ROUTLEDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

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not recognize any restriction on target-text length (ibid.: 205-7).

All these formulations use the modal *can*; they see translation in terms of what is absolutely possible or impossible. From this perspective, if something is not translatable here and now, in the particular translation situation we are looking at, it may nevertheless be quite translatable in another time and place, in a past or future state of the target language and culture. The term *cheese* will be entirely translatable when the target culture has paraphrased the texts and learned the technology for making cheese; the utterance 'The first word of this very sentence has three letters' may be translated as 'Le premier mot de cette phrase a deux lettres' (. . . 'has two letters') in one situation and as 'Le premier mot de la phrase en anglais a trois lettres' (. . . 'of the sentence in English has three letters') in another. Since two versions are possible (instrumental or documental), the potential translatability of the source is all the greater.

Translatability would thus depend on the *target* language, and especially on the translation culture existing within it; it would lean on previous translations of the same text or of other texts translated from the same language, literature or genre. It can also be influenced by the attention of critics, the interest and previous knowledge of the receiver, the strategies of publishing houses and the historical context. Various types of relationship play a significant role here: world languages, national languages, regional languages, as well as unequal varieties of language such as colloquial language, educated diction, technical language, professional language, and so on. Dynamic translatability may be approached in terms of any of the branches of descriptive translation studies.

The belief in translatability as an absolute possibility inevitably runs up against relative historical untranslatability, basically sets of pragmatic constraints on how much linguistic work is necessary to 'work over the inexpressible until it is expressed'. As Keenan points out in his critique of Katz's principle of effability, a target language in which every sentence were a trillion words could satisfy the principle but would not satisfy efficient human behaviour (1978: 160). Keenan argues that natural languages are efficient in that they are

imprecise, and that any translation hoping to be efficient in pragmatic terms must be accordingly imprecise. Once again, the key to the debate is the relative looseness with which the concept of translation is used.

In more complex texts, the notion of translatability cannot be separated into neat strategies such as 'documental' or 'instrumental', 'precision' or 'efficiency'. Yet for theorists like Walter Benjamin (1923), working in the hermeneutic tradition, a fundamentally dynamic translatability nevertheless allows the translator to evoke 'the echo of the original' in the target language. Of course, there is an ideological guarantee behind such confidence, since Benjamin and others attach translation to the idea of a PURE LANGUAGE, presupposing a *lingua universalis* as a condition for the possibility of translation. In a sense, this inverts the entire problem of translation: individual languages in general are raised to the status of translations, as translations of original speech. This is done not with reference to any absolute notion of universality but on the basis of a single performed translation. What remains undetermined, of course – and this holds for Benjamin as well as for Jacques Derrida (1980/1985b) – is which of the dead or living languages, or which of the translated texts, may be raised to the rank of universal translatability.

Such universality tends to have a political impact, as does the entire discussion of translatability. Crucial reserves of identity such as key concepts, key symbols and root metaphors may be protected by untranslatability. Claims to static universality thus often imply that other languages should be translatable into one's own, but not one's own into any other. Alternatively, dynamic notions of translatability, especially when tied to texts and pragmatic criteria, mostly envisage a plurality of equally acceptable modes of universality, all potentially within the reach of different human languages.

See also:
ANALYTICAL PHILOSOPHY AND TRANSLATION; SEMIOTIC APPROACHES.

Further reading
Burge 1978; Buzzoni 1993; Coseriu 1978; Huntemann 1994; Jakobson 1959; Katz 1978;

Malpas 1989; Söll 1971; Turk 1989, 1991, 1994.

ANTHONY PYM AND HORST TURK

Translation studies

The academic discipline which concerns itself with the study of translation has been known by different names at different times. Some scholars have proposed to refer to it as the 'science of translation' (Nida 1969, Wilss 1977/1982), others as 'translatology' – or 'traductologie' in French (Goffin 1971), but the most widely used designation today is 'translation studies'. In his seminal article 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', James Holmes argued for the adoption of 'translation studies' 'as the standard term for the discipline as a whole' (1972/1988: 70) and other scholars have since followed suit. At one time, the term 'translation studies' implied more emphasis on literary translation and less on other forms of translation, including interpreting, as well as a lack of interest in practical issues such as pedagogy, but this is no longer the case. 'Translation studies' is now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large, including literary and non-literary translation, various forms of oral interpreting, as well as DUBBING and SUBTITLING. The terms 'translation' and 'translators' are used in this generic sense throughout this entry. 'Translation studies' is also understood to cover the whole spectrum of research and pedagogical activities, from developing theoretical frameworks to conducting individual case studies to engaging in practical matters such as training translators and developing criteria for translation assessment.

Interest in translation is practically as old as human civilization, and there is a vast body of literature on the subject which dates back at least to CICERO in the first century BC (see LATIN TRADITION). However, as an academic discipline, translation studies is relatively young, no more than a few decades old. Although translation has been used and studied

in the academy for much longer, mainly under the rubric of comparative literature or contrastive linguistics, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that scholars began to discuss the need to conduct systematic research on translation and to develop coherent theories of translation.

Translation studies: a map of the territory

The mapping of the field of translation studies is an ongoing activity. James Holmes is credited with the first attempt to chart the territory of translation studies as an academic pursuit. His map of the discipline (see Figure 9) is now widely accepted as a solid framework for organizing academic activities within this domain (see Holmes 1972a).

Holmes divides the discipline into two major areas: **pure translation studies** and **applied translation studies**. Pure translation studies has the dual objective of describing translation phenomena as they occur and developing principles for describing and explaining such phenomena. The first objective falls within the remit of **descriptive translation studies**, and the second within the remit of **translation theory**, both being subdivisions of pure translation studies.

Within descriptive translation studies, Holmes distinguishes between **product-oriented DTS** (text-focused studies which attempt to describe existing translations), **process-oriented DTS** (studies which attempt to investigate the mental processes that take place in translation), and **function-oriented DTS** (studies which attempt to describe the function of translations in the recipient sociocultural context). Under the theoretical branch, or translation theory, he distinguishes between **general translation theory** and **partial translation theories**; the latter may be **medium restricted** (for example theories of human as opposed to machine translation or written translation as opposed to oral interpreting), **area-restricted** (i.e. restricted to specific linguistic or cultural groups), **rank-restricted** (dealing with specific linguistic ranks or levels), **text-type restricted** (for example theories of literary translation or Bible translation), **time-restricted** (dealing with translating

texts from an older period as opposed to contemporary texts), or **problem-restricted** (for example theories dealing with the translation of metaphor or idioms).

Applied translation studies, the second

major division proposed by Holmes, covers activities which address specific practical applications, most notably translator training, translation aids such as dictionaries and term banks, translation policy (which involves

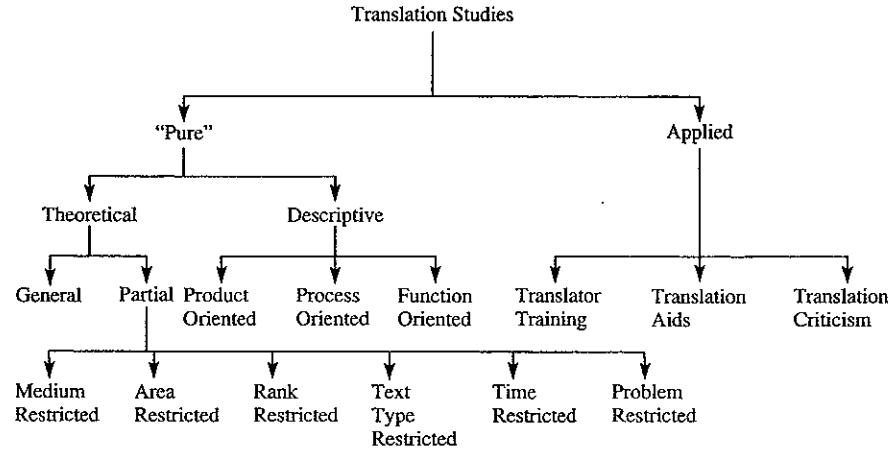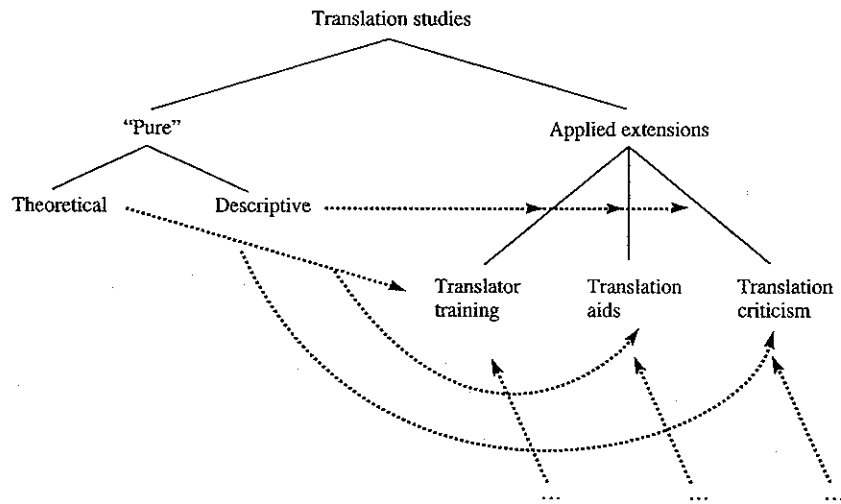*Figure 9:* Holmes' map of translation studies

Figure 10: Toury's map of the relation between translation studies and its applied extensions

giving advice to the community on such issues as the role of translators and translations), and translation criticism.

In addition to these basic divisions, Holmes also makes a brief mention of two important types of research: the study of translation studies itself (for example the history of translation theory and the history of translator training) and the study of the methods and models which are best suited to particular types of research in the discipline. Both these areas of study have been receiving more attention in recent years.

And finally, Holmes stresses that the relationship between theoretical, descriptive and applied translation studies is dialectical rather than unidirectional, with each branch both providing insights for and using insights from the other two. Holmes therefore concludes that 'though the needs of a given moment may vary, attention to all three branches is required if the discipline is to grow and flourish' (1972/1988: 78–9). It is interesting to compare this position with that of Toury (1995), where it is clear that applied activities such as translator training and translation criticism are not seen as a central component of translation studies but rather as 'extensions' of the discipline (see Figure 10). Moreover, by contrast to Holmes' insistence on the dialectical relationship between all three areas, Toury seems to see the relationship between theoretical and descriptive translation studies on the one hand and what he calls the 'Applied Extensions' of the discipline on the other as strictly unidirectional (1995: 18).

Translation studies and other disciplines

In the early 1950s and throughout the 1960s, translation studies was largely treated as a branch of applied linguistics, and indeed linguistics in general was seen as the main discipline which is capable of informing the study of translation. In the 1970s, and particularly during the 1980s, translation scholars began to draw more heavily on theoretical frameworks and methodologies borrowed from other disciplines, including psychology, communication theory, literary theory, anthropology, philosophy and, more recently, cultural studies.

There are now a number of distinct theor-

etical perspectives from which translation can be studied (see for instance COMMUNICATIVE/ FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES, LINGUISTIC APPROACHES, POLYSYSTEM THEORY and PSYCHOLINGUISTIC/COGNITIVE APPROACHES). The study of translation has gone far beyond the confines of any one discipline and it has become clear that research requirements in this area cannot be catered for by any existing field of study. Although some scholars see translation studies as interdisciplinary by nature (Snell-Hornby 1988), this does not mean that the discipline is not developing or cannot develop a coherent research methodology of its own. Indeed, the various methodologies and theoretical frameworks borrowed from different disciplines are increasingly being adapted and reassessed to meet the specific needs of translation scholars (see, for instance, CORPORA IN TRANSLATION STUDIES).

In the course of attempting to find its place among other academic disciplines and to synthesize the insights it has gained from other fields of knowledge, translation studies has occasionally experienced periods of fragmentation: of approaches, schools, methodologies, and even sub-fields within the discipline. At a conference held in Dublin in May 1995 for instance, some delegates called for establishing an independent discipline of interpreting studies, because theoretical models in translation studies by and large ignore interpreting and are therefore irrelevant to those interested in this field. This is true to a large extent, just as it is true that within interpreting studies itself far more attention has traditionally been paid to simultaneous CONFERENCE INTERPRETING than to other areas such as COMMUNITY INTERPRETING and liaison interpreting. However, the answer in both cases cannot lie in splitting the discipline into smaller factions, since fragmentation can only weaken the position of both translation and interpreting in the academy. The answer must surely lie in working towards greater unity and a more balanced representation of all areas of the discipline in research activities and in theoretical discussions.

Similarly, the threat of fragmentation sometimes looms high in the kind of literature which deliberately sets different theoretical approaches or research programmes in opposi-

tion. This is particularly evident in the case of approaches informed by cultural studies and those informed by the well-established but by no means flawless models derived from linguistics (see Baker 1996). In recent years, a number of scholars began to talk about 'the cultural turn in translation studies' (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) and to argue that an approach derived from cultural studies and stressing the role of ideology must *replace* the traditional linguistically derived models. Such discussions often misrepresent and caricature the paradigms they attack in a way that is not necessarily in the interest of the discipline as a whole:

> linguists have moved from word to text as a unit, but not beyond. . . . The overall position of the linguist in translation studies would be rather analogous to that of an intrepid explorer who refuses to take any notice of the trees in the new region he has discovered until he has made sure he has painstakingly arrived at a description of all the plants that grow there.
>
> (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990: 4)

Translation scholars must recognize that no approach, however sophisticated, can provide the answer to all the questions raised in the discipline nor the tools and methodology required for conducting research in all areas of translation studies. There can be no benefit in setting various approaches in opposition to each other nor in resisting the integration of insights achieved through the application of various tools of research, whatever their origin. Fortunately, more and more scholars are beginning to celebrate rather than resist the plurality of perspectives that characterizes the discipline. While critical of certain aspects of specific approaches, such scholars are still able to see the various frameworks available as essentially complementary rather than mutually exclusive (Baker 1996a; Venuti 1996).

Translation studies can and will hopefully continue to draw on a variety of discourses and disciplines and to encourage pluralism and heterogeneity. Fragmentation and the compartmentalization of approaches can only weaken the position of the discipline in the academy

and obscure opportunities for further progress in the field.

Further reading
Baker 1996; Holmes 1972/1988; Toury 1995; Venuti 1996.

MONA BAKER

Translator-training institutions

Translators and interpreters have long been trained informally, basically through trial and error, unstructured apprenticeship arrangements, or any of the various translating activities that accompany the study of a foreign language and culture within the Liberal Arts tradition. Translator-training institutions, however, can be understood as organizational structures designed specifically for this task, with a certain permanence and internal power relationships. Most such institutions are now university departments, faculties or relatively independent university institutes, although others are run by government bodies, international organizations, professional associations, large employers or private schools. Most of these institutions depend on wider structures within the one society (state or private education system) and thus vary in accordance with local contexts. Some structures, however, cross several societies and thus allow a certain typology to be based on various 'generations' of institutions.

The following survey adopts an international perspective, focusing on the generations of translator-training institutions and analysing the dramatic rise in their number since the mid-twentieth century. Brief consideration will also be given to the institutional location of certain pedagogical translation theories.

Historical background

The institutional training of translators and interpreters is a relatively new phenomenon, and talk of historical 'schools' of translation

has little to do with people actually learning a profession. A certain degree of institutionalization certainly ensued when translators were associated with Islamic colleges of the classical period, with cathedral chapters as in twelfth-century Toledo, or with court scholarship from the thirteenth century. But such institutions mainly functioned as loci for groups of translators working on similar texts. If there was any specific training, it seems more likely to have been through informal meetings or apprenticeships, with younger translators working under the guidance of masters. Even then, the relative absence of full-time professional translators means that training was likely to have been in particular subject matters, with translation used as a mode of study or as an occasional means of financial survival.

A certain political interest in this field necessarily evolved with the great European colonizations. Rudimentary translator-training programmes might be seen in the practice of taking natives back to the metropolis to turn them into bilingual intermediaries. Yet the colonial emphasis was more on regulating a suspect profession than actually producing professionals. Significantly, the numerous Spanish laws that stipulated the rights and duties of interpreters in the American colonies said nothing about how anyone actually became an interpreter. The state institutionalization of translator training might be dated from 1669, when the Colbert decree in France arranged for the training of French-born students as interpreters for Turkish, Arabic and Persian, leading to the founding of the Constantinople school. In 1754 Empress Maria Theresa founded the Oriental Academy, which provided a number of orientalists and interpreters to the Hapsburg court over the years (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 270–1). Beyond Europe, some of the initial moves could be seen as a reaction to colonial expansion, at once affirming oppositional identity and facilitating the transfer of knowledge. The large Egyptian translation school now known as *al-Alsun* was established in 1835. In China at the beginning of the nineteenth century a group known as *Yangwu*, comprising high government officials dealing with Foreign Affairs, created institutions for the training of

translators in areas like shipbuilding and weapons manufacture. In 1862 *Tongwen Guan* (Interpreters' College) was set up in Beijing to train translators and interpreters in European languages. From 1896 YAN FU (see CHINESE TRADITION), at that time principal of the Northern Chinese Naval Academy, supervised several translation schools operating under central and local government authority. Further information on these and similar institutions may be gained from the historical section of this encyclopedia.

Within Europe, the drive to create national cultures could underlie certain literary training programmes, as was the case of the apprentice scheme set up in Finland in 1831. Yet the need to extend and control international relations was a more powerful consideration. Several measures were undertaken directly by the corresponding state institutions. Although the diplomatic services were only informally associated with specialized interpreter training (Harris 1993, Bowen 1994), the Humboldt University in Berlin did have a translator-training programme for diplomats from 1884 through to 1944. In Spain the Ministry of Foreign Affairs controlled sworn translators and still organizes the corresponding state exams, emphasizing the translation of official documents. Traces of this tradition are still found in many Spanish-American universities, where translator training is dominated by legal work and sworn translation: in Uruguay, the national university's School of Law has issued the degree of Public or Sworn Translator since 1855 (Sainz 1993). The need for specially trained legal translators was also of particular concern to properly twentieth-century institutions. The Copenhagen Business School trained students in sworn translation and interpreting from 1921, and the Paris Institute for Comparative Law has been training legal translators since 1931.

Rise in the mid-twentieth century

A more generalist approach would appear to date from several Western-European institutions that were mainly focused on interpreter training and enjoyed a large degree of independence with respect to non-vocational university structures. Such institutes were