

50 Years Later.
What Have We Learnt after
Holmes (1972) and Where Are We Now?



Javier Franco Aixelá & Christian Olalla-Soler (Eds.)

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COLECCIÓN
TIBÓN: ESTUDIOS TRADUCTOLÓGICOS

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INTRODUCTION

In 1972, James Stratton Holmes (2 May 1924 – 6 November 1986) presented a paper entitled “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” in the translation section of the Third Congress of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen. This was the first attempt to vertebrate the incipient academic discipline of translation studies (TS) as an autonomous pursuit. The paper was later published in a volume edited by Holmes in 1988, but what catapulted his proposal to fame was Toury’s (1995) transformation of Holmes’ ideas into the map of translation studies (Figure 1).

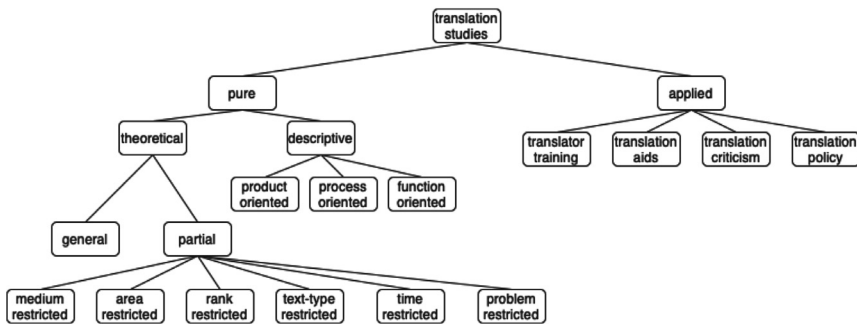


Figure 1. Toury’s (1995) adaptation of Holmes’ (1972) vertebration of translation studies

Holmes (1972) distinguished two main branches in TS: *pure* (i.e., research carried out for its own sake) and *applied* research (concerned with research that seeks to address practical problems). Pure research is further divided into *theoretical* (i.e., establishing general principles to explain translation phenomena) and *descriptive* (which aims at describing the phenomena of translating). According to Holmes, descriptive research can be subdivided into *product oriented* (focused on describing existing translations), *process oriented* (concerned with the process of translation), and *function oriented* (oriented towards the description of the translation’s function in the recipient’s context). In the case of theoretical research, Holmes distinguishes between *general* (i.e., achieving a theory that can globally explain the translation phenomenon) and *partial*, which is concerned with generating theories that may be applied to specific translation instances. These specific phenomena are further labelled as *medium restricted* (based on the medium used, such as translation performed by humans, by computers, or by a combination of both), *area restricted* (i.e., the languages or cultures involved), *rank restricted* (concerned with the level at which translation is performed, such as text, sentence, word, etc.), *text type*

restricted (focusing on different text types and their translation), *time restricted* (i.e., generating theories on the translation of contemporary texts or texts from previous periods), and *problem restricted* (which focus on specific problems of translation phenomena, such as translation equivalence).

Holmes distinguished four areas in which applied research could be carried out: *translator training*, *translation aids* (i.e., aids for use in translator training and in translation), *translation criticism*, and *translation policy* (concerned with defining the role of translation and translators in society).

The very scope and way of translating has changed dramatically since 1972, and there have been subsequent attempts to revise and extend Holmes' scheme: van Doorslaer (2007), Vandepitte (2008), and Chesterman (2009), among others. However, Holmes' scheme is still cited very frequently, and it is now considered to be the foundation of TS as an academic discipline. In addition to its structure, Holmes' label *translation studies* was also highly influential and it is today the most frequent designation in English (see Chapter 1).

This volume has been published in 2022, fifty years after Holmes' influential paper. When devising its contents and structure, we wanted it to be both a tribute to Holmes and a panoramic view of the state of translation studies half a century later. To meet this aim, we identified several areas in Holmes' map that have experienced a dramatic evolution and change and asked leading scholars in each area to contribute with a chapter reviewing the evolution of that research area and comparing its current state with Holmes' map. We are extremely grateful to all authors for their excellent contributions, which we briefly introduce in the following paragraphs.

In chapter 1, "Fifty Years of Hectic History in Translation Studies", Christian Olalla-Soler, Javier Franco Aixelá and Sara Rovira-Esteva provide a bibliometric overview of the evolution of translation studies since Holmes' 1972 paper. By comparing the pre- and post-Holmes era, they identify the most productive research topics, the most productive and cited authors of the discipline, the evolution of the languages of publication, and the evolution of academic journals devoted to translation studies.

In chapter 2, "The Position of James Holmes in Translation Studies", José Lambert focuses on the position of Holmes in translation studies and outlines the evolution of descriptive translation studies and its current position within the discipline.

Chapter 3, "From the Black Box to Cognitive Translation and Interpreting Studies, but Still Part of the Original Descriptive Translation Studies", is devoted to cognitive translation and interpreting studies, or process-oriented descriptive research using Holmes' terminology. Ricardo Muñoz Martín and Álvaro Marín García provide a historical account on the conceptual and methodological development of process research, its relation to translation studies and its contribution to the institutionalization of the discipline.

In chapter 4, "Translation Technology – The Dark Horse of Translation?", Sharon O'Brien discusses the benefits of mapping our discipline, examines the position of translation technology in the discipline and in Holmes' conceptualisation of translation studies, and provides an evolutionary perspective on research into translation technologies.

Chapter 5, "The Didactics of Professional Translation – A Success Story?", is devoted to translation didactics. Here, Gary Massey offers an overview of the evolution of didactics of professional translation. He then focuses on translator competence and the

situated learning and social constructivist approach to translator education. After discussing translator competence assessment proposals, Massey explores the current concerns and future prospects of translator education.

In chapter 6, “Interpreting Studies – From a Basically Didactic Orientation in the Conference Mode to a Multiparadigmatic Object of Study?”, Ineke Crezee explores the bridges between translation studies and interpreting studies based on Holmes’ map. She proposes a map of interpreting studies that mirrors that of Holmes and explores the evolution of each of the areas in the map. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the current position of interpreting studies within the discipline of translation & interpreting studies.

This volume closes with a chapter on functionalism authored by Leona van Vaerenbergh. In “Functionalism in Translation Studies. Theoretical or Applied Studies?”, the author explores the position of functionalist theories within Holmes’ theoretical research strand. Van Vaerenbergh provides an evolution of functionalist theories and their impact on applied research, such as in translator training. The chapter concludes with a reflection of the current use of functionalist theories in translation studies.

There are many areas of Holmes’ map that have not been covered in this volume. However, we hope that readers will find the chapters it contains as enlightening and thought-provoking as we did when editing them. This is a modest contribution and tribute to the ground-breaking work that Holmes published fifty years ago. It has influenced many of us scholars in translation studies, so we wish to extend our thanks to everyone who has helped keeping his work alive during these fifty years, for instance, by citing his work (Figure 2).

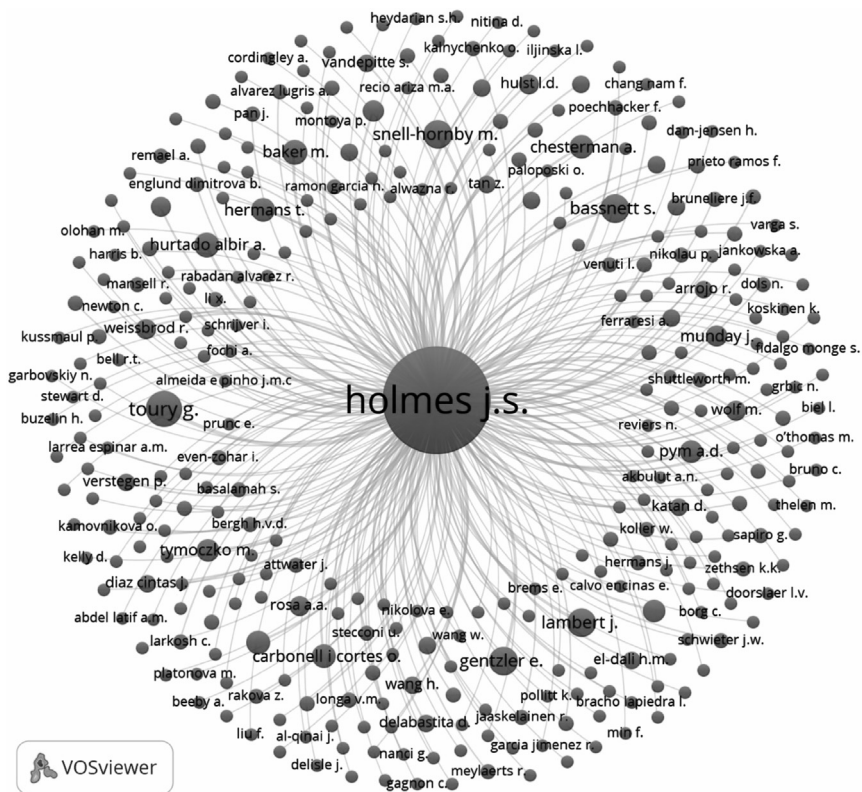


Figure 2. Authors who have cited Holmes

Source: BITRA (March 2021).

Note: larger circles indicate authors that have cited Holmes more often.

The editors of this volume also wish to thank the fourteen reviewers who participated in the editorial process.

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CHAPTER I

Fifty Years of Hectic History in Translation Studies

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At first glance, the resulting situation today would appear to be one of great confusion, with no consensus regarding the types of models to be tested, the kinds of methods to be applied, the varieties of terminology to be used. More than that, there is not even like-mindedness about the contours of the field, the problem set, the discipline as such. Indeed, scholars are not so much as agreed on the very name for the new field.
(Holmes 1972: 181)

1. INTRODUCTION

From the perspective of today, with many hundreds of university translation programmes and thousands of researchers devoting their time and energies to our interdiscipline, the motley and desolate picture drawn by Holmes in the above quotation could easily be perceived as remote history, even though barely 50 years have passed. To address a central element that Holmes himself raised as a major impediment to the development of an academic discipline focused on translation, the lack of “channels of communication” specific to our discipline was a heavy burden in 1972. It involved an academic diaspora that made it very difficult to locate the disciplinary bibliography, even more so in a pre-internet world, where finding publications was a rather complicated venture. Although we will address this later in more detail, this dearth is easily quantifiable using the data from BITRA and RETI, which in this study will always correspond to the spring of 2021. These databases include over 200 active and extinct journals specialising in translation studies (TS), understanding by specialised journals those that regularly contain more than 50% of articles on translation or interpreting. Out of these journals, only 14 were founded before 1972, which means that more than 200 (more than 90%) were born after Holmes’ essay.

Beyond journals, nowadays there are scores of specific book series with hundreds of volumes in first-rate publishing houses (John Benjamins, Routledge, Peter Lang, Springer, Narr, Université d’Ottawa, Comares, to name but a few). None of these series, to our knowledge, existed before 1972. As if this was not enough, there are now two

holistic bibliographical databases, TSB (Translation Studies Bibliography) and BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting & Translation), with tens of thousands of academic references focusing on translation. We can therefore affirm that the lack of specific publication spaces and the subsequent publishing diaspora that Holmes presented as a clear indicator of the lack of institutional soundness of TS is a fact of the past, and the current abundance can be considered proof to the contrary.

In this chapter we will try to draw a portrait of the evolution of TS over the 50 years that have passed since Holmes' ground-breaking essay, with the main objective of checking whether we have changed that much and where we stand today.

2. WHAT'S IN A NAME?

One of the fundamental shortcomings that Holmes regrets in the search of academic respectability by the new discipline is the lack of a name that adequately describes its nature and enjoys the necessary consensus in academia. Without any need to enter in an epistemological debate, from an institutional point of view a discipline without a stable and commonly used name will have little chance of thriving in any coherent way and garnering respect among peers. In addition, the very nature of the name itself can be a statement of principle, especially at the stage of disciplinary creation, as Holmes himself makes clear in discussing the pros and cons of alternatives such as 'theory of translation', 'science of translation', 'translatology', 'translation studies' or even 'metaphraseology'. Holmes' preference for 'translation studies' is justified on the basis of its similarity to other humanistic disciplines with an eminently cross-disciplinary approach that were also gaining momentum at that time, such as 'literary studies' or 'communication studies'.

An analysis of the almost 83,000 titles and 45,000 abstracts included in BITRA sheds some light on the fate of the name adopted by our interdiscipline (Figure 1):

- Before 1972, the term 'translation studies' (TS) simply does not exist, which confirms both the originality of Holmes' proposal and the way that previous essays on translation tended to fit into more traditional paradigms, at best those of generative linguistics;
- Between 1972-1981 we have detected 21 hits for 'translation studies', the vast majority of which by descriptivists (Toury alone already accumulates nine);
- The English term begins to crop up shyly in all kinds of authors since 1982-1991, with a huge increase rate since then.

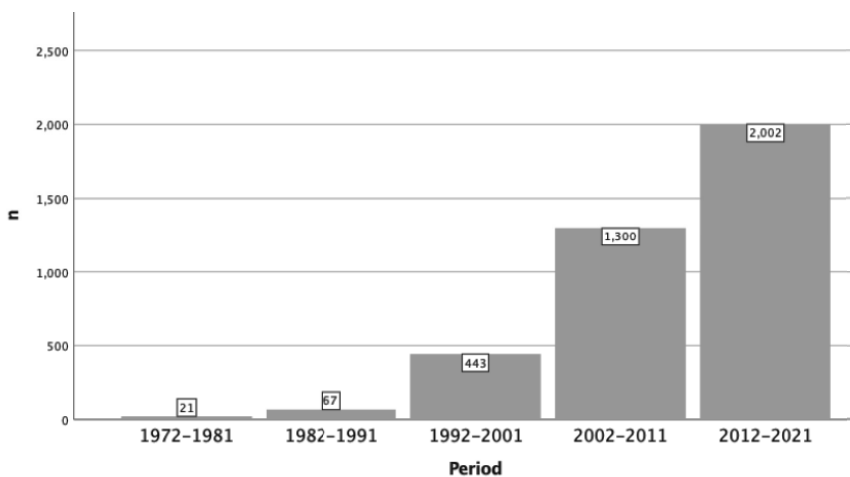


Figure 1. Evolution of the occurrence of 'translation studies' in the titles and abstracts of publications indexed in BITRA (n = 82,940)

By way of comparison with these almost 4,000 uses of TS since 1972, we can find for instance only 71 hits for 'translatology' or 60 for 'science of translation' in titles or abstracts. 'Theory of translation' is used almost 800 times between 1972-2021, although it is a term which is usually not an alternative but epistemologically neutral and compatible with 'translation studies'.

It seems, then, that in English the acceptance of 'translation studies' as a term symbolising a common purpose is overwhelming and very few dispute or abstain now from using Holmes' proposal in that language. However, there is a very interesting nuance in the field of acronyms, where a change has begun to take place reflecting the growing institutional weight of one of the branches of Holmes' TS. We are talking about interpreting, whose almost 9,000 documents comprise slightly more than 10% of the discipline. The phrase 'translation and interpreting studies' (TIS) seems to be more and more common currency, although it is used very little in titles and abstracts (slightly more than 200 cases in total), with a first appearance in a title (Forstner 1998) quite late with respect to Holmes (1972). The authors of this chapter prefer to use TIS in the spirit of inclusivity, although here we will use TS in honour of Holmes.

In other languages, there is a remarkable variability that would benefit from individual analyses and which at first sight is probably linked to the weight of academic traditions and the intralingual connotations each term carries with it. Thus, in German, the term that has prevailed since the 1970s is 'Übersetzungswissenschaft', a choice that Holmes himself comments as acceptable and neutral because 'Wissenschaft' is not used in German in the sense of hard disciplines (unlike the English 'science'). In French, in line with other disciplines such as psychoanalysis (cf. Ornston 1992), the term with Latin roots and greater 'scientific respectability' has prevailed instead, with almost 650 appearances of 'traductologie' in BITRA as opposed to a meagre dozen of 'études de

traduction’. The case of Spanish is particularly interesting because of the hesitation that still exists between the French and Anglophone traditions, between ‘traductología’ and ‘estudios de traducción’. In BITRA there are 264 cases of Spanish documents with ‘traductología’ in their titles or abstracts, while ‘estudios de traducción’ is to be found 294 times, with no meaningful differences in this virtual standoff over time. If we take the interest in contrastive linguistics as an indication of a conservative attitude—which would be debatable—we observe that ‘estudios de traducción’ is linked to seven documents on contrastive linguistics issues, whereas there are 21 combinations of ‘traductología’ and linguistics.

3. A SYSTEMATIC COMPARISON OF TS BEFORE AND AFTER HOLMES (1972)

Next, we will carry out a diachronic study of various central bibliometric indicators for TS before and after Holmes’ publication, i.e., until 1971 and between 1972-2021. We will divide this last half century in decades because of its interest to current TS, and we will also particularise the decade just before Holmes (1962-1971) to better gain an insight into ‘the Holmes moment’. We will focus on the following parameters: (1) thematic evolution; (2) publishing languages; (3) journals; (4) authorship and productivity, and (5) impact.

3.1. Materials and methods

3.1.1. Sources of data

The two main sources of data for this study are BITRA and RETI. We will now provide a short description of both databases.

BITRA is a TS-specific, bibliographic, open-access database with more than 83,000 records as of March 2021. It is also the only TS-specific database containing citation data, and approximately 10% of the records have been mined for their TS citations. Other general databases such as ISI Web of Science (WoS) or Scopus mainly index articles, and the proportion of documents in English is extremely high. Books and book chapters are publication formats of great importance in TS, and this is reflected in BITRA, where articles represent approximately 46.8% of the records. The proportion of documents in English indexed in BITRA (a majority of 52%) is also much lower than that of WoS and Scopus, which probably means that publication format and language biases are less present in BITRA.

For our analyses, a copy of BITRA was exported to a csv file on March 9, 2021. At that time, BITRA included 83,633 entries. The file was imported to Excel to manually check the data for possible errors and inconsistencies. Records of documents published before the year 1 were removed, given that our period of analysis ranged from 1 to 2021. Our final database contained 82,940 records and 114,469 citations.

The last decade included in our analysis, i.e., 2012-2021, is perforce incomplete in that it has not even reached its end (this study was conducted in 2021) and because it takes about three to four years to achieve an adequate coverage of a new year. This means that the 2017-2021 period is as yet only partially covered as compared with the previous

years. The internal ratios for that decade are then in principle reliable, but the total numbers are provisional.

RETI is an open-access online database, which was launched in 2013, comprising nearly 350 journals, both exclusively devoted to TS and also broader in scope to cover TS-friendly fields such as applied linguistics and intercultural communication. Each journal entry contains basic bibliographical information of interest for authors, including their presence or not in national and international indexes and databases. New journals enter the database on a regular basis and the information about journal rankings and impact factors is updated once a year. Therefore, scholars have access to a snapshot of the information available at one point in time of that current year, i.e., changes in the values of dynamic indexes or databases, such as Scopus or Scimago Journal Rank (SJR), are not reflected in RETI's webpage. As far as 2021 is concerned, data were retrieved directly from the platform through the advanced search option. Annually, the database administrators export the information corresponding to that specific year into a spreadsheet file acting as a historical record. So far, these spreadsheets have been kept for internal use, but soon they will be shared through the Digital Documents Repository of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. For the purposes of this paper, the spreadsheets from 2012 to 2020 were merged in a single database containing all the cumulative data for this period.

3.1.2. Procedures of analysis

We will now briefly describe the analysis procedures for each of the parameters we included in our study.

Topics

In BITRA, each record is assigned thematic labels, from which we have drawn 20 especially meaningful keywords for our study. These classifiers can be divided into two major groups: modalities (such as literary, audiovisual, technical-scientific, machine-based, interpreting) and approaches (e.g., linguistics, ideology, genre, cognition).

We first identified the most frequent labels in the pre-Holmes period and computed the frequencies and ratios of each label until 1971 and then for the 1972-2021 post-Holmes period. As explained above, we additionally offer a detailed account of this second period by dividing it into decades, and we also include the decade just before Holmes (1972), i.e., 1962-1971, to describe what was going on when Holmes was writing his paper.

The analysis of translation modalities will help in exploring to what extent the usual division (cf. Franco Aixelá 2004) between religious/literary translation as the almost exclusive focus of interest in the past, and the notable weight instrumental and specialised translation have currently acquired, is accurate. On the other hand, the study of approaches should allow us to infer the kind of conception of translation that scholars held and, consequently, the explanations they sought for translation phenomena at given moments in time.

Publication languages

Our analysis of publication languages in TS is based on BITRA. We first identified the number of different languages covered in publications before and after Holmes (1972). We then computed the proportion of documents written in languages with at least 100 publications before Holmes (until 1971) and with at least 1,000 publications after Holmes (1972-2021). Finally, we computed the proportion of documents written in the eight most frequent languages in TS for the whole period of analysis both pre- and post-Holmes and by decades in the case of the 1972-2021 period. Again, we also included the decade (1962-1971) right before Holmes was published.

Journals

Our analysis of the evolution of TS-journals is mainly based on RETI and secondarily on BITRA. Here we focused on various aspects: (1) the number of TS-journals before and after Holmes (1972); (2) the proportion of journal articles published in TS-specific and non-specific journals; (3) the distribution of TS active journals in 2021 regarding their business model (i.e., diamond open-access, gold open-access, hybrid, and subscription-based); (4) the proportion of TS-journals charging APCs in 2021; (5) the countries of publication of TS-journals active in 2021; (6) main languages of publication before and after Holmes, as well as the most frequent languages allowed for publication in TS-journals active in 2021; (7) the scope (i.e., general, specialised, interpreting-only oriented, translation-only oriented) of TS-journals active in 2021, and (8) indexation of both active and extinct TS-journals.

Authorship and productivity

Our analysis of authorship and productivity is based on BITRA. We understand productivity as the number of documents an author has published during their academic career, which for the purpose of this study is defined as the years elapsed since an author's first and last publication as indexed in BITRA.

In the case of authorship, we computed the number of new authors in each period of analysis, i.e., before and after Holmes. We also provided the results for each decade in the post-Holmes (1972-2021) period. Once again, the decade right before Holmes' paper was published is also explicitly included.

We analysed productivity based on two parameters. First, we computed the median productivity of authors who started their academic career in a given period of analysis, i.e., before and after Holmes (1972). Second, we identified the three most productive authors in the post-Holmes (1972) period by decade and also in the 1962-1971 decade.

The number of documents published by an author is an indicator that generally needs to be normalised to allow for comparisons. For instance, it would be inadequate to conclude that two scholars with ten publications each are equally productive if they had had ten and two years of academic career respectively. Consequently, we normalised our data when computing the median productivity of authors by dividing the number of documents each author had published by the length of their academic career as TS researchers, i.e., the year of their last TS publication minus the year of their first one. The data used to portrait the evolution of the discipline in terms of the appearance of new authors was not normalised given that it was not related to productivity, and in

the case of the most productive authors in each decade of analysis, normalisation was not needed since restricting the number of productive years to ten already served as a way of normalising our data.

Impact

We define impact as the number of citations that a certain document or scholar has accrued as detected in BITRA. It must be noted that we do not equate impact with quality, and consider this parameter only as an indicator of attention (for reasons why impact and quality are dissimilar, cf. Franco Aixelá 2013).

Our analysis of impact focuses on three parameters. First, we compute the median impact of authors who started their academic career in a given period of analysis, i.e., before and after Holmes (1972). We also provide the figures for the decades comprised between 1972 and 2021 and for the decade before Holmes' paper appeared. Second, we identify the three most impactful authors in the post-Holmes (1972) period by decades and also in the 1962-1971 decade. Third, we identify the three most impactful publications in the post-Holmes (1972) period as in the case of the most impactful authors.

The number of citations accrued by a document require to be normalised, since two documents that have accrued the same amount of citations do not have the same impact if the first one has been available for ten years and the second one for only two years. Consequently, when computing the median impact of authors in a given period, we divided the sum of all citations an author had accrued by the length of their academic career as TS researchers. In the analysis of the three most impactful authors in each decade, we computed for each author the sum of the result from dividing the number of citations accrued in each document of that author by the time elapsed since the publication year of each document, i.e., 2021 minus the document's publication year. A similar criterion was applied in the case of the analysis of the three most impactful documents in each decade: we divided the number of citations a document had received by the time elapsed since its publication. No statistical analyses of inference were performed given the descriptive nature of the present study.

3.2. Results and discussion

3.2.1. A diachronic analysis of the themes addressed in TS

A central issue in the comparison between the state of the art before and after Holmes (1972) is the evolution of the approaches and topics addressed among TS scholars. As previously indicated, we have used a list of particularly meaningful thematic descriptors from BITRA because of their frequency and nature. This will allow us to search the whole database in March 2021, whose distribution between almost 4,000 documents (4.7%) up to 1971 and almost 80,000 documents (95.3%) between 1972-2021 is in itself a statement on the degree of visibility and the institutional role played by TS in academia before and after Holmes.

We will now present two tables, one showing the objects of study much more or similarly pursued before Holmes (Table 1) and the other showing the topics that have been much more cultivated in the last 50 years (Table 2), always in relative terms, in

alphabetical order and with a double diachronic presentation: two large blocks before and after Holmes followed by a division in decades that begins by reflecting the ‘Holmes moment’ (1962-1971), that is, the situation at the time when the 1972 essay that gave rise to this book was written.

	n	Until 1971	1972-2021	1962-1971	1972-1981	1982-1991	1992-2001	2002-2011	2012-2021
n	82,940	3,505	79,435	1,589	3,148	8,211	20,503	28,873	18,700
Linguistics	4,227	215 – (6.1%)	4,012 – (5.1%)	157 – (9.9%)	258 – (8.2%)	566 – (6.9%)	1,320 – (6.4%)	1,332 – (4.6%)	536 – (2.9%)
Literature	21,209	957 – (27.3%)	20,252 – (25.5%)	346 – (21.8%)	705 – (22.4%)	1,916 – (23.3%)	5,168 – (25.2%)	7,561 – (26.2%)	4,902 – (26.2%)
Music	589	24 – (0.7%)	565 – (0.7%)	4 – (0.3%)	10 – (0.3%)	27 – (0.3%)	116 – (0.6%)	216 – (0.7%)	196 – (1.0%)
Religion	4,515	876 – (25.0%)	3,639 – (4.6%)	407 – (25.6%)	602 – (19.1%)	780 – (9.5%)	1,005 – (4.9%)	801 – (2.8%)	451 – (2.4%)
Machine + CAT tools	5,187	268 – (7.6%)	4,919 – (6.2%)	107 – (6.7%)	168 – (5.3%)	693 – (8.4%)	1,517 – (7.4%)	1,521 – (5.3%)	1,020 – (5.5%)
History	11,626	1,005 – (28.7%)	10,621 – (13.4%)	229 – (14.4%)	429 – (13.6%)	1,194 – (14.5%)	2,885 – (14.1%)	3,575 – (12.4%)	2,538 – (13.6%)

Table 1. Topics with similar or greater frequency before Holmes (until 1971)
Source: BITRA, March 2021

A quick glance at Table 1 is extremely revealing. The issues that were given special attention in the past before Holmes are mainly determined by what we might call traditional humanism (literature, music, religion), with an essentially classical philological attitude and methodology (history and contrastive linguistics as methodological tools with clear parallels to biblical exegesis). Additionally, the initially surprising presence of machine translation is a reminder of the Cold War and evidence of how even in the academic world prior to TS, with a greater tendency to operate as an isolated bubble, the stubborn facts end up finding their way into the university agenda through the most unexpected gaps.

Perhaps the most striking issue in this table focusing on the more distant past is the scarce difference there is in the weight of literary translation research in the two periods. In fact, what we see is a slow but steady and continuous growth from 21.8% of literary translation research in Holmes’ time to 26.2% today, with a growth of about one percentage point per decade. In this sense, probably due to a combination of academic tradition and the complexity of this modality, literature continues to be one of the central pillars of TS, although in recent decades it has been so in coexistence with a much wider range of previously ignored subjects.

Not so surprising as regards the nature of the change, but very dramatic in its magnitude, is the plummeting interest in religious translation. In this case, our starting point is a subject whose interest was perfectly comparable to that of literary translation (even higher in the decade prior to Holmes 1972), and which boasts two of the 14 pre-Holmes journals devoted to *Bible* translation. In relative terms, we are talking about a transition from a peak of 25.6%, to a meagre 2.4%, literally decimating its presence in our interdiscipline. If we were in need of a catchy headline to embody the transformation experienced by TS from pre- to post-Holmes, perhaps this ‘waning of God’ could symbolise the new interests towards text modalities and social values that classical authors such as Schleiermacher (1813) considered unworthy of being termed as ‘translation’ because of their allegedly mechanical nature. Likewise, this change can be considered to symbolise the shift towards the situated and sociological dimension of translation as opposed to the canonicist approach of the previous stage.

Along with religion, it is the history of translation that concentrates the greatest quantitative difference in favour of the pre-Holmes period, with history receiving almost twice as much attention as it does today before the emergence of TS as an autonomous discipline. However, in this case there is a substantial difference with religion that is worth noting, namely that there has not so much been a pronounced fall in the cultivation of the history of translation as a lower increase in absolute terms that has paradoxically led to its relative stabilisation. Thus, when the great Cambrian explosion of TS took place in the 1980s and 1990s, what happened was that interest in other subjects increased much more in relative terms, with the history of translation featuring a moderate growth that allowed it to remain stable at around 13%.

The last topic we would like to address with regard to Table 1 is linguistics, which is probably the clearest methodological icon in terms of past approaches. In this historical context, when we speak of linguistics, in the vast majority of cases we refer to a contrastive approach, be it syntax- or grammar-based (Mounin 1963, Catford 1965, Wandruszka 1969) or stylistic (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958, Malblanc 1961). This implies an attempt at scientific systematisation based on a conception of translation as a permutation of linguistic units, certainly complex and contaminated by cultural issues, but ultimately a matter of searching for suitable and stable correspondences. Translation is then presented as an isolated bubble operating essentially at the level of Saussure’s *langue*, an almost strictly linguistic operation in which the social context has little influence, and which does not take into account the fact that the same original text or passage can be translated in very different ways depending on the historical moment, the readership or the cultural conventions of each society. This is the opposite of the approach that was born in the 1980s, with a paradigm shift towards situated translation, when key terms loaded with cultural and social values, such as ideology, ethics and censorship came to the forefront of research.

	n	Until 1971	1972-2021	1962-1971	1972-1981	1982-1991	1992-2001	2002-2011	2012-2021
n	82,940	3,505	79,435	1,589	3,148	8,211	20,503	28,873	18,700
Accessibility	1,156	1 – (0.0%)	1,155 – (1.5%)	1 – (0.1%)	14 – (0.4%)	16 – (0.2%)	66 – (0.3%)	422 – (1.5%)	637 – (3.4%)
Audiovisual	6,017	70 – (2.0%)	5,947 – (7.5%)	21 – (1.3%)	52 – (1.7%)	153 – (1.9%)	941 – (4.6%)	2,123 – (7.4%)	2,678 – (14.3%)
Censorship	833	4 – (0.1%)	829 – (1.0%)	2 – (0.1%)	4 – (0.1%)	25 – (0.3%)	157 – (0.8%)	397 – (1.4%)	246 – (1.3%)
Children	1,392	10 – (0.3%)	1,382 – (1.7%)	6 – (0.4%)	39 – (1.2%)	64 – (0.8%)	291 – (1.4%)	610 – (2.1%)	378 – (2.0%)
Colonialism	741	1 – (0.0%)	740 – (0.9%)	1 – (0.1%)	3 – (0.1%)	25 – (0.3%)	208 – (1.0%)	270 – (0.9%)	234 – (1.3%)
Corpus	1,716	0 – (0.0%)	1,716 – (2.2%)	0 – (0.0%)	2 – (0.1%)	15 – (0.2%)	310 – (1.5%)	737 – (2.6%)	652 – (3.5%)
Ethics	515	4 – (0.1%)	511 – (0.5%)	8 – (0.5%)	5 – (0.2%)	7 – (0.1%)	68 – (0.3%)	243 – (0.8%)	188 – (1.0%)
Gender	1,360	2 – (0.1%)	1,358 – (1.7%)	1 – (0.1%)	7 – (0.2%)	92 – (1.1%)	251 – (1.2%)	506 – (1.8%)	502 – (2.7%)
Ideology	2,521	21 – (0.6%)	2,500 – (3.1%)	8 – (0.5%)	12 – (0.4%)	73 – (0.9%)	448 – (2.2%)	1,145 – (4.0%)	822 – (4.4%)
Interpreting	8,607	115 – (3.3%)	8,492 – (10.7%)	66 – (4.2%)	197 – (6.3%)	684 – (8.3%)	2,012 – (9.8%)	3,373 – (11.7%)	2,226 – (11.9%)
Medical	1,941	23 – (0.7%)	1,918 – (2.4%)	14 – (0.9%)	29 – (0.9%)	90 – (1.1%)	445 – (2.2%)	808 – (2.8%)	546 – (2.9%)
Cognitivism	2,400	21 – (0.6%)	2,379 – (3.0%)	16 – (1.0%)	47 – (1.5%)	199 – (2.4%)	442 – (2.2%)	848 – (2.9%)	843 – (4.5%)
Specialised	9,967	202 – (5.8%)	9,765 – (12.3%)	124 – (7.8%)	201 – (6.4%)	712 – (8.7%)	2,313 – (11.3%)	4,045 – (14.0%)	2,494 – (13.3%)
Teaching	10,618	230 – (6.6%)	10,388 – (13.1%)	107 – (6.7%)	310 – (9.8%)	1,025 – (12.5%)	2,623 – (12.8%)	3,938 – (13.6%)	2,492 – (13.3%)

Table 2. Topics with greater frequency after Holmes (1972-2021)

Source: BITRA, March 2021

As can be seen in Table 2, the variety of research interests tends to be much greater in the TS stage, the one opened by Holmes in 1972, with multiplication factors often ranging from five to ten. Perhaps the most spectacular feature is the emergence of issues and tools completely ignored before 1972, which become relevant elements of TS from the 1980s onwards: accessibility (from non-existence to peaks of over 3%), the (post-) colonial issue (from 0.0% to 1.3%), gender (from 0.1% to the current 2.7%), ideology (from 0.6% to 4.4%) or corpus studies (from nothing in 1972 to 3.5% today). Equally remarkable are the big differences in other issues, previously the object of moderate attention, that have

become central in our interdiscipline, from the didactics of translation (from 5.9% to 13.4%) to interpreting (from 2.9% to almost 12%), not to mention audiovisual translation, censorship, cognitive studies or technical-scientific translation, all of them featuring very notable leaps forward.

Whereas the dominant methodology in linguistics was the contrastive approach, now corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics are setting the pace, with their strong interrelation with the new IT tools and their descriptivist outlook, as opposed to the will to prescribe that characterised the manuals prior to Holmes (1972). Whereas previously the aim was to systematise models of ideal interlingual transfer based on *Bible* translation and the Western literary canon, the aim now is to understand the biases that translation actually adopts to respond to the significant ideological and cultural asymmetries there always are between the source and target societies. Whereas previously little attention was paid to the teaching of translation (barely one in 20 documents), which was seen as parallel to language teaching and largely unrelated to the needs of the market, now one in six TS studies published addresses didactics as an open question that must be given priority in the professional preparation of future translators and interpreters.

In short, the evolution these descriptors have experienced represents what we could call the other side of the pre-Holmes stage, embodying a conversion of TS into a discipline that is highly sensitive to the surrounding world. Translation thus goes from being conceived as a neutral activity between languages to one that is socially situated, ideologically charged, and endowed with a notable variability that depends on changing text conventions, those in force at any given time in each society. Whereas previously only the translation of the *Bible* and the literary canon deserved scholarly attention, it is now the translation of popular cultural products (audiovisual), technical-scientific (previously devoid of interest because of their allegedly mechanical nature) or interpreting (an oral activity of which no trace is usually left) that attract research attention. Even in the literary field, the one that has best resisted change, previously epigonic and ignored genres such as the detective novel (202 documents in BITRA, of which only one is pre-1972) or children's literature (1,382 documents in BITRA, of which only 10 are pre-1972) have become a regular presence in TS bibliography.

3.2.2. *Languages of publication*

Before Holmes (1972), there are 3,902 contributions detected in BITRA covering a panoply of 35 different languages. The ones with more than 100 publications are English (2,139; 54.8%), French (604; 15.5%), German (450; 11.5%), Spanish (443; 11.4%), and Italian (142; 3.6%). For the post-Holmes period (1972-2021), the number of contributions amounts up to 79,826¹ with almost 60 different languages represented. Those with more than one thousand publications are English (41,450; 51.9%), Spanish (15,113; 18.9%), French (9,424; 11.8%), German (6,123; 7.7%), Portuguese (2,765; 3.5%), Italian (2,248; 2.8%), Chinese (1,225; 1.5%), and Catalan (1,158; 1.5%).

¹ The sum total is greater than the number of entries because several hundreds of entries are either multilingual edited volumes or have been translated into other languages.

Although English hegemony has not been threatened, it has experienced a decrease of three percentage points in a global comparison of the pre- and post-Holmes periods (Figure 2). While French, German and Italian also show a decrease, three Iberian languages (Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan) show the contrary trend. Spanish is worth mentioning, since it is the language whose use has increased the most (more than seven percentage points). These data can be explained by the irruption of Spanish scholars in the TS international arena in the last decades, together with their high productivity since, according to Dong & Chen (2015), Spain was the third most active nation of research outputs in TS from 2000-2015.

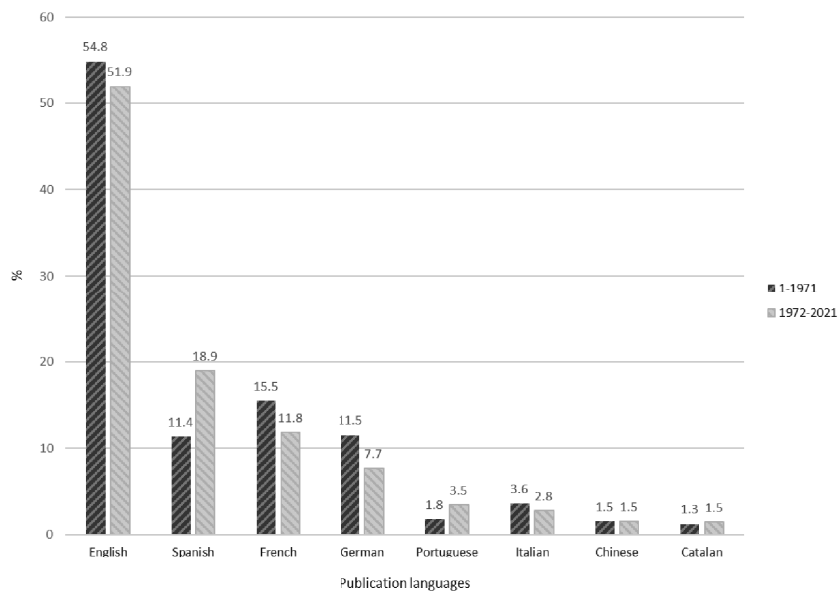


Figure 2. Evolution of the percentage of use of the eight most frequently used languages in TS publications before and after 1972

Source: BITRA, March 2021

If we analyse the figures corresponding to the post-Holmes period by decades (Figure 3), the tendency of English is clearly on the rise. Indeed, if we split up the data by decades, English not only maintains its hegemony over the rest, but it is again clearly on the rise especially in the last period, with more than 60% of the publications in this language. Conversely, French, and German lose representativity. On the other hand, although the tendency is reversed in the last decade, Spanish is the language experiencing the largest overall increase, while other languages, such as Portuguese or Catalan, enter the picture thanks to the contributions of very productive research hubs in particular areas (Brazil, Catalonia, respectively). The data for Chinese should be taken with caution

since they might be biased in BITRA due to the difficulties, both technical and linguistic, involved in accessing and compiling bibliographical data in this language.

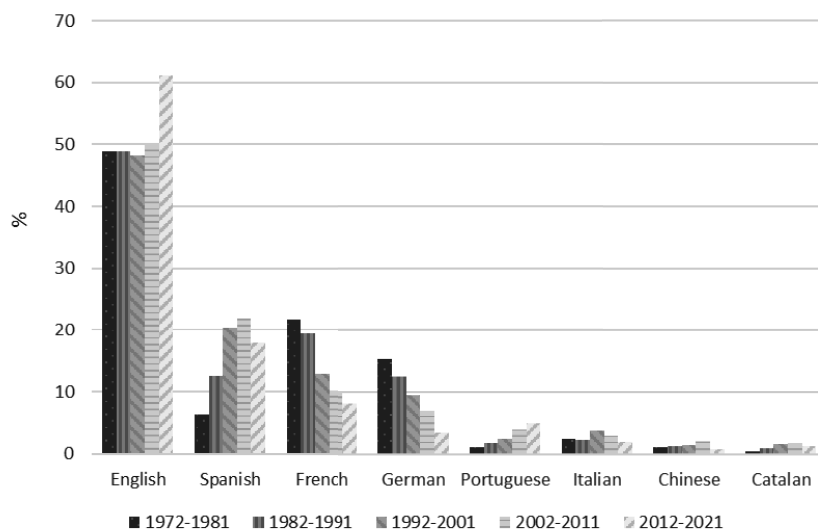


Figure 3. Evolution of languages used in TS publications by decades since 1972
Source: BITRA, March 2021

Figures 2 and 3 show that English has been and apparently will go on being the scholarly lingua franca *de facto*. However, there seems to be a clear change with respect to the other traditional main players in academia, since the total weight of traditionally powerful languages such as German and French decreases, while traditionally more marginal languages, e.g., Spanish and Portuguese, gain momentum.

3.2.3. Journals

When Holmes pointed out in 1972 that scholars in the field did not have sufficient venues available to communicate and disseminate their research, there were only 14 specialised journals, namely, *Interprète* (1946), *Il Traduttore Nuovo* (1950), *Bible Translator* (1950), *Traduire* (1952), *Babel: International Journal of Translation* (1955), *Masterstvo perevoda* [Мастерство Перевода] (1955), *Mitteilungsblatt für Dolmetscher und Übersetzer* (1955), *Lebende Sprachen: Zeitschrift für interlinguale und interkulturelle Kommunikation* (1956), *Notes on Translation* (1962), *Meta: Translator's Journal* (1966), *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (1967), *Delos: A Journal of Translation and World Literature* (1968), *Terminologie-Bulletin* (1968), and *Equivalences: Revue de Traduction et de Traductologie* (1970), nine of them still active today.

New specialised journals have continuously been launched since the publication of Holmes' seminal work. RETI includes a total of at least 212 different titles that have existed at some point in time during this period, 144 of which have survived up to 2021. The launching of more than four new journals per year on average in the last 50 years is no doubt a sign of the discipline's effervescence and contribution to global knowledge. Although there has been an exponential growth of TS academic venues, in many cases these disciplinary endeavours have lacked continuity and their existence has been rather brief. Another aspect to consider is that, out of the 38,465 TS-journal articles included in BITRA as of March 2021, 17,438 (45.3%) have been published in non-TS-specific journals, which also shows the interest of neighbouring disciplines in translation and interpreting matters, together with its interdisciplinary character.

Since prior to 1996 the WWW practically did not exist, we have to assume that before that date all journals were hard copy and subscription-based. Therefore, data about access type is only relevant in the case of the last two decades of our study. For the 2002-2011 period, 68.9% of TS-journals were open access, while in the following decade this figure increased to 81.1%.

Regarding journals' business type, RETI gives the following data for the year 2021: 61.8% journals are diamond open access (free for readers and authors), 15.5% follow a hybrid business model, 11.8% need a subscription, 2% have embargoes, and 1.3% are gold open access (free for readers but charging APCs to authors).² We can conclude that, in general terms, there has been a very speedy incorporation of TS to the open-access movement, taking advantage of the new technologies to enhance scholarly communication channels thanks to the pressure of governments and to the strong commitment shown by most scholars. The proportion of diamond open access is especially noteworthy since the survival of these journals basically depends on the explicit support of the community as a whole and on the selfless efforts of individual scholars in particular. Fortunately, this draws a very different picture of the situation nowadays as compared with 1972.

However, open science is not without its hurdles, which could be symbolised by APCs (charges to the authors for publishing their articles in open-access mode). This concept is quite new and involves a change for the worse as compared with 1972. Although we cannot yet offer an overview of its evolution, it is important to state that it is a worrying angle of the open-science movement, nowadays with 15.9% of the active journals clearly stating that they charge APCs, 24.3% not offering this information in their websites and 59% explicitly indicating that they do not charge any APCs to authors.

Regarding the countries of publication, if we compare the situation before and after 1972, we find that only 10 countries were represented in 1972, while nowadays the distribution of TS-journals is very widespread, covering North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa, which shows TS is globally well-rooted as a discipline. Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom are among the countries with at least 10 journals. The case of Spain is especially outstanding, since in these 50 years it has passed from having no titles at all to 25, more than doubling the second in the ranking,

2 In 11 cases the journals' websites do not offer information about their access type.

which has 10 (see Figure 4, which includes the list of countries with at least two titles in 2020). This information comes as no surprise if we link it with the fact that Spanish as a language of publication has also experienced a huge increase in this period, although Spanish venues also publish in languages other than Spanish, especially English.

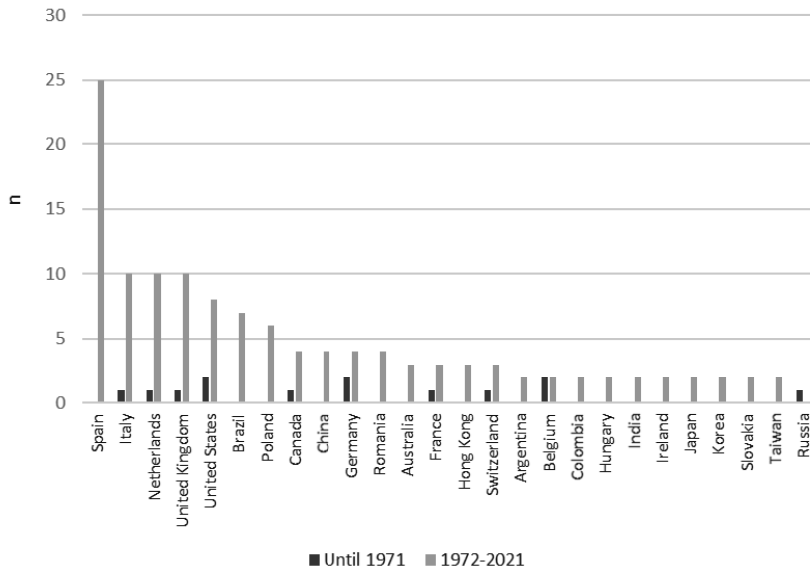


Figure 4. Number of journals by country of publication
 Source: RETI's historical records (2012-2020) and RETI online (2021)

As regards the languages in which authors can publish their journal articles, Figure 5 shows that there are only eight languages that are accepted in more than ten journals out of the 144 active specialised titles. The top-six ranking is for Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German, French, and English. Obviously, English takes the lead, since 86.7% of all TS active journals accept papers in the lingua franca. Moreover, in 46 (32.2%) cases English is the only language allowed.

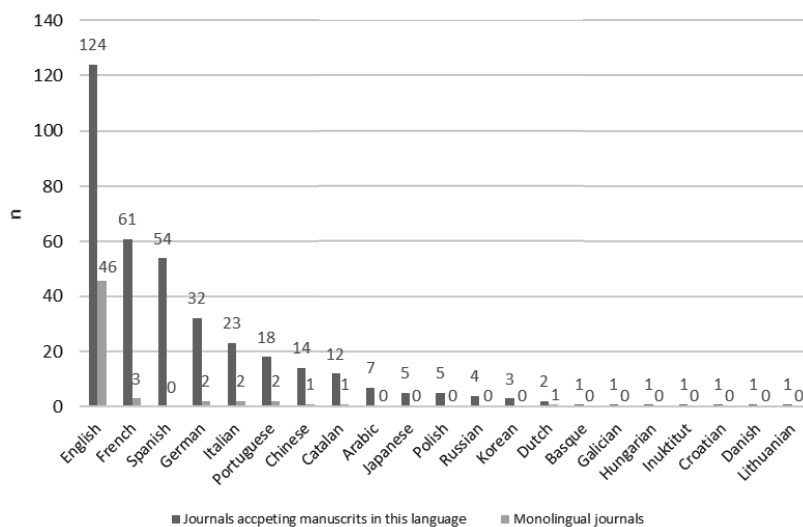


Figure 5. Number of journals accepting the most frequently used languages
 Source: RETI's historical records (2012-2020) and RETI online (2021)

A qualitative detailed analysis of active journals' titles and scopes at different cut-off points, reveals that, despite the huge increase in the total number of TS-journals over the years, they have not undergone a substantial push towards specialisation, not even to differentiate written translation from interpreting, with a stable ratio of around 70% of the journals explicitly including both. As Table 3 shows, journals focusing on specialised translation have grown from two in 1972 to 10 in 2020. In relative terms this means they have doubled their presence, implying that many researchers have greater chances to choose more specialised venues within the discipline to publish their research. It is also worth mentioning that generalist venues, i.e., those dealing with language, intercultural communication, or mediation, have ranged between 64.7% (1982) and 69.3% (2020) of the total.

Journal's focus	1972	1982	1992	2002	2012	2020
n	24	34	62	101	88	137
General	0	2 (5.9%)	4 (6.5%)	8 (7.9%)	5 (5.7%)	10 (7.3%)
Interpreting	2 (8.3%)	2 (5.9%)	4 (6.5%)	6 (5.9%)	3 (3.4%)	5 (3.6%)
Specialised	2 (8.3%)	3 (8.8%)	5 (8.1%)	9 (8.9%)	11 (12.5%)	10 (7.3%)
Translation	2 (8.3%)	1 (2.9%)	3 (4.8%)	8 (7.9%)	6 (6.8%)	14 (10.2%)
Translation & interpreting	16 (66.7%)	22 (64.7%)	43 (69.4%)	67 (66.3%)	60 (68.2%)	95 (69.3%)
Terminology	2 (8.3%)	2 (5.9%)	3 (4.8%)	1 (1%)	1 (1.1%)	1 (0.7%)

Table 3. Scope of the active journals at different cutting points in time

Source: RETI's historical records (2012-2020)

Historically, TS-journals have had a rather scanty presence in international indexes and databases. There are different reasons that might explain this low visibility. On the one hand, TS has traditionally been seen as a subdiscipline within the broad categories of 'language' or 'linguistics' used by journal rankings such as Web of Science (WoS), Scopus, or Scimago Journal Rank. On the other, since most journals are not-for-profit ventures run by scholars who do not have the same facilities as commercial publishers, they often lack professional staff in charge of specifically increasing their overall prestige and visibility. This difference between commercial and public journals does not yet seem to have experienced a radical change since 1972, although this kind of hindrance is beginning to be addressed by more and more public journals, often with the help of university librarians. Thus, in the year 2021, out of the 144 journals indexed in RETI, 72 (50%) were to be found in the most inclusive journal indexes such as the Spanish MIAR (Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals). While out of the 93 specialised OA journals, only 20 (21.9%) could be found in the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), the most comprehensive platform for OA journals.

Regarding inclusion in selective indexes, the scenario is also one of slow growth. Thus, in 2002 there were only three journals out of 137 indexed in WoS' Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) (*Multilingua: Journal of Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Communication, Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* and *Terminology: International Journal of Theoretical and Applied Issues in Specialized Communication*), which increased up to 14 and 16 in 2012 and 2020, respectively. However, in WoS' Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) the numbers are even lower: only two titles in 2002, 11 in 2012 and 13 in 2020. Last but not least, we find only two journals indexed in JCR in 2002 (*Multilingua* and *Terminology*), 10 in 2012 and 13 in 2020. It has not been until 2021 that four TS-journals have reached JCR's Q1 (*Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, *Interpreting: International Journal of Research and Practice in Interpreting*, *Multilingua*, and *JoSTrans: The Journal of Specialised Translation*), while seven journals are ranked within Q2. Therefore, from the point of view of international indexing, the year 2021 has witnessed the best performance ever of TS-journals.

Scopus, the other high-prestige index, included seven TS-journals in 2002, 28 in 2012 and up to 42 in 2021. As for their position in the SJR, none was among the first two quartiles in 2002, up to 14 had found their way into them in 2012 (all of them but one in Q2), and this figure quadruples in 2020, reaching 42 titles, with 17 in Q1 and 13 in Q2, i.e., 71.4% of TS-journals currently occupy the highest positions of this ranking, which is a very respectable figure.

If we look at more inclusive databases, the European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH) included only three TS-journals in 2002, 31 in 2012 and 50 in 2020, while Google Scholar Metrics included 29 titles in 2012 and 37 in 2020. The good news is that in relative terms, the presence of TS-journals in international indexes has not only increased over the years, especially in the last decade of our analysis, but it has also been coupled with a substantial improvement in their external acknowledgement in terms of editorial quality.

Figure 6 shows the evolution of presence of TS-journals in the most prestigious international indexes and databases.

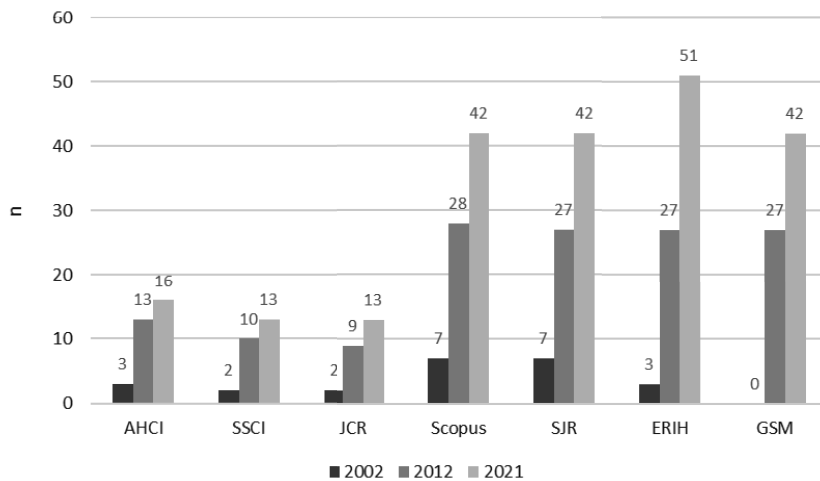


Figure 6. Evolution of number of TS-journals included in international indexes

Source: RETI's historical records (2012-2020) and RETI online (2021)

3.2.4. Authorship and productivity

Our database contains records from the 1-2021 period which correspond to 41,342 different authors (Figure 7). Until 1962, ten years before Holmes' "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" was published, 1,664 different authors had published at least one document about translation and interpreting. In only ten years (1962-1971), 1,090 new authors appeared. This figure almost doubled in the period from 1972 to 1981 (2,002 new authors). Translation studies attracted a lot of attention in the period

from 1982 to 2001: the number of new authors in 1982-1991 doubled once again that of 1972-1981 (4,849), a growth rate that was repeated in 1992-2001 (10,509). This increase seems to slow down slightly in the 2002-2011 period, in which 12,887 new authors appear (although this period still surpasses the previous one by 2,378 new authors). The decade of 2012-2021 is the only period in which less new authors are added to the discipline as compared to the previous decade (4,546 less new authors). This is probably due to the fact that 2021 was not complete when we extracted our data from BITRA, and that the most recent years tend to take some time to be as fully covered in the database as older ones. Now it is simply too early to confirm if this decrease is real, although data do seem to imply that after decades of exponential growth we might be reaching a plateau or a slow growth stage as regards TS productivity.

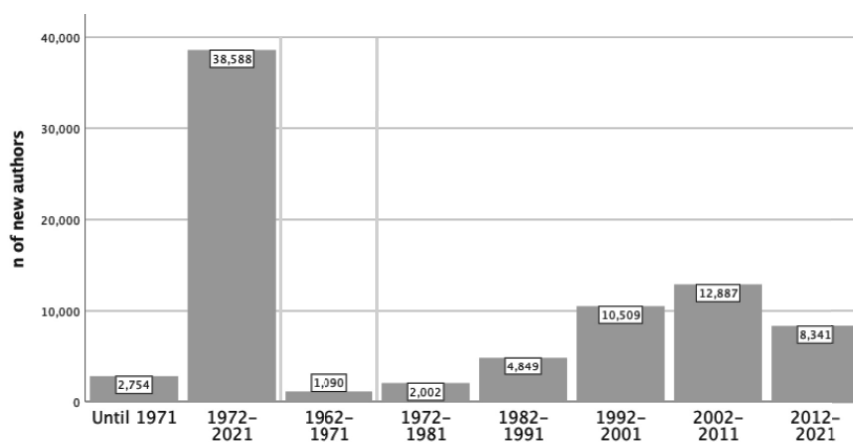


Figure 7. Evolution of the discipline in terms of new authors (n = 41,342)

Source: BITRA, March 2021

We also investigated authorship in terms of productivity (Table 4) and we observed a steady increase of median productivity as time advances. For instance, the authors who started their academic activity in the 1972-1981 decade achieved a median productivity of 0.3, whereas the authors who published their first work in 2012-2021 increased this median to 1.0. In other words, authors who began their academic career in TS between 2012 and 2021 had little time to publish, but they managed to be very productive. This probably reflects the effects in academia of the changes in publishing and research evaluation practices, i.e., the decrease in time between manuscript submission and publication due to online-first publishing, the ‘publish or perish’ culture in academia, or the increase in the number of publishing venues available.

Period of author's first publication	Normalised author productivity	
	Median	Median Absolute Deviation
Before Holmes (1972)	0.2	0.2
1962-1971	0.3	0.2
After Holmes (1972)	0.5	0.3
1972-1981	0.3	0.2
1982-1991	0.4	0.2
1992-2001	0.5	0.3
2002-2011	0.7	0.3
2012-2021	1.0	0.3

Table 4. Normalised author productivity (median and median absolute deviation) by period of author's first publication

Note: Authors with a single year of activity were excluded. Source: BITRA, March 2021

Regarding co-authorship, we perceive a slight change between the pre- and post-Holmes (1972) periods. Before 1972, 94.4% of the publications indexed in BITRA were single-authored. The proportion of solitary publication falls to an overall 83.8% in the period after 1972, with a steady decrease decade by decade: 1972-1981 = 90.8%; 1982-1991 = 88.1%; 1992-2001 = 85.4%; 2002-2011 = 82.0%, and 2012-2021 = 72.8%. The decrease in the most recent decade compared to the previous one is especially remarkable.

Table 5 shows the three most productive authors in each decade. Out of the authors who published during the 1962-1971 decade in which Holmes' seminal paper came out, the most productive ones were Nida, Wilss (both with 34 publications), Dubuc, and Reiss. The results presented here seem to show that in most cases the authors' peak productivity is concentrated in a specific decade, as there are few authors who are ranked as the most productive ones in different decades (only Nida, Pym, and Valero Garcés). Another interesting fact that arises from these results is that, until the 2012-2021 decade, a majority of the most productive authors' publications focused on general, theory-oriented issues. Indeed, most of them are authors of seminal works in TS (see Table 8). While the figures from different decades should not be compared as they have not been normalised, we do perceive some of the effects of the changes in academic publishing that we mentioned previously. If the figures of the most productive author in each decade are considered, we perceive a steady increase (25, 34, 60, 80, 85, but 63 in the 2012-2021—incomplete—decade) which may indicate that publishing became an easier enterprise over time due to the increasing institutionalization and the great interest in the discipline, especially around the 1982-2001 period, which led to the birth of many new venues and conferences.

Another remarkable change is that in the first decade included in our analysis (1962-1971), all the most productive authors were men, in the decades comprised from 1972 to 2001 most were men, in the 2002-2011 period most were women, and in the last decade (2012-2021) all of them were women. This may indicate an increasing visibility of the works authored by women in TS.

Period	Author	Productivity (n of documents in a specific decade)
1962-1971	Beekman, John	25
	Nida, Eugene A.	21
	Kade, Otto	18
1972-1981	Nida, Eugene A.	34
	Wilss, Wolfram	34
	Dubuc, Robert	30
	Reiss, Katharina	21
1982-1991	Gile, Daniel	60
	Snell-Hornby, Mary	37
	Newmark, Peter	35
1992-2001	Pym, Anthony D.	80
	Nord, Christiane	59
	Ballard, Michel	55
2002-2011	Valero Garcés, Carmen	85
	Pym, Anthony D.	74
	House, Juliane	64
2012-2021	Valero Garcés, Carmen	63
	Szarkowska, Agnieszka	53
	Orero, Pilar	45

Table 5. The three most productive authors in each period

Note: No fractional counting has been applied for co-authored documents. Source: BITRA, March 2021

3.2.5. Impact

To picture the evolution of impact, we first computed the median normalised author impact for each period of analysis (Table 6). As in the case of author productivity, we observed a steady increase in author impact, which means that authors who started their academic career in the 1972-1981 decade obtain a lower normalised impact than recent authors. This may seem surprising given that many of the most cited documents were written in the 1970-1990 period. However, documents that have been around for a longer time are prone to be cited less frequently (Bouabid 2011), since their citation peak (around 3-5 years after publication; see Rovira-Esteva, Franco Aixelá, and Olalla-Soler 2019) and cited half-life (around 7-9 years after publication; *ibid.*) are already over. Consequently, the results below indicate that citation speed has increased as time advances, and so has productivity. Indeed, both aspects seem to be intertwined: the more you publish, the likelier it is that you will be cited.

Period of author's first publication	Normalised author impact	
	Median	Median Absolute Deviation
Before Holmes (1-1972)	0.2	0.2
1962-1971	0.3	0.2
After Holmes (1972-2021)	0.4	0.3
1972-1981	0.3	0.2
1982-1991	0.4	0.3
1992-2001	0.4	0.3
2002-2011	0.4	0.3
2012-2021	0.5	0.3

Table 6. Normalised author impact (median and median absolute deviation)
by period of author's first publication

Note: Authors with zero citations were excluded. Source: BITRA, March 2021

The three most impactful authors in each period are presented in Table 7. Only Baker, Pym and Toury are ranked in two decades. All other authors' impact is concentrated in a single decade, mainly because their most famous work(s) were published at that time (see Table 8 below). As we previously observed, most cited authors before the 2002-2021 period tended to deal with general, theory-oriented issues in their publications. This seems to slightly change in the 2002-2021 period, when two authors dealing with audiovisual translation are ranked among the three most impactful ones (Díaz-Cintas and Romero-Fresco). O'Brien, whose publications mainly deal with cognition, translation technologies and research methods, is also ranked as one of the most impactful authors in the 2012-2021 decade.

Period	Author	Normalised impact
1962-1971	Nida, Eugene A.	12.9
	Catford, John C.	5.9
	Taber, Charles R.	4.9
1972-1981	Toury, Gideon	11.7
	Bassnett, Susan	7.6
	Newmark, Peter	7.6
	Steiner, Georges	7.5
1982-1991	Vermeer, Hans J.	20.3
	Berman, Antoine	16.3
	Nord, Christiane	15.4
1992-2001	Venuti, Lawrence	61.4
	Baker, Mona	47.2
	Toury, Gideon	41.6
2002-2011	Pym, Anthony D.	39.6
	Díaz-Cintas, Jorge	26.8
	Baker, Mona	25.9
2012-2021	Pym, Anthony D.	16.4
	O'Brien, Sharon	15.7
	Romero-Fresco, Pablo	15.3

Table 7. The three most impactful authors in each period
Source: BITRA, March 2021

A first most striking feature in the list of the most impactful publications in each period (Table 8) is that all of them are books, and the second one is that most of them are single-authored documents. Only three authors are ranked twice: Nida (in the same decade) and Nord and Toury (in two different decades). Most of the books listed here feature a generalist approach and are theoretically oriented. The other category that stands out is translation teaching/training, while research methods are only represented by Saldanha and O'Brien's (2013) seminal work at the end of our period of analysis.

Period	Publication	Normalised impact
1962-1971	Nida, Eugene A. (1964). <i>Toward a Science of Translating</i> .	7.4
	Catford, John C. (1965). <i>A Linguistic Theory of Translation</i> .	5.9
	Nida, Eugene A.; Taber, Charles R. (1969). <i>The Theory and Practice of Translation</i> .	4.9
1972-1981	Steiner, Georges (1975). <i>After Babel</i> .	7.5
	Toury, Gideon (1980). <i>In Search of a Theory of Translation</i> .	7.3
	Bassnett, Susan (1980). <i>Translation Studies</i> .	7.2
1982-1991	Hatim, Basil; Mason, Ian (1990). <i>Discourse and the Translator</i> .	12.1
	Nord, Christiane (1988). <i>Textanalyse und Übersetzen</i> .	11.4
	Newmark, Peter (1987). <i>A Textbook of Translation</i> .	10.8
1992-2001	Toury, Gideon (1995). <i>Descriptive Translation Studies – and beyond</i> .	38.0
	Venuti, Lawrence (1995). <i>The Translator's Invisibility</i> .	28.1
	Nord, Christiane (1997). <i>Translating as a Purposeful Activity</i> .	14.5
2002-2011	Baker, Mona (2006). <i>Translation and Conflict</i> .	10.2
	Kelly, Dorothy A. (2005). <i>A Handbook for Translator Trainers</i> .	9.1
	Pöchhacker, Franz (2003). <i>Introducing Interpreting Studies</i> .	9.1
2012-2021	Saldanha, Gabriela; O'Brien, Sharon (2013). <i>Research Methodologies in Translation Studies</i> .	5.5
	Pym, Anthony D.; Grin, François; Sfreddo, Claudio; Chan, Andy L. J. (2012). <i>The Status of the Translation Profession in the European Union</i> .	4.1
	Hurtado Albir, Amparo (ed.). (2017). <i>Researching Translation Competence by PACTE Group</i> .	4.0

Table 8. The three most impactful publications in each period

Source: BITRA, March 2021

In the context of our book, it is also noteworthy to observe that the huge impact made by Toury's (1995) book can also be somehow considered a kind of homage to Holmes 1972 and his defence of descriptivism.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Things have changed so much since 1972 that it would be no great exaggeration to say that Holmes would have had problems in recognising the discipline he so decisively contributed to bring about. As we have seen, the most conspicuous changes are of a quantitative nature, a quasi-alchemic transmutation from a virtual academic void to a thriving discipline, from 14 to over 140 active disciplinary journals, from some 1,500 documents detected in 1962-1971 to almost 30,000 in 2002-2011.

But these changes have also been qualitative to a great extent. We have just seen that there was a huge 20-fold increase in the overall production between 1972 and the present. However, from the point of view of the institutionalisation of the discipline, it is probably even more noteworthy to observe that this growth in TS documents has involved a strong move toward academic specialisation, with median productivities trebling from less than 0.3 to 1 per author. Thus, we have passed from having a discipline cultivated almost only by one-timers to the generalisation of the previously almost unknown figure of the full-time TS researcher, with many authors publishing scores of TS documents throughout their careers.

Another very important qualitative change that TS has undergone is what we could term an exponential broadening of its scope, which has passed from a sporadic attention only focused on canon (the *Bible* and the classics) to paying keen attention to specialised and popular discourse. For better or for worse, modern TS embraces almost anything that can be re-conveyed as a message, from previously ignored technical texts to accessibility issues such as the oral description of images for the blind that have no source text and that no one would have considered as pertaining to the domain of translation studies in the 1960s.

Even if regarding unity of purpose we still live in a situation similar to what Holmes described as there being “no consensus regarding the types of models to be tested, the kinds of methods to be applied, the varieties of terminology to be used”, this lack of unity is more and more perceived as a consequence of the plural debates pertaining a very (and increasingly so) multidisciplinary branch of knowledge (cf. for instance the “Shared Ground” forum in *Target* 12:2; Chesterman & Arrojo 2000). This has brought about what we have tried to depict as a sometimes chaotic but always inquisitive, open-minded, and thriving interdiscipline that responds to the name of Translation Studies thanks to a ground-breaking scholar who 50 years ago prepared it to find its own academic place under the sun.

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CHAPTER II

The Position of James Holmes in Translation Studies

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Poor Holmes!
(Theo Hermans 2002: 1)

1. INTO NEW PARADIGMS

Fifty years after the first publication¹ of James Holmes' article on "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1972), there are strong reasons for studying whether the academic recognition of the field has changed scholarly insights on translation matters: where? How, if at all? And whether Holmes has inspired any successors or counterparts: he wrote his key text(s) in another world, i.e., before the various waves of globalization had (really) started reshuffling the world. The new world of translation phenomena had yet to be discovered by scholars. And since academic disciplines are supposed to be dynamic, one cannot avoid wondering about the possible impact of *Translation Studies* (from now on: TS) on universities (UNIVERSE-cities: Lambert & Iliescu Gheorghiu 2014). From the very beginning, such questions go far beyond any listing or discussions of particular books, scholars or institutes.

Our own initial questions may offer an embarrassing contrast with the openness and the discretion of Holmes' pioneering text on a new phenomenon simply called: Translation Studies. Indeed, before and after Holmes, many colleagues have applied more pompous ideas and suggestions about translation. Holmes himself went for a simple, almost trivial name, though his ambition required complex views on the world, on communication, on societies, on history, etc. Until that moment, academia had not accepted anything of that kind.

1 Insiders are aware of the confusion about the year of publication. We shall refer to the article in offprint style distributed in 1972 by Holmes' *Instituut voor Literatuurwetenschap*. When reducing Holmes and his TS to one article from 1988 in a posthumous publication, how can many colleagues assume that TS started before 1980?

Fifty years later, TS has been institutionalized on five continents, often under the neologistic label introduced by Holmes in 1972—in English or in a translated version (“Estudos de tradução”; “Übersetzungsforschung” rather than “Übersetzungswissenschaft”), often without any explicit reference to Holmes (1972), and not necessarily in harmony with his initial concept. The question, anyway, deserves to be discussed: since that founding text which happened to trigger an intercontinental innovation, what exactly may have occurred to Holmes’ neologism and ideas in their academic environment, and to what extent are we entitled to link Holmes’ name with TS in say 2020? Have there been innovations since then? Of course. Is there any continuity? Of course yes, but this is no simple matter.

At least one consequence remains visible: the academic recognition of translation—not necessarily as TS—on different continents. Is this enough to serve his memory as the father of a new academic research field? The Internet registers this dissemination while adopting a synchronous perspective, or even while adopting the perspective of intellectuals living nowadays, which is partly confirmed by contemporary business: translation studies (is it computer based?) seems to be needed because contemporary business is more and more international, and business makes use of translations. Is this merely a business matter? Let’s wait and see. Other surprises are coming! Universities and academics are supposed to justify their vocabulary when opening a new department, e.g. “translation studies.” Why this neologism from 1972?

2. FIRST THE NAME, THEN THE NATURE

Hence we are entitled to wonder about origins. Also about the death of a discipline, once again (see our section on Brexit *avant la lettre*)? We have no strong arguments—nor does Holmes—for excluding the fact that translation happened to be dealt with before him at given universities. The fact is that courses, rather than curricula, were offered to university students, at least in very different circumstances around the world, e.g. in Europe (at Leuven in Belgium; at Göttingen in Germany; and hardly at all in the big countries).

After the Second World War (WWII) (Paris 1953: “Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs”), a network of translation training (TT) centres was started up in various Western countries, but they were refused access to universities, except, it seems, at the University of Ottawa (1936), probably also in Paris. And it was certainly before 1972 that André Lefevere was involved in courses and research on translation at Hong Kong. Isolated courses and PhDs had also been started up at a few universities (Tel-Aviv, Prague, Leuven, etc.), which does not at all mean that translation received recognition as a program/curriculum. *Translation theory* is what it was called in many languages, and often in English, which was rapidly becoming the world’s new global language. Translating the name of disciplines, even in TS, is never simple.

Holmes had more in sight than a new concept. The innovation in Holmes 1972 was the attempt to “academize” a curriculum with the intention to establish TS among the traditional departments and to use it as a model for systematic research as well as for PhDs. After WWII, universities had not accepted to organize TT, but the priority in Holmes’ plans moved from training translators and interpreters to setting up a full

academic program with a scholarly status: academic titles such as medicine, or biology, linguistics, literary studies want to offer more to society than medical, literary or other techniques. The theoretical formulation goes back to 1972 and was worked out from 1990 on. What has happened in between, and afterwards?

As far as we know, the TS label was not used anywhere before 1972 in view of the status that Holmes had in mind, i.e. as an academic discipline. What exactly did it refer to? What kind of a training and what kind of intellectuals did he imagine exactly? “Studies” was a diplomatic concept, after “*méthode de traduction*” (Vinay & Darbelnet) or “the science of translation” (Nida).

Nowadays, such academic distinctions leave no clear traces on the Internet, to the extent that TS tends to be applied as a generic name that is supposed to be relevant for past, present and future times. TS for ever? In the traditions of General Linguistics, translation also tended to be disseminated as “translation theory,” or as other concepts, of course, also in other languages than English (the science of translation, *traductology/traductologie*, *Übersetzungsforschung*, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*). Was TS going to replace these previous names? The academic landscape (the market?) was not waiting for yet another name.

And this was what Holmes wanted to avoid, i.e., the confusion around the exact goals and functions of academic discourse on translation. Without really objecting against theory and science or translation training (TT functioned as a curriculum outside universities), he wanted to promote an organized planning of the approach to one of the neglected areas of human knowledge. One of the misunderstandings that he wanted to exclude, precisely, was the extension of “theory” to the entire discipline: research was needed, and theory was only part of the curriculum/discipline to be established. We shall notice that many colleagues who nowadays claim to refer to Holmes are unaware of differences between various possible goals: TS, what else? In the same years, machine translation (MT) was also in full development, but it remained on the periphery between university and business, and was not convincing as a global solution to the translation issue. Was it too much business-related? Anyway, the relation between general and specialized TS (called Translation Theory at that moment) was not unproblematic.

Such historical observations about the starting point of TS simply justify Gile’s warning about translation and TS (Gile 2012). History and historiography – in general terms – were not very popular between 1960 and 1980, at least not in the language-related sciences, especially not in (general) linguistics, which gradually replaced the philological tradition. The fact that Holmes included historiography in his new scholarly model confirmed that his views on translation intended to be panoramic, just like his communication scheme (production, product, reception, etc.) was along with his openness to interdisciplinarity. The use of communication models had hardly been stressed at that moment, but from the beginning, TS implied a “turn” away from linguistic monopolies. Neither Holmes nor his companions could imagine the proliferation of specialization areas that was in the air (see further: Poor Holmes).

The well-known Holmes map leads us to more diversified and more systematic questions about the exact goals of TS that risk to be ignored from the moment everything is called *theory*. This is one of the first features in Holmes’ heritage, and not

everyone who claims to work within TS shares such views on theory, as the many curricula around our contemporary globe may illustrate.

Fifty years later, the concept of TS has consistently acquired a widespread position without having any monopoly in the area of research on translation, which was and is a different thing: research on translation has been successful within departments of psychology, and nowadays a few groups of sociologists locate sociological research on translation within their own department (e.g. the Bourdieu center in Paris). The big ambiguity hence raises the question of what kind of status TS may have nowadays in scholarly publications and in the promotional world of the media. The dream of avoiding confusion may not really have worked out on the basis of “The Name and Nature.” Before 1972, a few theorists had also tried to improve the planning of discourse on translation (Catford, Vinay & Darbelnet, Nida, Koller, Wills, etc.). But according to Holmes (1972) the “new set of problems” around WWII generated a new space and new challenges among universities, a new “disciplinary utopia” between many academic disciplines.

It is somewhat strange that the 1972 article ignores the famous initiatives taken in those years by the business world, (IBM, Siemens, the EU, and also the URSS)², partly together with linguistics, based on totalitarian ambitions supported by political dreams. But just like TS, MT has also been submitted to turns and to fragmentation: the budget flow had even been stopped for a while by the industry and the EU.

The question is how contemporary TS remembers its own origins: how many academic disciplines escape heterogeneity and fragmentation? Nonetheless, TS has conquered its space in the academic landscape, and the point of departure was “The Name and Nature”: the symptoms of continuity and discontinuity have spread. It is not a coincidence that the market terminology and ideology applied to the *Homo Academicus* by the Bourdieu teams confirm the shifts into sociology away from the initial Holmes-Toury years in the 1970s.

Within Western intellectual spheres from the 1970s, translation was often reduced to either a matter for machines (Google did not yet exist), or to a privilege of literature. Even the linguistic and cultural innovations brought about by the media world (television, cinema, newspapers, etc) had yet to be discovered, though the Holmes group considered it to be a key area for academic innovation. The idea of the new theories was that translation is first of all a form of communication, but this came as a surprise to the average academic world. The literary backgrounds of most of the angry young men around Holmes happened to be open to the media but not to the point of making traditional literature lose its central position (see our paragraphs on Comparative Literature). Hence Holmes’ programmatic distinctions between production, product and reception were certainly hard to digest for literary scholars and for linguists at a time when linguistics or computers were supposed to solve translation problems, whatever they happened to be.

New fora were going to be established by and around Holmes (Leuven 1976; Tel-Aviv 1978; Antwerp 1980). The title of the Leuven symposium deserves to be remembered

2 Under its names through the decades the EU tried to combine its business-oriented explorations with some academic support, while excluding traditional academics; in the 1990s insiders started being aware of the particular EU’s translation policy.

from a diachronic angle for many reasons: *Literature and Translation. New Perspectives in Literary Studies*.

Notwithstanding the literary backgrounds of the members of the new group, the Leuven discussions around “The Name and Nature of TS” were leading far beyond most established theoretical positions in contemporary theories and often also beyond the first explorations in the Holmes article from 1972.

One of the first revisions was the concept of Literary Translation itself, which becomes *Translated Literature*: the new concept was used systematically during the whole symposium as a more fundamental formulation than “literary translation” on the basis of the idea that *literary translation* refers to the activity of translating and that, hence, it is just part of the larger concept involved in *translated literature*. Holmes himself had always been fascinated by the black box of production, but his team had no reasons for neglecting the other key moments in translated communication (product, reception), and one of the outcomes was going to be an insistence on the reception (target) component. The shift into translated literature is one of the options that have hardly ever been commented upon, though it announced the beginning of the move away from the source-oriented views. It was at least obvious that much more was involved in translated literature than “How to Translate?” or “Is this a good translation?” In fact such insights were familiar to a few comparatists and literary scholars (and not only to Lambert 1976): target-orientedness, an area for interdisciplinarity that has never been further explored in comparative literature, and hardly in connection with reception studies (see further on Jauss and reception). Within the Holmes team, there never was any doubt about the necessity to envisage translation also—but not only—as a matter of reception. But the concept of reception had hardly been theorized; it was waiting for Hans Robert Jauss. And when invading the International Comparative Literature Association in 1979, the Jauss approach did not convince the newly created Translation Committee (Lambert 1976; Konstantinovič 1980: 255-264, 430):

Notre séance débuta par une tentative d’esquisser la problématique de la traduction. Les rapporteurs, sur des plans diamétralement opposés, présentaient, l’un, une critique idéologique qui ne manquait pas de colorer la présentation soi-disant objective des communications qu’il avait à résumer; tandis que l’autre rapporteur cerna de près les problèmes de la traduction par rapport à la réception. Après les exposés des rapporteurs, il s’engagea une discussion dont la ferveur polémique dégénéra aussitôt en guerre civile, et, en partie, en guerre très incivile, avec des attaques ad hominem et ad feminam qui dépassaient les bornes de la courtoisie.(...)
(Kurt Weinberg in Konstantinovič 1981, 430: Report)

The most embarrassing consideration is that part of the Holmes group which had created the Translation Committee and which protested against the reductionist views on translation, literature and reception, was going to recuperate many of the comparatist hobby horses.

3. THE SEARCH FOR A PARADIGM

How did the Leuven Symposium deserve to be called “the Colloquium of the century” (Bassnett in Robyns 1994, quoted from CERA 1991³? Several among the papers promoted insights about fundamental perspectives in any translation (e.g. the semiotic components in Bassnett’s approach, or particularly Even-Zohar’s, Toury’s contributions and Holmes’ goals, which were immediately welcomed as new translation perspectives in general. Beyond “literature” and “literary translation”: it was fully justified to see Leuven 1976, Tel-Aviv 1978 and Antwerp 1980 as the embodiment of a new paradigm in TS rather than in “Translated Literature”, and the copy of the symposium’s title in the publication has been misleading in more than one way. However, the question of “literature” was much less at stake than the monopoly of the linguistic theories available at that moment. One can hardly understand what it meant in 1976 to insist on semiotics in translation matters (Bassnett, Even-Zohar), on power games in translation culture (Lefevre), on the interferences between translation and traditional text types, genres, rhetorics (Van Gorp). The strongest innovations were obviously culture-bound: the idea that the position of translations is more decisive in societies than their definitions (Even-Zohar 1976; published 1978); the assumption that translations may heavily depend on linguistic phenomena, but that norms and source-/target cultures are a more fundamental guiding factor on all levels (i.e., production, product, reception). “The Name and Nature” implied from the beginning that research on translation phenomena was in its starting phase. The Leuven Symposium, as well as the Tel-Aviv and Antwerp symposia, stressed that research on all levels and on all areas was the real priority. And according to the Toury assumptions from 1976 as well as 1995:

What is missing (...) is not isolated attempts reflecting excellent intuitions and supplying fine insights (...) but a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within Translation Studies itself. Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the findings of individual studies will be intersubjectively testable and comparable, and the studies themselves replicable, at least in principle, thus facilitating an ordered accumulation of knowledge. (Toury 1995: 3)

The heavy insistence on target cultures, hence the dynamic relations between sources and targets, was going to become —until this very day— a crucial issue, even after the revelation of international components from the end of the 1980s on (Pym, Lambert, Cronin). Without criticizing the Holmes framework, the new brainstorming deepened the insights from the start —even without predicting what was going to happen in the electronic age (audio-visual combinations in —translated— communication, e.g., dubbing, subtitling, voice over, etc.).

3 The Symposium of the Century was one of Susan Bassnett’s leitmotifs during the 1991 session of the CERA Chair. Heilbron et Sapiro refer to “le colloque fondateur [de la discipline]: (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2002, 144, p.5, footnote 2).

Unfortunately, the idea of publishing the long and very explicit oral discussions was utopian back in the 1970s. The distributional and promotional channels belonged to small countries with limited facilities (the 1976 Symposium in Stockholm had better resources as well as top linguists).

Four years later, Toury published *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Toury 1980). This first book has not generated much interaction, it attracted stylistic criticism, but it was the most intense state of the art of the established theories in confrontation with the new approach. It probably came too early. People were still interested at that moment either in theory or in particular translators and not in their interplay. Theoreticians did not yet notice how essential the issue was at a moment when almost no theories worried about the thousands of translations in history nor about their actual approaches (e.g., deletions, additions, heterogeneous solutions for cultural items, narrative devices, oral/written discourse or genre positions: what kind of theory took the deletion process seriously?). Just like Toury, Lambert wrote cynical statements about the relevance of translation theories in relation to actual historical translations (“corpora” were not yet used) that surround and surrounded communities. An incredible number of theories simply excluded translations from the past and from other cultures that happened to compromise their initial assumptions. How many actual translations with a factual historical existence were compatible with the many contemporary theories? The object of study represented *imaginary* rather than historical, actual translations. Toury’s first book provided a cruel state of the art. Another kind of theory was needed. Another paradigm, say (Hermans 1985). Many contemporary translation scholars did not notice that the use of the concept of norms implied a shift into culture, hence (also) into sociology. The real turn indeed was the cultural turn. Not since 1990, but since 1976 and before (as stressed by Lambert at the Nobel Symposium in Stockholm: see the Preface in Delabastita & Grutman 2005).

4. NEGATIVE HOMOGENEITY

The initial Holmes group did not produce any manifesto. Manifesto for whom exactly? In fact manifestos need to be prepared; they are not even perceived as long as the “manifestants” are not visible beforehand. And the visibility of a scholarly circle that has often been identified as the “Low Countries – Israeli group” was limited by definition; they happened to be peripheral also within ICLA, the comparative literature world, where they started in 1976 as the “Translation Committee”. And their homogeneity was a paradox, as is made clear in Hermans (1985: 10-15): they first of all shared the idea that linguistics was not a sufficient basis for an overall explanation of translation phenomena. This implies a rather negative self-definition, after all. The polemical relation with linguistics appeared to be embarrassing in Snell-Hornby (1988: 23). During the James Holmes Symposium in Amsterdam (1991) it became a key question between the second plenary speaker (Lambert) and the first one (Snell-Hornby), who rather avoided any explicit answer. But one year later the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) was founded in Vienna under the Presidency of Mary Snell-Hornby and the Vice-Presidency of José Lambert: the status of linguistics in translation matters was under revision. A vicious circle, after all, since the academics interested in such questions had no home department.

Hermans, the first real historian of the Holmes Group, produced a rich panoramic survey of “the Manipulation Group” (Hermans 1985), and without his work along with Snell-Hornby’s books and activities, one wonders how Holmes would really have survived. But Hermans could hardly avoid playing an ambiguous role, to the extent that he had to apply a name to the “new paradigm”: hence the concept “Manipulation”, which was suggested by Lefevere, and which had hardly been used in 1976, for example. The focus on “manipulation” already reoriented both Holmes’s heritage and the Leuven–Tel-Aviv–Antwerp debates. The lack of homogeneity in the promotion of the group had become obvious since the first books by their members (e.g., van den Broeck & Lefevere 1979; Bassnett 1980). Susan Bassnett’s *Translation Studies* was the work of a new ambassador of TS for a large international audience of scholars coming mainly from literary and cultural studies. Translation was known as an area for research, not yet as a discipline. In her enthusiastic style, Bassnett did her utmost in view of a contextualization of her own. The result looked very different from the much more radical conceptualization during the symposia at Leuven, Tel-Aviv, Antwerp, not least because the combination between research and the translators’ world or between the study of translation and literature lost the distinctions they had acquired in the meetings. Anyway the book was successful and announced a success story, as Bassnett repeated herself not without real talents. The much more programmatic and systematic Dutch book by van den Broeck and Lefevere (1979: *Uitnodiging tot de vertaalwetenschap*) could hardly claim to promote the paradigm, notwithstanding its excellent formulation based on revolutionary insights: unlike *Literature and Translation* (Holmes *et al.* 1976), the invitation to *Translation Studies* was intended for a Low Countries audience that had excellent ambitions but no power on the international academic maps⁴: a matter of target audiences indeed. And in order to be promotional and really inspiring, this “Invitation” failed to do what they actually tried to promote, i.e., transforming Holmes’s (and Toury’s or Even-Zohar’s) inspiration into research practices: the book did not tell its readers how exactly the new research paradigm was going to be operational. It was a new theory without a methodology. One of the surprises was that the members of the initial Holmes Group did not reformulate the “new perspectives” from 1976, though they did develop them in different ways. For such reformulations, a stronger cooperation perspective would have been needed. After 1980, several among the leading minds in the new team, in referring to TS, did not notice the reduction to literary (and cultural) studies. In their work, Holmes’s heritage was narrowed down: *Literature and Translation* was gradually being transformed into *from translation to literature*. In her interviews on *Youtube*, Susan Bassnett treats Even-Zohar as an expert in literary studies and literary translation, and this image is maintained in many Anglo-American books or in the Comparative Literature tradition (See also the various editions of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*). Would only translated literature happen to occupy polysystemic positions? And are norms a privilege of literary translations only? Bassnett had the feeling that the combination between Translation, Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies had better chances for the future. Such calculations tend to depend on target audiences.

4 At the 1999 conference in Manchester, a Turkish colleague protested against the monopoly position of the big nations in TS; Anthony Pym replied by illustrating how several small nations kept taking the initiative. And the language policies in many (big) nations paralise cultural research on languages.

The preface to Hermans (1985) insists much more on the team (the “college”, as explained in Hermans 1999) than on Holmes. In many countries, centers and recent books, TS reduces the Holmes group to Holmes himself, and makes use of his name in a fetishistic way. The interaction between the various traditional and new areas in TS remains limited, as well as interdisciplinarity.

The confusion between TS and Translation Theory is symptomatic, not just in terms of terminology, but also in the priorities for research. In Holmes’s map, theory was integrated into the discipline; and in Toury’s DTS, actual research was a *sine qua non* in its interaction with theory.

True, it is since the Holmes group that, as a discipline, translation research has known many booms in several countries, far beyond the “Western” (European) countries, and several new concepts originating in the 1970s and 1980s have been further explored.

For instance, norms, the sociological—or cultural—turns, and new concepts such as institutionalization (a further exploration of the norms idea), power strategies, translation modes, the Internet, have been unearthed, a few times as explicit outcomes of the brainstorming until 1990. The fact is that the framework has been worked out, often in a functional way, within new “communities of practice,” on the basis of several different paradigms. It is relevant to accept group complexities, but in several one-sided presentations it also became manifest that the historiography of the Holmes group, which is at the origin of TS, indeed reflects some academic blindness.

In fact, there were structural academic difficulties at the start of the project. Project? There was no doubt among the initial speakers (Bassnett, Lefevere, Even-Zohar, Toury) about their ambitions, i.e., about the relevance of the Holmes program in the new world of communication. But only Toury really concentrated on the execution of TS as a program that had to lead into new *Names and Natures*. Holmes himself did not continue his own project, he planned his succession. Where exactly was the academic audience?

New departments for TS have taken shape from the 1990s on (Caminade & Pym 1998 in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*); notwithstanding Snell-Hornby 1988 or the European Society for TS, their leading people happen to belong or to work until this very day within or between two departments. Most among them represented departments of literary studies, under more or less explicit names, ranging from comparative literature, English or French studies where linguistic and cultural approaches had a say. Later, from 1988 on, Mary Snell-Hornby formulated similar observations on behalf of linguistics, while promoting her *integrated approach*. No department for TS had a chance to take off as long as people or structures in both linguistics and literary studies did not merge.

Were there any other options? Given the polemical relation between the Manipulation Group and linguistics, the Cultural Studies option was one of the results; it spread out from the UK and the USA, and it restored the literary components that first had been marginalized. The sociological options might have been perceived from the beginning. Whether this was a sufficient basis for a stable position among many other disciplines is another issue. Fortunately, polemical relationships tend to change, including new partnerships: this is how innovative concepts manage to survive and to develop, all under the impact of (internal) academic factors, or due to (external) circumstances. Anyway the continuity and the enlargement of the Holmes project in

interaction with several neighbouring disciplines had been intensifying around 1990. The idea of the *success story* was taking shape:

The idea of translation studies as a discipline is one of the success stories of the last twenty years. (Bassnett in Robyns 1994: 317).

A few particular papers from the Holmes group accepted literary matters only as a privileged entry into general translation problems:

Far from being considered as a peripheral literary activity, translation practice could now be seen as a conscious embodiment of the values of a society at a given moment in time, as a process of manipulation and rewriting, as a transaction in terms of power relations.” (Bassnett in Robyns 1994: 318)

Literature as a bridge into TS? Is this Holmes’ merit, or is it due to individuals and their networks? Or both? Van Gorp’s considerations on the kind of texts that translation represents apply to almost all translations; while dealing mainly with translated literature, Lefevere’s cultural polemics have also had a much larger range than literature; but the idea that translations in general are a matter of position rather than definition (Even-Zohar), or the focus on norms rather than language(s) along with the recognition of target culture priorities (Toury) formed a real clash for the 1980 generation. Just like Toury’s refusal to provide initial definitions of translation. Nowadays they have stopped being a topic for paradigmatic conflicts without being outdated. Whatever the case may be, the real start of the paradigm was embodied by Holmes’ distinctions between the various kinds of discourse on translation (and interpreting), especially the communication infrastructure (production, products, reception). Though several issues would generate heavy discussions (the norms concept in matters of production/product/reception, etc., target orientedness, the openness of translation as a concept, e.g., in matters of pseudo-translation), and though some would be submitted to revision (e.g., the bilateral source-target dilemma in Internationalization), the paradigm survived well until today and keeps orienting the discourse on translation in the twenty-first century. The confusion in terms of group entity (Holmes Group, manipulation, target orientedness, descriptive TS) reveals the fluctuation of priorities.

As several of the waves in post-colonialism and decolonization illustrate, we are facing more than strictly conceptual issues. One of the recurrent observations is that sociology and cultural issues are not only involved as features of the object of study, but also as important components—say: manipulations—in the institutionalization of research and researchers. Notwithstanding the networking that has finally helped in institutionalizing translation, the “struggle among appropriate channels of communication” (for scholars from peripheral environments) confirms that (political) power games of various kinds also condition academic events. In our analysis, which we try to make as distant and “innocent” as possible, the information about the past has been simplified—let us avoid using again “manipulation”—by many direct and indirect witnesses, then by new audiences. The sociological component in TS (e.g., in the networking) also explains multiple tendencies in and in relation with “the discipline.” A sociological turn? As part of the cultural turn, yes.

Let us ignore in this partly (auto) biographical discussion the many centers for translation studies that are unaware of the origins of TS. *Poor Holmes!* They are indebted to Holmes for using TS in the name of their institute. Around 1970-1980, Holmes' name was not unknown in translation circles, among others due to the newsletter *TRANSST*, which distributed mainly bibliographical references. There is no need to mention that the key text on TS was well-known by almost all speakers at the *Literature and Translation Symposium* at KU Leuven in 1976 ("the symposium of the century"), or respectively two and four years later, at Tel-Aviv and Antwerp. The kernel that started up the so-called Holmes Group has often been called the Israeli-Low Countries Group. The first organizers were: James S. Holmes, Raymond van den Broeck, Itamar Even-Zohar, José Lambert and their key colleagues: André Lefevere, Susan Bassnett, Hendrik Van Gorp, joined at a later moment by Gideon Toury, Even-Zohar's PhD student. Holmes 1972 was known to them from the first official version distributed by the Instituut Literatuurwetenschap at the University of Amsterdam, which circulated in small circles for some twenty years. The Proceedings of the "symposium of the century" got published at Leuven by ACCO, a small publisher (they contained a bibliography by Holmes as well as a two-page appendix by Lefevere on "the goals of the discipline"), but they circulated among quite a few insiders and in well selected book reviews, just like the Tel-Aviv and Antwerp Proceedings. Holmes died in 1986. His best academic friend, van den Broeck, produced a posthumous publication of his main articles (Holmes 1988), which many colleagues fail to envisage as a moment in a long story.

The Leuven symposium, the institutional starting point, had a real impact among insiders for a few years. First of all, it generated new meetings and cooperation while attracting new partners. It had been prepared in December 1975 at Norwich (Coventry University) during a congress of the British Comparative Literature Association; Susan Bassnett organized one of the central sessions with George Steiner (*After Babel* 1972) and André Lefevere side by side. But the main activities took place behind the scenes: at Warwick Holmes had planned a meeting with Bassnett, Even-Zohar (at that moment visiting professor at his Institute), van den Broeck and Lambert in view of the first symposium. And it was small but obviously very international (some sixty-five participants); among them a few students who are now recognized as experts; the papers by some ten experts were well focused, but the long and very intensive discussions devoted to the academic future of TS were the most exceptional part of the program. And some thirty years later, the historical anthology by Lawrence Venuti (2000) selected two among the Leuven key contributions, besides Holmes 1972, which was the central starting point of the network. In fact two among the contributions have been printed several times before Venuti's anthology came out, and at that moment they were already quoted as classics in TS: Itamar Even-Zohar's "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem" and Gideon Toury's "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation". And most of those on the list of contributors are now big names in TS. It was for the first time that two fully new concepts were introduced into TS, i.e., the Polysystem approach and, more basically, the question of norms. It was at that symposium that Gideon Toury, who was a PhD student of Even-Zohar's and who participated in his first international symposium, declared: "From now on, research on translation will be research on norms!" And indeed, it was since Leuven 1976 that the concept of norms

became familiar to a new generation of translation scholars (see Hermans 1991 and Lambert 1991); it was going to become one of the crucial additions to Holmes 1972. It is only later that the innovatory concept of norms was to be discovered also as a key to the Škopos approach, or the fact that Jiří Levý had used it already. One of the crucial innovations was that the Vermeer —Mänttäri— Nord approach, as well as Levý's, was born around the didactics of translation, whereas Toury meant it to be the crucial moment in the formulation of academic goals. This particular focus, which is a further exploration of Holmes 1972, is being confirmed to this very day by the use of Toury 1995 as the most central book in TS (see further). Holmes did not make much use of the norms concept, but his *Name and Nature* was meant to stimulate innovations.

Not the person James Holmes is at stake, but the position of his TS project within the highest tendencies in academic research. TS was not just a story of Translation Theories. The development of networking involved much more, e.g., that translation scholars also deserve to be analysed in sociological, anthropological and other terms. The history of the new discipline tends to ignore the position of scholars, who are more than theorists, whatever they may imagine. Such questions did not pop up, it seems, before Holmes. We are not dissatisfied by the observation that one of the first merits of "The Name and Nature of TS" is precisely that. But for better scholarly insights about fifty years later, much more is needed, and no one will claim to provide it in one single article.

There are much more embarrassing shortcomings in the history of the new discipline than its conceptual confusion. It is relevant to remind ourselves that the group of scholars that surrounded Holmes before and immediately after 1972 was a predictable victim of their own cultural background and position in the academic world: Holmes knew quite well why he needed networking in order to disseminate his views in many countries and —via scholarly societies— in several disciplines and environments. The dissemination between 1976 and say 1990 or even later was not the strong point of the initial group. The dynamics of the group took an official start after the Leuven Symposium and immediately afterwards, which had an enormous impact via new groups and networks, and in several other symposia.

Much more was needed before TS was going to become part of academic worlds.

5. THE SILENT YEARS

Being a rather small and closed group of young colleagues, Holmes' partners had their own dynamics: new scholars got associated (Hermans, Tymoczko, D'hulst, etc.), and the publication efforts intensified, at least in terms of quantity (besides the books, many articles linked with symposia in various countries started circulating, but they reflected one of their main weaknesses. They had no homeland, no department. Where was their audience or, as Snell-Hornby wrote, how could one have access to their research? (Snell-Hornby 1988: 23).

The idea that TS might have started in Holmes 1972, but that it was suddenly booming around 1990 is quite naive. Other historians than Hermans (1985 or 1999) —partly on the basis of both books— illustrate a good portion of eclecticism, if not improvisation, especially in the Anglo-Saxon key books (see our Brexit section). Traditional historiography also reduces historical complexities to a good selection of key moments in linear narratives.

One of the obvious innovations in Holmes' plans, from the beginning, was the intention to scrutinize phenomena that the so-called neighbouring disciplines excluded more or less systematically. He did not theorize on subtitling nor dubbing (how would he, in 1972?) nor on children's books or comic strips, they were no official section in his worries. Partly because they were rather systematically excluded up to that moment from Communication Studies, Literary Studies or Linguistics, partly also because so many among the neighbouring disciplines —again— worked within national frameworks; internationalization did not yet belong to the key words in the human sciences: a handicap for people focusing on translation matters.

The first mentions of the Holmes symposia and the publications that made them known remained rather mysterious, simply because the expected innovative ideas were associated with several names, and not really with Holmes. And it was going to take more than one decade before the Holmes activities would acquire a more or less central place (*Translation Studies*) with an explicit content. One can assume that a real organizer/leader was lacking. Holmes had played a very inspiring role during the initial years, until 1980, but the development of new talents confirmed him in his observer's and discussant's role that had been his starting point. At a given moment during the Antwerp symposium, a few conflicting positions became obvious, and it was Holmes who took the initiative to plan an exceptional *Round Table* session under the title "What do we agree about?" After 1980 the group spirit did not really seem to be under threat, but the proposal to continue the symposia every two years was not maintained. By coincidence? *Quot capita, tot sensus*: too many people and institutions were involved. The lack of any organizational coordination, even the lack of an organizational center, became obvious, the more since Holmes himself trusted that the small team was going to plan further steps together and —which was newer— without him. One may even say that without any commentary, Holmes was preparing his heritage. The insertion of a more or less institutional bibliography at the end of *Literature and Translation* suggested the beginning of a systematic bibliography (e.g. see the index of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* 1998) and a "Clearing House" dream⁵. As the only visible symbol of his retirement, Holmes left the distribution of his newsletter *TRANSST* to Toury, or rather to Tel-Aviv and Leuven.

Lefevere's two pages epilogue at the end of the same volume did not inspire any reaction, even at a later moment, which suggests that it was not really meeting the right expectations. Holmes himself did not announce at all, not even among his best collaborators, that he had planned something like a retirement or a heritage. His younger colleagues —and Holmes himself— were in agreement about the necessity to plan a progressive dissemination of the new insights ("the new paradigm": Hermans 1985), i.e., via an active participation in international scholarly organizations, via research projects, via PhD theses. And *indeed* new things started happening, e.g., the participation in scholarly organizations, though it looked naive to plan a new discipline via neighbouring disciplines that were already established, as the ICLA experiences were showing already before 1980 (see further). The publications started proliferating, but without any visible

5 Let us remember what Klegraf & Wilss had done at an early moment; - one might say that Anthony Pym's websites function nowadays like a Clearing House in Holmes's style.

homogeneity. And before any administrative organization had a chance, it had become obvious what kind of a leadership was in view. Even-Zohar's priorities were located in "Culture Studies" (he avoided confusion with "Cultural Studies") and confirmed that Toury had the future in his hands in translation matters; Bassnett and Lefevere were first in the exploration of the publication area, but their focus was not accepted as the common goal by the colleagues; their writings were not really in harmony with the Holmes perspectives, and they waited ten years before identifying the *Manipulation* paradigm as their own performance, be it in very different terms. And none of the Belgian members in the group felt like a real leader in the given circumstances, except in their support for organizational tasks. Though being very young, Toury was the only one who really focused on planning a fully fledged academic curriculum, not just since 1980, but since 1976. His articles continued the initial task, not as a *Search for a translation theory* (Toury 1980) but as a search for TS. His work did not stop being in progress and in revision, which was confirmed by the late publication of his "Summa Translatologica": *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Toury 1995), which is still the most successful book in the discipline (see Rovira-Esteva & Franco Aixelá 2018; Zanettin *et al.* 2015). He did not want to multiply books: he did not belong to the publish or perish culture. In harmony with his idea about research and disciplines, he avoided playing the master's role before having thought about it. While concentrating on his own concepts, he behaved later as a real manager in the publication of his journal *Target* (1989), in the Benjamins Translation Library (1994), then in the *Translation Studies Bibliography* (2004), all at John Benjamins. They all survive well, just like *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995).

In the first half of the 1980s, only insiders were aware of the group, and much less of Holmes's position. But some information must have been circulating, as was made clear in Snell-Hornby's historical *Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach* (Snell-Hornby 1988). And Hermans's *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985) was obviously not the only channel leading into the Holmes tradition. A new discipline? Definitely, since Snell-Hornby adopted Holmes's concept as the central concept of her "integrated approach."

Here is a schematic list of the main events from the silent years —besides the 3 symposia and their publication; but without any reference to the many articles. The main problem was that in all these events different audiences were involved in terms of actors and publics, or in terms of languages, topics, goals, and disciplines.

To start with Holmes himself, who had always produced well written basic contributions. He was the initiator of the new paradigm, but he published less and less after 1980. The strange paradox was that *The Name and Nature* was finally published in a posthumous edition by his first friend in the mainly Flemish-Dutch network, Raymond van den Broeck (van den Broeck 1988: *Translated!*).

Every member of the group modified and intensified her/his contributions in the translation area after the three symposia; it is even justified to explicate that their individual career and record was submitted to basic changes under the impact of Holmes' promotion. From then on their scholarly image was going to be associated in one or the other way with Holmes. Hence their image and their success were going to be linked, once and for all, with translation. It had been planned in the Holmes

symposia that the pioneers were going to cater for their promotional discourse through different scholarly societies and disciplines (see further: ICLA). Parallel research projects were going to multiply (e.g. at Leuven and at the Belgian Research Foundation, from 1979 on); PhD projects were on their way before 1976 and more and more afterwards, at Tel-Aviv, Warwick, Antwerp, Leuven, and they were going to stimulate cooperation and competition:

But this was still mainly known by insiders only. While ignoring the many articles, let us produce a small list of the books issued in the early years of the Holmes project:

- Even-Zohar's *Papers in Historical Poetics* 1978 contained the slightly revised chapter on "The Position of Translated Literature" (2 editions in one and the same year, which also happened to be the year of the Tel-Aviv Symposium). In later moments, the book remained prestigious, but it was reduced by its various audiences to (either) translation or literary studies and the concept of Polysystem.
- Van den Broeck and Lefevere 1979: *Uitnodiging tot de Vertaalwetenschap* was the first new general presentation of the new paradigm, but it only addressed the audiences in the Low Countries. This was quite a predictable option for van den Broeck but not at all for Lefevere. And it has never functioned as a handbook.
- Vanderauwera & Lefevere, 1979: *Vertaalwetenschap: literatuur, wetenschap, vertaling en vertalen*. A reader with a programmatic introduction. It was the first new general presentation of the new paradigm for the Low Countries.
- Bassnett 1980: *Translation Studies*. It was the first international introduction to TS, immediately after the symposia, and it became a classic in the Anglo-American world, even worldwide, due to its excellent distribution. For the members of the Holmes Group it was quite disappointing because several among the key issues since Holmes 1972 and the three symposia got drowned or forgotten in one of the bestsellers in the new discipline. Unlike Hermans, Bassnett did not introduce a "new paradigm," though the book also became a classic in the development of Cultural Studies.
- Toury 1980: *In Search of A Theory of Translation*. A Tel-Aviv publication by a young scholar who had just finished his PhD on novel translations into Hebrew for twenty years, and who connected his "descriptive work" *avant la lettre* with the analysis of most translation theories. It was the most innovative book on the new paradigm until Hermans 1985. His views on norms belong to the most radical ones in the 20th century and in TS as such.

During the same years, every member of the Holmes group devoted several articles to the new insights from the three symposia. Given the dissemination that Holmes 1972 got from its first presentation in Copenhagen in 1968, it was also the intention of the group to use the international scholarly societies in the "language area" as privileged channels for the promotion of TS. ICLA, the International Comparative Literature Association, appeared to be one of the privileged channels since 1976: the International Congress in Budapest offered an excellent opportunity for the revelation of TS within CL and even within Literary Studies, which explains why the "Translation Committee" was founded at the 1976 congress in Budapest. But it will become clear that ICLA was not yet open to TS.

The participation in many symposia can be envisaged as part of staff mobility. Holmes himself was always on the move. Visiting professorships happened to be another part⁶.

6. THE INSTITUTIONAL TAKEOFF

Academic life and academic communities are not simply the result of pure ideas; they are also heavily dependent on academic and other power structures and, in modern times, on cultural-economic-political dynamics: individual people are needed, but they are never sufficient.

One of the big handicaps of what we might call the origins of TS—the movements around Holmes between 1970 and 1990—was that their intellectual dissemination was to a large extent located within so-called small countries. Mary Snell-Hornby's complaint about the difficulty to get access to the work of Holmes and his companions had more to do with the obvious lack of (publication and promotion) power. In the given circumstances, academic environments in the USA and the UK (first of all), Germany, Vienna, Paris were dominant centers: one does not need to read Even-Zohar to understand this kind of logic. The international situation of research on translation in 1980 or 1985—which we keep distinguishing from TS—changed in a very spectacular way between say 1985 and 1995.

It would indeed be naive to assume that the academic recognition of TS—its institutionalization—was the result of one single person or a small circle, whatever the resistance on behalf of academia may have been between 1950 and 1990. The network of translation training institutes on different continents including Asia (remember Lefevere at Hong Kong) continued pressurizing the intellectual world in the more and more global village. The international prestige of translation was low, but in the discovery of internationalization, communication seemed crucial and, due to the spectacular increase in the mobility of people, translation suddenly looked like a crucial service to society. In the symptomatic political episode of the Russian *sputnik* (1956), even the United States turned out to be ridiculous in their monolingual language policy: why would American scholars have cared about publications in Russian? And little by little, publishing houses started having their say. Multilingualism, English as a *lingua franca* (without references to other *linguas francas*) and translation were part of large international agendas.

On the basis of a rich international experience in several countries and centers (Geneva, Vienna, etc.), one of the most prominent names in research on translation decided to support the movement in favour of scholarly and academic innovation: Mary Snell-Hornby, the head of the Institute for *Translationswissenschaft* at the University of Vienna. The big surprise was that she made use of at least one of Holmes' initial steps by adopting his most visible innovation: the concept of *Translation Studies* (Snell-Hornby 1988). Whatever they had imagined, said or written, the Holmes environment suddenly realized that they were not fully isolated. *Translation Studies. The Integrated*

6 Mobility of staff members was a component in the networking: Even-Zohar at Amsterdam in 1975; Lambert at Amsterdam in 1976-77; at Sorbonne III in 1977-1978; Popovič at Edmonton 1977; Toury at Heidelberg, etc.

Approach has been called the first bestseller in TS. Was this just a Holmes product? Certainly not, but the attempt was obviously to open the scholarly approaches to cultural research:

The author develops a more cultural approach through text analysis and cross-cultural communication studies. The book is “a contribution to the development of translation studies as a discipline in its own right” (Snell-Hornby 1988: cover text of the book).

The final words seem to echo Holmes 1972: “[...] *the development of translation studies as a discipline in its own right.*” (table of contents). One only has to read the titles of the two first chapters to notice the distance with the 1992 texts, whatever this may mean at first sight: (a) *Translation Studies as an independent discipline* and (b) *Translation and traditional language study*. Two different research areas in TS side by side?

In those years, Snell-Hornby first registered how research on translation was largely monopolized by applied linguistics and comparative literature. In 1992, at the beginning of the Vienna Congress, which was going to become the origin of the *European Society for Translation Studies (EST)*, she regretted such monopolies and in the publications after 1992 she stressed that research on translation had stopped being the monopoly of applied linguistics and CL. More than ten years later, she was happy to devote *The Turns of TS* to interdisciplinary mobility.

The presentation of the Manipulation School as the second most important approach in contemporary Europe was a surprise. Among the experts with literary as well as linguistic backgrounds the need was also felt to revise the approach to translations in society. The pragmatic revolution was: 1. the use of the Holmes concept as a relevant name for the new space; 2. the creation of a scholarly Society for TS, called EST (*European Society for Translation Studies*).

Snell-Hornby was an active but also a critical partner. The truth is that several incompatibilities continued to embarrass the new partners of the “Manipulation Group”: first of all their mainly literary background; the concentration of their “descriptive” research on literary culture; the idea that translation phenomena would be facts of “one culture”, i.e., the target culture (Anthony Pym’s entire work supports the idea of international cultures); the systematic reference to “norms” and the resistance to normative discourse on translation phenomena; the strong distinction between practice and research (“theory”, in the traditional jargon). Except for the last one, none of these positions go back to Holmes 1972, which implies that Holmes’ successors were becoming more radical.

The confrontation between the literary and the linguistic wing had become open since 1985 (Hermans) and 1988 (Snell-Hornby), but it continued after and within EST after 1992. An important new group (another wing?) developed at Göttingen under the supervision of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (SFB 309: *die literarische Übersetzung* 1987-2002). Without sharing Toury’s focus on target cultures, they strengthened the cultural approach as well as the conflicts between source and target cultures (*transfer approach*). The investment on behalf of national research foundations, which had started in Leuven around 1980 was multiplied in an unprecedented way for

a twelve-year project that issued dozens of volumes on German (literary) translations and that finally generated one of the most impressive new encyclopaedias (Kittel 2004-2011); in contrast to the traditional source-oriented and the target-oriented theoretical discussions they posited their transfer-oriented views, which in anyway confirmed the end of the normative views on translation. But unlike DTS they reduced their focus to translated literature.

Within the common shifts away from normativity, the question of equivalence did not survive well, e.g., in German speaking environments, to a large extent also under the influence of Škopos theory (H. Vermeer, J. Holz-Mänttärä; C. Nord). It also became difficult to maintain the one-sided insistence on linguistics that Hermans 1985 had questioned on behalf of the “new paradigm” in his discussion with Snell-Hornby. During debates at a symposium at Castellón in 1992, representatives from Translation Training and a few manipulationists were in conflict about the definition of at least one initial norm (Borillo 1995). Media translation and Internationalization developed as new controversial fields where further confrontations became unavoidable, along with interpreting, including all variants of screen translation. It is needless to say that neither Holmes nor Toury had ever envisaged identifying internationalization or screen translation as challenges incompatible with their worldview (see the work by Gambier, Gile, Pöchhacker, Schjoldager from the early 90s, particularly in *Target*).

Since more or less the end of the 1980s, the various theoretical positions were submitted to many new cultural phenomena (screen translation; community interpreting). And the academic world also revised its frameworks little by little. The academic market of research projects and PhDs discovered translation. A rather impressive number of PhD holders did not expect the recognition of departments for TS. First of all, the Leuven—Tel-Aviv—Antwerp symposia had attracted and convinced quite a few young scholars from the organizing centers, which also conquered the new book market. Several among the new doctors play or have played a role in present-day TS, quite heavily by way of explicit relations with DTS. There were at least some ten PhDs in ten years from KULeuven. They conquered a reputation in international TS, even largely in DTS; among them are Lieven D’hulst, Dirk Delabastita, Reine Meylaerts, Luc Van Doorslaer, Rainier Grutman, Clem Robyns, Patrick Cattrysse; or Aline Remael, Ria VanderAuwera, Romy Heylen, Rita Temmerman from Antwerp; Kitty van Leuven-Zwart from Amsterdam. But centers that focused on translation training also innovated both curricula and research, e.g. Franz Pöchhacker, Klaus Kaindl from Vienna. And Istanbul, Spain, Portugal, or Scandinavia were going to follow. It was a European, never a local story.

The remarkable observation is that this new generation of PhDs got their degree within other departments than TS, such as linguistics, literary studies, sometimes communication studies. The revision of the department landscapes and titles started in Western Europe, then expanded step by step through the continents.

The academic world has often been blamed for its isolation, its *Weltfremdheit*, and TS continues to offer interesting examples of such tendencies. Anyway, besides Internationalization, politics may help reshuffle academic structures. The multiplication of departments for (translation and) TS is certainly indebted to the Bologna Declarations (1998) and other meetings between rectors from many countries. Such meetings were not at all organized, but heavily inspired by the European Union (EU). As the greatest

employer of translators in the history of mankind and as a business-oriented organization, the EU had been involved in MT, and had established committees that accepted the task of orienting its linguistic-economic planning (Fishman 1993): their agendas excluded almost systematically any kind of academic research. The development of politics and markets did not convince the authorities, especially since the first dreams about fully automatic MT had been collapsing. In the 1990s the waves of Internationalization required new interventions on behalf of authorities, and the EU created a new committee in view of innovations in translation training. Once more, academic research on translation was not on the agenda, up until the moment when key people from EST, IATIS (Yves Gambier, Juliane House, i.e., two linguists) required a similar innovation for the training of trainers, i.e. in the academic curricula. An integrated TS, once a nice idea in 1988, became a fact. And the research about curricula on the other continents had a spectacular worldwide impact on curricula in general. Much more was in the air since 1988, as described in Hermans (1999: 13-14). Institutionalization was in progress.

In 1989, two other complex long-term projects were going to take off. Toury and Lambert founded the first journal with a scholarly academic status (*Target*: John Benjamins). For the Publisher Benjamins, *Target* was just the next step into TS. Toury also created a rich collection of research publications in 1995 (Toury's key book *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* was number 5 in the series, now the series has more than 150 volumes; the Toury team was going to work out another large-scale project: the *Translation Studies Bibliography*; and another team with strong connections in DTS launched *Translation and Interpreting Studies*.

Also in 1989, Lambert founded CETRA (called the CERA Chair for Translation, communication and culture after 1995):

Perhaps the most effective vehicle for the propagation of the [Holmes] paradigm has been the series of summer courses on translation research training masterminded by Lambert and held annually (...) (Hermans 1999: 14).

This was and remains much more than the Clearing House Holmes could ever have imagined, especially because CETRA trained a few hundreds of talented scholars from the next generation of translation scholars between 1989 and 2020. Often in combination with research societies, e.g., EST and IATIS, dozens and dozens among the new scholars multiplied and extended the potential started up since the 1970s. Besides research centers and other clearing houses, several research fora are now at the disposal of researchers and research teams from five continents, and they make use of the modern communication tools in their networking. One of the clearing houses that Holmes had never imagined is the kind of websites made available e.g., at Anthony Pym's center in Spain, in fact around the globe. No wonder several specialized publishing houses also got involved in the TS market: first in Europe, mainly in English, then on five continents. Is this due to Holmes —or to DTS?

During and after the commotion about the definition of translation (the prestigious Toury book refused to provide a definition), many scholars from interpreting, as well

as experts from media studies and screen translation (as Yves Gambier was going to call it) got inspired by the less bureaucratic and more functional views on translation and intercultural communication.

Among the translation experts from the various backgrounds, the dilemma of source/target culture met with heavy support and also heavy resistance, e.g. from Pym, who criticized Toury and his (early) DTS for their static views on cultures. But without the Holmes —Toury— DTS potential, universities would probably never have accepted TS as a motoring component in the dynamics of cultures.

At that moment, the institutional position of the new discipline announced a brilliant future. This was not really due to individuals only and was probably not due to coincidence. Both TS and translations tend to be culture bound.

The intensification movement became obvious when in 1992 the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) was founded in Vienna under the presidency of Mary Snell-Hornby. In her 1988 book the same Snell-Hornby remarked that TS was (too much) concentrated within applied linguistics and comparative literature; five years later, the Vienna congress that created EST was promoted in more optimistic terms with the observation that TS had stopped being monopolized by applied linguistics and comparative literature. In her many state-of-the-art publications such as *The Turns of TS* (Snell-Hornby 2006), the focus is on interdisciplinarity, not the least on the sociological turns. It's a long way to Tipperary, but in the good company of James Holmes.

The interdisciplinary developments might take an ambiguous signification to the extent that DTS, which had been prepared in the 1970s, then further worked out as one of the basic forces of TS, was in turn opened up to various new fields and approaches, in *Target* and at CETRA as well as in PhDs in more and more countries, or on the booming publication market (see the number of volumes in Benjamin's Translation Library between 1995 and 2020, the various collections at St. Jerome, Multilingual Matters, Rodopi, and even much more at Routledge). A success story (Susan Basnett)? Maybe, but for whom and what exactly?

7. THE COMPARATIVE LITERATURE INTERMEZZO

Jiří Levý's *Literarische Übersetzung* (1969; in Czech 1963), in fact a PhD, was almost fully unknown in Western Europe until it was published in German translation in Frankfurt (it is now available so many years later in *Benjamin's Translation Library*). Before the Holmes Group was constituted, it produced a shock among well-informed translation experts. In José Lambert's PhD on the reception of German romanticism in France (Lambert 1976) it provided a basis for the innovation of reception studies in CL. A few years later, Lambert accepted that more was needed in order to integrate CL and TS: it was a "normative theory" where norms were mentioned, indeed, but not yet as a key concept in TS, which of course did not yet exist. It was not Holmes, but Toury, in another PhD, who was going to work out a construction around the norms concept in view of the discipline that was going to become real. Holmes and van den Broeck on one side, Toury and Even-Zohar on the other, were familiar with the Czechoslovakian (and East-European) traditions in their approach to translation. It became clear that Central and Eastern Europe represented very rich *translation cultures* (it is only in recent

years that this concept achieved a scholarly status). Holmes benefited from the few months of the Dubček regime while organizing a symposium on translation at Prague. Levý died soon after the publication of his German *Die literarische Übersetzung* (Levý 1969). But his Slovak disciple and successor, Anton Popovič, had his impact on the Holmes team where Toury and particularly Even-Zohar recommended integrating Russian, Czech and other East-European theories. Direct contacts were still difficult in those years: Popovič did not succeed in his planned participation at Leuven in 1976; a few months later the ICLA expert Milan Dimič succeeded better in his invitation to Edmonton, and Popovič chaired a session of the ICLA Translation Committee at the Antwerp symposium in 1978. For the Holmes Group there was no doubt about the added value that translation—from East and West, as it was called—had to offer to comparatists, but from the ICLA perspective translation was and remained marginal (Lambert 2021). Even in the 21st century, Zohar's Leuven text has not yet provided them much inspiration.

The most spectacular chance for ICLA was the career of the Slovak scholar Dionýz Ďurišin, who devoted his full career since the end of the 1960s to the integration of World Literature and TS into CL. Though ICLA, especially their Coordination Committee, was looking for a better cooperation with the Marxist East-Europeans, they ignored Ďurišin until the end of the century, even when he was taking part in their big congresses (e.g., Innsbruck 1979). A missed opportunity? Yes, according to Cesar Domínguez and (only) a few others, not only referring to Ďurišin, but also to the Translation Committee and their specific activities (especially Lambert & Lefevre 1993, from ICLA in Paris 1985; Lambert & Hyun 1995, from ICLA at Tokyo 1991).

The contacts between the young Holmes group and Popovič were limited, and not only because human mobility was still very difficult in the 1970s. The Leuven symposium was aware of a somewhat static approach behind Popovič's interesting contributions about metatexts (see Van Gorp 1978). It is now very clear that Ďurišin's contributions reflected a panoramic worldview on literary dynamics as one of the few counterparts of Even-Zohar's polysystems. The most striking observation one can make in relation with CL, which is more Ďurišin's field than TS, is that the ideological backgrounds are incompatible. Without being polemical, the systemic starting points in Dionýz Ďurišin cannot integrate the nation-based comparatist priorities. The World Literature components in the ICLA *History of Literatures in European Languages* look narrowminded in comparison with the views on literature worked out in the Holmes Group, especially from the perspective of methodologies: the internationalization of literature from TS failed to inspire ICLA (and vice versa?).

It is easy to imagine how CL or ICLA might have benefited from insights about translated literature or translated culture. In simplistic terms, it would have been fascinating to imagine how the translation issue is an unavoidable moment in the dynamic relationships between different cultures, neighbouring ones or not. The methodologies on both sides might have inspired further work. The bureaucratic structures were a real obstacle. And whether Ďurišin or other experts were the solution is a narrowminded question: blindness looks like a better answer. Lambert demonstrates how the ideological and theoretical approaches tended to avoid open confrontations in research (Lambert 2021: 114-116).

Whether any “history of literatures” will ever result from such macroscopic ambitions is another matter, which also applies to Even-Zohar. Anyway, one can easily understand why the “Western comparatists” remained critical, very critical of the East-European experts and why they excluded Āurišin for at least two decades.

Such attitudes account for the overall treatment of TS within ICLA and —generally speaking— CL. Translation was simply not accepted as a truly literary phenomenon (for normative reasons); hence no harmony with the assumptions of the Holmes Group since Leuven 1976. Hence translation could not pretend to be accepted as a crucial component in literary (and cultural) dynamics. The detailed history of the Translation Committee in ICLA is analysed up to 2000 in Lambert (2021).

The turn of the century was a key moment, however: Casanova (1999) and other trends modified several basic assumptions. Gisèle Sapiro and the Bourdieu contributions illustrated, first of all, that literary canonization cannot be analysed in national(ist) terms anymore and that TS also had its missed opportunities, i.e., a lack of awareness of sociology, anthropology, etc. In 1972, Holmes happened to be more open-minded in his planning.

Notwithstanding the new constellations, the Executive Council of ICLA tried —in vain— to get rid of its Translation Committee in 2001 (Lambert 2012). And from 2000 on, the more innovative wings in CL rediscovered translation without being aware of their own “missed opportunities”.

Besides CL, the bibliographical infrastructures demonstrate how the Brexit-movement from the 1990s excluded Holmes’s ideas from twenty years earlier.

8. POOR HOLMES? BREXIT *AVANT LA LETTRE*

The human sciences needed a few years before they noticed how the physical and the intellectual world have changed in a few decades. This is surprising after all, so many centuries after Marco Polo and Columbus. Very surprising in the case of, say, literary studies, which focuses on products of imagination. In the case of TS, the small-scale perspectives survived well —and do survive well— notwithstanding several revolutions in communication. James Holmes could not yet imagine what Internationalization was going to imply in translation matters, but his framework seems to have been prophetic from the beginning, simply because it depended less than national(istic) work on the nation-state. Toury’s norms concept certainly widened the translation world much more than the —also binary— *stylistique comparée* (the German romanticists were already aware of source and target cultures), but much less than e.g. Even-Zohar. Anthony Pym started his career with questions on Internationalization, but we needed to wait until 2003 before getting Michael Cronin’s big book (Cronin 2003) on the new translation world.

The Institutionalization of TS around 1990 —and until today— depended heavily on the nation-state, but EST and IATIS —the latter a bit more as it was founded in 2004— now go definitely for world views, programs, partners. Let us see what the African Society will bring and how Asia will revise Holmes 1972 (see further).

The creation of IATIS (2004) indeed helped to widen the scope, partly already with the support of English, the new lingua franca. Of course EST was also very English-language oriented, which may have promoted international openness. Holmes himself did his job mainly in his mother tongue. Can research really function without English?

Let us not forget that the language policy in TS writings is strangely one-sided: is it a joke that it avoids translation wherever possible? An unproblematic option?

Other consequences were linked with the implications of internationalization, e.g. the well-known re-nationalisation, or should we say: continentalism or politicization? Well-known since it inspires the ranking-mania (the bibliography is enormous, see e.g. Lambert & Iliescu-Gheorghiu 2014) and it refers to world-business (“Does ranking rhyme with banking?” Lambert 2014). Such tendencies are obviously not indebted to Holmes 1972, but they have played and keep playing a role within TS, —and not just since 1972 or 1990. They had their impact on recent developments in TS, partly already before Holmes’s death. It is correct that nationalism and other political considerations help to explain translation issues on all levels.

Scholars are supposed to study cultural priorities and conflicts - not to identify with them. This implies that we tend to forget that notwithstanding their status, academics are submitted to sociocultural patterns, just like real people.

Such considerations happened to look relevant in relation to the behaviour of the colleagues who created TS: scholars are also real everyday human beings. Part of the success story was heavily oriented by personal likes and dislikes. The personal relationships between several great profiles in the new discipline remained mysterious in one sense or the other. People like Toury and Vermeer, who were not supposed to be easy companions in their scholarly environment, got along quite well with each other. And this was not sufficient argument for convincing Vermeer to meet and support the Holmes team, who made use of the new magic term “norms” like he did....; in the later years, many colleagues from the Skopos wing were excellent partners within EST, *Target*, etc.— It is not unknown that personal relations have their influence on the planning of common projects. Within the Holmes team, at least at the beginning, friendship was not an idle word, but after 1980 distances, personal situations and ambitions separated the people. The opposite also occurred (besides Vermeer and Toury): Harris and Toury, or even Newmark and Toury spoke about each other in terms of friendship. Anyway, the Holmes team did not officially meet any more except in the Paris meeting of ICLA in 1985 (Lefevre & Lambert, Even-Zohar or Tymoczko had only bilateral contacts).

Antwerp 1980 was a negative milestone from the perspective of personal relations around Holmes, and not only because Holmes himself stopped getting involved. But many conceptual links survived at least a few years.

It was more and more manifest that two wings —again— were developing in the group: it was symptomatic that the title *Manipulation* selected for Hermans 1985 has not been supported by the “Toury wing” (target-oriented; descriptivist?). In the same years, Bassnett started discussing the future of TS in connection with Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature, which definitely became the turning point in relation with the duo Bassnett-Lefevre after 1990: in their options Holmes’s idea of a discipline was abandoned and replaced by translation and (comparative) literary studies, or translation theory/theories. The return to theories and to literary/cultural studies paralysed (in their works) the priorities placed on research that were so obvious and strong in the *Manipulation*. In their common publications after 1990, Bassnett and Lefevre simply forgot about the symposia from the second half of the 1970s. After Lefevre’s early death, Bassnett wrote that, of course, almost everyone knew that Even-Zohar and Toury

were/had been very influential in the 1980s (she might have added: except in my own writings), and that new needs had been discovered afterwards (Bassnett 1990; Bassnett & Lefevere 1998). Very much a business argument? A few years later, Hermans (1999) provided his second ambitious survey of what he called the “new paradigm” (1985) in which many sophisticated pages were of course devoted to Even-Zohar, Toury, systems (as in the title of the volume) and DTS: from that moment on, Hermans (1985) and Hermans (1999) represented the unavoidable historiography of the Holmes group.

The development of a new two-winged orientation became public when Hermans (1999) stressed without any justification that DTS was dead. It was as simple as that. Since it has been absorbed (integrated?) into “empirical translation studies.”

It is easy to collect quotations around the world, from 2020 or from 2000, that radically contradict the death of DTS. One of the first arguments may be that Hermans himself still happens to be treated as a descriptivist (Naudé 2006). What’s in a name?

Here is the abstract of an article on the Holmes/Toury map in confrontation with Chinese culture. It teaches us a few rules about international research that the non-believers in matters of disciplines tend to overlook, i.e. the need to contextualize research with the aid of a state of the art, however short it may be:

This study, by surveying 1,283 papers published in CTJ from 2004 to 2016, aims to identify the main features and research trends of TS in China based on the Holmes/Toury map. It reveals that of the three branches of TS, the theoretical branch claimed the largest share, that the number of descriptive studies had been increasing and that the scope of areas covered by applied TS was expanding. Besides, the study also verifies the significant value of Holmes’ framework as a highly serviceable guide and its applicability to TS in China. (Zhao & Ma 2019).

Whatever the outcome may be, the relevance of Holmes and Toury for translation in Chinese culture is taken very seriously. And articles on translation in Korea, Iran etc. suggest that DTS has still insights to offer to world culture between 2010 and 2020 (Imre 2016; Hyang 2015).

Whatever inspirations may motivate Hermans, his 1999 book leaves little space for DTS. The “new paradigm” from 1985 is indeed treated in an ambiguous way, first of all when Hermans reports that his own confidence in —especially— the Toury–Even-Zohar approach has been submitted to fundamental doubts. It is not our intention to discuss the —indeed impressive— analysis of Toury’s theoretical work as well as the —less impressive— links established between both Israeli scholars. *Divide et impera?* The trouble is that Toury’s profile is largely though not exclusively reduced to its theoretical components, while his relevance for TS —as the only real manager, and the successor of Holmes— is heavily ignored: a strangely eclectic portrait of the scholar who —together with Holmes— fully identified with the academic project of the discipline and who, together with Snell-Hornby, animated the key moments of the Institutionalization for some twenty years. It is merely mentioned in *Translation in Systems* that Toury founded *Target* (with Lambert), that the journal also accepted contributions from other orientations than DTS, that the journal was not just a reduction of DTS. Is this the Holmes/Toury contribution to TS?

Whatever the actual picture may be that our historian summarizes, the conflict with the bibliographies of TS is manifest: historiography ignoring bibliography? Not much

sophistication is needed to notice how unexpected (idiosyncratic?) the Hermans statements on DTS are. True, the observation on behalf of many experts that Toury 1995 is the most prestigious book in TS around 2020 does not necessarily correspond to 2000. The fact is that year-by-year bibliography confirms that the continuity Holmes-Toury-EST-CETRA has not stopped in those years, while attracting new names and new projects (e.g., on indirect translation, screen translation, legal translation, on countries and cultures from five continents). In his 2019 analysis of DTS in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Hermans 2019), Hermans appears not to have added anything substantial to his considerations from the previous century. The historian Hermans seems to be blind to bibliographies. While emphasizing—quite rightly—how the Bassnett-Lefevere publications animate a very different wing in TS, he forgets about the traditions that have shaped his own work.

However, what has been forgotten in Hermans (1999) and Hermans (2017) has been published in other channels by other experts, e.g., in a synthetic and panoramic article on “Psycholinguistic and cognitive science in translation and interpreting”. There is no way of dealing with such a topic, we are told, without recognizing the innovative role of a few unavoidable pioneers:

A comprehensive account of the progress and achievements of TS scholars would require a full book, or several. (...) Scientometric evidence (see Franco Aixelá 2013) indicates that Gideon Toury is the most quoted and presumably one of the most influential authors in TS. His main contribution, linked to literary and sociological theories, was the idea that translation should be studied not prescriptively, on the basis of what critiques believe translation should be like, but descriptively, taking relevant social norms in the target culture as a key element in the analysis of translation choices observed (Toury 1978). In its wake, further conceptual work with classifications and definitions of norms was done by authors such as Theo Hermans and Andrew Chesterman, and numerous analyses of existing translations were conducted within this new paradigm (see Chesterman 1993; Hermans 1991; and Toury 1978, 1995). Beyond the concept of norms, sociology has actually inspired much theoretical work in research into written translation. In particular, Bourdieu's ideas and concepts and some of Goffman's concepts have been used as tools for the analysis of various translational phenomena in what has come to be called the 'sociological turn in Translation Studies' (Gouanvic 1999; Diriker 2004; Pym, Shlesinger & Jettmarová 2006; Wolf & Fukari 2007). (Gile 2015: 41).

One of the authors of this paragraph, Daniel Gile, is the outstanding name in research on interpreting with also a heavy record in TS in general, among others as one of the Presidents of EST. Together with Mary Snell-Hornby, Hans Vermeer, Andrew Chesterman, Anthony Pym, he belongs to the impressive list of CETRA-Professors. The fragment quoted confirms how TS, EST, *Target* and other groups have been in cooperation.

Quite a few points in the excerpt quoted question—unintentionally—the Hermans historiography. The interesting point is that the same Theo Hermans has been

collaborating with most of the people mentioned, at least until 2000. One is supposed to assume that, when writing *Translation in Systems*, he has forgotten when and how he was himself initiated into norms and systems.

The contrast with the historiography in Hermans (1999) is also very striking in the considerations on the book market (e.g. Benjamins Translation Library). The bold statements that Lambert has stopped working along the polysystemic lines, that he widened the views on source/target, on media communication, on business communication are supposed to rearrange rather than widen “the paradigm.” Of course the relevance of theoretical models from the past requires systematic examination. On the basis of obvious principles from empirical research.

After all, our key issue is supposed to be the continuity of the Holmes map: is it alive? The continuity of TS concepts rather than their survival is confirmed by several developments that might be called large-scale. They are often indebted to people who keep active during more than one generation. And it is obvious that all such developments are benefiting from other orientations than DTS without questioning them (for example in screen translation: Assis Rosa 2016).

In recent years indirect translation has inspired new intercontinental research that will certainly keep expanding (Assis Rosa *et al.* 2017) and that could hardly have been successful without the Toury traditions. The same Toury did not really dig from norms into institutions, to the point that one of the issues has become: what is there beyond translation norms (one of the Pym objections against Toury and Hermans). But institutionalization in TS has become indispensable in research on any community (see recent illustrations in González Núñez & Meylaerts 2018; Bourguignon *et al.* 2021). As a very typical result of combinations between Göttingen (Jürgen von Stackelberg) and the Toury approaches, indirect translation has become one of the key contributions of TS in matters of interdisciplinarity. This is quite a menu, since it has been ignored in translation theories while being excluded from the translation definitions as a “literary phenomenon”. Internationalization shows how widespread it is in legislation, in business, in religions or in the media —and how it is part of international translation cultures. And in research about world literature and other intercontinental issues, indirect translation has chances to inspire new views on cultural positions. It is one of the overlapping areas between World Literature and TS that Comparative Literatures —as well as TS itself— have left unexplored (Heilbron & Sapiro 2002; Sapiro’s recent articles and lectures on canonization; Lambert 2018).

In traditional methodological terms, particularly during the golden years of the theoretical booms from the end of the 20th century, case studies have often been recommended as one of the bridges between empirical and theoretical insights, including the first euphoria of TS and DTS. But case studies in TS can learn a lot from other empirical approaches such as organization studies (e.g., in Rebecca Piekkari’s works). Translation historiography has been blamed around 1990 for its shortcomings, but it has become a new and sophisticated branch in the Holmes map, and it deserves to orient other historiographical disciplines. Due to its growing interdisciplinarity, it may even function as a model for many other historiographical fields.

It is even urgent to insist on shortcomings in particular research areas within TS, precisely because interdisciplinarity often happens to be eclectic. How would intercultural

communication be compatible with eclecticism? Probably because the traditions of academia impose academic rather than everyday borderlines?

In 1989 the CERA Chair (CETRA since 1996) was a common initiative between a Belgian bank and KU Leuven with specific goals in the business area. It took fifteen years before Janssens *et al.* (2004) got published, but this lonely article became a classic in Organization Studies (see the work by Piekkari, Tietze, Steyaert, etc.). A few programmatic articles suggested further activities, but the most ambitious suggestions did not yet renovate research on the exploration of business companies, except for Brunelière 2015, who devoted an impressive monography to the language policy of the French car market in Brazil. Juliane House wrote fundamental pages on the complex interplay between English as the lingua franca on the one hand and translation or other solutions on the other hand: case studies on business situations, political situations have not yet inspired large-scale hypotheses or projects.

Among the promising innovations, children's literature has often been a privileged domain for established scholars, very often on the basis of well-known methodologies. After having oriented and divided generations of European philologists, the French, German, Russian fairy tales occupied a privileged zone in the preromantic European generations, long before fascinating twentieth century literary structuralists and narratologists. Zohar Shavit's work from the 1980's has revealed the interdisciplinary role of translation in the birth of national literatures and nationalism (Shavit 2009). Though the translation of children's literature has generated a series of classics in the past ages, it appears as one of the missed opportunities in the recent polysystemic approaches (except in Kruger 2012).

It is not only in translation matters that Asia and China have been booming in recent years, to the point that the (very North American) idea of "Western Translation Studies" nowadays looks local. Scholarly exchanges in such areas are booming within TS in general. And the question of whether the Holmes map has a particular relevance from the Far East perspective (Lee 2015; Zhao & Ma 2019; see also Nouraey & Karminia, 2015 as well as Zanettin *et al.* 2015; Rovira-Esteva & Franco Aixela 2018; or the Translation Studies Bibliography) seems to announce rich developments in intercontinental TS. Let us accept that the initiation is already quite promising. There is one spectacular black spot: Latin America, or the Americas... Is this a matter of culture and organization?

Recent statistics from UNESCO (2022a, 2022b, 2022c) indicate that the academic mobility of staff and students keeps changing the directionality of exchanges. Already at this moment, PhD performances on behalf of scholars from Asia indicate that "Western TS" and Western models should revise their traditions. One can imagine that new DTS production will benefit from Internationalization. Whether Holmes' name will be remembered is perhaps less important than progress in research.

9. BEYOND THEORIES AGAIN

Edwin Gentzler, a prominent representative of what we called the Brexit wing, produced a spectacular article on "Translation Studies: Pre-Discipline, Discipline, Interdiscipline, and Post-Discipline," let's say on the death of TS (Gentzler 2014). An issue for Even-Zohar and other experts of positions, cultures and norms? No discipline,

not even any university discipline would be needed whenever Gentzler discovers one of his new theories. Holmes would have asked: “Theories, what for?!” We can guess that it was at American universities that Gentzler became familiar with the fashionable idea of the death of disciplines. Without universities, disciplines, curricula, institutions — and CETRA, in Gentzler’s case— how would our future big names in TS ever have been trained up to the level of experts?

To what extent James Holmes or other pioneers belong to a Western tradition or to the New World, whatever this may mean, is a fine topic for polemics that he would have avoided himself. At least our survey establishes that his fifty-year-old article keeps orienting scholars who invest in the progress of a discipline that existed only in Holmes’ mind on the day he left our globe. His Name and Nature and the developments that it animated generated a potential that survived various Internationalization and Communication processes. On the basis of Walter Ong’s world view (Ong 1982), societies are supposed to change fundamentally after waves of technological (and scholarly) turmoil. It is a hot political topic as to whether COVID owes more to scholars than to nature. There can be no doubt any more on its impact on societies, due to the recent restrictions of physical mobility vs. the increase of mobility in electronic communication. There are good chances that TS will be needed more and more. In that case, names may change, but Holmes and his many disciples did warn us a few years before the Internet about its growing relevance.⁷

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⁷ Our warm thanks go to Peter Flynn for his excellent editorial assistance.

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CHAPTER III

From the Black Box to Cognitive Translation and Interpreting Studies, but Still Part of the Original Descriptive Translation Studies

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1. INTRODUCTION

Let us insert a terminological note before we start, at least to explain the title of this chapter. In this text, we will use *translation studies* as an umbrella term to refer to the academic field that includes translation, interpreting, postediting, localization, audiovisual translation, accessibility and any other form of *multilectal mediated communication* (see van Doorslaer 2020 for a recent discussion on the name of the discipline, and Halverson & Muñoz 2020 for a justification for this label). We will also be using *cognitive translation & interpreting studies* (CTIS, cf. Halverson 2010; Xiao & Muñoz 2020: 1-2) to refer to today's state of what Holmes and Toury referred to as *process-oriented translation studies* within their original views on *descriptive translation studies* (DTS).

CTIS is an umbrella term to refer to the bulk of research on cognitive processes underlying multilectal mediated communication events from various research traditions, such as *computational translatology* and *cognitive translatology*. Please note, however, that the term *cognitive* refers to cognition in general but that in the expression *cognitive translatology* it refers to approaches based on situated cognition (Muñoz 2010, 2021)—that is, to a certain strand within CTIS. On the other hand, the term *cognitivist* is used to refer to the classic, standard, computational, information-processing views of cognition, now best represented by *computational translatology*. Much, but not all, research done under the label *translation process research* (TPR) falls within this cognitivist line and can be seen as a former stage in the development of—and now a strand within—CTIS, as we will try to illustrate in this chapter.

We will try to sketch the main lines of the intellectual evolution from cognitive approaches, even before the notion of process-oriented translation studies, to today's cognitive translation & interpreting studies, in order to show that they can still be seen as a part of an updated notion of descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995/2012). In a nutshell, we will contend that, as a university discipline, translation studies started as independent scientific research programs within AI and psycholinguistics, and that the

failure of early MT and changes in the university system led to linguists taking over. Up to this moment, translation studies and cognitive approaches had basically overlapped, since scholarly interest in translation was comparatively scarce and often anecdotal.

A genuine interest in other social science perspectives, such as sociology, prompted the Holmes-Toury proposal of a discipline with several scientific strands, but their bid was short-lived because scholars from comparative literature pushed for their own program. In doing so, they relegated process approaches and other scientific strands to an ancillary position. In cognitive approaches, however, this fostered a slow renewal that came in successive stages, marked by dropping linguistics as a referential framework, improving data-collection methods and research rigor, and finally reconsidering old assumptions inherited from the information-processing paradigm that contributed to its early failure.

This does in no way mean that the more traditional views within CTIS (mainly, those formerly labeled TPR) have disappeared, let alone that they should. Many researchers will still approach translating as a linear bottom-up process focused on problem solving where the translator is all but a passive language processor. This is nevertheless a healthy sign, because now we have several approaches to try to explain the same phenomena, thus competing and helping each other to improve. Thus, even though we stand firm on embodied realism, we support epistemic pluralism (Chang 2012).

Beyond CTIS, the renewed interest in and emergence of new science-based strands is still anecdotal in numbers, but clearly growing. However, with the disciplinary tree being all but obsolete and the humanistic approaches literally leading nowhere (since it is not their goal to build and accumulate applicable knowledge), the time has come to ponder whether parting ways with these humanistic strands that were not envisioned by Holmes and Toury would be in the best interest of knowledge construction. We will try to draw the evolution of process-oriented translation studies and also show how current views within CTIS have outgrown it but still remain within the scope of descriptive translation studies as originally conceived of by Toury.

2. THE ORIGINS

The remote origins of Cognitive Translation & Interpreting Studies (CTIS) have been dated back to the beginning of the 20th century (Olalla-Soler *et al.* 2020). We actually think that the first empirical study on cognitive aspects of translating might even be about 20-25 years older than the 1910 experiments by Gabriele von Wartensleben. Right in Wilhelm Wundt's lab at the University of Leipzig, between 1883 and 1886, James McKeen Cattell expanded on Francis Galton's experiments on word associations to include multilingual combinations. Cattell's curiosity was probably sparked by having to translate texts between English and German in his correspondence with German, British and US psychologists, and by acting as an improvised interpreter for foreign visitors to the lab, at Wundt's request. Already a doctor, and working in Cambridge with Galton, in 1888 he reproduced some of those experiments, including the response times when translating single words from an L1 into a less known L2. One year later, Cattell traveled back to the USA to become the first Professor of Psychology in the country, at the University of Pennsylvania.

This is just an anecdote, but one with an important symbolic value: The antecedent first step of CTIS was taken in the same scenario that witnessed the birth of experimental psychology, and this happened ca. 30 years before Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye published Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* in 1916, marking the birth of modern linguistics. Yet it was not until the second half of the century that the mental processes associated to multilectal mediated communication started to draw the direct attention of empirical researchers. The academic interest in the process of translation originated not in human translation but in the initial, failed attempts to develop machine translation that, between the 1940s and the 1960s, fell short of yielding the expected quality outputs, and in the use of simultaneous interpreting as a case of “extreme language use” by psycholinguists to tackle the general workings of the mind (e.g. Gerver 1975; Obler 2012).

The first generation of cognitive scientists was inspired by the ideas of John Von Neumann and Alan Turing to develop computer architectures that were assumed to mimic the workings of the mind—as such workings were envisioned at the time (Istrail & Marcus 2013; Lombardo 2018). Noam Chomsky's extremely influential views on language shifted the focus of linguists from languages as systems to a universal mental grammar as a set of structures and mechanisms humans were naturally wired for. When these notions merged, they contributed to the cognitive revolution that took place starting the decade of 1960 (Miller 2003). In very few years, this revolution symmetrically led to view the mind as a computer, and computational models of the mind within the *information processing paradigm* became the only ones to be entertained (cf. Gigerenzer 2002: 26–43). Behaviorist and structuralist approaches that had been prevalent for decades were all but wiped out overnight in the United States. Their impact in Europe was smaller but considerable as well, if somewhat later than across the Atlantic. In early cognitive models, the mind would be made up of modules that would specialize in one aspect of information processing (Bruner *et al.* 1956). Information was assumed to consist of symbolic representations and to be processed according to formal, algorithmic rules (Fodor 1983). This view, called *cognitivism* and *computationalism*, would be and still is very influential in CTIS (Carl 2010; Alves 2015) and all but hegemonic in NLP and machine translation (MT) research.¹

Following the ALPAC report in 1966 that certified the initial failure of machine translation, the interest shifted to human translation, as suggested in the report, as a pre-requisite to reproduce the translation ability in computers. Linguists, including Noam Chomsky, had been called to work in AI teams and now there was a division of labor between engineers working on a trial-and-error basis and linguists who would try to address the *deep core* problems of translation. Thus, it was only natural that linguists took their work back to their language and literature departments, where they became custodians of the nascent translation studies.² However, the initial interest in artificial

1 These terms oversimplify the variety of views and the evolution of cognitivist approaches (see, e.g., Piccinini 2012).

2 This appropriation of the toddling translation studies into linguistics as a university discipline is explicit in the works of many disciplinary forefathers, such as Eugene Nida's (cf. Porter & Ong 2016), George Mounin's—who recommended that linguistics, both theoretical and descriptive, made room for translation as a research topic (Houdebine-Gravaud 2004)—and Jiří Levý's, the founder of Czech translation studies, who chaired the Department of Czech at Brno University.

intelligence left a logic blueprint that would reduce human cognition to sequential information processing applied to language problem solving, leaving out cultural, social and personal variables.³ MT systems but later also approaches to human translation based on logic needed ready-made, canned *equivalent* responses and this led to the early insistence to focus on “pragmatic texts” by, e.g., Leipzig School scholars (see also Zybatow 2008). Other scholars, such as Spillner (1984: 9) warned that “Nevertheless, [...] it becomes apparent that stylistic analysis is by no means limited to literary texts, but that it is equally adequate in the description of everyday language and non-literary text types” (our translation).

Up to this point, several foci of investigation into translation and interpreting had thrived in distant contact with each other, and definitely separated by disciplinary barriers. Machine translation researchers (e.g., Yehoshua Bar-Hillel, Victor H. Yngve, P. L. Garvin, Bozena Henisz-Dostert), psycholinguists (e.g., David Gerver, Frieda Goldman-Eisler, Anne M. Treisman), then linguists (e.g., Roman Jakobson, John C. Catford, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, Eugene Nida, Robert de Beaugrande) had ignored the millennia-old scholarly reflection from Cicero to George Steiner—“centuries of incidental and desultory attention from a scattering of authors, philologists, and literary scholars, plus here and there a theologian or an idiosyncratic linguist” (Holmes 1988:67)—and they mistrusted or looked down upon contributions from the few translation practitioners that made it into academia, such as Peter Newmark (see next section).⁴

3. TRANSLATION STUDIES’ FIRST STEPS AS AN AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINE

The disciplinary study of human cognitive processes associated with multilectal mediated communication started in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s, in the wake of the first cognitive revolution. We owe the first attempts to develop a “Science of Translation” (*Translationwissenschaft*) to the researchers working at the Institute for Interpreting at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig during the decade of 1960, often collectively referred to as *the Leipzig School*.⁵ Gert Jäger, Otto Kade, Albrecht Neubert, and later Heide Schmidt and Gerd Wotjak understood translation as a communicative task from the prism of generative linguistics, focusing on the mental processes that enabled the *transfer* of messages across languages (Kade 1964; Jäger 1977; Wotjak 2003). They saw themselves as developers of a new branch of linguistics, and their goal was to develop bilingual transfer grammars. To do so, the multifarious, complex nature of multilingual

3 For instance, both Catford (1965) and Ludskanov (1975) embraced Warren Weaver’s (1949) notion that translation could be conceived of as replacing signs from a source language with the corresponding signs in a target language.

4 For instance, Pym (1992: 305) wrote “Newmark ahoga así toda conciencia crítica de la traducción como una actividad reglada por la comunicación, y no por las exigencias de la autoridad [...] por lo menos en España —por la simple lógica de la oferta y la demanda—, hay una tendencia a conceder a Newmark más importancia de la debida” and Viaggio (1992: 27) would publish “[...] Newmark does indeed have a single, coherent theory of translation, that it is a wrong and didactically dangerous one, [...]. I believe that both Newmark the thinker and translator are better than his theory”. In turn, Newmark would not restrain his scorn when criticizing, e.g., Hönig (Newmark 1997) and Snell-Hornby (Newmark 1999).

5 A few scholars working elsewhere need to be added to this trend, such as Eugene Nida (1964).

mediated communication tasks was collapsed into a narrow view based on contrastive linguistics and logic that would allow for generalizable abstractions of phenomena through deductive and introspective means. Their approach, nevertheless, underscored text features, such as coherence, and their production (e.g., through translation strategies that were implicitly aimed to support formalizable algorithms but that, at the same time, were context-dependent) —thereby mixing competence and performance, in the first of several moves towards breaking away from their generative origins— but it still relegated cultural, personal or social aspects of the translation process.

Literary translation was proscribed from the study, for it was deemed the source of unnecessary variation and confounders. As late as in 2013, in the third edition of *La traduction raisonnée*, Delisle still restricts his theory to “pragmatic texts”.⁶ This stance would cast a long shadow on the future of cognitive approaches, as evident in the decades-long tendency to acknowledge social or emotional aspects of translation processes just to quickly shrug them away under the pretense that they were simply not amenable to reliable empirical study. As scholars in the field started to move away from linguistics-based, generative approaches and towards cognitive psychology and semiotics (see discussion of the Paris School below), the Leipzig School, influential as it was, ceased to inform cognitive-oriented investigations of translation. They left behind the first PhD in translation studies, the first disciplinary translation conferences, a few of the first disciplinary publications through their *Beihfte zur Zeitschrift Fremdsprachen* and an intellectual passion for translation and interpreting that would impact mainly scholars from the (western) Federal Republic of Germany, since the Leipzigers published mainly in German.

In the 1980s, interpreting scholars dissatisfied with the linguistics-based approaches of the Leipzig School found an alternative in other disciplines, and brought meaning and its relation to its scenarios to the fore (Seleskovitch 1980: 403):

En plein essor depuis Saussure, la linguistique synchronique s’est donnée une assise scientifique en dissociant l’étude des langues et de leur fonctionnement de celle de leur emploi (dichotomie langue-parole). Puis à côté d’un approfondissement des travaux sur les mécanismes et le fonctionnement du langage au niveau de la langue, on a vu au cours des trente dernières années se développer la psycholinguistique, la sociolinguistique, les théories de la communication, les recherches empiriques sur les actes de parole et sur les structures de la conversation, sans parler de la linguistique des textes qui étudie les structures transphrastiques de la langue. Toutes ces études dépassent largement le territoire assigné à la langue par la linguistique post-saussurienne, sans pour autant se départir de leur caractère scientifique.

6 “Souvent anonymes, contrairement aux textes littéraires qui, eux, sont signés, les textes pragmatiques ont une utilité plus ou moins immédiate et servent à transmettre une information d’ordre général ou propre à un champ d’activité. L’esthétique n’est pas leur caractéristique dominante, comme c’est le cas des œuvres littéraires” (Delisle 2013: 17). And “[...] Par sa nature et sa fonction, le texte pragmatique se distingue de l’œuvre littéraire (ex.: nouvelle, poème, roman) et de l’écrit de composition libre (ex.: biographie, chronique, mémoires)” (Delisle 2013: 686).

By the end of the decade, Ladmiral (1989: 10) would agree:

Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la linguistique fournit les éléments conceptuels et terminologiques permettant un étiquetage des réalités évidemment langagières dont traite la traductologie, et puis aussi bien sûr les linéaments d'une méthodologie dont il a pu sembler naguère encore que les autres sciences humaines, voire la philosophie elle-même, voulussent imiter la rigueur. Mais, pour l'essentiel, la traductologie doit emprunter à beaucoup d'autres disciplines que la linguistique (à la psychologie, aux sciences sociales... à l'analyse littéraire, à la philosophie, voire à la théologie).

Led by Danica Seleskovitch, the members of what would be called *the Paris School* or *théorie du sens* proposed an idealized model that was intentionally limited to the (oral) interpreting process. The basic assumption was that the meaning of source-language utterances could be detached from the linguistic units and then reformulated for the new addressees thanks to “cognitive complements” contributed by the interpreter, who would pragmatically adjust the *sense* to yield optimal target language utterances — not the invariable *meaning* of written language, that would be merely and automatically *transcodified*, they conceded. Proponents of this *Interpretive Theory of Translation* drew mainly from introspection too, which (also for other reasons) resulted in a natural selection of researchers that replaced psycholinguists with practicing interpreters, or *practisearchers*.

Their three-phase process model of interpreting rested upon the notion of *deverbalization* or conceptualization (Seleskovitch 1975, 1981) as central step, right between comprehending and re-expressing. It was the black box again, and that middle step was crucial because its locus was the mind and it did not consist of language operations. Other scholars, however, heavily contested it, as it was not backed by empirical evidence (Dejean Le Féal 1998). In short, the scholars in the Paris School focused on the interpreters, rather than on what they said, and hence pioneered the study of the process as performed by professionals and trainees.⁷ The Paris School should thus be credited with having been the first to move from languages to their speakers, making interpreters the object of study. It was also the first within the emerging discipline to adopt psychology as a referential framework —as inherited from the preceding wave of psycholinguistic researchers using simultaneous interpreting to shed light on the structure and workings of the mind.

⁷ At the time, Prof Brian Harris' (1976; Harris & Sherwood 1978) candid proposal of studying *natural translation*, i.e., the capacity of children to interpret spontaneously, crashed against the wall under construction to separate translation and interpreting from “other language studies” through implicitly or explicitly identifying the object of study with professional translation: “Wenn man sich anhand der Ausführungen und Beispiele in seinen [Prof Harris] verschiedenen Publikationen vor Augen führt, was er unter *natural translation* versteht, so läuft dies auf die Forderung hinaus, das sinngemäße Übertragen von nichttextuellen, nicht-schriftkonstituierten sprachlichen Alltagsäußerungen und somit eine nicht-professionelle Art der Sprachmittlung zum Hauptgegenstand der Übersetzungswissenschaft zu machen. Ich halte dies wie gesagt nicht für sinnvoll, weil es die übersetzungswissenschaftliche Forschung völlig unnötig auf einen, relativ speziellen Sprachmittlungstyp festlegen würde” (Krings 1992: 106).

As early as 1970, Otto Kade (1973) acknowledged that the Science of Translation had not been able to offer a scientific basis for translation practice. The Leipzig School had turned *equivalence* into the cornerstone of their approach (cf. Albrecht 1987: 13) but now, following the footsteps of Jakobson's (1959: 233) notion of "equivalence in difference" and Nida's (1964: 159ff) distinction between *formal* and *dynamic* equivalence, Jäger (1975: 107) proposed *communicative* and *functional* equivalence, and Catford (1978: 27ff) suggested *textual* equivalence to be sometimes different from *formal* equivalence. Meanwhile, the Paris School had concentrated on interpreting, thereby becoming a *de facto* partial theory—one that would only apply to (conference) interpreting and was thus uninteresting for translation scholars. Later on, through Jean Delisle's 1978 PhD dissertation (Delisle 1984), it came to extend its views to translation, but it also restricted its application to "pragmatic texts", as mentioned.

The general identification of linguistics with the generative-transformational approach, the artificial exclusion of literary texts, and the untenable restriction of meaning to propositional content and of translation to a rule-governed automatic process led to a general debacle of the first disciplinary attempt, the *Science of Translation*. In the 1980s, the field opened up to new approaches—or perhaps just exploded in several directions—such as functionalism (Holz-Mänttari 1984; Reiß & Vermeer 1984) and an empirical literary-based strand (e.g., Even Zohar 1979; Toury 1980). Meanwhile, a few researchers followed Sandrock's (1982) M.A. thesis and gathered in a symposium in Hamburg in 1984 to exchange their first empirical steps with think-aloud techniques (published in House & Blum-Kulka 1986).

Holmes's (1972) article on *The name and nature of translation studies*—only popular when reprinted in 1988—is often considered the foundational text of the field. Departing from his disciplinary map, and following Toury's work (1980, 1995), translation (and interpreting) was to be established as a self-proclaimed *descriptive, empirical* field of enquiry on its own standing. Other scholars, such as Robert Goffin (1971), Brian Harris, Jean-René LADMIRAL (e.g., 1989) and Gerardo Vázquez Ayora (1977) would suggest *translatology* and its translations to underscore the *scientific* nature of the enterprise (Harris 1973, 2011), but science was not popular in the field at the time (cf. Snell-Hornby 1988:14). Translation studies would transcend the limitations of the original schools by moving away from "physics envy" (Veit 2020: 101), that is, from the linguistics-driven willingness to turn translation and interpreting research into a science.

Translation studies has been described as a "success story of the 1980s" (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: ix) but there may be other ways to interpret this decade. Holmes and Toury's vision of a *descriptive* translation studies was in fact quite short-lived. In spite of the apparent widening of the object of study and the diversification of approaches to tackle it, Hermans (1985) would portray translation studies as a branch of comparative literature (Snell-Hornby 1986: 11, note 2). The purported integrative views (Snell-Hornby 1988; see also Newmark 1999) would soon yield to a "cultural turn" (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990) that would blur the disciplinary borders with cultural studies (cf. Bassnett 1998). Not only was literature now part of the object of study. For many newcomers it would be center stage. Crucially, the study of literature in translation would also welcome new ways to tackle the object of study, non-scientific approaches

as typical in the humanities, exploring complex constructs from a philosophical perspective and that include those drawing from post-modern epistemological stances that have colored a large number of publications in the field ever since⁸.

The new disciplinary venture of *translation studies* was thus born that would slowly become institutionalized, sometimes into formal university departments of translation and interpreting, but much more often as one more line within departments of languages and literatures, and with a new agenda. New cultural and literary dimensions were brought to the table at the same time that translation schools at higher education institutions mushroomed, particularly across Europe. This helped to establish the new academic discipline with a focus on training future professional language mediators, often with a mix of humanities and professional approaches. Many interpreting scholars and some translation scholars did not see a very good fit for interpreting research in this new disciplinary attempt and argued for the development of a separate discipline of *interpreting studies* (e.g., Salevsky 1992, 1993).

4. PROCESS RESEARCH AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

While *process research* could pertain to many approaches, such as social, institutional, and workplace perspectives, it was soon mostly linked to the study of short-spanned cognitive processes underlying (mainly, translation) tasks, more or less in laboratory conditions. This roughly corresponds to Holmes' (1988: 73) notion of *translation psychology* or *psycho-translation* studies. Dominated since the 1980s and almost until the turn of the century by the information-processing paradigm and legacy concepts such as the proverbial “black box” (from behaviorist psychology) and *competence* (from generative linguistics), scholars studying cognitive processes in translation focused on problems as instances that would interrupt translating flows (overview in Jääskeläinen 2011). Those studying interpreting would focus on the brain as a machine: multitasking, ear-voice-span, language control and recoding, memory processes, etc. (e.g., Christoffels 2004). Whereas TPR was basically concerned with translation, a general tendency to adopt models and methodologies from psychology initiated a period of extensive borrowing at methodological and conceptual levels from psychology —reaction time experiments, eye tracking, expertise, mental workload, priming, etc.

In translation, the methodology of choice in this period was verbal reports in their transcripts, known as *think-aloud protocols* (TAPs). It was assumed that introspection, whether prompted by the investigators or not, either guided or free, concurrent or retrospective, was the only possible way to gain insights, if indirect, from the black box, i.e., the minds of informants (Ericsson & Simon 1980). TAPs have remained an important data-gathering technique in the field despite justified criticisms (see Jääskeläinen 2017). While TAPs cannot provide us with observational data on the actual mental processes of subjects (for the subjects themselves do not have access to them), there seems to be a general agreement that they are a valid and effective method to

8 See Chesterman & Arrojo (2000) and the subsequent numbers of *Target* for a discussion of the main points of contention between some of these stances and a scientific, empirical stance in TS.

obtain information about subjects' own perceptions on the task and their own performance (e.g. see Pavlović 2007: 39–54; Sun, Li & Zhou 2021).⁹

At the conceptual level, models developed on *cognitivist* theories and constructs dominated the field, many still do: relevance theory, dual, serial processing, language-specific symbolic mental lexicon(s), working memory capacity, etc. Good examples are the monitor model and the very notion of competence (next section). The monitor model (Tirkkonen-Condit 2005) presented the translating process as a sequential set of instances of unproblematic, virtually automatic translated segments punctuated by instances of problem-solving cycles whenever an issue occurred. This view resonates with the classical standard paradigm of cognitive science that depicts cognition as a linear processing of discrete units of information—in this case, language units (see Newell & Simon 1961). Top-down processing does not seem to have a place in the model and mediators are all but passive processors.

The classic computational paradigm also assumes a difference between higher-level and lower-level processing, where the former takes care of actual cognition (understood as logical thinking and computing information) while the latter controls sensorimotor systems —“the sandwich model” (Hurley 1998). Pioneering scholars working on translation as problem-solving followed suit, very much like researchers from Leipzig School had done, and left aside emotional and situated aspects of cognition. This classical view on cognition, particularly the notion of mental representation in a “language of thought”, was contested by some scholars proposing connectionism, a new take on computational modeling of mental representation, storage, and processes as parallel and sub-symbolic, much in the way of artificial “neural” networks (McClelland, Rumelhart & Hinton 1986). Connectionist models have not been applied widely in TPR (but see Alves 2015), but they lie at the foundations of the very welcome and enormous success of “neural” machine translation.

5. COMPETENCE AND EXPERTISE

Competence and expertise were competing notions that illustrate the evolution from TPR to CTIS. The initial boom of process studies developed along the advent of *functionalism* (Holz-Mänttari 1984; Vermeer 1996; Nord 1997) and an increasing interest in the translator. Functionalist scholars in translation studies highlighted translation as a communicative event with a definite purpose or function defined according to the interests and aims of the stakeholders in the process. Interestingly, at the center of the process was the translator as an expert mediator in multilectal communicative events. The notions of expert and expertise in functionalist frameworks correspond to lay or folk notions of experts as go-to people who are particularly savvy or proficient at a given task, normally because of intensive training or extensive experience. Competence as expert knowledge also draws from this view.

9 The direct articulation of recorded phenomena as concrete problem-solving strategies may be considered a form of data, but they depart from the informants' self-reports and, in this sense, they are arguably one more step further removed from reality than observational data. Self-reports tend to be biased, inaccurate, and geared to satisfy the researchers' interests, as assumed by the informants.

Both the influence of psychology and the intended didactic application of process research made developmental changes in informants' performance a central concern for scholars. The still pervasive influence of generative linguistics can be noticed in the adoption of the *competence* construct (Wilss 1976). Readers are probably aware too that the term is still used with slightly to obviously divergent meanings in different disciplines. Originally devised to refer to the innate capacity for language in Chomskian terms, it was borrowed into Translation Studies to refer to the knowledge needed to translate. Competence was key in the development of TPR, and remains to this day a key concept in translation and interpreting didactics (see, e.g., EMT board 2017).¹⁰

As a legacy concept applied to empirical investigations, however, competence poses some challenges for process researchers. On the one hand, it is very difficult to define since, as a construct, it was applied to multifarious contexts, becoming a summative concept (Schäffner & Adab 2000). On the other hand, even when articulated through sub-competences, competence is a model of what needs to be *known* in order to translate—that is, of the *a priori* requisites of a process. Therefore, applying it to explain process data entails an aprioristic view that sets the elements to be discovered in the sample up front, which may compromise inductive empirical data testing. Still, thinking of competence as *expert knowledge* (PACTE 2003) was critical in the development of CTIS. Competence was the model of reference for empirical projects investigating developmental differences, mainly by testing professionals' (allegedly experts) and students' (novices) performance in order to identify performance differences across populations (PACTE 2005; Alves & Gonçalves 2007; Göpferich 2009). The rejection of a deductive model and the interest in developmental differences in performance led to another borrowing, this time from psychology—*expertise*, which would prove instrumental to the development of the field as an explanatory tool of empirical data and as a stepping stone for theoretical advancement (Shreve 2002).

During the first decade of the 21st century, Gregory Shreve published a series of papers introducing the *expertise* construct from expertise studies, a research strand within experimental psychology. Defined as “consistently superior performance on a specified set of representative tasks of the domain that can be administered to any subject” (Ericsson & Charness 1997: 6; see also Shreve 2002, 2006, 2009), the new construct modeled skills acquisition from a different, inductive perspective amenable to the investigation of behavioral indicators as dimensions that did not set any must-haves in advance (cf. Pym 2003: 485–487). Also, borrowing the construct from experimental psychology, a field with a long empirical tradition, moved research into the translation and interpreting processes away from the legacies of initial frameworks and constructs that posed incommensurability issues (Marín 2021).

10 In the pilot Tuning project (2001–2004) to launch the Bologna process of modernization and normalization of European universities, *competence* was understood as qualities, abilities, capacities or skills developed by students, consisting of a dynamic combination of cognitive and metacognitive skills, demonstration of knowledge and understanding, interpersonal, intellectual and practical skills, and ethical values. Competences, however, could not be measured, and were thus replaced in the *Dublin descriptors* by learning outcomes, understood as measurable attainment targets, i.e., results of learning experiences which allows assessors to ascertain to which extent / level / standard a competence has been formed or enhanced.

The 1990s saw the publication of several models of translation drawing on the information-processing paradigm and psycholinguistics (Neubert 1994; Wilss 1996). The same can be said of Gutt's model (1991) based on Sperber & Wilson's (1986) relevance theory. Gutt's model combined a modular view of the mind with Chomskian notions of competence and it was highly idealized. For instance, the definition of translations as texts that yield a sum of explicatures and implicatures equal to their sum in the original cannot be tested because meaning cannot be measured—understanding is often measured as a proxy for meaning, which it is not—and implicatures may or not have been implied by the speaker/writer and may or not be identified and interpreted by the listener/reader.

6. METHODOLOGICAL ADVANCES

By 1995, TAPs had been the main method to indirectly access the mental processes of translators for more than a decade (Jakobsen & Alves 2021). Technological advancement together with increasing criticism on the validity of TAP-based data spurred the development of Translog, a keylogging software that would allow for the machine recording of keyboard and mouse activity (Jakobsen & Schou 1999). This was a genuine breakthrough that opened up new possibilities to identify and measure effort, difficulty, typing rhythms or the role of attention in addressing translation problems.

The colleagues spearheading this new push for empirical research formed several groups (e.g., LETRA, PACTE, PETRA, TRAP), gathered with more informal structures, or were nearly lone wolves in their institutions. There was, nevertheless, one particularly influential center of activity that would be the engine to foster progress in the field in both research production and methodological refinement: the Copenhagen Business School in Denmark, where Arnt Lykke Jakobsen founded in 2005 the *Centre for Research and Innovation in Translation and Translation Technology* (CRITT).¹¹ Jakobsen and his colleagues would lead the way in the use of keylogging and eyetracking software as applied to TPR. CRITT works would become very influential, as they would mark a period of great technological development. The team would also relaunch the publication of collected volumes initiated in Leipzig and retaken by Tirkkonen-Condit, a strategy that would define the publishing practices in the minority TPR community in the years to come. TPR—let us remind the reader—has to date been mainly associated with the cognitivist paradigm.

Empirical research grew exponentially in the next decade, consolidating an incipient CTIS field with an increase in specialized publications and conferences that would set the main methodological concerns in the discipline for years (Göpferich *et al.* 2008; Mees *et al.* 2009; Göpferich 2009, 2010; O'Brien 2011). Research topics diversified considerably and so did data-collection tools, including eyetracking, screen recording, EEG and fMRI (Alvstad *et al.* 2011; O'Brien 2011; Ehrensberger-Dow *et al.* 2015; Schwieter & Ferreira 2017; Lacruz & Jääskeläinen 2018; Risku *et al.* 2019). The volume of available data skyrocketed although, admittedly, projects were not always motivated by theories or models, but technology-driven (Jakobsen & Alves 2021). In Shreve's

¹¹ Today CRITT is in Kent State University, Ohio, led by Michael Carl.

terms, TPR researchers were able to document processes and describe empirical facts in unprecedented ways, but they could not always explain them (cf. Shreve 1997).

In 1997, Danks *et al.* published *Cognitive Processes in Translation and Interpreting*, and scholars around the world were starting to gather around an “invisible college”.¹² A disperse college based on interests and affinities that included experimental psychology and expertise studies, but also and with growing influence, cognitive linguistics, cognitive science, neuroscience and bilingualism. The TPR domain widened to include new topics, such as human-computer interaction, cognitive ergonomics, post-editing and community interpreting; multi-method approaches became nearly the norm; and the cognition of other parties in a multilectal mediated communication event, such as the watchers of audiovisual products, came to be part of this enlarged and diversified object of study.

While TPR and the incipient new approaches followed an empirical agenda (Danks *et al.* 1997; Shreve 1997; Alves 2003), they lacked an empirical tradition like that of the scholars they borrowed their concepts from. In this context, Shreve published a “prolegomenon to an Empirical Translation Studies”, where he emphasizes the need not only to be empirical, but scientifically so: “all scientific inquiry proceeds from observation and description of empirical facts; and all scientific inquiry seeks to explain relationships or patterns observed” (1997:42). Still at its infancy, CTIS had not developed models or gathered the relevant evidence to move beyond mere description of empirical facts, but it did still fit well in the role assigned to cognitive approaches in Holmes and Toury’s disciplinary view.

7. THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

The wealth of possibilities for empirical study that new tools offered TPR researchers set the pace for an eminently empirical agenda over the first decade of the 21st century. Researchers addressed mostly empirical problems with increasing accuracy due to multi-method and triangulated designs (Sirén & Hakkarainen 2002; Alves 2003; O’Brien 2011). In parallel, the domain expanded, research topics diversified, and researchers looked again to other disciplines in search of methodologies and theoretical constructs (O’Brien 2013). CTIS experienced an important upsurge in the next two decades, outgrowing TPR and drawing more scholars to the community.¹³ An ever larger community that started to present specialized panels on process research at nearly every TS international conference—focused process and cognitive research conferences and workshops proliferated.

Theoretical development, however, had stagnated. For instance, the alternative accounts of translating as a chain of micro problem-solving instances vs as a single macro problem-solving instance comprising the whole task remained essentially unaltered for decades (e.g., Gaddis Rose 1979 and Krings 1986 vs Nitzke 2019). Empirical works

12 With this we mean that it also hosted cognitive approaches other than those typical of TPR and it welcomed back researchers from neighboring disciplines. An *invisible college* is an informal community of scholars and professionals who communicate and share research and ideas. Participating in an invisible college inspires a sense of purpose and focuses interest on particular issues, and thus it influences the development of ideas (Crane 1972).

13 Muñoz (2014) identifies 11 books between 2006 and 2013, and Xiao & Muñoz (2020), 13 more between 2013 and 2020—that is, 24 edited CTIS books in 14 years.

were oftentimes steered by methodology or simply led by the possibilities that new technologies offered. The creation of Translog and then the use of eyetrackers allowed researchers to gather considerable sets of behavioral data. The data would be described according to constructs borrowed from sister disciplines in small-scale exploratory studies that focused on technical or methodological aspects of research. Mees *et al.* (2009) offer a good summary of the research conducted in the field during the first decade after Translog was developed. This collected volume reflects the central research concerns at the time (mainly related to the practicalities of empirical research rather than to construct and hypothesis development and testing). Translog (developed in 1995) predates the more widely used constructs and models in TPR as we have known them thereafter: the revised version of PACTE Group competence model (2003), Shreve's take on expertise (2002, 2006) or Göpferich's competence model (2009), and the whole novice-expert paradigm used in empirical research at the time would still be contested from a theoretical perspective for more than ten years (cf. Jääskeläinen, 2010). Potential problems derived from the incommensurability of borrowings or the lack of validity of explanatory tools remained unproblematised.¹⁴

In 2010, a collected volume edited by Gregory Shreve and Erik Angelone would mark the beginning of "meta-theoretical turn" in CTIS that would gain strength over the next decade. Contributors to that volume identified theoretical issues that still engage the community today, such as the use of legacy concepts and interdisciplinary borrowings, the validity of long-standing constructs or methods, and the assumptions and tenets of research traditions or referential frameworks that inform our explanations of empirical phenomena (Jääskeläinen 2010; Muñoz 2010; Shreve & Lacruz 2015). These more recent takes on validity, applicability and their relation to referential frameworks take up on disperse, early critical works that were outshone by empirical and methodological developments (e.g., Dancette & Ménard 1996; Malmkjær 2000).

This interest fueled the development of cognitive translatology as an alternative to the information-processing paradigm (Muñoz 2010, 2016; Risku 2014, Rojo & Ramos 2018).¹⁵ The new paradigm, rooted in embodied, embedded, enacted, extended and affective cognition (4EA cognition, Protevi 2010 or, simply, *situated cognition*), has developed over the last decade into theoretical models and empirical projects, moving away from problem-solving and towards explorations of expertise acquisition, workplace practices and ergonomics (Ehrensberger-Dow 2015; Angelone & Marín 2017; Ehrensberger-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2018; Risku *et al.* 2020). However, theoretical contributions just put names on what was already happening. The second decade of the 21st century witnessed a growing interest in the social and emotional aspects of cognition, together with a strong interest in distributed activities and human-computer interaction. Ethnographic approaches spearheaded by Hanna Risku, at the University

14 They still often are, as in the case of *cognitive load*, which has become enormously popular, although nobody seems to be willing or able to define it, whereas the metaphorical thought it facilitates may be plagued with errors (cf. Cañas 2017; Muñoz de Escalona, Cañas & Noriega 2020). Another borrowing growing in popularity that often looks very little like the original psychological notion is that of *priming*.

15 Which had already been formulated by Kiraly (2000) as he proposed a socioconstructivist approach to translator and interpreting education.

of Graz and later Vienna, focused on crucial aspects of actual professional practices that were not amenable to quantification.

Three of the main postulates of cognitive translology are that (a) cognition is embodied and is not reduced to the brain, (b) cognition is embedded and therefore relies on social and physical underpinnings, and (c) cognition is extended and therefore not bound to the limits of individuals (Robbins & Aydede 2009: 3). In opposition to the linear, sequential view of cognitivist approaches, situated cognition proponents argue that cognitive processes are based on adaptive, probabilistic constructions of the world and the inputs it offers (Spivey 2007). Such a view of the mind poses major challenges to researchers willing to narrow down multilectal mediated communication to operationalized variables. It is therefore not surprising that cognitive translology started to gain momentum as a theoretical stance. Fortunately, recent empirical applications to the investigation of workplace dynamics (Risku 2010; Risku et al 2019), task structure (Muñoz & Apfelthaler, 2022), cognitive ergonomics (Ehrensberger-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2018) and emotions (Rojo & Ramos 2018) evidence that the paradigm bears promise for finding empirical support.

At the same time that cognitive translology evolved over the 2010s, computational investigations of the multilectal mediating mind continued to generate theoretical models and empirical evidence and further developed computational translology with new accounts of human-computer interaction and enactivism (Carl 2013; Carl, Tonge & Lacruz 2019; Carl 2021). CTIS is at an extraordinarily dynamic and exciting juncture in its history: there are two main research traditions or paradigms that inform empirical and theoretical research, evolving in competition as they take up fundamental objects of analysis and overlapping domains that span from audiovisual translation to workplace workflows, from cognitive effort to reception studies. For the first time in its history, CTIS has gained enough disciplinary maturity so that it is no longer only a borrower. It is also a lender, as scholars interested in as varied objects of study as the processual nature of translation (Blumczynski 2021) or auto ethnographic case studies of adaptations or “inter-semiotic translations” (Marais 2021) are turning to CTIS to inform their research.

8. BACK TO DESCRIPTIVE TRANSLATION STUDIES?

There is no such thing as an *autonomous* internal history of a discipline. If we have learned something from post-modern stances, it is that social, political and cultural forces have a definite impact on the dynamics and the evolution of research fields. The convergence with interpreting studies, the growth in publications and the existence of two dedicated conference series, the geographical expansion of the field in universities in, e.g., Argentina, Brazil, China, Ireland, Poland and Turkey, the strengthened cooperation with neighboring fields such as bilingualism and accessibility, point to a field that is flourishing.¹⁶ Xiao & Muñoz (2020) show that CTIS meets Holmes’ (1972) criteria for disciplines to be autonomous and that it is indeed shaping up as such, but

¹⁶ The two conference series are the *International Conference on Cognitive Research on Translation and Interpreting* (ICCRTI), started in 2014 by the University of Macau’s Centre for Studies of Translation, Interpreting and Cognition, and the *International Conference on Translation, Interpreting and Cognition* (ICTIC), supported by the international research network TREC since 2017.

they also caution that only applicable results supported by clear conceptualizations and valid empirical data can legitimate CTIS as a new applied science.

Similar processes seem to be impacting areas such as audiovisual translation, accessibility, didactics, computer-assisted translation and interpreting studies—and also linguistic and literary strands making use of scientific empirical methods, such as corpora translation studies. As argued elsewhere (Muñoz & Olalla-Soler 2021) the problem is that TS at large is a body with two hearts, one in the humanities, and another one rooted in scientific methods, that necessarily beat at different paces: different assumptions, different goals, and different ways. Sweeping these fundamental differences under the rug is an ill service both to scientific and humanistic endeavors in a challenging context for higher education institutions. Rather than rejoicing for the success of CTIS at times when the competition to publish is fierce, the criteria to evaluate research are troublesome, the programs struggle to survive and the universities see their budgets cut rather than enlarged, we should be considering who do we want to travel and compete with. When contemplated from some distance, the bottom line seems to be rather the collective growth and success of TS strands doing scientific empirical research, which seem to have survived countless turns unscathed. The map envisioned by Holmes and Toury needs today to be updated and brushed up. We need, for instance, room for artificial intelligence and NLP, and for neuroscientific approaches as well. But that is a topic for another chapter. CTIS seems ready and able to fulfil its role within the old disciplinary dream laid out by Toury and Holmes: one strand among several contributing to an empirical discipline based on the scientific method.

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CHAPTER IV

Translation Technology – The Dark Horse of Translation?

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1. INTRODUCTION

According to the definition for ‘dark horse’ in the online version of the Merriam-Webster dictionary, it can mean *a little-known contender that makes an unexpectedly good showing or an entrant in a contest that is judged unlikely to succeed*. Translation technology, understood here broadly to include the many computer-based tools and resources that are used to support the process of translation and interpreting currently, could previously have been attributed both of these meanings. For some time now, however, translation technologies, in particular machine translation (MT), have made an *unexpectedly good showing* having previously been judged *unlikely to succeed* (for a discussion on this, see Poibeau 2017). Five decades after the presentation of Holmes’ ideas in “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” (1972/2000), the Translation Studies (TS) landscape has changed radically. This is largely down to the technological transformations we have seen in our lives in general and have experienced in the discipline of TS as well as in the professions of translation and interpreting. The fiftieth anniversary of Holmes’ paper is, therefore, an excellent juncture for reflecting on the position of the ‘dark horse’ in our landscape.

Toury (1995) formed a visualisation of the structure proposed by Holmes in his original paper and so emerged what is commonly referred to as the Holmes/Toury ‘map’. What is the purpose of mapping? In an online article of the ESRI’s *ArcNews* publication¹ (2014), Georg Gartner, Professor of Cartography, suggests that “[m]aps can be understood as tools to order information by their spatial context”. While observing the impact of big data and the technologisation on the field of cartography—which, with some parallels with translation, means that “maps can be created and used by any individual stocked with just modest computing skills”—he notes that many

¹ ESRI is a company that builds mapping and spatial analytics software and *ArcNews* is a newsletter published by them.

cartographic principles have nonetheless remained unchanged, not least of which is that “maps are an abstraction of reality”. Drawing a parallel, Holmes’ mapping exercise was an abstraction of the reality of the emerging discipline of TS in 1972. That reality has changed considerably in the last five decades. Before delving into what Holmes had to say about technological aids and how this topic has evolved, let us look at the benefits of mapping a discipline.

2. THE BENEFITS OF MAPPING A DISCIPLINE

To tackle the question about the benefits of defining and mapping a discipline, I would like to reach outside the discipline of Translation Studies itself. This enables us to see parallels with fields that have similar challenges and, potentially, to adopt solutions or innovative ideas. Tight (2020: 416), for example, grapples with the question of whether ‘higher education studies’ (i.e. research into higher education) is a field or a discipline, adding a very probing question: “why does this matter?” Tight considers multiple definitions of ‘disciplines’ moving from short and simple ones to longer, more complex ones. One of those definitions, in the short and simple category, is from Lawn and Keiner (2006: 158) who offer the following: “Academic disciplines can be seen as multi-dimensional socio-communicative networks of knowledge production”. Tight notes that literature on disciplines recognises that they are not static entities and are not constant around the globe, both of which apply to TS. In addition, they can be categorised as soft/hard (TS being ‘soft’ in this dichotomy, with traditional science disciplines being categorised as ‘hard’) and pure/applied (TS having both dimensions, as per Holmes’ paper) where TS is divided into ‘pure’ and ‘applied’ branches. Disciplines are also acknowledged as having sub-disciplines, which may become disciplines in their own right, and some problems of interest to the discipline may well require interdisciplinary collaboration, which in turn spurs the development of an interdisciplinary field. For some countries and regions around the world, that TS is an established discipline would not be contested. For others, TS hardly exists or, as Gentzler (2014) puts it, is in its infancy. Tight reminds us that recognition as a discipline is largely a matter of status, which is also linked with funding. Thus, mapping any field is a way of demonstrating to academic leaders, to professional bodies, to prospective students and to funders that the discipline is established, knows what it is about and what its knowledge production purpose is. While society at large does not care much about whether something like higher education studies or TS is a ‘discipline’, or what its scope is, “what matters is fruitful engagement with government, industry and other interested parties or stakeholders” (Tight 2020: 416). Perhaps one of the most important take-aways from Tight’s reflection on disciplinary mapping and definition is that no map is static:

“In short, though we may think of academic disciplines as well established and monolithic, they are really rather amorphous, fractured and transitory entities waiting for events, discoveries or new interpretations to transform them; perhaps only slowly but sometimes almost overnight. The map of knowledge, if we think of it like that, is being continually re-drawn”. (2020: 419)

The introduction of technology into the translation landscape is one of those events that has transformed TS and will continue to re-draw the discipline. If a map of the discipline is indeed required, if even just to (continue to) legitimise the discipline for academic leaders and funders, then technology undoubtedly has a place on it. So, where did Holmes place ‘technology’ in his overview of the landscape fifty years ago? The next section discusses this question.

3. HOLMES & TRANSLATION TECHNOLOGY

Holmes asks: “What constitutes the field of translation studies?” (Holmes 1972/2000: 71). At the time of publication, he observed a lack of consensus as to the scope and structure of the discipline. Although strides have been made in the meantime in consolidating it, and today we have a better understanding of the scope, there is still a lack of consensus (van Doorslaer 2019). While those who are ‘in’ it recognise the discipline, and publications and journals dedicated to the field have grown exponentially, a significant identity problem persists—some students struggle to explain to their friends and families what their degrees are about, some academics struggle to explain to academics from other fields what the discipline entails (van Doorslaer 2019), the person on the street, for the most part, has very little idea of what TS is (‘Oh, so you teach languages then?’). Furthermore, TS scholars struggle to have the discipline recognised in research ontologies used for research funding proposals, often having to select categories such as ‘Linguistics’ or ‘Language’ to (mis)represent the field. Technology, especially the pervasive presence of MT with the inevitable accompanying journalistic commentaries on the death of the translator and the profession (Marr 2018), has contributed further to this identity challenge. The free availability of MT, and its relative success, suggests to the ill-informed layperson that a human need no longer be paid for this service. On the professional front, the negative narrative about MT as something that is dangerous, unintelligent, that should not be used if the client wants ‘quality’, that is tedious, tiresome, that diminishes ‘creativity’ and so on, reveals a profession that seems to be in defensive combat.

Like Holmes, some members of the TS discipline still struggle with the question of what TS is. It is sometimes suggested that the ‘narrow’ view of translation as a linguistic endeavour is too limiting, but that debate lies outside the scope of this chapter. No matter what version of ‘translation’ the reader embraces, technology is there as an enabler either to the forefront, in the form of CAT tools, or in the background, in the form of search engines, for example. Are there forms of translation and interpreting that can be achieved *without* technology? Of course! For example, one can translate in one’s mind on the fly while reading text in a hard copy book, though note that technology most likely played a part in the production, transportation and purchase of that book. One can write a translation with a pen on a piece of paper. Extending the scope of translation, one can even translate what a pet is trying to communicate to us and we can verbalise that for them. All of this can be done without technology, though we do need to be mindful of the fact that pen and paper are also ‘tools’ and were innovations in their time. Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere (O’Brien 2012), most translation carried out in the world on a daily basis is supported to a greater or lesser degree by technology.

If pen and paper are no longer explicitly considered 'tools' these days, what might our perception be of CAT tools in the future? We cannot ignore translation technology's central and increasing role and we would be foolish to judge it *unlikely to succeed*. If the reader will excuse the quip: that horse has bolted.

Holmes opens his paper with a quote about how science proceeds by discovery of new areas of ignorance. Without doubt, the introduction of translation memory (TM) tools into the translation industry in the early 1990s presented translators and academics with a state of ignorance since the impact and effect on the process and product of translation were unknown. Much research has taken place since then and we now know a great deal more about this impact (e.g. Pym 2011). TM tools have become entrenched in sizeable portions of the translation industry (which is not limited to what the profession sometimes labels low-value, bulk translation but includes, legal, scientific, technical, financial, medical, and governmental translation) and have become an essential component in many of the TS degrees that have proliferated globally. MT, on the other hand, followed a slower progression curve; that technology stuttered and started over the same period, but more recently it has become clear that, thanks to the ever-growing translation and language data being produced through TM tools, as well as improving machine learning techniques, MT is improving. Today, MT is a viable technology used across many language pairs and contexts for many different purposes. If the reader pays attention to commentaries from translation industry practitioners, they will have noted the continuous reminder that MT is currently used to translate many millions of words more than all of the translators in the world combined, on a daily basis (Vashee 2021; Turovsky 2016).

Holmes explicitly mentions machine translation under *medium-restricted translation theories*, whereby the machine can be the medium or the medium may be mixed (human plus machine). This mention of MT sits within Holmes' 'pure translation studies' branch, which focuses mainly on theory development. Under the 'applied translation studies' branch, Holmes lists 'translation aids' and mentions two specifically: lexicographical and terminological aids, and grammars. Given the time of writing, when personal computers were simply non-existent, it is reasonable to assume that the aids he had in mind were in hard and not electronic copy. They are, therefore, only precursors to the computer-aided translation (CAT) tools of today. Due to the time of publication, the only explicit translation technology mentioned by Holmes is MT. Somewhat surprisingly, it is placed under his 'pure' branch of TS, not the applied branch, although it should equally be pointed out that Holmes did not see these branches as distinct, but rather as having a dialectical relationship. In this respect, it is interesting to see how Barkhordar looks at MT through the lens of Holmes' paper and all of the branches described in it and, in fact, concludes that MT can be assessed according to all categories of Holmes' paper (Barkhordar 2018).

4. HOLMES: CRITICISM, COUNTER PROPOSALS AND EXTENSIONS

There have been a number of "overt or covert criticisms" (Toury 1995: 2) of Holmes' conceptualisations, but here the discussion is limited to a few commentaries that focus in particular on translation technology. Vandepitte (2008) published an article entitled

“Remapping Translation Studies: Towards a Translation Studies Ontology” in which she brings together a number of mapping initiatives on a single map that directly aimed to revise Holmes’ proposal and to tackle its shortcomings. Even in 2008, TS is characterised by Vandepitte as a “labyrinth” where explicit consensus is “rare”, suggesting that things had not changed much since 1972. Arguably, the field has become broader and less coherent (van Dam, Nisbeth Brøgger and Korning Zethsen 2019).

One of the shortcomings of Holmes’ proposal, according to Vandepitte, is that no rigorous terminological norms were applied to the organisation of the concepts in his proposed structure, leading to inconsistencies in how the pure and applied branches are conceptualised. A second shortcoming, and one that is directly relevant to the topic of technology, is the separation between translation aids and the translation process. As Vandepitte observes, it is flawed to separate translation aids from the translation process because the two are strongly linked: “Obviously, translation tools, which Holmes would classify among translation aids, are used to facilitate the translation process and should form an integral part of that process” (2008: 573). Despite this valid point and as mentioned above, Holmes listed only lexicographic/terminological and grammar aids. Though he mentions MT, he does so under the pure branch (which itself entails ‘product’, ‘process’ and ‘function’). It is therefore perhaps unfair to criticise him for not presenting a clearer conceptual relationship for aids that simply did not exist at the time of writing.

To focus now mainly on what Vandepitte proposes for addressing the shortcomings of Holmes’ proposal in relation to technology specifically, first she lists the use of technological aids in translation competence research, which is proposed as a subcategory of process-oriented studies. Here, evaluation of translation and localizing software and the effects of technology on website translation are also listed. The place of technology is also mentioned as belonging under translation competence *development* research, but strangely, not under translation profession research which is where technology has had the most transformational effect. Technological aids appear again under what Vandepitte terms “umbrella studies” and explicitly in relation to “subtitling, surtitling incl. technological aids” (2008: 579).

The main objective of this remapping was to address the shortcomings of the map suggested by Holmes and to create a TS ontology which Vandepitte states is “under development” (2008:580). Translation technology is organised in the ontology (2008: 584-585) as an explicit entry as follows:

- Types by subject.
 - Single-focus translation studies.
 - ◻ Process-oriented translation studies.
 - ◊ Studies of translation and technology.

Then, the sub-entries include: machine translation studies, machine(-aided) translation studies, studies of evaluating software, software localization studies, studies of the effects of technology, website translation studies. The explicit and detailed presentation of translation technology in this ontology is necessary and welcome. Including endeavours such as software evaluation, studies of websites, and of localization reflects the complex technological landscape that has emerged in TS. Yet there are still a number of issues in the (developing) ontology. Given how the topic is presented in

the article, a hierarchical interpretation is forced. Thus, the remapping exercise places translation and technology as a single-focus, process-oriented topic. Yet, translation technology does not only impact on process, but on the product of translation and, indeed, it can have far-reaching effects including socio-technical, ethical and economic ones, as is evident from the increasing focus on the sociotechnical impacts of translation technology (e.g. O'Thomas 2017; Baumgarten 2017; Cornellà-Detrell 2017). The difference between machine translation studies and machine(-aided) translation studies is not specified. One can suppose that machine(-aided) is a synonym for computer-aided translation or CAT tools, which is conspicuous by its absence in the ontology. Finally, Vandepitte (2008: 570) characterises translation very generally as “an intentional human activity that is carried out by an agent”; translation activity is, regardless of how you view it, “applied by a human agent to an object” (ibid). This characterisation of translation as solely an intentional human activity is problematic because the situation can arise whereby no human agent is involved in the actual translation process. For example, when an MT system receives a source text and produces a target text, this is an automated process. A human agent may be involved in *requesting* the translation (though this operation too can be automated) as well as in the creating and training of MT engines, but they are not directly involved in the actual translation. This reminds us of Holmes' question: “What is translation studies?” If TS is only interested in translation performed by a human agent, then does the machine age represent an enormous identity crisis for a discipline that is still trying to define its scope? Vandepitte's remapping exercise is a welcome one and was necessary given the radical change in landscape since 1972. However, some of the issues pointed out above reinforce how difficult and challenging it is to map the discipline fifty years on. It is also worth noting that the tools for mapping disciplines and cross-disciplinary connections have improved vastly since Holmes' era and even since Vandepitte's publication (2008). It is now possible to visualise scientific landscapes with bibliometric data using tools such as VOSViewer to create a rich graphic representation of disciplinary dimensions.

Lately, Christensen, Flanagan and Schjoldager (2017) propose that the technological turn in TS requires an expansion of the original Holmes' proposal to include new areas of research that are particular to translation technology. They survey publications within the discipline that appeared between 2006 and 2016 and propose three categories of translation technology research that might supplement Holmes' description: (1) technology-oriented research; (2) workflow-oriented and industrial research and (3) translation (technology) theoretical research. This survey is useful in helping us understand the research interests and orientation within the discipline at a specific point in time, but it is unclear how these three categories would fit into Holmes' original description or, indeed, how translation technology should be presented if it is a 'subdiscipline' (Christensen, Flanagan and Schjoldager 2017: 7). What position, then, should technology occupy on today's TS map?

5. POSITIONING THE DARK HORSE

Much research has been published since 1972 on computer-aided translation tools and, more recently, on MT and, specifically, on the task of post-editing. Research relating to, drawing on, or using technology has grown exponentially (Jiménez-Crespo

2020). This chapter cannot discuss the broad range of topics and research that have been covered, but the relatively recent *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Technology* (O'Hagan 2020) provides an excellent overview of the main technology-related themes that have occupied TS for the past decades. To summarise, the topics include standards, terminology management, corpus creation and analysis, speech technology, user perspectives, audio-visual translation (AVT), interpreting (including sign-language interpreting), disaster management, climate change, post-editing, research methodologies, quality, copyright, accessibility, and translator training. This is not a complete list of all the topics in that handbook, nor is it a complete list of the topics that have engaged TS researchers with a focus on technology, but it provides an idea of the broad range, conceptualisation and depth of interest in technology-related matters within the discipline (see Jiménez-Crespo 2020, for discussion on narrow vs. broad conceptualisations of 'technology'). This scope is testament to the fact that technology is omnipresent in modern-day translation. Even bastions that were previously deemed relatively untouchable by computer-aided translation technology have not remained unaffected, including literary translation (Toral, Wieling & Way 2018; Moorkens *et al.* 2018; Guerberof-Arenas, Toral 2020), AVT (e.g. Bywood *et al.* 2017) and interpreting (e.g. Fantinuoli, 2019), though findings are not unanimously positive.

MT deserves to be singled out here as a technology that is currently causing significant disruption in both the academic discipline and in the profession (see, for example, the collection of articles on this theme in *Revista Tradumàtica* 2018),² as TM tools did in the early 1990s when they were first introduced. The recent advances in Artificial Intelligence (AI), and in particular in Natural Language Processing (NLP) bring to the fore important questions around agency, status, trust and parity whose interrogation needs to be supported by theory. The discipline's interest has focused on two main aspects: the task of post-editing and its impact on productivity and product quality. Since MT developed into a viable technology, TS has been fascinated by the cognitive and text manipulation processes of post-editing, how long it takes, how that compares with translation, what quality it produces, how we should train students for the task, how much we should get paid for it, and how the task makes us feel. This has led to frequent contrasts of post-editing with human translation, an unfortunate development in my opinion. First, the latter term suggests that post-editing is not done by 'humans'. Second, it promotes the idea that post-editing is always done in isolation of something called 'human translation'. When this term is used, it is rarely defined; authors assume we all share an understanding of what this means. But, what does it mean? Is it translation without any computer aids whatsoever (pen and paper)? Is it translation with a word processor, but with or without access to online dictionaries, the internet as corpus and other resources? Is it translation with the aid of a TM or a self-compiled corpus, or a terminology database...? While post-editing can be an isolated task, MT implementation has developed in such a way that it is very often incorporated into a TM environment, which means that one segment of text might be edited as a fuzzy match from the TM, another might be edited as a suggestion from the MT system, which subsequently becomes part of the TM. If the segment reappears in a later

2 <https://revistes.uab.cat/tradumatica/issue/view/16>

paragraph, it is then a TM match, not an MT suggestion. As I have suggested elsewhere (O'Brien 2021), this fusion of CAT/MT is likely to continue. Furthermore, TM tools are now configured in such a way that even a phrase within a segment might be divided into a TM and MT match. In these settings, what is post-editing and what is TM match editing (or 'human translation')? Is conceptualising these as separate tasks a worthwhile endeavour? To complicate matters even further, new features such as interactive MT editing, where MT suggestions are offered and edited or rejected in real time by the translator, is now coming to the fore. Is that post-editing, or translation?³

This section has served to establish two core points: the first is that technology is now omnipresent in translation and interpreting, including types of translation that were previously deemed untouchable, like literary translation. The range and extent of technological disruption will, of course, vary from context to context. Second, I believe that we have reached a stage where it no longer makes sense to differentiate '(human) translation' from 'post-editing'. As human and machine symbiosis increases, as is anticipated, we can only expect the role of technology to increase and the boundaries of human and machine to become more blurred.

Where, then, should translation technology sit on a map of TS in 2022? Cronin affirms that technology is now "central to the definition of translation activity" (2013: 2). Jiménez-Crespo presents technology as "the connective tissue" of the discipline (2020: 328) and as "an integral part" of the TS landscape (ibid: 332). As mentioned, Christensen, Flanagan and Schjoldager (2017) have argued that it should be seen as a segregated subdiscipline while Alcina (2008), though somewhat dated, proposed that it should be considered as an independent discipline at the interface between translation studies and computer science. If we accept that translation is, at the very least, a technology-enabled endeavour, or potentially even a technology-driven endeavour, do we need a separate entry for it in any ontology moving forward? We are, of course, still interested in what technology *does* to translation from a cognitive, ergonomic, product, economic and societal perspective and so, yes, it should have a central position in any current ontology of the discipline. But, as presented above, a discipline is about knowledge creation and tackling societal problems. If we focus too much on the goal of establishing criteria to help us "classify and structure" (Alcina 2008: 80) the subject area of translation technology and its position on the map, we risk being faced with a completely different landscape, and a whole new set of societal problems, when we glance back at our horizon. Does technology deserve to be on the TS map, as a separate (sub)discipline, so that it can "achieve a structure of its own and internal coherence" (Alcina 2008: 99)? Or rather does it deserve to be there because we must question "the need for and the effects on society of given technologies?" (Kenny 2017: 1). Further, does technology deserve its place on the TS map because it has a role to play in tackling societal challenges, beyond digitisation? This question is revisited in the conclusions below.

The impact of AI on our lives in general, on human behaviour and on translation and interpreting will likely still be a central concern for us in the coming decades.

3 Incidentally, Fantinuoli also anticipates the mingling of different types of technology, including management and training systems, to eventually lead to one 'interpreting ecosystem' (2019: 6) just as TM and MT are merging into one translation technology ecosystem.

Technology should, perhaps, be an over-arching term that incorporates every aspect of translation, given that the nature of translation is a human-computer interactive (HCI) task. We also need to decide, however, whether fully automated translation is of concern to the field, or is TS only interested in those aspects where the human is ‘in the loop’, as the phrase goes? Historically, the automation part was of concern to the NLP community who had little interest in how humans interacted with the system or the output. Mainstreaming of MT has forced that community to explicitly take the end user, including the translator, into account. At the same time, scholars in TS have become more interested in how MT has developed and in how it produces its output, including reproduction of training data bias, not to mention valid means of measuring the quality of the output, for example. Thus, the two research interests are moving closer together, suggesting that an integrated view of translation as both a human and a machine endeavour is emerging. A stance that suggests that MT is not translation would be detrimental to the discipline of TS by forcing us to take too narrow a point of view, while NLP researchers increasingly embrace human factors.

6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the position of translation technology has been considered with the perspective of fifty years of passing time since Holmes first sketched out the discipline of Translation Studies. His original sketch included translation technology but its position was necessarily limited by the state of the art at that time. It has been adequately noted that Holmes’ original structure was problematic. Modification and additions have been suggested in an effort to tackle the conceptual problems and to reflect the major developments that have taken place in the meantime. Proposals have been made for translation technology to be treated as a subdiscipline or even as a new discipline that combines computer science and translation. Another proposal is that MT, in particular, can be layered onto all branches of Holmes’ map. The benefits of these modifications and additions to the discipline and the profession are unclear; what is clear is that it is challenging to map any discipline, most especially in relation to technological developments and the rapidly changing nature of our world.

What is hopefully apparent from this discussion is that technology is no longer a dark horse—a little known contender, deemed unlikely to succeed—but is rather a central and essential component of modern-day translation. Looking to the future, with the exception of some limited applications (for example, studies of language processing in the non-augmented brain), it is mostly futile to differentiate between technology-supported translation and forms of translation that are not supported by any digital devices or resources whatsoever. Whether it is an umbrella concept, a sub-discipline, a separate discipline is a moot point. This author’s viewpoint is that there is little to be gained from debating where technology should sit on a disciplinary map. Instead, we need to embrace and claim technology as a *core component* of translation in the age of AI, even if our embrace needs to be sometimes critical and resistant. Doing so should, at the very least, help us to strengthen the recognition of the discipline for the reasons that Tight (2020) offers—status and funding.

A map, categorisation, structure, or whatever we choose to call it, is essential for the discipline to provide an abstraction of our ever-changing complex reality, but it is not the end goal and it cannot be static. Returning to the commentary on cartography by Gartner alluded to earlier, he observes that:

“...the successful development of modern cartography requires integrated, interdisciplinary approaches from such domains as computer science, communication science, human-computer interaction, telecommunication sciences, cognitive sciences, law, economics, geospatial information management and cartography. It is those interdisciplinary approaches that make sure that we work toward human-centred application developments”.

For this author, the parallels with TS are striking. Many of the disciplines Gartner lists are relevant and required for TS to develop into a discipline whose goal it is to grapple with human-centred (and not only translator-centred), societal problems and to strive to seek solutions to them. We should not worry about the precise position of technology in this ever-changing map, rather we should concern ourselves with how we can use it for betterment by tackling societal challenges such as unequal access to information, education and knowledge, fake news, disinformation, and the climate crisis. The TS discipline understands its role, value and potential for tackling such issues and the role that technology does and can play. We do not need a disciplinary map to work towards these goals.

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CHAPTER V

The Didactics of Professional Translation – A Success Story?

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1. INTRODUCTION

In what has since become known as the Holmes/Toury map (van Doorslaer 2007: 219), Toury (1995: 10) was the first Translation Studies (TS) scholar to present and popularize in visual form how Holmes (1988) had mapped TS in his seminal 1972 article on “The name and nature of translation studies”. In that visualization, Toury places “translator training” as the first (from left to right) of the three applied sub-branches of TS, alongside “translation aids” and “translation criticism”. In the paper proper, Holmes (1988: 77) stresses the importance of research on professional translator training in raising “questions that fairly cry for answers” about “teaching methods, testing techniques, and curriculum planning”. He adds that it is “obvious that the search for well-founded reliable answers to these questions constitutes a major area (and for the time being, at least, the major area) of research in applied translation studies” (Holmes 1988: 77). He goes on to point out that the second of the applied sub-branches of TS, translation aids and the various needs they serve, is not just important for meeting the requirements of practising translators but also “for use in translator training” in order to serve “prospective translators” (Holmes 1988: 77). Scholars should seek to “clarify and define the specific requirements” of lexicographical and terminological aids and collaborate “with lexicologists and contrastive linguists in developing them” (Holmes 1988: 77).

Holmes makes no explicit references to the connection between didactics and translation criticism. He describes translation criticism as a “quite different area”, defining it as the “the activities of translation interpretation and evaluation” and conjecturing that “closer contact between translation scholars and translation critics could do a great deal to reduce the intuitive element [of translation criticism] to a more acceptable level” (Holmes 1988: 78). Despite Holmes’ explicit segregation of translation criticism from didactics, translator educators will readily make their own link between the two through the key issue of translation quality and its assessment, a major focus of discussion and debate in every classroom. Holmes himself presents another area of

applied TS with a very clear relation to didactics, “translation policy” (Holmes 1988: 77-78).

The task of the translation scholar in this area is to render informed advice to others in defining the place and role of translators, translating, and translations in society at large: such questions, for instance, as determining what works need to be translated in a given socio-cultural situation, what the social and economic position of the translator is and should be, or [...] what part translating should play in the teaching and learning of foreign languages.

Picking up on that last point, Holmes (1988: 78) asserts that “priority should be given to extensive and rigorous research to assess the efficacy of translating as a technique and testing method in language learning”.

Strangely, anything that approximates to translation policy, the sub-field that Holmes mentions third in his taxonomy, is wholly absent on Toury’s map, “airbrushed out” (Pym 2018: 204). Pym (2018: 205) speculates that a likely cause is what he considers to be an artificial dividing line in the 1980s and 1990s between translator education and additional language learning (ALL), drawn by TS’s “own sense of essential superiority” that “it is not enough to be able to teach a language in order to train translators” because “in order to translate you needed to know *more* than the two languages: translation competence was necessarily much *more* than language competence”. It is true that Holmes (1988: 77) makes an unambiguous distinction between translating “used for centuries as a technique in foreign-language teaching and a test of foreign language acquisition” and translation “taught in schools and courses to train professional translators”. Nevertheless, it is equally apparent that he saw the necessity of a dialogue between TS and those teaching translation in ALL, which until very recently has not taken place in any meaningful way due to divergent conceptualizations of what translation is (Pym *et al.* 2013; Massey 2021b).

Whatever the reason for Toury’s omission, it is abundantly clear that Holmes regarded the didactics of translation, and of professional translation in particular, as pivotal to applied TS. Indeed, as Colina (2003: 3-6) argues, the interest it commands extends beyond applied TS to its “pure” theoretical and descriptive branches. For example, translation didactics is an obvious beneficiary of cognitive process-oriented research on the nature of student and professional translation competence, descriptive empirical product-oriented research on translation quality, or function-oriented research on the situational, socio-technical factors affecting translatorial action. Translation teaching has also clearly been influenced by the general theories that lie behind them, such as *skopos* (Reiss & Vermeer 1984). So, how has this “sub-discipline” (Piotrowska & Tyupa 2014) fared in the fifty years since Holmes’ foundational paper? How successful has the search been for “reliable answers” to the questions about methods, assessment and curricula?

The objective of this chapter is to trace the progression of translation didactics over the past fifty years, highlighting the major trends of the past and present, and considering the major deficits that still need to be addressed in the future. At the end, it very briefly attempts to judge whether Holmes’ implicit expectations for the field have been met. Holmes (1988: 79) himself refers to the “virgin territory” of the history

of applied TS, of which “translator training” forms a major part. The chapter therefore begins by plotting and reviewing key developments in translation didactics from their beginnings to a present characterized by an amalgamation of competence-oriented tasking and collaborative experiential learning. Referring to published research done, approaches described and models developed by leading scholars and practitioners in the field of translator teaching, it sketches out the pathways of professional translation didactics over the last half century and looks at how it is attempting to meet the educational needs and employability goals of the present and future. The literature and research on translation didactics reveal two major gaps —the lack of systematic approaches to teacher training, and the failure to benefit from the largely untapped potential of collaborating meaningfully with experts in ALL. The chapter therefore follows up its examination of student learning with sections on the sorely neglected field of translation teacher development, and on the mounting calls to bridge the divide between those educating professional translators and additional language (AL) teachers so that both educational communities can profit from each other’s expertise.

2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DIDACTICS OF PROFESSIONAL TRANSLATION

Orlando (2019: 217) suggests that the eclecticism of methodological, ideological, technological and political variables influencing translator education makes it futile to determine specific models of translation didactics at particular times in its history. The localized nature of translator education, anchored as it is in specific regional and institutional contexts, only serves to blur the picture even more. Nevertheless, it is possible to use the literature on the subject to discern and present some general trends in the chronological development of professional translator education. Given the scope of this chapter, such a presentation will necessarily be selective and partial. It will also be coloured by the author’s three-and-a-half decades of professional experience as a university teacher and researcher in the field.

2.1. The 20th century: From “apedagogy” to learning objectives and functionalism

It is widely documented and accepted that early approaches to the education of professional translators were characterized by a teacher-centred view of learning firmly grounded in a transmissionist epistemology (e.g. Kiraly 1995: 5-19; 2000: 20-26; Kelly 2005: 11; Orlando 2016: 29; Massey & Kiraly 2021: 239). Kelly (2010: 389) has dubbed this pre-1980s era “essentially apedagogical”. It found its expression in the “performance magistrale”, a term used by Kiraly (1995: 7) to designate a teacher-centred “perpetuation of one-dimensional instructional practices that incorporate a single behaviourist principle: One learns how to translate by translating”. In essence, its hallmark was (and to some extent still is) to position the teacher as an ideal benchmark of performance and, in assuming an authoritative translation of a text (i.e. by the teacher), propound a strongly prescriptive rather than descriptive approach to translation based on a philological ideal that was often out of kilter with professional realities. The term and notion have since also been aligned by Orlando (2019: 217) with a “training by apprenticeship” paradigm of teaching. The transmissionist “performance magistrale” approach is most revealingly

expressed in Newmark's (e.g. 1991: 130) bald statement that success in teaching translation depends "65% on the personality of the teacher, 20% on the course design and 15% on the course materials". The teacher's own personality, preferences, practices and experience are paramount, the preponderant yardstick by which student performance is to be gauged. In key publications, Newmark (e.g. 1981) proposed a whole series of equivalence-oriented translation procedures, derived solely from his own experiences as a translator, translation scholar and teacher, and with no ostensible basis in broader-based empirical research.

The incipient break with this "apedagogical" age is judged (e.g. by Kelly, 2005: 11-12, 2010: 389-390; Orlando 2016 p. 29, 2019, p. 217) to have been marked by Delisle's (1980) systematic objectives-based didactics of professional translation, although Kiraly (e.g. 2000: 23; 2012: 83; 2019: 2-6) has repeatedly insisted that the transmissionist tradition has been rather more deeply rooted in the underlying epistemologies of translation teachers, reaching forward well into the 21st century—a view at least partly supported by indicators from case studies (e.g. Massey & Brändli 2019: 156-157). Nevertheless, it is also true to say that the last two decades of the 20th century witnessed a considerable evolution in translation didactics. Delisle proposes a practical introductory course in translation based on a number of teaching objectives. The importance of his contribution lies less in the theoretical underpinnings of his work, based as they are on equivalence-oriented linguistic models, than in underlining the need to establish clear learning objectives and systematically address them with appropriate tools, activities and methods of assessment (Kelly 2005: 12).

The rise of *skopos* theory (e.g. Reiss & Vermeer 1984) and translational action theory (Holz-Mänttari 1984b) in the 1980s led to the application of functionalist models of translation to the way it was taught, with an increasing emphasis on training that attempted to simulate purpose-driven professional practice. Holz-Mänttari (1984a) herself criticizes normative, linguistically oriented, transmissionist teaching of professional translation and instead emphasizes the need for a learner-centred approach that enables students to develop their autonomy as responsible translators. Such a view is, of course, wholly consistent with a conceptualization of interlingual translation, and thus translator education, not as the establishment and top-down transmission of an invariant core of equivalence, but as a context-bound act of communication-in-situation, the success of whose outcome is governed by the various functions it is intended to fulfill within a complex network of interacting agents. The didactics that grew out of from the functionalist paradigm signified an important shift towards learner-centred education more closely related to the professional reality of translation, and perhaps best exemplified by Nord's influential work of the 1990s. Nord's (e.g. 1991, 1997: 39-79) systematic model pivots on the premise that translations are driven by particular communicative purposes and that translation teaching must be the same. It is built around the provision of a translation brief (which specifies target-text function(s), receivers, time, place and medium of reception, and the motive behind the assignment), complementary source-text analysis (as a basis for decisions on the feasibility of the assignment, the relevance of source-text units to a functional translation and which translation strategies best meet the requirements of the brief) and the classification and hierarchization of problems and errors to gauge and assess learner performance.

2.2. Entering the 21st century: Towards cognitive research-based didactics

At this point, it is apposite to return to Holmes' (1988: 77) plea for "well-founded reliable answers" about "teaching methods, testing techniques, and curriculum planning", and to ask what empirical research had by then been used to validate didactic approaches that had been based in the main on theoretical models. One answer came in the shape of Kiraly (1995: 3), who set out to elaborate a descriptive translation pedagogy "based on the accurate theoretical description of translation practice" to compensate for what he saw as the lack of a theoretical model backed by hard empirical evidence about the knowledge and skills involved in professional translation. This work taps into the growing number of empirical studies on cognitive translation processes of the previous decade (e.g. Krings 1986) and presents an exploratory translation process research (TPR) case study of its own that largely replicates the results of previous ones. On the basis of data from think-aloud protocols (TAPs), Kiraly (1995: 99-109) proposes a psycholinguistic model of translation processes to guide "translation instruction". In essence, it revolves around the translator self-concept, "the interface between the translator's social and psychological worlds [and] includes a sense of the purpose of the translation, an assessment of the information requirements of the translation task, a self-evaluation of capability to fulfil the task, and a related capacity to monitor and evaluate translation products for adequacy and appropriateness" (Kiraly 1995: 100). It is here that the empirically based model of translation processes transitions to an integrated model of translator competence (Kiraly: 108) which offers a variety of entry points for didactic intervention (Kiraly 1995: 110-112). These range from using the "significant teaching resource" of error analysis to provide students with guided practice and fostering a professional translator self-concept and self-monitoring capacity, to sequencing a programme around the acquisition of cognitive resources from an initial alignment with automatic bilingual communicative skills towards conscious problem-solving and quality control strategies.

By dint of the translator making "myriad decisions" and "identifying and weighing priorities" (Kiraly 1997: 155) related to the client or commissioner, the target audience, information resources, time constraints and source-text inadequacies, and so on, there are evident connections between the empirical findings of early TAP-based cognitive TPR and prior functionalist models of translator education. While Nord offered no empirical evidence of learner development to justify her teaching model, TPR studies had begun to do so. As described and referenced in detail by Massey (2017: 497-506) in his overview of TPR and translation competence development, early cognitive TPR grew out of a didactic interest in the nature and the acquisition of translation competence. Studies benchmarked successful processes, identified intuitive creativity strategies or traced the development of strategic problem-solving skills, self-awareness and self-confidence in learners. Later work compared beginner, non-professional bilingual and/or novice translation behaviours with those of professional translators to identify features of expert performance. It produced evidence that learners and novices tend to concentrate on lexical and syntactic solutions to perceived problems, while professional translators check for stylistic and text-type adequacy and advanced trainees reflected on their audience. Professionals were also observed to exhibit more task-specific

variation, have more balanced cognitive rhythms, higher levels of self-monitoring, and greater decision-making confidence. Whereas beginners appeared to allocate more visual attention to the source text than professionals, most likely due to comprehension issues, professionals demonstrated a greater focus on the target text for purposes of evaluation and revision.

The relevance of TPR and the results it produced was quickly recognized by Colina (2003: 16-20). She follows Nord in stressing that the activity of translating should be guided by the function or purpose of the target text in the situation of reception in the target culture. Unlike Nord, however, she seeks to “connect theory and research to teaching practice” (Colina 2003: 1), employing empirical data from error analysis and TAP studies to show how novice translators are distracted by the formal structure of language and fail to consider key communicative functions and pragmatic situational features. On this basis, she proposes a functionalist-based course to fill such gaps in students’ knowledge and skills, devising concrete activities that focus on textual, generic and situational factors as well as their impact on specific translation strategies. Her book provides detailed theoretical, empirical and practical input for teachers on research foundations, course design, and materials development and assessment. Some years later, however, she (Colina & Venuti 2017) critiques her reliance on functionalist models, which could exclude data, analyses and interpretations based on different theoretical assumptions, such as those directed towards social, political and ethical issues.

2.3 Developing translator competence: Situated learning and social constructivism

The functionalist focus on the professional reality of translation from an action-theory perspective can be readily aligned with a growing trend towards situated learning through authentic project work that had already begun taking hold in the 1990s. It was most visibly propagated in its early stages by Vienne (1994) and Gouadec (2003), and has since become a common and widely research approach in translator education (e.g. González Davies & Enríquez Raído 2017); (Király & Massey 2019). The research done has been overwhelmingly qualitative, based on a range of case studies, often deploying action research techniques.

The most eloquent and vociferous advocacy of authentic project-based and experiential learning can be found in the social constructivist model of translator education put forward by Király (2000) in his highly influential publication, *A Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education*. Király willingly acknowledged the significant contribution that Nord, and by implication the functionalist school she represented, had made to improving translation teaching (Király 2000: 57). At the same time, however, he criticized Nord’s particular approach for its “atomistic” (Király: 60) tasking in simulated exercises prior to students embarking on authentic assignments. Instead, he proposes that student learning be realized holistically through the enactment of authentic collaborative translation projects, guided by teachers who provide the dynamic support or scaffolding to foster learner autonomy and empowerment.

Király’s (2000) social constructivist approach to translator education quintessentially “holds that meaning, knowledge, and the mind itself are inextricably embedded in our personal interactions with other people” (Király 2000: 7) and was a decisive step forward

from his earlier work (Kiraly 1995), discussed above, which had been largely framed in a form of cognitivism that assumed the fundamental duality of cognitive and social perspectives on translator education. Combining Schön's (1987) concept of personal reflective practice and action with collaborative knowledge-building, it marked an evolution from a transmissionist perspective on education, in which "the learner comes to the classroom as a passive listener, a consumer of knowledge [...] packaged for distribution" in "digestible chunks" (Kiraly 2000: 22), to a transformationist position on learning and expertise development as "a personal, holistic, intrinsically motivating and socially effectuated construction process" (Kiraly: 23). The basic didactic design of the projects at the heart of the social constructivist approach involves collaborative student teamwork with optimally invasive teacher intervention and guidance to complete authentic translation assignments with real-world clients, briefs, deadlines and, in many cases, publication of the target documents (Massey & Brändli 2019: 149-150). The teachers become "partners in learning rather than distributors of knowledge", while their students are "proactive seekers of knowledge" (Kiraly 2013: 214-215). A range of qualitative studies have been used to validate the approach, with reported outcomes, including increased student responsibility, autonomy, critical reflection, self-regulation, motivation and self-efficacy (Massey & Kiraly 2019).

2.4. Modelling and profiling translator competence

On the basis of qualitative student data collected over a period of five years, Kiraly (2006) went on to propose a componential model of translator competence comprising three interacting bundles of social competences, personal competences and translation competence itself. By 2013, however, he had explicitly rejected this and other componential models for the positivist assumptions underlying them —and for compartmentalizing skills in box-like representations (Kiraly 2013: 201) that are, in turn, reflected in the curricula designed to develop those skills (Kiraly & Hofmann 2019: 62-63). The claim is a compelling one. The Bologna reform of higher education in Europe in the first decade of this century introduced a process of modularization of curricula that was inherently contradictory to its overriding didactic goals of student-centred education and autonomous lifelong learning. As Kelly (2017: 34) remarks:

In the name of transparency and quality assurance, course structures have become pre-defined to a level of detail which actually makes any student-centred approach difficult. Institutions often require detailed programming right down to what is to happen in each individual class, this eliminating any margin of flexibility to allow for adapting to specific student group needs. To my mind, this is indeed incompatible with a student-centred or learning outcomes approach, as the design —and hence potentially the delivery— is entirely (teacher) input-based.

Kiraly would patently agree with this sentiment. Referencing Risku's (2010) view of cognition as an embodied, socially situated, enactive process, he (Kiraly 2013: 209) proposes an alternative focus on the "translatory moment" as an instantiation of embodied expert translator competence, where decision-making processes are "uniquely

adapted to each new translation problem” (Kiraly: 209). The underlying pedagogical epistemology is one that considers cognition to be “embodied enaction” (ibid: 207, 214), driving a “holistic experiential” pedagogy (Kiraly 2012: 87): “[...] translators are not trained, they emerge. In fact, they co-emerge with their fellow learners, their teachers, the institutions they attend and the entire community of translation practice with which and whom they interact”. The citation makes it abundantly clear that Kiraly has left behind a compartmentalized model of translator competence for a holistic model of competence acquisition or *development*, an unaccountably rare phenomenon in professional translation didactics. This becomes evident later, when Kiraly and Hofmann (2019: 62-63) sharply criticize componential models for their effect on “patchwork quilt” curriculum design, proposing an alternative emergentist model of competence development based explicitly on a “postpositivist” relativist epistemology. It combines Dreyfus and Dreyfus’s (Dreyfus 2004) generic model of skills acquisition with Kiraly’s own social constructivist approach. The model is underpinned by the core emergentist principle that learning can be conceived of as a dynamic system in which knowledge emerges autopoietically, primarily as the result of experience “rather than the ingestion of pre-fabricated knowledge” (Massey & Kiraly 2021: 244). Visualized as multiple interlinking vortices that depict self-perpetuating, self-regulating competence development fed by environmental features (people, resources, activities, tasks, etc.), it hinges on authentic experiences of translation in, or as close as possible to, the realities of the workplace.

Yet, as Kiraly himself tacitly acknowledges, and González Davies (2004: 13-15) and Kelly (2007: 138-139) convincingly show, the affordances of competence-based tasking can be a very effective complement to collaborative experiential learning, especially for beginner and less advanced students. Competence-oriented task-based teaching (e.g. González Davies 2004; Kelly 2005; Hurtado Albir 2007) has continued to flourish over the last two decades, operationalized as staged tasks of increasing complexity designed to develop the sub-competences needed to attain translation competence. It has also seen a budding offshoot in the form of process-oriented cognitive approaches to translator education that deploy TPR methods in teaching. For example, Angelone (e.g. 2019) has demonstrated the usefulness of screen recording as a teaching tool combined with concurrent or immediate retrospective commentaries to gauge intercultural competence, improve problem recognition and mitigate errors; Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow (e.g. 2011) have shown how as screen recording and eye tracking encourage students to reflect and to broaden their interlingual and intercultural problem-solving strategies. It is therefore fair to say that, notwithstanding Kiraly’s criticisms, the componential competence modelling that spawned competence-based and task-based approaches has lent considerable impetus to professional translator education, if only by stimulating what is a very fruitful discourse on the nature of translation competence and how it can be attained.

Early TPR had been primarily concerned with modelling actual processes themselves, but the models soon began to coalesce with those of translation competence. An early example is Risku’s (1998: 244), who uses empirical data to identify four clusters of cognitive demands: macro-strategy development, information organization, planning and decision making, and self-organization. Translation experts “create sense” in dynamic,

autonomous, complex problem-solving processes that are adapted to changing internal and external factors. She subsequently (Risku 2002: 529) defines expert translation as situated cognition: “Translation is done not only by the brain, but also by complex systems, systems which include people, their specific social and physical environments and all their cultural artefacts”, which —as we have noted above— had a decisive influence on Kiraly’s educational thinking.

The next major componential competence model from a chronological point of view, and arguably the most influential one, is that of the PACTE Group (2003). It presents translation competence, which is regarded as primarily procedural expert knowledge, as a set of interacting sub-competences —bilingual, extralinguistic, knowledge about translation, instrumental and strategic— supported by the activation of psycho-physiological components (PACTE 2003: 58). The PACTE Group empirically validated their model over a period of some 20 years in a series of TPR experiments and investigations (Hurtado Albir 2017; PACTE 2020). On this basis, they have drawn nine major implications for translator education: place greater emphasis on developing the strategic sub-competence through translation problems related to intentionality; pay more attention to generic competences and the development of psycho-physiological components; improve L1 writing skills; stimulate the use of internal (cognitive) support in problem-solving; promote the automation of cognitive problem-solving processes; put more emphasis on time pressure; teach the more effective use of instrumental resources; increase opportunities for deliberate practice; and establish clear competence level criteria and standardized levels of proficiency in translator education (PACTE 2020: 223-225). The implications are concrete manifestations of their early, translation competence acquisition model (PACTE 2020: 104-105), conceived as a (rather nebulous) spiraling, non-linear evolution from bilingual and extralinguistic competence and a rudimentary natural translation ability to the acquisition of the translation competence that their competence model describes. The speed and success of that development depend both on individual predispositions and the learning environment in which it takes place.

The PACTE Group’s research and findings led to the development of the NACT¹ translation competence framework (PACTE 2018), a set of performance level descriptors for translator training and assessment. The descriptive categories cover language competence, cultural, world knowledge and thematic competence, instrumental competence, translation service provision competence, and translation problem-solving competence —the central strategic competence governing the deployment of all the others to solve various problem types (PACTE 2018: 120-122). The NACT project is now being followed up by the recently launched EFFORT (European Framework for Translation)² initiative, a three-year Erasmus+ project which aims to refine and validate, on a far larger scale, the levels of non-specialist translator competence developed in the NACT project and to draft additional descriptors for specialized translation in various domains (legal, economic/financial, technical, scientific, literary).

1 “Establishing Competence Levels in the Acquisition of Translation Competence in Written Translation”. See grupsderecerca.uab.cat/pacte/en/nactproject

2 See <https://portalrecerca.uab.cat/en/projects/towards-a-european-framework-of-reference-for-translation>

The major parts of the PACTE competence model are shared in various forms and combinations by others. A case in point is the empirically researched TransComp model (Göpferich 2009), which is explicitly based on the PACTE Group's. The TransComp model differs in separating out psychomotor competence from PACTE's psycho-physiological components to reflect the impact advanced instrumental skills have on freeing up cognitive capacity for problem solving. The TransComp model also adds translation routine activation competence (i.e. knowledge and the abilities to recall and apply standard transfer operations). Like Risku's situated cognitive approach, the TransComp model also accounts for situational factors such as performance-influencing external resources, tools, working conditions, translation norms and tasks, self-concept, social responsibility and role awareness. Another model identifiably close to the PACTE Group's is Kelly's (2005: 32-33) heuristic, which she bases on both the analysis of previous models and personal experience. Comprising communicative and textual, professional instrumental, (inter)cultural, thematic, interpersonal, and psycho-physiological competences, all interlinked and governed by strategic competence, Kelly's model differs only in its internal structure and categorizations.

Kelly's model is overtly didactic in seeking to equip students with the cognitive, professional, and social skills to embark on a career spanning different fields, domains and activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that many parts subsequently found their way into the equally didactic European Master's in Translation (EMT) competence profile for professional translators (EMT Expert Group 2009), on whose drafting committee she served and which was the first profile of its kind to be developed by the EMT network. In what became known as the EMT "Wheel of Competence" because of its circular visual depiction of its components, the constituent skills of translation competence are grouped into service provision competence with its interpersonal and translation production dimensions, which takes pride of place in the hub of the wheel, and language, intercultural, information-mining, thematic and technological competence, all of which are arranged around its outer rim.

A broadening perception of what constitutes cognition, competence and expertise in translation has had an impact on the way such models have evolved. The EMT wheel encapsulates the necessary move away from *translation* competence to *translator* competence proposed by Kiraly (2000: 13), which essentially represents providing language services as a fully integrated member of the professional translator community (Way 2020: 184). Compared to its predecessor, the 2017 EMT Competence Framework (EMT Board 2017), goes even further. It upvalues socio-technical knowledge and skills in the reflective handling of language and translation technology as well as digital social media. It also places distinctly more emphasis on socio-cognitive (inter-)personal competences in contexts of work. It maintains the previous model's emphasis on (inter-)cultural competence, but no longer anchors it a discrete category of sociolinguistic and textual descriptors. Instead, the 2017 framework offers a transversal description of the many situated (inter-)cultural, transcultural and multicultural aspects of a translator's work. Translators should obviously be able to translate and mediate in specific intercultural contexts and work in multicultural, multilingual teams and environments (EMT Board 2017: 8-10). But the 2017 framework stresses from the start that "sociolinguistic, cultural and transcultural knowledge and skills" are "the driving force

behind all the other competences” (EMT Board 2017: 6). The transition reflects an increasing awareness of just how relevant the situated cultural, social and technological contexts are to the competent practice of professional translation. As such, it mirrors the progressive shift in TS towards the current cognitive translology paradigm (e.g. Muñoz Martín 2016) inspired by models which extend human cognition to individuals’ physical and social situation and present it as embodied, embedded, extended, enacted and affective (4EA cognition).

It is important to stress that, in tracing how translation/translator competence has been conceptualized and modelled over time, I do not wish to pass or imply any value judgement. I simply seek to highlight the parallels between the development of the models and the identification of key preoccupations in translation didactics. As Lesznyák (2007: 191) quite properly points out, no one model is inherently superior to any other, because it “always *depends on the aims* of the researcher or the trainer which model will serve his/her purposes best”. In coming to prominence as and when they have, the models presented here do no more than reflect chronological shifts in the principal aims shared within the communities that teach professional translation and that research how to do so.

2.5. Assessing translator competence

All formal educational programmes necessarily involve what Holmes’ generically refers to as “testing techniques”: the diagnostic, formative and summative assessments of learner aptitude and progress. Aligning assessment with learning goals has been a major priority in translator education, especially since the advent of functionalist and competence-based approaches. The predominantly deficit-oriented teacher-centred assessment of target-text products in the “apedagogical” era has gradually given way to multi-perspective methods. The notion of quality implied in Holmes’ “translation criticism” sub-branch of applied TS is a key factor in the assessment of learner output and is often used by translator educators and their institutions as a major indicator of graduate employability. However, Way (2020: 185) correctly points out that “a common denominator in both academic and professional literature globally is dissatisfaction with the testing, which is often considered remote from professional practice and where evaluation is often based on the quantification of errors”. The implications for the educators and their institutions are discussed in section 4. Here, we briefly consider how assessment has shadowed the broader concerns of translator education.

Evaluating target text products is the longest-standing and most common form of learner assessment (Kelly 2005: 131-132). Galán-Mañas and Hurtado Albir (2015: 67-68) point to the distinction between holistic (i.e. an overall appraisal related to perceptions of translation competence) and analytic methods. The latter have taken increasing precedence as (systemic) functionalist approaches to quality and teaching became increasingly popular, presenting problem and error categories extending beyond the linguistic and the textual to the pragmatic and cultural, and deriving criteria from register, text-type and specifications contained in the translation brief (e.g. House 1977; Nord 1997). Early concentration on target texts alone has been progressively supplemented by portfolios and tasks designed to assess knowledge and awareness of

procedural aspects of translation (Colina 2003: 69-73; González Davies 2004; Kelly 2005: 138-142) as well as by the broadening adoption of collaborative translation projects and other forms of authentic experiential learning discussed above.

Product-based assessment alone provides no direct insights into the way students have acted to accomplish a translation or task, nor does it furnish indicators of students' cognitive processes. To obtain these, various process-oriented techniques have been used to enrich product-oriented assessment. They traditionally include written commentaries and annotations to identify learner awareness of problems and problem-solving (Gile 2004; García Álvarez 2007). More inductive approaches have also been proposed, including concurrent think-aloud methods (Kusmaul 1995; Dancette 2003) and retrospective spoken commentaries prompted by screen-recordings of translation processes (Massey & Ehrensberger-Dow 2011). Combined product- and process-oriented methods have been most visibly and successfully embraced by competence-based approaches in order to operationalize categories from componential competence models, such as the PACTE Groups' (Hurtado Albir 2007). This has meant establishing indicators and performance levels across a curriculum, as the NACT project has done, together with appropriately weighted rating scales and a broadening range of suitably aligned tasks like those proposed by Galán-Mañas and Hurtado Albir (2015: 72-79).

Finally, although teachers continue to be the principal agents of student assessment, the spread of collaborative student-centred learning has, as Kelly (2005: 142-145) proposed, led to increased self- and peer assessment amongst learners for both formative and summative purposes. Moreover, as ties with the language industry and translation profession strengthen, so too does non-academic professional engagement with assessment. The accreditation of translation programmes and endorsement of qualifications by professional associations, as in the case of the national standards and certifying authority for translators and interpreters in Australia (NAATI),³ serves as a good example.

3. CURRENT CONCERNS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS: EDUCATING FOR THE PROFESSION AND THE WORKPLACE

The elaboration and integration of models of situated and 4EA cognition has obvious consequences for translation didactics aimed at educating and assessing future professionals to work in the real world. The paradigm shift recognizes the interdependence of translators with their human and technological work environments in achieving successful outcomes, and it lends substantial weight to the social constructivist and emergentist argument that scaffolded authentic experiential learning is the key to developing professional translator competence and expertise. It is therefore only logical that translator education and its assessment systems have, over the years, been interacting more and more closely with the language industry, public institutions and commercial organizations that will employ their graduates' services. The ever-strengthening bonds between translator education and professional practice are the nurturing ground for the constructivist and nascent emergentist thinking that has come

3 See <https://www.naati.com.au/services/endorsed-qualification/>

to exert such a profound influence on current translation didactics, and will continue to do so with increasing momentum into the future. In this respect, three key concerns can be identified: the exchange of ideas and practices between stakeholders, the growing diversification of roles, responsibilities and tasks in the translation professions, and the technologies used both to perform those tasks and to educate future professionals.

3.1. Stakeholder exchanges

The interplay has worked in both directions. For example, while the 2017 EMT Competence Framework was drafted by the EMT Board in consultation with both the representatives of the network's university members and stakeholders from the European language industry (EMT Board 2017: 2), it is no coincidence that the earlier international standard ISO 17100 (2015: 6) contains a list of professional competences for translators that bears striking similarity to the educational competence profiles (e.g. PACTE 2003; Kelly 2005; EMT Expert Group 2009) in existence at the time when it was being drafted.

An abiding theme of stakeholder exchanges, such as the forums and workshops organized as part of the Translating Europe project,⁴ has been how to address the employability gap among translation graduates in terms of quality, productivity and technology skills. Proposals for follow-up actions from the very first Translating Europe Forum in 2014 included better teaching of real-life skills to meet market demands, improved work placements, and using language industry professionals to train students and to help academically trained university teachers develop professional skills (Massey 2019b). Though educators have been keen to point out that they should not put themselves solely at the service of the industry (e.g. Mellinger 2017: 281), the topic of employability has even warranted a special issue of the leading translator and interpreter education journal, *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* (Rodríguez de Céspedes *et al.* 2017).

One reasonable response has been to widen the integration of authentic experiential learning. This has typically taken the form of mentorships and work placements, such those provided by the European Graduate Placement Scheme (EGPS) (Astley & Torres Hostench 2017), or of learning scenarios within curricula —translation projects, student translation companies, agency simulators, and so on (Buysschaert *et al.* 2017; Kiraly *et al.* 2018). It is regularly advocated in employability surveys, where the importance of the generic competences, personal attributes, technology skills, subject-specific knowledge and entrepreneurship skills are also foregrounded (Schnell & Rodríguez 2017; Galán-Mañas *et al.* 2020). Properly managed authentic learning scenarios can deliver all of these.

⁴ See https://ec.europa.eu/info/translating-europe_en. Translating Europe links public and private translation stakeholders to give visibility to the translation profession, to exchange good practices and to stimulate dialogue and projects within translation communities. It brings together universities, the language industry, national language institutes, public sector translation services and professional associations.

3.2. Diversifying roles

The translation profession of the first quarter of the 21st century is characterized by increasingly diverse jobs, roles and tasks. More than a decade ago, Gouadec (2010: 123) talked about re-defining “what a ‘translator’ is” and applied the term “multilingual multimedia communication engineering” to describe the profession, with translators increasingly called upon to work upstream and downstream of the core services they offer (Gouadec 2010: 105). The language industry news and analysis platform *Slator* lists 600 different job titles for the industry in 2018 (Bond 2018) and 100 more in its 2020 Language Industry Market Report (Slator 2020: 11-17). A major reason appears to be the way the industry is progressively expanding upstream (i.e. towards multilingual content creation) and downstream (e.g. towards compliance, access and accessibility, content, data and quality management, production, publication, distribution and consultancy work) of core translation and localization services. Those offering language and translation services are increasingly viewed, and regard themselves, as strategic partners (van der Meer 2020: 288; Nimdzi, 2021: 40). This echoes the (hitherto untapped) strategic value and agency of language and translation experts that have been identified in research on SME’s and other organizations’ language, translation and communications needs (Schäffner 2020: 77; Kuznik 2016; Massey and Wieder 2019).

To keep abreast of such developments, translator education must remain relevant and produce graduates able to develop the role flexibility, adaptive expertise and ability to deliver their strategic value in order to meet real-world needs in a whole range of work contexts. This conclusion is supported by a 2018 survey carried out for the *Conférence internationale permanente d’instituts universitaires de traducteurs et interprètes* (CIUTI) (Massey 2021a: 113-115)⁵ on current and future challenges to translation and interpreting graduates. It revealed that the greatest comparative increases in perceived challenges were in technological developments, range of competences, diversity of work context and diversity of roles. Technological challenges surrounded neural machine translation (NMT), post-editing and machine translation (MT) literacy, while in terms of competences, most stress fell on the need for evaluative skills, adaptivity, creativity, consultancy skills and management skills. Respondents highlighted the broadening portfolios of language service providers mentioned above, as well as the need to work in more diverse paraprofessional and interprofessional contexts. Finally, roles described by respondents ranged from data scientist, computer linguist and MT evaluator to intercultural mediator and language consultant.

The diversification within the profession is reflected in how standards, profiles and competence models have evolved. Perhaps the best illustration is the way the European Parliament in Luxembourg has re-branded its translators as “intercultural and language professionals”, broadening their job profile from core translating services to

facilitating communication with citizens in clear language [...] adapting, transcreating and revising all types of content [...]; intercultural and linguistic mediation (e.g. subtitling or linguistic adaptation of audiovisual content,

5 The questionnaire and full survey results can be accessed by CIUTI members at: <https://www.ciuti.org/education-training/questionnaire2018/>

podcasts and websites); providing assistance with the drafting of non-legislative documents; helping with training measures, terminology and the development of IT and communication tools; [...] quality assurance and control [...]⁶

Similarly, the latest EMT competence framework (EMT Board 2017) has already integrated some of the added value services once listed separately in the international standard ISO 17100 (2015: 18), such as transcreation and post-editing MT output. To account for the growing diversification within the industry, separate standards, profiles and models have emerged for activities that once fell within the scope of professional translation. Post-editing is a good example, having now received its own dedicated international standard, complete with competence profile (ISO 18587 2017: 6-8), and even a separate competence model (Nitzke *et al.* 2019: 247-252).

Given the limited time, infrastructural and human resources at their disposal, programmes are presented with a significant challenge. They are faced with the choices between specializing in specific profiles like post-editing, at the risk of medium-term obsolescence, and focusing on the adaptive expertise (Shreve 2020) that their graduates will need to fill the upstream and downstream roles emerging within the industry—or attempting to combine both. Upskilling and reskilling graduates to act as human experts in the multiple loops of the current and future language industry (Massey & Ehrensberger-Dow 2021) will remain the crucial task of translator education in the years to come.

3.3. Training in and with technology

In what is a highly technologized digital working environment, developing skills in using language technologies has been understandably high on industry stakeholders' agenda—the “translation aids” in Holmes' description. The need has been met with a whole host of initiatives, publications, conferences and workshops too numerous to mention in detail—an excellent overview is provided by Kenny (2020). It suffices to state here that training in translation tools and language technologies has been a major feature of the EMT network's strategic agenda, the Translating Europe Forums and the Translating Europe workshops⁷ since their inception.

From the beginning, empirically researched cognitive models of translation and translator competence have embraced the need for instrumental competences—digital and information literacy, skills in using ICTs, CAT tools, AVT and other language technologies, and so on (e.g. PACTE 2003; Göpferich 2009). These have also been replicated in heuristic models intended for translator education (e.g. Kelly 2005; EMT Expert Group 2009; EMT Board 2017). As a rough guide to the chronological development of published research on teaching digital technologies to translation students, results from a search of the Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation

⁶ European Parliament job advertisement dated 10 June 2021. See: <https://ec.europa.eu/education/knowledge-centre-interpretation/careers/eu-languages-intercultural-and-language-professional>

⁷ See https://ec.europa.eu/info/events/translatingeurope-workshops_en

(BITRA)⁸ database on 16 October 2021 with the queries “translation technology” AND “training” / “teaching” / “education” / “instruction” revealed, on close analysis of the hits, a ten-fold increase in the average number of publications on teaching technologies to translation students during the first decade of this century over the previous eleven years, a trend that then flattened out at a slightly higher level between 2011 and 2020.

Broadly speaking, the focus of interest between the 1990s and the first two decades of this century has moved from the early contributions on *whether* and *why* technologies like translation memory systems, machine translation, digital corpora or other digital linguistic and information resources should be used in the classroom to *how* they can be taught in various learning settings. A recurrent debate has surrounded the issue of whether these technologies should be taught as separate modules or integrated transversally across curricula (e.g. Rodríguez Inés 2010; Mellinger 2017), especially in the form of collaborative project work and authentic experiential learning scenarios (e.g. Gueberhof & Moorkens, 2019). It has tended to run along the above-mentioned epistemological faultlines highlighted by Kiraly and Kelly. Although the published evidence is that many programmes still opt to deliver stand-alone technology modules (Kenny 2020: 907), it is highly likely that, given the currency of social constructivist and emergentist learning models in translator education, that input will be followed up by practical application in situated settings. The situation of translation within its sociotechnical environment has also spurred an interest in exploring the physical, cognitive and organizational ergonomics of translators’ workplaces, especially at the human-machine interface, and in raising student awareness of ergonomic issues and effects (Ehrensberger-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2019) —in line with descriptor 25 of the EMT Competence Framework (EMT Board 2017: 10): “take account of and adapt the organizational and physical ergonomics of the working environment”.

There are two further areas associated with teaching “translation aids” that warrant a mention. The first is audiovisual translation (AVT), including media accessibility, where a thriving but young tradition of specialized didactics can be traced back to Díaz-Cintas’s landmark edited volume *The Didactics of Audiovisual Translation* (2008), and where there is an “umbilical connection between most AVT practices and technology” (Bolaños-García-Escribano *et al.* 2021: 7). This cord presents significant challenges to institutions in terms of infrastructural and human resources: teachers may lack awareness of current professional requirements and technological developments, and financial restrictions frequently prohibit the use of cutting-edge AVT technology in the translation classroom. To meet the industry demands and remain relevant, AVT teaching content must go hand in hand with technological developments —“enhancing trainees’ instrumental skills is a crucial factor in securing their employability” (*ibid.*: 7).

The second is deploying e-learning technologies, which grew out of the recognition that online teaching provided an authentic situated environment in which to develop skills of students in using digital tools and resources relevant to the professional practice of translation (e.g. Massey 2005). A good illustration is the EU-funded eCoLoTrain (“Developing Innovative eContent Localisation Training for Trainers and Teachers in

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

Professional Translation”, 2005-2007), which brought universities and industry partners together to provide teachers with online resources to develop students’ instrumental competence (Dimitriu & Freigang 2008). In the last decade, advances in educational ICT have made it increasingly easy to overcome geographic and temporal limitations, leading to more broadly based international collaboration on cooperative teaching initiatives (e.g. Vandepitte *et al.* 2016). In common with all disciplines, the state-of-the-art approach in online teaching has for some time been blended learning (Galán-Mañas & Hurtado Albir 2010; Gerber *et al.* 2020), involving chronologically arranged sequences of appropriately weighted online and in-person learning units.

Most recently the COVID-19 pandemic has also been pushing educational institutions worldwide to either place entire curricula online or to explore hybrid forms of synchronous teaching delivered to online and on-site learners at the same time. Research on the pandemic’s effects on language mediation practices is already being reported, for example with the six papers delivered on the subject at the 7th IATIS Conference in September 2021⁹. Similarly, Zheng (2020) has examined the authentic situated deployment of foreign language student volunteers during the COVID-19 outbreak in Shanghai to provide rapid translation services. Her study suggests that such students can serve as resources able to respond quickly to the grassroots multilingual needs of local communities (Zheng 2020: 594), but she does not look at the effects on student learning. We can safely speculate, however, that the students’ direct experience of authentic emergency work contributed greatly to the co-emergent development of their personal, interpersonal and service provision skill sets.

Indeed, research has only very recently started to appear on how the various forms of online and hybrid environments affect learning in translator education. By and large, the publications refer to case-study and action research in specific locales (e.g. Seresi *et al.* 2021). The scenarios differ saliently from previous work on online and blended learning because they have not been motivated by didactic deliberations but by regulatory and ethical imperatives to provide access to learning. This signifies a break with previous deployments based on well-considered approaches to online and blended learning, such as those designed as process-oriented, technologically situated and digitally networked social constructivist learning events (e.g. Massey 2005). The new situation is very concretely reflected in the perspective adopted in the conclusion to a study on an authentic “real-life” translation project that took place online due to the pandemic: “the online workflow does not necessarily have a negative impact on the learning benefits of the course, and it may even provide a special opportunity to develop certain competences” (Sereg & Mány 2021: 56).

Participants in some studies (Robin 2021; Kavanagh & Massey 2022) express a distinct preference for on-site, in-person teaching to a purely online setting. According to survey results from the author’s home institution (Kavanagh & Massey 2022), students claim that on-site study motivates them more, improves learning, heightens their concentration and addresses needs more individually than online learning, with participants also indicating greater interaction, communication and involvement, and less multitasking and distraction than when they are working online. While reported

9 See <https://www.iatis.org/index.php/itemlist/category/231-7th-conference-barcelona-2021>

results from studies on hybrid education during the pandemic do highlight the benefits of online interactions in promoting “democratic” communication and a more holistic view of student personalities in home settings, they also document ambient distractors and stressors leading to cognitive overload among both students and teachers (Kovalik-Deák 2021: 14; Kavanagh & Massey 2022). Teachers themselves have voiced concern about students’ naive view of learning concepts, including the equation of learning with teacher-centred transmissionist input alone, about student disengagement when participating online in synchronous hybrid lessons, and about how to foster rather than hinder the more committed on-site participants in the hybrid setting (Kavanagh & Massey 2022). Nevertheless, it appears that the combination of asynchronous elements with synchronous forum interactions can also work well in certain contexts, depending on the competence of the teacher involved, “whose role remains crucial to the success of the learning process: students still rely on their teacher for support, guidance, assessment, and final conclusions” (Robin 2021: 36). At all events, due to the sudden and unforeseen exigencies of the pandemic, teachers everywhere appear to have ascended a steep learning curve in using digital teaching technologies to an extent that would not have been imaginable in the pre-COVID era.

4. EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS: A CRITICAL ISSUE

Initiatives like eCoLoTrain, Translating Europe or the more recent GALA Global Talent and MTPE Training Special Interest Groups¹⁰ offer partnerships and forums to facilitate the exchange between the industry and translator educators. They also raise the thorny issue of those who educate professional translators, to which this chapter now turns. What profile, competences and institutional support do the educators need? Though never explicitly mentioned by Holmes, the question is obviously crucial to the didactic issues he cites. It is also one that has a long history in TS, where the problematic “dichotomy” (Orlando 2016: 48; Way 2020: 180-181) between professional education and academic objectives has struck a sustained chord.

The growing diversity of professional translators’ competences and roles within a complex sociotechnical environment strongly suggests that those who are teaching them should possess equally adaptive skill sets to prepare their students adequately for an increasingly dynamic work market. The evolving roles, demands and needs of the translation profession and language industry means that the teachers’ competences should themselves constantly evolve. But puzzlingly, only limited attention has been paid to issues of educating the translator educators themselves (Massey 2019a), which Way (2020: 191) regards as a “vital avenue for the future”.

A 2019 special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* (Massey *et al.* 2019) on training the translator trainers, the first of its kind, shows the extent of the gap to be filled. The issue was launched precisely because translation teachers’ roles and development as reflective practitioners and learners had not been systematically subject to empirical research. In the end, however, only two contributions to that issue directly addressing the way teachers might enhance their competences (Orlando 2019; Haro-

10 See <https://www.gala-global.org/knowledge-center/professional-development/sigs>

Soler & Kiraly 2019). Other infrequent exceptions include studies of teachers' and students' beliefs about their development of information literacy (Pinto & Sales 2008) and self-efficacy (Haro-Soler 2017), and about the effectiveness of constructivist and behaviourist learning models (Li 2018) and of collaborative group work (Hubscher-Davidson 2008; Massey & Brändli 2019). There have also been some documented initiatives to develop teacher competences at institutional, inter-institutional and international level. Kelly (2005: 150-156) lists the EST and IATIS training committees, the Certificate in Collaborative Translation Teaching (CCTT) and other translation teacher training events, consortia and resources. The Postgraduate Diploma in Translation and Interpreting Pedagogy launched by Macquarie University in Sydney was short-lived, but a postgraduate course in the pedagogy of translating and interpreting is currently being offered at RMIT University in Melbourne. Local events have been sporadically organized by the CIUTI training committee, while many Translating Europe workshops are recurrently aimed at translation teachers. The Krakow-based Consortium for Translation Education Research (CTER) also offered two week-long international courses for teachers in 2015 and 2017. Taken together, however, this is very little given the thousands of programmes in translator education that exist worldwide: teacher education and development in professional translation didactics remains a very neglected area.

Competence models for translator educators also exist, though the extent to which they are known or applied is unclear. The most prominent are Kelly's (2005: 150-151) heuristic competence profile that covers three principal areas of expertise (professional translation practice, the academic discipline of Translation Studies and teaching skills), and the EMT translator trainer profile (European Commission 2013), whose five components (instructional, organizational, interpersonal, assessment and field competence) largely match in a re-structured format the areas covered by Kelly's earlier model. The latter grew out of the EMT's OPTIMALE project (2010-2013), which, while monitoring needs in the translation industry, aimed at disseminating best practice in translator training and providing training for trainers. Both models present a demanding profile for teachers as reflective practitioners with a stake in the professional translation, academic research and higher-education teaching communities. Coming anywhere near this ambitious goal will obviously require the targeted provision of resources in the environments where the educators work (Massey 2021a).

Kelly (2008: 117) emphasizes the situatedness of teacher competence development in local contexts of need, by which she means the geographic regions where institutions are situated. But the institutions themselves constitute specific contexts that must equally be addressed. The results of a 2018 survey of university institutes and programmes in the EMT and CIUTI networks suggest as much (e.g. Massey 2021a: 120-122). Considerable importance is attached to practical aspects of professional translation, educational technologies and translation competence among teachers, but a mandatory requirement for continuing professional development only exists in less than a third of the institutions that responded, and little staff working time is generally allocated to it. The necessary organizational frameworks, tools and measures do not seem to be in place to allow institutional goals and educator needs to be met.

Massey (e.g. 2021a) has consistently argued that, like the professional practice of translation, translator education is itself a situated, embedded activity. Berliner (2004:

205-208) maps the Dreyfus model of adult skill acquisition directly to the development of expert teachers through the five incremental stages of novice, advanced beginner, competence, proficiency and expertise, concluding that “there is no basis to believe that there are differences in the sophistication of the cognitive processes used by teachers and experts in other fields” (Berliner 2004: 210). It follows that teachers must develop in their institutional contexts in the same way that students do in their own situated contexts of learning. Translator educators require the same fostering, facilitation and motivation to develop that translator education institutions provide for their students. Building on the scalability of Kiraly’s emergentist model, Massey (2021a: 123-132) therefore proposes a holistic co-emergent model of student, educator, stakeholder and organizational learning. This he exemplifies with an institutionally situated directive that targets specific low-threshold local, institutional and curricular resources such as participatory action research and authentic experiential learning as key affordances. The model he proposes provides a coherent, integrated framework for all levels of organizational learning and development, which can then be localized for specific institutional contexts of need. Only this can counter a potentially widening disconnect between the ambitions of translator education institutions and their ability to fulfil them.

5. PROFESSIONAL TRANSLATION DIDACTICS AND ALL: BRIDGING A FRUITLESS DIVIDE

In the last decade, publications on subjects ranging from classroom research to language policy reveal a resurgent interest in translation as a didactic tool in ALL in order to foster linguistic and intercultural competence, self-efficacy and metalinguistic reflection (e.g. Machida 2011; Laviosa 2014; Panzarella & Sinibaldi 2018). The interest is most visibly reflected in the companion volume to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2020), where translation features as a form of mediation alongside the three other modes of communication (reception, production and interaction). These examples are good illustrations of what Holmes (1988: 78) means by aligning “translation policy” with translating in ALL and calling for research on its effectiveness.

Unlike “translation criticism”, “translation policy” is not a “quite different area” for Holmes (1988: 78), indicating that he assumes at least some sort of kinship between it and professional “translator training”. Yet, the relationship between the two over the past 50 years could be best described as a deep divide. It has prompted Pym (2018) to appeal for improved dialogue between the sub-fields: translator educators should set aside an elite notion of translation as a professional activity distinct from other forms of multilingual communication and accept that translation is something that people do all the time, everywhere. They should engage much more closely with a language-education community, from which they can learn a great deal (Pym 2018: 218-220). Similarly, Laviosa (2019: 197) feels that TS should exploit the multilingual turn in educational linguistics by adopting translanguaging as a subject of study and allowing translator educators and AL teachers to share knowledge and expertise to the benefit of both. After all, there is a “premium on translingual, transcultural individuals who are able to operate successfully between languages and cultures” (Carreres 2014: 130).

The gap between professional translation didactics and ALL is attributable to misunderstandings on both sides. An international study on attitudes to translation in AL teaching (Pym *et al.* 2013) shows that many AL teachers who advocate communicative teaching methods do not see translating as a communicative act and are thus against its use, often associating it with grammar translation. Their concepts of translation range from sentence-level equivalence between languages to it being a fifth language skill (after speaking, listening, reading and writing) wholly separate from ALL proper and the preserve of professional translation services. The report concludes that “steps should be taken to foster a view of translation as a goal-driven communicative activity that [...] is able to produce interactive knowledge about languages and cultures” and that teachers at all levels should have access to a communicative view of translation (Pym *et al.* 2013: 139).

On the other side of coin, Pym (2018: 217) attributes a large portion of the blame for the misunderstandings to the “basic binarism” of the long-standing theoretical debate among TS scholars over semantic or communicative (Newmark 1981), domesticating or foreignizing (Venuti 1995), documentary or instrumental (Nord 1997), covert or overt (House 1977) translation—all aiming at some notion of equivalence. In doing so, however, he himself disregards the neo-hermeneutic tradition in TS which in its most rigorous form sees translation not as the “reproduction or transfer of an invariant that is contained in or caused by the source text” but as “an interpretive act that inevitably varies source-text form, meaning, and effect according to intelligibilities and interests in the receiving culture” (Venuti 2019: 1). This underpins Massey’s (2021b) contention that the interpretive, interventionist role of professional translators adds empirically verifiable value to human agency in the technological loops that are increasingly dominating their working environment. On this basis, he argues, conceptualizing and teaching translation within a hermeneutic framework of intercultural mediation can be of immense service to both translator education and ALL—fostering linguistic and intercultural competence, developing metalinguistic awareness and promoting self-efficacy.

The pre-requisite is a meaningful dialogue between experts in both educational communities. There have already been some moves in this direction. In 2014, a special issue of the *Interpreter and Translator Trainer* was devoted to “Translation in the Language Classroom”¹¹, while a new peer-reviewed journal, *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*¹² appeared in 2015. Individual scholars from both camps (e.g. González Davies 2014; Carreres 2014) have also been aligning the components of translation competence with the language skills needed in our increasingly global, multilingual societies, based on an understanding of the nature of translation as a process of intercultural mediation. This extends to language technology skills, where tangible benefits for AL teaching are beginning to emerge from the recent interest shown by translation scholars in MT literacy and knowledge of other data-driven translation technologies for non-language professionals (Bowker & Buitrago 2019; O’Brien & Ehrensberger-Dow 2020), including AL learners and teachers (Enríquez Raido *et al.* 2020). Both communities should now sustain the momentum towards a genuine bidirectional exchange (Massey 2021b).

11 See <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ritt20/8/1>

12 See <https://benjamins.com/catalog/ttmc>

6. CONCLUSION: A BRIEF JUDGEMENT

On the previous few pages, I have attempted to recount the main parts of the story told by the professional didactics of translation since Holmes' ground-breaking outline of TS in the early 1970s. It is now time to conclude this chapter by passing judgement on how successfully it has evolved in the intervening half century. Can we speak of success? Inevitably for such a complex and variegated field, my verdict is a mixed one. Especially since the turn of the century, substantial advances have unequivocally been made in the evidence-based development of "teaching methods, testing techniques, and curriculum planning". The commitment and consistency with which researchers and educators are engaging in meaningful dialogue both with one another and with industry stakeholders bears all the hallmarks of a vibrant, dynamic and increasingly mature sub-discipline, conscientiously and systematically pursuing the overriding aim of preparing their students for ever more diverse professional roles in ever more complex sociotechnical environments. However, there is very little evidence of corresponding success in educating the educators, nor in what would quite clearly be a more fruitful two-way collaboration between translation didactics and ALL. Success in either field will depend decisively on concerted strategies being developed and coherently implemented by educational institutions and communities at national, regional and international levels. The jury is therefore still out on whether real progress will be achieved.

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CHAPTER VI

Interpreting studies – From a basically didactic orientation in the conference mode to a multiparadigmatic object of study

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will first provide an overview of Toury's (1995) map of Holmes' (1972) overview of translation studies (TS), including the space he originally assigned to interpreting studies (IS) in that overview. I will argue that the map of IS could now be said to mirror that of TS in general, while not losing sight of the fact that both fields have grown exponentially over the intervening 50 years. I will then discuss the different subfields of TS as outlined by Holmes, but as applied to interpreting studies. Next, I will touch on just two of the major subfields missing from Holmes' (1972) overview: the fields of signed language interpreting studies and non-professional interpreting. This will be followed by a very broad overview of IS over the decades, starting with the 1970s and finishing with the 2020s. The broad overview will show the huge proliferation of research and paradigms within the field of interpreting studies. Next, I will present a brief overview of my own timeline of involvement in first translation studies (TS), then translation and interpreting studies (TIS). I will argue that the interpreting product poses different methodological challenges, in that interpreted renditions may be more difficult to obtain than translation product, especially when interpreting takes place in private settings, where informed consent from all interlocutors may be required. In spite of such challenges, several researchers have managed to collect such data, while focusing on different aspects of interpreting such as interpreter empathy, nonverbal languages, accuracy, benefits of Computer Assisted Interpreting.

In this chapter I will borrow Göktürk's (2004: 2) definition of what constitutes a paradigm:

“A set of assumptions, concepts, values, and practices that constitutes a way of viewing reality for the community that shares them, especially in an intellectual discipline.”

In what follows I have given examples of studies focusing on a particular area of interpreting studies by citing those which were revealed following a search on Google Scholar employing what appeared to me to be fairly intuitive search parameters. These

examples will of necessity be very incomplete, if only because of the huge proliferation of research in interpreting studies.

2. HOLMES' OVERVIEW

It was 1972 when James Holmes set down his thoughts on the name and nature of translation studies, making a distinction, first of all, between 'Pure' and 'Applied', with the Applied section 'only' encompassing translator training, translation aids and translation criticism. It was Toury who, in 1995, 'translated' Holmes' thoughts into the visual representation below.

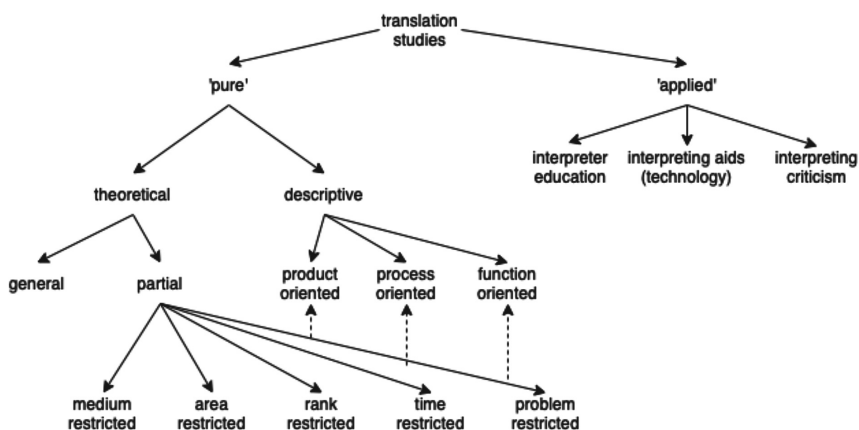


Figure 1. Holmes's 'map' of translation studies (from Toury 1995: 10).

Holmes himself (1972: 183) writes that while he has presented descriptive, theoretical and applied translation studies as three "fairly distinct branches of the entire discipline [...] in reality, of course, the relation is a dialectical one, with each of the three branches supplying materials for the other two." This is certainly also true for IS, and one could argue that each of the subfields is related to others either directly or indirectly, resulting in the aforementioned proliferation of paradigms.

Holmes also mentions two further dimensions:

1. the history of translation theory, translation description and of applied translation studies (largely a history of translation teaching and translation training)
2. the methodological dimension, "concerning itself with problems of what methods and models can best be used in research in the various branches of the discipline", e.g. what analytic methods can best be used to achieve the most objective and meaningful descriptive results.

What is missing from the 1995 image is the subfield of interpreting studies Holmes (1972: 178-179) himself mentions only —and almost in passing— when he discusses medium-restricted translation studies, with Figure 2 —created by the author of this chapter— showing the relevant subsection of the map.

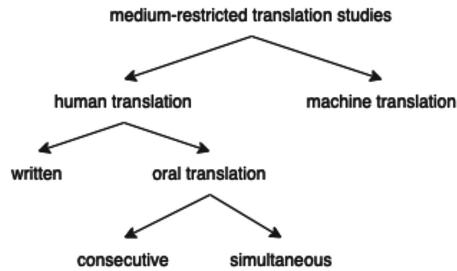


Figure 2. Interpreting as a branch of medium-restricted translation studies.

However, it could be argued that, rather than mapping interpreting studies by continuing on from the representation shown in Figure 3 below, the field of IS could also be represented in a map that mirrors Holmes' (1972)/Toury's (1995) map of translation studies. As Pöchhacker (1995a: 31) writes: “The professional activities of translation and interpreting can, in many respects, be regarded as fraternal twins. Conceptually, they can even be considered as two sides of the same coin (T + I = T&I).”

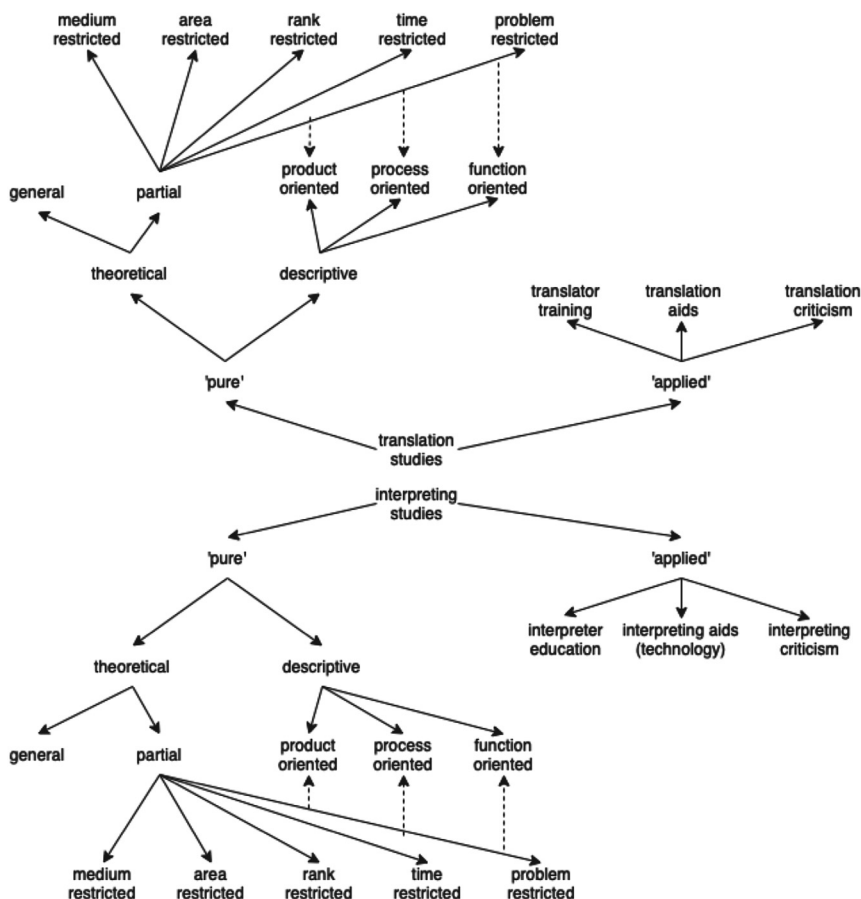


Figure 3. Mirror image map of the field of translation studies and interpreting studies respectively¹.

In this chapter, I will discuss the mirror image map of interpreting studies (IS), before arguing that the proliferation of research directions has resulted in a large number of different paradigms.

3. HOLMES'S 'MAP' APPLIED TO INTERPRETING STUDIES: 'PURE' AS OPPOSED TO 'APPLIED'

With reference to translation studies, Holmes (1972: 176) defined 'Pure' TS as "a field of pure research —that is to say, research pursued for its own sake, quite apart from any direct practical application outside its own domain— translation studies has two main objectives: (1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) [...] and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted."

1 Figure 3 was created by the author of this chapter.

Views on the potential usefulness of a general theory of interpreting studies vary. Downie (2021²) seems to argue in favour of such a theory, when he writes that we need to stress the similarities. (Pöchhacker 2001: 200) comments that any general theory of IS might end up being too general to be useful, and I would tend to agree, since such a theory could only include the most general similarities shared by the different branches of interpreting studies, without being able to account for the finer details separating the different areas. Pöchhacker goes on to explain the nature of theory, followed by a personal account of his own development as a researcher, outlining some of the “variables shaping one’s choice of a theoretical framework” (2001: 199), before highlighting what he refers to as “some major issues in theoretical research”, the challenges involved in analyzing and modelling and testing (Pöchhacker 2001: 200). In this chapter I will argue that much of the work in IS can be described as applied, rather than pure. I will also argue that the number of paradigms in IS is continually expanding in a series of different directions not foreseen in Holmes’ map (Holmes 1972, Toury 1995).

3.1. Pure: Theoretical as opposed to descriptive

In terms of theoretical versus descriptive TS, Holmes (1972: 178) wrote:

Theoretical translation studies or translation theory is [...] not interested in describing existing translations, observed translation functions, or experimentally determined translation processes, but in using the results of descriptive translation studies, in combination with the information available from related fields and disciplines, to evolve principles, theories, and models which will serve to explain and predict what translating and translations are and will be.

Interpreting studies scholars do describe recorded interpreted renditions, with an overlap between studies focusing on area-restricted interpreting featuring different settings such as conference interpreting, court interpreting, health interpreting, and language-restricted or problem-restricted studies (how interpreters handled different types of problems). The number of different variables in such descriptive interpreting studies appear to be a barrier to generalisability into an overlapping theory of IS, even when some scholars (e.g. Downie 2021) argue that there are more similarities between IS in different settings than differences. In the sections that follow, I will discuss the different theoretical or descriptive categories cited in Holmes’ 1972 overview—as it appeared in Venuti’s (2000) reader—with reference to the literature on interpreting studies (IS).

2 <https://jonathandownie.wordpress.com/2021/02/16/interpreting-settings-rough-timeline-of-the-burying-of-a-dead-horse/>

3.1.1. Theoretical

General

Holmes cautions (1972: 178) “that a *general translation theory*” in such a true sense of the term, if indeed it is achievable, will necessarily be highly formalized and, however the scholar may strive after economy, also highly complex.”

Pöchhacker (2001: 200) argues that if we follow Holmes’ map, we would have one “general theory” relating to the entire field of interpreting and “partial theories” related to “specific aspects of problems”. Pöchhacker (ibid.) rightly argues that such a general theory would have to be very general indeed and limited to what he calls “a definitional description of key concepts and factors as well as the relationships between them.” At the time of writing in 2001, the field of IS was still mainly restricted to the field of conference interpreting or simultaneous interpreting and “not sufficiently ‘general’” (ibid). In the two decades since 2001, the field of interpreting studies has expanded exponentially, comprising interpreting in a wide range of public service areas, remote interpreting and even non-professional interpreting (Crezee *et al.* 2022).

Partial

Holmes (1972: 178) writes that “the most significant advances” have been made in the area of partial theories and that “it will probably be necessary for a great deal of further research to be conducted in them” [partial theories] before we can even begin to think about arriving at a true general theory”, and he then suggests grouping together what he terms *partial translation theories* into six main kinds.

In what follows below, I have attempted to match each of the six main types of ‘partial translation theories’ to ‘partial interpreting theories’. However, I often found that none of the ‘equivalent’ IS research was truly restricted to just one area.

Medium restricted

The first partial translation theory mentioned by Holmes is that of *medium-restricted translation theories* and this includes the distinction between oral translation or interpreting “with a further distinction between consecutive and simultaneous” “and written translations (Holmes 1972: 178-179).

In Holmes’ 1972 overview, the entire field of IS was grouped under the umbrella term “oral translation or interpreting”. Many IS scholars still focus on either consecutive (Han 2019) or simultaneous interpreting (Christoffels & de Groot 2005, Gile 1999), be it in conference or other settings.

Area restricted

Holmes (1972: 179) distinguishes two kinds of area-restricted translation theories: “restricted as to the languages involved” or “as to the cultures involved”. The cultural turn in TS (Bassnett 2003; Lefevere; Bassnett 1990) has been expanded upon by many IS scholars, using a range of different paradigms, borrowing from work on pragmatics, sociology and intercultural studies, while a considerable number of interpreter education scholars have adopted socioconstructivist approaches (Pöchhacker 2006; Wolf, Fukari 2007; Wolf 2012).

Regarding language-restricted theories, Holmes (1972: 179) writes: “[l]anguage-restricted theories have close affinities with the work being done in comparative linguistics and stylistics”.

Interpreting research commonly involves language-specific research, which is not to say that the findings will be language-restricted, although scholars will usually be cautious about not generalising their findings. Some language-restricted (language-specific) IS research has involved corpus-based approaches, as outlined under ‘Text-type restricted’ below.

Research related to interpreter education has often focused on language-restricted issues, with the aim of informing pedagogical approaches (e.g. Teng *et al.* 2018). However, interpreter education research is moving away to a non-language specific approach (Hale, Ozolins 2014; Crezee 2015), especially in countries where the influx of migrants and refugees from a multitude of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds reinforce the need for non-language specific interpreter education.

Munday (2009:7) discusses the three aspects of “the ambit of translation”, all of which involve sociocultural considerations: “(1) the process of transferring a written text from SL to TL [...] conducted by a translator, or translators, in a specific socio-cultural context; (2) the written product or TT, which results from that process and which functions in the socio-cultural context of TL; (3) the cognitive, linguistic, visual, cultural and ideological phenomena which are integral part of (1) and (2).” All three aspects also apply to the process of interpreting, *mutatis mutandis*. Interpreting studies researchers address some of these aspects by discussing pragmatic equivalence whereby the interpreter attempts to preserve the “illocutionary force of the original utterance” (Morris 1999: 7). Hale (1996) discusses pragmatic considerations in court interpreting, and in her 2014 article (Hale 2014) further distinguishes between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic equivalence.

Rank restricted

Holmes (1972: 179) describes these as “theories that deal with discourses or texts as wholes, but concern themselves with lower linguistic ranks or levels” (e.g. word level, or sentence level) “ignoring the macro-structural aspects or entire texts as translation problems.” He then expresses (ibid.: 180) the hope for a move towards “the more complex task of developing text-rank (or “rank-free”) theories”.

Perhaps due to the sheer number of potential issues for interpreters, much IS research focuses on word-level or sentence-level specific issues in interpreting. IS scholars have, for instance, used discourse analysis to examine legal question types commonly used in courts, with Hale setting the scene (2002, 2004), and leading the way for other scholars to follow (e.g. Crezee *et al.* 2017; Teng *et al.* 2018). Other scholars have looked at the interpretation of phrasal verbs (Cresswell 2018), numbers (e.g. Frittella 2019), idiomatic language (e.g. Crezee & Grant 2013, 2016, 2020), or collocations (Feng *et al.* 2018).

Text-type restricted

Text-type restricted theories are different from rank-restricted theories in that the former look at texts above word or sentence level, and here Holmes (1972: 180) cites Bühler’s theory of types of communication “as further developed by the Prague

structuralists” and ‘the definitions of language varieties arrived at by linguists particularly of the British school’.

The work of IS scholars on ‘text-type restricted’ interpreted renditions has drawn on the work of Halliday (1985), pragmatics (e.g. Hale 2014), and critical discourse studies.

Language-restricted IS research has also included corpus-based interpreting studies (Shlesinger 1998; Bendazzoli, Sandrelli 2005, 2009; Bendazzoli *et al.* 2018) in a range of settings, including conference interpreting and court interpreting (Orozco-Jutorán 2018).

Since public service interpreting mostly takes place in the private domain, it may be very difficult to gain access to transcripts of interpreter-mediated interactions. However, some scholars have managed to do so, using conversation or discourse analytical approaches (e.g. Mason 2015).

Where interpreter-mediated interactions take place in the court domain, it may be very difficult to gain access to court recordings and court transcripts, leading researchers such as Berk-Seligson (2002) and others to set up simulated scenarios (e.g. Hale *et al.* 2019). For this and other reasons it can be argued that corpus interpreting studies are much more difficult to conduct than corpus TS, where texts are often available in the public domain and do not require researchers to apply for consent, get texts transcribed, checked and readied for analysis.

Time restricted

According to Holmes (1972: 180), these “fall into two types: theories regarding the translation of contemporary texts, and theories having to do with the translation of texts from an older period”. Holmes (1972: 180) goes on to write that the latter, “the theory of what can perhaps best be called cross-temporal translation, is a matter that has led to much disagreement”.

At first glance, the issue of *time-restricted* theories as referred to by Holmes does not seem to work as well for IS, as it does for TS, simply because of the dearth of historical records and recordings of interpreting, when compared to the wealth of translations which have been passed down over time. Obvious exceptions would be the study of the history of interpreting in the ancient Chinese courts (Lung *et al.* 2005), and on the ambiguous role of “La Malinche” who interpreted for Hernán Cortés during the 16th century conquest of Mexico (Alonso Araguás 2005; Valdeón 2013). Of great interest too are the records of the development of the first simultaneous interpreting technology in the US and in the Soviet Union (Chernov 2016). Baigorri-Jalón (2016) presents a historical overview of the birth of conference interpreting, from the 1919 Paris Peace Conference to the Nuremberg trials, while Takeda (2010) undertook a sociopolitical analysis of interpreting during the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal hearings. Morris explores historical aspects of court interpreting in her (1999) article. As time goes by, researchers are able to access recordings of interpreted trials and conferences, which they can study from a historical and transtemporal perspective. Baigorri-Jalón explored both oral and written sources in his work tracing the history of conference interpreting, both in his (1999) article and in his 2014 monograph. As time goes by, an increasing number of recordings are becoming available for scholars interested in *time-restricted* IS.

Problem restricted (product, process, function)

These theories “confine themselves to one or more specific problems within the entire area of general translation theory” (Holmes 1972: 180) and may include the nature of equivalence or the translation of metaphors or proper names.

Interpreting studies does concern itself with all three problem-restricted dimensions mentioned by Holmes (1972): product, process and function. Pöchhacker (2016) discusses process, product and performance, while also discussing function in some of his other work (1995a).

3.1.2. Descriptive TS

So far I have discussed theoretical TS, I will now talk about descriptive TS and how that translates into the field of interpreting studies. Holmes (1972: 176) describes descriptive TS as “the branch of the discipline which constantly maintains the closest contact with the empirical phenomena under study.” Most descriptive IS studies are not purely descriptive, with Pöchhacker (1995a: 41), for instance, describing the analysis of a three-day scientific-technical conference held in Vienna in 1991, in what he referred to as a “comprehensive descriptive study of IS.” Descriptive IS can be divided into three approaches: product, process and function, and will be discussed under those headings below.

Product

Holmes (1972: 176) describes product-oriented descriptive translation studies as “that area of research which describes existing translations” with two phases: “text-focused translation description” and “comparative translation description”. Holmes (ibid.: 177) adds that: “such individual and comparative descriptions provide the materials for surveys of larger corpuses of translations, for instance those made within a specific period, language, and/or text discourse type.”

In one of his early papers, Pöchhacker (1995a: 33) set out to “show that interpreting researchers can find many exciting new challenges by taking a product-oriented approach to an interpreter’s output as text-in-situation-&-culture. Product-oriented work by IS scholars has generally focused on conference interpreting, rather than in the public service interpreting domain. This may be because conference interpreting data are more accessible to researchers, than data produced in the course of interpreter-mediated interactions involving private individuals interacting with public service officials. Balogh and Salaets (2018) present a fascinating study on the hearing of a witness via videoconferencing, captured through a video recording of a court case in Belgium. They also compare their findings from the authentic court case with those of the simulated role-plays which were part of the overarching Avidicus 1&2 projects.³ Both Gallez (2014) and Monteoliva (2017) examined authentic recordings for their respective doctoral dissertations.

As stated previously, the interpreted ‘product’ is arguably more difficult to access than the translated product. The former involves first accessing the product, which may

3 http://wp.videoconference-interpreting.net/?page_id=197

be difficult to achieve if it involves a public service setting such as a medical interview. Accessing interpreted renditions will also involve a quite complex ethics approval process, involving not only the University Ethics Committee, but also the hospital's review board in case of healthcare interpreting, or the Police or Courts. Speaking only from a New Zealand perspective here, I have had several postgraduate students who were unable to access recordings of interpreter-mediated exchanges in the court or police setting, sometimes after years of trying. Next it involves transcription of the interlocutors' spoken or signed statements, preferably to be undertaken by someone fluent in both languages. Accessing the translated product usually does not involve such complex issues—since such products are usually already in the public arena—nor do they require transcription and checking before the phase of analysis can commence.

Product-oriented studies have also involved interpreter educators, who have set up classroom interventions (e.g. Crezee *et al.* 2017, Teng 2018), or carefully controlled experiments (e.g. Marschark *et al.* 2004).

Process

“*Process-oriented DTS* concerns itself with the process or act of translation itself leading to an area of study that might be called translation psychology or psycho-translation studies (Holmes 1972: 177; emphasis as in the original).

A significant number of IS scholars have focused on the cognitive process of interpreting, including Chernov (1979) with his psycholinguistic research into simultaneous interpretation, Kirchhoff (1976) with her work on variables in the interpreting process, models and strategies, and Lederer (1978) and her work on units of meaning in simultaneous interpreting (Lederer 1978). Gile (2000: 89) writes that “[a]fter a brief flurry of interpretation research (IR) by psychologists in the sixties and early seventies, the scene was taken over by practicing interpreters, and communication between them and researchers from other disciplines remained virtually non-existent for a decade [...]”

IS researchers exploring the process of simultaneous (and to a lesser degree consecutive) interpreting in conference settings are increasingly able to benefit from the evolution of new technological advances which allow researchers to track eye movements (e.g. Tiselius & Sneed 2020), and to research the impact of Computer Assisted Interpreting (CAI). Other authors active in the area include Defranq & Fantinuoli (2020) and emerging researchers such as Frittella (2022).

Process-oriented DTS has in the past used Think-Aloud Protocol (TAP) approaches, where translators say out loud what is going through their minds while they are grappling with translation issues. Since interpreters are interpreting in the moment, at best, scholars can ask (trainee) interpreters retrospectively what challenges they encountered while they were interpreting (e.g. Shamy & De Pedro Ricoy 2017). Some scholars (e.g. Britz 2017) have employed hermeneutic phenomenology to explore the lived experience of interpreting.

One exciting experiment involving process, product and conduct was that set up by Hale *et al.* (2019) involving simulated police interviews and comparing professional and non-professional interpreters.

Function

Holmes (1972: 177) writes that the field of *function-oriented* DTS is interested in “the description of their function in the recipient socio-cultural situation: it is a study of contexts rather than texts” and that “[g]reater emphasis on it could lead to the development of a field of translation sociology for [...] socio-translation studies”.

Pöchhacker (1995a) was one of the first scholars to discuss simultaneous interpreting in the light of the functionalist theory of T&I proposed by Vermeer (1989), and he argues that in view of such a theory, target texts in simultaneous interpreting would be “expected to be functionally similar to the original speech” (Pöchhacker 1995a: 39).

I would argue that some of this functionalist approach is to some extent reflected in the work of IS scholars who are arguing for the importance of pragmatic equivalence (Morris 1999; Hale 2014). The field of *function-oriented* interpreting studies has increasingly focused on the illocutionary intent of speakers in a range of public service settings, and has often involved discourse analysis. Hale (1996) used a discourse analytical approach to achieve a taxonomy of common question types used by lawyers in court, inspiring work undertaken by later researchers (e.g. Burn & Crezee 2017).

3.2. Applied interpreting studies

Holmes (1972) distinguished the following subfields of applied translation studies: 1) translator training; 2) translation aids, and 3) translation criticism. Translation policy was not in Toury’s (1995) diagram of the map, but is mentioned by Holmes (1972) and will be added here last.

Mapping these subfields onto IS would result in the following: 1) Interpreter education; 2) Interpreting aids; 3) Interpreting criticism, and 4) Interpreting policy.

3.2.1. Interpreter education

The first element of applied TS mentioned by Holmes (1972: 181) is the area of teaching translation, and the author of this paper wonders whether this is because he himself was involved in teaching translation at the University of Amsterdam. Holmes points out that “translating has been used for centuries as a technique in foreign-language teaching and a test of foreign-language acquisition” (Holmes 1972: 181). And indeed this applied to me, since my acquisition of Latin and Classical Greek at secondary school involved first semantic and then communicative translation (Newmark 1991). The second situation Holmes mentions is that of *translator training*, which he says comprises teaching methods, testing techniques and curriculum planning.

Interpreter education aims to prepare interpreters for the knowledge, skills and attributes (NAATI 2016) required of them in practice. This includes ensuring students develop ready knowledge relating to a large number of fields and specialties, awareness of referral systems (in healthcare) and interview techniques (in police or immigration and refugee settings). Student interpreters must also be prepared for the many different challenges they may face in practice, from ethical, to intrapersonal, interpersonal (especially in non-conference settings), environmental, paralinguistic and ethical demands (Dean & Pollard 2011; Ozolins 2015). Since many interpreter educators are

themselves practisearchers (Gile 1994), their own work experiences will feed back into their approaches to teaching.

When Pöchhacker (1995b) conducted his bibliographic analysis of writings and research on interpreting, a large percentage of the publications focused on interpreter education. Pöchhacker (1995b: 25) mentions: general (60) professional issues (64), history (15), (meta) theory/methodology/research policy (25); teaching/training (146), concepts (83); output characteristics (35); strategies (35); aptitude/skills (28); quality perception/standards/expectations (27); input characteristics (25); neuropsycholinguistic, psychological issues (29); terminology/preparation/data processing (11); bibliographic/literature reviews (12). This trend has continued over the past decades, with an enormous amount of research published on teaching methods, testing techniques and curriculum planning (e.g. Miner & Nicodemus 2021). This has included work on aptitude testing (Bontempo & Napier 2011), emotional traits, psychological skills (e.g. Atkinson & Crezee 2014), reflective skills (Dangerfield & Napier 2016) and feedback (Lee 2018), error analyses (e.g. Kim 2013) and assessment (Li 2018). Interpreter educators employ a large number of different approaches, with some of those having their roots in socioconstructivism and situated learning approaches (González Davies & Enríquez Raído 2016). Interpreter educators are increasingly exploring the benefits of shared pre-professional education (Krystallidou *et al.* 2020; Hlavac & Saunders 2021; Crezee & Marianacci 2022).

3.2.2. *Interpreting aids*

A number of scholars are devoting their attention to the increasing possibilities opened up by the use of ever more sophisticated interpreting aids such as CAI and digital pens, e-tools and resources, including Fantinuoli (2017), Orlando (2017) and Bonyadi (2021). Scholars such as Lai and Eser (2020) have explored the usefulness of Second Life in interpreter education.⁴

3.2.3. *Interpreting criticism*

Interpreting criticism involves researchers first needing to capture interpreted data, involving both source text and interpreted rendition. As mentioned before, gathering such data may be easier to do with conference or media interpreting (open access; not confidential) or in carefully set up controlled experiments, however collecting such data may be fraught with difficulties in public service interpreting, due to the private nature of most interactions in the latter setting. One interesting area for study could involve the signed language renditions of official Covid-19 related announcements made by public health and government officials on public television. Interpreting criticism for the sake of interpreter education usually follows a mixed methods approach, such as combining a corpus and a blended learning approach (Wang 2015).

⁴ Other similar projects are IVY and EVIVA (<http://virtual-interpreting.net/>)

3.2.4 Interpreting policy

A number of scholars have looked at policy and its impact on the way ‘language assistance services’ are implemented. Interpreting scholars in Spain (Ortega-Herráez 2020; Blasco Mayor & del Pozo Triviño 2015; Blasco Mayor 2013) and Belgium (Salaets *et al.* 2019) have explored the implementation of European Directive 2010.64/EU in their countries. Very importantly, scholars have also commented on the concept of language rights as human rights, e.g. Del Pozo Triviño (2016). Enríquez Raído *et al.* (2020) looked at policy and legislation affecting the employment of interpreting services in New Zealand, which is now moving to compulsory NAATI⁵ credentialling for all interpreters wishing to work in public service settings.

3.3. Two further dimensions of TS and IS

Holmes (1972: 183) also mentions two further dimensions of TS, namely (1) the history of translation theory, translation description and of applied translation studies, which is largely a history of translator training, and (2) the methodological dimension “concerning itself with problems of what methods and models can best be used in research in the various branches of the discipline”, e.g. “what analytic methods can best be used to achieve the most objective and meaningful descriptive results.

Translated into IS terms, these further dimensions would relate to the history of interpreting theory and applied interpreter training, as well as the methodological dimensions, which constitute a significant aspect of interpreting studies, as will be seen below.

There has been research on the development of interpreting theory, the description of interpreted renditions and the many different directions scholars of applied interpreting studies have taken (see a.g. Pöchhacker 2011 and Hale & Napier 2013 for an overview).

Any discussion of methodological approaches must include one of ‘ways of seeing’ (Pöchhacker 2011), including epistemology and ontology. The most succinct discussion of the many different theoretical and methodological approaches and the main paradigms (qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods) is that presented by Pöchhacker (2011) in his chapter on “Researching interpreting: Approaches to inquiry”. Pöchhacker takes the reader on what could almost be described as a ‘brief history’ of approaches to inquiry, where he deftly unpacks different conceptual frameworks and paradigms. Pöchhacker (2011: 9) writes:

The paradigms of interpreting research are largely a matter of existing and influential disciplinary frameworks before and during the emergence of a disciplinary matrix of interpreting studies in its own right.

The brief history of epistemological approaches described by Pöchhacker (2011) includes the discussion on “speculative theorizing” as opposed to scientific research (2011: 11), the dichotomy between the “human sciences” proposed by Wilhelm Dilthey’s *interpretive epistemology* in contrast with the *natural sciences approach* proposed

5 National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters – www.naati.com.au

by the founder of *positivism*, Auguste Comte, who argued that “genuine knowledge” can only be gained “by empirical means rather than argumentation” (Pöchhacker 2011: 11). Pöchhacker next describes Karl Popper’s critical rationalism, which questions positivist scientific approaches, and his view that “no amount of hypothesis testing can ever achieve ultimate verification” (Pöchhacker 2011: 12), before moving to constructivism and social constructivism, which involves “a process of co-construction of knowledge and reality by social relationships and interactions” (2011: 13). Pöchhacker (2011: 14) also holds that “interpreting studies can be seen as a paradigm case of the human sciences, in Dilthey’s sense”, arguing that a number of different approaches can be considered equally appropriate and valid approaches to social inquiry. Patel (2015) provides a more extensive yet still succinct overview of different ontological, methodological and conceptual paradigms.

Hale and Napier (2013) provide a practical overview of research methods of benefit to both emerging and established IS researchers, while Mason (2017) provides an overview of models and methods in dialogue interpreting research.

Different settings, research questions and hypotheses require different research and analysis methods, including but not limited to direct observations, recording and transcriptions, and the testing of digital interpreting aids to retrospective reflections, interviews and surveys. Analytical methods likewise vary and include (but are not limited to) statistical analyses of errors, descriptive statistics, and content or thematic analyses of interview and survey data, reception studies and the use of Dean and Pollard’s (2011) Demand-Control schema to describe the challenges encountered by interpreters in practice. Several doctoral students (Mahdavi 2020, Gao 2021) have combined observations of interpreter-mediated interactions with interviews of health professionals, health consumers and interpreters. These types of studies are of great interest and are difficult to achieve as they often require ethical approval by institutional review boards and universities, and the consent of all interlocutors involved. Sample sizes are usually small, and while findings may not lend themselves to generalisable theories, they are of great interest to interpreting scholars and interpreter educators alike.

4. SIGNED LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

Holmes’ (1972) overview of the field of TS made no mention of either signed language interpreting or non-professional interpreting. Pöchhacker (2011: 8) writes:

In other words, the paradigm determines what constitutes a valid object of study in the first place, as exemplified in interpreting studies by leading interpreting scholars’ refusal to deal with interpreting as practiced by untrained bilinguals (Seleskovitch 1985), or by the failure of many scholars, well into the 1990s, to take account of interpreting in signed languages. However legitimate such conceptual choices may be, making ‘professional’ or ‘spoken’ a definitional feature of what is to be studied obviously has far-reaching consequences.

The contribution of signed language interpreting scholars and educators to the field of IS is invaluable. From Metzger's (1999) discussion of the different interpreting models (including the conduit and the ally model) to Roy's (1993) work on interpreter role, Metzger's (1999) work on the paradox of the interpreter's neutrality, and Dean & Pollard's (2011) influential decision-making framework. The *International Journal of Interpreter Education* published under auspices of the Conference of Interpreter Trainers in the US provides a platform for both signed and spoken language interpreter educators, practisearchers and other scholars.

5. NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING

The field of non-professional interpreting has received increasing attention from researchers, and I need to mention the contributions of Martínez-Gómez (2015 a, 2015b, 2015c) here, as well as the 2017 volume edited by Antonini *et al.* In New Zealand, where the author of this paper is based, the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment revealed in a recent (August 2021) newsletter that up to one third of those registering for NAATI interpreter testing did not hold any formal qualification in interpreting. In my role as a reviewer, I often comment that IS scholars often omit to mention whether the interpreters they describe in their studies were trained/educated, and if so what type of interpreter education they received. Non-professional interpreters work in many different countries, and further research in this area is very important.

6. IS SINCE THE 1920S AND 1930S: A BROAD TIMELINE

I have followed three excellent edited volumes to trace the overall development of IS as a multiparadigmatic field of study, creating a very broad and of necessity incomplete timeline. In 2002, Pöchhacker and the late Miriam Shlesinger provided an overview of the field of IS in the Routledge *Interpreting Studies Reader*. Hermann's (1956) essay (included in the 2002 edited volume by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger, and translated by Morris) traces the importance of interpreting back to antiquity. For the next two decades, I have followed the (2015) *Routledge Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Mikkelsen and Jourdenais. Their edited volume reflects the increasing diversity of topics in interpreting studies, with Part III dedicated to a diverse range of interpreting settings. I have also referred to a third edited volume entitled *New insights into the history of interpreting* (2016) edited by Takeda and Baigorri-Jalón, especially Chernov's chapter on the dawn of simultaneous interpreting in the USSR.

Period	Main themes and topics
1920s and 1930s	Development of simultaneous interpreting technology (see Chernov, 2016).
1950s and 1960s	Conference interpreting (Paneth 1957), simultaneous ‘translation’ (Oléron and Nanpon 1965), effect of source language presentation on performance of simultaneous conference interpreters (Gerver 1969), also a history of interpreting e.g. Hermann (1956) on interpreting in antiquity, where the author identifies interpreters as essential go-betweens in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome.
1970s	Simultaneous conference interpreting : segmentation of input on simultaneous translation (Goldman-Eisler 1972), simultaneous interpreting (Barik 1975), psycholinguistic research into simultaneous interpretation (Chernov 1979), variables in the interpreting process, models and strategies (Kirchhoff 1976), note-taking in consecutive interpreting (Seleskovitch 1975), units of meaning in simultaneous interpreting (Lederer 1978).
1980s	The 1980s and 1990s bring the first publications on dialogue interpreting and the different ethical challenges interpreters face in different settings. Typology of interpreter-mediated events (Alexieva 1987), courtroom interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1988), nonverbal communication (Poyatos 1987).
1990s	Interpreter role – different models (conduit, ally) - (Roy 1993), interpreter role in as a participant in dialogue interpreting (Wadensjö 1993), ethics , code, culture (Kaufert & Putsch 1997); model of cognitive effort involved in interpreting (Gile 1995); the myth of interpreter neutrality (Metzger 1999).
1990s	The work of signed language interpreting scholars is starting to make its presence felt and having an impact on IS overall. The next decade sees another step towards further diversification of the field:
2000–2010	Different settings, including a wide range of public service interpreting settings, but also conflict zones , as evidenced by work by Corsellis (2008) and Moser-Mercer and Bali (2007).
2010-2020	Remote interpreting in police, court and conference settings, wide range of public service interpreting settings, non-professional interpreting, interpreter role, models, ethics, interpreter empathy, trauma-informed interpreting, interpreter education, technology as a tool and as a research focus .

Table 1. Timeline according to Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002), Mikkelsen and Jourdenais (2015), and Chernov (2016).

The last two decades have seen an acceleration in publications reflecting a shift from what was initially predominantly a focus on conference interpreting and conference interpreter education to work on public service interpreting and the role of the interpreter in a growing range of settings, including the work of non-professional interpreters. We also see what Fantinuoli (2019) refers to as the “technological turn”, reflected in a growing focus on digital technology, both as a research instrument (e.g. eye-tracking, MRI scanning) and as a research focus (e.g. digital pens, use of Apps in

interpreting practice and education, Computer Assisted Interpreting and remote interpreting technology). A number of researchers are looking at interpreter empathy and its impact on the medical interview (Krystallidou *et al.* 2020; Lan 2019), while others have focused on trauma-informed interpreting (Bancroft 2017).

7. THE AUTHOR'S OWN PATH

To some extent, the author's personal and professional journey reflects the evolution of translation and interpreting studies from *general* and *partial translation theories* (*problem restricted*, *text type restricted*) and *translation criticism*, *descriptive product oriented* and *applied* approaches, with discussions on translator education, through to a focus on interpreter and translator education, involving a *text type restricted*, *problem restricted*, *descriptive product-oriented* but also *process-oriented* approach, by asking students to reflect on the *translation or interpreting process*.

The development of the field of TIS mirrors the author's own development as a researcher and practitioner. I got my first taste of translation when I attended *gymnasium* secondary school, through having to read and translate classical Greek and Roman authors such as Homer, Xenophon, Euripides, Cicero, Seneca, Caesar and Tacitus. Translations usually followed the principle of formal correspondence (Nida 1964) or semantic translation (Newmark 1991), to show that the grammar and semantics of the source text had been understood, and were followed by philosophical discussions of the text, led by teaching staff.

After completing secondary school, I enrolled at the Institute for Translation Studies at the University of Amsterdam. Studies included a combination of theory and practice (situated learning). Translation theory included both *general* and *partial (medium-restricted: literary texts and scientific texts)*, *rank restricted*, *text type restricted*, *time restricted*, *problem restricted*, coupled with a *descriptive product oriented* approach during tutorials, and an *applied* approach involving discussions on *translator training* (are good translators born or is it possible to develop into a good translator?) and *translation criticism* (received from tutors and peers on our own work). After translation studies, I completed my bachelor degree in English language and literature at VU University Amsterdam, and Registered Nursing training at a large general hospital. While working as a nurse, I went back to university and completed my master's degrees in Translation Studies (University of Amsterdam) and English (VU University of Amsterdam). I dedicated my master's theses to pre- and post-modificational noun phrases in the English to Dutch translations of a small corpus of nursing research texts respectively. Both my master's theses combined *partial translation theories (problem restricted, text type restricted)* with *translation criticism*.

After arriving in New Zealand in 1989, I took part in the first ever healthcare interpreting training course offered at Auckland Technical Institute in 1990. The next year, I became involved in training public service interpreters focusing especially on the health and public service settings, while working as a registered nurse in the New Zealand healthcare setting. I also continued working as a public service interpreter and translator and, following completion of my PhD, focused my research efforts on interpreter education, situated learning, court interpreting observation, shared preprofessional learning with health professionals, reflective assignments, and the use of authentic audiovisual practice material.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS: FROM MARGINAL POSITION TO CENTRAL ROLE?

In Holmes' overview of the field of translation studies (TS), interpreting studies only played a very marginal role. It may be argued that it is in fact the 'applied' section of "Holmes' map" that has attracted a lot of attention from interpreting scholars, although their work often involves the subfields of what Holmes (1972) termed *partial theoretical* approaches. In that sense, one could say that the intervening 50 years have seen the development of a great many further connections, linking seemingly disparate subsections of 'pure' and 'applied' sections of the map, and involving a huge diversity of 'ways of seeing', conceptual and methodological frameworks.

Over the course of the 50 years since Holmes outlined his overview of the field in 1972, interpreting studies have taken a quantum leap, spreading in many different directions. Downie (2021) argues that we should not divide IS into subfields based on settings. While interpreting shares similarities across settings, interpreters themselves face different demands (Dean & Pollard 2011) depending on where and how they work, their training, their working conditions and their resilience in what can be very trying and even traumatic conditions. In other words, whilst focusing on similarities may be useful for a very general theory on interpreting, different environmental, intra- and interpersonal, paralinguistic and ethical demands (Dean; Pollard 2011), the field itself is like a rich tapestry, with a multitude of approaches, conceptual and methodological frameworks interwoven and overlapping.

I would argue that far from being "a general theory of translation within Translation Science", Interpreting has come into its own, becoming a multiparadigmatic object of study in its own right.

As Pöchhacker (2009) wrote in 2009, "interpreting studies is both an increasingly autonomous and diversified field of academic pursuit, on a par with translation studies. Franco Aixelá (pers. comm., 2021) goes further when he writes that:

Interpreting has exceeded all Holmes' expectations, to the extent of having found its way into the central issue of Holmes proposal, the name of the discipline, that seems to have evolved from TS to TIS in most of the bibliography, which seems to be strong evidence of the central role interpreting is playing in modern T(I)S.

What will the future hold? Watch this space.

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CHAPTER VII

Functionalism in Translation Studies. Theoretical or Applied Studies

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1. INTRODUCTION: ABOUT HOLMES' TRANSLATION STUDIES

In his paper “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies”, an expanded version of a conference presentation given in 1972 in Copenhagen, James S. Holmes stated that there are indications that for the research field focusing on problems of translating and translations an autonomous discipline is taking shape. In his paper, he therefore paid attention to two matters impeding the establishment of a new own discipline: a first impediment is the name of that new field of research, a second impediment is the scope and structure of the discipline.

Holmes listed a number of terms that through the years have been used to designate the research field, e.g. ‘translatology’ (in French ‘traductologie’) and ‘the theory of translating’ or ‘the theory of translation’ (in German ‘Theorie des Übersetzens’ and in French ‘théorie de la traduction’), in short ‘translation theory’ (in German ‘Übersetzungstheorie’). Whereas the derivative with the Greek suffix has been rejected by purists, Holmes would restrict the use of the term ‘theory’ to its proper meaning of theory formation. However, the field includes more than only theory. In German, the compound ‘Übersetzungswissenschaft’ has been built to designate the entire discipline but according to Holmes, this term cannot be translated just like that into English because not all ‘Wissenschaften’ can be called ‘sciences’. In Holmes’ opinion the term ‘sciences’ only applies to disciplines such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry. As an equivalent to the German ‘Wissenschaft’ he introduced the English word ‘studies’. This way, he created the name ‘translation studies’ as a designation for the entire discipline.

In the second, more comprehensive part of his paper, Holmes tried to solve the second impediment: he delineated the scope of the discipline and described the structure of the discipline. For the delineation of the research subject Holmes started from the definition of Werner Koller (1971: 4, quoted and translated in Holmes 1988 [1972]: 71):

Übersetzungswissenschaft ist zu verstehen als Zusammenfassung und Überbegriff für alle Forschungsbemühungen, die von den Phänomenen ‘Übersetzen’ und ‘Übersetzung’ ausgehen oder auf diese Phänomene zielen”. (Translation studies is to be understood as a collective and inclusive designation for all research activities taking the phenomena of translating and translation as their basis or focus)

From this definition he concluded that translation studies is an empirical discipline, and, according to him, empirical research has two important objectives: the description of phenomena and the establishment of general principles that allow to explain and predict those phenomena (Holmes 1988 [1972]: 71). Based on this idea, he divided the field of pure translation studies into two branches: “*descriptive translation studies* (DTS) or *translation description* (TD) and *theoretical translation studies* (ThTS) or *translation theory* (TTh)” (Holmes 1988 [1972]: 71; italics in the original). He subdivided *descriptive translation studies* in product-oriented, function-oriented, and process-oriented DTS, and *translation theory* in general translation theory and partial translation theories. At the time of writing this paper, Holmes had no knowledge of a general theory that encompasses all phenomena of translating and translation. Most of the existing theories are “little more than prolegomena” (Holmes 1988 [1972]: 73) or partial theories. Nevertheless, a really general theory should be the target. The partial translation theories were grouped into different types: medium-restricted, area-restricted, rank-restricted, text-type restricted, time-restricted, and problem-restricted theories. Worth mentioning is the fact that in Holmes’ classification theories for oral translation, i.e. interpreting and theories for written translation were classed under the medium-restricted translation theories. Next to the two branches of pure translation studies, Holmes elaborated on the branch of applied translation studies that he subdivided in translator training, translation aids, translation policy, and translation criticism.

After his survey of the field of translation studies, Holmes broached two further points. He emphasised that the relation between the three branches of translation studies is a dialectical one, this means that each of the three branches requires attention “if the discipline is to grow and flourish” (Holmes 1988 [1972]: 79) and he drew attention to a historical and methodological meta-study of translation studies.

In this contribution, I aim to investigate which branches of translation studies are included in functionalism, that is to what extent functionalism is a general theory and to what extent functionalism encompasses theoretical as well as applied research. A few questions may serve as a guide: 1) How does functionalism define and structure its research field? 2) Which name(s) is/are used to designate the discipline? 3) Can functionalism be considered as a general translation theory? 4) Does functionalism include specific partial theories? 5) Does functionalism distinguish between a theory of translation and a theory of interpreting? 6) Does functionalism include areas of applied translation research? 7) How is the relation between the different branches of functionalist translation research?

This contribution deals with functionalism as theoretical and applied research. This is reflected in the titles of the sections. The foundations of functionalism lie in the skopos theory of Reiß and Vermeer and in the theory of translatorial action of Holz-Mänttari

(sections 2.2. and 2.3.). Section 3 treats functionalist approaches in partial theories and applied studies.

2. FUNCTIONALISM: A GENERAL THEORY OF TRANSLATION

2.1. Background

Functionalism in translation studies has to be seen against the background of new currents in linguistics, in cultural sciences and social sciences. In linguistics more and more attention is paid to the text level and to the communicative and cultural context, to aspects beyond the linguistic system, such as the pragmatic and cognitive dimension, to language as action. The new currents in linguistics better correspond to the reality of translation and determine the turn in “*Translationswissenschaft*” (see Stolze 1997 [1994]: 136-148; Risku 1998b: 108; Van Vaerenbergh 2005: 21).

Two monographs published in 1984 laid the foundations of functionalism in translation studies: the monograph of Katharina Reiß and Hans J. Vermeer *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* and the monograph of Justa Holz-Mänttari *Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode*.

However, a pragmatic, functional approach to translation already took shape in some lectures of Vermeer at the department of applied linguistics, “*Fachbereich Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft*” of the University of Mainz in Gernersheim (Germany). A shortened version of these lectures was published, e.g. “*Ein Rahmen für eine allgemeine Translationstheorie*” (A framework for a general theory of ‘Translation’; lecture 1977, publication 1978) and “*Translation als Informationsangebot*” (‘Translation’ as offer of information; lecture 1981, publication 1982). In the first article, Vermeer for the first time gives an overview of the aspects of which a “general theory of ‘Translation’” consists, in the second article, he introduces and explains the concept of ‘information offer’. At the end of this article, he extends a word of thanks to Katharina Reiß and Paul Kußmaul for their comments and suggestions.

In 1976, Reiß had already published a text typology aimed at translation oriented text analysis. Based on the communicative functions in Bühler’s *Organon* model (representation, expression, appeal; see Bühler 1982 [1934]), she distinguishes three text types: the informative, the expressive, and the operative text type. This typology was integrated as a separate chapter in the monograph authored by Reiß and Vermeer (1984). Another work that preceded the publication of Reiß and Vermeer is the manual of Hönig/Kußmaul: *Strategie der Übersetzung* (translation strategy; 1982). In this manual, the notion of translation purpose arises. Not surprisingly Reiß and Vermeer (1984: 96; translated by Nord 2013: 86) mention Hönig and Kußmaul as precursors:

“Der Primat des Zwecks für jede Translation wird klar dargelegt und mit praktischen Beispielen und Aufgaben illustriert in Hönig + Kußmaul (1982)”.

“That the purpose takes precedence in each translation is clarified and illustrated by practical examples and exercises in Hönig and Kußmaul (1982)”.

2.2. Skopos Theory

The title of Reiß and Vermeer's monograph is: *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, translated by Nord as *Towards a General Theory of Translational Action*. First I will deal with the name of the discipline (2.2.1.) as well as with the scope and the structure of the research field (2.2.2.). Then I will give an overview of the first and the second part of the work: Part 1 "theoretical groundwork"¹ (2.2.3.) and Part 2 "specific theories" (2.2.4.). The overview wants to be more than a summary. The aim is to analyse and highlight the essence of the theory by means of the most important concepts, to answer the question whether skopos theory can be considered as a general theory, and to specify the relationship between theoretical groundwork and specific theories on the one hand, and between theory and applied research on the other hand. The analysis is followed by some conclusions (2.2.5.).

2.2.1. Name of the discipline

Reiß and Vermeer (1984) announce their work as a *theory of 'Translation'* and clarify what they mean by '*Translation*'² and by *theory*.

They borrow in German the term 'Translation' from the Leipzig School as an umbrella term for translation and interpreting. Whereas Holmes distinguished between translation and interpreting based on the medium (written vs. oral; Holmes 1988 [1972]: 74), Reiß and Vermeer apply another criterion. According to them, the decisive distinctive feature is that in translation after the completion of the process the product is revisable and correctable. This does not apply to interpreting (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 8-12).

Reiß and Vermeer explain what they mean by the term *Theory* of 'Translation'. In the foreword they already give a brief definition: "Unter 'Theorie' versteht man die Interpretation und Verknüpfung von 'Beobachtungsdaten'" (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: VII) – "A 'theory' consists in the interpretation and correlation of 'observed data'" (R/V – Nord 2013: VII). In the introduction, they specify the content of a theory (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 3; translated in Nord 2013: 2):

"Eine Theorie enthält (1) die Angabe ihrer Basis, (2) die Deskription ihres Gegenstandes, (3) ein Regelinventar"

"[...] a theory can be broken down into (1) a description of its groundwork, (2) a description of its subject matter, and (3) a set of rules"

A theory thus contains descriptive as well as normative elements.³ A theory of 'Translation' consists of general and specific rules. The general rules lay down the

1 The translation of the German terminology has been adopted from Nord's English version of the book (R/V – Nord 2013), with the exception of the German term 'Translation' that remains untranslated.

2 The German term 'Translation' will be written with a capital and between single quotation marks.

3 By way of comparison: Holmes did not use the terms *rules* and *normative* but described the second objective of empirical research as "general principals" (see introduction).

conditions under which ‘Translation’ takes place. Specific rules take into account cultural, linguistic and text specific data. Furthermore, a theory of ‘Translation’ includes metarules which lay down the conditions under which the process of ‘Translation’ can be described (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 3). Throughout the book the authors repeatedly reflect on the nature of a theory: a theory “must be complex enough to explain as many cases as possible which occur in its field of application” (R/V – Nord 2013: 27; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 29), it has to cover all instances (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 54; R/V – Nord 2013: 50).

The term ‘Translation’ *theory* is a conscious choice and does not mean the same as “Translatologie” (translatology) or “Translationswissenschaft” (translation studies; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 1, 7). Part of the definition of ‘Translation’ theory is its connection with other theories, e.g. with a theory of text production and a theory of text reception and text effect (ibid. 19). Reiß and Vermeer define ‘Translation’ theory as a subcategory of a general theory of action, a specific theory of action, a complex theory of action (ibid. 95), and a specific form of interaction theory (ibid. 99-100).

2.2.2. Subject matter and structure of the research field

Subject matter

The subject matter of Reiß and Vermeer’s theory of ‘Translation’ is ‘Translation’ as an umbrella term for translation and interpreting. In their theory, they aim to explain the nature of ‘Translation’, the process as well as the product, and the interdependency between both (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 2), they aim to define the “What, When and How” (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 82; R/V – Nord 2013: 74). Already in the introduction they state that ‘Translation’ is not only a linguistic transfer but always also a cultural transfer (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 4). They stress the importance of the situation of the source and the target text, which is not necessarily the same. Therefore, ‘Translation’ is “more than a two-phase communication including transcoding; it is a cultural transfer” (R/V – Nord 2013: 31; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 33).

The title of the third chapter mentions the aim to give a functional definition of ‘Translation’ (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 35). This implies that the function of the source text and the function of the target text, the *translatum*, are described in their respective situation and culture, and that the relation between the function of the source and the target text is described as well because this can vary. The dominant role of the function in the description of ‘Translation’ fits an approach of ‘Translation’ as a specific form of interaction (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 100; R/V – Nord 2013: 89). Action always has an intention within a given situation and culture. ‘Translation’ can be defined as a reaction to an action, a continuation to a previous action (“weiter-handeln”; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 95). In the second part of their book, Reiß and Vermeer argue that the function-orientedness of ‘Translation’ can be discussed from different points of view, e.g. from the perspective of text genre and text typology (ibid. 171). They are also aware that the definition of ‘Translation’ and the opinion on function-orientedness are culture- and time-bound, so “in our (modern Western) culture, the concept of translation is usually defined more narrowly” (R/V – Nord 2013: 80; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 89).

Structure of the research field

The aim of the work is a general theory of ‘Translation’. The attribute ‘general’ does not only occur in the title and in the foreword, it is repeated a few times throughout the text, literally and via synonyms such as “comprehensive” (VII) and “complete” (R/V – Nord 2013:77; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 85). Although the set of rules (point 3 of a theory) is entitled “Summary of the general theory of ‘Translation’” (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 119; my translation) and the first part ends with a structure for a general theory of ‘Translation’ (ibid. 121), the authors emphasize that it is a “foundation”, a “blueprint” (ibid. VII). This means that the theory is not completed, that there is “room for the development and inclusion of coherent subtheories with regard to a particular problem or area” (R/V – Nord 2013: VII; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: VII).

The theoretical groundwork in the first part is complemented with a few specific partial theories in the second part. The research field of the general ‘Translation’ theory is thus divided into a theoretical groundwork and specific theories. This corresponds to the field description in Holmes’ metatheory. Both will be explained in 2.2.3. and 2.2.4. respectively.

2.2.3. Theoretical groundwork

The functional definition of the nature of ‘Translation’ requires the introduction of a number of new concepts and terms. The most important are: *information offer*, *translatum* (= target text), *skopos*, *coherence*, and *adequacy*.

‘Translation’ is defined as an information offer about an information offer. A text from a source language and source culture is interpreted as an offer of information. A *translatum* as a product of ‘Translation’ is an information offer in a target language and culture about an information offer in the source language and culture. This information offer can simulate or imitate the source information offer, but priority is given to the intended goal of the ‘Translation’. Although the section on information offer is the most comprehensive, the *skopos* is the primary principle in the functional definition of ‘Translation’. Synonyms for *skopos* are: *purpose*, *aim*, and *function*. The function of a *translatum* can be different from that of the source text. From the description and interpretation of ‘Translation’ two criteria are inferred for the assessment of a *translatum*: intratextual coherence and fidelity (intertextual coherence).

Reiß and Vermeer summarise their theoretical groundwork in a set of six rules.⁴ Each rule is also represented as a pseudo-formula “as a mnemonic device” (R/V – Nord 2013: 7). The rules —without the pseudo-formulas— are quoted from the translated version of Nord (R/V – Nord 2013: 107; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 119).

- (1) A *translatum* is determined by its *skopos*.
- (2) A *translatum* is an offer of information in a target culture and language about an offer of information in a source culture and language.
- (3) A *translatum* is a unique, irreversible mapping of a source-culture offer of information.

⁴ In Vermeer 1978 can be found a first version of the rules (1), (4), and (6); in Vermeer 1982 can be found a first version of rule (2).

- (4) A *translatum* must be coherent in itself.
- (5) A *translatum* must be coherent with the source text.
- (6) These rules are interdependent and linked hierarchically in the order set out above.

2.2.4. *Specific theories*

In the second part of the “Foundations of a general theory of ‘Translation’”, three specific problems or partial theories are dealt with: the concepts of equivalence and adequacy, genre theory, and translation-oriented text typology. This means that two partial theories are discussed that were also present in Holmes’ map of translation studies: problem-restricted translation theories and text-type restricted theories.

In addition to the concept of *equivalence*, Reiß and Vermeer introduce the concept of *adequacy* (“Adäquatheit”). This concept is in line with the rules mentioned before. Adequacy refers to “the relationship between a source text and a target text, where consistent attention is paid to the purpose (skopos) of the translation process” (R/V – Nord 2013: 127; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 139). Equivalence is defined as a particular kind of adequacy (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 140). Since equivalence is a dynamic concept linked to skopos and situation, the authors propose a factor model as a schematic representation of the translation process, in order to provide well-reasoned intersubjectively understandable equivalence criteria. Important actors in that model are: the sociocultural context, the situational context, as well as text genre and text type. Text genre and text typology are thereupon discussed as specific theories.

The phenomenon of text genre is an important factor in ‘Translation’ theory as well as in professional ‘Translation’ practice (ibid. 203), and it allows to shed light on the function-orientedness of ‘Translation’ from another point of view. However, a more abstract classification that would come before the classification of text genres is more relevant to ‘Translation’ theory and translation studies: the classification of text types. Reiß and Vermeer propose a text typology based on text functions (ibid. 206ff) as earlier explained in the work of Reiß (1993 [1976]: 20).

The second part of Reiß and Vermeer’s monograph can be seen as a starting point to further theoretical research, to the development of specific partial theories such as text-type and text-genre theories, competence theory, and text analysis models. The authors repeatedly refer to the relationship between ‘Translation’ theory and branches of applied translation studies, such as translation training and translation criticism.

2.2.5. *Conclusions*

Reiß and Vermeer aimed to lay the foundations of a general theory of ‘Translation’. As described in Holmes’ metatheory, they interpret ‘Translation’ theory as a part of the broader field, named translatology or “Translationswissenschaft”, i.e. translation studies, including applied research branches such as translation training and translation criticism. As depicted in Holmes’ metatheory, they distinguish between a theoretical groundwork (Holmes: General Translation Theory) and partial theories. Reiß and Vermeer’s structure of the research field differs from Holmes’ map with regard to the

position of the two forms of ‘Translation’. Whereas in Holmes’ map theories of translation and theories of interpreting were considered medium-restricted theories, Reiß and Vermeer include translation and interpreting in their general theory of ‘Translation’. Whether Reiß and Vermeer’s general theory applies equally to interpreting as to translation merits further research (see e.g. 3.2.1). At the beginning of the second part, the authors mention that this part primarily focuses on translation but that the investigation can easily be applied to interpreting. It does not surprise that in this second part compounds with ‘Übersetzung’ (translation) occur more frequently.

2.3. Theory of translatorial Action⁵

In the same year as Reiß and Vermeer’s general theory of ‘Translation’ the monograph of Justa Holz-Mänttari is published in Finland: *Translatorisches Handeln. Theorie und Methode* (Translatorial Action. Theory and Method —my translation, as in all the other cases in this chapter except if otherwise stated). The work consists of three parts: “Grundlegung für eine Theorie über translatorisches Handeln” (Foundations of a theory of translatorial action), “Basisstheorie über translatorisches Handeln” (theoretical basis of translatorial action), and “Methodologie translatorischen Handelns” (Methodology of translatorial action). As in the section on skopos theory, I will first deal with the name of the discipline (2.3.1), as well as with the subject matter and the structure of the research field (2.3.2). I will shed light on the essence of the theoretical basis (2.3.3) and on the nature and the aim of the theory-based methodology (2.3.4). In that way, I will explain the concepts that are essential to this theory and its further development. It is also my aim to investigate to what extent the structure of the research field corresponds to the field design in Holmes’ metatheory. This means that I will look at the relationship between the theoretical basis and possible partial theories, as well as between theoretical and applied research.

2.3.1. Name of the discipline

Holz-Mänttari calls her research *Translationstheorie* (‘Translation’ theory), for the discipline as a whole, she uses the term *translatology*. She presents a new theoretical approach, that is ‘Translation’ theory as a “Theorie über translatorisches Handeln” (theory on translatorial action; Holz-Mänttari 1984: 84). Her theory on translatorial action is based on action and communication theories. Translatorial action is rooted in a theory of individual human communication and in a theory of social human action (ibid. 21). The ‘Translation’ theory developed by Holz-Mänttari must apply to all forms of translatorial action: “Eine Basisstheorie für translatorisches Handeln muss alle Fälle umgreifen” (ibid. 166).

Just like Reiß and Vermeer, Holz-Mänttari (1984: 66) interprets ‘Translation’ as an umbrella term including translation and interpreting:

⁵ The translation of Holz-Mänttari’s German terminology is mainly based on Schöffner 2011. Schöffner translates the German term “translatorisch” als “translatorial” whereas Nord uses the term “translational”.

“Sammelbezeichnung für die beruflichen Tätigkeiten [...], die üblicherweise als ‘Übersetzen’ und ‘Dolmetschen’ (vgl. Kade 1968, 33) bezeichnet werden, denn sie haben dieselbe theoretische Grundlage”. – “umbrella term for the professional activities [...] usually designated as ‘Translation’ and ‘Interpreting’ (see Kade 1968, 33), since they have the same theoretical basis”.

Although translation and interpreting have the same theoretical basis, there are a few differences. Holz-Mänttari makes a distinction based on the medium (written vs. oral) as Holmes did, as well as on the way of communication (indirect vs. direct). At least partly, the interpreter has the opportunity to observe the communication, the interaction between the participants, whereas the translator has to anticipate the cooperation (ibid. 53). Because of the indirect form of communication, the translator, however, has the possibility to revise the original product, whereas the product of the interpreter is only in a very limited way revisable (ibid. 82). This distinction corresponds to the criteria determined by Reiß and Vermeer: controllability and revisability.

2.3.2. Subject matter and structure of the research field

Subject matter

The subject matter of Holz-Mänttari’s ‘Translation’ theory consists of: 1) a description of the position of the translatorial action within a larger superordinate system (“Gefüge”); 2) the definition of the nature of ‘Translation’, and 3) a description of the need for ‘Translation’ (“Translationsbedarf”) and of the participants in the cooperation.

Holz-Mänttari embeds translatorial action in the system of a human situation of need (“Bedarfssituation”) on the one hand, and in the network of a social order, of a society organised by a division of labour (“arbeitsteilige Gesellschaft”) on the other hand. Within this framework, she aims to define the nature of ‘Translation’ in relation to communication and cooperation. ‘Translation’ is understood as the action that transmits messages in message bearers/transmitters⁶ (“Botschaftsträger”), that is in texts, possibly combined with other means of communication.

In order to define the nature of ‘Translation’ it is necessary to investigate the need for ‘Translation’ (“Translationsbedarf”) and to examine the participants in the cooperation. Who needs when where to what purpose “Translation”? (see Holz-Mänttari 1984: 26) In what kind of situations do people need message bearers (“Botschaftsträger”) produced by means of translatorial action? — “Wenn Kooperanten sich über ihren Koordinationszweck verständigen wollen und eine Kulturbarriere sie daran hindert” (when cooperating agents want to agree upon their coordination purpose and a cultural barrier renders it difficult; ibid. 52). ‘Translation’ is needed to overcome cultural barriers, to reduce differences (“Differenzen”), to bridge distances (ibid. 57). From the situation outlined above can be concluded that the role of at least three participants must be investigated and described: the one who needs a ‘Translation’, the translator, and the recipient in the target culture. The fact is that culture and cultural differences are an

⁶ Schäffner translates the term “Botschaftsträger” literally as “message bearer”, Nord as “message transmitter”. I will consistently use the translation “message bearer”

essential component of the definition of ‘Translation’ and thus of the theory of ‘Translation’.

Structure of the research field

Holz-Mänttari designates her theory as a theoretical basis that applies to all cases of translatorial action. Theory, however, is only one branch of the discipline she refers to with the term “Translatologie” (translatology/translation studies), that is “die mit fachbezogener Forschung und didaktischer Umsetzung von Forschungsergebnissen befasste Wissenschaft” (Holz-Mänttari 1984: 63). Translatology includes theoretical research (“fachbezogene Forschung”) as well as applied research such as the didactic implementation of research results. This is the central subject of the chapter on the methodology of translatorial action.

2.3.3. Theoretical basis (“Basistheorie”)

The theory of translatorial action implies the introduction of a new terminology that—as the author writes in her foreword—should send a signal (“Signalcharakter”) that this theory is a new way of thinking (Holz-Mänttari 1984: 8). Most of the concepts and terms have already been mentioned: “Bedarf” (need), “Bedarfsträger” (the person who needs), “Botschaft” (message), “Botschaftsträger” (message bearer) and “Kooperation” (cooperation).

At the beginning of the chapter in which the theoretical basis is expounded, Holz-Mänttari gives a definition of translatorial action and ‘Translation’ in which a few other concepts occur, such as “Experte” (expert) and “transkultureller Botschaftstransfer” (transcultural message transfer). Translatorial action is defined as (Holz-Mänttari 1984: 84):

“eine Tätigkeit mit dem Zweck [...], Botschaftsträger, speziell Texte, mit Expertenkompetenz zu produzieren, die bei transkulturellem Botschaftstransfer mit Erfolg eingesetzt werden können. Damit ist Translation als zweckhaftes, finales, Handlungsgefüge innerhalb einer komplexen Handlungsgefügehierarchie einem Gesamtziel untergeordnet [...]”

“an activity the purpose of which is to produce with expert competence message bearers, especially texts, that can successfully be used in transcultural message transfer. In that way ‘Translation’ as a purposeful action system within a complex hierarchy of action systems is subordinated to an overall aim [...]”

‘Translation’ is a purposeful (“zweckhaft”, “final”) action system within a complex hierarchy of action systems and subordinated to an overall aim (“Gesamtziel”). Translatorial action implies cooperation between participants. Co-operation evokes a need for coordination, that evokes a need for communication, and that evokes a need for means of communication (ibid. 84). Texts as message bearers (“Botschaftsträger”) are one type of communication means and they are often used in combination with other communication means such as images and sound (“Botschaftsträgerverbund” -

“Texte im Verbund” / message bearers in combination — texts in combination). Human communication for the purpose of coordinating cooperation is embedded in a cultural context. ‘Translation’ is needed for communication across cultural barriers, for the transcultural transfer of a message (“bei transkulturellem Botschaftstransfer”).

Producing message bearers which can successfully be used for the transcultural transfer of messages requires experts and expert competence. For this competence, Holz-Mänttari creates the term “Artifizierung” (artification), that is a specific kind of action, action “in fremder Sache” (for others; *ibid.* 87). The expert takes care that the text as a product of translatorial action is oriented to its purpose and function in the target culture. Like in the skopos theory translatorial action is not determined by the function of the source text but by the function of the target text. The priority of the source text is a special variant of ‘Translation’ related to specific functions of the target text (Holz-Mänttari 1984: 70, 83).

2.3.4. Methodology – theoretical and applied research

Holz-Mänttari does not deal with specific or partial theories, although she now and then refers to partial theories as part of the theoretical basis, e.g. “translatorische Textarbeit” (translatorial text production) as action system within the action system of ‘Translation’ (*ibid.* 46), and the creation of action models for specific exemplary cases of ‘Translation’ (*ibid.* 90).

Based on the theoretical groundwork, Holz-Mänttari develops a methodology of translatorial action with the aim to make a set of methodic instruments (“Methodeninstrumentarium”) available. Attention is paid to the translatorial function (“Bau- und Funktionsanalysemethode”, “translatorische Funktionsbestimmung” / method of structure and function analysis, translatorial function), to translatorial text operations, and to translatorial search methods. The section on the text operations is the most elaborated one. Neither in the theoretical basis nor in the methodology a distinction is made between text genres or text types. The methods must be applicable to all cases of ‘Translation’ and must make possible the evaluation of all cases of ‘Translation’ (*ibid.* 122).

An important objective of the theory and methodology is the application in translation didactics and translation evaluation.

Didactics as a branch of applied research in translation studies should contribute to a theory-based vocational training. This training should provide with theoretical competence, structured knowledge (“Sachkompetenz” / “sachtheoretische Kompetenz”) and pragmatic ability, vocational skills (“pragmatische Qualifikation”; Holz-Mänttari 1984: 48, 51, 62, 117, 164). With adequate methods experts should be trained, experts for practice as well as experts for research and teaching, that is, experts with translatorial competence as well as experts with translatorial competence.

The proposed methods should also offer criteria to discuss and justify the assessment, the evaluation of ‘Translation’, in training as well as in practice (*ibid.* 147). ‘Translation’ criticism is not categorised as a separate branch of applied research —as was the case in Holmes’ map— but is mentioned as a component of training and as part of the profession.

2.3.5. Conclusions

Holz-Mänttari develops a theory of translatorial action. As provided in Holmes' metatheory and comparable to Reiß and Vermeer's classification, she considers 'Translation' theory as part of a scientific discipline named translatology (translation studies) that includes theoretical and applied research, such as 'Translation' didactics. As advised by Holmes, she attaches great importance to the delineation of the research field (ibid. 17) and to the relationship and interaction between theoretical and applied research as well as between research and practice. The theory and methodology lay the foundations of a theory-based, theory-consistent training of experts with content knowledge and vocational skills.

The theory and the methodology based thereon should be applicable to all cases of translatorial action, this means: to all text genres and to both translation and interpreting. Actually, the German term 'Translation' includes both translation and interpreting. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the methodology is mainly developed with a view to the translator (without majuscule) and I notice that the method is only illustrated with an example taken from the professional field of the translator (without majuscule). It remains to be seen how this methodology can be applied to interpreting.

2.4. Reiß and Vermeer and Holz-Mänttari: similarities and differences

Reiß and Vermeer as well as Holz-Mänttari designate their work as a theory of 'Translation' using 'Translation' as an umbrella term that includes translation and interpreting. They both emphasise that the theory must be a 'general' one, applicable to all cases of 'Translation'. The theory of 'Translation' is one branch of the discipline named translatology ("Translationswissenschaft" / translation studies), which also includes applied research such as didactics and criticism. In addition, Reiß and Vermeer are of the opinion that their theoretical groundwork can be complemented by specific partial theories. This is comparable to the subdivision of translation theory as described by Holmes.

The *skopos* theory and the theory of translatorial action have the action theoretical approach in common, and their terminology is partly similar, partly different. Important concepts in Reiß and Vermeer's theory are: *skopos* (*function*), *information offer*, *translatum*, and *cultural transfer*. Comparable to those are the following concepts in Holz-Mänttari's theory (in the same order): *purposeful* ("zweckhaft"), *message*, *message bearer*, and *transcultural message transfer*. Whereas Reiß and Vermeer define the (source) text as an offer of information, Holz-Mänttari considers the text as part of the source material ("Ausgangsmaterial") and the target material ("Zielmaterial"; Holz-Mänttari 1984: 31; see also Prunč 2002 [2001]: 180; Prunč 2007: 159; Van Vaerenbergh 2012: 276). Having explained the priority of the *skopos* and having defined the *translatum* as an information offer about an information offer, Reiß and Vermeer deal with the rules of intra- and intertextual coherence. In accordance with the priority of the *skopos*, intertextual coherence is defined as secondary to intratextual coherence, and the concept of *adequacy* is introduced. Holz-Mänttari situates the translatorial action within a system of need and introduces the concepts "Bedarf" (need) and "Bedarfsträger" (the person

who has a need). In a society based on a division of labour (“arbeitsteilige Gesellschaft”) translatorial action is performed by competent experts who cooperate with other experts.

Although the skopos theory and the theory of translatorial action introduce many abstract theoretical concepts, the authors — all of them translator trainers and/or translation practitioners — do not lose sight of applied research (didactics and evaluation) and practice. Reiß and Vermeer repeatedly draw attention to the relationship between theory and applied research, and Holz-Mänttari stresses the importance of a theory-based training of competent experts. Expert competence and professionalism will be important concepts in Holz-Mänttari’s further research work.

3. FUNCTIONALISM: THEORETICAL AND APPLIED STUDIES

The two monographs of 1984 really mark a turn in translation studies, and this new trend — “functionalism” — has adherents and critics. Vermeer and Holz-Mänttari continue their research work. In the foreword to their “General theory of ‘Translation’”, Reiß and Vermeer, after all, wrote that they aimed to lay down “the foundations of a general theory of translatorial action which would allow room for the development and inclusion of coherent subtheories with regard to a particular problem or area” (R/V – Nord 2013: VII), and in the epilogue, they concluded: “Wir hoffen, diese ‘Grundlegung’ in absehbarer Zeit [...] ergänzen und erweitern zu können” (“We hope to be able to further develop and complete these ‘foundations’ in the foreseeable future”; Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 219).

In this section, I will investigate how the skopos theory and the theory of translatorial action form the basis for the further development of functionalism in (partial) theories (3.1 and 3.2.1) and in applied studies (3.2.2 and 3.2.3).

3.1. Skopostheorie, theory of translatorial action, and functionalism

Vermeer and Holz-Mänttari

In 1986, a chapter of Vermeer entitled “Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer” (Translation as cultural transfer) appears (Vermeer in Snell-Hornby 1994 [1986]). In this chapter — as suggested in the title — Vermeer specifies that translation is in the first instance a transfer between cultures and only “in beschränktem Sinn” (to a limited extent) “sprachlicher Transfer” (linguistic transfer; Vermeer 1994: 36; my translations). Vermeer rejects in a more radical way the traditional concept of the source text. Since each source text is only a specific interpretation of a source text, “the” source text cannot be the basis of “the” translation (that does not exist either). The source text is “enthroned” (dethroned; Vermeer 1994 [1986]: 42). It is noticeable that Vermeer repeatedly refers to Holz-Mänttari (1984 and 1994 [1986]) and that he gets closer to her theory and terminology. He uses the term “transkultureller Transfer” (transcultural transfer) as a synonym for “interkultureller Transfer” (intercultural transfer), and — with reference to Holz-Mänttari — he uses the term “Botschaft” as a synonym for “Informationsangebot” (information offer).

In the same volume edited by Snell-Hornby, a chapter of Holz-Mänttari is published that is entitled: “Translatorisches Handeln – theoretisch fundierte Berufsprofile”

(“Translational action – theory-based professional profiles”). The title serves as a bridge between theory and profession. Key concepts in this article are: ‘translational competence’, ‘expert’, and ‘professionalisation’. The translator as an expert is an ‘outsider’ (“Außenstehender”) who produces message bearers (“Botschaftsträger”) for others (“für fremden Bedarf”; Holz-Mänttari 1994 [1986]: 363). Translators are not allowed to act ‘naturally’, that is as participants in the communication, they must act ‘artificially’ (“artifiziert”). This characterises translational competence (ibid. 365). The expert has an ‘artificial-professional’ competence (see Holz-Mänttari 1988: 46), s/he acts for others and has responsibilities as an adviser. Based on these theoretical principles, Holz-Mänttari outlines profiles for the training of ‘Translators’ and for the profession. The concept of ‘Translator’ includes interpreters, translators, and communication consultants (Holz-Mänttari 1994 [1986]: 369). The essay shows two important trends: the ‘artificial-professional’ produced text is for the first time named “Designtext” (ibid. 368), and the professional activities and responsibilities of the ‘Translator’ are expanded.

Nord

Prunč (2002 [2001]:187; 2007: 165) describes Nord’s position as a balancing act between two opposite concepts: between the highly function-oriented skopos theory and the traditional equivalence-oriented concepts of translation. Depending on the skopos, Nord distinguishes between two types of translations: documentary and instrumental translations, and as a kind of respect for the principle of equivalence, she introduces the principle of loyalty. She does not fully agree with skopos theory but prefers speaking of “funktionales Übersetzen” (functional translation; see e.g. Nord 2011) and “functionalist approaches” (see e.g. Nord 1997, 2010).

Nord’s theory differs from Reiß and Vermeer’s and Holz-Mänttari’s theory because of its normative character. Her version of the functionalist approach is based on two pillars: “function *plus* loyalty” (Nord 1995 [1988]: 31; 1997: 126; see also Van Vaerenbergh 2006a: 107; 2006b: 106). In addition to the adequate function of the target text in the target culture, compatibility with the source text is required (Nord 1995 [1988]: 32).

“In this context, loyalty means that the target-text purpose should be compatible with the original author’s intentions”. (Nord 1997: 125)

“Loyalty refers to the interpersonal relationship between the translator, the source-text sender, the target-text addressees and the initiator”. (Nord 1997: 126)

In case of a conflict between the interests of the participants, the translator has to mediate. Loyalty is an ethical attitude opposed to the skopos as prime principle, that is to the skopos rule in the sense of “the end justifies the means” (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 101; R/V – Nord 2013: 90). Nord considers loyalty as an ethical attitude in four respects: conflict prevention, professionalism, confidence, and fairness (Nord 2011: 104-109).

3.2. Functionalist approaches: (partial) theories and applied studies

In 2011, Nord edits a compilation of previously published articles under the title *Funktionsgerechtigkeit und Loyalität. Theorie, Methode und Didaktik des funktionalen Übersetzens* ('Functionality and loyalty. Theory, methodology and didactics of functional translation'). The same three topics occur in the title of the book *Textanalyse und Übersetzen* (English version "Text analysis in translation"): theory, methodology, and didactic applications. Based on this classification, I will divide this section in three subsections: (partial) theories (3.2.1), models (3.2.2), and didactics and evaluation (3.2.3).

3.2.1. (Partial) theories

Based on the functionalist principles, new additional (partial) theories are developed. In this paper, I will confine myself to three (partial) theories: functionalism and simultaneous (conference) interpreting, functionalism and 'Translation' in specialised communication, and the theory of translatorial expert competence. Holmes listed six types of partial theories: medium-restricted, area-restricted, rank-restricted, text-type restricted, time-restricted, and problem-restricted theories. The first (partial) theory dealt with in this subsection belongs to —what Holmes called— the medium-restricted theories; the two other could be classified as problem-restricted theories.

Functionalism and simultaneous (conference) interpreting (Pöchhacker)

Reiß and Vermeer as well as Holz-Mänttari emphasise that their 'general' theory applies to translation as well as to interpreting. Nevertheless, I already pointed out that Reiß and Vermeer do not specify how to apply the specific theories (in part II) to interpreting (see 2.2.5.) and that Holz-Mänttari developed her set of methods mainly in view of the translator (without majuscule; see 2.3.5.)

Pöchhacker investigates whether and to what extent interpreting, particularly simultaneous (conference) interpreting fits in the general functionalist theory of Vermeer and the theory of translatorial action of Holz-Mänttari. To what extent are the general functionalist concepts suitable to study the specific practice of simultaneous conference interpreting? (Pöchhacker 1995: 31)

Whereas Pöchhacker (1994) deals with the skopos theory and the action theory separately, Pöchhacker (1995) discusses the functionalist framework in its entirety. The starting point in Pöchhacker (1995) is Holz-Mänttari's conception of 'Translation' (remember: translation and interpreting in German) as a translatorial action within a complex system, within a network of social organisation. He argues that it is clear that in conference interpreting the relationship between the client/commissioner and the interpreter is more complex than in a written translation. He tries to systematically transfer the concepts 'text', 'skopos', 'situation', and 'function' to the act of simultaneous conference interpreting. He interprets the conference itself as a 'text' consisting of a number of individual texts and designates the overarching text as a 'hypertext'. The skopos is situated at the level of the conference assignment that is specified in a

standardised contract form of AIIC.⁷ Pöchhacker suggests not to determine the skopos of each individual target text but the skopos of the conference as a whole, that is the 'hypertext skopos'. The function of the text, the original text or the interpreted text (speech) is based on the interaction between the speaker(s) and the audience who in simultaneous conference interpreting are all present at a certain place and time. This is another situation, another communicative context than that of written translation. In this context, the interpreter as a 'Translator', is not an outsider as Holz-Mänttari argues. This means that the audience while listening to the interpreted text can see nonverbal communication aspects such as gestures, facial expression, and slides, and can partly hear the acoustic features of the original speech, as well. The interpreted text functions as a kind of "voice-over" (Pöchhacker 1994: 242).

The specific communicative context of simultaneous conference interpreting has an impact on the concepts 'intratextual coherence' and "culture'. One of the basic tenets of the skopos theory is the intratextual coherence: the target text has to be 'coherent', that is understandable, meaningful within the specific situational context of a given target culture. In case of significant cultural differences, the target text should be adapted to the conventions and expectations of the target culture, that means that 'cultural transfer' is taking place. To what extent is 'cultural transfer' applicable to the context of conference interpreting? People attending an international conference come from different national cultures (paracultures) but have common interests and intentions, they belong to a same diaculture, "a group culture defined by the shared professional background, common technical expertise [...]" (Pöchhacker 1995: 49). Therefore, Pöchhacker suggests to define 'culture' at international conferences as "international diaculture". The communication with simultaneous interpreting then takes place "*within* one (international dia)-culture as a process of transfer *between* language-cultures" (Pöchhacker 1995: 49; italics in the original).

Does the functionalist concepts fit the practice of simultaneous (conference) interpreting? Pöchhacker concludes that the concepts of the functionalist theories provide material for discussion, but that the "theoretical groundwork" is not tailored to explain the nature of simultaneous interpreting. They are "points of departure" but should be concretised in a specific theory (Pöchhacker 1994: 35, 243; Pöchhacker 1995: 50). It is not clear whether this theory is to be considered as a refinement of the general 'Translation' theory or as a separate partial theory.

Functionalism and Translation as specialised communication

Pöchhacker investigated the question to what extent the functionalist theories fit the practice of simultaneous (conference) interpreting. This leads me to the question whether and how the functionalist theories allow to define the concept of 'Translation' in specific areas of communication (science, economy, technology ...), that is in specialised communication.

Schubert (2007: 210; 2019: 14) defines specialised communication ("Fachkommunikation") as "monolingual and multilingual oral and written

7 AIIC = Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence / International Association of Conference Interpreters

communicative activities carried out by persons in the exercise of their professional duties” (my translation). A similar definition is given by Rothkegel. She defines specialised communication as “a communicative event related to fields of knowledge within a professional context” (2010: 248; my translation). Like Schubert she interprets communication as an action and specialised communication as activities connected with professional tasks in specific fields of knowledge. The definition of Schubert, however, gives some additional information: the communicative activities can be monolingual or multilingual, oral or written. What is the part of ‘Translation’ in this conception of specialised communication?

The definition of translatorial action as transcultural message transfer and as text production for others (“Texten für fremden Bedarf”; Holz-Mänttari 1994 [1986]: 367) opens the way for new tasks and new professional profiles. Holz-Mänttari attributes the role of adviser to the ‘Translator’ as an expert and she subdivides the profession of ‘Translators’ into three profiles: interpreter, translator, and communication consultant⁸ (ibid. 368-369). With the ‘Translator’ as a text designer the spectrum of activities is even larger (see Prunč 2002 [2001]: 194; 2007: 171). This means that ‘Translators’ can perform other activities (see interview study of Risku in Risku 2004: 119-134) and that within the context of specialised communication, text production and translation/interpreting have elements in common. Schmitt (1999) compares technical writing and technical translation based on Vermeer’s skopos theory and finds two important similarities. First, in technical writing as well as in translation the target text has to serve a purpose in the target culture. Second, if the source text of a translation is defined as an ‘information offer’, the role of that source text is similar to the material used by a technical writer. The difference between the two types of ‘writing’ is that translation must not only bridge a cultural but also a language barrier: “Fachübersetzen ist interlinguales Technical Writing” (‘Technical Translation is interlingual Technical Writing’; Schmitt 1999: 32-33). Schubert too mentions the interlingual character of translation as an important distinctive feature (Schubert 2007: 103; see also Van Vaerenbergh 2012).

Schubert not only compares technical writing and translation, he also gives an overview of the workflow of specialised communication. He distinguishes three stages: writing, translation, and organisation. The second stage consists of specialised translation (including software localisation and subtitling) as written activities and specialised interpreting as oral activity (Schubert 2007: 134). In this overview, the translatorial action is considered as part of a higher action system. In addition, there is not a sharp line between the different stages. The translator has to cooperate with other experts. Risku gives the example of the software translator who should—in order to guarantee a high quality translation—be involved in the planning of the original product (Risku 2004: 40-41).

The reality of specialised communication raises a few questions: 1) Can ‘Translation’ (theory) be considered as part of specialised communication theory (or studies)? Or is specialised communication (theory) part of ‘Translation’ theory? Or is the relationship between both a matter of interaction between two disciplines? 2) Do the current training programs prepare future ‘Translators’ for the diversity of the professional profiles?

8 Nord (2012: 36) mentions in this context the expansion of *translation* studies towards *transfer* studies.

Theory of translatorial expert competence (Risku)

In 1998 Risku's work *Translatorische Kompetenz. Kognitive Grundlagen des Übersetzens als Expertentätigkeit*⁹ appears. Risku investigates translatorial expert action from the point of view of cognitive science. In the introduction, she mentions the 'Translation' theory of Reiß and Vermeer and that of Holz-Mänttari as the theoretical framework of her study. Her theory is mainly based on Holz-Mänttari.

In the context of cognitive science, (translatorial) expert competence implies a particular ability, that is the ability to adequately solve complex problems. The more complex the problems one can solve, the higher his expert competence is (Risku 1998a: 89; see also Van Vaerenbergh 2006b: 105). Expert competence is a social and a cognitive phenomenon, it is linked to social qualities and responsibilities, and to personal ability. With the integration of a sociological perspective, Risku links up with Holz-Mänttari's theory. She deals with the *expert role*, that is the social aspect, as well as with *expert action*, that is the cognitive aspect.

Risku's approach to the *expert role* is a pragmatic-cooperative one. The expert role is something like "lifelong learning". An expert reflects upon the habits of thinking and acting that he has acquired, and must continuously modify his way of acting. An essential feature of the expert role is that the role cannot be defined in advance. In each specific case, the participants have to agree on a division of tasks (Risku 1998a: 101-102). *Expert action* is to be considered as the cognitive aspect of expert competence in the restricted sense. Expert competence includes more than skills and ability. Important characteristics are: reflexivity and interaction flexibility, the possibility of verbal expression, identification, and motivation. The expert is able to express his declarative knowledge in words and to reflect on his own activity with words. The verbal expression of knowledge is necessary for the cooperation with initiators ("Bedarfsträger", the persons who have a need), commissioners and other experts. Experts identify themselves with their task, are emotionally involved in the process of problem solving, they take responsibility for the result. Reflection and experience increase their competence and make them more self-reliant. Self-reliance, responsibility and involvement stimulate the motivation (Risku 1998a: 106-115).

In the introduction, Risku explains the objective of her book: she aims to contribute to the further development of cognitive-scientific theories and models of translation. They must allow to proceed in didactics, in practice and in research according to the most recent knowledge on cognition. With a view to the training of translators at universities, she has developed a model in which she subdivides the translation process from a methodological point of view in specific subproblems (see 3.2.2.). Risku's theory and model are not a purpose in itself but aim to improve the training and practice.

3.2.2. Models

In this section, I briefly present three models: two models that depict the translation process from a cognitive scientific point of view (Hönig 1997 [1995] and Risku 1998a), and Nord's model for translation-oriented text analysis (1995 [1988] – English version 1991).

9 'Translatorial competence. Cognitive foundations of translation as an expert activity' —my translation.

Idealtypische Modellierung des Übersetzungsprozesses (Hönig 1997 [1995]: 51) and Expertenübersetzen als Sinnkonstruktion (Risku 1998a: 261)¹⁰

Both authors take for granted that there are methods that help to acquire translation competence. Risku speaks of ‘strategies of action’ (“erlernbare Strategien”). They do not make translation less complex but more ‘*meaningful*’ (“*sinnvoller*”; italics in original; Risku 1998a: 245). Hönig is of the opinion that didactic approaches should start from a model like the one he depicted —although his model may be a simplification. He considers this approach as the basis for ‘*constructive translating*’ (“*konstruktives Übersetzen*”) ¹¹ (my italics; Hönig 1997 [1995]: 57).

In his model, Hönig demarcates the real communication from the mental reality; in the mental reality he distinguishes between macrostrategy and microstrategies, and between the uncontrolled and the controlled workspace. Risku does not make a distinction between real communication and cognition; her approach is not a cognitive-psychological but an action-oriented one. Risku divides the cognitive reality into four elements (“Anforderungsgruppen” — groups of requirement) and represents it graphically as a big square consisting of four squares, counter-clockwise (from bottom left to top left): building of the macrostrategy, integration of information, planning of measures and decision, and self-organisation. Although the two models look rather different, they show a number of similarities.¹²

The macrostrategy in Hönig’s model is made up of three components: the projected source text, the prospective target text, and data from the uncontrolled workspace. In Hönig’s macrostrategy, a number of coordinates are established, such as the target of the translation, the necessary research work, and the structure of the text. With the macrostrategy a kind of ‘corridor’ is defined (Hönig 1997 [1995]: 56) that should guide the translator through the ‘labyrinth of microstrategies’ (ibid. 54-55). The macrostrategy as defined by Hönig is partly comparable with the first two squares in Risku’s model: macrostrategy and integration of information. In the macrostrategy the target situation and the target text are anticipated. Integration of information means that representations and models are built: of the situation and the text of the commission, of the target situation and the target text, and of the source situation and the source text; it also means that information issued from research is integrated. Hönig as well as Risku clearly give priority to the *skopos*. Only after the formulation of the macrostrategy the ‘true translation phase’ (Hönig 1997 [1995]: 56) can start, the ‘course of action’ (“Vorgehensweise”), that is the production of text in combination with other means of communication (Risku 1998a: 126), the phase of measures and decisions. Self-organisation, the fourth square in Risku’s model, corresponds to Hönig’s notion of self-awareness. Self-organisation and self-awareness are features of the translation expert.

The models are not an objective in itself but are intended to provide the basis for methodological steps in translation didactics and in translation practice.

10 “Idealised model of the translation process” and “expert translation as construction of meaning” (my translation).

11 Both models represent the translation process and do not include the interpreting process.

12 For a comparison of the two models see also Van Vaerenbergh (2004: 259-263).

Nord's model for translation-oriented text analysis

Nord's representation of the translation process is based on her interpretation of the functionalist approach that implies 'functionality plus loyalty' (see 3.1). She designs the phases of the translation process as a circular path that proceeds counter-clockwise. The process starts with the fixing of the target text skopos and an analysis of the target text requirements. Then the translator analyses the source text and the source situation and makes a selection of translation-relevant source text elements. S/he transfers these elements to the target culture in accordance with the skopos and produces a target text that fits the target text requirements in the target culture situation, and thus is 'functional' ("funktionsgerecht"; see Nord 1995 [1988]: 38-39; Nord 1991: 34-35).

The representation of the translation process shows the importance of the analysis: analysis of the target text requirements and analysis of the source text. For her model of translation-oriented text analysis, Nord compiles a list of extratextual and intratextual factors. The extratextual factors (sender, intention, recipient, medium, place, time, motive, text function) are factors of the communicative function and situation; the intratextual factors (subject matter, content, presuppositions, composition, non-verbal elements, lexic, sentence structure, and suprasegmental features) relate to the text itself. Nord's list of factors is based on a chain of 'w-questions', an adaptation of the Lasswell-formula and differs from the (segmenting) questions of Holz-Mänttari's structure and function analysis method. The key question in Holz-Mänttari's model is: 'who (does) what?' Additional questions are: 'when and where?', 'why and what for?', and 'how and by what means?' (Holz-Mänttari 1984: 98-99; Holz-Mänttari 1988: 43; my translation). Holz-Mänttari's model focuses on the action whereas Nord's model focuses on the text. Nord explains the didactic applicability of her model in a separate chapter (see 3.2.3.).

3.2.3. Translation didactics and translation evaluation

The most important branches of applied research within functionalist 'Translation' studies are translation training and translation criticism, particularly translation evaluation. Already in their monograph of 1984, Reiß and Vermeer as well as Holz-Mänttari have stressed the importance of their theory for the training and practice of 'Translation'. In the second part of her work, Holz-Mänttari develops a set of methodical instruments that should enable a theory-based training and provides criteria to make the evaluation of 'Translation' discussible and justifiable.

The field of didactics and evaluation includes different aspects of which I will briefly address three: 1) training and evaluation methods, 2) teaching material, and 3) curriculum design.

Nord —well-known for her didactic, rather prescriptive approach (see Stolze 1997 [1994]: 209-217)— explains the applicability of her text analysis model in translation training and translation evaluation/criticism. The text analysis model helps to select appropriate texts for translation classes, to specify the degree of difficulty of translation tasks and of texts, as well as to classify translation difficulties and translation problems. In addition, the model provides a framework for translation evaluation and criticism. Nord represents the process of translation criticism in a diagram that is analogous to that of the translation process but runs counter to this, i.e. clockwise (Nord 1995

[1988]: 192-193; Nord 1991: 168). The skopos theory and functionalism involve the need to redefine the concept of 'translation errors': in a functionalist view, evaluation is no longer 'retrospective-contrastive', but 'prospective-functional' (Kußmaul 2000: 36). 'Errors' are measured against the skopos and the translation commission/instructions and the assessment requires a grading of errors (see Nord 1995 [1988]: 194-198; Nord 1991: 169-172; Nord 2011: 267-280).

A number of colleagues of the University of Mainz, Gernersheim (Germany) are also well-known for their functionalist didactic approach, among them Paul Kußmaul, Hans G. Höning and Peter A. Schmitt. In 1997, Schmitt became a professor at the Institute of Applied Linguistics and Translatology (IALT) of the University of Leipzig. He specialises in the field of technical translation and in 1999 published his book *Translation und Technik*, followed many years later by his manual on technical translation *Handbuch Technisches Übersetzen* (2016, 2017). Much earlier, already in 1982, that is two years before Reiß and Vermeer's monograph, Höning and Kußmaul published their 'course- and workbook' ("Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch") *Strategie der Übersetzung*. In their foreword, the authors thank Vermeer—who had already published a few articles before that date—for his new insights and suggestions. The 'course- and workbook' pays attention to the communicative action and to the necessity to adapt the translation to the target culture and situation, that is the necessary 'degree of precision' ("Grad der Differenzierung"—Höning and Kußmaul 1982: 58-64). The book had several editions and was last published in 2003 (6th edition).

In his later publication *Konstruktives Übersetzen* (1995, 1997; 'constructive translating'), in which he developed a cognitive model of the translation process (see 3.2.2.), Höning designed a curriculum for 'multilingual communication studies' (Höning 1997 [1995]: 160). This curriculum aims to train 'Translators' who acquire expert competence and are in the position to discuss with commissioners and other experts in a constructive way (Höning 1997 [1995]: 57; Holz-Mänttari 1984: 118; 1994 [1986]: 368). The training as a competent expert contributes to the social-economic position of the 'Translator'.

4. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of the introduction I formulated seven guiding questions that have largely determined the structure of this contribution. These questions were inspired by the structure of the translation studies research field as described in Holmes' metatheory. As a conclusion, I will summarise the results and answer these questions. The questions are classified in four groups. The questions 1 and 2 concern the name and the structure of the research field, the questions 3, 4 and 5 deal with the concepts 'general theory' and 'specific (partial) theories' with particular attention to interpreting, and the questions 6 and 7 focus on the relationship between theoretical and applied research.

The functionalist "Translationswissenschaft" (translatology) as founded in the works of Reiß and Vermeer, Vermeer, and Holz-Mänttari shows a structure that is comparable to that of the research field of translation studies as mapped out by Holmes. Nevertheless, there are a few differences. Since in German the functionalists use the term 'Translation' as an umbrella term including translation and interpreting, the

‘general theory’ applies to both modes, whereas Holmes classified the theory of interpreting as a medium-restricted partial theory. Another difference is that the interpretation of translatorial action as transcultural message transfer and as text production for others (“Texten für fremden Bedarf”; Holz-Mänttari 1994 [1986]: 367) opens the way for new tasks and new professional profiles which did not belong to the research field of Holmes’ translation studies.

In this contribution, I dealt with two functionalist ‘general theories’ that aim to include all cases of ‘Translation’ and I focused on three specific (partial) theories as well: Pöchhacker’s critical attempt to apply the tenets of the skopos theory and translatorial action theory to simultaneous (conference) interpreting, ‘Translation’ as (part of) specialised communication, and Risku’s cognitive-scientific theory of translatorial expert competence. It is not clear whether the specific theory of simultaneous (conference) interpreting that in Pöchhacker’s opinion is needed, is to be considered as a refinement of the general ‘Translation’ theory or as a separate partial theory. Just as unclear is whether a theory of specialised ‘Translation’ as an action of specialised communication is to be considered as part of the general ‘Translation’ theory or as a separate partial theory. But clear is that Risku’s theory of the translatorial expert competence is part of the general translatorial action theory. The idea of a ‘general theory’ has also given rise to criticism. Zybatow is of the opinion that three theories are needed: a theory of interpreting, a theory of specialised translation (“Fachübersetzen”), and a theory of literary translation (Zybatow 2007: 435). Stolze, for her part, argues that the functionalist ‘Translation’ theory is more suitable for functional texts (“Gebrauchstexte”) than for literary texts, and was particularly approved by practitioners (Stolze 1997 [1994]: 207).

It became apparent that the functionalist ‘Translation’ theory aimed to provide a theoretical foundation for training and practice and that within the field of translatology, applied research, in particular didactics, criticism, and also management hold an important place. This is not surprising, since most of the functionalist researchers are practitioners and/or university teachers. Their theory is inspired by and based on their experience and serves as a basis for further applied research. Therefore, we can conclude that functionalism encompasses theoretical as well as applied research and that the development of theoretical and applied studies within functionalism meets Holmes’ criteria that “attention to all branches is required if the discipline is to grow and flourish” (Holmes 1988: 79).

The functionalist theory today still forms the basis for the development of new partial theories such as for example the elaboration of translation quality assessment criteria (see e.g. Göpferich 2007; Prieto Ramos 2015) and for applied research in specific fields such as the translation of legal documents (see e.g. Prieto Ramos 2002 and 2015). The applicability and relevance of important functionalist principles have empirically been tested. An example is a study of Yetkin Karakoç (2016) on consecutive interpreting in diplomatic settings: she weighs up the importance of *function* and *precision* against each other.

In the future, additional research on the applicability and relevance of the functionalist principles in new areas such as for example machine translation and community interpreting is needed. On the other hand, insights from applied studies should contribute to the growth of the theory.

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José Lambert, now an emeritus professor from KULeuven (Belgium), was trained as a comparatist and expert in French-German relations. Already in the 1960s he discovered translation as a key issue in literary and cultural matters. It was his interdisciplinary openness that allowed him to become one of the pioneers of Translation Studies (TS), the new discipline, mainly since he organized the symposium, *Literature and Translation. New Perspectives in Literary Studies (Leuven 1976)* together with James S Holmes, Susan Bassnett, Itamar Even-Zohar, André Lefevere, Raymond van den Broeck, etc. It was since this symposium that, together with the so-called Holmes Group, he played a key role in the foundation of TS while not stopping his activities as a trainer of new experts within the “second generation” that remains active until today. In the 1980s his function as the European Secretary of the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) gave him access to prominent universities and research groups on five continents. His initiatives have helped institutionalizing TS: he was the coeditor of Gideon Toury when starting *Target (1989-)*, the *Translation Studies Bibliography*, or when Initiating research training at CETRA (*also 1989-)*, thus leaving finger prints in research on translation proper as well as in many interdisciplinary fields. During more than thirty years, *Target* and CETRA happened to be the yearly meeting place for dozens of top scholars: Gideon Toury, Hans Vermeer, Susan Bassnett, Daniel Gile, Yves Gambier, Anthony Pym, Franz Pöchhacker, Miriam Schlesinger, Mona Baker, and so many others (as CETRA Professors and/or as influential contributors to *Target*).

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In 1972, James Stratton Holmes (1924-1986) presented “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” in the translation section of the Third Congress of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen. This was the first attempt to vertebrate the incipient academic discipline of Translation Studies (TS) as an autonomous pursuit.

The very scope and way of translating has changed dramatically since 1972, and there have been subsequent attempts to revise and extend Holmes' scheme. However, Holmes' proposal is still cited very frequently, and it is now considered to be the foundation of TS as an academic discipline. In addition to its structure, Holmes' label *translation studies* was also highly influential and it is today the most frequent designation in English. This volume has been published in 2022, fifty years after Holmes' influential paper. Its contents and structure attempt to be both a tribute to Holmes and a panoramic view of the state of Translation Studies half a century later. To meet this aim, we identified several areas in Holmes' map that have experienced a dramatic evolution and change and asked leading scholars in each area to contribute with a chapter reviewing the evolution of that research area and comparing its current state with Holmes' map.

