for the Arts or from the Société de développement des entreprises culturelles du gouvernement du Québec (SODEC), but Espino explains that they wanted to get the work out as soon as possible, and so avoided potentially lengthy grant application processes. The only funding they went after for the translation of *La niña* concerned promotional expenses, half of which were covered by the Embassy of Canada in Spain (*ibid.*).

With a weak track record in sales, little external funding, and a critical reception that had not pierced academia, what fed the “belief” (Bourdieu 1980) in the “value” and continuity of the Soucy project? The idea of translating *La petite fille*, the novel that brought Soucy international recognition, took shape during the Frankfurt fair. According to Espino (*ibid.*), Anne-Marie Vallat’s advice to consider the novel was of prime importance: “del criterio de Anne-Marie nos fiamos mucho” [we place considerable trust in Anne Marie’s opinion]. Vallat is a Spain-based literary agent who represents the Quebec publishing house Boréal (where Soucy published the original) in Spain and

10. There are eight reviews in total for Soucy’s Spanish translations. For *La niña*: six praising reviews in *El País*, *La Vanguardia* (x2), *El Mundo* (x2), and *Avui*; and two articles about *Music-Hall*: a not so praising review in *El País*, but a favourable one in *Avui*. The reviews in question are (for *La niña*) “Soucy explora el lenguaje de la infancia en ‘La niña que amaba las cerillas’” by Juan Carlos Merino, *La Vanguardia*, April 19, 2001; “La (inquietante) intimidad de la familia” by Isabel Núñez, *La Vanguardia*, September 14, 2001; “Las declinaciones del dolor” by Marcos Giralt Torrente, *El País*, August 4, 2001; “Gaétan Soucy habla sobre la pérdida de la inocencia en su último libro”, *El Mundo*, April 18, 2001; and in Catalan “‘Chapeau’ Monsieur Soucy”, by Alba Alsina, *Avui*, April 5, 2001; for *Music-Hall*, by Marcos Giralt Torrente, “El estupor de existir”, *El País*, February 19, 2005 and by Alba Alsina again, “Frankenstein”, *Avui*, April 7, 2005, p. XX.

Portugal. With a deep knowledge of the Spanish publishing sector, Vallat was also able to judge the potential of putting Akal and Boréal in contact; they are both medium-size, independent publishers.

Vallat was also aware of the fact that Le Seuil had just bought the copyright of the novel for the French territory, a detail that did not pass unnoticed by Akal. Espino highlighted that the publication of the novel by Le Seuil was for them a “guarantee” (“un sello de garantía”), and it seems that Akal was not alone in this belief. After the French edition of *La petite fille* by Le Seuil in 2000 (published in Boréal in 1998), more than twenty translations were published.¹¹ However, there was not a single translation published before the French edition (a trend observed throughout my direct and indirect domination categories). Moreover, after the publication of the novel by the French publisher, Soucy’s works published by Boréal before *La petite fille* would also be selected for translation. Among others, this was the case, for instance, for *L’Immaculée Conception* published in 1994 and translated into Spanish and English in 2005, into Dutch in 2007, and German in 2009, more than ten years later. In other words, a transfer of symbolic capital¹² from the French publishing house –which occupies a central position in a central field– to the author took place. Boréal, which was not equipped with the same amount of symbolic capital, would not have been able to guarantee such a “transaction”.

Beyond this external influence, Espino noted that there were two principal internal factors that influenced his choice: the literary “value” of the work, in particular its innovative language and its structure, followed by the existential and universal theme of the novel, “an international work that is not limited to a specific local context” (ibid.). On a scale of 1 to 5,¹³ Espino attributes 5 points to these aspects (and 2 to the feminist dimension of the novel).

When I asked Espino what importance he would give to the fact that Soucy is a Quebec author (that is, an author coming from a peripheral literature), he said that no importance should be attached to this aspect and expressed his discomfort with putting labels in literature:

11. See http://www.editionsboreal.qc.ca/fr-result_isbn.php?id=953 for a list of all the publishers to whom Boréal has sold the translation rights for *La petite fille*.

12. That may eventually become economic: “The conversion of symbolic capital into economic capital is a long-term process, as opposed to the search for short-term profit that is typical of the book industry’s commercial pole”. (Sapiro 2008: 155).

13. That is: 1. Without any importance; 2. Not very important; 3. Important; 4. Very important; 5. Crucial.

We don't believe in the concept of "minority literatures" nor "gender literatures" or think that a work is better or worse because of being written by somebody from an ethnic minority or religious minority, women, homosexual, nothing of the sort. Writers are good or bad. [...] Labels don't motivate me to make a decision for or against a certain work.¹⁴

This insistence on not labelling literary works or their authors is borne out in the classification (Bourdieu 2002) or branding of the translation of *La petite fille* by Akal. On the dust jacket of *La niña*, Soucy is (re)presented as a "un escritor de lengua francesa", rather than as a Quebec, Canadian, or Francophone author (Francophone being a label over which a lot of ink has been spilled). His international recognition, as well as the universal and existentialist dimension of his work are also highlighted: *Music-Hall* is described in the blurb as "one of the purest songs ever written about mental suffering, human solitude and the awe of existence" (my translation), and *La niña* is described as containing "halting and dazzling language" and "a festival of language" (my translation). The Spanish cultural press highlights these same aspects.

Soucy himself has also insisted on the "universal" scope of his work on several occasions: "I try to write from a universal point of view. For too long, we have wanted to allow our false uniquenesses to speak instead of touching on our real uniqueness, which is stranger and more frightening than we want to believe"¹⁵ (quoted by Meudal, *Le Monde*, March 19, 1999, my translation).

Is it then this universal scope that the publisher, the critics, and the author himself seem to consider the main explanatory factor for the international success (critical, if not always economical) of Soucy, and in particular of *La petite fille*? Merino, in *La Vanguardia* (April 19, 2001) remarks that it is not at all usual for a Canadian book written in French to have such a reception and diffusion. In this line, what about the main external factors mentioned above? Would *La petite fille* and Soucy's work on the whole have had the same internal and external reception¹⁶ and diffusion if it hadn't been published by Le Seuil?

14. My translation of "Ni creemos en el concepto de literaturas minoritarias ni literaturas de género ni creemos que sea mejor o peor una obra porque la escriba alguien que sea de una minoría étnica o una minoría religiosa, que sea mujer, homosexual ni nada en absoluto. Los escritores son buenos o malos. [...] Las etiquetas no me impulsan a tomar una decisión a favor o en contra de una obra".

15. My translation of "J'essaie d'écrire d'un point de vue universel. On a trop longtemps voulu donner la parole à nos fausses singularités au lieu de toucher à notre véritable singularité qui est plus étrange et plus épineuse qu'on ne voudrait le croire".

16. By «internal reception» I mean the reading and assessment of a literary work by the agents of the publishing house, Akal, in this case; by external, I refer to the traditional

Espino's answer concerning this point is rather ambivalent. He attributed three points to the reception (internal or external) of the novel in France as a factor motivating their decision to translate Soucy, and the same score to the reception of the novel in Quebec. In other words, it seems that the publisher attached the same importance to the legitimating power of the Quebec literary field as to the French "center". However, in his discourse there are signs that contradict his answers on the Likert-scale questions.

For instance, at the beginning of our interview, Espino said that at the Frankfurt fair, he heard about "an author from Quebec, *but* (italics and bold are mine) who had written a novel that has had a great impact in France".¹⁷ While this statement was purely descriptive, why didn't he say "an author from Quebec who has had a great impact in France"? Doesn't the adversative conjunction "but" indicate that being from Quebec was a kind of negative point that was only compensated for through the fact that the author had been recognised in France?

Apart from this slip of the tongue, Espino (2008) insists on the fact that Le Seuil had published *La petite fille* in France and that this was a "guarantee". He repeats on several occasions during the interview the trust that he places in the French publisher and the good reception of the novel in France. In fact, just the mere fact that he is fully aware of the publication and reception of the novel by Le Seuil in France, even when he had bought the translation rights from Boréal, is indeed revealing of the weight that he attributes to the opinions of agents in the French center. He did not mention, for instance, the reception of the novel in other countries where it has been translated, and makes no reference whatsoever to the central position that Boréal occupies in the Quebec literary field, nor the reception of Soucy's novel in Quebec. Although, consciously (i.e. in terms of score attributed), Espino attached the same importance to the legitimating power of a central and a peripheral field, his oral and spontaneous discourse possibly points to the extent to which he has internalized the hierarchies that ordain the international literary field, and that orientate the economy of symbolic exchanges.

The behaviour of Límits,¹⁸ the publishing house in charge of the Catalan translation of *La petite fille*, *La nena que li agradaven massa els llumins*, is dif-

use of the term «critical reception», so reception by the cultural press or scholarly reception.

17. My translation of "Me hablaron de un autor de Quebec, *pero* (italics are mine) que había escrito una novela que tuvo mucha repercusión en Francia".

18. Límits is a publishing house located in the micro-country of Andorra. In spite of the fact that the publication of this translation does not take place within the political

ferent. Concerning the book's labelling and introduction, in the very center of the book's cover it says "Traduït del francès del Quebec per Joan Casas", an explicit reference to Quebec French that does not exist in the Spanish version (or in fact in any of the Spanish translations of Quebec fiction for adults published in Spain). As Glissant rightly puts it (1996: 112, my translation), "speakers of non-dominant languages are more aware of language issues".¹⁹ Hence, perhaps, the fact that the publisher of *Límits*, given the dominated position of Catalan within the world language system (de Swaan 2001; Calvet 1999), would be in principle more inclined than Akal's agents to think in terms of language and language difference.²⁰

However, concerning the issue of stressing cultural or linguistic difference (i.e. labelling), Maria Àngels Vilana and David Zabala, editorial directors of *Límits* (interviewed by e-mail, April 4, 2008),²¹ answered two on the five-point scale to the question of the importance they attributed to the fact that Soucy was an author from Quebec (remember that "2" meant that this criterion was not important, but was still a criterion). When interpreting Vilana and Zabala's statement, it is important to keep in mind that they define themselves as purely independent publishers who only publish translations of "high literary quality". A statement conceivably backed by the fact that they do not make a living out of their publishing work (ibid.); and in a certain

space of Catalonia, this translation is included in my corpus because Andorran literature in Catalan is part of the Catalan literary field. In fact, most of the copies of this translation have been sold in Catalonia (Vilana and Zabala, in an interview conducted by e-mail, April 4, 2008).

19. My translation of "le ressortissant de la langue dominée est davantage sensible à la problématique des langues".
20. There are also some biographical reasons for this choice mentioned by Vilana and Zabala (2008): Vilana specifies that she studied in France, where the specific origin of the translation (i.e. «Spanish from Mexico», «English from the U.S».) are more often than not mentioned by publishers. She clarified that she discussed this aspect with the translator and Zabala, who was less used to this practice, and that, in the end, they decided to include this mention "given the specificity of the original text, its very local language and the translation problems that the translator had to face". I wonder if some of the deviations from standard French were identified as typical of Quebec French instead of as Soucy's idiosyncrasies. Indeed, along with Quebecisms, *La petite fille* is riddled with neologisms, children's words, uncommon collocations, and deformed proverbs. In fact, Soucy confesses to be more influenced by his daughter, a French-Japanese bilingual, than by French from Quebec per se (Soucy quoted by Meudal, *Le Monde*, March 19, 1999).
21. The interview took place on April 4-13, 2008 and was conducted electronically and was thus asynchronously, which means that the discourse was not as spontaneous as in Espino's case. It was also based on a questionnaire that was sent in advance, and consisted of open and semi-open questions.

way, they pride themselves on not having to depend on any kind of imperatives (economic or otherwise). As such, perhaps attaching more importance to Soucy simply because he is from Quebec, and so comes from a dominated literary field, would mean admitting identity sympathies that would contravene their “l’art pour l’art” philosophy.

Indeed, the main reasons mentioned by Vilana and Zabala for selecting Soucy for Catalan translation were purely literary, in particular the originality of Soucy’s writing and the theme of the novel, as well as his skill in developing the enigmas and mysteries of the plot²² (ibid.). These aspects did not pass unnoticed by the Catalan journal *Avui*, which praised the novel *and* the translation, which, as we all know, is quite unusual in reviews.²³ This alone provided the publishers with enough satisfaction as to think that their enterprise was worthy (ibid.).

But what about the external factors? What is the role of Le Seuil, and French legitimization on the whole, in the choice of *Límits*? First of all, like Akal, Vilana and Zabala did not give much importance to the potential economic profit of the translation enterprise, as they rightly predicted that the novel wouldn’t sell many copies. Indeed, only 400 copies of this translation were sold (which, on the other hand, is not so catastrophic, and almost impressive, when compared with the number of copies sold in Spanish, a super-central language). The fact that the Spanish translation was published only a couple of months after the Catalan edition did not help either.²⁴ However, the

22. “l’originalitat de l’escriptura i de la temàtica; la destresa amb què l’autor va descabdel·lant els enigmes i misteris de la trama”.

23. “Serà molt difícil fer-los veure la grandesa d’aquesta obra sense explicar-los res més de l’argument, però potser els podré convèncer si els dic que, una part importantíssima de la seva genialitat rau en el llenguatge de l’autor, al qual només se li pot dir *Chapeau, Monsieur Soucy* (i del traductor, Joan Casas, que ha fet una gran feina. *Chapeau, també*).” *Avui* (Alsina, April 5, 2001) [It would be very difficult to show you the value of this book without telling you anything about the argument, but perhaps I can convince you by telling you that a very significant part of its genius rests in the author’s language, for which Mr. Soucy deserves a Bravo! (as does the translator, Joan Casas, who did excellent work.)]

24. “Segurament no hauríem publicat l’obra si l’edició d’Akal hagués sortit amb anterioritat [abans de l’edició en català]. De fet, quan nosaltres vam sol·licitar els drets en català, els drets en castellà encara no estaven venuts. Vam saber que hi hauria una edició en castellà poc abans de treure la nostra” (ibid.). [Probably we wouldn’t have published the work if the edition by Akal had appeared before the Catalan version. In fact, when we asked for the Catalan translation rights, the Spanish translation rights had not been sold. We found out about the Spanish edition a little before we had published ours.]

grants obtained from the Canada Council for the Arts and from the Department of Tourism of Andorra must have made the decision somewhat easier.²⁵

Concerning Le Seuil and French legitimization, from a strictly economic and logistic point of view, being published by Le Seuil guaranteed dissemination and exposure in Europe that, most certainly, Boréal could not have guaranteed. Its promotional apparatus is much more powerful than Boréal's, and geographically, Le Seuil is also much closer to Spain, Catalonia and Andorra, which facilitates the promotion and diffusion of its works. Indeed, the very fact that the novel was being discussed in France was critical to Límits becoming aware of it in the first place. Symbolically speaking, however, Límits' agents attach little importance (two on a scale of five) to the favourable internal or external reception of *La petite fille* in France. In their case, it was Vilana, and not an intermediary agent, who discovered *La petite fille* through the popular French T.V. program "Bouillon de culture", hosted by Bernard Pivot, and also through several articles published in French magazines (*ibid.*).

Indeed, Vilana and Zabala (2008) qualified as irrelevant the question concerning the influence that the acclaim of the novel in Quebec had on their choice, precisely because they discovered the novel through the French cultural media and so decided to read it without being aware of its reception in Quebec. On the other hand, on the dust jacket of the Catalan translation of *La petite*, Límits accentuates the critical success of the novel not only in Europe, but also in Canada. Concerning literary awards, only Quebec prizes are mentioned: the prize du Salon du livre de Montréal and the prize Ringuet de l'Académie des lettres du Québec. It is not even noted that the novel was nominated for the Renaudot prize, a French prize, and much more prestigious, internationally speaking.

In short, the peritext reveals that the publishers recognize and value the legitimating power of the Quebec criticism, the power of a peripheral field similar to their own. Likewise, there seems to exist an attempt at minimizing the symbolic power of the French center. Indeed, Soucy's translation is not the only example of a Catalan attempt at minimizing French symbolic power.

25. While Vilana and Zabala insist that translation grants are not crucial for them (*ibid.* 2008) –if they are interested in a work, they are going to invest in it anyway– in a small-scale production publishing house with an anti-economic logic (Bourdieu 1992) these grants can be very important. Moreover, while for the case of Akal, publishing school and reference books allows them to invest in literary works that more often than not do not produce any economic profits, Límits exclusively publishes translations belonging to the pole of small production.

Similar strategies are observed in the other Catalan translations of the corpus under study.

3.3. *Neither symbolic nor economic: zero domination*

For the Quebec works that had been translated into Catalan or Spanish without being previously published, republished or legitimated in some way in France, the general trend that can be found is that they end up in the hands of very small publishers, often from the peripheries. As a result, their distribution is usually very limited. This is the case, for instance, of *El libro de Emma* by Marie-Célie Agnant published by Txalaparta, a Basque independent publishing house that produces works in Spanish and Basque, or *Del cap tempesta al cap de joia* by Jean-Paul Filion, published by Pagès, a Catalan publishing house that prints exclusively in Catalan and whose series are run mainly by academics.

Another case in which symbolic and economic domination is absent, and one which will retain my attention in this section, is that of children's literature (see appendix for an overview of this sub-corpus of translations). Except for the translation of illustrated albums by Cécile Gagnon and Paul Brière, the rest of this sub-corpus, 33 translations in total, do not have anything to do with France: they have not been published, republished or legitimated by the agents of the French sub-field²⁶ of children's literature.

Moreover, for these authors (unlike the writers of adult fiction), there is no price to pay for ignoring the authority of the center: most translations appeared in publishing houses that hold a central position in the Spanish and Catalan subfield of children's literature (e.g. Edelvives, La Galera, Edebé, Everest, Ediciones B., etc.). As such, the difference between these translations and the adult fiction cases mentioned above has to be found in the specific

26. According to Boisclair (2004), inspired by Bourdieu's sociology of fields, a subfield is "[...] a field initiated by a specific commitment that installs the instances needed to drive the production, circulation, distribution, legitimization and recognition of the authors and works that help form the subfield without undermining the general field's domination. Subfields use apparatuses from the general field, but install, as needed, apparatuses that could benefit their relative autonomy" (20-21). My translation of "[...] un champ initié par un engagement spécifique qui met en place les instances nécessaires afin d'assurer la production, la circulation, la diffusion, la légitimation et la consécration des auteurs et des œuvres qui participent à sa formation, mais sans attenter à la domination du champ élargi. Le sous-champ recourt aux appareils du champ élargi, mais installe, au besoin, les appareils qui pourraient être bénéfiques à son autonomie relative" (20-21).

sub-field to which these works belong, and the dominant position of this Quebec sub-field within the international (sub)field of children's literature.

Quebec children's literature has existed since the 1970's, but since the 1980's could be said to have become a sub-field on its own, i.e. it has its specific stakes, stakeholders, prizes, magazines and "classics". Furthermore, according to Le Brun (1960: 60), if statistics concerning book sales and borrowings can be believed, Quebec's children literature is the most widely read type of literature in Quebec.

In 1993, the favourable evolvement of this sector was emphasized in the review *Lurelu*: "Ten years ago, only the bold were getting into children's literature. Today it's a viable market, a very viable one, it's almost a necessity. Why? Booksellers will tell you: young Quebecers are reading Quebec novels, unlike their elders" (Thibault, quoted by Sernine 1993: 4, my translation).

In addition to individual efforts to create children's literature reviews (i.e. the creation of *Lurelu*, "vouée exclusivement à la promotion de la littérature québécoise pour la jeunesse"), and prizes, the institutional support coming from the Quebec provincial government and the Canadian federal government was not insignificant (see Madore 1998). This institutional support is, as for adult literature, linked with the "national question". If the national affirmations from the 1960's entailed the formation of a Quebec national literary field, the same logic applied to books for children, a sector that until the 1970's had been bombarded with books coming from Europe, especially from France.

In 1978, in her recommendations to the Socio-Economic Conference on Quebec Cultural Industries, Cécile Gagnon, president of Communication-Jeunesse at the time, highlighted the fact that "[i]t's in books from *here* that children learn about *our* reality" (quoted by Madore 1994: 34, my translation, italics are mine). Several journalistic articles also insisted on the fact that "children need to know –provided that it exists– their national literature in order to be able to identify themselves with their people" (ibid.: 30, my translation).

At the end of the 1980's, once the sub-field in question was solidly built at a domestic level (indeed, the number and diversity of titles was such that some publishers feared a saturation of the domestic market), it was time to move a step ahead and internationalize this production. In 1987, La courte échelle, a Quebec publishing house exclusively devoted to children's literature, was the first to make its way in the international market. By 2004, its titles had been translated into 18 languages and 300 over its 500 titles had been translated in seven or eight languages (Proulx 2004: 81). Other publishers

would follow, such as Québec/Amérique, Dominique et Compagnie, Héritage, Boréal, Pierre Tisseyre, etc. Many of these would see their works translated in more than 10 languages.

The signs of the central position occupied by Quebec children's literature within the international subfield of international children's literature are many: the considerable translation flows of Quebec children's publishers into English, Spanish, Italian, German, Japanese, Arabic, Chinese, Korean, but also into languages such as Catalan, Basque, Serbian, etc.; the fact that certain Quebec authors have made it to the honour list of the International Board on Books for Young People; and that certain Quebec collections such as *Caillou* have become international best-sellers and the sensation of book fairs, selling not only comics but also cartoons, games, etc. The importance of children's literature in the Quebec publishing sector was especially apparent in the Guadalajara book fair (2003) and in Liber (2008), where Quebec was the guest of honour. Stands devoted to children's literature were numerous and occupied a central and visible spatial position in these fairs. In fact, children's publishing is one of the most important cultural industries in Canada: in Quebec, in particular, the number of titles in the children's literature section has gone from 471 in 1996 to 813 in 2005, in comparison with the rest of the publishing sector, whose increase for the same period amounted to an average of 29% (Laforce 2007).

As I have mentioned above, for this sub-corpus of translations, France did not act as an intermediary center, economically or symbolically. Some of the authors in this sub-corpus (for instance, Raymond Plante, Michèle Marineau, Sylvain Trudel, Robert Soulières, to cite a few) were published in France, but this would happen only after the publication of several international translations, and not the reverse. Consequently, being published in France could be considered as a confirmation of the international legitimization of the author, but not a requirement for such a legitimization.

On this topic, for our purposes here (Quebec translated in Spain), it is important to note that the ideological affinities between Quebec and Catalonia, and the consequent formal ties (among them cultural) that have been established between these two "little nations" have certainly played a favourable role in the directness of the transfer.²⁷ More than half of the publishing houses that have published Quebec children's literature in Spain during the

27. For a detailed analysis of how the political affinities between Quebec and Catalonia have influenced their cultural exchanges, see Córdoba Serrano (2007).

period observed were based in Catalonia, and published the same work in Catalan and in Spanish.²⁸

Of course, these same cultural relations existed for the corpus of adult fiction; however they have evidently not sufficed to avoid French domination.

The “abnormal” behaviour of this sub-corpus points to two conclusions: first, that the sub-field of children’s literature on the whole (i.e. not only in Quebec) obeys its own mechanisms, and is ordained by its own hierarchies and dominations, which do not necessarily correspond to the ones affecting the general international adult literary field; secondly, that the Quebec children’s literature subfield is truly independent. Its agents pride themselves on the degree of development of this sub-field in Quebec nationally, but also internationally, and this study indeed validates that claim.

4. Conclusions

The importance of translation as a powerful weapon through which writers may find a place in the sun in the “world republic of letters” is becoming more and more apparent to literary scholars and to sociologists of culture. What I have tried to show in this article is that translation can also be considered as a methodological tool in the hands of researchers interested in analyzing international literary domination. The study of translation flows, their specific routes of circulation, the different economic or symbolic centers that they detour through, or conversely, the directness of the transfer, allows us not only to better understand the geopolitics of international exchanges, but also to empirically confirm or refute self-legitimizing discourses about fields’ independence.

“The center, this point from which Franco-French literature was supposed to shine, is no longer the center” claims a recent literary manifesto signed by authors from the Francophonie (*Le Devoir*, 24 March 2007, p. f2, my translation). By using translation to test these claims and similar ones as they relate to Quebec independence, I have shown that indeed the “center is no longer the center” in the case of Quebec children’s literature. For the case of adult fiction, however, the analysis shows that French dominance is still at work: passing through France remains central not only for symbolic, but also for logistical and economic reasons. However, we have also seen that this dependence has evolved, and that nowadays the cases of indirect domination are

28. For a detailed analysis of the nationalist use of Quebec children’s literature in Catalan translation, and in particular those Catalan translations published in La Galera, see Córdoba Serrano (2009).

much more numerous than those in the direct domination category. Although the shadow of the French still lies over the Quebec field, Quebec publishers do not usually cede their translation rights, and have power of negotiation and decision in this matter.

Given that the decline of the Parisian symbolic center (believed to represent the autonomous pole of the international literary field) is continuously evoked in contemporary discourse, as is the advent of the heteronymous or commercial pole (mainly associated with the American field) (Casanova 1999), can we predict a change of pattern in future translation flows from Quebec to Spain? Would America, and in particular New York, become the new center for this transfer, especially for the case of Quebec best-sellers?

In a very recent article from the Quebec magazine *Le libraire* (2009: 40-41), different figures (writers, publishers, etc.) claim that after years of disillusionment, France is less and less their destination of choice, and that it is instead *translations* of their works, and in particular English translations, that guarantee their international recognition. For the moment, at least to be translated in Spain, it may appear that moving through France is still the way to go. Nevertheless, immutability is not a characteristic of the international literary field.

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Interviews

Interview with Jesús Espino, Madrid, January 14, 2008

Electronic interview with Maria Àngels Vilana and David Zabala, April 4, 2008.

E-mails

E-mail with Silvia Duso, commercial department of Plaza & Janés, May 18, 2007.

Appendix 1

Legend :

* = Catalan translations

CL = Children's literature

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GAGNON, Cécile. <i>El disfraz</i> . Barcelona: Milán, 1991. (Traduction en espagnol. Original français: <i>Le déguisement</i> . Toulouse: Milan, 1991). CL
GAGNON, Cécile. <i>La pelea</i> . Barcelona: Milán, 1991. (Traduction en espagnol. Original français: <i>La dispute</i> . Toulouse: Milan, 1991). CL
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PLANIFICACIÓ (ECO)LINGÜÍSTICA I GESTIÓ DELS INTERCANVIS LINGÜÍSTICS

Oscar Diaz Fouces

Universidade de Vigo

Resum

L'autor presenta un ventall de polítiques orientades a mantenir la integritat dels espais ecolingüístics, relacionades amb la traducció, amb l'ensenyament de llengües, amb l'intercanvi de productes culturals i, en general, amb la gestió dels intercanvis lingüístics.

Abstract

The author presents a range of policies aimed at maintaining the integrity of the eco-linguistic spaces related to translation, language teaching, to the exchange of cultural products and, in general, to the management of linguistic interchanges.

Paraules clau

Planificació lingüística. Ecolingüística. Globalització. Polítiques de traducció. Gestió lingüística. Formació lingüística.

Keywords

Language planning. Ecolinguistics. Globalization. Translation policies. Language management. Language training.

1. Preliminars

1.1. L'aproximació racional als fenòmens socials

L'interès per l'estudi científic de la racionalització de les actuacions públiques va néixer probablement als Estats Units, en els anys posteriors a la Segona Guerra Mundial, el mateix moment que començava a expandir-se l'organització científica de la producció empresarial (el *taylorisme* i el *fordisme*). Va ser aleshores que alguns *think tanks* amb gran influència van començar a aplicar a la recerca social unes perspectives multidisciplinàries que havien estat poc freqüents. Els nous enfocaments utilitzats, basats en la racionalitat científica, incloïen instruments heurístics molt novedosos, com l'anàlisi estratègica, la cibernètica o la teoria dels jocs. Un dels casos més coneguts és el de la *Rand Corporation*, els treballs de la qual van inspirar –i continuen inspirant– decisions molt importants, relacionades amb la salut pública, amb la prevenció del terrorisme, amb el desenvolupament de la xarxa Internet o, fins i tot, amb l'exploració espacial.

En aquest context cal situar, per exemple, l'aparició de disciplines com el (*Public*) *Policy Analysis* (que, amb previsions, podem fer correspondre amb la traducció *Anàlisi de les polítiques públiques*), que van representar un nou model per a l'estudi de l'acció dels governs i de les administracions. Com afirma Robert H. Haveman (1987), la investigació tradicional en l'àmbit de les ciències socials havia estat fonamentalment de caire positiu (intentava *descriure* la realitat), abans de l'aparició del *Policy Analysis*, que representaria un biaix normatiu (pretenia *intervenir* sobre la realitat). L'exemple que proposa és molt entenedor: la investigació sociològica tradicional s'ocuparia dels comportaments il·legals intentant averiguar-ne l'extensió, bé com la naturalesa, les causes i les conseqüències; el nou enfocament, en canvi, analitzaria les mesures disponibles per reduir aquests comportaments i les avaluaria en funció de llur eficàcia, entesa com la relació òptima entre el cost esmerçat i el benefici aconseguit.

1.2. La Planificació Lingüística

Aquesta mena d'aproximació als fenòmens socials va arribar a abastar també aquell que és, potser, el tret més característic de l'espècie humana: l'ús de les llengües. Com observava Heinz Kloss (1967), les llengües no neixen i moren com les plantes, sinó que també poden ser (i tot sovint són) l'objecte d'intervencions humanes, i aquestes es poden racionalitzar i poden prendre la forma de programes organitzats. Si considerem que les llengües són instruments comunicatius i representacionals (més enllà de la seva condició de sistemes semiòtics abstractes), sembla clar que aquestes actuacions sobre elles i les decisions que les han motivat afectaran l'activitat quotidiana de les persones que les fan servir i, aleshores, que representaran una forma d'enginyeria social. Les decisions i les actuacions a les quals ens referim són l'objecte d'interès d'una disciplina que és habitual de designar amb el nom de *Planificació Lingüística* i que és, precisament, un bon exemple d'instrument conceptual relacionat amb la racionalització de les actuacions públiques. En efecte, el propòsit de la Planificació Lingüística també és decididament normatiu i no pas positiu. Deixant de banda la descripció de la realitat lingüística, que és pròpia d'unes altres disciplines (com ara la Morfologia, la Sintaxi o, en uns altres nivells, la Pragmàtica o l'Anàlisi del Discurs), el seu objectiu declarat és provocar alguna mena de transformació en les pràctiques lingüístiques d'alguna comunitat humana i, doncs, un *canvi social* (vg. Cooper 1989).

La Planificació Lingüística va néixer als anys seixanta del segle passat. Significativament, una de les trobades fundacionals de la nova disciplina, l'*Airlie House Conference*, que tingué lloc a Virgínia l'any 1966 (vg. els materials publicats a Fishman, Ferguson & Das Gupta 1968) va tenir com a tema estrella, en el marc de la postguerra mundial, els problemes lingüístics de les nacions en vies de desenvolupament. Aquests problemes tenien a veure amb l'estudi dels processos que menen a la constitució de les llengües estàndard, incloent-hi la codificació (lexical, gramatical, ortogràfica) i l'anàlisi de les situacions de llengües en contacte, és a dir la coexistència de comunitats lingüístiques diferents en un mateix territori físic. En realitat, la nova disciplina de la Planificació Lingüística va néixer amb un notable caràcter prescriptiu: ja que la llengua és un element cohesionador i homogeneïtzador de primer ordre per a les societats humanes, la configuració de sistemes lingüístics homogenis (l'estàndard) i la gestió racional de la diversitat (l'ordenació del multilingüisme) havien de ser també eines essencials per a les nacions emergents.

Epistemològicament, l'estudi de les qüestions relacionades amb la racionalització dels processos sociolingüístics (l'àmbit de la Planificació Lingüística) s'ha bastit a partir de contribucions de caire "més lingüístic," especialment

aquelles que afecten els aspectes estructurals. Això explicaria la filiació acadèmica de bona part dels seus conreadors. Tot plegat no hauria impedit mai, ans al contrari, que hagin rebut sempre una atenció preferent per part de la Sociologia més instituida, com ho demostra la inclusió d'apartats sobre Llengua i Societat en manuals, programes acadèmics, i trobades d'investigació en aquest marc disciplinar. Per exemple, el *Research Committee 25* para el XVII congrés mundial de la *International Sociological Association*, convocat per al 2010, a <http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2010/rc/rc25.htm>, inclou, entre d'altres, sessions dedicades a “Sociology and Language” i a “Minority Languages and Language Policy”.

Com a instrument metodològic, la Planificació Lingüística pot ser considerada “neutra”. Efectivament, no hi ha cap motiu perquè la racionalització de les actuacions sobre un marc sociolingüístic determinat sigui intrínsecament “progressista” o “reaccionària”, ni tampoc “bona” o “dolenta”. És evident, però, que els resultats d'aquest tipus d'intervencions (com ara la substitució d'una llengua per una altra a l'ensenyament i els àmbits públics, la prioritza-ció d'un dialecte sobre la resta per dissenyar l'estàndard o la substitució d'un sistema de representació ortogràfica) no passen desapercebuts de cap manera i que, per descomptat, poden reportar beneficis o perjudicis als grups humans que els experimenten.

Malauradament, la Planificació Lingüística no ha ocupat gaire dels assumptes relacionats amb la Traducció (vg. Toury 1999). Amb tot i això, és evident que qualsevol procés de gestió lingüística hi té un paper destacat, molt més encara en el món globalitzat actual, com després veurem. Val a dir que la Planificació Lingüística tampoc no ha estat un marc teòric massa sovintejat des dels Estudis de Traducció. Amb tot i això, ens sembla evident que hi ha un lloc de confluència molt clar entre totes dues disciplines, precisament en l'àmbit d'una Sociologia de (o *aplicada a*) la Traducció (vg. Diaz Fouces 1996). Com apuntava Chesterman (2006: 17) en un treball recent que intentava cartografiar aquest últim espai:

Finally, mention should be made of work in language planning, which is directed towards the application of research-based knowledge to particular social situations and problems. Typical issues concern language and/or translation policies in multilingual countries or institutions, or for minority languages. These issues have obvious relevance for language rights, democracy and political development, all of which lie within the sphere of sociological interest.

1.3. La perspectiva ecolingüística

L'estudi de la racionalització dels processos sociolingüístics ha donat lloc a orientacions més específiques, com ara l'anomenada *Ecolingüística*. L'obra que s'ha guanyat la condició de *fundacional* en l'ús de la metàfora ecològica aplicada a l'àmbit lingüístic és el treball d'Einar Haugen "The Ecology of Language" (Haugen 1972), basat en una conferència impartida l'any 1970. La definició per al concepte que donava nom a l'article era, literalment, "the study of interactions between any given language in its environment". Divuit anys més tard, el 1990, trobem un altre treball seminal (Halliday 1990), que enceta una línia d'investigació interessada en el paper que juga el llenguatge en l'agreuament o la solució dels problemes ambientals i, per extensió, en els altres problemes socials. També és habitual d'acceptar que totes dues línies sintetitzen, d'una manera complementària –i, per tant, no exclouent– el camp d'allò que coneixem com *Ecolingüística* (cf. Fill 1998). La segona, clarament, està associada amb el marc teòric de l'Anàlisi Crítica del Discurs. La primera, la que a nosaltres ens interessa en aquest moment, podria ser caracteritzada a partir d'alguns paràmetres que permeten identificar el "pensament ecològic", com ara la voluntat de prendre en consideració els factors externs (ambientals) en l'anàlisi dels sistemes lingüístics, i no només els interns; observar els problemes que genera la unilateralitat de les monocultures; deixar d'obviar el fet que els recursos naturals i les capacitats humanes no són pas il·limitats; i abandonar les perspectives a curt termini en l'anàlisi i la intervenció sobre les llengües (Weinrich 2001: 94; cf. Muhlhäusler 2000: 308).

Algunes de les preguntes que es poden formular des d'aquesta mena d'aproximació són prou significatives: quina és la funció de la diversitat lingüística i cultural?, de quins mecanismes depèn?, es possible optimitzar-la? Convé recordar, per cert, que també existeix alguna orientació en l'àmbit de la Planificació Lingüística (especialment una determinada tradició americana), que no s'ha interessat d'una manera especial per la gestió de la diversitat i que ha prioritzat, de manera significativa, l'estudi de conceptes com el d'estandardització. És clar que aquesta mena de perspectiva no s'adiu massa bé amb el paradigma ecològic. Com apunta Muhlhäusler (2000: 310), de vegades "The solution to the adherents of the ecological approach is the problem to most traditional language planners".

Un bon exemple de trencament de l'equilibri ecolingüístic és l'anomenada *subordinació lingüística*, una situació de desequilibri social entre dues o més comunitats humanes, la principal dimensió explícita de la qual és alguna mena de restricció d'alguna o d'algunes de les pràctiques lingüístiques del(s) grup(s) subordinat(s), en favor de les pràctiques del(s) grup(s) hegemònic(s).

Les llengües en situació subordinada tendeixen a patir una important degradació estructural que les inhabilita progressivament com a instruments eficaços de comunicació. De vegades, la interferència de la llengua dominant mena a una depauperació del sistema estilístic propi en favor dels usos d'aquella que comporta una autèntica hibridació (eventualment, una *criollització*). En termes d'ús, es caracteritzen pel fet de patir una intromissió constant de la llengua dominant en tots els espais d'ús, que comporta una funcionalitat limitada i restringida. Tot plegat constitueix una mena de cercle viciós que retroalimenta i agreuja la subordinació. L'ús d'aquests codis comporta sovint per a les persones que els fan servir algun tipus d'estigma social (és un ús *marcat*), circumstància que n'afavoreix la deserció i que dificulta l'atracció dels nous usuaris. Els exemples poden ser molt variats, com també les circumstàncies en què es produeix: l'occità a França, el català a Itàlia, el turc a Alemanya i l'espanyol als Estats Units d'Amèrica comparteixen el caràcter subordinat, però és evident que els símptomes i les situacions respectives, així com les possibilitats de suportar o fins i tot de revertir la subordinació són força diferents. La situació del català no és pas la mateixa a Itàlia que a Espanya (malgrat que estigui subordinat a tots dos estats); la situació del turc a Turquia (on és llengua dominant) és ben diferent de la seva situació a Alemanya; i, òbviament, les situacions *globals* de l'occità i de l'espanyol no tenen res a veure.

La metàfora ecològica identificaria totes aquestes circumstàncies amb la desestructuració de l'hàbitat ecolingüístic d'un grup humà. I, com assenyala Bastardas (2000), el manteniment de la diversitat lingüística no tindria tant a veure amb la posada a la pràctica de mesures centrades en les llengües amenaçades, com en la creació de nous *contextos* adaptats a les noves situacions, capaços d'estimular la continuïtat del seu ús. És a dir: la (re)generació dels hàbitats ecolingüístics adequats. En una línia semblant, de Swaan (2001: 54) suggereix que:

A biological species [...] may be saved by safeguarding the environment where it finds its niche. For a language to survive, a considerable number of people must maintain their speech and maybe their ways of life against the inroads of a changing social and linguistic environment – a rather more formidable task.

Cal tenir sempre en compte, en tot cas, que ens estem referint a processos socials, en què els protagonistes són éssers dotats de raciocini, la qual cosa suposa una important restricció ètica i un límit a les aplicacions més simplistes de la metàfora ecològica. S. Mufwene ha criticat el cinisme d'una determinada lingüística, que s'entossudeix a encoratjar els parlants de llengües en vies d'extinció, especialment al tercer món, perquè les continuïn fet servir

només en nom del “manteniment de la diversitat lingüística”, encara que sigui evident que la migració lingüística pot millorar llur condició socioeconòmica. Com assenyalava en un interessant treball (Mufwene 2002: 42):

Languages die gradually and inconspicuously as a consequence of the communicative practices of the relevant population, in ecologies where the speakers themselves can be considered as victims, as they themselves have adapted to change. We cannot just encourage them to maintain their ancestral languages even if only as home varieties without providing the ecologies that can support our prescriptions.

En aquest treball assumim que la gestió racional dels ecosistemes lingüístics, la *planificació ecolingüística*, és un valuós instrument de regulació de l'equilibri ecolingüístic i, complementàriament, que les polítiques en què es fa explícita, que inclouen necessàriament les polítiques de traducció, poden ser, com veurem, una eina de primer ordre per aquesta comesa.

2. L'economia lingüística, la globalització i les noves regles del joc

Aquest que acabem de presentar és el marc global en què es vol situar aquest treball. Abans d'avançar més, però, caldrà que ens aturem a fer algunes consideracions, conceptuals i contextuals, per acabar-ho d'afinar.

2.1. La globalització i el globalisme

Hem de considerar, d'entrada, que en els últims anys es fa cada cop més difícil parlar de sistemes ecolingüístics *particulars*. A la pràctica, la nostra espècie està arribant al punt de constitució d'una constel·lació mundial de llengües (cf. de Swaan 2001), un nou sistema (eco)lingüístic *global*, i cap anàlisi sociolingüística no pot obviar aquesta circumstància. Els límits dels estats-nació han guanyat permeabilitat, tant pel que fa als intercanvis econòmics, com als comunicatius (encara que aquesta condició no sempre s'hagi estès a la lliure circulació de les persones). Els antics mercats nacionals s'han organitzat en xarxes globals i els consumidors potencials són ara a tot arreu. *Globalització* és l'etiqueta utilitzada per descriure aquest estat de les coses, que inclou també (cf. Santos 2006) una economia dominada per un sistema financer i inversor d'escala global, uns processos de producció flexibles i ubics, unes polítiques fiscals i monetàries orientades a la contenció de la inflació, una reducció de les despeses de transport, una revolució en les tecnologies de la informació i de les comunicacions i una mínima intervenció estatal en les economies locals (incloent-hi la limitació de les despeses en polítiques socials i la privatització dels sectors empresarials).

Com tots els canvis socials massius, la globalització no pot ser entesa sense el rerefons ideològic que hi dona suport. Steger (2005) utilitza el terme *globalisme* per fer referència a la ideologia de la globalització, que destil·la assercions que ens resultaran tan familiars com aquestes: la globalització implica la liberalització i la integració global dels mercats (de fet, com apunta Fairclough [2006], el globalisme identifica la globalització amb l'extensió del lliure mercat); la globalització és inevitable i irreversible alhora; la globalització no és patrimoni de ningú; la globalització és un procés beneficiós per a tothom; la globalització facilita l'extensió de la democràcia a tot arreu. El corol·lari econòmic del globalisme, que complementa la primera asserció, és el *neoliberalisme*, una ideologia/utopia que prioritza el paper dels mercats sobre el paper dels estats, l'individu sobre la col·lectivitat, i que preconitza la mercantilització (*commodification*) de totes les coses, incloent-hi l'accés als processos polítics.

2.2. La llengua com a bé

Si aquestes que acabem de presentar són algunes de les noves regles del joc, de quina manera afecten la dinàmica ecolingüística? Podem començar per suposar que l'intent de reduir l'abast d'algunes categories clàssiques com la de subordinació lingüística als límits d'un estat-nació concret és, probablement, un exercici estèril: en el nou sistema global l'equilibri ecolingüístic també serà global, així com el risc de desestabilització dels sistemes ecolingüístics particulars, i condicionarà potencialment tant les llengües hegemòniques com les subordinades (encara que, ben segur, amb diferent intensitat).

La primera qüestió que hauríem d'abordar, per tal d'analitzar el funcionament d'aquest "nou ordre" és la del paper que correspon a les llengües, en un *mercant global*. D'acord amb Grin (1994: 35), recordarem que, en l'ús corrent que en fan els estudis econòmics, un mercat es defineix a partir de quatre elements: un *producte* (*commodity*) –tant si és un bé com un servei– clarament definit; un *preu* per al mateix, ben establert; una *previsió de la demanda*, que representa el volum de bé/servei que els agents estan disposats a consumir, per a cada tram de preus; i una *previsió de l'oferta*, que identifica el volum de bé/servei que els agents estan disposats a produir, també per a cada tram de preus.

2.2.1. La llengua-coneixement com a capital humà i com a bé hipercol·lectiu

La caracterització de la llengua com a producte presenta, però, algunes peculiaritats interessants. Podem constatar, per començar, que les llengües són

béns col·lectius perquè ningú no pot ser exclòs del seu ús i, alhora, perquè l'esforç d'un únic individu no és suficient per mantenir-los. D'altra banda, la llengua entesa com a bé presenta la característica òbvia de no esgotar-se a mesura que es consumeix. Si allò més habitual és que l'increment del consum dels béns n'augmenti la raritat (i, per tant, el preu), en el cas de la llengua, paradoxalment, el valor augmenta a mesura que n'augmenta l'ús, sense que es produeixi cap minva de la quantitat total de producte disponible. El concepte d'externalitats de xarxa (*network externalities*, vg. Katz & Shapiro 1986) fa referència a aquells béns que augmenten la utilitat que tenen per als individus a mesura que augmenta el nombre de persones que els consumeixen. Ens estem referint, és clar, al *coneixement* d'una llengua com un bé, o si voleu, com allò que Chiswick & Miller (1995: 248) anomenen un *capital humà*:

Language skills are an important form of human capital. They satisfy the three basic requirements for human capital: they are embodied in the person; they are productive in the labor market and/or in consumption; and they are created at a sacrifice of time and out-of-pocket resources.

En la síntesi de Grin & Vallancourt (1997), la llengua és un tipus de capital humà (vg. també Grenier & Vaillancourt 1983: 472-474), una forma de coneixement útil per als individus, de caràcter supercol·lectiu, el valor del qual augmenta, efectivament, a mesura que creix el nombre de persones que el fan servir, eixamplant-ne l'eficàcia comunicativa. En termes de comunitats humanes, la suma d'aquests capitals humans individuals és, de fet, una forma de *capital social*. Considerant l'externalitat de xarxa (positiva) i el caràcter col·lectiu, podem dir també que les llengües són, en realitat, béns *hipercol·lectius*, com ho fa de Swaan (2001: §2.1).

2.2.2. La llengua-servei, la llengua-tecnologia i les externalitats negatives

Més enllà de la llengua-bé, cal que considerem també la llengua com a *servei*, com s'esdevé en l'ensenyament de llengües i en les diverses formes de mediació lingüística (traducció, interpretació, subtitulació, localització...). En el primer cas, la voluntat d'accedir als beneficis de les llengües que garanteixen la capacitat de comunicar amb un nombre més gran de persones a tot arreu (les llengües *hipercentrals*) assegura un important contingent d'individus que han d'esmerçar temps, diners i esforços per a la seva formació lingüística i, per tant, l'oferta de serveis corresponent. Cal recordar, un cop més, que la incorporació d'aquestes persones a la comunitat d'usuaris de la llengua triada fa que aquesta obtingui un guany immediat en termes d'externalitat de xarxa i, per tant, que augmenti automàticament la seva capacitat d'atreure nous usuaris.

Pel que fa al segon cas, és evident que, en el nou marc ecolingüístic globalitzat, bona part –si no la majoria– dels productes lingüístics que són al nostre abast (des del cinema o la literatura, fins als manuals d'instruccions o la retolació comercial, passant per les notícies de la premsa escrita o les pàgines d'Internet i arribant als béns de consum ordinaris) han estat objecte d'alguna mena d'intervenció lingüística, o l'han generat en els respectius processos de producció, d'etiquetatge, de transport, en les corresponents transaccions econòmiques, en les comunicacions que hi han donat lloc, en la publicitat i el marxandatge... Aquesta gestió lingüística, en la qual la llengua és directament una *tecnologia*, respondria al fet que, efectivament, els mercats són ja d'àmbit mundial, per la qual cosa els consumidors potencials són a tot arreu i cal adaptar-hi lingüísticament i culturalment l'oferta de productes i de serveis.

Hem de recordar que la ideologia subjacent a la globalització no té res a veure amb la preservació de la diversitat cultural, sinó que segueix estrictament, i per principi, la lògica del mercat. En realitat, la diversitat cultural i la diversitat lingüística són un obstacle per a la circulació de productes, d'una manera semblant a la diferent amplada de les vies dels trens o la variació en els formats que es fan servir per a la producció industrial. De fet, l'estandardització d'aquests últims té com a objectiu facilitar l'activitat empresarial, tot reduint la incertesa en la producció i la distribució de mercaderies i la prestació de serveis. L'aplicació d'un criteri elemental de maximització dels beneficis fa pensar que les despeses d'adaptació lingüística dels productes i dels serveis (com qualsevol altre descompte de guanys) haurien de tendir a minvar i, en la mesura que això fos possible, a desaparèixer, des del punt de vista dels agents que creen i que gestionen els productes i els serveis que són susceptibles d'adaptació lingüísticocultural. Una bona manera de fer-ho és prioritzar les *tecnologies més eficients*. A la pràctica, això significa atribuir a les llengües un *preu* identificat amb llur *valor d'ús*, entès com la capacitat que tenen d'acostar els productes a un nombre més alt de potencials consumidors, i per tant de reportar beneficis amb un cost més reduït (recordem, un cop més, que una de les característiques del globalisme és la mercantilització). Hi ha, però, uns altres criteris que contribueixen a perfilar el valor de la llengua-tecnologia, com ara el fet que el grup humà per al qual s'adapta el producte sigui capaç de garantir l'optimització de les transaccions (per exemple per la seva elevada capacitat adquisitiva, o pel seu pes demogràfic). En aquest context, la posició dominant de l'anglès com a llengua de la globalització és fora de discussió. Trobaríem després un feix de llengües *competitives*, en termes de mercat (el mandarí, el rus, l'hindi, l'espanyol, el portuguès...), que encara justificarien les despeses d'adaptació dels productes, i després un seguit de

codis en una situació molt més compromesa. D'acord amb Skutnabb-Kangas (2004), "[...] only those 40-50 languages will remain in which people can, within the next few years, talk to their stove, fridge and coffee pot, i.e. those languages into which Microsoft software, Nokia mobile phone menus, etc., are being translated".

Val la pena tenir en compte també que la prestació de serveis lingüístics demana l'existència d'un capital humà previ, en la forma de coneixements lingüístics. Dit d'una altra manera: la llengua-coneixement és un bé previ a la llengua-servei. Una conseqüència òbvia és el fet que les persones que han adquirit com a materna una llengua d'ampla difusió (per un simple accident geogràfic, habitualment) tenen un magnífic benefici automàtic per aquest fet (que Breton [1998] anomena *senyoratge*). Grin (2004) ha caracteritzat un seguit d'efectes positius per als parlants de les llengües dominants en situacions de contacte, que poden ser extrapolats per als de les llengües dominants en el mercat lingüístic global:

- the 'privileged market effect': native speakers of the dominant language enjoy a quasi-monopoly over the markets for translation and interpretation into the dominant language, the market for second language instruction above a certain level, and the market for language editing all of which are tasks in which native-level skills are typically required;
- the 'communication savings effect': native speakers of the dominant language are spared the effort required to translate messages directed to them by speakers of other languages, since the latter will have made the effort to utter them in the dominant language in the first place; reciprocally, native speakers of the dominant language do not need to translate their messages into other languages;
- the 'language learning savings effect': native speakers of the dominant language do not need to invest time and effort in learning other languages; this amounts to a considerable savings. [...]
- the 'alternative human capital investment effect': the money not invested in foreign language acquisition can be diverted to other forms of human capital investment and give native speakers of the dominant language an edge in other areas;
- the 'legitimacy and rhetorical effect': native speakers of the dominant language will generally have an edge in negotiations or arguments with non-native speakers, because these always take place in their language.

La naturalesa hipercol·lectiva de la llengua com a servei té alguns efectes paradoxals, tanmateix, que afecten el valor i les previsions de l'oferta i de la demanda. Per exemple, no hi ha cap motiu raonable per pensar que els cursos d'anglès (la llengua hipercentral per excel·lència) o les pràctiques de mediació lingüística que l'inclouen siguin més cars (tinguin un preu més elevat) que els cursos d'altres llengües o les pràctiques de mediació lingüística corresponent. De fet, l'externalitat de xarxa té, per definició, un valor negatiu per a les activitats de mediació lingüística: a mesura que augmenta el nombre d'usuaris d'una llengua, disminueixen les necessitats de traducció, evidentment (cf. de Swaan 1998: §2.2). En realitat, en aquests casos sí que opera la relació escassetat/augment de preu: la traducció en combinacions menys freqüents o la de llengües "exòtiques" tendeix a ser més cara. En el cas de la formació, l'augment de l'oferta en el cas de les llengües més demandades (les llengües hipercentrals) tendeix a anivellar els preus. A més, com després veurem, és força habitual que els governs considerin la formació lingüística un sector estratègic, i que la incorporin a l'ensenyament reglat obligatori.

3. Planificació i preservació de l'hàbitat ecolingüístic

Des d'un punt de vista estrictament economicista, aquests que acabem d'exposar tindrien l'aparença de criteris *objectius* per caracteritzar el nou mercat lingüístic global. Si entenem les llengües com uns mers instruments comunicatius que fluctuen (que *han de fluctuar*, en els termes del globalisme) en el lliure mercat, totes les decisions són força clares. Així, no és gens agosarat d'argumentar, per exemple, que l'ensenyament de llengües resulta més efectiu que la pràctica de la traducció, en societats multilingües. Colomer (1996), per exemple, tot aplicant la teoria dels jocs, conclou que, en comunitats de més de cinc llengües, l'ensenyament massiu d'una d'elles és socialment més eficaç (per garantir la màxima eficàcia comunicativa) que la traducció, i que l'ensenyament de dues llengües és més eficaç en les comunitats de més de deu llengües. Tanmateix, i més enllà del simple exercici intel·lectual, l'autor ens recorda que (1996: 182) "Here language is basically conceived as a tool for communication. [...] However, other dimensions of language, such as expression and its value as an element of cultural environment, should be considered as a crucial complement of my evaluation [...]".

En efecte, la pretesa objectivitat de les perspectives exclusivament economicistes recolza, sovint, en la consideració que el valor de les llengües (el "preu") sigui mesurat només en termes mercantils, i no pas representacionals. Però, com ens recorda Grin (2006: 81):

The “hypercollective” nature of language opens up some of the most challenging research avenues in language economics, but it does contain numerous pitfalls. For example, it has been used by some to defend, on allegedly economic grounds, support for the teaching of *majority* languages (Jones, 2000). However, the validity of this proposition crucially rests on one assumption, namely, that language is *only* a tool for communication (sometimes relabeled a “communication technology”). Sociolinguists have known for a long time that this does not do justice to the complexity of language in human experience.

Certament, més enllà del seu valor econòmic més fàcilment taxable, les llengües són també repositoris del coneixement acumulat de grups humans, el sediment de pràctiques comunitàries reiterades en el temps i, amb tota probabilitat, instruments que modelen la cognició individual (i, per tant, que reflecteixen les formes de cognició social i que contribueixen a mantenir-la). Des d'aquest punt de vista, la diversitat lingüística, d'una manera força semblant a la diversitat biològica, podria ser considerada un bé en ella mateixa. Segurament això mateix explica el fet que l'article 3 de la *Declaració Universal sobre la Diversitat Cultural*, adoptada en la 31^a sessió de l'Assemblea General de la UNESCO (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>), estableixi que la diversitat cultural és un factor de desenvolupament:

ARTICLE 3 La diversité culturelle, facteur de développement

La diversité culturelle élargit les possibilités de choix offertes à chacun; elle est l'une des sources du développement, entendu non seulement en termes de croissance économique, mais aussi comme moyen d'accéder à une existence intellectuelle, affective, morale et spirituelle satisfaisante.

No és sorprenent, per tant, que la Declaració reconegui entre les línies essencials del seu pla d'acció “sauvegarder le patrimoine linguistique de l'humanité et soutenir l'expression, la création, et la diffusion dans le plus grand nombre possible de langues”. Val a dir, però, que no tots els estudiosos estan d'acord a considerar que la protecció de la diversitat lingüística sigui un bé en ella mateixa. De fet, encara que alguns especialistes consideren axiomàtica l'equiparació entre diversitat ecològica i diversitat lingüística (vg. p.ex., Skutnabb-Kangas & Philipson 2008, Maffi 2001), i en dedueixen consegüentment uns *drets lingüístics*, en línia amb la declaració anterior, n'hi ha qui considera que l'establiment d'aquests drets lingüístics, especialment quan es basen en la consideració que les llengües tenen un valor *intrínsec*, mena a situacions inacceptables des d'un punt de vista liberal-democràtic (vg. p. ex., Boran 2003, Weinstock 2003).

En qualsevol cas, i en termes pràctics, del que no hi ha dubte és que les comunitats humanes que disposen de capacitat per fer-ho, tendeixen a organitzar mecanismes d'intervenció per limitar els efectes de la lògica del mercat, nua i crua. Segurament ho fan perquè la tendència a la persistència en els comportaments –i no pas al canvi– és una constant en les societats humanes i, perquè, en últim extrem, sí que sembla fora de discussió la legitimitat de les comunitats per defensar allò que consideren un bé (hiper)col·lectiu, quan és amenaçat. De vegades, aquestes actuacions responen, efectivament, a alguna mena de decisió explícita que ha pres alguna agència d'alguna Administració, que fins i tot pot haver estat objecte de sanció legal. Quan és així, podem parlar, efectivament, d'autèntiques polítiques, tant si són paleses com encobertes i tant si responen a plans detallats com a conjunts de mesures (aparentment) inconnexes, que menen a resultats observables i justificables a partir d'elles mateixes. En tot cas, com apunta de Swaan (2001: 55), “[...] a community with an effective coordinating agency, such as a political authority of its own, is in a much better position to impose its policies than a collectivity that must rely on voluntary compliance”.

Com havíem apuntat al començament d'aquest treball, les pràctiques de traducció representen una eina interessantíssima en aquesta mena de processos. En treballs anteriors, que ara revisem, ens hem referit a la conveniència d'intentar racionalitzar-los com a objecte d'estudi, considerant-los com a menes de *control social*, com també sembla assumir Meylaerts (2009: 8-9):

Parmi ces mécanismes de contrôle, la traduction joue un rôle de premier plan. La planification en matière de traduction institutionnelle fait effectivement partie intégrante de la politique de langue des sociétés multilingues, au point que cette dernière présuppose une politique de traduction. En d'autres termes, non seulement quelle(s) langue(s) peu(ven)t ou ne peu(ven)t pas être utilisée(s) mais aussi et nécessairement qu'est-ce qui peut (ne peut pas) être traduit par qui, quand et comment dans un contexte géo-temporel et institutionnel défini fait partie de la lutte pour 'qui est dedans' et 'qui est dehors'.

Des del nostre punt de vista (vg. Diaz Fouces 2001, 2002, 2005), aquests mecanismes fan referència a diverses àrees, com ara el balanç dels intercanvis dels fluxos lingüístics, la socialització professional del personal dedicat a la gestió lingüística i els aspectes lingüísticoestructurals. En aquest treball intentarem prioritzar el primer dels aspectes citats, tot presentant un primer esbós racional del catàleg de polítiques aplicades (i aplicables) a la gestió dels intercanvis lingüístics, amb la intenció de preservar el propi espai ecolingüístic.

3.1. *Les menes de politiques: un intent d'aproximació racional*

3.1.1. Politiques de regulació dels intercanvis externs

Distingirem, en primer lloc, les *politiques de regulació dels intercanvis externs*, l'objectiu de les quals seria mantenir i, en la mesura que sigui possible, augmentar el valor d'ús d'una llengua, entesa com un bé (hiper)col·lectiu, un capital social que és alhora capital individual de tots els membres de la comunitat d'usuaris. Parlem de comunitat d'usuaris, ja que, com és fàcil d'imaginar, les externalitats abasten també (amb més o menys intensitat) aquells individus que no es troben físicament al(s) estat(s) on la llengua és dominant. De tota manera, enteses com a polítiques públiques, és evident que estan orientades, principalment, al conjunt d'individus sobre els quals té competència una determinada Administració, tant si és regional com estatal o internacional. Les estratègies posades en joc poden tenir a veure amb la regulació de la balança d'intercanvis de productes culturals. Sense voler ser exhaustius, ens sembla que hi podríem abstroure els tipus següents, que apareixen numerats només per facilitar l'exposició posterior:

1. Les *politiques de projecció i de difusió exterior* (de productes culturals) prenen la forma d'ajudes a l'exportació de béns lingüísticoculturals propis, per eixamplar-ne el mercat.
2. Les *politiques de restricció a les importacions* (de productes culturals) són estratègies proteccionistes que volen salvaguardar el valor de la llengua i per tant el capital social.
3. Les *politiques de promoció de l'ensenyament de la llengua pròpia a l'exterior* intenten augmentar el valor de la llengua, a base d'estimular la integració de nous usuaris que creïn externalitats positives.
4. Les *politiques de promoció de l'ensenyament de llengües estrangeres* contribueixen a augmentar el capital humà dels individus d'una comunitat de manera selectiva.
5. Les *politiques de foment de les traduccions de la pròpia llengua* són mesures proteccionistes de suport a l'ús de la pròpia llengua-tecnologia.
6. Les *politiques de foment de la traducció a la pròpia llengua* de productes externs valuosos contribueix a augmentar l'autoestima dels individus de la comunitat i a prevenir-hi la deserció lingüística.

Com veurem de seguida, cada parell de tipus (1-2, 3-4 i 5-6) representa, en realitat, dues perspectives d'un mateix fenomen. El primer (1-2) fa referència a allò que és habitual d'anomenar *indústries culturals*. Val la pena de recordar, en aquest moment, que el terme, generat al si de l'Escola de Frankfurt (i amb unes connotacions no gaire positives), va guanyar valor factual –més enllà

de la dimensió filosòfica i sociològica– amb la posada en marxa d'acords comercials com ara el CUSFTA (*Canada and United States Free Trade Agreement*), l'article 2012 del qual defineix les indústries culturals com el conjunt dels sectors relacionats amb l'edició de llibres i de publicacions periòdiques, de la producció de vídeos i pel·lícules, la música i les emissions radiofòniques (vg. Neuwirth 2008). Estem parlant, naturalment, d'indústries en les quals als continguts lingüístics els correspon un paper fonamental. Un exemple paradigmàtic (i extrem) d'aquest primer tipus que ens ocupa és el que ens proporciona Redner (2004: 77). Es tracta del cas de la indústria americana del cinema i, en general, dels productes audiovisuals:

The purveyors of global culture, mainly American media companies, practice a commercial strategy that is often little short of cultural dumping. In order to create markets for their commodities they will give away for nothing or next to nothing shows that have already recouped their cost of production and reaped a handsome profit on the wide and wealthy American market. Such shows, once amortized, can then be exported around the world with the main purpose of building audiences, and so creating a demand for such cultural products as will eventually have to be paid for, vastly increasing the profits already gained. [...] It would be perfectly legitimate, and not necessarily infringe on free trade practices, to legislate against cultural dumping, as it has been done against every other kind of products-dumping.

Aquesta mena d'actuacions explicaria, efectivament, les respostes de caire proteccionista, per part d'aquelles comunitats que veuen envaït, d'una manera força agressiva, el seu propi espai ecolingüístic. Així, fa ja uns quant anys, el *The New York Times* destacava com a notícia el fet que tant França com Espanya estaven establint quotes d'exhibició per a les pel·lícules americanes, que il·lustren el nostre tipus (2). D'una manera força significativa, en el cas espanyol un dels mecanismes previstos era establir limitacions a la possibilitat d'emetre material doblat (vg. <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/12/22/movies/france-and-spain-impose-quotas.html> i http://www.congreso.es/constitucion/ficheros/leyes_espa/rdl_019_1993.pdf):

In Spain, the Parliament today approved a law saying that in towns with more than 125,000 inhabitants, every two days cinemas dedicate to American films must be followed by one day for European films. In smaller towns, cinemas will have to show one day of European movies for every three given of American films.

Proposed by the Socialist Government of Felipe Gonzalez, the law is intended to encourage European films at a time when Hollywood accounts for just less than 80 percent of the Spanish box office.

The legislation also imposes strict limits on dubbing. A license to dub any foreign film will be given only to a movie distribution company that has

already shown European films earning about \$143,000 in box-office receipts during the year.

With the average European film earning about \$64,000 in Spain, the law effectively means that a company will have to show three European films before it can obtain a license to dub a Hollywood production. Most American movies in Spain are currently dubbed, and there is little public demand for films with subtitles.

Tot i que la legislació espanyola es va anar “suavitzant” (vg. <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2001/07/10/pdfs/A24904-24909.pdf>), la pròpia Unió Europea promou actualment diverses menes de mesures proteccionistes, en la forma de subvencions a la producció dels estats membres, com ho demostra la Decisió 1718/2006/EC del Parlament i del Consell d'Europa, més coneguda com el programa META 2007 (http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/l_327/l_32720061124en00120029.pdf), que estableix com a objectius globals els següents:

- (a) preserve and enhance European cultural and linguistic diversity and its cinematographic and audiovisual heritage, guarantee its accessibility to the public and promote intercultural dialogue;
- (b) increase the circulation and viewership of European audiovisual works inside and outside the European Union, including through greater co-operation between players;
- (c) strengthen the competitiveness of the European audiovisual sector in the framework of an open and competitive European market favourable to employment, including by promoting links between audiovisual professionals.

L'últim dels tipus que proposem (6) suposa una perspectiva semblant. Perquè els parlants d'alguns grups lingüístics puguin accedir a una part significativa dels productes i dels serveis en la seva llengua, tot sovint han de trencar les regles del lliure mercat. Recordeu ara que a la citació anterior de Skutnabb-Kangas (2004) s'afirmava que només les comunitats amb una important densitat demogràfica o amb una gran capacitat adquisitiva atreuen les pràctiques de gestió lingüística per part dels grans agents del mercat. Correlativament, podem pensar que les pràctiques *prestigioses* de gestió lingüística es reserven per a les llengües econòmicament viables. Així que, de vegades, algunes comunitats “menys viables” es veuen obligades a desenvolupar estratègies proteccionistes. Un bon exemple és el cas de la localització al català, al gal·lec i al basc de dos productes de l'empresa Microsoft, el sistema operatiu Windows i el paquet ofimàtic Office, que van rebre importants subvencions per part dels respectius governs autonòmics, ja que l'empresa no la trobava rendible (recordeu la nostra citació anterior de Skutnabb-Kangas 2006). Si

valorem el fet que tots els parlants de les respectives comunitats lingüístiques són també competents en la llengua espanyola, és evident que la subvenció no pot ser justificada en termes estrictament econòmics –si més no a curt termini–, sinó simbòlics. Incidentalment, és també força significatiu que en els tres casos esmentats el resultat fos un paquet LPI (*Language Interface Pack*, paquet d'interfície d'idioma) que calia instal·lar per utilitzar la interfície d'usuari localitzada, la qual cosa a la pràctica acaba per ser un “pedaç” parcial sobre una instal·lació “de debò” (<http://www.elcorreogallego.es/index.php?idMenu=10&idNoticia=44960>, <http://www.microsoft.com/spain/windowsxp/euskera.msp> i http://www.softcatala.org/el_windows_catala_amor_impossible). Les polítiques proteccionistes prioritzen, evidentment, aquelles pràctiques de gestió lingüística connotades amb un valor simbòlic més gran, en aquest cas uns paquets informàtics d'ús global, que duen associats els valors de la modernitat i la tecnologia.

En un sentit complementari, i ja que els exemples anteriors feien referència a llengües subordinades, cal recordar, com ho fan O'Connell & Walsh (2006), que la pràctica de la traducció des de la llengua subordinada duu associats uns valors força importants: “Translation into a minority language [...] may be necessary for its very survival, but translation from a minority language is usually important primarily in terms of status and prestige”. De fet, aquesta mena d'exportació no només augmenta el valor simbòlic de la llengua, sinó també el seu valor real, com a bé hipercol·lectiu. Un cop més, això explicaria l'existència d'estratègies proteccionistes en el cas de les comunitats subordinades, la visibilitat de les quals és més reduïda. En aquest sentit cal interpretar les convocatòries periòdiques de subvenció per a la traducció del català a altres llengües d'obres literàries i de pensament de l'Institut Ramon Llull (vg. el *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya* núm. 5294, de 12.1.2009), o de la Institució de les Lletres Catalanes (<http://cultura.gencat.net/ilc/>) per al català. Com suggereix Cronin (2003: 167):

The problem for minority or endangered languages is not so much the fact of contact as the form of contact. Translation as a particular kind of contact is threatening and oppressive if the speakers of minority languages have not control over the translation process and cannot use translation as an enabling force but have to suffer it as a disabling intrusion.

I encara (Cronin 2003: 169):

Making knowledge and information available in minority languages is not only an effective way of extending the way of usefulness of the languages concerned but it also allows the regional, the national and the global to be made local in a way that is politically enabling and allows for the beginning of a recovery of control over people's political, economic and cultural fates.

Convé tenir present, però, que aquesta pràctica (el nostre tipus 5) no és exclusiva de les llengües subordinades: és força habitual en les llengües hegemòniques, molt especialment en el cas d'aquelles les característiques de les quals, com ara l'exigüitat del nombre de parlants, les fan poc competitives en el mercat global. Per això existeixen accions específiques en aquest sentit de l'*Ireland Literature Exchange* (<http://www.irelandliterature.com/>) per a l'irlandès. I també és força significatiu de verificar que les traduccions de la literatura en llengua neerlandesa són subvencionades en un 70% per la Fundació per a la Producció i la Traducció de la Literatura Neerlandesa (*Nederlands Literair Productie- en Vertalingenfonds*, <http://www.nlpvf.nl/nl/over/>) i els òrgans de govern de la comunitat flamenca (Linn 2006: 34). També el Ministeri d'Educació del Govern d'Islàndia disposa d'un *Fons per a la promoció de la Literatura*, que pretén, entre altres coses (<http://bella.stjr.is/utgafur/enskan.pdf>),

[...] to promote Icelandic literature abroad so as to have Icelandic fiction published abroad in foreign languages, and supervision of the participation of Iceland in foreign cultural events and international cooperation in the field of literature. The fund may also make grants to translators of Icelandic literature into other languages in order to enable them to travel to Iceland to work on their translations and are responsible for conferences and work meetings of translators in Iceland.

El cas islandès ens serviria per exemplificar alhora els nostres tipus (5) i (6), ja que, al costat d'aquesta mesura, també manté un *Fons per a la Traducció* específic per a l'adaptació d'obres d'autors estrangers. Això no impedeix, de tota manera, que els sectors més joves de la població estiguin modificant substancialment les seves pautes de consum cultural, com ho demostra la preferència per la lectura de la sèrie *Harry Potter* directament en llengua anglesa (vg. Hilmarsson-Dunn 2006: 305).

El foment de la traducció de la pròpia llengua tampoc no és exclusiu de les llengües occidentals, com ho demostra la primera mesura d'aquesta selecció de propostes de política cultural del Ministeri de Cultura de Tanzània que reproduïm (<http://www.tzonline.org/pdf/culturalpolicy.pdf>):

1.2.2 Communities, private and public organisations shall be encouraged to research, write, preserve and translate vernacular languages into other languages. [...]

1.3.1 English shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education levels and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of English shall be strengthened.

1.3.2 The teaching of other foreign languages such as French, Portuguese and Russian shall be encouraged.

Podem aprofitar aquest últim exemple per comprovar que la segona i la tercera de les mesures citades estan relacionades amb el tipus (4) de la nostra classificació. Com és fàcil d'imaginar, l'ensenyament de llengües estrangeres augmenta el capital humà dels individus i doncs, en certa mesura, el capital social col·lectiu. No és cap sorpresa que l'anglès, l'autèntica llengua franca mundial, sigui la més triada, encara que valgui la pena d'apuntar algun petit matis, com ho fa l'informe *ELAN: Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise* de 2006 (el podeu consultar a http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc421_en.pdf):

Many respondents indicated that they viewed English as a key language for gaining access to export markets and frequent reference was made to its use as a lingua franca. However, the survey results, as well as comments from individual company respondents, suggest that the picture is far more complex than the much-quoted view that English is the world language.

The backlash against Russian which was noticeable in the former Soviet Bloc countries at the end of the last century is not in evidence and Russian is extensively used in Eastern Europe as a lingua franca (along with German and Polish). French is used to trade with partners in areas of Africa and Spanish is used similarly in Latin America. Individual respondents mentioned that English might be used for initial market entry, but longer-term business partnerships depended upon relationship-building and relationship-management and, to achieve this, cultural and linguistic knowledge of the target country were essential.

No hi ha dubte, en qualsevol cas, que una societat amb un bon nivell de destreses lingüístiques és potencialment més capaç d'enfrontar els desafiaments de la globalització i doncs de generar riquesa comunitària. De fet, ni tant sols es pot considerar que les persones que tenen com a pròpia la llengua franca internacional estiguin completament exemptes d'un coneixement raonable d'altres llengües i cultures, com posava de manifest fa pocs anys als Estats Units l'informe *Education for Global Leadership: The Importance of International Studies and Foreign Language Education for U.S. Economic and National Security* (Committee for Economic Development 2006 (a <http://www.ced.org>) i com assenyalava recentment el Director General de Traducció de la Comissió Europea (Lönnroth 2009: 4-5):

In 2007, the exports of goods from the United Kingdom to the whole of South America – an area with a population of 380 million – were only marginally higher than those to Denmark – a country with a population of 5.5 million.

This disappointing performance has been explained by the limited knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese in the United Kingdom business community.

En termes col·lectius, però, les polítiques d'ensenyament de llengües als administrats tenen un efecte col·lateral menys beneficiós, una externalitat negativa pel fet que una llengua amb la qual s'està competint pel propi espai ecolingüístic augmenti el valor d'ús a partir de la incorporació dels individus *propis*. Potser per això la selecció de la llengua que ha de ser privilegiada a l'ensenyament obligatori té sovint un valor estratègic que respon a interessos politicoeconòmics de més abast. Amb això podrien estar relacionades les oscil·lacions en l'actitud respecte a l'ensenyament de llengües als Estats Units (vg. Lantolf & Sunderman 2001), la presència massiva de la llengua russa a l'ensenyament en els països del bloc comunista, després de la segona Guerra Mundial, o la incorporació recent de l'espanyol com a llengua obligatòria al sistema educatiu brasiler (i la nostra citació anterior de l'informe ELAN dóna pistes sobre els resultats i els motius, respectivament, d'aquestes dues circumstàncies). Ben al contrari, la promoció de l'ensenyament de la pròpia llengua a l'estranger (el nostre tipus 3), la missió que tenen assignada el *Goethe-Institut*, l'*Instituto Cervantes* o l'*Instituto Camões* és una font evident d'externalitats positives i doncs una eina per estintolar el propi espai ecolingüístic.

3.1.2. Polítiques de regulació dels intercanvis interns

Hem vist que els tipus presentats a l'apartat anterior responien a la voluntat de preservar l'espai ecolingüístic, tot evitant la fluctuació descontrolada del valor de la llengua pròpia. Per això, les actuacions corresponents volien obtenir, d'alguna manera, un equilibri *extern*. El tipus (4) en seria una excepció, d'alguna manera, perquè significa una mena d'actuació *interna*, en el si de la pròpia comunitat. En realitat, les formes més evidents de gestió de la diversitat lingüística es desenvolupen a l'interior dels ens politicoadministratius. Si tenim present que en el món actual és certament difícil trobar estats sobirans que presentin una homogeneïtat lingüística absoluta, cal assumir que en tots els casos allò que es privilegia és habitualment *una* única llengua o, si voleu, un únic espai ecolingüístic. Els governs i les administracions poden adoptar diverses perspectives per mantenir l'hegemonia d'una llengua dins l'espai de les seves atribucions. Una de les estratègies més òbvies és regular-hi els seus propis intercanvis comunicatius amb els administrats, allò que podem anomenar polítiques reguladores dels intercanvis interns, que ara intentarem glossar. Partim, com en el cas anterior, d'un esquema inicial que anirem desenvolupant

	Administració	Administrats
Monolingüisme institucional	a. No traducció	Traducció obligatòria
	b. Traducció assistencial	Traducció obligatòria freqüent
	c. Traducció oficial	Traducció obligatòria ocasional
Multilingüisme institucional	d. Traducció total / No traducció	No traducció

En general, en contextos multilingües, les administracions poden assumir dues estratègies òbvies: la pràctica monolingüe o la multilingüe, amb tot un ventall de possibilitats intermèdies (cf. Meylaerts 2009: 14). Una administració multilingüe *pura* (d) es relaciona directament amb els administrats en la llengua que els és pròpia (o aquella que han triat). Per tant, significa una traducció sistemàtica de totes les actuacions (traducció total), o bé que aquestes siguin originàriament multilingües (no traducció). No són fàcils de trobar els exemples estrictes d'aquesta pràctica, ni tant sols en els països de (presumpte) multilingüisme igualitari. Potser la mateixa Unió Europea representaria un model relativament pròxim, ja que la legislació d'àmbit pan-europeu és multilingüe i el funcionament institucional també ho és. De tota manera això significa fer abstracció de totes les comunitats territorials que no tenen com a llengua pròpia una de les oficials de la Unió, a banda de l'immens contingent de persones immigrants i les comunitats no territorials (com la romaní). A més, cal no perdre de vista les tendències en el sentit d'una previsible reducció del (per a alguns) costos multilingüisme institucional europeu, si més no a nivell intern, que semblen força clares: com és sabut, només l'anglès, el francès i l'alemany són llengües d'ús intern factual de la Comissió i, de fet, si l'any 1997 els percentatges de documents redactats inicialment (*drafts*) en llengua anglesa representaven un 45,4% del total de la feina de la Direcció General de Traducció, el 2004 eren un 62%, i l'any 2008 suposaven ja un 72,5% (vg. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/brochures/translating_eu_brochure_en.pdf).

En el pol contrari (a) ens trobaríem aquelles administracions que obvien l'existència de qualsevol manifestació lingüística diferent de l'idioma reconegut com a oficial a l'interior de les pròpies fronteres. Com en el cas anterior, els exemples completament purs són difícils de trobar i tendeixen a coincidir amb sistemes polítics autoritaris. Fins i tot quan això s'esdevé, no és infreqüent que existeixin pràctiques coincidents amb el tipus (b), que de seguida descriurem. En realitat, les polítiques lingüístiques orientades als grups hegemònics d'individus i les que tenen com a objectiu aquells que no ho són, com a mínim a les democràcies liberals occidentals, són de naturalesa ben diferent:

mentre que en el primer cas resulta *esperable* la prestació de serveis públics en la llengua pròpia d'aquells col·lectius, en el segon és força habitual optar per la *traducció assistencial*, com s'esdevé freqüentment amb els immigrants. Així, per a Bauböck (2001):

This is particularly important in institutional environments that are experienced as stressful, such as hospitals, police interrogations or courtrooms. In such institutions, immigrants may have a moral right not only to use their native language but also to be understood when they speak it. More generally, public policy in countries of immigration should accommodate immigrant languages by providing a broad range of translation and interpreter services, bilingual forms and ballots, information sheets and public broadcasting in immigrant languages.

Un exemple força notable és l'Ordre Executiva 13166 signada per l'expresident dels Estats Units Bill Clinton (*Improving access to services for persons with limited English proficiency*), que tenia com a objectiu garantir que els programes federals d'assistència disposessin de personal capacitats per atendre en la seva pròpia llengua aquelles persones que no tinguessin un coneixement suficient de l'anglès, o per oferir-los-hi serveis de traducció (<http://www.justice.gov/crt/cor/Pubs/eolep.php>). Noteu que l'opció per la traducció i la interpretació assistencials és també l'estratègia que se segueix tot sovint en el cas de l'atenció als visitants estrangers, per exemple els turistes que demanen atenció policial, o hospitalària. De manera que, al costat del seu valor humanitari, aquesta mena d'actuació representa simbòlicament fer palès un grau inferior a la ciutadania complerta, que podria identificar-se amb la correspondència entre llengua oficial i llengua pròpia. Podríem dir que, en aquest cas, la traducció serveix també per establir una distància simbòlica entre les administracions i algunes persones i col·lectius, a qui deixa "marcats" com a "menys ciutadans (propis)". Observeu que la mateixa Unió Europea manté una pràctica (c) amb els ciutadans dels estats-membres (si més no, pel que fa a les llengües oficials) i una de (b) amb els immigrants (amb excepcions més afortunades, en què llurs llengües coincideixin amb les oficials de la Unió).

Des del punt de vista dels individus, els nostres tipus (a) i (b) també il·lustren allò que Branchadell (2005) anomena *traducció obligatòria* (*mandatory translation*), clarament relacionat amb el "communication savings effect" de Grin (2004) que citàvem més amunt, i que el mateix autor caracteritza de la manera següent (Branchadell 2005: 126): "Mandatory translation languages (MLT) are languages whose speakers do not have (or cannot exercise) the right to not translate their acts or words and the right to receive translations into their language of the acts of others". Una persona que té com a llengua pròpia alguna que no coincideix amb aquella que és oficial al lloc on

es troba ha de mantenir una pràctica contínua de traducció dels seus actes, personals i públics. I, correlativament, pot esperar només en certs casos molt puntuals que l'Administració corresponent tradueixi les seves actuacions perquè li resultin comprensibles o proveeixi d'ofici serveis de traducció a determinades prestacions bàsiques, perquè hi pugui accedir. Amb les paraules de Meylaerts (2009: 11), "Ainsi, le monolinguisme institutionnel et l'idéologie monolingue reposent sur une combinaison judicieuse de traduction interdite et obligatoire. L'obligation de traduire forme la *conditio sine qua non* d'un système monolingue".

Significativament, la situació de les comunitats subordinades autòctones, aquelles que constitueixen els grups de ciutadans de dret d'un estat la llengua pròpia dels quals no és la dominant, acostuma a ser diferent de la dels immigrants, en aquests termes. En efecte, mentre que seria relativament comú, per exemple, que un immigrant marroquí acusat d'un delictes tingués a la seva disposició un intèrpret en ser detingut a la República francesa, un ciutadà francès de llengua occitana ben segur que no el tindria, amb l'argument que, com a ciutadà francès, hauria de ser prou competent en la llengua oficial del país (la qual cosa, efectivament, faria perdre el caràcter d'actuació assistencial).

El mateix exemple ens serveix per fer una altra observació complementària. Noteu que és perfectament imaginable el cas d'una llengua que es trobi en una situació de "molt bona salut" en un determinat espai, encara que un nombre significatiu de les persones que la tenen com a pròpia no la puguin fer servir per a la seva vida quotidiana, més enllà de les comunicacions informals i familiars. Aquest seria, per exemple el cas dels immigrants portuguesos a França, la llengua dels quals recupera tota la seva virtualitat funcional quan tornen de vacances a Portugal, el lloc on es donen les circumstàncies adequades per això: el seu propi *habitat ecolingüístic*. Aquest cas il·lustra clarament la importància de disposar-ne d'un de sanejat. De fet, un portuguès a França encara podrà tenir accés a un munt de productes culturals en la seva pròpia llengua (llibres, diaris, emissores de ràdio, televisió per satèl·lit, vídeos). Fins i tot es podrà adreçar a les autoritats europees en portuguès. L'oferta de què disposaran els parlants de llengua occitana a la mateixa França, en canvi, serà molt i molt inferior, encara que, paradoxalment, es trobin en el territori on la seva llengua es va generar, i l'únic a tot el món on existeix una densitat demogràfica significativa d'usuaris, el seu habitat ecolingüístic, encara que la seva desestructuració i degradació siguin paleses.

El tipus (c) representaria una gradació que es correspon habitualment amb estats que disposen d'un cert grau de descentralització politicoadministrativa, com s'esdevé a Bèlgica, on la documentació oficial de les institucions

federals té caràcter bilingüe, de manera que existeixen sempre traduccions en francès i neerlandès. Com és evident, l'oficialitat no acostuma a ser automàtica per a totes les minories. Encara que sigui una obvietat, cal recordar amb Henrard (2000) que, (només) a mesura que augmenta el nombre de ciutadans d'una minoria lingüística determinada, augmenta també –o, si més no, es fa més palesa– l'obligació de l'Estat de prestar-hi serveis en la llengua corresponent. A aquells grups que no arriben a assolir un pes demogràfic considerable, difícilment els són reconeguts drets lingüístics plens, que impliquen per definició l'accés a pràctiques col·lectives, sinó que se'ls reserva, en el millor dels casos, la traducció assistencial. Així, en el cas del mateix exemple anterior Meylaerts (2009: 16) ens recorda que

La Belgique n'a en effet jamais considéré une traduction allemande dans ces domaines pour la minorité germanophone vivant dans les cantons de l'Est annexés en 1920 en exécution du traité de Versailles. Parallèlement, on n'a aucune indication d'une pareille politique traductionnelle vis-à-vis des minorités nouvellement immigrées en Belgique [...]

4. Síntesi i conclusions

En un món globalitzat, qualsevol comunitat humana pot veure amenaçada la continuïtat de les seves pràctiques lingüístiques. D'acord amb la metàfora ecològica, qualsevol grup ecolingüístic pot arribar a patir en algun moment una desestructuració del seu hàbitat, fruit d'una agressió directa o d'una alteració de les seves circumstàncies ambientals. Les causes també poden ser molt variades, i n'hi ha tant d'*actives* (com la coerció militar, política o econòmica) com de *passives* (com s'esdevé en el cas de l'absència de polítiques igualitàries en contextos de multilingüisme factual). Cal evitar, però, la impressió –errònia, a parer nostre– que la desestructuració dels hàbitats ecolingüístics sempre és conseqüència exclusiva de l'acció d'un agent exterior i que les restriccions a les pràctiques lingüístiques són respostes automàtiques. Com tots els canvis socials, les transformacions lingüístiques són processos complexos. No és difícil d'imaginar, per exemple, episodis d'abandonament massiu del propi codi (*migracions lingüístiques*) en favor d'un altre, sense que calgui posar a la pràctica cap mecanisme de coerció explícit. Les desigualtats en els processos de modernització, la (des)industrialització d'alguns espais o la desestructuració social poden conduir a situacions de pèrdua o de guany de prestigi i de valor d'ús que comportin canvis massius de les pautes de comportament lingüístic.

Per tal d'evitar aquesta mena d'amenaques, o per fer-hi front, diferents comunitats humanes hegemòniques i subordinades, nombroses i exigües,

regionals i internacionals, han anat generant un seguit d'estratègies, moltes d'elles relacionades amb la planificació dels intercanvis lingüístics. En general, responen a decisions que han estat preses pels corresponents gestors públics, i que tot sovint han estat codificades en reglaments, en normatives i, de vegades, en lleis i en decrets. En aquest treball hem volgut presentar un primer intent de sistematització d'algunes d'aquestes estratègies. Val la pena d'observar que, en general, allò que pretenen és mantenir les condicions perquè unes determinades pràctiques lingüístiques continuïn essent viables en un espai ecolingüístic determinat, és a dir, per a preservar (i, quan és possible, per a eixamplar) el propi espai ecolingüístic. No és cap sorpresa que les pràctiques de traducció, en sentit extens, representin una eina fonamental per aquesta comesa, tant pel que fa a la relació amb la resta d'espais ecolingüístics com per a la gestió de l'espai propi. La presència en la nostra anàlisi de l'ensenyament de llengües també té un sentit obvi: per definició, les pràctiques de mediació lingüística (fora de les més simbòliques) s'esdevenen entre persones de llengua diferent, que altrament tindrien dificultats per comunicar-se. La relació entre aquestes dues manifestacions de la llengua-servei és palesa, com ho és la relació d'aquesta amb la llengua-bé.

Ni el catàleg teòric de mesures ni les eines conceptuals que han anat apareixent en els paràgrafs anteriors volen ser un inventari exhaustiu, de cap manera. Ans al contrari, volen ser una modesta contribució per a l'estudi de les interaccions en el nou sistema ecolingüístic global i, en la mesura que això sigui possible, per a la seva racionalització. La valoració de l'eficàcia a llarg termini d'aquestes mesures correspon, evidentment, a estudis de caire longitudinal, però passava, des del nostre punt de vista, per un intent d'abstracció prèvia de les eines disponibles.

Cal recordar, per últim, encara que sigui evident, que, des d'un punt de vista ètic, les pràctiques de restricció dels drets lingüístics (individuals i col·lectius) i les accions proteccionistes no són pas homologables. Les diverses opcions disponibles per regular els intercanvis interns representen una autèntica escala de compromís amb la diversitat. I, certament, no tenen el mateix impacte ecològic les pràctiques proteccionistes que posa en joc una comunitat hegemònica i les que implementa una de subordinada. També és veritat, però, que en un món globalitzat, les fronteres entre aquests dos tipus són cada cop més difícils de determinar i els parlants de llengües que ara són hegemòniques poden descobrir d'ací uns anys que també els cal traduir-se per fer-se entendre.

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EL USO DE LA ENCUESTA DE TIPO SOCIAL EN TRADUCTOLOGÍA. CARACTERÍSTICAS METODOLÓGICAS

Anna Kuznik, Amparo Hurtado Albir,
Anna Espinal Berenguer

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Resumen

La traducción es una actividad desempeñada por un colectivo laboral y profesional (los traductores), en algunos casos con un proceso formativo previo, a cargo de empleadores, y dirigida a usuarios de la traducción. Estos cuatro colectivos (traductores, alumnos de traducción, empleadores y usuarios), con características sociales bien definidas, son colectivos susceptibles de ser estudiados con uno de los métodos de investigación más frecuentes en las ciencias sociales: la encuesta.

En el presente artículo se dan a conocer las características metodológicas de la encuesta de tipo social. Se ejemplifica y valora su aplicación en la Traductología en diversos tipos de estudios: estudios orientados a preparar reformas universitarias, a detectar competencias profesionales y a recoger opiniones en torno a la calidad de la interpretación y subtitulación.

Abstract

Translation is an activity carried out by professionals – in some cases after a period of formal training – who are employed or self-employed, and whose work is destined for translation users. Translators, translator trainees, employers of translators, and translation users are four clearly defined social groups within the translation industry that may be the subject of study using one of the methods most frequently used within the field of social sciences: the social survey.

This paper presents the characteristics of social survey methodology. The use of social surveys in the field of Translation Studies when preparing to introduce changes in academic curricula, defining professional competencies, or obtaining opinions regarding the quality of interpreting and subtitling is analysed and evaluated.

Palabras clave

Encuesta. Método de investigación social. Colectivo. Traductología. Aspectos laborales y profesionales de la traducción/interpretación.

Keywords

Survey. Social research methods. Population. Translation Studies. Work-related and professional aspects of translation and interpreting.

1. La encuesta como método de investigación social

Desde tiempos ancestrales el ser humano ha recogido informaciones de toda índole sobre las actitudes, opiniones, costumbres e incidencias puntuales en un territorio dado. Hoy en día, la encuesta se ha convertido en una herramienta fundamental para el estudio de las relaciones sociales. Las organizaciones contemporáneas políticas, económicas y sociales, utilizan esta técnica como un instrumento indispensable para conocer el comportamiento de sus grupos de interés y tomar decisiones sobre ellos. De todas las técnicas de análisis social, la encuesta es la más representativa, debido a su intenso uso y difusión.

1.1. Definición y características metodológicas de la encuesta

La encuesta es una técnica de recogida de datos, o sea una forma concreta, particular y práctica de un procedimiento de investigación. Se enmarca en los diseños no experimentales de investigación empírica propios de la estrategia cuantitativa, ya que permite estructurar y cuantificar los datos encontrados y generalizar los resultados a toda la población estudiada. Permite recoger datos según un protocolo establecido, seleccionando la información de interés, procedente de la realidad, mediante preguntas en forma de cuestionario (su instrumento de recogida de datos). Se trata de un tipo de investigación interdisciplinario por excelencia, debido a su amplitud, a los requisitos que tiene que cumplir toda investigación de campo y al análisis estadístico de datos.

Si cotejamos la encuesta con las otras tres técnicas de obtención de datos (entrevista, grupo de discusión y observación directa), es la más adecuada para los estudios que tienen por objetivo recoger información extensiva de grandes poblaciones, donde se busca la representatividad estadística y el tratamiento matemático de datos. Entre sus ventajas cabe destacar la simplificación de la realidad, la gran posibilidad de tratamiento de datos y la representatividad conocida. Sus mayores limitaciones consisten en proporcionar una imagen simplificada y superficial de la realidad, basada en datos atomizados y descontextualizados, que no permiten tener una actitud comprensiva frente a los fenómenos estudiados. Desde el punto de vista práctico, es la técnica de recogida de datos más frágil, ya que siendo larga y costosa, puede fallar en

muchas etapas del proceso. Esta desventaja se ve agravada por el hecho de que una vez se ha empezado a aplicar, no permite ninguna rectificación durante el proceso de recogida de datos; de ahí proviene su gran rigidez (Cea D'Ancona 1996, Valles 1997, Quivy y Campenhoudt 2005).

El carácter no experimental de la encuesta se basa en el hecho de que no se define ninguna variable independiente, sino que se pretende recoger información exclusivamente sobre las variables dependientes. Dichas variables dependientes corresponden a los aspectos y temas de interés que se pretenden estudiar, y que se definen en el marco teórico de cada encuesta. Las variables dependientes (factores o parámetros de estudio), tras la operativización, se convierten en las preguntas de los cuestionarios.

En este sentido, resulta imprescindible prestar mucha atención a los dos elementos principales de la encuesta: el diseño de la muestra y la elaboración del cuestionario. La muestra y el cuestionario son dos pilares fundamentales en los que se apoya cada encuesta. Esta condición queda reflejada en algunas definiciones de la encuesta que se han propuesto hasta la actualidad. Es el caso de la propuesta de León y Montero, quienes la definen como “una investigación destinada a conocer características de una población de sujetos a través de un conjunto de preguntas” (León y Montero 1993: 98). En la misma línea se sitúa la definición de Arnau, para quien la encuesta abarca:

un conjunto de técnicas e instrumentos de recopilación de datos que permite registrar o medir una gran cantidad de variables dependientes sin la manipulación activa de las condiciones de producción de los fenómenos o variables independientes. (Arnau 1995: 41)

La encuesta, además de ser una técnica de recogida de datos, se ha convertido en un método muy usual de investigación social, dada su gran versatilidad, la variedad de campos de aplicación, así como su capacidad de describir las características sociales de los colectivos estudiados e inferir conclusiones extensivas a la totalidad de dichos colectivos.

Existen muchos tipos de encuestas; López Romo (1998) propone una tipología basada en diez criterios. Partiendo de dicha propuesta planteamos la siguiente clasificación de la encuesta agrupando estos diez criterios en tres bloques: aspectos relacionados con el diseño general del estudio, con la población y la muestra, y con el instrumento de recogida de datos (Tabla 1).

Según el diseño general del estudio	
Área de interés de los resultados (o campo de aplicación)	- Mercadotecnia - Medios de comunicación y publicidad - Opinión pública (comportamiento político del ciudadano) - Salud - Cultura y sociedad (estudios académicos) - Organizaciones (comportamiento de las entidades morales o encuestas <i>business to business</i>) - Demografía
Temas abordados	- Valores - Necesidades, gustos e intereses - Conocimientos - Actitudes e imágenes - Opiniones - Intenciones - Conductas, usos, hábitos - Datos demográficos
Propósito (objetivos perseguidos)	- Encuesta estratégica, de carácter exploratorio. Información amplia para diseñar y planear una actividad - Encuesta táctica, de carácter concluyente. Información específica para el desarrollo (implementación) de proyectos o evaluación y seguimiento (monitoreo) de proyectos desarrollados
Periodicidad	- Encuesta unitaria (única en el tiempo) - Encuesta de seguimiento (temas explorados a través del tiempo). Muestras independientes cada vez (diseño transversal) o la misma muestra durante todo el tiempo (diseño longitudinal o de panel)
Enfoque metodológico (nivel de conocimiento que pretende alcanzar una encuesta)	- Encuesta exploratoria. Objetivos: tener un primer acercamiento al fenómeno o tema estudiado, identificar características generales del problema, establecer hipótesis de trabajo, identificar las categorías de análisis o el esquema conceptual, proporcionar ideas sobre el diseño de muestras y cálculos estadísticos. Se estudian pocos casos; muestra representativa o no representativa (muestra de criterio); preguntas abiertas. - Encuesta descriptiva. Objetivos: describir con precisión –normalmente con porcentajes y promedios– las características del fenómeno observado; como consecuencia de dicha descripción, identificar y cuantificar con precisión la relevancia de cada uno de los aspectos estudiados en la etapa exploratoria que puede o no estar relacionada con una hipótesis de trabajo, determinar los aspectos relevantes. Muestra representativa. - Encuesta explicativa (evaluativa). Objetivos: describir la frecuencia con que ocurre un fenómeno asociado a otro, señalar relaciones entre factores que constituyen un fenómeno, sin establecer causalidad. Muestra representativa. - Encuesta causal. Objetivos: marcar una relación causal entre las variables. Encuesta combinada con diseño experimental o cuasi experimental. En sentido estricto: sólo los diseños experimentales permiten establecer esta relación de causalidad entre las variables. Muestra rigurosamente seleccionada.

Destino de la información (patrocinio)	- Encuesta <i>ad hoc</i> (un patrocinador o cliente único solicita y cubre en su totalidad los costos del estudio) - Encuestas de multicitiente o sindicadas (ofrecen información de interés amplio; resultados compartidos por varios usuarios, los cuales sufragan los gastos de manera compartida) - Encuesta de difusión pública (fines académicos; el propósito es el conocimiento en sí mismo)
Según la población y la muestra	
Unidad estudiada (unidad de análisis)	- Consumidores o usuarios (mercadotecnia) - Audiencia (medios de comunicación) - Ciudadanos (estudios de opinión pública) - Población (encuestas demográficas, culturales y sociales estudian personas como integrantes de grupos) - Entidades comerciales (mercadotecnia estudia establecimientos comerciales que distribuye los productos o servicios) - Organizaciones (encuestas de la mercadotecnia industrial o para la comprensión del comportamiento macrosocial estudian las instituciones económicas, políticas o sociales; la unidad de análisis es la organización pero se selecciona un informante calificado que represente el interés y el punto de vista de la entidad)
Tipo de muestreo (desde el punto de vista estadístico)	- Muestreo probabilístico (muestra representativa de la población) - Muestreo no probabilístico (encuesta exploratoria)
Según el instrumento de recogida de datos (cuestionario)	
Forma de registrar la información	- Cuestionario de tipo papel y lápiz (encuestador o de manera autoaplicada) - Ayudas automatizadas (CATI – <i>Computer Assisted Telephone Interview</i>; CAPI – <i>Computer Assisted Personal Interview</i>)
Tipo de administración	- Administración personal - Administración telefónica - Por correo tradicional - Por correo electrónico

Tabla 1. Tipología de encuestas (basado en López Romo 1998)

La encuesta ofrece todas las posibilidades de triangulación mencionadas por Denzin (1970, cit. en Flick 2004: 178 y en Hurtado Albir y Alves 2009: 70), quien enfoca la triangulación como una estrategia de validación mutua e identifica cuatro formas básicas:

1. Triangulación de fuentes de datos. Se combinan datos obtenidos de fuentes distintas: en momentos diferentes (tiempo), en sitios diferentes (espacio) o de distintos informantes (personas).
2. Triangulación de investigadores. Se combinan datos obtenidos por investigadores diferentes para evitar el sesgo del subjetivismo de cada uno.

3. Triangulación de teorías. Se combinan diferentes teorías, hipótesis o puntos de vista teóricos sobre el mismo conjunto de datos. De esta manera se puede valorar la fuerza explicativa del fenómeno observado por teorías diferentes.
4. Triangulación metodológica. Es el concepto fundamental de Denzin, que distingue una triangulación “intra-método”, o sea dentro del mismo método, y entre métodos distintos, combinando la estrategia cualitativa y cuantitativa.¹ Esta última forma de triangulación (entre métodos distintos) sigue siendo la manera más común de entender la triangulación metodológica. De esta manera también se entiende la triangulación en el ámbito de Traductología, como “una perspectiva multimetodológica que permite explicar un fenómeno desde varios puntos de vista, combinando métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos” (Munday 2009: 237; entrada del glosario Hurtado Albir y Alves).

La encuesta es un método de investigación caro, lento y laborioso. Todas las operaciones implicadas en su ejecución representan un coste muy elevado: el diseño y la recogida de datos para una base de datos fiable; el diseño y la creación o la compra de las bases de datos de la población elegida; su mantenimiento y actualización. También suele ser laborioso y costoso el procedimiento de envío, recepción de respuestas, lectura de datos, análisis y elaboración del informe final.

1.2. Estudio de colectivos: muestra y muestreo

Hemos señalado anteriormente que la selección de la muestra constituye uno de los dos pilares básicos de la técnica de encuesta (aparte del diseño del cuestionario). Para referirse al conjunto de elementos que interesa estudiar mediante la encuesta, distintos autores usan el concepto de universo, población o colectivo. Ander-Egg menciona que se puede distinguir entre universo (hipotético) y población: “con el primer término se designa un conjunto de elementos, seres u objetos, y con el segundo un conjunto de números obtenidos midiendo y contando ciertas características de los mismos” (1990: 179). El concepto de universo tendría, pues, un carácter más hipotético, abstracto, indefinido; y el de población, más concreto en términos de definición numérica de las características de interés, propias de la población estudiada.

1. Los investigadores cada vez subrayan más la importancia de tratar la estrategia cuantitativa y cualitativa como planteamientos complementarios y de proporcionar diseños de investigación multimétodo (métodos mixtos) en los cuales los métodos cualitativos se integren con los cuantitativos (Bericat 1998, Creswell 2003, Verd y López 2008).

Para realizar una investigación, no necesariamente hay que estudiar la totalidad de un colectivo, basta con elegir una muestra representativa del mismo. Esta muestra es elegida por determinados procedimientos (técnicas de muestreo) y su estudio conduce a conclusiones que son extensivas a la totalidad de la población, con una significativa economía de coste, mayor precisión y rapidez de ejecución.

Las técnicas de muestreo se apoyan en un censo previo del colectivo, en un listado que incluya todos los elementos de la población estudiada (censo, padrón electoral, catálogo, lista, mapa, plano). Ander-Egg lo denomina “base de la muestra” (“marco muestral” para López Romo 1998) y contempla también casos en los cuales no existe tal base muestral previa y tiene que ser constituida *ad hoc*, ya que no todos los colectivos están censados o catalogados.

Según el investigador opte por usar estrategias cualitativas o cuantitativas en la investigación, aplicará uno u otro criterio para asegurarse que su muestra es representativa para el colectivo. En el caso de estrategias cualitativas, el criterio suele ser teórico; para las estrategias cuantitativas –el caso de la encuesta– el criterio suele ser estadístico, probabilístico.

Las muestras no probabilísticas, seleccionadas con criterio teórico mediante la identificación de perfiles, no necesariamente guardan todas las características de la población de donde fueron obtenidas y es imposible calcular cuál es el grado de error que tienen. Este tipo de muestras se utiliza con fines exploratorios, cuando no se pretende inferir los resultados a todo el colectivo (López Romo 1998). Los datos recogidos de muestras no probabilísticas son analizados con las herramientas que ofrece la estadística descriptiva.

Entre las técnicas de muestreo no probabilístico, Cea D’Ancona (2004) menciona el muestreo estratégico o de juicio y el muestreo circunstancial. El muestreo estratégico (de juicio) “depende de la creencia de que [las unidades de población] pueden aportar información de interés o relevante para los objetivos del estudio” (Cea D’Ancona 2004: 171). En muestras muy pequeñas, por ejemplo inferiores a 30 casos, el muestreo estratégico puede favorecer la consecución de información más relevante que la obtenida de una muestra del mismo tamaño extraída al azar de la población de estudio. El muestreo circunstancial (en el estudio participan sólo los voluntarios que quieren participar) se guía por la facilidad de acceso a la unidad de observación. Este tipo de muestro incluye una variedad que es el muestreo de bola de nieve en la cual “las unidades de la muestra van escogiéndose, de forma sucesiva, a partir de las referencias dadas por los sujetos a los que ya se ha accedido” (Cea D’Ancona 2004: 172). Este tipo de muestreo resulta de gran utilidad en encuestas a población marginal. Cea D’Ancona apunta además que

los muestreos no probabilísticos son muy comunes cuando se trata de realizar un pretest del cuestionario y en los estudios en los que la carencia de recursos (tesis doctorales e investigaciones académicas frente a investigaciones comerciales) y la ausencia de marcos muestrales fiables imposibilitan la práctica de alguno de los muestreos probabilísticos.

En cambio, para que una muestra sea estadísticamente representativa (probabilística), tiene que cumplir con dos principios fundamentales (López Romo 1998):

- (1) Todos los elementos del colectivo deben tener probabilidad de ser incluidos en la muestra. En este caso, el investigador debe asegurarse de que todos los elementos que constituyen la población tengan posibilidad de ser elegidos. Si, por la forma de seleccionar la muestra, se elimina la posibilidad de que alguno de los elementos que compone el universo sea elegido, entonces se anula, al mismo tiempo, la posibilidad de representar las características de ese elemento (las características del elemento eliminado no están representadas).
- (2) La probabilidad de cada elemento de ser incluido en la muestra debe ser conocida. Dicha probabilidad se define como las oportunidades que tiene un elemento de ser elegido. En cambio, el valor opuesto de la probabilidad se define como el factor de representatividad de cada elemento; es decir, el número de casos que representa. Por lo tanto, este requisito de una muestra representativa se cumple, si se conoce el factor de representatividad.

Como vemos, existe un prerrequisito para el segundo principio arriba mencionado que se traduce en la necesidad de conocer, al menos de una manera orientativa, el tamaño de la población para poder definir el factor de representatividad de los elementos de la muestra. Este requisito, en muchas ocasiones, no está explicitado en el caso de universos hipotéticos (distintos de poblaciones) que carecen de definición numérica de las características de la población estudiada (no se conoce su tamaño ni siquiera de manera orientativa).

En cuanto al tipo de selección de muestras probabilísticas, las técnicas más usadas son la técnica aleatoria simple, aleatoria PPT (proporcional al tamaño) y selección por cuotas (muestras proporcionales) (López Romo 1998: 58).

2. Estudios con encuesta de tipo social en Traductología

En este apartado presentamos varios estudios realizados en Traductología que usan la encuesta como método de investigación social. Nuestra recopilación

no pretende ser exhaustiva, tan sólo queremos dar algunos ejemplos, tal vez los más ilustrativos, de este nuevo género metodológico en la disciplina. Nuestra revisión abarca estudios publicados entre 1992 y 2005.

Hemos agrupado estos estudios en dos grandes bloques temáticos: encuestas orientadas a mejorar la adecuación entre la formación y el mercado laboral (Golden *et al.* 1992, Mackenzie 2000, Li 2000, Calvo Encinas 2004, Lim 2005) y encuestas cuyo objetivo es recoger la percepción de los colectivos en torno a la calidad de la interpretación y subtitulación (Chiaro y Nocella 2004, Widler 2004).

Para la selección de los estudios, hemos seguido los siguientes criterios:

- (1) Variedad tipológica, con el fin de proporcionar ejemplos para las diferentes formas de encuesta, recogidas por López Romo (ver Tabla 1); así obtenemos un mapa muy variado en cuanto a los principales elementos de diseño de las encuestas: objeto de estudio, objetivos, hipótesis, población, muestreo, área geográfica estudiada, etc.
- (2) Patrocinio. Todas las encuestas aquí analizadas se realizaron en el ámbito académico y no mercantil. Las encuestas patrocinadas por alguna entidad mercantil y de acceso restringido no suelen tener un marco teórico elaborado, ya que se considera que el patrocinador sustituye el marco teórico con sus propios objetivos e intereses; el marco teórico está, pues, implícito en el encargo de la encuesta. Como ejemplo de una encuesta reciente encargada fuera del ámbito académico nos puede servir la encuesta de la Agrupación de Centros especializados en Traducción (ACT 2005).
- (3) Centralidad y autosuficiencia del método de la encuesta. Todos los estudios seleccionados se sustentan en este método. De esta manera quedan descartados los estudios que utilizan la recogida de datos mediante cuestionario, por ejemplo en la fase preparatoria, para seleccionar la muestra del estudio y asegurarse de que todos los sujetos cumplan los mismos criterios (p.e. PACTE 2005 y 2008). Tampoco comentaremos estudios basados en entrevistas estructuradas (p.e. Hermans y Lambert 1998).

En las publicaciones que citamos, los estudios realizados no aparecen descritos de manera uniforme dado que a veces faltan datos metodológicos o los que hay resultan difíciles de interpretar unívocamente. La amplitud y la profundidad de análisis de cada estudio son igualmente muy dispares. Por lo tanto, y a pesar del afán de unificar nuestra presentación, no siempre ha sido posible estructurarla del mismo modo.

2.1. Encuestas para adecuar la formación a la realidad laboral

2.1.1. Golden, Hurtado Albir y Piqué (1992)

A partir de las fuentes bibliográficas consultadas, la primera encuesta en el ámbito de Traductología en España fue iniciada en el año 1988 por la Escola Universitària de Traductors i d'Intèrprets (EUTI) de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Golden *et al.* 1992).

El estudio formaba parte de un proyecto más amplio cuyo objetivo era describir la situación de la traducción e interpretación en Cataluña para conocer mejor este mercado y adaptar los nuevos planes universitarios que entraban en vigor en el curso académico 1992-1993 (transformación de “diplomaturas” en licenciaturas de 1º y 2º ciclo). Sus objetivos eran descriptivos (conocer la situación del mercado de la traducción e interpretación en función de la oferta y la demanda existentes y estudiar las características específicas de la traducción e interpretación en un medio bilingüe), pedagógicos (dar pautas para la elaboración de nuevos planes de estudios de la licenciatura de TI) y pragmáticos (elaborar una base de datos de traductores e intérpretes de Cataluña).

El estudio constaba de dos encuestas dirigidas a dos colectivos y realizadas en dos años distintos:

- (1) Primer colectivo: empleadores de traductores, usuarios de servicios de traducción e interpretación, representantes de la demanda laboral del sector público y privado (ayuntamientos, administración pública, autonómica, estatal, extranjera, empresas públicas y privadas, asociaciones profesionales y editoriales).
- (2) Segundo colectivo: traductores e intérpretes de Cataluña, como representantes de la oferta laboral.

Los investigadores decidieron realizar la segunda encuesta (entre los traductores) debido a una tasa muy baja de respuesta obtenida en el primer estudio. La tasa de respuesta del primer colectivo (empleadores de traductores) fue de un 3,96%; y la tasa de respuesta del segundo colectivo (traductores) de un 23,53%.

La encuesta consistía en ambos casos en el envío por correo tradicional de un cuestionario con preguntas de elección múltiple y preguntas abiertas, acompañado de otros documentos. Creemos que se debe resaltar el interés por crear una base de datos de traductores e intérpretes de Cataluña. Fue también una de las primeras señales en la disciplina de la necesidad de crear bases de datos actualizadas.

Para seleccionar la muestra no se aplicó ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico. Se recopilaron previamente los datos de las entidades de interés en una base de datos (programa electrónico dBASE IV). La encuesta no era anónima y recogía los datos de la entidad encuestada pero no los datos del informante y de su función en esta entidad.

Se estudió el perfil del traductor e intérprete desde el punto de vista de los usuarios de la traducción en relación con los siguientes temas: frecuencia de la necesidad de la traducción e interpretación; tipos de textos más traducidos; situaciones y áreas de conocimiento donde más se necesita la interpretación; frecuencia de recurrir a los profesionales de traducción e interpretación frente a los no expertos; y situación del traductor e intérprete en las empresas privadas y organismos públicos.

En cuanto a la descripción de la oferta se abordaron los siguientes temas: perfil de los traductores e intérpretes (formación y especialización); grado de dedicación profesional; situación laboral; tipo de textos más traducidos; situaciones y temas que más requieren de la interpretación; combinaciones lingüísticas más frecuentes; distribución de lenguas maternas (castellano *versus* catalán).

Los resultados se analizaron en términos de porcentajes para los dos colectivos. Entre otras conclusiones se formularon las siguientes afirmaciones descriptivas:

- (1) Predominancia de la traducción escrita frente a la interpretación (el 96%).
- (2) Falta de profesionales dedicados sólo a la interpretación (mayoritariamente, se combina con la modalidad escrita).
- (3) Alto volumen de textos literarios y ensayos traducidos ante todo al catalán frente a textos de perfil no literario (traducciones técnicas, científicas, administrativas, audiovisual, etc.).
- (4) Predominancia de temas relacionados con la medicina, la política y la economía en las interpretaciones.
- (5) Gran demanda de traducciones entre el castellano y el catalán (combinación de lenguas no reconocida para fines laborales).
- (6) Precariedad de la profesión del traductor y del intérprete tanto por falta del debido reconocimiento de esta profesión por las entidades iniciadoras de traducciones como por el bajo índice de adhesión a asociaciones profesionales de traductores e intérpretes

2.1.2. Mackenzie (2000)

La encuesta realizada por Mackenzie en la Universidad de Turku se enmarca en un proyecto más amplio: *Practical Orientation of Studies in Translation and Interpreting* (POSI) (Mackenzie 2000), que surgió de la necesidad de mejorar la preparación profesional de los graduados en traducción e interpretación en Alemania. Luego el proyecto se extendió a varios países europeos. Por parte de Finlandia, el grupo investigador POSI estuvo formado por cinco representantes de universidades finlandesas que ofrecen la titulación en traducción e interpretación, tres representantes de la Finnish Associations of Translators and Interpreters, Translation Companies and Professional Translators y un representante de los usuarios de servicios de traducción, Nokia Communications.

La técnica de recogida de datos fue una encuesta con cuestionario. Como en los estudios anteriores de este tipo (Golden *et al.* 1992; Hermans y Lambert 1998), se investigaron dos colectivos distintos:

- (1) Primer colectivo: usuarios de servicios de traducción representados por las 48 compañías más grandes de Finlandia (elegidas de una lista de 500), 53 PYMEs exportadoras e importadoras de la región de Turku, 11 ministerios, una oficina de información del Consejo del Estado y las oficinas de administración de 10 ayuntamientos de las ciudades más grandes de Finlandia.
- (2) Segundo colectivo: proveedores de servicios de traducción, representados por 22 empresas de traducción (20 de ellas miembros de Finnish Association of Translation Companies), 212 traductores e intérpretes (miembros de Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters; entre ellos 110 residentes de Finlandia y 102 residentes de otros países europeos; algunos de ellos colaboradores de la Unión Europea). Además, se enviaron tres cuestionarios a los supervisores de servicios de traducción e interpretación de la Unión Europea para que distribuyesen el cuestionario entre los traductores implicados.

Tal como se desprende de la publicación, no se realizó ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico. Se efectuó una prueba piloto del cuestionario entre los estudiantes de traducción.

El objetivo de la encuesta era recoger opiniones de las dos poblaciones mencionadas en cuanto a:

- (1) Qué competencias se consideran más importantes actualmente en el mercado desde el punto de vista de los usuarios y de los proveedores.
- (2) Qué competencias, en opinión de los usuarios, faltan en la preparación profesional actual de los traductores recién contratados.

- (3) Si los traductores están satisfechos de la formación que han recibido y qué les ha hecho falta en la formación recibida.
- (4) Cómo se podría mejorar la formación de los traductores, según los usuarios de los servicios de traducción.
- (5) Qué tipo de formación continuada se podría proponer a los traductores.

Las preguntas incluidas en los dos cuestionarios se referían directamente a los conocimientos y competencias relacionadas con las tareas traductorales sin contextualizar, operativizar o ejemplificar estos conceptos. Además, siendo una investigación orientada a fines didácticos, se centraba en traductores formados en centros especializados, dejando de lado los traductores autodidactas o procedentes de otra formación.

De este estudio queremos resaltar dos puntos, a nuestro parecer, muy interesantes:

- (1) Conciencia del doble estatus de las empresas de traducción en el mercado que, siendo intermediarios entre los traductores y el receptor final, son al mismo tiempo proveedores de servicios de traducción (frente al usuario final) y usuarios de los servicios de traducción (frente a los centros de formación de los traductores).
- (2) Conciencia de la función del informante dentro de la organización, ya que los autores del estudio tuvieron en cuenta la jerarquía laboral existente dentro de las empresas e instituciones.

2.1.3. Li (2000)

En octubre del año 1998, Li (2000), investigador de la Chinese University of Hong Kong, realizó un estudio entre los traductores profesionales para indagar sus necesidades de trabajo, conocer su opinión en cuanto a la formación en traducción recibida y recabar ideas en torno a los perfiles de formación continuada en traducción que más se necesitan. Estos tres objetivos específicos se englobaban en un objetivo principal que consistía en conocer las necesidades sociales, presentes en el mercado laboral, con vistas a mejorar la formación en traducción.

El estudio constaba de dos partes:

- (1) Una encuesta dirigida a 42 traductores profesionales de Hong Kong: 24 de ellos eran traductores oficiales del gobierno chino, 16 traductores de empresas privadas (dedicadas a la traducción o no) y 2 traductores de policía.
- (2) Entrevistas semiestructuradas con 12 traductores procedentes de la misma muestra de la encuesta.

Para la selección de la muestra de la encuesta no se siguió ninguna técnica probabilística de muestreo. Para las entrevistas semiestructuradas se eligieron 12 sujetos que se diferenciaban en cuanto a la edad, experiencia, formación, y por lo tanto presentaban todos los perfiles socioprofesionales incluidos en la muestra.

La encuesta proporcionaba datos cuantitativos y las entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad, datos cualitativos. Todos estos datos fueron analizados conjuntamente siguiendo un principio de inducción analítica, o sea sin plantear hipótesis de trabajo previas al estudio sino analizando los datos *a posteriori* y sacando conclusiones globales descriptivas, que fueron presentadas en forma de rangos y porcentajes.

El cuestionario contenía 44 preguntas reagrupadas en tres partes: información personal sobre el informante; experiencia en traducción e interpretación; y percepción y evaluación de la formación en traducción e interpretación. Las preguntas eran cerradas (de elección múltiple) y abiertas.

De 65 cuestionarios enviados se recibieron 42 cuestionarios (tasa de respuesta 64,6%, una tasa muy alta). Las entrevistas semiestructuradas (con preguntas estandarizadas, abiertas y libres) fueron grabadas y transcritas.

Se estudió las necesidades sociales de los traductores en torno a las siguientes cuestiones:

- (1) ¿Cuál ha sido el curso más útil durante la formación universitaria en traducción e interpretación? Respuesta predominante: lengua y literatura inglesa.
- (2) ¿En qué área se sentía mejor preparado al empezar la profesión de traductor? Respuesta predominante: competencia en lengua inglesa y china.
- (3) ¿Cuál es el mayor reto en el trabajo de traductor? Respuesta predominante: encontrar el estilo correcto para cada género textual en inglés y la interpretación.
- (4) ¿Qué cambios nota en el mercado de traducción? Respuestas predominantes: más traducciones de chino a inglés; más traducciones sintéticas; y más traducciones relacionadas con China continental.
- (5) ¿Qué es lo que más le gustaría aprender si tuviese la oportunidad de participar en una formación *in-service*? Respuesta predominante: literatura y lengua inglesa.

La discusión en torno a los resultados obtenidos se centra sobre todo en la última pregunta y traza posibles vías de desarrollo para una formación orientada a la ejecución de encargos de traducción reales.

2.1.4. Calvo Encinas (2004)

En el año 2000 Calvo Encinas (2004), en el marco de estudios de doctorado en la Universidad de Granada, realizó una encuesta en torno a la interpretación social.

La encuesta fue de tipo exploratorio y el enfoque que se le dió era cualitativo. El territorio de estudio fue la provincia de Toledo (España). La población estudiada, los funcionarios de Administración Pública.

Su objetivo general era estudiar las necesidades y percepciones de la propia Administración respecto a la interpretación social. Entre los objetivos específicos del estudio se cita:

- Analizar si los encuestados reconocen la necesidad de contar con el apoyo permanente y/o institucionalizado de intérpretes en el ámbito provincial, que pudiera garantizar un mejor servicio al actual.
- Recoger las impresiones de los funcionarios de la Administración del Estado en la provincia de muestra [Toledo] con respecto a las dificultades que ellos mismos experimentan a la hora de atender a los individuos de habla no hispana.
- Analizar el conocimiento que existe actualmente en torno al concepto de interpretación social.
- Definir el perfil del intérprete social o profesional lingüístico ideal en cada caso. (Calvo Encinas 2004: 8)

Se siguieron dos criterios para elegir la provincia de Toledo como representativa de España: ser una de las 10 provincias españolas con mayor índice de inmigración y una de las provincias de interior con mayor afluencia turística.

La muestra fue de 60 informantes funcionarios procedentes de distintos ámbitos de la Administración Pública (Jefatura Superior de Policía, Justicia, Delegación de Educación, Bienestar Social, INEM, Centros Hospitalarios, Agencia Tributaria, Ayuntamiento de Toledo, Sindicatos, varias ONGs). No se aplicó ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico. Para la elección de los informantes se siguieron dos criterios: que los funcionarios mantuvieran un trato real y directo con el público y que tuvieran un conocimiento exhaustivo de la situación, sin atender especialmente a su puesto dentro de la jerarquía administrativa.

La técnica de recogida de datos fue un cuestionario que el encuestador rellenaba en presencia del encuestado durante su trabajo de campo. Se realizaron varios diseños piloto para conseguir un cuestionario válido. El cuestionario definitivo constaba de tres bloques de preguntas: el primero describe el perfil del entrevistado; el segundo pretende analizar el estado de la cuestión

según el encuestado; y el tercero pretende concretar las respuestas en ámbitos laborales más específicos (Fuerzas de Seguridad del Estado y Centros de Salud).

De este estudio cabe resaltar una importante labor previa de documentación sobre las entidades encuestadas, así como el interés por el puesto de trabajo del informante. Una de las preguntas del primer bloque recoge información sobre el puesto del funcionario, si bien parece que, para el análisis de los datos, las categorías de estos puestos no son consideradas relevantes.

Entre otras cuestiones, los resultados ponen de manifiesto el desconocimiento por parte del 100% de la muestra del concepto de “interpretación social”, “interpretación de enlace” e “interpretación comunitaria”.

2.1.5. Lim (2005)

En Seúl (Corea del Sur) Lim realizó una encuesta, a partir de marzo del 2004, entre los estudiantes de primer y segundo curso de interpretación coreano - inglés de la Graduate School of Interpretation and Translation de Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Lim 2005). Lim se basó en un estudio anterior de Li (2002, cit. en Lim 2005).²

El estudio tenía un enfoque exploratorio, sin ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico, con una alta tasa de respuesta, al tratarse de una población de estudiantes.

La encuesta se realizó entre estudiantes de primero y segundo curso para investigar sus expectativas, opiniones y necesidades relacionadas con los estudios de interpretación y, de esta manera, contribuir a mejorar los diseños curriculares de la escuela de traducción.

Del primer curso se obtuvieron 44 cuestionarios rellenados de 56 distribuidos (tasa de respuesta 79%); del segundo curso se obtuvieron 44 respuestas de 52 cuestionarios repartidos (tasa igual a 85%).

El cuestionario, además de contener preguntas relacionadas con las percepciones y opiniones personales de los sujetos, introducía preguntas relativas a sus familias. Uno de los resultados más evidentes de este estudio fue la confirmación de que hay muchas más mujeres que hombres estudiando interpretación. La profesión de intérprete representa para las mujeres de Corea un

2. En el presente artículo presentamos un estudio con encuesta (cf 2.1.3.), combinada con entrevistas semiestructuradas, realizada por Li en el año 1998 (Li 2000) en la cual la población estudiada fueron traductores. Lim (2005: 175) menciona otro estudio de Li (2002) en el cual participaron alumnos de traducción y que fue realizado usando grupo de discusión, encuesta y entrevistas.

buen medio de ascenso social. En cambio, los hombres no están interesados por esta profesión porque actualmente no posee el prestigio social que les pueda motivar suficientemente.

2.2. Encuestas para recoger la percepción de la calidad

2.2.1. Chiaro y Nocella (2004)

En octubre del mismo año 2000, Chiaro y Nocella (2004) de la Universidad de Bolonia (Italia) lanzaron una encuesta global a través de Internet entre intérpretes profesionales para investigar su percepción de los criterios de calidad de la interpretación. Cabe señalar que los autores realizan una elaboración previa del marco teórico muy buena.

El estudio parte de una revisión de tres tipos de investigaciones realizadas anteriormente por otros autores y dedicadas a la percepción de la calidad en la interpretación: análisis de textos de interpretaciones transcritas; estudios de campo con usuarios finales (asistentes y ponentes de conferencias); investigaciones empíricas con intérpretes y estudiantes de interpretación. Del último grupo de trabajos realizados, Chiaro y Nocella seleccionaron el de Bühler (1986, cit. en Chiaro y Nocella 2004: 282), que pretendía recoger la opinión entre los intérpretes sobre un conjunto de diecisiete criterios lingüísticos y extralingüísticos de calidad.

La muestra fue de 286 intérpretes, cuyas direcciones de correo electrónico se encontraron en páginas web. No se aplicó ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico. El 44% de informantes provenían de Europa Occidental, 27% de América Central y del Sur, 19% de América del Norte, 5% de Europa del Este y 5% del resto de países.

El instrumento de recogida de datos fue un breve cuestionario en formato electrónico con dos bloques de preguntas:

- (1) El primer bloque reunía las preguntas en torno a la edad de los encuestados, lugar de nacimiento, formación y experiencia laboral.
- (2) El segundo bloque incluía preguntas basadas en los criterios de calidad de interpretación de Bühler así como en resultados de varias consultas y entrevistas con intérpretes profesionales. Los encuestados tenían que dar su opinión en cuanto al rango que ocupa, según ellos, cada criterio (desde el menos importante hasta el más importante). Los criterios de calidad estaban agrupados en nueve criterios lingüísticos y ocho extralingüísticos.

Los resultados fueron analizados en términos de porcentajes pero también se aplicó un análisis de escala multidimensional (*multidimensional scaling*

MDS) usando el software STATISTICA para Windows, que permite crear un tipo de mapa evaluador y perceptivo bidimensional, al estilo de una configuración geométrica. El mapa generado representa el resumen de cómo los informantes perciben los criterios lingüísticos de calidad en interpretación, distribuidos según dos escalas: el eje horizontal de la dimensión de calidad; y el eje vertical de la dimensión estructural (Chiaro y Nocella 2004: 290).

El estudio permitió seleccionar tres criterios lingüísticos de calidad de interpretaciones, indicados con mayor frecuencia por los intérpretes: la adecuación al original; la integridad de la información y su cohesión lógica, que fueron clasificados *a posteriori* como criterios cruciales de calidad. Los criterios menos mencionados fueron nombrados criterios de “adorno” (timbre de la voz, acento, estilo).

En este estudio, la recogida de datos con un cuestionario fue completamente automatizada. Podemos decir que los autores validaron a gran escala el uso del ordenador y de Internet para las encuestas en nuestra disciplina. Gracias a la aplicación de las nuevas tecnologías, los autores pudieron doblar la tasa de respuesta entre los encuestados (la tasa de una encuesta tradicional por correo es de unos 10-15%), economizar gastos y tiempo, mejorar la calidad de cuestionarios recibidos (el formato electrónico no permitía reenviar un cuestionario mal rellenado), y recopilar datos de los cinco continentes. Para ello, los autores tuvieron que apoyarse en especialistas en informática y en bases de datos para realizar su tarea investigadora. Chiaro y Nocella reconocen que su investigación fue multidisciplinaria porque tuvieron que cooperar con especialistas de otras disciplinas para llevar a cabo la encuesta.

2.2.2. Widler (2004)

Widler (2004) realizó una encuesta de tipo exploratorio entre agosto y septiembre del año 2002 en Viena (Austria). Su estudio formó parte de un proyecto de investigación más amplio, “Literary translation as multimedial communication”, organizado por la Facultad de Traducción de la Universidad de Viena en colaboración con la Fundación Austriaca de Ciencia (FWF). Aparte de su situación en un marco de estudio más grande, Widler reconoce que colaboraron también especialistas en análisis estadísticos y otros compañeros que le ayudaron a realizar las entrevistas.

Se estudiaron 100 espectadores de 19 películas en 9 lenguas originales (todas subtituladas en alemán) en 7 cines de Viena y 2 festivales de cine de verano. Los datos de las películas, cines y festivales provenían de *Der Standard* (un diario austriaco) y de *Falter* (una guía semanal de eventos culturales de Viena). No se aplicó ninguna técnica de muestreo probabilístico.

El estudio se proponía explorar y describir el universo de los espectadores de películas subtituladas en Viena: ¿quiénes son?, ¿qué edad tienen?, ¿cuál es su formación y profesión?, ¿con qué frecuencia ven películas subtituladas?, ¿están contentos con las subtitulaciones?

La técnica de recogida de datos fue un cuestionario administrado personalmente por el entrevistador. Los encuestadores se acercaban a las personas que acababan de comprar entradas a las películas subtituladas y en el tiempo entre la compra y la película rellenaban el cuestionario con las respuestas que proporcionaba el entrevistado.

El valor de este estudio radica en realizar uno de los primeros estudios de audiencia en nuestra disciplina y en plantear claramente hipótesis de trabajo. Cuatro de ellas fueron confirmadas: formación universitaria de los espectadores (51%); frecuencia en ir al cine (65%; mínimo varias veces al mes); satisfacción de la calidad de la subtitulación (51%) y expectativa de que se proyecten en los cines más películas subtituladas (61%). Una de las hipótesis refutadas concernía la edad de los espectadores, ya que sólo un 48% tenía de 31 a 50 años. La segunda hipótesis que resultó falsa se refería a la motivación de los espectadores para ver películas subtituladas en los cines; muchos admitieron que les motivaba la necesidad de mejorar el nivel de lengua extranjera. No se esperaba recibir puntuación tan alta para esta hipótesis.

3. Características metodológicas de los estudios realizados

En este apartado concluimos con las principales características metodológicas de las encuestas que acabamos de presentar. Hemos agrupado dichas características en los siguientes apartados: diseño general del estudio, población y muestra e instrumento de recogida de datos.

3.1. Aspectos relacionados con el diseño general del estudio

La Traductología constituye, hoy en día, un nuevo campo de uso de la encuesta y una nueva área de aplicación de sus resultados, que se suma a los diferentes campos de aplicación existentes hasta ahora (mercadotecnia, medios de comunicación y publicidad, opinión pública, salud, demografía, etc.).

Temas abordados

Los estudios realizados abarcan tanto la traducción escrita (Golden *et al.* 1998, Mackenzie 2000, Li 2000) como la interpretación (Calvo Encinas 2004, Chiaro y Nocella 2004, Lim 2005) y la traducción audiovisual (Widler 2004).

Los temas que se han investigado son temas de mucha actualidad y propios del desempeño laboral de la profesión de traductor e intérprete. Van desde las necesidades del mercado para adecuar los contenidos pedagógicos, la preparación profesional de los graduados y su inserción laboral, pasando por la situación de servicios de traducción y valor de ventas, hasta el concepto de calidad de distintas modalidades de la traducción y de su prestación mercantil en forma de servicio.

Objetivos perseguidos

Los objetivos de todas las encuestas presentadas son de interés académico y descriptivo pero, además, algunos estudios persiguen una aplicación pedagógica (Golden *et al* 1998, Mackenzie 2000, Li 2000, Lim 2005). Las encuestas de Calvo Encinas (2004), Widler (2004) y Lim (2005) tienen un enfoque descriptivo y claramente exploratorio. Por otro lado, dos encuestas se proponen cumplir con objetivos más específicos: un objetivo pragmático de creación de un directorio de traductores e intérpretes de Cataluña (Golden *et al* 1998) y un objetivo metodológico, la validación del ordenador como instrumento de recogida de datos (Chiaro y Nocella 2004). Es muy común que se combinen en el mismo proyecto varias finalidades y tipos de objetivos, ya que en sí las encuestas suelen ser largas y costosas.

Enfoque metodológico y marco teórico

Las encuestas de Calvo Encinas (2004) y Lim (2005) reconocen su carácter exploratorio y por lo tanto no se sustentan en un marco teórico elaborado. Muy diferente es el trabajo de Chiaro y Nocella (2004), que parte de una elaboración teórica bien fundamentada. Widler (2004) no presenta ningún marco teórico pero formula sus hipótesis de trabajo, que se ven contrastadas a lo largo del estudio. Li (2000) reconoce que aplica un método inductivo y que, por lo tanto, su marco teórico se va construyendo a lo largo del proceso investigador.

En cuanto al grado de elaboración del marco teórico, el estudio de Golden, Hurtado Albir y Piqué (1992) y el de Mackenzie (2000) tienen un marco teórico implícito, como sucede en las encuestas de tipo mercantil. Supuestamente, el marco teórico del que parten es el relativo al mercado laboral y a la economía del sector de servicios pero no se elaboran teóricamente dichos conceptos, como tampoco se profundiza en ninguna corriente económica y laboral concreta.

Tipo de triangulación

En las encuestas de Golden, Hurtado Albir y Piqué (1992) y en la de Mackenzie (2000) observamos que los dos colectivos estudiados (representantes de la demanda y de la oferta laboral) se reflejan mutuamente y dan su opinión acerca del contexto de actuación que comparten, o sea, del mercado laboral y del mercado de los servicios de traducción e interpretación. A este efecto de contrastación de opiniones lo denominamos efecto “espejo”. Según la tipología de triangulación propuesta por Denzin (1970), éste sería el caso de una triangulación teórica. Cabe señalar que la baja tasa de respuesta de uno de los colectivos estudiados se compensa gracias a la combinación de dos tipos de colectivos (Golden *et al.* 1998). Generalmente, la tasa de respuesta más baja proviene de los empleadores de los traductores, representantes de la demanda laboral. Para paliar las deficiencias en las respuestas recibidas de este colectivo, se recoge la información de los traductores (representantes de la oferta laboral).

La encuesta de Li (2000) es el único estudio en que se realiza una triangulación de tipo metodológico (Denzin 1970, Flick 2004), combinando la estrategia cuantitativa (encuesta) con la cualitativa (entrevistas semiestructuradas).

En el estudio de Calvo Encinas (2004), los datos principales obtenidos de la encuesta se completan con datos adicionales obtenidos de la contextualización previa (análisis de fuentes documentales secundarias), sin llegar a obtener una triangulación teórica o metodológica.

Chiaro y Nocella (2004) tampoco aplican triangulación; en cambio, realizan un tratamiento estadístico de datos más avanzado (análisis multivariante).

Alcance geográfico

Las encuestas presentadas tienen un diverso alcance: local, regional y mundial. Se realizan en muchas zonas, países y continentes: España (Golden *et al.* 1992, Calvo Encinas 2004), Finlandia (Mackenzie 2000), Austria (Widler 2004), Hong-Kong (Li 2000), Corea del Sur (Lim 2005) o Italia con una prospección mundial (Chiaro y Nocella 2004).

Ahora bien, en estos estudios no se comparan resultados de diferentes áreas geográficas. En este sentido, cabe considerar que, para el caso de diseños de encuestas muy amplias, entre varios países o continentes, se tiene que tener siempre en cuenta la correcta adaptación del estudio y de su instrumento (cuestionario) a las diversas sociedades en que se realiza el trabajo de campo (Behling y Slaw 2000).

Carácter interdisciplinario

Debido a los costes y al número de personal involucrado en estudios por encuesta, varias de las encuestas aquí comentadas fueron realizadas en el marco de proyectos más amplios, universitarios, regionales o europeos subvencionados (Golden *et al.* 1992, Mackenzie 2000, Widler 2004). No es raro que participe en la organización y ejecución de una encuesta más de un centro universitario o más de un país.

Siendo caro, lento y laborioso, requiere un trabajo de equipo (Chiaro y Nocella 2004), que en muchas ocasiones reúne a expertos de diferentes disciplinas: profesionales de estadística, psicólogos, entrevistadores, redactores, documentalistas, analistas de contenidos y diseñadores gráficos.

3.2. Aspectos relacionados con la población y la muestra

Población

Se han podido identificar cuatro grupos de poblaciones: estudiantes de traducción e interpretación (Lim 2005); traductores e intérpretes (Golden *et al.* 1992, Mackenzie 2000, Li 2000, Chiaro y Nocella 2004); usuarios finales de la interpretación (Calvo Encinas 2004, Widler 2004); empleadores de traductores e intérpretes (Golden *et al.* 1992, Mackenzie 2000), teniendo en cuenta el doble papel de proveedores y usuarios de las empresas de traducción. Como hemos mencionado en el apartado anterior, el punto de vista de la población de los traductores y de sus empleadores fue objeto de triangulación en dos encuestas (Golden *et al.* 1992, Mackenzie 2000).

Según la terminología propuesta por López Romo (1998; Tabla 1), las unidades estudiadas de estas encuestas se pueden desglosar en usuarios, audiencia, grupos laborales y profesionales. Se observa que el uso de la encuesta en el análisis de las organizaciones propias del ámbito de la traducción (empresas de traducción, otras empresas mercantiles, instituciones públicas, etc.) no es muy común (Hermans y Lambert 1998).

La definición y delimitación de las poblaciones estudiadas en las encuestas refleja la concepción que tienen sus autores en cuanto a la estructuración del mercado laboral y de los servicios de traducción (sector público y sector privado; empleadores, traductores y usuarios; la doble función de las empresas de traducción).

Dichas poblaciones están definidas de manera muy abstracta y, en este sentido, se asemejan a los universos hipotéticos mencionados por Ander-Egg (1990: 179). Su carácter abstracto emana principalmente del hecho de que son poblaciones numérica y socialmente ilimitadas: en ningún sitio se

menciona, aunque sea aproximadamente, el tamaño numérico de éstas y tampoco el tamaño de los perfiles teóricos que las constituyen. Por lo tanto, no se conoce ni la probabilidad de cada elemento de ser incluido en la muestra, ni su factor de representatividad (López Romo 1998).

La dificultad que ocasiona la definición de las poblaciones en nuestra disciplina ha sido mencionada por Neunzig (2002) en relación con los diseños experimentales:

Uno de los principales problemas aquí radica en determinar lo que uno entiende, p.e. bajo 'traductores experimentados', es decir, el universo que se quiere examinar, ya que no existe un criterio externo y aceptado comúnmente que lo defina. La definición del universo (y con ello la elaboración de la muestra) es determinante en el momento de la interpretación (siempre subjetiva) y de la extrapolación (sólo válida para el universo definido) de los datos. (Neunzig 2002: 83)

Muestreo

El muestreo aplicado ha sido de tipo teórico, exploratorio y no probabilístico. En el muestreo se han seguido siempre unos criterios de selección, pero no se ha procedido a ninguna técnica de muestro probabilístico y por lo tanto, desde el punto de vista estadístico, estas muestras no son representativas (López Romo 1998, Tabla 1). En consecuencia, no se ha podido aplicar ninguna operación de estadística inferencial para extrapolar los resultados a toda la población.³

Por consiguiente, las muestras obtenidas en las encuestas presentadas pueden llamarse de criterio y no probabilísticas. Aplicando la terminología de Cea D'Ancona (2004) podríamos decir que son muestras circunstanciales porque participan en la encuesta sólo voluntarios (Chiaro y Nocella 2004: 285). La falta de respuesta de representantes de algún perfil teórico no se complementa posteriormente con otros representantes del mismo perfil.

Las limitaciones para obtener una muestra estadísticamente representativa pueden tener sus orígenes en la carencia de marcos muestrales fiables y sólidos, previos al estudio (Golden *et al.* 1992). Como hemos podido comprobar en las encuestas presentadas, cada estudio de este tipo tiene la necesidad de construir su propio marco muestral *ad hoc* (base de datos previa de todas las unidades de la población), lo que contribuye a alargar el proceso de

3. Orozco (2002: 73-77) señala en este sentido que incluso en el campo de la investigación experimental en traducción escrita se dan casos de generalizaciones metodológicamente no fundamentadas porque están basadas en muestras no representativas.

investigación y a elevar sus costes. Parecen muy escasas las investigaciones en nuestro campo que exploten bases de datos ya existentes, como sería por ejemplo la Muestra Continua de Vidas Laborales facilitada a los investigadores por la Diputació de Barcelona (Valero *et al.* 2008).

En este sentido, Vande Walle, desde una perspectiva económica, apunta que la falta de un organismo oficial encargado de recoger datos estadísticos y la falta de rigor metodológico en los estudios empíricos cuantitativos en nuestra disciplina imposibilitan la elaboración de una visión clara del mercado de traducción, su evolución y sus tendencias; y, por consiguiente, dificultan cualquier toma de decisión al respecto:

Premier constat: il n'existe toujours pas d'organe officiel qui se charge d'établir des statistiques fiables pour notre profession, dans une perspective strictement économique, permettant d'établir des comparaisons, de dégager des tendances, voire de planifier des formations. [...] Bien sûr, il existe des études empiriques. Mais l'économie moderne ne peut se satisfaire d'approximations, d'hypothèses plus ou moins vérifiées sur un échantillon plus ou moins représentatif, de chiffres plus ou moins bien compilés pour les besoins de la cause. Il suffit de voir le nombre d'enquêtes qui paraissent régulièrement et où les chiffres ne servent jamais qu'à justifier la nouvelle version de la mémoire de traduction X ou l'apparition du logiciel Y. Tous ces chiffres, toutes ces études [...] faites au cas par cas, n'ont aucun intérêt scientifique. (Vande Walle 2006: 81)

A diferencia de este autor pensamos que los estudios realizados en Traductología sí tienen un interés científico, aunque pueden carecer de interés económico, ya que no proporcionan suficiente fiabilidad estadística para poder generalizar los resultados a toda la población estudiada y asumir las decisiones económicas que se tomarían partiendo de ellos.

Una posible solución a este problema sería potenciar la recopilación y actualización de estas bases de datos de sujetos y entidades implicados en los estudios traductológicos. Uno de los grandes retos de la Traductología actual en el campo de la investigación empírica es impulsar investigaciones previas en torno al estudio y evaluación de marcos muestrales existentes. Otra solución sería cotejar más la definición de la población (y no trabajar con universos hipotéticos; Ander-Egg 1990) y así aumentar la posibilidad de obtener una muestra válida desde el punto de vista estadístico. Finalmente, sería conveniente elaborar perfiles teóricos adecuados a la población, también con una orientación aproximada de su representatividad numérica.

3.3. Aspectos relacionados con el instrumento de recogida de datos

Proceso de elaboración

Todos los cuestionarios usados han sido objeto de un laborioso proceso de elaboración, pasando por varias etapas: fase exploratoria cualitativa, primera versión del instrumento, test, modificaciones y versión definitiva. Dicho proceso adquiere aún más relevancia si consideramos que todo cuestionario es una forma de comunicación específica, mediante diálogo (pregunta, respuesta), en el cual uno de los interlocutores no está presente (el que formula la pregunta); por lo tanto, no existe la posibilidad de asegurarnos de si el encuestado entiende todos los términos y cómo interpreta las preguntas que tiene que contestar (Low 1999).

Estructura y formato de los cuestionarios

Conviene señalar, de entrada, que no siempre se publican los instrumentos utilizados. En cuanto a los cuestionarios que se han podido consultar, contienen preguntas cerradas (de elección múltiple y con escala de Likert: “poco”, “bastante”, “mucho”, etc.) pero también abiertas, que dificultan la estructuración posterior de datos. Se han aplicado instrumentos de tipo tradicional de papel y lápiz, y de tipo electrónico (Chiaro y Nocella 2004), autoadministrados o administrados por el encuestador (Calvo Encinas 2004, Widler 2004). Se han adaptado debidamente los cuestionarios usados en el mismo estudio a poblaciones diferentes, según las características específicas de cada colectivo. Algunos cuestionarios han sido acompañados de otras técnicas que proporcionaban datos de carácter cualitativo (entrevistas semiestructuradas, Li 2000; análisis de fuentes documentales, Calvo Encinas 2000). Parece bastante común que el primer bloque de preguntas se refiera a datos sociolaborales de los informantes. De ahí el gran interés de las encuestas como método de identificación y descripción de los colectivos.

Análisis de datos

Los datos recogidos con los cuestionarios han sido analizados con las herramientas matemáticas que ofrece la estadística descriptiva. Las medidas de resumen más usadas han sido las frecuencias expresadas en porcentajes. En este sentido, nos sumamos a la propuesta, expresada por Chiaro y Nocella (2004) de hacer mayor uso, en el ámbito de la Traductología, de medidas descriptivas como el rango, la moda y la mediana.

Conclusiones

Como se ha podido observar con los siete estudios analizados, la Traductología ha incorporado en las últimas décadas los estudios por encuesta. A partir de los siete estudios analizados podemos deducir las siguientes conclusiones.

1. Diseños investigadores sencillos

Existe una gran variedad en cuanto a los aspectos relacionados con el diseño general del estudio; sin embargo, todos ellos comparten un diseño investigador sencillo, cuyas características metodológicas son:

- Un enfoque metodológico exploratorio y descriptivo (con escasez de enfoques explicativos y causales)
- Un carácter más bien cualitativo, sin llegar a aprovechar su potencial como método cuantitativo. Este fenómeno puede ser causado por las dificultades de obtener una muestra probabilística en nuestro campo.
- No suele ser muy frecuente la combinación (triangulación) de la encuesta con técnicas cualitativas (observación, entrevistas, grupo de discusión).
- Se realizan de manera unitaria en el tiempo (diseños transversales y no longitudinales).

2. Estudio de colectivos socioprofesionales y muestras no probabilísticas

Estos estudios recogen opiniones, valores, conocimientos, hábitos y necesidades de los diferentes grupos socioprofesionales implicados en el desempeño de la traducción y la interpretación. La contribución de la encuesta a la investigación traductológica de tipo social se ve reflejada también en que su uso plantea la necesidad de definir, delimitar y relacionar los diferentes colectivos implicados en el ejercicio de la traducción y la interpretación. La toma de conciencia de la estructuración social de dichos colectivos sirve, al mismo tiempo, para reforzar su consolidación.

Por otro lado, cabe resaltar que, dada la dificultad de obtener muestras estadísticamente representativas en el ámbito de la traducción e interpretación, los resultados numéricos no pueden ser inferidos al colectivo que la muestra representa; por consiguiente, resulta arriesgado partir de ellos para tomar decisiones. El propósito de los estudios con uso de encuesta en Traductología es principalmente estratégico (exploratorio), ya que se recogen informaciones de manera amplia y general, con el fin de diseñar y planificar actividades

(p. e. la formación universitaria), pero no tienen un carácter concluyente para proyectos comerciales.

3. Instrumentos de carácter cualitativo y bien elaborados

El enfoque exploratorio de los estudios se refleja también en el carácter cualitativo de los instrumentos utilizados, ya que éstos contienen un número importante de preguntas abiertas. Por otro lado, cabe resaltar que han seguido un laborioso proceso de elaboración.

Como ya hemos señalado, algunos de estos instrumentos no se han publicado. Quisiéramos resaltar, en este sentido, la importancia de publicar los instrumentos de recogida de datos, y por consiguiente ponerlos al servicio de toda la comunidad científica, como hacen algunos estudios (Calvo Encinas 2004, Widler, 2004, Lim 2005, PACTE 2005, 2008). Desgraciadamente, estos casos no son muy numerosos.

Queremos finalizar resaltando que los estudios con encuesta en Traductología permiten establecer el contacto entre el mundo académico y profesional, ya que se interesan por temas actuales, relacionados con el ejercicio laboral y profesional de la traducción en sus más diversas manifestaciones. En este sentido, nuestra disciplina, además de incorporar un nuevo método de investigación, amplía su objeto de estudio para centrarse en los colectivos socioprofesionales implicados.

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IS TRANSLATION AN AUTPOIETIC SYSTEM?

Sergey Tyulenev

University of Cambridge

Abstract

Translation is analyzed from the standpoint of its systemic properties. Translation is shown to have the capacity to observe itself and its difference from the environment. Observation being a major autopoietic factor, translation may be considered as an autopoietic system. Doubts about this hypothesis arise because of the peculiarities of communicative properties of translation. Translation plays the role of the mediating party in complex translation communication events and its communicative behavior is 'defective' in that translation does not act upon source messages because its communicative function is passing messages on to the target party. As a system, translation may be studied against the background of its environment and be compared with other social systems. It may also be viewed as a subsystem within larger social formations. Although, as a mediator by nature, translation thrives on structural couplings and interpenetrations with other systems, thereby manifesting its exceptional interactional openness, it nonetheless constitutes an operational closure with its own first- and second-order observations.

Résumé

Dans cette article, la traduction est analysée du point de vue de ses propriétés systémiques. La traduction a la capacité de s'observer et d'observer sa différence par rapport à l'environnement. Etant donné que l'observation est un facteur autopoïétique majeur, la traduction peut donc être considérée comme un système autopoïétique. Les doutes concernant cette hypothèse peuvent être attribués aux particularités des propriétés communicatives de la traduction. La traduction joue le rôle de médiatrice, ou de partie médiatrice, dans une communication traductive aux manifestations complexes et son comportement communicatif est « défectueux » dans la mesure où elle n'agit pas sur les messages source, sa fonction communicative étant de faire passer les messages à la partie cible. En tant que système, la traduction peut être étudiée dans le cadre de son environnement et comparée à d'autres systèmes sociaux. Elle peut

être également envisagée comme un sous-système à l'intérieur de formations sociales plus larges. Bien que la traduction, soit-elle médiatrice par nature, soit portée par des couplages structurels et des interpénétrations avec d'autres systèmes, manifestant de ce fait son exceptionnelle ouverture interactionnelle, elle constitue une fermeture opérationnelle face à ses propres observations de premier et second ordre.

Keywords

Niklas Luhmann. Social systems theory. Autopoiesis. Sociology of translation.

Mots-clés

Niklas Luhmann. Théorie des systèmes sociaux. Autopoïèse. Sociologie de la traduction.

The decisive question is whether, and in what ways, other autopoietic systems, endowed with their own autonomy and their own operative¹ closure, can emerge within the autopoietic system of society [...]

Niklas Luhmann (2000a: 135)

1. Introduction

For more than a decade, a specter of Luhmann's social systems theory (SST) has been haunting Translation Studies (TS). After having made a sociological turn, or rather, one may argue, a turn towards sociology, TS seems to have got cold feet and, acting like a collectively conscious Hamlet, is pondering over Hamlet's existential dilemma: To be or not to be, i.e., to continue or not to continue? Translation students seem to share sociologists' doubts: Is it worth reading a couple of hundred arid, if not obfuscating, pages before one starts to understand anything, and who knows, what you can actually get out of this dense theory for your own research (Seidl and Becker 2005: 10, Sosoe 2001: xiv-xv)? This is how conscience makes us, as it made Hamlet, if for a moment, too cowardly and the native hue of resolution is sicklied over with the pale cast of thought and loses the name of action. As a result, apart from Andreas Poltermann's (1992) and Theo Hermans's (1997, 1999, 2007a, 2007b) attempts to apply Luhmann's SST to studying translation, not much has been done to continue and develop their initiatives, although the specter is still there, lurking, waiting to pounce.

TS turns out to be no exception to the rule, formulated by Jean Paul and quoted by Luhmann in one of his articles: "[I]n the realm of knowledge—different from the physical realm—sound always arrives earlier than light" (Seidl and Becker 2005: 54). The words 'social systems theory' and 'autopoiesis' are

1. In my own text below, I prefer the term 'operational' to the term 'operative' as well as the term 'functional (sub)system' to 'function (sub)system'. Yet, I leave the terms 'operative' and 'function (sub)system' in citations, treating them as interchangeable

familiar but discussions of them hardly go beyond what one reads in Hermans's works. Possibility of the application of Luhmann's ideas to the study of translation is still explored only superficially. In fact, translation students are not at all convinced if these allegedly antihumanist ideas (Moeller 2006: ix; Horster 1992: 10) are of any relevance at all when the crusade for *translator*, not *text* (of translation) is declared (Pym, Shlesinger and Jettmarová 2003: 2).

Systemic study of translation may be traced back to the Tel-Aviv–Leuven school which developed ideas of the Russian formalists who viewed national literature as a polysystem with its evolutionary dynamics and centre/periphery relations (Tynianov 1977: 255–81, Even-Zohar 1990). Translation was, however, primarily studied within a national literary system (or, in the exact terminology, “polysystem” since the literary system was seen as composed of a number of systems). Yet the literary system is but one social system amongst many others where translation is as actively practiced. No wonder, a broader social perspective of translational practice started to come into view of translation scholars and the role played by translation was considered not only within the national literary system, but in the overall social system (Tyulenev 2009: 156–8).

My aim in the present paper is to follow such broader view of social involvements of translation and to take the discussion of the applicability of SST to research in sociologically informed TS a step further. I will also problematize the epistemology of putting *translator* as the declared focus of scholarly efforts in TS.

2. Why Luhmann?

If there is no place like our present homelessness
away from home, then it is Luhmann who can best
guide us in this ever-expanding wilderness.

William Rasch (2000: 3)

Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998) is reputed to have been one of the leading sociologists of the twentieth century. His legacy is, amongst other things, in that he suggested a new way of describing not only modern society but also modernity itself. He courageously faced the growing rationalization and pluralization of our “disenchanted” world, picking up where Max Weber left (Rasch 2000: 2). This is where Luhmann and another giant figure of modern sociological thought, Jürgen Habermas, are drastically different. In contrast to Habermas, Luhmann does not hope to regain the lost unity of reason and, ultimately, the world. “Rather, in Weberian fashion, Luhmann participates

in the operations and mitosis-like self-divisions of modern rationality by describing how those operations function” (ibid.: 11).

Habermas’s mission is to find a unifying basis for the world which has had a great fall but which might, allegedly, be put together again; Luhmann paints a warts-and-all portrait of the de-centered and demystified world of modernity. In his SST, Luhmann presents the world as a multitude of equally unequal systems. Specifically, he is interested in self-(re)producing, or autopoietic, systems. Being a sociologist, he is primarily concerned with social systems, communication-based self-reproducing systems.

Throughout history, there have been different types of social systems’ self-organization. According to Luhmann, the following four such types may be singled out: segmentary differentiation (the system is composed of nearly identical self-sufficient subsystems); center/periphery differentiation; stratified (rank-based) differentiation; and functional differentiation of modern society (1998: 595-776; cf. Habermas 1989: 114, where the fundamental difference between segmentally and functionally differentiated societies is traced back to Durkheim). The last function-based type of social-systemic organization is exactly the Weberian rationalized and pluralized world of modernity. Although the leading social philosophers agree with such a vision of modern society, the difference between them, best exemplified by the controversy between Habermas and Luhmann, is in how they answer the questions: Is the social reality ‘out of joint’? and Shall we accept it as it is or try and change it to make it somehow better? (Bausch 2001: 61-7, 95-153) It should be noted, however, that to change the world of rationalization and pluralization may mean to do away with rationalization and pluralization and this is “in no way desirable” (Odo Marquard, quoted in Rasch 2000: 2). It is also quite possible that the programs of changing modernity into a post-modernity are no more than an anti-modernist and *au fond* pluralist slogan which “affirms an old and respectable modernist motif, for the modern world was always and still is rationalization and pluralization” (Marquard, ibid.). In the midst of this controversy and at least, optimistically (or naively?) speaking, until a consensus is reached, Luhmann, contemplating the reality with an unblinking eye, seems to be the best Virgil or Beatrice for us, depending on how we see the world—as *Inferno* or *Paradiso*. Let us follow him.

3. Autopoiesis and Self-Organization

3.1. Key Concepts of SST

Social systems are defined as systems, which produce themselves *qua* systems. This circular self-reproduction is called *autopoiesis* (from Greek *auto*—self, and *poiein*—to produce). Elements of *allopoietic* systems are supplied from outside, from the system's environment; autopoietic systems produce their elements themselves out of themselves and thereby constitute operational closures because no outside operation can penetrate them. Autopoietic systems are however interactionally open. They utilize energy and information of their environment (Luhmann 1995: 118, Schrödinger 1968, Foerster 1981: 2-22). In SST, interactions of the system with its environment are referred to as structural couplings.

On the level of its operations, the autopoietic system does not receive any inputs from the environment but only perturbations (or “irritations”), which then might trigger internal operations in the system. In other words, external events may trigger internal processes but cannot determine those processes. In this respect, Luhmann speaks of a “trigger-causality” [*Auslösekausalität*] instead of an “effect-causality” [*Durchgriffskausalität*]. (Seidl and Becker 2005: 23.)

Internally, autopoietic systems reproduce themselves by virtue of a particular structural mechanism—their self-organization. Self-organization, that is, the system's makeup, structures of which the autopoietic system is composed, is a result of the system's internal operations: the system's organization is “an interrelated network of components and component-producing processes” (Csanyi and Kampis, quoted in Bausch 2001: 32). Yet, the system evolves by growing in complexity as it observes and makes sense of its complex environment. Following George Spencer Brown (1969; see also Baecker 1999: 4-5), Luhmann interprets the term “observation” at its highest level of abstraction (1995: 36, 506). Observation is not reduced to its optical manifestation but is defined as any operation that is based on distinguishing between phenomena, e.g., in terms of their being intrinsic or extrinsic in relation to the observed system. Such observation may pose “reference problems,” i.e., obstacles jeopardizing communication, which are to be resolved. This leads to diagnosing new needs of the system that necessitate creating new functions and respective functional subsystems which focus on resolving identified problems (Luhmann 2000a: 138).

Thus, there are two principal features of autopoietic systems: autopoiesis, (re)production of the system's units, and the system's self-organization, its self-(re)structuring. The emphasis on autopoiesis and self-organization of the

system is laid because doubts, whether translation is a communication system or not, boil down to these two fundamental characteristics of the system.

3.2. *Ephemerality of Translation and Its Inferior Social Status*

Sparseness of the translation “mediation space” as compared to other social systemic phenomena casts doubts about systemic properties of translation (cf. in Bourdieusian terms in Wolf 2007: 110). Yet, ephemerality of translation as a systemic formation is hardly a criterion for deciding whether translational phenomena form a system or not. In fact, in communication systems theory, communication events are conceived of as fleeting phenomena disappearing as soon as they appear (Luhmann 1995: 49). Yet, this does not decrease their ability to self-organize as systems.

Social status of translation is also brought up as a reason why translation could not be viewed as a social systemic phenomenon (see an overview in Wolf 2007: 114-7). However, neither translators’ submissiveness and their invisibility in society, nor social ‘marginality’ of the translator’s profession or the lack of its institutionalization; nor the fact that translators’ products are the result of interplay of a number of disparate factors, that they are incapable of forming their own space, submitting to the target cultural space—neither of these hold up as impregnable arguments. Translation can be considered as a social systemic phenomenon based on its nature, which is mediation.

3.3. *‘Dehumanization’*

Another reason for denying that translation has a status of communication system is that the latter is defined in SST as composed of communication events—not of human beings. The essence of this reason, however, is not so much a denial of systemic properties of translation, as a misconstruction of Luhmann’s attempt to keep apart psychology and sociology and is a residue of the centuries-long humanist tradition in the humanities. It is important to understand that human beings, translators and interpreters, are not dispensed with; they constitute an important part of the environment for translation *qua* communication system. Luhmann states:

If one views human beings as part of the environment of society (instead of as part of society itself), this changes the premises of all the traditional questions, including those of classical humanism. It does not mean that the human being is estimated as less important than traditionally. Anyone who thinks so (and such an understanding either explicitly or implicitly underlies all polemics against this proposal) has not understood the paradigm change in systems theory (1995: 212).

No communication, including translation, would be possible in the society without physical and psychic systems (ibid.: 210-5).

What Luhmann suggests is a better focus: the social realm is what is communicated and made socially 'visible'. Thoughts, for instance, are not socially visible and should be studied in psychology. Translation as a socially 'visible' phenomenon cannot exist without the psychic systems. The term *translator*, however, lacks precision. The translator is a combination of three types of systems: physiological, psychic and social. Socially relevant translation research focuses on social facts, whereas psychology concentrates on intra-human phenomena. This does not exclude interdisciplinary studies, but requires a conscious interdisciplinary effort—not confusion because the student does not know better. By these lights, the terms such as *human being*, *translator*, turn out to be too fuzzy and necessitate further precision with regards to the three types of systems involved. Luhmann's SST provides us with the tools to handle this kind of challenges.

3.4. *Translation Communication Event and the Nature of Translation*

Autopoiesis of translation is ensured by the recursively reproduced nature of translation manifested in translational communication event (TCE). TCE is a special case of communication events. Despite their staggering variety through different human communities and different historical periods, TCEs have intrinsically invariable characteristics. It is this fact—existence of translation as a specific type of communication—that serves as the autopoietic guarantee of translation as a communication system. From the standpoint of this fundamental criterion, all communication events are either translations or not. Translation exists not because there are people who engage in translation or want to study those who engage in translation practice; rather, there is a social function fulfilled by a certain type of communication. This communication activity fulfills a specific function by virtue of being what it is. Its *raison d'être* is to fulfill this particular social function. Properties of translation allow it to be “differentiated according to a specific threshold problem” and to make what is improbable probable and realizable (Luhmann 1986: 20-1; also Luhmann 2000a: 138). Translation increases the likelihood of intrasystemic communication and intersystemic interaction. As to human beings participating in TCE, they exercise only the trigger-causality on the translation system.

As far as the self-organization of translation is concerned, an important question is: What is included into the translation system—only translational acts or translational acts plus the initial and final communications. Put differently, since TCE brings together three parties A, B, and C, where A and C

are source and target of communication and B is a translating agent, what should be included into the translation communication system: only B or all the three?²

To answer this question, it is important to understand that TCE is composed of two communication events (CEs). Each of the two CEs consists of three parts (selections)—utterance, information and understanding (Luhmann 1995: 139-44). CE₁ occurs between A and B (the source and translation):

$$CE_1 [A: \text{Utterance}_1 > \text{Information}_1 \cong B: \text{Understanding}_1].$$

Utterance is everything that is communicated by A. Information is only the communicative core of utterance. The information in CE₁ contains what A wants to be understood. Yet, rules governing semiosis force A to add other features to this communicative core; A expects the other communicating party to extract the communicative core from its semiotic packaging. That is why in the formula above, the initial utterance is shown to be 'larger' than its information. The final element of this communication is B's understanding. Inevitably, B's understanding is but an inference. Understanding is always conjectural and interpretative. This is why in the formula, I show the equivalence between A's information and B's understanding as approximate.

CE₂ unfolds between B and C:

$$CE_2 [B: \text{Utterance}_2 > \text{Information}_2 \cong C: \text{Understanding}_2].$$

The above description of CE₁ is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to CE₂.

In reality, the complexity of TCE is due to the fact that what we theoretically slice above into two separate formulae is spliced:

$$\text{TCE: } [A: \text{Utterance}_1 > \text{Information}_1 \cong B: (\text{Understanding}_1 = \text{Utterance}_2) > \text{Information}_2 \cong C: \text{Understanding}_2].$$

Although TCEs are complex events with two distinguishable CEs, CE₁ is communication-wise 'defective'. Normally, CE strives to reach a goal—to establish/reinforce communication. This is not so as regards CE₁. Understanding₁ is reached but it is not acted upon. The translating agent (B) understands

2. In the process of communication, both A and C become both source and target in turns. In the following discussion, for simplicity's sake, I will limit myself to only one direction of communication: A→(B)→C.

in order to pass its understanding to the other end of the communication chain. The translating agent mediates between communicating parties proper. Neither A nor C expect the full participation of B in the communication. Yet, the realization of dependency of the communication between A and C on B is there. The fuller translation manifests itself as a social subsystem, the fuller the system or interacting (sub)systems recognize translation as a factor to take into consideration. A and C exercise trigger-causality on TCE. TCE, however, cannot be generated without A and C and therefore the entire TCE should be considered as the unit of the translation system. In his book on mass media, Luhmann argues that, although with mass media, “no interaction [...] can take place between sender and receivers” because of the interposition of technology, reception should be included into the communicational unit, because

[c]ommunication only comes about when someone watches, listens, reads—and understands to the extent that further communication could follow on. The mere act of uttering something, then, does not, in and of itself, constitute communication. On the other hand, it is difficult in the case of the mass media (in contrast to interaction that occurs among those co-present) to determine the target group involved in each instance. To a large extent, therefore, obvious presence has to be substituted by assumptions. This is especially true if the process of turning comprehension/mis-comprehension into further communication within or outside the system of the mass media is also to be taken into account. (2000b: 2, 4)

In translation also, communication requires the mediated parties. Communication is also a recursive looping of one TCE on another. Therefore, although translation does not communicate with the mediated parties in the sense of acting upon the parties’ utterances, it would be logical to consider the operational boundary of the translation system as drawn by the entire TCE (A+B+C).

Intuitively, we feel that communication properties of translation as a mediator of communication are somehow different from communication properties of communicating parties proper. This intuitive feeling makes us think twice before categorizing translation as a communication system. Even when we do categorize translation as a communication system, we provide a caveat; for example, that translation may be described as a system within the constructionist paradigm (Hermans 2007a; 2007b). However, first of all, constructionism is inevitable to a lesser or greater degree (Weinberg 2009). Constructionism also helps discover new properties of studied phenomena and not only deploy a new conceptual apparatus. Constructionistically studied phenomena are not figments of imagination. If translation can be described as a system, it means translation is a system from a certain viewpoint.

Translation, then, is shown to be a system not only as a result of an epistemological exercise, but also in the ontological sense. If translation were not a system, it would be impossible to construct translation as a system. One cannot describe the frog as the mermaid because it is not the mermaid, but one can describe the frog as many things it is: a living organism, an amphibian, or a biological system. Saying that translation is a system does not exclude other possible ways of constructing translation; just as saying that the frog is an amphibian does not exclude the possibility of describing it as a biological system or an animal. That is why Luhmann opened his major book on social systems as follows:

The following considerations assume that there are systems. Thus they do not begin with epistemological doubt. They also do not advocate a “purely analytical relevance” for systems theory. The most narrow interpretation of systems theory as a mere method of analyzing reality is deliberately avoided. Of course, one must never confuse statements with their objects; one must realize that statements are only statements and that scientific statements are only scientific statements. But, at least in systems theory, they refer to the real world. Thus the concept of system refers to something that is in reality a system and thereby incurs the responsibility of testing its statements against reality (1995: 12).

To conclude this section, neither ephemerality of translation, nor its social status, nor its structural complexity and peculiarity of its communication properties prevent us from claiming that translation is a communication system.

4. Levels of Observation

To understand functioning of social systems and their subsystems, it is helpful to consider certain details of the concept of observation. Observing implies marking, or distinguishing one thing from another, for example differentiating between what belongs to the observing agent and what is alien to it (Spencer Brown 1969). Based on this distinction, some observed phenomena gain the status of ‘marked’ (intrinsic) as opposed to others—‘unmarked’ (extrinsic). Applied to the autopoietic system, some of the phenomena are considered to be part and parcel of the system’s communication whereas others—part of the system’s environment. In other words, some (‘marked’) phenomena are inside the system and *are* the system; the others (‘unmarked’) are outside the system and constitute the environment. The system observes constantly by distinguishing between itself as the ‘marked’ domain and the ‘unmarked’ environment. Autopoietic systems are, therefore, observing systems (Foerster 1981).

The system also reenters the division of phenomena as ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ into itself (Luhmann 1999: 17). As a result, its ‘marked’ homogeneity

is heterogenized. Over the course of history, social systems were heterogenized differently depending on what criteria were applied to their marked 'inside': segmentation of the society into identical (tribe-like) formations; rank-based stratification (classes, castes); territorial differentiation into center and periphery (the capital and provinces with respective political, economical, and cultural statuses); formation of functionally different subsystems (law, economy, art). All these difference schemata define different ways of how the system is divided into subsystems. Intrasystemically, the 'marked' state is juxtaposed with other 'marked' states. On the scale of the entire social system, these are subsystems and their respective relations are described as 'system vs. subsystem'; for each other, these subsystems are systems and, therefore, their relations are 'system vs. system'.

When dealing with system/environment relations, the system constitutes the internal [marked] side of the form, whereas the environment is its unmarked space. "The environment" is nothing else but an empty correlate of the system's self-reference; it provides no information. If, however, we are dealing with system/system relations [within an overall social system], then the other side can be marked and indicated. In this case [on the intrasystemic scale], art no longer deals with 'everything else' but with questions such as whether and to what extent the artist is motivated by political convenience or by wealthy customers (Luhmann 2000a: 135).

Thus, we see two levels of observation: 'system vs. environment' and 'system vs. system'.

In the latter case, (sub)systems form environment for each other but this environment is "marked and indicated," that is, it does provide information unlike the environment in the system/environment relations. Additionally, another level of observation—"system vs. subsystem"—is also to be considered if translation is to be studied in its societal involvements.

When we apply these different types of relations to translation, we see the following possibilities. Translation can be viewed as a subsystem within a system. To describe translation from this standpoint, one has to define the place it occupies in the overall social system and address the problem of its being 'diffused' amongst other subsystems.

When translation is studied as a subsystem in relation to other subsystems, the problem, if the translation subsystem is of equal status in the society with law, economy, art and the like or if it is somehow subordinate to these functional subsystems of the modern society, must be addressed. This scale of the observation is 'system vs. system'. The related question: What was the social place of translation before the modern function-based social systems assumed their present-day shape? — would be of a historical/diachronic

nature. For example, what was the social place of translation in the society of segmentary differentiation? To characterize the social role of translation within non-function-based societies would require theory of these societies. Luhmann's SST is focused on modern society. Therefore, I do not discuss the role of translation in other types of societies.

Finally, translation may be described as an autopoietic system distinguished from all other, autopoietic or allopoietic, systems without privileging its social characteristics. In this case, translation may be juxtaposed with any other type of autopoietic systems: for example, with legal or military operational closures, with biological or psychic autopoieses, etc. Translation may also be compared with allopoietic systems provided such a procedure is found worth an effort. This scale of observation is 'system vs. environment'.

5. System / Environment

5.1. *Could translation be described as a system?*

In the following three sections, I will consider translation from these different angles of observation and I will start with the last listed above because it is logical to start at the most fundamental level.

Translation seems to be too diffused in the society to form a distinct entity of the systemic status. This raises doubts if translation might be viewed as a systemic phenomenon. Linguistic categorization of certain types of activity as translation does not qualify as a full-blown proof that such types of activity are a system, an assemblage of interrelated and interacting units, let alone an autopoietic system.

We have seen that translation observes its distinction as an activity with its specific nature. It is by virtue of this nature that translation sets itself apart from any other type of activity. Moreover, this distinct nature of translation unfolds recursively over time and space, creating a memory of translation which is based on prior translational operations anticipating future translational operations. Thus, translation marks certain phenomena as belonging to itself and *being* itself rejecting all other, alien, phenomena. This process of observation creates an operational closure, which locks translation operations on themselves. This systemic circularity acquires an autopoiesis of its own because nothing else can operationally influence its distinct nature. All external influences exercise only trigger-causality on it. In this sense, translation is not like a conveyor which functions operationally as a system only as long as it is activated from outside.

As to translation's self-organization, the question is bound to arise: What is the structure of translation as a system? What are the elements that constitute it? To understand this, one has to see that translation is characterized by its social involvements and participates in social communication. Therefore, translation must belong to the category of social systems. As a social system, translation consists of communication events, but of a specific kind. These specific communication events are mediatory in that they involve mediation. As we have seen, translation involves at least three parties: A, B, and C, where A and C could not communicate without B. B mediates between A and C. Thus, the translation communication act is composed of the mediated part and the mediating part. Yet, strictly speaking, the element of the translation system is the section from Understanding₁ to Information₂, the 'B' part in the following formula (highlighted in bold):

$$A: \text{Utterance}_1 > \text{Information}_1 \cong B: (\text{Understanding}_1 = \text{Utterance}_2) > \\ \text{Information}_2 \cong C: \text{Understanding}_2.$$

Utterance₁ and Information₁ are supplied from the environment; Understanding₂ is the result of the operation of the translation system. The boundary of the translation system is drawn by the operation of the transformation $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$. Luisi (1993: 24) supplies us with an example from the realm of biology. A minimal autopoietic system has a boundary and content composed of at least one component, B. One component (metabolite) A enters the system and a process $A \rightarrow B$ occurs in the system. This is the system's self-generating reaction which produces the system's element B necessary for the intrasystemic processes. Another type of reaction occurring within the system is $B \rightarrow C$. This is a process resulting from the system's internal operations. The operational processes producing elements are determined by the bounded system and take place only inside this boundary. Thus, the system produces its own elements as a result of its own operations. The metabolite A can enter the system only thanks to the system's interactional openness, yet no other system could handle A in the same fashion. This cannot fail to remind us of TCE: the party A's utterance is handled in a specific way—communication-wise deficient and intended for passing on—by the party B. The party B transforms the utterance of the party A so as to make this utterance communicable to the party C. Again, no other system could do the same. Just as the element B in Luisi's example, which makes the chain $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$ possible, is found only within the system B, translation communication event is generated only within the translation system.

Neither sending nor reception, if we prefer this terminology (criticized, however, in Luhmann 1995: 139), should be included into the translation system. The latter's boundary cuts them off. Utterance₁, Information₁ and Understanding₂ are the mediated part of the translation communication event (TCE). Only the mediating (B) part belongs to the translation system. However, it should be taken into account that the nature of mediation requires considering the mediated parties. Such 'keeping an eye on the other side' of the marked state is typical of many observing systems, especially of those using meaning in constructing reality (Luhmann 2000a: 61, Rasch 2000: 175). That is why not infrequently, studying/analyzing TCE involves comparing the mediating (B) party with either or both of the mediated (A, C) parties. Yet, the mediated parties of TCE exercise only a trigger-causality on the mediating party. The mediated parties cannot translate; they can only voice their recommendations, preferences or warnings. Incidentally, thanks to this operational independence of translation, such trends as *Skopostheorie*, *Translatorisches Handeln* or radical types of feminist translation become thinkable and practicable. The mediated parties cannot penetrate the intrinsic operational closure of the translation system whose operational nature is to infer the information of the source utterance, re-utter it in another medium, inevitably endowing the resulting utterance with the information, which approximates the information of the source utterance, and pass the new utterance on for the final inferential understanding.

Elements of any system are characterized by attributes. Attributes of translation communication system's elements, that is, translational-mediatory mechanisms, are different depending on the type of semiosis that uses mediation. In the verbal semiosis, elements are described in terms of their linguistic properties, textual characteristics, size of concrete mediated/mediating units, the volume of mediating transactions per unit of time, etc. In the non-verbal semiosis, other attributes, characteristic of the involved media and specificities of their interaction, will be introduced.

Elements also have relations between themselves. Some relations are inert; some are active. Actively related elements of the translation system form thematic groups or subsystems (medical, economic, literary translation). There may be further subdivisions within these thematic groups: for example, different genres of literary translations.

As has been conclusively shown by the Russian formalists and by scholars of the Tel-Aviv–Leuven school, elements of the translation system enter relations with elements of other systems. For example, literary translations develop relations with literary system's elements. Translation also connects with

other systems, for example, with the political one, when translations take part in establishing or reinforcing idiolegemes (Brisset 1996).

5.2. *Translation as a system: allopoietic or autopoietic?*

If we agree that translation can be described as a system, the question of what kind of system it is—allo- or autopoietic—needs to be further elaborated on. Allopoietic systems rely on inputs from outside sources for their functioning. Autopoietic systems function out of themselves. Computer programs or assemblage lines are designed to perform certain functions and cannot reproduce themselves. Living cells perform certain functions, too, but they reproduce themselves.

Translation is an autopoietic system because translational operations reproduce themselves drawing on prior translational operations and anticipating future translational operations. Like any communication element, the translation system's elements are short-lived (if not preserved in a more durable medium). As communication elements interconnect to form a communication system, the translation system's elements interconnect to form their own system. Like any communication system, the translation system "is of course not a space which disappears without leaving a trace," as is rightly stated in Wolf (2007: 117). On the contrary, the translation system is a "mediation space" with "numerous continuities or tradition lines," which "is built up through new connections" (ibid.: 118). This is the way autopoietic observations function:

We speak of observations only when the indication of one side of a distinction [e.g., translation vs. non-translation] is motivated by recursive interconnections—partly by prior observations, hence memory, and partly through connectivity, that is, by anticipating what one can do with the distinction [...]. (Luhmann 2000a: 59)

One may question the translation system's autopoiesis based on the fact that the translation exists as long as other communication events are fed into it. Indeed, does this mean that translation as a system is allopoietic? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. Taking energy and information from the environment does not turn autopoiesis into allopoiesis. Autopoietic systems have their own operational closure; incoming energy and information play the role of trigger-causality and not effect-causality. In other words, despite the fact that there is an input from the outside (the mediated component of the translation communication event), translation keeps its operational closure intact. The mediated part only triggers a translation event but does not define its nature. At the same time, as there is no system without environment, there is no translation

with only the mediating component; even if the mediated component does not exist, it is still implied/referred to, albeit in reality the reference may be equal to 'zero' (cf. pseudo-translations).

To sum up, Gail R. Fleischaker formulated the following three basic questions which are to be positively answered before one can regard an entity as autopoietic (cited in Luisi 1993: 21):

- (1) Is the system self-bounded?
- (2) Is the system self-generating?
- (3) Is the system self-perpetuating?

As has been shown above, in the TCE chain $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$ neither A nor C operate in the fashion B does and it is this part B that is translation *per se*. Part B stands apart in terms of its operations and therefore it is self-bounded. Part B viewed as a bounded zone generates its own elements and therefore it is self-generating. In its recursive reproduction, it perpetuates itself. Thus, based on these criteria, translation can be said to be an autopoietic system.

5.3. Mediation vs. Exchange

The difference schema of translation as a system—mediation—should be kept apart from exchange. Exchange is a direct juxtaposition of one item with another and is, thus, a two-part interaction; whereas mediation is an indirect juxtaposition and a three-part interaction. In the situation when somebody explains a word or notion to another person thereby, in Roman Jakobson's terms, translating intralingually, A (source) is equal to B (mediator): the first person uses a word/notion and explains it (re-wording). Yet, there are still three parties in the communication: source—mediator—target.

5.4. Actors and activity

In section 5.3, we have seen that the same communicant may play different parts. In real life, the translator may play even more social roles: s/he may be a translator/interpreter, the editor, the commissioner (for instance, when somebody translates a literary work for his/her own interest or on his/her own initiative).

Translation as an activity is fully autopoietic in that it depends on its nature for its unfolding, not on actors. Actors are social beings and their actions are prompted by a society or one of its subsystems. Even if translators are reluctant to mediate something as required by one system (e.g., by political power), they automatically comply with another system (aesthetic or another

political force in the society or they express their own views, thus going beyond translation as mediation). In this sense, translation is not dependent on its actors: translation depends on itself as an activity with difference schema (mediation) practiced in and for a society (or rather, one of its ever competing parts). This is why the translator cannot be put in the centre of sociologically informed TS. This is why particular translators' decisions can and should be explained from the viewpoint of the nature of translation: what parties are mediated and how the mediation unfolds. To do a research on a translator or a translation product is to show what translation laws are applicable in this or that particular situation. The social action is always predetermined by the set of available choices, although the actor is free to choose amongst the offered options. The choice of the actor is an interplay of physiological, psychological and sociological factors. The sociological study of translation is focused on the sociological factors and social repercussions of choices made by translators.

5.5. Evolution of Translation System

From the system/environment perspective, the translation system's social differentiation is a reentry of the difference between system and environment into the overall social system. Only operations that differentiate system and environment are at the focus of our attention. As far as observations are concerned, the reentry of the system/environment relationship into the overall social system is needed for distinguishing between self-reference and hetero-reference. The system's effort to cope with the complexity of the environment forces the system to pinpoint those aspects of the environment that are to be mirrored in the system's own inner structure. The resulting complexification of the social system manifests itself in the creation of new subsystems whose function is to represent adequately the complexity of the environment and to render the system capable of mirroring what is 'out there'. The structures, newly appearing as subsystems, also help optimize the intrasystemic communication and the system/environment interaction. The case in point is translation. On the one hand, translation helps the social system address the problem of the system's interaction with its environment. On the other hand, translation facilitates interaction between various subsystems within the system: translation (not necessarily only verbal and not necessarily intra- or interlingual) is found to be an efficient means to mediate between different subsystems.

The translation system claims to be the only one capable of addressing the problem of improbability of interaction between the overall social system

with its environment. Mediation is the ‘reference problem’ that translation solves by marking it (Luhmann 2000a: 138). The translation system takes the responsibility of mediating between subsystems within the system: for example, legal, political or art terms are translated into common parlance intralingually. Translation marks mediatory problems that occur both on the scale of intra- and intersystemic interaction. Hence, translation has a social function which allows it to evolve into a social subsystem in the function-based social system.

The above-said does not mean that translation did not exist in the pre-function-based society. But its partial differentiation in earlier types of social organization was still not established as an autopoietic, operationally closed subsystem within society at large. Only at the period of functional differentiation do subsystems, the translation subsystem included, establish themselves as operationally autonomous entities, because no other subsystem could play the role functional subsystems assume within the given social system. The subsystem’s dependency on other subsystems for certain functions is the condition of the autonomy of social functional subsystems. Higher degrees of social specialization create the situation described by Luhmann in his characteristically paradoxical fashion: “Specific independence depends on a considerable degree of specific dependency” (2000a: 350). Concrete time references for the evolution of translation into a subsystem, however, vary over time and space and are subject to area- and period-specific studies.

6. System vs. System

Translation may be viewed as a social subsystem amongst other social subsystems. When translation is considered as a subsystem amongst subsystems, we will refer to it as a system. Under such circumstances, as has been explained above, the marked homogeneity of the system is heterogenized, and subsystems appear as systems to each other.

The translation system is “equally unequal” with any other functional system. Functional systems have different characteristics (codes, programs, media). Yet, all functional systems are part of a de-centered system with no unilateral control: “There may be hierarchies, asymmetries, or differences in influence, but no part of the system can control others without itself being subject to control” (Luhmann 1995: 36). Systems are, thus, equal with regard to their inequality. “The function systems are what they are by being ‘equally’ distinct from one another” (Moeller 2006: 46).

Function-systemically speaking, translation is equal with other social systems—law, economy, art, etc. How, then, do we explain the fact that translation

seems to be “subservient” and “submissive” to other systems? In discussing relations of translation with other social systems, one should keep two things apart—respect for the profession and understanding its functional nature. By nature, translation mediates what it is commissioned for mediating. In this sense, it is at the service of other social functional systems; hence, it follows directions and satisfies requirements of commissioning parties. This, however, does not mean that translation compromises its nature or stoops to behave obsequiously. As to the translator’s low social status, the translator is not the only profession that does not enjoy the respect it deserves. This, however, hardly can be accepted as a reason for translation not to be considered as a full-blown social ‘field’ or ‘system’.

Intrasystemically, the place, which translation takes amongst other systems, is further clarified by a “form of differentiation”. “A system’s type of differentiation informs the system of the other systems it must expect in its environment” (Luhmann 2000a: 135). In the case of the function-based system, subsystems view each other as both similar and different systems. As we have seen, they are similar in being different, and, to return to Luhmann’s idea quoted above, being independent in one respect makes them dependent in all other respects. According to this principle, translation is independent in the sense that only translation can deal with the problem of growing individualization of social functional systems by mediating between them and between the overall social system and the latter’s environment; no one can change the translation system’s operational closure. Yet, in all other respects, the translation system depends on all the other systems for solving specific problems it encounters. *Mutatis mutandis*, one may apply to translation as a social system what Luhmann wrote about the art system:

[From the standpoint of the systems theory, there is no need to] advocate the defensive attitude that the autonomy of art ought to be upheld and protected. Modern art is autonomous in an operative sense. No one else does what it does. [...] The societal nature of modern art consists in its operative closure and autonomy, provided that society imposes this form on all functional systems, one of which is art (2000a: 134-5).

7. System vs. Subsystem

The third type of observation is translation as a subsystem within the overall social system. Although there are no hierarchically organized relations between functional subsystems, their places differ in terms of directions their functions are exercised along the system/environment axis. Some of them are intrasystemically focused. They contribute to the inner communication of the

system. Others make the system sensitive to its environment (Luhmann 1995: 197). Although translation is used within the social system, its most prominent location is on the boundary of the system. Translation and similar social subsystems may be compared to ears or eyes. Translation informs the system of what is happening in the environment. As a boundary phenomenon, translation opens the system to the environment and the environment to the system. Yet, translation does not carry things from inside outside and vice versa indiscriminately. Rather, translation always filtrates: it renders certain things and does not render or change other things. In such cases, translation closes, if partially, the system for the environment or the environment for the system.

In contrast to other social subsystems, translation may seem not well formed or compactly located in the social system. The elusive, protean nature of translation, which is described in different ways—as translation’s evanescent nature, as translation’s being less organized than other subsystems—results in diffuseness of translation as a social structure. However, this diffuseness is hardly surprising if we take into account the mediating nature of translation. Translation is, as it were, hidden behind interacting parties. Translation may contribute to creating new social formations (or Bourdieusian fields), remaining seemingly shapeless. However, even in such elusiveness, one may well notice what inevitably characterizes translation: it is always located at the borderline of the interacting systems. This is its operational hallmark. Therefore, diffuseness of translation should not distract us from the important social-systemic characteristic of translation: it is a boundary phenomenon.

Different subsystems within the system develop different relations with one another. The system develops different relations with the environment in different periods of its history. Certain relations may require catalytically involved agents (a process is optimized when a catalytic element is present); certain relations cannot take place unless a certain agent is at work. As a boundary phenomenon, translation often becomes such catalytic agent influencing social processes. Translation may introduce new ideas into the inner communication of the system and activate what is there in the society but not fully manifested or developed. Sometimes, translation may become the only means of influencing a relation between interacting social structures. In such cases, translation becomes a *conditio sine qua non* of unfolding social processes.

8. Structural Couplings and Interpenetration

Translation as a social subsystem is in the relationship of structural coupling with other social subsystems when it mediates between them. For example,

when a legal document is translated from one language into another, translation mediates (1) between two linguistic systems and (2) two social systems. These two types of systemic interactions are structural couplings. When translation is carried out, certain legal responsibilities on the part of the translator(s) are imposed. Translation enters structural coupling with the legal subsystem. These are different types of interactions: linguistic and thematic. The latter is the irritation of the translation subsystem by the legal system's code (legal/non-legal). Both, however, are temporary.

Structural couplings are different from another type of intersystemic involvements of translation. When we consider the psychic system's involvement with translation, we deal with an interaction of permanent nature. The legal system may or may not influence translation; the translator's psychology influences translation all the time. The permanent and inevitable interaction of translation with other systems is interpenetration. To emphasize, neither structural couplings, nor interpenetration exercise effect-causality on translation.

9. Observation: Further considerations

In the de-centered modern society with no unilateral control, social systems have to have another mechanism of keeping themselves together. They do this by means of observation. In SST, the concept of observation is defined as handling distinctions in order to indicate one side of the form and not the other (Spencer Brown 1969; Luhmann 1995: 36; 2000a: 59). The form is thus divided into 'marked' and 'unmarked' states—system and environment. The marking is carried out according to a distinction by which the system distinguishes itself from 'everything else'. By distinguishing itself, the system indicates itself. Observing distinctions and indicating them is crucial for the system's autopoiesis. Observation occurs at every level of the autopoietic system: at the level of the overall system and at the level of subsystems. In this section I will concentrate on aspects of the translation subsystem's observation and examine which of them help us show translation as an autopoietic system.

9.1. *Self-Observation*

The self-observation of social systems does not necessarily presuppose a conscious effort. Self-observation may introduce the system/environment distinction into the system at the basic level. Self-observation enables the system to constitute itself through distinguishing itself from the environment. "Self-observation is thus the operational factor in autopoiesis, because for elements

to be reproduced, it must be guaranteed that they are reproduced as elements of the system and not as anything else" (Luhmann 1995: 37).

In application to translation, the 'marked' state will be translation itself as opposed to anything else. For example, translation can be "profiled against its original," "against non-translated texts" or "against other translations" (Hermans 2007a: 120). Translation in a broader semiotic sense may be juxtaposed with other forms of semiosis. Thus, translation reproduces itself as a certain type of system with particular distinctions.

9.2. First- and Second-Order Observations

Self-observation of the system may be a complex, 'double-decked' procedure: direct or an observation of observations. The first type of observation is aimed at *what* is observed; whereas the second—at *how* what is observed is observed. The second type of observation may be replicated *ad infinitum*: a second-order observation observes a first-order observation, at the same time the first second-order observation may be observed by a third-order observation, the latter by yet another and so on. Does it mean that we deal not only with the first- and second-order observations, but also with third- and fourth-order observations? No, because what at stake is whether a *what* or a *how* is observed. The first-order observation observes the *what*; the second-, third-, fourth-order observations observe other observations and, thus, they observe the *how* of observation. Therefore, there are two types of observation.

The first-order observation is the practice of translating. For example, any translational communication manifests its meditating nature in contrast to the mediated nature of other parties involved in TCE. "In this kind of observation, the distinction between distinction and indication is not thematized. The gaze remains fixed on the object" (Luhmann 2000a: 61). The first-order observation focuses on what it observes, experiences. It is satisfied with minimal information. Only exceptionally, when puzzled by some things, the first-order observation may look for explanations, but its capacity to process this extra information is still limited. "The first-order observer lives in a world that seems both probable and true [*wahr-scheinlich*]" (ibid.: 62). Did not Luhmann perfectly portrait practice-oriented translators or students sometimes waging a veritable war against translation theory?

Such limited worldview broadens considerably at the level of second-order observation when "the observation indicates that the observation occurs as observation, that it must use a distinction, and perhaps even what kind of distinction it must use. [...]he second-order observer notices the improbability [*Unwahrscheinlichkeit*] of first-order observation" (ibid.: 61-2).

Eventually, such an approach leads to creating a field of study trying to explain how the observed improbability, however, happens to be probable and even normal. William Rasch summarized Luhmann's view on this problem as follows:

[A] discipline can be defined not by what it studies but by the constitutive question it asks, and that question [...] creates its field of study by positing a given, the improbability of which it is assigned to investigate. The social scientist asks, "How is social order possible?" The form of the question, according to Luhmann, is naïve, not skeptical, so that it may point to the real world, which has concretized possibilities. In other words, it suppresses the moment of skepticism in order to constitute an entity, called social order, capable of being investigated. At the same time, it expresses a moment of wonder. It is framed as a question of the form "How is—order possible?" precisely to presuppose the obvious in order to register the "miraculous" nature of the obvious. (2000: 48-9.)

It is in this type of "disciplinary question" that the origin of the translation theory should be looked for, because *au fond* translation theory is a second-order observation. (There is another aspect of the second-order observation as far as translation is concerned. Translation is intrinsically a second-order observer because, as the mediator, it observes observations of the mediated parties. This aspect is explained in Hermans 2007a: 126-30.)

A brief comment on the level of abstractness of the concept 'observation' would not be amiss in connection with the question posed in the title of this article. In an interview, when asked what the advantage of widening the concept of observation to an extent surpassing consciousness was, Luhmann answered that this allowed him to theorize society as a self-observing system (Rasch 2000: 175-6). Social system devoid of consciousness is also capable of observing, hence, it can be described as an autopoietic system. This is true about any social system, including translation.

Observation has two major characteristics: "the simultaneity of distinction and indication (keeping an eye on the other side) and their recursive networking with prior and subsequent observations, which, for their part, must also be distinguishing indications" (Luhmann 2000a: 61). Both characteristics are seen in translation described as a social system. Translation distinguishes itself as the 'marked' state from everything 'unmarked' (Hermans 2007a: 119-20). It also recursively interconnects communication events which can be defined as translational.

9.3. *Evolution: from First-Order Observation to Second-Order Observation*

Now that we have considered the concept of observation in detail, yet another point may be added about the evolution of the translation system. The evolution may be presented as a move from first-order observation to second-order observation as was noted by Hermans (2007a: 130-6). Indeed, the translation system's emancipation from other social subsystems' influence started with formulating laws of translation, which are nothing less than a development of observations of how translation handles its distinctions as compared to other social activities. Hermans focused on verbal translation. Yet, this principle may be applied not only to verbal translation. Itamar Even-Zohar broadened the scope of studying translation to embrace other types of transfer (1990: 73-4). The translation system was viewed by him as belonging to a larger class of phenomena. This insight has contributed to the evolution of the translation system because it has added yet another facet of the second-order observation of translation.

10. Conclusion

In the present article, I have attempted to answer the question if translation could be described as a system. Translation has its autopoiesis and self-organization. I have pointed out that despite the fact that translation is a diffused social phenomenon and is often neglected as a second-rank activity, it does manifest itself as a phenomenon endowed with the capacity to observe, that is, to handle distinctions. Therefore, translation may be said to be an autopoietic system with its own nature—mediation. Translation communication events are complex events composed of the mediated and mediating parties. Not infrequently, such specificity of TCEs raises doubts if translation should be regarded as a social system in its own right. I have tried to show that such doubts have little ground.

As a system, translation may be observed on different scales: (1) as a system vs. environment; (2) as a social system amongst other social systems; and (3) as a subsystem within the social system. Translation forms structural couplings and interpenetrations with other systems, yet in this interactional openness, it remains an operational closure with its own first- and second-order observations. Thus, translation has all the characteristics of an autopoietic social system.

The present article is but a cursory outline of a complex problem which, no doubt, deserves a much more detailed consideration. My goal has by no

means been to exhaust the subject; rather I have shown a rich potential of SST for translation students.

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NOTAS BIOGRÁFICAS / BIONOTES

Claudia Angelelli

Bionote

Claudia Angelelli is a Professor of Spanish Linguistics at the Department of Spanish and Portuguese (San Diego State University). She holds a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics from Stanford University, a Master of the Arts in Teaching Foreign Languages (Spanish), graduate certificates from the Monterey Institute of International Studies (MIIS), and a degree in comparative law and legal translation (English-Spanish) from the Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires. Her current research focuses on the role of interpreters across various settings, and the assessment of their language and interpreting skills. She is the author of *Medical Interpreting and Cross-cultural Communication* (Cambridge University Press), *Re-visiting the Role of the Interpreter* (John Benjamins) and the co-editor of *Testing and Assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies* (John Benjamins). Her publications in the field of translation/interpreting studies and bilingualism also include articles in *Interpreting*, *The Translator*, *TIS (Translation and Interpreting Studies – The Journal of ATISA)*, *Meta*, and *The Critical Link*.

Nota biográfica

Claudia Angelelli es catedrática de Lingüística Española en el Departamento de Español y Portugués de San Diego State University. Se doctoró en Lingüística Educativa en la Stanford University, y cuenta con un máster en Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras (español), certificados de posgrado por el Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de Monterey (MIIS), así como un grado en Derecho Comparado y Traducción Jurídica (inglés-español) de la Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires. Su investigación actual se centra en la función de los intérpretes en distintos contextos, y en la evaluación de sus

destrezas lingüísticas e interpretativas. Es autora de *Medical Interpreting and Cross-cultural Communication* (Cambridge University Press), *Re-visiting the Role of the Interpreter* (John Benjamins) y ha coeditado recientemente *Testing and Assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies* (John Benjamins). Sus publicaciones en el campo de los estudios de traducción e interpretación y el bilingüismo incluyen también artículos en *Interpreting*, *The Translator*, *TIS* (*Translation and Interpreting Studies*, la revista de la Asociación Americana de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación, ATISA), *Meta* y *The Critical Link*.

Esperança Bielsa

Bionote

Esperança Bielsa has research interests in the sociology of culture, the sociology of translation, sociological theory (especially in relation to European modernity, cosmopolitanism and globalisation), and Latin American culture and literature. She is the author of *The Latin American Urban Crónica: Between Literature and Mass Culture* (Lexington Books, 2006), co-author, with Susan Bassnett, of *Translation in Global News* (Routledge, 2009), and co-editor, with Christopher W. Hughes, of *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Nota biográfica

Los principales campos de investigación de Esperança Bielsa son la sociología de la cultura, la sociología de la traducción, la teoría sociológica (especialmente en relación con la modernidad europea, el cosmopolitismo y la globalización), así como la cultura y literatura latinoamericanas en general. Es autora de *The Latin American Urban Crónica: Between Literature and Mass Culture* (Lexington Books, 2006), coautora, junto con Susan Bassnett, de *Translation in Global News* (Routledge, 2009), y coeditora, junto a Christopher W. Hughes, de *Globalization, Political Violence and Translation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Anna Bogic

Bionote

Anna Bogic is a part-time professor at the University of Ottawa and a freelance translator. She has conducted her graduate research on the English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* and has written an article on the translation of Beauvoir's philosophy in *Women and Translation* (2009).

Her translation of “Une plage blanche” (*Miettes et morceaux* by Eileen Lohka) is to appear in *TransLit* Vol. 8 (2010). She is a member of Simone de Beauvoir Society and has been researching issues in the areas of women’s studies, literature, and translation studies.

Nota biográfica

Anna Bogic es profesora a tiempo parcial en la Universidad de Ottawa, así como traductora autónoma. Su investigación doctoral ha girado en torno a la traducción inglesa de *El segundo sexo*, de Simone de Beauvoir. Asimismo ha escrito un ensayo sobre la traducción de la filosofía de Beauvoir, que ha aparecido como parte de *Women and Translation* (2009). Igualmente cabe destacar que tiene también una traducción de “Une plage blanche” (*Miettes et morceaux*, de Eileen Lohka) en prensa para *TransLit* Vol. 8 (2010). Es miembro de la Simone de Beauvoir Society y su especialidad gira en torno a los estudios sobre la mujer, la literatura y la traducción.

Cristóbal Cabeza i Cáceres

Bionote

Cristóbal Cabeza i Cáceres holds a B.A. in Translation Studies and is currently working on his Ph.D. He lectures in subtitling for the deaf and heard of hearing and audio description in the M.A. in Audiovisual Translation at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He has also been working as a translator, subtitler and audio describer for five years and has participated in the Spanish audio description of films such as Woody Allen’s *Match Point*, Isabel Coixet’s *Elegy* and Stephen Daldry’s award-winner *The Reader*. Since 2007 he has audio described operas in Catalan at Barcelona’s Gran Teatre del Liceu.

Nota biográfica

Cristóbal Cabeza i Cáceres es llicenciat en Traducció i Interpretació per la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, on actualment duu a terme el doctorat. És professor de subtitulació per a sords i d’audiodescripció al Màster en Traducció Audiovisual de la mateixa universitat i ha treballat com a traductor, subtitulador i audiodescriptor durant cinc anys. Entre d’altres ha participat en les audiodescripcions en castellà de pel·lícules com *Match Point*, de Woody Allen, *Elegy*, d’Isabel Coixet o la guardonada *The Reader*, d’Stephen Daldry. Des del 2007 també ha fet les audiodescripcions en directe per al Gran Teatre del Liceu de Barcelona.

María Sierra Córdoba Serrano**Bionote**

María Sierra Córdoba Serrano holds a Ph.D. in Translation Studies from the University of Ottawa and, since September 2009, she has been an assistant professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Her thesis, *Cartographie socio-traductionnelle des transferts littéraires Québec-Espagne (1975-2004)*, which falls within the sub-field of the Sociology of Translation, analyzes the sociological relations governing a corpus of 77 translations of literary works between Quebec and Spain, with a focus on relations between Quebec and Catalonia. She has published articles on the subject in *META*, *TTR*, *Qua-derns*, *Globe*, etc. and is working toward the conversion of her thesis into a book.

Nota biográfica

María Sierra Córdoba Serrano es doctora en Estudios de Traducción por la Universidad de Ottawa y, desde septiembre de 2009, es profesora en el Monterey Institute of International Studies (California). Su tesis, *Cartographie socio-traductionnelle des transferts littéraires Québec-Espagne (1975-2004)*, se inscribe en el campo de la sociología de la traducción y examina las relaciones sociológicas que configuran un corpus de 77 traducciones de narrativa quebequesa traducida en España, en español y en catalán. Ha publicado artículos sobre el tema en *META*, *TTR*, *Qua-derns*, *Globe*, etc. y, en la actualidad, está trabajando en la conversión de su tesis doctoral en un libro.

Oscar Diaz Fouces**Bionote**

Oscar Diaz Fouces holds a B.A. in Romance Languages (Galician-Portuguese), and a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics (both from the Universitat de Barcelona). Since 1995 he has been teaching undergraduate courses in Portuguese-Spanish Translation, Information Technologies and Applied Linguistics (B.A. in Translation and Interpreting) at the Universidade de Vigo. Dr. Diaz's research interests cover aspects of translation theory, language policy and planning, and translation technologies. He has presented several papers at conferences and published articles in national and international journals.

Nota biogràfica

Oscar Diaz Fouces es licenciado en Lenguas Románicas (gallego-portugués) y doctor en Lingüística Aplicada (por la Universitat de Barcelona en ambos casos). Desde 1995, ha impartido docencia en traducción portugués-español, informática y lingüística aplicada en la Licenciatura de Traducción e Interpretación en la Universidade de Vigo. Sus intereses de investigación abarcan aspectos de la teoría de la traducción, la política y la planificación lingüísticas, y las tecnologías de la traducción. Ha participado en distintos congresos y ha publicado artículos en revistas nacionales e internacionales.

Anna Espinal

Bionote

B.A. in Mathematics from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; Master in Economic Analysis, Department of Economics and Economic History from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; and Ph.D. in Economics and Business, Universitat Pompeu Fabra. My present work as a consultant in the Statistical Service of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona allows me to work with research groups coming from very heterogeneous disciplines, where applied statistics is useful for obtaining knowledge. As a member of the research group GRASS (Research Group for the Statistical Analysis of Survival), I work in both methodological aspects and their applications of the Survival Analysis.

Nota biogràfica

Llicenciada en Matemàtiques per la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Màster en Anàlisi Econòmica, Departament d'Economia i d'Història Econòmica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, i Doctora en Ciències Econòmiques i Empresariales per la Universitat Pompeu Fabra. La meua feina, com a assessora estadística del Servei d'Estadística de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, em permet treballar en equips de recerca en àrees molt diverses, així com institucions d'àmbits ben diferents. Pel que fa a la recerca sóc membre del grup GRASS (Grup de Recerca en Anàlisi eStatística de la Supervivència), dins del qual treballem tant aspectes metodològics com les seves aplicacions de l'Anàlisi de la Supervivència.

Fruela Fernández**Bionote**

Fruela Fernández holds a B.A. in Translation and Interpreting (University of Salamanca, Spain) and an M.A. in Translation Studies (University of Granada, Spain). He is a current Ph.D. candidate at the University of Granada and a grantee of the Spanish Ministry of Education (F.P.U. programme). He has been as well a visiting researcher at the Complutense University of Madrid and at the Centre de Sociologie Européenne (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris). He has translated into Spanish several works by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Kevin Vennemann and Patrick Kavanagh. Since 2007 he is in charge of the literary direction of the international festival “Cosmopoética” (Cordoba, Spain).

Nota biográfica

Fruela Fernández es licenciado en Traducción e Interpretación (Universidad de Salamanca) y ha obtenido un Máster en Traducción e Interpretación (Universidad de Granada). En la actualidad prepara su tesis doctoral en la Universidad de Granada y es beneficiario de una beca de investigación del programa F.P.U. del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. Ha sido investigador visitante en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid y en el Centre de Sociologie Européenne (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, París). Ha editado y traducido obras de Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Kevin Vennemann y Patrick Kavanagh. Desde 2007 es coordinador literario del encuentro internacional “Cosmopoética” (Córdoba).

Laura Gauthier**Bionote**

Laura Gauthier holds a Master's degree in Intercultural Communication and Public Service Interpreting and Translation. She is a member of FITISPOS and an active member in programs of cooperation in Central America. Her interests are sociology and translation.

Nota biográfica

Laura Gauthier posee estudios de Máster en Comunicación Intercultural, Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos. Es miembro del grupo FITISPOS y colabora activamente en Programa de cooperación con Centroamérica. Le interesa la sociología y la traducción.

Jean-Marc Gouanvic

Bionote

Jean-Marc Gouanvic is a Professor in the Department of French Studies of Concordia University (Montréal), where he teaches translation studies and translation. In 1987, he founded the journal *TTR* with Robert Larose. His research and publications deal with the sociology of translation of American literature (the realist novel, science fiction, the novel for youth, the detective novel) in France from 1820 to 1960 according to the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu. He published in 1999 *Sociologie de la traduction : la science-fiction américaine dans l'espace culturel français des années 1950* (Arras, France: Artois Presses Université) and in 2007 *Pratique sociale de la traduction : le roman réaliste américain dans le champ littéraire français (1920–1960)* (also in Artois Presses Université). He has currently a research programme on translation of the American detective novel translated into French (1920-1960), for which he received a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in 2007.

Nota biográfica

Jean-Marc Gouanvic es catedrático del Departamento de Estudios Franceses de la Concordia University (Montréal), donde imparte clases de traducción y estudios de traducción. En 1987, fundó la revista *TTR* junto con Robert Larose. Su investigación y publicaciones versan sobre la sociología de la traducción de la literatura estadounidense (la novela realista, ciencia ficción, novelas para jóvenes y novela policiaca) en Francia desde 1820 hasta 1960, siguiendo para ello las pautas marcadas por la teoría social de Pierre Bourdieu. En 1999 publicó *Sociologie de la traduction : la science-fiction américaine dans l'espace culturel français des années 1950* (Arras, France: Artois Presses Université) y en 2007 *Pratique sociale de la traduction : le roman réaliste américain dans le champ littéraire français (1920–1960)* (también en Artois Presses Université). Actualmente, dirige un proyecto de investigación sobre la traducción de la novela policiaca al francés (1920-1960), que en 2007 recibió una subvención por parte del Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Amparo Hurtado Albir

Bionote

Amparo Hurtado Albir is a professor at the Departament de Traducció i Interpretació of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) and holds a

doctorate in Translation Studies from ESIT – Université de Paris III. She has led a number of research projects on translation pedagogy and the acquisition of translation competence at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and the Universitat Jaume I (Castellón), and she is currently the principal investigator of the PACTE research group. She has also authored countless publications on the theory and pedagogy of translation, including: *Enseñar a traducir. Metodología en la formación de traductores, e intérpretes* (as editor) [Training translators. Methodology in translator and interpreter training], Madrid: Edelsa, 1999; *Traducción y Traductología. Introducción a la Traductología* [Translation and translation studies] Madrid: Cátedra, 2001. In addition, she is also the general editor of the *Aprender a traduir* [Learning to translate] series (Edelsa-Universitat Jaume I).

Nota biográfica

Catedrática del Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). Doctora en Traductología por la ESIT de la Universidad de Paris III. Ha dirigido proyectos de investigación sobre Didáctica de la traducción y sobre la Adquisición de la competencia traductora en la Universitat Jaume I de Castellón y en la UAB. Es la investigadora principal del grupo PACTE. Autora de numerosas publicaciones sobre Teoría y Didáctica de la traducción, entre ellas: *Enseñar a traducir. Metodología en la formación de traductores, e intérpretes*, (dir.), Madrid: Edelsa, 1999; *Traducción y Traductología. Introducción a la Traductología*, Madrid: Cátedra, 2001. Es la directora de la serie *Aprender a traduir*, Edelsa-Universitat Jaume I.

Anna Kuznik

Bionote

A graduate in French Language and Literature from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland), Anna Kuznik obtained a Master degree in Ibero-American Linguistics and Literature from the Instituto Caro y Cuervo in Bogota (Colombia). She is a sworn translator-interpreter in French, Spanish and Polish accredited by the Polish Ministry of Justice. Currently holder of a scholarship for researcher training granted by the Government of Catalonia (Spain), Anna Kuznik is a member of the research group PACTE. She co-ordinates translation traineeships both in the Postgraduate programme in Legal Translation of the Department of Translation and Interpreting of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and in the undergraduate programme taught at the School of Translation and Interpreting of this university. Her research

interests focus in empirical qualitative and quantitative research methodology. The subject of her Ph.D. dissertation is the organisation of work in translation agencies and translators' multi-task skills in the workplace.

Nota biográfica

Licenciada en Filología Francesa por la Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie (Universidad Jagellona de Cracovia, Polonia); Máster en Literatura y Lingüística Hispanoamericana por el Instituto Caro y Cuervo de Bogotá (Colombia); traductora-intérprete jurada de francés, castellano y polaco por el Ministerio de Justicia de Polonia. Becaria de Formación del Personal Investigador de la Generalitat de Catalunya en el Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (UAB). Miembro del grupo de investigación PACTE. Coordinadora y tutora de prácticas en el Posgrado de Traducción Jurídica del Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (UAB). Coordinadora de prácticas de traducción en la Facultad de Traducción e Interpretación (UAB). Sus intereses investigadores se centran en la metodología empírica cualitativa y cuantitativa no experimental. Su tesis doctoral versa sobre la organización del trabajo en las empresas de traducción y la polivalencia del personal traductor en los puestos de trabajo existentes.

Esther Monzó

Bionote

Esther Monzó is a sworn translator and a senior lecturer at the Department of Translation and Communication (Universitat Jaume I, Spain). She has also worked as a temporary translator at the United Nations office at Geneva. Dr. Monzó trains undergraduate students in legal and financial translation, and supervises legal and economic courses in master's programs. Her research focuses on the social aspects of official translation.

Nota biográfica

Esther Monzó es traductora jurada, profesora titular del Departamento de Traducción y Comunicación (Universitat Jaume I) y ha trabajado también de manera temporal como traductora en la oficina de Naciones Unidas en Ginebra. Imparte clases de traducción jurídica y económica en la Licenciatura de Traducción e Interpretación, así como en programas de máster. Su investigación se centra en los aspectos sociales de la traducción oficial.

Ruth Morris

Bionote

Ruth Morris is a former Brussels-based European Union staff interpreter. In the early 1980s she became a freelance interpreter and translator in Israel, where she also gives a research seminar on interpreting in legal systems at Bar-Ilan University's master's programme in translation studies. During her own studies for a master's degree in communications, she came across the case of Iqbal Begum, a Pakistani woman in Birmingham, England, whose conviction and life sentence on murder charges was successfully appealed in the mid-1980s on the grounds that she had not understood the interpreter provided at her trial. This sparked an enduring and passionate research interest in the area of interpreting in the legal system. Ruth Morris has carried out research into the impact of interpreting on legal proceedings, based on observations at the multilingual Demjanjuk trial, as well as historical and contemporary views of the interpreter in various English-speaking legal systems.

Nota biográfica

Ruth Morris fue intérprete de plantilla de la Unión Europea en Bruselas. A principios de los años ochenta se convirtió en intérprete y traductora autónoma en Israel, donde también imparte un seminario de investigación en interpretación jurídica inscrito en el programa de estudios de traducción de la Universidad de Bar-Ilan. Durante sus estudios para un máster en comunicación, se topó con el caso de Iqbal Begum, una paquistaní de Birmingham, Inglaterra, cuya condena a cadena perpetua por asesinato fue revocada tras una apelación basada en su incapacidad para comprender a su intérprete durante el juicio. Este hecho dio lugar a un interés investigador duradero y apasionado en el área de la interpretación judicial. Ruth Morris también ha llevado a cabo una investigación sobre el impacto de la interpretación en el proceso judicial basándose en observaciones del juicio multilingüe a John Demjanjuk, así como estudios históricos y contemporáneos sobre el papel del intérprete en diversos sistemas jurídicos anglófonos.

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

Bionote

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in Semiotics and Culture Research at Tel Aviv University. She is Head of The Shirley and Leslie Porter School of Cultural Studies (since 2005) and Chairperson of the Unit of

Culture Research (since 2007). She has published extensively on culture dynamics, canon formation, identity and status strategies. Her current research projects include identity and status processes of semi-professional groups (Israeli translators and interpreters); negotiation of collective identities in everyday talk (contemporary Israeli culture); culture retention strategies of immigrants (British-ruled Palestine); culture change and transmission (environmentalism in Israel). <http://www.tau.ac.il/~rakefet/>

Nota biográfica

La doctora Rakefet Sela-Sheffy es profesora titular de la Universidad de Tel Aviv. Es la directora de The Shirley and Leslie Porter School of Cultural Studies (desde 2005) y presidenta de la Unit of Culture Research (desde 2007). Tiene numerosas publicaciones sobre la dinámica cultural, la formación del canon o las estrategias de identidad y estatus. Actualmente, su investigación se centra en los procesos de creación de identidad y estatus en grupos semi-profesionales (traductores e intérpretes israelíes); la negociación de las identidades colectivas en el discurso cotidiano (cultura israelí contemporánea); las estrategias de retención cultural de los inmigrantes (en la Palestina bajo gobierno británico); y el cambio y la transmisión cultural (ecologismo en Israel). <http://www.tau.ac.il/~rakefet/>

Sergey Tyulenev

Bionote

Sergey Tyulenev holds a Ph.D. in linguistics and is a former lecturer in translation and lexicography at the University of Moscow. In 2009 he completed a second Ph.D. in translation studies at the University of Ottawa and is currently a postdoctoral fellow at Cambridge University. He also taught courses on Russian language and culture at McGill University (Montreal, Canada). His scholarly interests include the history of translation in Russia and the sociology of translation, in particular, the application of Luhmann's social systems theory to translation. His major publications include *Stylistic Problems of Literary Translation*, Moscow, 2000; *Theory of Translation*, Moscow, 2004; and *A Cultural Guide to Russia*, Moscow, 2004; he has also edited and contributed to several Russian-English and English-Russian dictionaries.

Nota biográfica

Sergey Tyulenev tiene un doctorado en lingüística y fue profesor de traducción y lexicografía en la Universidad de Moscú. En 2009 realizó un segundo doctorado en traducción por la Universidad de Ottawa y en la actualidad es profesor e investigador postdoctoral en la Universidad de Cambridge. También ha enseñado lengua y cultura rusas en la Universidad de McGill (Montreal, Canadá). Sus campos de especialidad son la historia de la traducción en Rusia y la sociología de la traducción, y, en particular, la aplicación de la teoría de los sistemas sociales de Luhmann a la traducción. Entre sus principales publicaciones se cuentan *Stylistic Problems of Literary Translation*, Moscow, 2000; *Theory of Translation*, Moscow, 2004; y *A Cultural Guide to Russia*, Moscow, 2004. También es editor y compilador de varios diccionarios bilingües ruso-inglés e inglés-ruso.

Carmen Valero Garcés

Bionote

Carmen Valero-Garcés, Ph.D. in English and M. A. in Migration and International Relationships, is the Director of the Post Graduate and Undergraduate Program on Public Service Interpreting and Translation at the University of Alcalá, Madrid (Spain). She is also the co-ordinator of the research group FIT-ISPOS and a founding member of the research group COMUNICA. She has organized the International Conference on Translation and Interpreting since 1995 and has authored many books and papers. (For further information, see <http://www2.uah.es/traduccion>, <http://www.fitispos.com.es>)

Nota biográfica

Carmen Valero Garcés es doctora en Filología Inglesa y posee un máster en Migración y Relaciones Intercomunitarias. Es directora del Programa de Formación en Traducción e Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos (TISP) de la Universidad de Alcalá. Es asimismo la coordinadora del grupo FITISPOS y miembro fundador del grupo COMUNICA. Desde 1995 organiza el Congreso Internacional de Traducción, y es autora de numerosos libros y artículos. (Más información en: <http://www2.uah.es/traduccion>, <http://www.fitispos.com.es>)

Michaela Wolf

Bionote

Michaela Wolf holds an M.A. in Translation Studies and a Ph.D. in romance philology. She is associate professor at the Department of Translation Studies, University of Graz, Austria.

Areas of teaching and research interest include translation sociology, cultural aspects of translation, translation history, censorship and translation, postcolonial translation, feminist translation. Presently her research focuses on social aspects of translation which she is investigating on a large corpus of German translations in the Habsburg Monarchy. She is the author of a series of articles in books and journals. Recent books: *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (with Alexandra Fukari; John Benjamins 2007), “Meine Sprache grenzt mich ab...”. *Transkulturalität und kulturelle Übersetzung im Kontext von Migration* (with Gisella Vorderobermeier; LIT 2008). She is co-editor of the peer-reviewed journal *Translation Studies*, Routledge (with Kate Sturge).

Nota biográfica

Michaela Wolf tiene un máster en traducción y un doctorado en filología románica. Es profesora titular del Departamento de Traducción de la Universidad de Graz (Austria).

Entre sus especialidades pedagógicas e investigadoras cabe destacar la sociología, los aspectos culturales, la historia, la censura, el postcolonialismo y el feminismo, todos ellos desde la perspectiva de la traducción.

En la actualidad, su investigación se centra en los aspectos sociales de la traducción, que estudia en el marco de un gran corpus de traducciones al alemán durante el reinado de los Austrias. Es autora de una serie de artículos en libros y revistas. Publicaciones recientes: *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (con Alexandra Fukari; John Benjamins 2007), “Meine Sprache grenzt mich ab...”. *Transkulturalität und kulturelle Übersetzung im Kontext von Migration* (con Gisella Vorderobermeier; LIT 2008). Finalmente, cabe destacar que es coeditora de la revista científica *Translation Studies*, Routledge (junto con Kate Sturge).

MonTI (*Monographs in Translation and Interpreting*) is an academic, peer-reviewed and international journal fostered by the three public universities with a Translation Degree in the Spanish region of Valencia (Universitat d'Alacant, Universitat Jaume I de Castelló and Universitat de València).

Each issue will be thematic, providing an in-depth analysis of translation and interpreting-related matters that meet high standards of scientific rigour, foster debate and promote plurality.

MonTI will publish one issue each year, with a maximum of 600 pages, first as a hard copy journal and, after a six-month interval, as an online journal.

In order to ensure both linguistic democracy and dissemination of the journal to the broadest readership possible, the hard-copy version will publish articles in German, Spanish, French, Catalan and English. The online version is able to accommodate multilingual versions of articles so that it will accommodate translations into any other language the authors may provide and an attempt will be made to provide an English-language translation of all articles not submitted in this language.

Further information at:

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MonTI es una revista académica con vocación internacional promovida por las universidades públicas valencianas con docencia en traducción e interpretación (Universidad de Alicante, Universidad Jaume I de Castellón y Universidad de Valencia).

Nuestra revista pretende ante todo centrarse en el análisis en profundidad de los asuntos relacionados con nuestra interdisciplina a través de monográficos caracterizados por el rigor científico, el debate y la pluralidad.

MonTI publicará un número monográfico anual, primero en papel y a continuación en edición electrónica aprovechando la plataforma digital de la Universidad de Alicante. Igualmente y con el fin de alcanzar un equilibrio entre la máxima pluralidad lingüística y su óptima difusión, la versión en papel

admitirá artículos en alemán, castellano, catalán, francés o inglés, mientras que la edición en Internet aceptará traducciones a cualquier otro idioma adicional y tratará de ofrecer una versión en inglés de todos los artículos.

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MonTI és una revista acadèmica amb vocació internacional promoguda per les universitats públiques valencianes amb docència en traducció i interpretació (Universitat d'Alacant, Universitat Jaume I de Castelló i Universitat de València).

La nostra revista pretén sobretot centrar-se en l'anàlisi en profunditat dels assumptes relacionats amb la nostra interdisciplina a través de monogràfics caracteritzats pel rigor científic, el debat i la pluralitat.

MonTI publicarà un número monogràfic anual, primer en paper i a continuació en edició electrònica aprofitant la plataforma digital de la Universitat d'Alacant. Igualment, i a fi d'aconseguir un equilibri entre la màxima pluralitat lingüística i la seua difusió òptima, la versió en paper admetrà articles en alemany, castellà, català, francès o anglès, mentre que l'edició en Internet acceptarà traduccions a qualsevol altre idioma addicional i tractarà d'oferir una versió en anglès de tots els articles.

Més informació a:

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