Translation across Modalities:
The Practice of Translating Written Text into Recorded Signed Language

An Ethnographic Case Study

by

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Abstract

This study creates a space for analysing an emerging translational activity, the practice of translating written text into recorded signed language. With its non-prototypical modality pair of source and target texts, the activity neither matches existing conceptualisations of *interpreting* nor those of *translation* modes. In an ethnographic case study I investigate the translational mode displayed, paying particular attention to the translational process designed by the practitioner and the impact of source and target text modalities. Drawing on literacy and multimodality research, this work re-affirms that communication is embedded in social, cultural, historical and ideological contexts and foregrounds the involved (human and non-human) agents. Data generated through observation, interviews and analysis of source, target and preparatory documents reveal an event influenced by the intrinsic properties of text modalities, the translator's socio-professional background, and socially constructed constraints and opportunities. Developing concepts of "translational practice", "translational events" and "affordances", I challenge the prototype-based dichotomy (translation/interpreting) used to conceptualise translational activity. By negotiating data of a non-central practice with theoretical concepts developed within Western Translation Studies, this research contributes to enlarging and de-centralising the discipline. Thickly describing one translational event, conceptualising written-signed translation practice and re-thinking central translational concepts, this study highlights implications for theory, pedagogy and the profession.

Für meine Mutter und für meinen Vater.

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List of Abbreviations

Auslan   Australian Sign Language

BSL   British Sign Language

C   commissioner

DDA   Disability Discrimination Act

HWU   Heriot-Watt University

I1   Interview 1

I2a   Interview 2a

I2b   Interview 2b

I3   Interview 3

IS   Interpreting Studies

ST   source text

TAP   think-aloud protocol

TE   translational event

ToT   Trainer of BSL Trainers course

TP   translational practitioner

TS   Translation Studies

TT   target text

Chapter 1 – Introduction

> The communication explosion in the twentieth century, particularly its second half, has given a new impetus to the study of translation and interpreting, on which much of our lives now depend. Today, translator- and interpreter-mediated encounters vary tremendously in terms of their settings, modes, relationship among participants and other factors, posing a major challenge to the theory, practice and didactics of interpreting in particular. (Alexieva 1997:153)

This "explosion" of communication events has certainly not ceased with the arrival of the 21st century. Social, intercultural and technological developments have led to ever faster, more global and more varied interactions, with far-reaching impacts on the landscape of translational practices. More generally, new activities are emerging, peripheral ones are gaining visibility and the academic discipline of Translation Studies (TS), in terms of its focus points, theories and methodologies, faces the challenge of readjusting to accommodate these developments. This study aims to contribute to opening up the field of TS in order to accommodate one of these new translational practices, the translation of written text into recorded signed language.

The notion of a "communication explosion" is certainly applicable to – if not even more significantly relevant for – signing communities. It is only since the second half of the twentieth century that Deaf[1] communities have increasingly been regarded as cultural linguistic minorities, with their languages gradually being recognised as fully-fledged languages that "can do all the things that any human language can do" (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999:20). This led to a growing confidence of Deaf individuals and their language and culture are becoming more visible. Deaf and disability rights campaigns have promoted the recognition that d/Deaf people are functioning members of society equal to their hearing counterparts, which supported the implementation of recent legislation such as the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) in the UK, requiring service providers to make reasonable adjustments to offer accessible communication for all parts of society, including British Sign Language (BSL) users. Such developments, underpinned by an increased empowerment of the Deaf community, are giving Deaf people access in their own language to a whole new sphere of social situations, which previously had only been accessible through the use of the dominant spoken/written languages, e.g., in the case of the British Deaf community, English.

In a parallel development, advances in technology are contributing to the changing landscape of communication practices in signing communities. Ever more accessible

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[1] In this work I follow the common conventions of capitalising the term Deaf when referring to individuals who regard themselves as members of a cultural linguistic minority, whereas the non-capitalised spelling "deaf" particularly emphasises the audiological status of deaf people (see Section 1.4 for discussion).

audiovisual media enable Deaf people to record texts in their own (unwritten) languages and communicate with other signers through time and space. The use of such media both in public (in the form of television, film and public websites) and private (e.g. video phone recording, video email, personal websites and video blogs or vlogs) has emerged within the British Deaf community in recent years.

While *interpreting*[2] between Deaf and Hearing people has always played a central role in signing communities, translational practices now also include linguistic mediation of recorded language between written text and recorded signed language. The notion of sign language *translation* is emerging. Such events differ significantly from more traditional *interpreting* events: the primary participants – the source text (ST) producers and target audiences – are absent during the translational process; STs can be accessed repeatedly and target texts (TTs) can be prepared and revised; translational practitioners (hereafter referred to as TPs) can work in their own time and at their chosen location. This raises questions about the mode of translation in such events: if such events differ from *interpreting* and deal with recorded text, may we call the activity *translation*? This is the topic of this study, which investigates translation between written text and recorded signed language, specifically from written English into recorded BSL, and the implications and challenges this poses for translation theory, particularly with regard to our conceptualisations of translational modes.

1.1 Introducing the Topic

Translations from written English into BSL (and other written-signed language combinations), recorded on analogue and digital video media, are increasing in number, offering signed versions of both literary and non-literary texts, such as information material, religious texts, children's stories and even the first BSL translation of a PhD thesis (Emery 2006b). Since I started this research in 2005, there has been a noticeable growth of such events, arguably most visible on the internet. Examples include websites by Deaf organisations (e.g. British Deaf Association 2010), governmental information such as the translation of the document *Scotland's Future: Draft Referendum (Scotland) Bill Consultation Paper* (Scottish Government 2010), advice on how to deal with the recent swine flu epidemic by the British National Health Service (NHS 24 2010), information about fire safety (Fire Kills 2010), the website informing about police services in Lancashire (Lancashire Police Authority 2010), signed stories for children (ITV 2010), or an introduction to *The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery* in Stoke on Trent (City of Stoke on Trent 2010), to mention but a few. Given the speed at which this area is developing, we can expect that such communication situations will become increasingly prominent. At the same time the notion of sign language *translation*, rather than

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[2] By italicising the terms *interpreting* and *translating* I distinguish between the two different translational modes, whereas the non-italicised version of translation refers to the term in its generic sense. For further discussion, see Section 1.4.

interpreting, is becoming more and more commonplace; service providers now offer what they call sign language *translation*.[3] Such translational activity is not only of practical relevance, giving monolingual sign language users access to a wider range of information and texts that otherwise would be unavailable to them, but it also serves as another political milestone in the empowerment of Deaf people as a linguistic/cultural group, enabling them to communicate and access information independently and in their "natural and preferred language" (Brennan 1992:10).

While a decade ago the topic of translation between written and signed language was virtually invisible in the literature (Grbic 2007), there has been growing interest in the issue within academia, sparked by the developments described above. We find the first doctoral and Master's dissertations discussing practices that might be called sign language *translation* (Stone 2006; Gansinger 2008; Wiener in progress), as well as other publications dealing with the topic (e.g. Gresswell 2001; Banna 2004; Conlon and Napier 2004; Leneham 2005; 2007b), and, with *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter*, the first publication series that refers to sign language *translation* practices in the title. Nevertheless, the field is still in its infancy and, as a more thorough review in Chapter 3 will demonstrate, still establishing its foundations. Education, similarly, is an area that requires development: training to date predominantly focuses on more traditional sign language *interpreting* practices with a particular emphasis on community *interpreting*. Practitioners working with written and recorded signed texts are usually either Deaf BSL/English bilinguals or qualified BSL/English *interpreters*, who frequently carry out these tasks without formal training or qualification in written English/recorded BSL translation. Research on this issue is thus necessary and timely.

While such developments are happening in the practice of sign language translation, the academic discipline of TS is simultaneously undergoing directional developments. With the increasing awareness that the field has predominantly evolved in European and North American centres based on dominant practices involving written majority languages and hegemonic cultures, there has been a recent call to enlarge and enhance the discipline by de-centralising its focus (cf. Hermans ed. 2006; Tymoczko 2007; Baker ed. 2009). However, this shifting process away from a sole concentration on majority, written languages and cultures rarely includes signed languages, which are still largely invisible in the field. I will argue in this work not only that TS can actively contribute to the understanding of sign language translation practices but that research on translation involving visual-gestural languages or communication between Deaf and Hearing communities can actively contribute to a meaningful enlargement of the discipline,

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[3] See, for example, *Team HaDo* (www.teamhado.com), *Equal Sign* (www.equalsign.co.uk) or *Remark!* (www.remarktranslation.co.uk).

providing an opportunity to re-think and re-evaluate taken-for-granted concepts and knowledge (see particularly Chapter 3.1 for discussion).

1.2 Introducing the Research

While the notions of *translation* and *interpreting* seem established in the wider discipline with reference to written/spoken languages, even if definitions vary to some extent (see Chapter 3.3 for discussion), the difference between translational modes in contexts involving signed language is not yet clear, leaving some researchers to refer to the activity as *translation* (Leneham 2007b; Gansinger 2008), while others prefer to call it "prepared recorded interpretation" (Banna 2004), and yet others remain vague by referring to it as a "hybrid" (Turner and Pollitt 2002) or introducing the compound construction "translation/interpreting" or "T/I" (Stone 2006; 2007a; 2007b). As the difference between *translation* and *interpreting* in the first instance refers to the language modalities involved (with *translation* denoting written-written translation and *interpreting* referring to events involving spoken and/or signed source and target texts),[4] it is because of its 'odd' modality pair of writing and sign that the practice of translation between written and signed language is left in limbo; it constitutes some sort of in-between state between *translation* and *interpreting*. In order to open up a rigorous investigation of such translational practices, this work aims to situate the activity by investigating the translational mode displayed in one translational event.

My research questions are:

1. What characterises the process of one particular translational event?
2. What impact does the cross-modal shift from writing to sign have on the process of translating a written text into signed language?
3. In what way does the translational mode adopted in this case match existing conceptualisations of translational modes, i.e. particularly *translation* and *interpreting*?

By providing answers to these questions, this study aims to:

1. contribute to opening up the field of translation between written and signed languages.
2. contribute to our understanding of the impact of language modalities on translational events and our conceptualisations of translational modes.
3. contribute to enlarging our understanding of Translation Studies and de-centralising the discipline by challenging conceptualisations that have been based on dominant practices involving written/spoken majority languages by

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[4] For more thorough definitions of the two main translational modes, see Chapter 3.3.

focusing on translational practices involving signed, i.e. unwritten, visual-gestural minority languages.

My more specific research goals are formulated in the following objectives, each roughly corresponding to one main chapter of the thesis:

1. to situate the study academically and conceptually by creating a space in Translation Studies and by reviewing conceptualisations of translational modes in the relevant literature. (Chapter 3)
2. to provide a theoretical foundation for the discussion of translation from written into signed language that accounts for the investigation of the language modalities of source and target texts and their impact on the event. (Chapter 4)
3. to develop an appropriate methodological approach that accounts for 'new' translational practices and is in accordance with the proposed theoretical foundations. (Chapter 5)
4. to conduct an explorative, multi-method, single case study of one translational event in which a written text is translated into recorded signed language and to provide a thick description[5] and analysis of the translational process. (Chapter 6)
5. to conceptualise the practice of translating a written text into recorded signed language with a focus on the impact of the language modalities of source and target texts and to re-evaluate our understanding of translational modes. (Chapter 7)

To address these research questions, aims and objectives, I conducted an explorative, qualitative, multi-method, ethnographic case study of one translational event (hereafter abbreviated as TE) that involves a written ST and a recorded signed TT. Based on a multidisciplinary theoretical foundation with reference to literacy studies and multimodality research, I investigated the impact of source and target modalities on the process of a cross-modal translation from writing to sign. By introducing the notions of translational practice and modality affordance to this research and by providing a social-constructionist take on the topic, I was able to avoid a dichotomous, prototype-based conceptualisation of translational modes. This study thereby contributes to what has been referred to as a "social turn" (Wolf 2006) in TS.

1.3 Introducing the Case

The case of this study constitutes a TE that involves the translation from written English into recorded BSL of the second chapter, entitled "Explaining Second Language Learning", from the linguistic textbook *How Languages Are Learned* (Lightbown and Spada 2006). The translation was commissioned by Heriot-Watt University to be used by students of a part-time Graduate Diploma course, who were training to become tutors of

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[5] For a discussion of the concept "thick", see Section 5.1.4.

BSL teachers. For this Trainers of Trainers (ToTs) course, eight translations were commissioned, each to be used as core reading material for one module, all but one translated by the TP of this study. The translation in question constituted the fourth in the series. The ST, a chapter of 21 pages of an introductory book on first and second language acquisition aimed primarily at undergraduate students, provides an overview of different theoretical approaches to the topic. The language used is academic, yet accessible and the text contains typical elements of a literature review (such as references to the literature and critical debates of different theories), as well as interactive and illustrative elements (such as a practical exercise and two cartoons).

The target audience is made up of the ten students of the course, who are all Deaf BSL users of varying ages and background, and who themselves asked for the core reading material to be translated into BSL. Although the students were expected to be bilingual to some extent, the translation was commissioned to provide access to the English text in their 'own' language and the main language of the course, i.e. BSL. The translations were thus regarded as providing a bridge to the ST as well as other written English academic texts. The TT, developed and created by the TP over the course of ten days, was recorded by herself at Heriot-Watt University over two days, after which it was edited by the course leader. The result is a 1 hour 45 minutes long DVD of the signed TT, edited into chapters with inserted titles, superimposed subtitles for particular elements of the text, and interspersed scans of illustrations from the ST.

At the centre of this study is the TP, who is hearing, English being her A-language and BSL her B-language, and a qualified registered sign language *interpreter* with extensive experience in written-sign translations. In this TE, she works closely together with the commissioner who, a Deaf BSL user himself, is also the ToTs course leader and acts as the editor of the final TT. The TE not only proved to be suitable for this study by fulfilling the relevant criteria of involving a written ST and a recorded signed TT, it emerged to offer a particularly fruitful research opportunity due to the TP's experience and her willingness to contribute to this research in a number of ways, enabling me to access the TE by generating data through different methods. I was able to observe the translation process in the studio, to conduct three interviews with the TP at various stages of the TE and to collect relevant documents, amongst others a copy of the practitioner's annotated ST, her developed prompts and unedited and edited versions of the TT.

1.4 Introducing Terminology and Spelling Conventions

It will at this stage be useful to explain my use of certain terminological items and some more general spelling conventions. In order to distinguish between "deafness" seen as a medical condition and "Deafness" as a cultural identity, I follow the common conventions as introduced by Woodward (1972) of referring to the former with a lower case *d* and to

the latter with an upper case *D*. With "deaf" I stress the audiological status of an individual with a hearing loss, while the usage of (capital-D) "Deaf" emphasises a person's membership of the linguistic, cultural community and the fact that they use a signed language as their generally preferred means of communication. Although this dichotomous distinction has been criticised (Dickinson in progress) as it suggests a false binary division of deaf people and issues of community membership are more complex (see Chapter 2 for discussion), the distinction is useful particularly in a TS context, as it highlights the cultural status of Deafness and focuses on linguistic aspects, thereby putting signed languages and Deaf communities on a par with other languages and cultures. Corresponding to this, I follow the less common convention of referring to Hearing culture similarly through capitalisation in order to stress the cultural, rather than audiological differences and relationships between Hearing and Deaf communities (cf. Napier 2002b).

More specifically relevant to this research is my usage of the terms "*interpreting*", "*translation*" and "translation". While the latter, non-italicised version refers to translation in its generic sense, i.e. referring to the process or product of any translational activity, the italicised spellings of "*interpreting*" and "*translation*" denote the two main translational modes, with the former describing 'live' TEs usually involving spoken and/or signed languages, while the latter relates to instances where a written text is translated into another written text in an extended amount of time in the absence of the primary participants.[6] While other researchers (e.g. Pöchhacker 2004b; Schäffner 2004) have used the capitalised version of "Translation" in order to denote its generic meaning, I choose not to adopt this convention for the following reasons: not only is it awkward in English to use capitalised spellings with reference to verb forms (as in "to Translate"), I would moreover like to promote a view that regards the generic, non-specific meaning of translation as the default and therefore use the least 'attention-seeking' spelling to refer to it with the aim of stressing the unity of translation as a field despite the multitude of practices that it encompasses. On the other hand, as I will argue in the course of this thesis, a dichotomous distinction between *translation* and *interpreting* neglects a number of (particularly non-central)[7] translational practices; by using the terms in an italicised version, *interpreting* and *translating*, I aim to frequently capture the reader's attention, reminding her or him of the problems associated with a two-fold categorisation of translational modes. With a similar intention, I frequently use the term translational practitioner (abbreviated to TP), translational event (TE) and

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[6] For a more thorough discussion of the definitions and other conceptualisations of these two translational modes, see Chapter 3.3.
[7] By "non-central" I mean those practices which, being outside the "canon", have been marginalised in domains of authority such as general academic literature, policy-making and/or education. My usage of "central", on the other hand, stresses the dominant status of particular practices on which much of our understanding of the field is based.

translational practice generically in order to refrain from categorising translational activities. Unless quoting others, I will follow these conventions throughout the thesis.

1.5 Introducing the Thesis

I will finish this chapter by providing an overview of the thesis and outlining its structure. **Chapter 2** aims to contextualise the case study. By introducing the British signing community as a cultural linguistic minority and discussing the linguistic situation in the UK Deaf community with particular reference to bilingualism, Deaf literacy practices and the role of translation, it situates the TE in question and provides the necessary background for any reader unfamiliar with Deaf communities.

Chapter 3 and **Chapter 4** provide the theoretical underpinning of the study. **Chapter 3**, addressing the first research objective, situates the practice of translating written into signed language in its academic environment, creating a space for its discussion in the wider field of TS and reviewing the more explicitly relevant studies that deal with conceptualisations of translational modes and the study of sign language translation practices. The chapter highlights some of the problems with previous conceptualisations of translational modes and points out shortcomings in the research of sign language translation practices. Introducing a multidisciplinary dimension in **Chapter 4**, I extend the theoretical frame of reference in order to account for an investigation of ST and TT modalities by looking towards the fields of literacy and multimodality studies, thereby responding to research objective number two. Borrowing ideas and understandings from an ideological model of literacy, I introduce the notions of socially, culturally, historically and ideologically situated practices and events to this research as well as the concept of "affordances" (Gibson 1979/1986; Kress 2003; 2010; Prior 2005). Together these provide a suitable foundation for the analysis of linguistic modalities and their impact on TEs. I conclude this chapter by making reference to parallel approaches in TS, which are driven by sociology-inspired frameworks.

In **Chapter 5** I translate my theoretical considerations into practice (see objective 3). I discuss my methodological position, explain the decision to conduct an explorative, authentic, qualitative, ethnographic, multi-method single case study which pays particular attention to the voice of the TP involved in the event and addresses the research from a social-constructionist perspective.

Chapter 6 and **Chapter 7** present the central part of the case study. While **Chapter 6** remains close to the data, I will bring the analysis to a higher, more theoretical level in **Chapter 7**. The former, addressing research Objective 4, provides a thick description of the process of the TE, taking into account my observations of the recording process, the TP's views and perspectives as expressed in the interviews, analyses of various collected

documents as well as the wider professional and social context in which the event takes place. With reference to the variety of data sources, I depict each phase of the translational process and provide a rich picture of the event. **Chapter 7**, aiming to fulfil the final research objective, discusses the translational practices apparent in the TE with reference to the study's theoretical foundations. I will argue that the modality affordances, i.e. the potentials and constraints linked to the inherent properties of writing and sign, the TP's perception of these affordances as well as wider social and translational practices inform the event. I find that the event constitutes neither prototypical *translation* nor prototypical *interpreting* and come to the conclusion that a dichotomous categorisation of translational modes is insufficient and misleading in an age that is dominated by multimodal communication.

In **Chapter 8** I conclude this study by summarising my findings and addressing the research questions, aims and objectives, critically reviewing the research project, pointing out some areas of future research and highlighting its contribution to the field.

Chapter 2 – Social and Linguistic Aspects of the Deaf Community: Situating the Translational Event

This chapter introduces the social, cultural and linguistic background of the present TE. Providing the contextual foundation, it establishes the motivations for the TE and situates the TP's decisions. It thereby directly relates to my data analysis (Chapter 6) and discussion (Chapter 7). The background provided in this chapter will further enable readers unfamiliar with signed language and Deaf communities to follow my theoretical considerations (Chapters 3 and 4). In particular, I will introduce the British Deaf community, which hosts the target audience of this TE, as a cultural-linguistic minority (2.1).[8] Geographically embedded in the wider Hearing society, contact between signers and non-signers is inevitable. This has an impact on the language situation in signing communities (2.2), affecting issues of bilingualism, which will be particularly discussed with regard to literacy practices in the Deaf community (2.3), and affording translation in Deaf communities a central role (2.4). While I expect many of the issues to be relevant to other Deaf communities and sign languages and vice versa, and therefore make reference to literature that focuses on the topic in other national contexts, this discussion concentrates on the British signing community, since it hosts the target audience of this study.

2.1 The Deaf Community: A Cultural Linguistic Minority

It is estimated that around nine million people in the UK (i.e. approximately one in seven) have some form of hearing loss (RNID 2010:3). This figure includes those who are born deaf, as well as others who lose their hearing through accidents, illness or with old age. In addition to these external factors, the British deaf population also varies in terms of cultural, social and individual backgrounds. A Deaf person's identity, like anybody else's, is formed on the basis of a complex multitude of factors, including family background and attitude, social networks, education, access to language as well as more individual factors.[9] Corker (1998:5) states:

> In terms of self-definition, deaf people are caught at different points in a linguistic and cultural web made up of spoken languages, sign languages, deafness and hearingness. Different

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[8] The social, cultural and linguistic situation of the Deaf community is highly complex; constructions of d/Deafness are linked to discourses that involve complicated networks of historically situated ideological movements. The notions of culture, community and language themselves are highly contestable concepts (see e.g. Turner 1994). Considering the purpose of this study, this chapter can only marginally touch upon the issues and should be regarded as an introduction only. References to literature that provides more complete accounts will be provided.

[9] Together with a whole range of personal experiences, a deaf individual's identity and attitude towards Deaf and Hearing communities will be shaped by factors such as their age of hearing loss (whether prelingually, postlingually or in old age), the degree of hearing loss, type(s) of education (particularly whether one attends mainstream or specialist and oral or bilingual schooling), their family circumstances (their parents' attitude towards Deafness and sign languages), the exposure to Deaf social networks and events and possibly most importantly aspects of communication (whether or not one has access to acquiring sign languages, is encouraged and able to communicate in the majority spoken/written language or any combination of the two).

locations in the web therefore become associated with different meanings of language and identity, and these meanings are not always static or consistent.

Although a dichotomous division is inevitably over-simplistic, particularly considering the diversity of the deaf population, and risks the marginalisation of certain groups, a distinction is usually made between those who associate themselves predominantly with the mainstream Hearing society in terms of language, culture and identity, and those who primarily regard themselves as culturally Deaf, belonging to a community that shares cultural values, social networks and a language, i.e., in the UK, British Sign Language (BSL) (Kyle and Woll 1985:5-9).[10] Focusing on communication across languages, this study is primarily concerned with the latter group. Emery (2006a:11) suggests that, although figures vary, the Deaf community is estimated to number between 50,000 and 70,000 people.

2.1.1 Models of Deafness

The above distinction reflects two main conceptual models of d/Deafness that we find in the literature, i.e. what is usually referred to as the 'medical' model and a 'cultural' model of d/Deafness. The former, emphasising the audiological rather than cultural situation of deaf people, has been criticised extensively by members of the Deaf community and Deaf Studies scholars alike (e.g. Wrigley 1996; Ladd 2003). A focus on deafness in terms of a deficiency, "a deviation from the norm, a problem afflicting the individual" (Lewis 2007:27), has contributed to a marginalisation of deaf people in society and has led to an emphasis on "remediation and normalisation – on overcoming hearing loss to restore 'normal' functioning" (Gregory and Hartley 1991:2). Such a construction of deafness resulted in a Hearing hegemony over deaf people (Turner 1994:118-9) with major adverse impacts on areas such as education and medical treatment. With reference to notions such as "audism" and the historical oppression of Deaf people, Deaf communities have been compared to colonised cultures (Ladd 2003:78).

The medical model remained prominent until recently and still persists in many domains (Ladd 2003:15). Attitudes supporting this model are recurrently reflected in mainstream public discourses; Eichmann (2008:11) lists a number of citations from the press that characteristically represent deaf people as persons who "cannot hear" (Fickling 2002), will never be able to enjoy "the miracle of sound" (Hays 2002) or "suffer" (Jeffreys 2002). Only in the 1970s was this model challenged by a new emerging "social model" of disability, which "attributes the creation of disability to the dominant socio-cultural environment" (Corker 1998:5); in other words, deficiency is not attributed to individuals,

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[10] See for example, Turner (1994) for a critical reflection on conceptualisations of Deafness that regard the Deaf community as a fixed, unified community.

but rather to the society and its failure to accommodate the needs of all its members. Although this promotes a view of disabled people that "asserted their fundamental equality as human beings with entitlement to full citizenship", it still represents a model of deafness that is based on problems (Ladd 2003:15).

Instead, a shared positive experience of being Deaf is emphasised in what has come to be known as the "cultural", or "culturo-linguistic" (Ladd 2003), model of Deafness. At least since the 1960s, driven by wider minority groups' campaigns for emancipation, and coinciding with the first research that promoted sign languages as fully-fledged languages equal to spoken languages (Stokoe 1960), Deaf communities became increasingly confident in regarding their culture, their language, their Deafness, with pride, as is explicitly expressed by Ladd (2003:37):

> (...) if, like us, you mean 'Deaf' as a national and international community of people with their own beautiful languages, their own organisations, history, arts and humour, their own lifelong friends whom otherwise we would not have met, then perhaps you will understand our pride in what we have created, our desire to pass this on to future generations of Deaf children.

Refining the cultural model and stressing a cultural-linguistic understanding of the Deaf community, there have been a number of recent attempts to construct Deafness by introducing notions such as "Deafhood" (Ladd 2003), "Sign Language Peoples" (Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver 2007) or, in a Finnish context, "*viittomakielinen*", which loosely translates as "sign language user" (Jokinen 2000). In the context of TS a construction of Deafness that focuses on cultural and linguistic aspects is particularly useful as it initially places the British Deaf community and BSL on a par with other cultures and languages (Lane, Hoffmeister and Bahan 1996:417).[11]

2.1.2 A Minority Community Embedded in a Hearing Society

Even people who regard themselves as culturally Deaf are likely to share educational settings, workplaces, public domains, social circles and/or even – given that only five per cent of deaf children are said to be born to deaf parents (Bullis, Bull and Johnson 1997) – families that are dominated by Hearing people. Linguistic, cultural and social contact with the wider society is inevitable and in order to succeed in society Deaf people need to participate in dominant Hearing discourses.

The minority status of Deaf communities together with a historical Hearing hegemony has contributed to an increased sense of community solidarity among Deaf people and a perception of 'us' versus 'them', which is re-enforced in the dichotomous constructions of d/Deafness as described above (cf. Shakespeare 1996:108 and Corker 1998:22).

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[11] For some reservations and a comparison of Deaf communities with other minorities, see Corker (1998:22-3).

Various authors describe communities that are perceived as particularly tight-knit cultural groups (Baker-Schenk and Cokely 1991:58, describing the US Deaf community; Burns 1998:252 with regard to the Irish Deaf community), or, as Kyle and Woll (1985:10) put it, that are "extremely closely bonded in the friendship of the members". Turner (2004:252) notes that this seems to be changing in an age of hypermodernity "in which we are not confined to the boundaries of a nation-state" and where "young British Deaf people 'have mobilized to enter the modern world in order to enjoy the fruits, not to maintain the marginalized and difficult life which was the basis of their solidarity, but which was not much fun'" (*ibid.*:259, including a quote from Heller 1999:16).

At the same time, Emery (2006a:10-1) describes how at the beginning of the 21ˢᵗ century, political involvement and Deaf activism, particularly but not only with regard to language rights, is not uncommon amongst members of the Deaf community. As an example, in the late 1990s and early 2000s there has been an intensive campaign initiated by the Deaf community that included marches, individual lobbying and a more general promotion of Deaf awareness to have BSL recognised as a language by the UK government, which finally succeeded in 2003 (*ibid.*). A browse through Deaf blogs (or vlogs, i.e. video logs) and discussion forums (e.g. Grumpy Old Deafies 2010) reveals that language, culture and access issues are frequently at the centre of debates. The protection of culture and language plays an important part in Deaf communities.

Considering the above-discussed factors, a generation of Deaf people seems to have emerged who feel comfortable moving between Deaf and Hearing societies and participating in Hearing and Deaf discourses alike, but who at the same time are confident in challenging dominant discourses and aware of their rights as members of a cultural linguistic minority. At the same time, however, the medical/audiological model continues to prevail in Hearing communities; new medical technological developments, particularly the support of cochlear implantation and the possible reduction of numbers of deaf (and thereby Deaf) people due to genetic engineering (Emery 2006a:10), are threatening Deaf communities (Johnston 2006). We are confronted with a complex situation in which Deaf people are becoming increasingly empowered, while other developments undermine this. Having introduced some of the social and cultural considerations linked to Deafness, I will now concentrate on the linguistic situation of the British Deaf community.

2.2 The Linguistic Situation in the Deaf Community

BSL has been described as the "natural and preferred language of Deaf people in Britain" (Brennan 1992:10). Although the linguistic situation in the Deaf community is certainly complex, there is no doubt that sign languages are at the heart of Deaf communities, sometimes regarded as the "principal identifying characteristic" (Lawson

1981:167) that holds a Deaf community together. In the following sections, I will discuss some of the linguistic issues in Deaf communities. In order to eradicate any common misconceptions, I will begin with a brief introduction explaining that signed languages are indeed languages.

2.2.1 Sign Languages Are Languages

Since the first research on sign linguistics (usually attributed to Stokoe 1960), researchers have provided evidence that signed languages are neither a form of mime nor based on spoken languages, but are rather fully-fledged, independent languages that "effectively fulfil the same social and mental functions as spoken languages" (Sandler and Lillo-Martin 2006:xv). Despite common misconceptions, they are the languages of particular Deaf communities rather than an international form of communication; BSL is distinct from other sign languages. In the past decades, the field of sign linguistics has developed extensively, and we now find wide-ranging research including the study of phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, sociolinguistic and applied issues. While early linguists were at pains to show parallels between signed and spoken languages in order to demonstrate that the former are real languages – characteristically Stokoe (1960) himself – modern researchers, whose main aim is no longer to prove the status of sign languages, are more confident and acknowledge possibilities that signed languages differ from spoken ones due to their visual-gestural modality (Meier 2002). This attitude shift is of particular consequence to this study which focuses on the ways in which the written ST and signed TT modalities impact respectively on a translational process.

2.2.2 The Status of BSL

Besides modality related differences, sign languages differ in a number of ways from dominant spoken languages due to the sociolinguistic situation in which they are realised. Given that only five per cent of deaf people are born to deaf parents (see Section 2.1.2), sign languages are only passed on in families to a very limited extent. Even when Hearing parents of deaf children choose to learn to sign, in most cases it will constitute a second (or third, fourth etc.) language for them and their abilities to communicate therefore is likely to be limited (Calderon and Greenberg 2005:179). Instead, if provided with the opportunity, Deaf people typically acquire sign languages at school or through other social networks (Lucas, Bailey and Valli 2001).

The long prevailing medical model of deafness (see Section 2.1.1) resulted in a stigmatisation of sign languages which is still noticeable. BSL was officially recognised by the UK government only in 2003 after intense campaigning by BSL users over many years. Regarding signed languages at best as useful communication aids and at worst as having a negative impact on the linguistic and psychological development of deaf

children, this negative view of signed languages particularly affected educational contexts. In what is known as *oralism*, the teaching of spoken languages was favoured over signed communication, a view that is criticised and challenged by many (e.g. Lane 1984; Ladd 2003).

The stigmatisation of BSL had an impact on language use within the community. In the 1970s "the language varieties that were seen as having value (in economic terms) for Deaf people were English, spoken and written, and English-influenced signed varieties"[12] (Turner 2004:252). This, together with the fact that Deaf people have historically faced barriers in society and have thus been excluded from certain discourse areas, meant that sign languages did not develop in certain communication domains. Although signed languages can potentially express anything that any other language can convey, sign vocabulary as well as registers belonging to particular genres or discourses are therefore less developed than those of dominant languages such as English (Napier, Locker McKee and Goswell 2006:105). This is a particular issue in translational situations, where TPs frequently deal with registers and terminology that are established in dominant spoken/written languages but which are new in signed languages (*ibid*.).

2.2.3 Changing Communication Practices

A raised awareness of Deaf and other minority communities as well as a general postmodern consciousness of diversity have led to changes in the dominant society. With such developments and an increased understanding of visual-gestural languages, attitudes towards signed languages have become more positive (Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy 2001). Moreover, although the situation is still far from desirable, Deaf people now have opportunities that they were previously denied, noticeable in educational and professional contexts (Ladd 2003:155). Dickinson (in progress, Chapter 1) mentions the move of Deaf people from manual to professional occupations; Lang (2002) discusses the increase in the number of Deaf people in higher education; similarly Deaf people are increasingly visible and active in public spheres. This shift impacts on the linguistic situation in the Deaf community. With Deaf people accessing new discourse areas, BSL enters communication domains where it previously had not existed. New BSL discourses are developing, new registers emerge and the vocabulary expands.[13]

Such changes in communication practices are accompanied by advances in communication and information technologies. Whereas old media such as the telephone,

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[12] There are varieties of signed communication forms that are to a varying extent influenced by the structure of spoken languages, for example, by following the syntactic order of the latter or by speaking and signing simultaneously. These are commonly referred to as SSE, Sign Supported English, or SEE, Signed Exact English.
[13] This increase of vocabulary is reflected in the emergence of recent specialised dictionaries (e.g. Art Signs 2010, www.artsigns.ac.uk/home_glossary.asp; Engineering Signs 2010, www.engineeringsigns.ac.uk; Quality Improvement Agency 2010 for IT terminology, www.qiaresources4ict.net).

radio and television were essentially inaccessible to Deaf people without special provisions, thereby contributing to a marginalisation of Deaf communities, new communication forms such as the internet enable Deaf people "to locate, use and communicate information remotely for the first time without the need for it to be mediated by hearing people" (Valentine and Skelton 2009:54). Such advances contribute to an empowerment of Deaf people by "enabling [them...] to participate more effectively in the Information Society by giving them a greater ability to function independently, and therefore a perception of both self-confidence and equality with hearing people" (*ibid*.). No longer dependent on communication with other community members in their local environments, Deaf people have started to use virtual spaces to contribute to community activities and become part of further-reaching, national and international, cultural networks (Valentine and Skelton 2008). Communicative situations have become more varied, further developed and more visible.

2.2.4 Living in a Bilingual Environment

As noted above, Deaf people live in a world in which linguistic contact with the wider Hearing society is inevitable. If bilingualism is defined in a way that regards "Deaf people who sign and who use the majority language in their everyday lives (in its written form, for example) [as being] [...] bilingual" (Grosjean 1998:31), according to Padden (1998:100) most Deaf people are bilingual, as "[h]ardly a day goes by without changing languages and changing channels, from signing to reading, from writing to signing, and back again". Turner (2004:258-9) finds that a younger generation of British Deaf people, although proud of BSL, feels comfortable switching between a variety of modes of communication and use "*whatever linguistic resources they have at their disposal*" (italicisation in original) to function in their social surroundings (see Emerton 1998 for similar observations in the US Deaf community).

Nevertheless, levels of bilingualism amongst Deaf people naturally vary (Grosjean 1998) and we cannot expect all members of the British Deaf community to be fluent in English (Stone 2006:16). Considering that spoken languages are realised in a modality that is inaccessible to people who cannot hear, not all Deaf people are able to learn to speak (Marschark 2007:123) and due to the fact that not all sounds are visible or distinguishable by the movement of the mouth, lipreading carries with it a number of difficulties (Baker 1999:125-6). Without access to sound and therefore spoken English, Deaf children typically do not acquire English naturally. "Although the situation of Deaf students learning printed English may be viewed as a unique language learning situation" (Christie *et al.* 1999:163), like a second language, English in both its spoken and written form needs to be *learned* (rather than acquired), leaving Deaf people with varying degrees of spoken and written language abilities. A person's ability to learn a spoken/written language is influenced by a complex network of factors, such as degree

and age of hearing loss, communication with family and peers and education. Since I am particularly concerned with translation between signed and *written* (rather than spoken) texts, I will discuss the issue of bilingualism with regard to *literacy* practices in the Deaf community in the next section before discussing its implications for translational practices (2.4).

2.3 Literacy Practices in the Deaf Community

Sign languages are unwritten languages; they do not have an established, widely used writing system. It is, of course, not impossible to record visual-gestural languages; there have been repeated attempts to develop notation and writing systems for signed languages and document signs through drawings, photography and film. Such attempts and how the Deaf community 'deals with' the lack of an established writing system will be introduced in the following section.

Besides glossing, i.e. using a written word to record a sign, from the earliest stages of sign linguistics, there have been attempts to record signed languages in a way that it would be useable for linguistic analyses. To mention but two examples, Stokoe developed a system, the *Stokoe Notation System*, which is based on phonology, recording handshapes, direction of the hand, location and movement; HamNoSys (an abbreviation for Hamburg Notation System) works in a similar way, but uses symbols that can be typed on a standard keyboard. These systems, however, have not been used extensively beyond research contexts (for further discussion see Miller 2001). Based on iconic illustrations of handshapes, non-manual features and movements of signs, *Sutton SignWriting* aims to be more user-friendly, and, according to its developer Valerie Sutton (2010), is used around the world. It is however questionable how wide-spread the system is at the moment; as Woll, Sutton-Spence and Elton (2001:19-20) argue, "it will be many years, if at all, before we see these written forms of sign language have the same status and function as written forms of spoken languages", so, to date, "[t]here are no widely used written forms of sign languages and no sign language has a body of written literature".

Embedded in the wider Hearing society, British Deaf people live in a highly literacy-focused environment. An ability to read and write in English is widely regarded as one of the main aims of Deaf education, no matter what approach is followed, whether mainstreaming or specialist, oralist or bilingual (Christie *et al.* 1999:163 on bilingual education). A wide body of research exists investigating and 'measuring' literacy skills and the efficacy of the different teaching methods (e.g. Antia, Reed and Kreimeyer 2005; Chamberlain and Mayberry 2000; Hoffmeister 2000). Despite the educational focus on writing and reading, findings generally seem to suggest that Deaf students are underachieving in terms of literacy. Winston (2004) finds in her study of the accessibility

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of *interpreted* mainstream classrooms to deaf students, that education, including the teaching of written language, is often insufficiently accessible to d/Deaf students, as the "system is fundamentally biased against their need for visual learning" (*ibid.*:132). It is not surprising then that Marschark, Lang and Albertini (2002:157) report that only three per cent of Deaf eighteen year olds match the reading performance of their hearing counterparts, and more than thirty per cent leave school being functionally illiterate.

However, literacy is more than just a skill; it is a practice that is deeply rooted in social, cultural and ideological developments and beliefs (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). It is therefore not only a matter of 'ability' whether Deaf people do, want to or should use writing, the social, cultural and ideological context should equally be taken into account. As Turner (2007b:121) notes:

> For many Deaf people, English is not a language, a form of communication, but a subject from school, and link with unpleasant experiences of being encouraged, cajoled, trained, forced to speak. For many Deaf people, 'English is not us, it is them, and they are oppressors.' It is the language of bureaucracy and authority, and is always a reminder of Deaf people's status as outsiders.

Albertini and Shannon (1996:73) suggest that such negative experiences in education have led to Deaf people's "self-consciousness about writing". Although attitudes naturally vary and might more generally change with an increasingly empowered younger generation of Deaf people, who comfortably move between Deaf and Hearing environments (see above, Sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.3), English literacy practices are traditionally associated with Hearing culture; there is an argument that the full empowerment of Deaf people can at this stage only be realised when texts are produced in Deaf people's "natural and preferred" (Brennan 1992:10) language.

Nevertheless, Thoutenhoofd (2001) finds that literacy does play a role in Deaf community practices with Deaf people incorporating writing, and print in particular, in their cultural activities (cf. Dodds and Fowler 2000). Others report on similar Deaf (written) literacy practices, e.g. Maxwell (1985), Albertini and Shannon (1996) and Power and Power (2004). Not only is print material used for promotion of Deaf activities (e.g. newsletters of Deaf clubs or Deaf organisations), subtitles, e-mails, text messaging, and the internet are of increased importance to a community which relies on visual communication forms. There have been some recent claims that Deaf people do not only borrow English literacy in a 'passive' way, but that its use amongst British Deaf people may be culturally informed; deviations from standard English in Deaf writing may not only be interpreted as a deficiency but as actively incorporated differing cultural practices (Matthews, Wurm and Turner 2007; Webster 2007).

Finally – and this is at the centre of this work – with technological advances that enable even laypeople to produce and receive audiovisual texts with widely available and accessible technology, the recording of visual-gestural languages is becoming widespread. Vlogs, video-emails as well as text messages that include signed video clips are becoming increasingly commonplace, at least partially replacing written communication, and a body of sign language 'literature' in electronic formats is developing (Signing Books 2010). The recording of sign language thereby not only enables communication across time and space, but "the camera becomes the printing press" (cf. Krentz 2006), enabling the documentation, preservation and promotion of signs (Burch 2004). Such developments have led a few voices to argue that we can now talk about sign language 'literacy' (Czubek 2006). Although contested by others (e.g. Paul 2006) (not least because of the paradox evoked by the etymological meaning of literacy referring to alphabetic writing only), Czubek picks up on the idea that literacy practices are culturally, ideologically constructed and that the modality in which they are realised is of lesser significance (see Chapter 4 for further discussion of an ideological model of literacy). He argues that signed recordings offer opportunities equal to those provided by writing, both in terms of text production as well as communication function. By being conceived as literate cultures, Deaf communities are set on a par with dominant cultures in which literacy plays a central role, challenging prevailing perceived power differentials. Whether we adopt the notion of "sign language literacy" or not, the practice of recording sign languages corresponds to, and partially replaces, written practices and can therefore be regarded as part of literacy practices in Deaf communities.

As noted, Deaf attitudes towards written language are complex. With a skills-based model of literacy prevailing, writing is still predominantly associated with Hearing discourses. Recorded signed texts on the other hand provide a means for remote and documented Deaf communication that functionally and ideologically supports community values. I will now relate the above account to the focus of this study and discuss the role of translation in the Deaf community.

2.4 Translation in the Deaf Community

Because of the inevitable contact between Deaf and Hearing communities and the resulting need for Deaf and Hearing people to communicate, translation is afforded a central role in signing communities. It is suggested that sign language *interpreting* has existed as long as there have been sign language users who communicated with non-signers (Stone 2006:9). Historically it was mainly hearing relatives or friends of Deaf people, signing religious workers or teachers (Frishberg 1990:10; Scott Gibson 1990/1991:253; Winston 2005:208), who acted as *interpreters* without formal training or qualifications. Underpinned by an increased recognition of sign languages as natural languages and encouraged by an emancipation of d/Deaf people in the 1960s

particularly within North America, the introduction of sign language *interpreting* agencies and bodies, such as the *Registry of Interpreters* (RID) in the USA (Napier 2002a:xii), as well as emerging *interpreter* training programmes led to a professionalisation of the discipline. Whether present at doctor's appointments, parent-teacher evenings, the workplace or on television signing the news, TPs are part of many Deaf people's lives on a near-everyday basis and form part of their educational, professional, institutional, public and cultural experiences.

2.4.1 Translation between Written and Signed Language

Translational practices in Deaf communities have typically involved communication between spoken and signed languages. However, with Deaf people beginning to 'break through the glass ceiling', entering a wider range of educational settings and moving from manual to professional workplaces, and with a community that increasingly actively takes part in the discourses of the wider dominant society, Deaf people's access and contribution to dominant literacy events and products are gaining in importance. The emergence of the practice of translating between written and signed texts seems a natural consequence, which is further supported by the technological advances that enable a recording of signed texts.[14] Due to the ability to work with fixed STs and record and re-record TTs with potentially unrestricted time and in the absence of the primary participants, the notion of sign language *translation* is gaining prominence. A growing number of service providers, such as Team HaDo (2010), Remark! (2010) and Equal Sign (2010), offer translations between written and signed language and generally refer to the activity as sign language *translation*.

Despite these emerging practices, there is still no specific training for translation between written and signed languages. Training in the UK to date focuses on *interpreting* between spoken and signed languages. While BSL-English *interpreting* programmes, such as at Bristol University, Heriot-Watt University or the University of Wolverhampton, offer *translation* modules to *interpreting* students, they primarily follow a didactic model in which *translation* is used as a teaching tool to prepare students for *interpreting* activities. Adhering to an approach that proved useful within mainstream *translation* and *interpreting* courses (Russell 2005:135), "translation provides an important framework for teaching and learning the interpreting process" and it consequently "allows interpretation to be taught as a series of successive learning situations that are critically linked to translation skills" (Davis 2000:109). In other words, *translation* is regarded as a "foundational skill for interpreters" (Winston and Monikowski 2005). The major aim of the exercise is thus not explicitly to prepare the students for these tasks within their future working life. In the absence of specialised training, translation between written

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[14] For examples, see Chapter 1.1.

and signed language is predominantly carried out either by qualified BSL/English *interpreters* or bilingual Deaf people.

Drawing together arguments from the discussion above, I will now outline the prominent reasons for translation between written and signed language. Firstly, despite popular belief, it cannot be expected that all Deaf people are sufficiently functionally literate to access all written genres, even when they are physically able to access visual media. English frequently constitutes a second language for Deaf people and there are varying degrees of bilingualism amongst signers. Translations into BSL therefore afford 'monolingual', or 'insufficiently' bilingual, Deaf people access to texts that otherwise would not or only partially be accessible to them. By being able to use texts in a language they understand and feel comfortable with, Deaf people gain access to the written texts of the mainstream society. Moreover, the opportunity to use written and signed source and target texts in parallel means that signed translations provide a bridge for Deaf people to mainstream literacy practices in a 'comfortable', accepted medium. This function is particularly encouraged in education, where translated signed stories are used to provide Deaf pupils with access to (written) literature and promote a positive attitude towards it (Stewart, Bennett and Bonkowski 1992; Conlon and Napier 2004; Gibson 2005).

The translation of written texts into BSL has symbolic and political as well as practical significance, which is supported by current UK legislation. The Disability Discrimination Act requires service providers to make reasonable adjustments to make their services accessible to all members of society, including members of the British Deaf community. Translations thereby act as another political milestone in the empowerment of Deaf people as a linguistic, cultural group, enabling them to communicate across time and space and access information independently in their language. Without having to rely on bilingual friends, colleagues or booking individual *interpreters* to translate or explain written information, the provision of recorded TTs arguably creates a situation of autonomy as the Deaf target 'reader' is able to independently access Hearing discourses.

Even if bilingual skill is not an issue, the demand to access texts in their own, "natural and preferred language" (Brennan 1992:10, see above) can be seen as part of the political struggle by Deaf people for the recognition of signed languages. That translation becomes a political act is illustrated in a blog by Alison Bryan (2007), a famous Deaf activist, on the internet forum *Grumpy Old Deafies* about the *BSL Bible Translation Project*, which sets out to translate the Christian bible into BSL (see BSL Bible Translation Project 2010a). Criticising a quote from the project website, which reads: "Many Deaf people find reading English difficult; it is hard to learn English without

access to the sounds of the language from birth" (BSL Bible Translation Project 2010b), Bryan (2007) argues:

> I hate this sentence. Please someone hit the delete button. It comes across as BSL is the failure option, even though unlikely intended by its authors. This sort of sentence isn't unique on this site, and is seen across too much literature. We don't need to devalue BSL.

At the same time, she approves of the project:

> Irrespective of what your religious beliefs are (even if you have them), this is an important project in terms of raising the status of BSL. Whether the Bible is translated into a particular language has been used as one benchmark in denoting the validity of a language.

Bryan's remark suggests that translation can raise the status of a language, and hence a community, and that its function is not purely to overcome language barriers related to skills.

Moreover, publicly available translations, often accessible in parallel to written texts (for example on websites), increase the visibility of BSL amongst the dominant Hearing society, raising awareness of the linguistic and cultural practices of Deaf communities. As Valentine and Skelton (2009:62) argue:

> more online content in sign language might produce greater awareness among hearing people of D/deaf people's communication needs and preferences, and enable oral communicators to pick up basics of sign language, which in turn might translate into breaking down some offline hearing normativities and challenging oralist conventions embodied in civic citizenship.

However, as Turner and Pollitt (2002:39) warn, by focusing on this function, there is a danger that the translational act may become "cosmetic", "just there for show", in other words, a 'nice' eccentric addition to the otherwise 'boring' written text. Turner and Pollitt's (*ibid.*) following question, "Who is the (...) service for?" – to which we may add, who *decides* which services are offered (and which ones not) and for which purpose? – indicates that the connection between translation and empowerment is more complex.

Carrying along its own ideological implications, translation increases the range of signed discourse domains and text types, encouraging the development of BSL. At a time when some fear that the existence of Deaf communities and the evolution of signed languages is in danger due to the closure of Deaf schools and the emergence of devices that might 'cure' and eradicate deafness (such as cochlear implants) (Johnston 2006), the spreading of media that enable the recording of signed texts presents a potentially valuable, and seemingly popular, antidote to such movement, as it offers a way in which to preserve the language and community values. This portrays, however, only one side of

the coin. As Cronin (2003:142) remarks with regard to other minority languages that are under the threat of extinction due to the power of more dominant languages, "[t]he role of translation in [the] [...] process of linguistic impoverishment is profoundly ambiguous. Translation is both predator and deliverer, enemy and friend". The translation of written texts may be regarded as an invasion of Hearing discourses, in which Hearing practices and therefore Hearing ideologies are penetrating signed languages and Deaf practices. At the same time, translation empowers Deaf people to access and actively contribute to dominant discourses, making themselves visible, emancipated and equal. Although this question shall be recessed for the purpose of this work, there is a need for further investigation of ideological implications of translations in Hearing and Deaf communities. *Which* translational practices are empowering, *how* can translational practices be empowering and *who* needs to be involved to make translational practices empowering? What are Deaf people's attitudes towards the 'import' of Hearing discourses and literacy practices into signed languages; is this perceived positively by different members of the Deaf community or do individuals regard it as purely "cosmetic", or as a Hearing practice that interferes with the development of indigenous Deaf cultural practices?

I will end my discussion by pointing out another reason that the emerging practice of translation between written and signed language may be significant in changing translational and wider social practices with potentially vast ideological and social implications. It can potentially encourage a shift from a predominantly Hearing workforce to a more balanced one that includes members of both communities:

> ... the biological inaccessibility of spoken utterances to Deaf people has resulted in a profession historically staffed almost exclusively by people whose dominant language is spoken, delivering a highly imbalanced workforce. (Turner 2006:286)

This becomes problematic: as it will have emerged by now, because of the inevitable contact between Deaf and Hearing communities and the resulting need for Deaf and Hearing people to communicate, "the role of the interpreter is a central one for deaf people" (Kyle and Woll 1985:16). *Interpreters* act as gatekeepers to the mainstream society, as Hearing allies of Deaf people, as representatives of the dominant Hearing culture in Deaf communities, while representing Deafness amongst Hearing people; their position in the Deaf community is certainly complex, yet arguably a very powerful one. As a group of usually highly educated professionals, they enjoy a highly respectable social status, which is often higher than that of their Deaf service users, arguably reinforcing perceptions of power inequality.

Although this is not the only area in which Deaf TPs might work,[15] considering that both source and target texts are visual in written-sign translation, there is no physical barrier to it being carried out by deaf and hearing practitioners alike. Moreover, while traditionally TPs have *interpreted* bi-directionally between their A- and B-languages, something which is common in dialogue *interpreting* scenarios and minority contexts, with a balanced workforce, Deaf and Hearing TPs can translate primarily into their first language, something which is commonly advised in TS. An emerging group of Deaf translating professionals, who may act as constructive, visible role models within the community, might provide a healthy way of counteracting the imbalance in the workforce of this profession that is so central and powerful in the Deaf community.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the context in which the TE of this study takes place. I have portrayed the Deaf community as a cultural, linguistic minority which is embedded within the wider dominant Hearing society. Necessary contact between signers and non-signers leads to shared communication practices and affords translation a central role. The profession of sign language TPs has traditionally focused on sign-speech *interpreting*; translation between written and signed languages is only beginning to emerge at a time

- in which multimedia literacy practices gain an increasingly central role.
- in which a generation of Deaf people seems comfortable to actively contribute to and challenge Hearing and Deaf discourses.
- in which language issues are still at the heart of the Deaf community, often forming the basis for political Deaf activism.

Besides functional reasons for the emergence of written-sign translational practices, I have argued, there are a number of political and ideological factors which have effects on the cultural and linguistic situation of the Deaf community. Written-sign translational practices have been emerging over the past years and we can expect a continued growth. A study of such practices which attempts to situate, frame and conceptualise the activity is thereby timely, as it will not only underpin theoretical foundations for a developing field, but have the potential to feed into training and policy creation, providing valuable insights for practitioners.

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[15] For discussion of the different activities Deaf TPs typically engage in, see Forestal (2005), Boudreault (2005) or Turner (2006).

Chapter 3 – *Translation* and *Interpreting*: Situating the Study Academically and Conceptually

Having provided the necessary background in the previous chapter, I will now situate the study academically and conceptually. Discussing and promoting the current call to enlarge TS by taking into account less dominant cultures and activities, I begin by arguing for the inclusion of signed languages within the wider discipline of TS (3.1). Considering the study's focus on translational modes, the chapter will then concentrate on reviewing the relationships between *translation* and *interpreting*, first in terms of their academic-institutional environment (3.2), then with regard to how these two translational modes have been conceptualised in the literature (3.3). Moving from reviewing the general field, the remainder of the chapter pays attention to studies that particularly investigate signed languages, reviewing the area of Sign Language Translation and Interpreting Studies (SLTI) with particular attention to those few accounts that particularly concentrate on translation between written and signed languages (3.4).

3.1 Towards a Global Theory of Translation

There can hardly be any doubt that TS has become an established academic discipline within recent decades, considering the number of general and specialised conferences and symposia, journals and other publications, its institutional growth and relative autonomy on the one hand and the variety of subjects of enquiry and theoretical reference points on the other hand. While accounts of signed languages have increasingly contributed to the field of *Interpreting* Studies (IS), within academic enquiry that focuses on *translation*, signed languages have to date mostly been invisible with only few exceptions. By making particular reference to Tymoczko (1990; 2005; 2006; 2007), I will use the following sections to discuss how the absence of signed languages fits into a wider pattern in TS and argue that the inclusion of visual-gestural languages will contribute to a healthy development of the discipline.

3.1.1 A Narrow Basis

Due to historical reasons, the discipline of TS has developed predominantly within what is often rather loosely termed 'Western'[16] parts of the world and is shaped by a dominant 'Western' way of thinking (for a discussion of some of these historic reasons see

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[16] The term 'Western', over-generalisingly referring to Europe and North America, is problematic. Not only is it flawed as it indicates a direction, and a direction always needs a reference point – "West of what?", we may ask –, the term also suggests a binary categorisation of two unified entities, Western and 'non-Western', which do not as such exist. Both the 'West' and the 'non-West' are culturally diverse (see Susam-Sarajeva 2002; Tymoczko 2007:15-16 for discussion). It is important to recognise, however, that due to historical reasons, academic thought that has come to be regarded as the dominant, canonical norm has developed predominantly (though not exclusively) within a few selected centres in the world. The term 'Western', often used critically, denotes an awareness of this hegemony of thought, and – given this awareness is made visible – serves as a useful term. Despite its flaws, I will use it with particular reference to thought and practices that have developed within dominant centres of the world – usually, though not exclusively in the 'West'. I will, however, frequently add the adjective 'dominant', stressing the fact that within the 'West' many practices and ways of thinking have been ignored in favour of those developed by an unrepresentative elite.

Tymoczko 2007:5-6). Even within those dominant centres, the focus was largely placed on selected practices that were regarded as worthy of study, namely predominantly sacred and other canonical written, usually literary, texts:

> In the case of translation theory, the current presuppositions are markedly Eurocentric. Indeed, they grew out of a rather small subset of European cultural contexts based on Greco-Roman textual traditions, Christian values, nationalistic views about the relationship between language and cultural identity, and an upper-class emphasis on technical expertise and literacy. (Tymoczko 2006:14-5)

Our discipline, its thoughts, key concepts and ideas are therefore based on practices and thoughts that reflect only a small part, a canonical minority or "cultural moment" (*ibid*:14) of all translational practices and approaches to the topic (see also Hermans 2006). As, "[s]ince its inception, translation studies has arguably situated itself within structures of authority and continues to describe the role of translation from the point of view of dominant groups and constituencies" (Baker 2009:222), less central practices have been marginalised in the field. The result is a discipline with a rather "narrow-minded" focus that is limited due to the "boundaries of Western thinking" and "distorted by its concentration on the written word" (Tymoczko 2006:14). Our theoretical understanding might thus be unsuitable or misleading when investigating practices that are not literary, canonical or written.

The fact that conceptualisations within TS are predominantly based on *written* texts that are of consequence in *dominant* cultures is particularly important with regard to this study; while the ST is part of such dominant practices, the TT, produced in a minority language within a visual-gestural modality, constitutes a different case.

3.1.2 Enlarging Translation Studies

Recently there has been an increased awareness that such a narrow basis does not constitute a solid foundation for our understanding of translation and that an active contribution from outside the centre will meaningfully enlarge our knowledge of translation:

> The question of what a translation is takes on new meaning if translation theory is reconfigured so as to include non-Western materials, for if the definition of *translation* and other objects of study are bound by Western experience or centred in Western prototypes, it will be hard for the field to go beyond those very delimiters and be open to the multifarious types of translation products and processes that exist in the entire world. It is not possible to expand the theory of translation if the field of study cannot accommodate all the data available. And vice versa of course. (Tymoczko 2006:21)

In our postmodern age, a meaningful general theory of translation should not only accommodate but also base its thoughts on translation within majority as well as minority cultures and languages and canonical as well as peripheral practices and conceptualisations; the aim is to "enlarge" the discipline of TS (cf. Tymoczko 2007).

At least since the 1990s, there have been efforts to de-centralise the field. Translational practices involving minority languages have come into the foreground, not least in order to point out issues of power and ideology (e.g. Appiah 1993/2000; Spivak 1993/2000; Cronin 1996). Settings which fall outside the realm of canonical literature have evoked increasing attention; the recent growth of Audiovisual Translation Studies constitutes one example (see for example the contributions in Gambier and Gottlieb eds 2001 and Díaz Cintas, Orero and Remael eds 2007). Ex-centric practices that openly set out to deviate from the canonical norm, such as those promoted by feminists (e.g. Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997) or political activists (e.g. Baker 2006), have found increasing interest and recognition. More recently, this call for widening the discipline has become part of the centre of TS, with the setting up of the *International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies* (IATIS) and publications such as *Asian Translation Traditions* edited by Hung and Wakabayashi (2005), *Translating Others* edited by Hermans (2006) or *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* edited by Baker (2010) providing commendable examples of promoting accounts that do not derive from the traditional centres.

3.1.3 The Contribution of Signed Languages

We are, however, only at the beginning of exploring different paths that derive from non-central domains for a more general theory of translation. The role that signed languages can play in this process seems largely overlooked, although, for example, McWhinney's (2009) keynote speech at the Third IATIS Conference in Melbourne, some sporadic inclusions of accounts on visual-gestural languages in *The Translator* (Brennan and Brien 1995; Brennan 1999; Turner and Pollitt 2002; Thoutenhoofd 2005) and other publications, such as the volume edited by Janzen (2005), *Topics in Signed Language Interpreting*, in the John Benjamins *Translation Library* series, as well as the attempt by St. Jerome to dedicate a publication series to signed language *translation* and *interpreting*, with *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter*, seem to move in the right direction.

Signed languages and the translational practices associated with communication in Deaf and Hearing communities differ from practices concerning written majority languages. Some of the key differences are summarised below:

- Sign languages as visual-gestural languages differ in their modality from dominant spoken/written languages. Translation frequently involves a cross-modal shift between speech and sign or, as in this study, sign and writing.[17]
- Sign languages do not have a widely established writing system.
- Sign languages constitute minority languages.
- Sign languages have frequently been regarded as inferior to spoken language with the assumption that they are at best 'helpful', at worst incomplete, unsophisticated or negatively interfering with Deaf people's learning of spoken languages; only gradually are they being recognised as fully-fledged languages.
- Unlike most other cultures, signing communities do not have a geographic centre; instead they are located within other, (relatively) dominant linguistic communities. Instead of geographic boundaries, the shared language is regarded as one of the key factors holding the community together.
- There are Deaf communities, which are believed to share commonalities, in all parts of the world, leading Ladd (2003:29) to believe that there might be a global "Deaf nation".
- Deaf people are frequently regarded as disabled people rather than as members of a cultural group.
- Lastly, and this is the particular focus of this study, translations involving recorded signed language are necessarily part of multimedial communication events. While this deviates from characteristics of traditional canonical translational practices, communication involving multimedia is gaining importance in general. An investigation of such practices is likely to challenge previous assumptions about translation, the result being "yet another expansion of the concept translation, necessitating the retheorization of various aspects of the entire field of translation studies" (Tymoczko 2005:1090)

Considering these deviations from characteristics of languages that generally form the basis for traditional translation theory, ideas and conceptualisations that have been based on the latter may not match the features of our case. We not only have to be careful when applying existing translation theory, studies including sign language data may also challenge assumed knowledge by taking into account a new perspective.

3.1.4 Negotiation instead of Integration

This section critically reflects on how an enlargement of TS may be successfully achieved. An incorporation of non-canonical practices in TS is potentially easily achieved when 'old knowledge' is uni-directionally applied to 'new data' or vice versa. If a theory

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[17] Some of the consequences of this cross-modal transfer have been discussed by Brennan (e.g. 1997).

(which is deeply rooted in our conceptual understanding of translation that is based on dominant practices) does not easily fit non-central situations, there is however an inherent danger in concluding that either the theory is unsuitable for the data, hence the need to discard its usefulness in relation to these data in its entirety, or to force the data to match the theory. The latter promotes the conclusion to criticise the non-dominant practice when it deviates from the preconceived norms. The greater, but necessary challenge is to use previously unexplored instances to re-think, re-evaluate and re-conceptualise taken-for-granted knowledge, to open up a bi-directional, interactional, reciprocal dialogue between data and theory. The notion of "negotiation" instead of "integration", mentioned by Hermans (2006:9) in passing, seems useful to illustrate this aim; we should strive to "negotiate" our theoretical understanding of translation with insights from new data rather than uni-directionally "integrating" 'new data' and 'new thoughts' into 'old knowledge'.

Extending the argument, Tymoczko (2006:20) points out that conceptualisations based on translation prototypes are problematic, as they are likely to be founded on dominant practices. An approach built on prototypes promotes a hierarchy where dominant practices are regarded as the norm against which other, non-central practices are measured. For this study, this will be of particular relevance in terms of the categorisations of translational modes and conceptualisation of *translation* and *interpreting*, which have been based on mono-modal *translation* practices involving written-written language pairs or, with regard to *interpreting*, spoken-spoken or signed-spoken modality pairs. Not only do we have to be careful to avoid an enforced match-making between (canonical) theory and (de-centred) practice, as well as a sheer testing of their reciprocal applicability which does not get us very far, we should instead let such new cases challenge us to re-*negotiate* our understanding of translational modes.

The discussion above does not only warn us to avoid starting with the wrong premises, it also urges us to treat the discussion of translation involving signed language confidently with the assumption that it has something to offer to a discipline that will benefit from widening its accounts and premises. The discussion above thus sets the scene for this study, to create a place for signed languages within TS and contribute to a movement which aims to widen and de-centralise the discipline by placing emphasis on varying practices. It further contextualises my aim to challenge existing conceptualisations of translational modes in the theory of translation. I will now narrow the focus by concentrating on the relationships between *translation* and *interpreting*, first in terms of their disciplinary environments, secondly by reviewing existing categorisations and conceptualisations of translational modes.

3.2 Translation and Interpreting Studies

Part of the call to widen TS, which particularly relates to the criticism of the discipline's preoccupation with literacy, is the appeal to include *interpreting*, or more generally what Cronin (2002) and Tymoczko (1990; 2006) call 'oral translation' practices. Although *interpreting* has been of interest in academic enquiry, it has been treated somewhat separately, within an at least partially distinct (sub-)discipline. In fact, sometimes treated as part of the wider field of translation, at other times treated independently, it has been left with a somewhat "curiously ambiguous *status*" (Pöchhacker 2009:41, italicisation in original). As the relationships between *translation* and *interpreting* are of particular interest to this study, which aims to (re-)conceptualise these two main translational modes, I will dedicate this section to a review of the relationships between the two academic '(sub-)disciplines' *Translation* and *Interpreting* Studies.

3.2.1 Separate Treatment

Generally we find two major (sub-)disciplines with at least partially distinctive fields of scholarship, one referred to as Translation Studies (TS), the other as Interpreting Studies (IS).[18] For example, the two separate research communities have their own conferences, and even when they meet under one roof, *interpreting* is often treated separately (see Pöchhacker 2009 for further discussion and examples). This separation is reflected in the formats of some seminal publications providing general overviews of the (sub-) disciplines: alongside Venuti's (ed. 2000) collection of key texts in TS, *The Translation Studies Reader*, and Munday's (2001/2008) overview of *translation* research to date, *Introducing Translation Studies*, we find two corresponding texts covering IS, *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002), and *Introducing Interpreting Studies* (Pöchhacker 2004b). This separation is justified by Munday (2001/2008:13), who argues that "in view of the very different requirements and activities associated with interpreting, it would probably be best to consider interpreting as a parallel field [in addition to TS]". Pöchhacker (2004b:9), on the other hand, stresses the relationship between *interpreting* and *translation* under a generic label of capital-T Translation.

The interests, focus points and methodologies have characteristically been different in each (sub-)discipline. Risking an over-generalisation, it could be argued that *interpreting* research has focused more on the translational process, while *translationists* have concentrated more on the translational products and their impacts on cultural systems. As Fraser (2004:57) puts it, "interpreting research (IR) operates – almost by default – much more in the 'here and now'; its paradigm is practice in the booth rather than a

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[18] The terms are particularly associated with Holmes's (1972/2000) seminal paper *The Name and Nature in Translation Studies* on the one hand, and Salevsky's (1993) article *The Distinctive Nature of Interpreting Studies*, on the other hand.

more abstract theoretical model". Although the translational process is visible during an *interpreting* event, no visible, tangible and therefore researchable product is left unless it happens to be recorded; the reverse is true for *translation* events, where the process is hidden, yet the product is visible and permanent, which has affected the focus in the two research strands. However, it is a misconception based on these practicalities that there is a big difference between *translation* and *interpreting* in this sense. *Translators*, of course, also go through a practical process to develop TTs,[19] and *interpreters* leave some 'product' (even if this might be ephemeral and invisible) and equally contribute to states and changes within cultural and social systems with "far-reaching historical and political effects" (Cronin 2002:389).

While both disciplines have made a move away from concentrating on canonical practices (i.e. predominantly *translation* in literary and sacred contexts in TS, and conference *interpreting* in IS), taking into account the social and cultural impacts of translational practices, the focus has been on the macro cultural and social structures within TS (particularly visible in what is usually called Descriptive Translation Studies and particularly noticeable since the 'cultural turn'), while IS has focused on the micro social and cultural consequences within *interpreting* events (particularly those studies concentrating on community *interpreting* that are influenced by sociolinguistic and participatory frameworks). It is in this sense that Cronin (2002) calls for a cultural turn in IS, where wider cultural impacts of *interpreting* events should be investigated.

3.2.2 Overlaps and Relationships

Despite this separate treatment, the fields of *translation* and *interpreting* have much in common, both dealing with some sort of (inter- or intra-) linguistic and cultural mediation. This common ground has been explored in various ways in the contributions to Schäffner (ed. 2004), where the authors agree that synergies are positive and "that each can learn from the other" (Chesterman 2004:52). The way the relationship between these two (sub-)disciplines is envisaged, however, differs. There has been some discussion as to whether *interpreting* and *translation* should be regarded as the objects of two separate self-governed fields that share certain features (Gile 2004a; 2004b) or of two different branches of the same major discipline of TS (Pöchhacker 2004a; see Schäffner ed. 2004 for an extensive debate of both views).

Gile (2004a:23) regards it as beneficial for IS to stand by itself with some autonomy considering its object of study and methodological aims, arguing that "since they [TS and IS] share so much, the differences between them can help shed light on each, so

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[19] *Translation* processes have been investigated, for example, with think-aloud protocols (see Chapter 5.3.1 and, for an overview, Jääskeläinen 2009). The social factors of this process are only just starting to receive attention (e.g. Buzelin 2007b; see also Chesterman's 2006 call to investigate translation processes under a social framework).

that besides the autonomous investigation of their respective features, each step in the investigation of one can contribute valuable input towards investigation of the other".
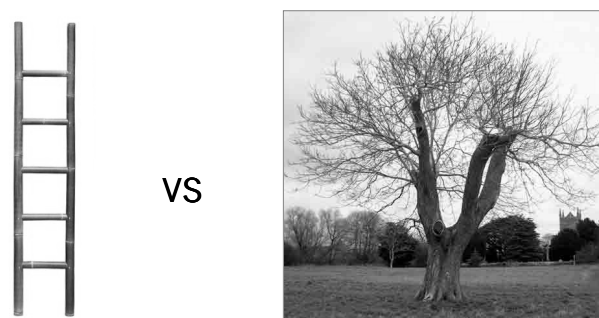
Figure 1: Translation and Interpreting Studies

As illustrated in Figure 1, Pöchhacker (2004a:114) critically compares Gile's model to a ladder, himself preferring the more organic metaphor of a tree:

> ... in Gile's account of 'effective and potential interactions in the wider field of 'TS', 'TR' [Translation Research] and 'IR' [Interpreting Research] appear as parallel structures, much like the sidepieces of a ladder which are or need to be connected by a number of crosspieces. If enough rungs are in place, we may scale ever greater heights and collect the fruits of our labour. My alternative, and more 'organic' view is that of a tree, with a strong common trunk rooted in various types of soil (or 'shared ground'), and with a number of boughs which support larger and smaller branches and many little twigs.[20]

Shlesinger seconds Pöchhacker's view, arguing that "the study of interpreting would be better served by being regarded consistently as a sub-discipline of (generic) TS, on a par with the study of written translation – both of them drawing upon the parent discipline and feeding into it" (Shlesinger 2004:119). This view particularly reflects the German school of thought of translation, based on Kade's (1968) proposed "Translationswissenschaft", or the science of translation, which encompasses both modes, *translation* and *interpreting* (see Figure 2).
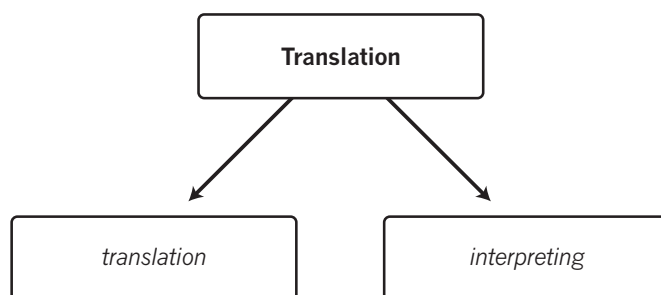
Figure 2: t and i in T

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[20] In response, Gile (2004b:127) warns that "Pöchhacker's organic view of a tree with a strong common trunk [...] may not be the right solution, if the mixture of soil types and environmental input cause the tree to die".

Salevsky (1993:164), Kade's pupil, however, warns that:

> ... a general theory of translation will be brought about only if it incorporates interpreting in such a way that the validity of its findings is not compromised, and subclasses such as simultaneous interpreting are not regarded as case-specific exceptions, but rather, are fully integrated into it. This should underline the overall importance of Interpreting Studies for the central theoretical and methodological aspects of what is in reality a general theory of translation within Translation Science, which has so far chiefly emanated from translating.

The call for 'negotiation' rather than 'integration' resonates.

Overall, no matter how we conceptualise the relationship, the socio-academic division of the overall field of TS has been predominantly two-fold, with each main (sub-)discipline containing their own sub-divisions. This institutional dichotomous split is at least partially due to historical developments which meant that research on *translation*, based within the Humanities, was, as discussed above, concerned with canonical written texts, while IS emerged from practical training programmes focusing on immediate, spoken translation practices, initially conference *interpreting* in particular (Gile 2004a:11). While this opposition seems natural when considering the differences between, say, literary *translation* and community *interpreting* practices, such a binary split has consequences; activities that match neither of the two main translational modes need to be placed within one of the (sub-)disciplines with the danger that they will be moved to the peripheries of the disciplines. Moreover, by treating these separately, we miss opportunities for a fruitful exchange.

Recently, however, this dichotomy seems somewhat softened by the up-and-coming (sub-)field of audiovisual translation. Although, usually placed within *Translation* (rather than *Interpreting*) Studies, research on multimedia translation distinguishes less decisively between *translation* and *interpreting*; the division of the two modes is not only blurred, it also seems less important. At the most basic level, screen translation, particularly subtitling, involves both written and spoken texts, which appears to contradict our traditional conceptualisation of prototypical translational modes (see Section 3.3). Although subtitling is generally regarded as a form of *translation*, Eugeni (2008), investigating the activity of respeaking, a method of creating real-time, usually intralingual subtitling by re-speaking a modified version of the ST, which is then transferred into subtitles with the aid of speech-recognition software, finds that respeaking in many ways resembles *interpreting*, although the latter is interlingual while the former is intralingual. Yeoung (2007:234-5) discusses how the boundaries between translational modes become blurred in Hong Kong where audio description is being taught and researched within an *interpreting* context, as there is an overlap of skills needed for both disciplines. The synthesis of translational modes also appears in the act

of "transterpreting", an activity where interlingual chat is being translated simultaneously. With the term most explicitly alluding to the hybrid state of the activity; "[t]he mode of transterpreting demonstrates convergence of written text-based translation and speech-based interpretation" (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002:61-2). The position of multimodal translation is thus somewhat ambiguous in TS.

Chaume Varela (2002:1), noting – in 2002 – that audiovisual translation still needs to "find its rightful place in Translation Studies", argues:

> researchers have to be ambitious, and make an attempt to cover each and every modality of linguistic and cultural interchange that occurs in the ambit of human communication between (two or more) natural languages: hence the interest [...] in studying translation and interpreting in concert. They are two great modalities of translation, distinguished fundamentally by their mode of discourse: written or oral, respectively. The elaboration of different theories for each modality of interlinguistic transfer, or the neglect of one or other, especially in more recent translation practices, represents a retrograde step in the advancement of the discipline [...]. There is [...] the further necessity that general theories of translation be sufficiently flexible in their postulates so as to embrace the processes of new varieties of linguistic and cultural transfers.

Gambier (2004:62-3) warns that dichotomous categorisations, such as opposing written versus oral, lead to "pseudo-homogeneous classes and ineffective typologies" and Chaume Varela (2002:1) continues to argue that we need to "draw our attention precisely to those aspects which mark [audiovisual translation ...] out as different from other modalities, whilst the effort is made to ensure that the global theoretical framework of our discipline can include the peculiarities of this modality".

Picking up on Pöchhacker's model, we could argue then that our conceptualisations of TS have mainly resembled a tree with two main branches, *translation* and *interpreting*. In order to make the discipline more functional, we should, however, envisage the discipline as a tree with a strong common trunk with a whole number of equally strong branches, which themselves again have smaller branches and twigs.

Figure 3: Moving beyond a Binary Institutional Division

The practice of translating written into signed language falls somewhere between or (outside) the two main branches; a relaxation of the dichotomy with the emergence and increased inclusion of 'new' practices such as the one under investigation in this study seems a useful and natural progression. Having provided an introduction to the disciplinary relationships between the fields of *translation* and *interpreting*, I will now move on to discuss some of the characteristics that are associated with the two activities and review how they have been defined and conceptualised.

3.3 Translation and Interpreting

The (dominant Western) conceptualisations of translational modes echo the socio-academic dichotomous division of the TS field; translational activities are categorised into two main types, *translation* and *interpreting*. The vocabulary of many Indo-European languages distinguishes between the two by using etymologically different terms (Pöchhacker 2004b:9), e.g. *translation* versus *interpreting* in English, *übersetzen* versus *dolmetschen* (German) or *oversetting* versus *tolking* (Norwegian). Interestingly, other languages do not make this distinction. In Russian, for example, the term "перевод" denotes the generic meaning of translation, although, in order to distinguish between the two activities, the attributives "written" and "spoken" may be added, resulting in "письменный перевод" (written translation) and "устный перевод" (spoken translation). This might be a first indication that our distinctive, two-fold categorisation is at least partially culturally situated. The following sections will review how the two translational modes have been conceptualised.

3.3.1 General and Historical Usage

In the media and public discourse the terms *translator* and *interpreter* are often interchangeably used, with the term *translator* usually constituting the default label (cf. Schäffner 2004:1). This might be due to the ongoing unawareness of the attributes that constitute the translation profession(s) – or, in Venuti's (1995) terms, due to the 'invisibility' of translators. Within the profession and the research community, however, the distinction seems somewhat clearer.

The meanings of the terms *translation* and *interpreting* have changed throughout history. Deriving from the Latin word *interpres*, the word *interpreting* etymologically denotes some form of meaning-making (Pöchhacker 2004b:9-10), while *translating* derives from the Latin *translatus*, literally meaning "carried across", suggesting a more 'faithful' transfer of an ST into another cultural linguistic situation (see Hermans 1999:52 and Tymoczko 2007:6 for a discussion of the influences of the etymology of the word onto our understanding of the concept "translation"). Reflecting the etymology of the term *interpreting*, Cicero distinguished a more literal style of translation from a more

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communicative one by using the term "interpreting" for the former approach, while "orator" would refer to someone taking on the latter approach (2001/2008:19). Kade (1968:105) recounts another historic example where the German 16th century theologian Martin Luther used the German word *dolmetschen* (*interpreting*) in a generic sense when referring to his translation of the Christian bible.

Within a signed language context, Janzen (2005) recollects how the term "translation" used to refer to a verbatim rendering of a message, or what today is sometimes referred to as "transliteration", where, through translation, the grammar of a spoken/written language is reproduced in a signed modality. Janzen (2005) quotes some early description produced by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in the USA:

> In *translating*, the thoughts and words of the speaker are presented verbatim. In *interpreting*, the interpreter may depart from the exact words of the speaker to paraphrase, define, and explain what the speaker is saying. (Quigley and Youngs 1965:1; cited in Janzen 2005:74; italics in original)

Since then, however, the usage and understanding of these terms have evolved and, at least to some extent, found common ground, although certain discrepancies are still apparent. This short passage is not to provide a comprehensive etymology of the terms *translation* and *interpreting*, but rather to serve as a brief indication that the interpretations of these concepts have not been stable. The next sections will deal with more current notions of the terms.

3.3.2 Oral versus Written

The most general distinction relates to the modality of the texts involved in a TE. Colin and Morris (1996:xiii), for example, present the following definition:

> The term 'translation' is used in this book where written material is re-expressed in another language in the *written* form; the term 'interpretation' (or alternatively 'interpreting') is used where material presented orally is re-expressed *orally*.

Similar usages can be found throughout the literature. Even within a discussion that specifically addresses the differences and overlaps between the two disciplines and their research areas, Gile (2004a:11) regards a language-modality based distinction sufficient as a working definition:

> For the purpose of this chapter, I shall use the word *translation* for a written target-language reformulation of a written source text and the words *interpretation* or *interpreting* for a non-written re-expression of a non-written source text.

With such a definition in mind, it may indeed seem odd to talk about *translation* in a signed language context, since, as mentioned earlier (2.3), signed languages to date do not have an established written modality. Statements like Napier's, that "[i]nterpreters who work between a spoken and signed language tend not to engage in the task of written translation because signed languages are visual-gestural languages with no standard written orthography" (Napier 2002a:xi-xii), are unsurprising.

Overall it is not difficult to think about hybrids, as Gile (2004a:11) himself acknowledges: "Besides 'pure translation' and 'pure interpreting', there are also 'intermediate' types, such as sight translation, where the source text is written and the target text is spoken". It is thus frequently argued that a categorisation based on the modalities of source and target texts is insufficient, overly simplistic or somewhat "confined" (Cronin 2002:388) and can merely be regarded as "a starting point for classifying the rich variety of communicative events that depend on the mediation of bilinguals" (Alexieva 1997:154).

3.3.3 Immediacy versus Permanency

As early as 1968, when the field of TS (or Translation Science, as Kade called it) was still in its infancy, Kade (1968:34) criticised the emphasis on source and target text modalities in categorisations of translational activity, arguing that a "definition on this basis alone, however, would be inexact".[21] The "graphic" versus the "acoustic-phonetic" qualities of a text present a mere minor criterion for the characteristics of the activities, if at all. Instead, Kade (*ibid*.:35) concentrates on the amount of time an *interpreter* or a *translator* has to translate a text or utterance, the availability of the ST and the correctability of the TT:

> We [...] understand *Übersetzen (translating)* to be the translation of a fixed and therefore permanently presented, or repeatably accessible source text into a target text that is continuously controllable and correctable.
> We understand *Dolmetschen* (*interpreting*) to be the translation of a singularly (usually orally) presented source text into a target text that is only restrictedly controllable and, due to a lack of time, hardly correctable.[22]

Despite its age, Kade's account is still regarded as a valuable definition, able to accommodate signed languages or newer forms of translational situations involving new media (Pöchhacker 2004b:10-1). Pöchhacker's (*ibid*.:11) own definition of *interpreting*, as presented in the seminal *Introducing Interpreting Studies* mirrors Kade's emphasis:

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[21] My translation of Kade (1968:34): "Eine Begriffsbestimmung allein auf dieser Grundlage wäre jedoch ungenau."

[22] My translation of Kade (1968:35): "Wir verstehen [...] unter *Übersetzen* die Translation eines fixierten und demzufolge permanent dargebotenen bzw. beliebig oft wiederholbaren Textes der Ausgangssprache in einen jederzeit kontrollierbaren und wiederholt korrigierbaren Text der Zielsprache.
Unter *Dolmetschen* verstehen wir die Translation eines einmalig (in der Regel mündlich) dargebotenen Textes der Ausgangssprache in einen nur bedingt kontrollierbaren und infolge Zeitmangels kaum korrigierbaren Text der Zielsprache."

> Interpreting is a form of Translation in which a **first and final rendition in another language** is produced on the basis of a **one-time presentation** of an utterance in a source language. (emphasis in original)

He equally emphasises the "immediacy" (*ibid.*:10) of the activity in *interpreting*, which contrasts the permanency of *translation*. Salevsky (1982:83) quantifies this by suggesting that a *translator* translates six to eight pages within six hours, whereas an *interpreter* would typically cover 24 times as much, which roughly compares with Bell (1998:186) who suggests that *translators* following United Nation norms translate around 300 words per hour, while simultaneous *interpreters* deal with 9000 words.

However, both approaches only offer definitions for a limited number of cases. Stone (2007b:65) points out that the translational activity of his study, namely the translation into BSL of television news broadcast live, does not correspond with either:

> Kade's definition does not account fully for the translation activity from English into BSL. This activity differs in two ways. Although the SL [source language] is only presented once, it does have a script that the T/Is [translators/interpreters] can review and re-read more than once. The video also has a soundtrack and so the hearing T/Is can listen to the SL. As such, the SL is continuously present for the T/I within the news broadcast domain, although the TL is presented as a 'live' performance.

Stone's example corresponds with our case; the modality combination of source and target text does not match the prototypical definition of either main translational mode. While Kade's attempt provides a clear categorisation of the two main translational modes, his definitions are still limited. A categorisation based on a binary definition is insufficient to understand an activity as complex and multilayered as translational practice.

3.3.4 The Multiparameter Model

Providing a more complete picture of the varying characteristics and challenges of TEs, Salevsky (1982) takes into account a variety of factors that determine the outlook of different translational activities.[23] According to Salevsky (1982:81), each TE is made up of three activities, reception (of the ST), transposition (from source to target text) and realisation (i.e. TT production),[24] which relate to a set of seven variables that steer a TE, summarised as follows:

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[23] For an expansion of Salevsky's multiparameter model with reference to *interpreting* events only, see Alexieva (1997).

[24] However, once this is mentioned, Salevsky does not describe in detail how the different phases relate to an event's characteristics. For further discussion in relation to my own data, see chapter 7.1.3.

1. Repeatability/non-repeatability of the activity.

Setting the premise for the other parameters, this is, according to Salevsky, the most important factor distinguishing *translation* and *interpreting* practices. The possibilities range from the unrestricted opportunity of repeating a translation, via partial restrictedness (such as in *interpreting* scenarios where a TP might ask for clarification) to the complete inability to re-do a translation.

2. The object of the activity, in terms of whether the translator has at his/her disposal the whole text or portions of it.

Whereas in *translation* the TP has the whole ST available, an *interpreter* only receives segments of it, one after the other: in simultaneous *interpreting*, the TP gets access to ST chunks linearly and chronologically, while simultaneously producing her or his TT utterance; in consecutive *interpreting*, the TP receives larger chunks, which she or he renders afterwards.

3. The unfolding of one of the constituent activities with respect to another: whether reception, for example, is performed relatively independently of the other two activities or whether it runs parallel to realization.

Whereas in simultaneous *interpreting* the processes of reception, transposition and realisation are parallel, this is not usually the case in *translation*. Consecutive *interpreting* lies again somewhere in the middle along a continuum between two extremes.

4. Temporal conditions: whether the speed of the process and the time allotted for its completion are subject to any restrictions.

Although a *translator* faces deadlines, an *interpreter* is under much more intense time pressure. Whereas a *translator* is able to make use of reference material, this possibility is usually highly limited in *interpreting* events.

5. Spatial conditions, in terms of the physical location of the communicants in space.

Depending on the location of the primary participants, the TP might be able to ask for clarification about the ST or take into account feedback from the target audience. An *interpreter* working in a booth does not usually have the opportunity, a *translator*, working in the absence of primary participants even less so.

6. Mode of reception of the original text: via the visual or auditory channel, and with or without the use of technical equipment and

7. Mode of realization: whether the translated text is written or spoken, and whether it is relayed with or without the help of technical equipment.

Salevsky stresses that the modalities *per se* are not the distinguishing factors between *translation* and *interpreting* events, although the former tend to involve written texts and the latter spoken (and we may add signed) texts. It is, moreover, the recordedness that is crucial. Of further importance is whether a text is produced with technical equipment.

(summary based on Salevsky 1982; parameters translated by Alexieva 1997:154)

These parameters in different combinations make up twelve varieties of *translation*[25] and six of *interpreting*. The following table by Salevsky (1982:84) lists the different parameter combinations and indicates how each of the parameters relates to *translation* and *interpreting* modes:

Main Characteristics	interpreting (spoken translation)	(written) translation
1 Single occurrence of the activity	+	−
2 Segment of a text or an utterance	+	−
3 Parallel performance of two or three actions	+	−
Additional Features	**interpreting (spoken translation)**	**(written) translation**
4.1 Time restrictions	+ −	− +
4.2 Possibility to use reference materials, to control and to revise a target text during the process of translation	− +	+ −
5 Translators work directly for communicators	+ −	− +
6 Aural reception	+ −	− +
7 Oral realisation	+ −	− +

Table 1: The Characteristics of Translation and Interpreting (Salevsky 1982:84)[26]

Although Salevsky's account is now nearly thirty years old, the parameters with which *translation* and *interpreting* events are typically characterised have not drastically changed.[27] Riccardi (2002) similarly proposes five factors that distinguish prototypical forms of *interpreting* and *translation*:

- Time (corresponding to Salevsky's fourth parameter): another distinguishing temporal factor is the state of the TT which is long-lasting in *translation* and

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[25] Both source and target texts can appear in three different forms each. The ST can be written and presented without technical aids, written and presented with technical aids (for example in slide shows) or exist in the form of an audio recording; the TT can be written, audio-recorded or orally dictated to be written. Out of these we can have nine different combinations of source and target texts, which form the main nine *translation* variants. Additionally, as in the case of sight *translation/interpreting*, the three written ST kinds form the basis for an oral translation, forming three further variants of translation, so that in total we find twelve kinds (Salevsky 1982:84-5).

[26] Translated by Anya Serdyuk and Varvara Christie.

[27] Concentrating on *interpreting* events only, Alexieva (1997), who makes particular reference to Salevsky's parameter model, proposes to widen the model by including two additional parameters, i.e. "(a) the various elements of a communication situation: *Who* speaks, to *Whom*, about *What*, *Where*, *When* and *Why* (and for what purpose [...]), rather than simply the temporal characteristics of delivery and the spatial coordinates of communicants, and (b) the nature of the texts involved in the event, not just in terms of topic (in answer to *What*) or the 'whole' versus 'segment' distinction proposed by Salevsky, but also in terms of the way the text is built, whether it is more oral-like or written-like, and the intertextual relationships obtaining between the individual texts which constitute the macro-text of an interpreter-mediated event" (*ibid.*:156). She thereby presents an attempt at widening the context with which we categorise translational activities.

ephemeral in *interpreting* respectively. Therefore there is a different need for specialised knowledge in either translational mode: "[t]ranslators can acquire specific knowledge about the subject matter during the translation process, while interpreters have at their disposal only the encyclopaedic and specific knowledge they have acquired in advance" (*ibid.*:84).

- Environment (corresponding to Salevsky's fifth parameter): like Salevsky, Riccardi (*ibid.*:85-6) notes the benefits *interpreters* experience because of the presence of the participants, being able to ask for clarification and take into account the target audience's feedback. Yet, she also observes that *interpreters* are therefore often regarded as an 'interference' to an event. The relationship between the primary participants and the TP is further characterised by Harris (1981), who argues that the commitment of a *translator* is directed towards a text, whereas an *interpreter* is dealing with people.

- Culture (an aspect that does not feature in Salevsky's model): while a ST of a *translation* is usually produced within its source culture, texts in *interpreting* events are generally produced as part of events that are bilingual and bicultural *per se* and are created to be translated at least for part of the audience. Moreover, a *translated* text may have further-reaching impacts on the perception of the source culture, whereas *interpreting* may have a bigger impact on micro-social situations (*ibid.*:86-7).

- Texts (see Salevsky's second parameter; Riccardi 2002:87-8).

- Subject areas (undiscussed by Salevsky): while it remains somewhat unclear how the two translational modes differ in terms of subject areas, Riccardi (*ibid.*:88) argues that *translation* and *interpreting* may involve a variety of text types, stressing again that texts in *interpreting* events are usually produced for a bilingual audience.

Although some of the categories vary between the two accounts, both authors go beyond a one-dimensional categorisation, arguing that only conceptualisations based on multi-parameters can account for the complexity of the situation. As Alexieva (1997:156) states:

> The attempt to account for all or even most of the variables involved in real-life interpreter-mediated events confronts us with major methodological difficulty. The huge range of phenomena to be accounted for and the difficulty we have so far experienced in attempting to classify them suggest that the boundaries between these phenomena are likely to be fluid and that we cannot expect to delineate clear-cut categories.

A multiparameter model can incorporate hybrid activities, such as *sight translation*, or as Pöchhacker (2004b:19) more aptly proposes *sight interpreting*, in which a TP translates

a written text in real time in the presence of the target audience (cf. Salevsky 1982:85). Other practices that might fall in between, such as *subtitling* or *dubbing*, are also potentially accounted for.

In an age where communicative practices as well as translational practices are changing, a flexible model is necessary. Schäffner (2004:7) draws our attention to translational practices in the European Commission, where written enquiries are translated by *interpreters* rather than *translators*, as the speed with which these queries have to be dealt with resembles that with which messages have to be processed in *interpreting* situations: "[i]t was first thought that this was a translator's job but it required a rapidity which did not lend itself to translation with its need for complete accuracy and 'the right word'" (Campbell 2003:91, cited in Schäffner 2004:7). As mentioned above, in the area of audiovisual translation we find activities where the clear boundaries between *interpreting* and *translating* are similarly blurred, for example subtitling, dubbing or respeaking, i.e. live subtitling, as well as other activities such as audio description for blind people, which is increasingly discussed as a translational practice (e.g. Yeoung 2007). These and other new modes of translation, fall outside our traditional understanding of *translating* and *interpreting*, but are potentially catered for in a multiparameter model.

3.3.5 Translation and Interpreting as Prototypes

Nevertheless, it should be observed that, although the multiparameter models described above potentially accommodate a vast range of activities, all authors essentially end up with a two-way division with *translation* at one end and *interpreting* at the other. Although acknowledging that there are hybrid activities, Salevsky (1982:84) uses her model to formulate definitions, that are reminiscent of Kade's, as follows:

> **(Written) translation** is a kind of translation where speech actions [...] can be performed repeatedly, relatively independently of each other and with a possibility of referring back to the full version of the source text.
>
> **Interpreting (spoken translation)** is a kind of translation where speech actions are performed once, fully or partially in parallel to each other, without a possibility to refer back to the full source text. Therefore interpreting makes special demands on the memory.[28]

Also adhering to an ultimate binary division, Riccardi (2002:85-6) states that her focus lies on "the prototypical forms of translation and interpretation, rather than the

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[28] Translation by Anya Serdyuk and Varvara Christie of Salevsky (1982:84): "*Письменный перевод* — это тот вид перевода, в котором речевые действия могут осуществляться повторно, сравнительно независимо друг от друга, с возможностью пользования полным текстом на иностранном языке.
Устный перевод — это тот вид перевода, в котором речевые действия осуществляются однократно, частично или полностью параллельно, без возможности пользоваться полным текстом на иностранном языке. Вследствие этого устный перевод предъявляет специфические требования к памяти."

intermediate forms" in her categorisation. As becomes apparent, we are concerned with a categorisation ultimately based on prototypes (Rosch 1975). In Alexieva's (1997:156) words (with a focus on categorising *interpreting* events only):

> ...prototype theory offers the most reliable model for our current attempt to develop a typology of interpreter-mediated events. Rather than attempt to describe these events as rigid categories, we should approach them as 'families' with central members (prototypes) and peripheral members (blend forms).

The fact that translation theory has traditionally been based on dominant Western practices (as discussed above) makes a prototype approach problematic, since the starting point lies in central practices that happen to be the traditional focus in *translation* and *interpreting* theory (Tymoczko 2006:20). In other words, model or 'ideal' examples – the points at either end of the continuum – refer to what I have called above a canonical minority, a "cultural moment" (*ibid*.:14), something which is apparent in both Salevsky (1982) and Riccardi (2002), who start their accounts based on dominant Western activities. Gansinger (2008) (as well as other researchers looking at translational practices involving signed language, as will be seen in Section 3.4) equally orientate themselves towards models that emerge from dominant practices.

There is a danger then of providing simplified categorisations in order to make less central practices fit the prototype or of settling for placing the activities somewhere 'in-between' as 'hybrids'. As Tymoczko (2006:20) warns, conceptualising translational practices based on prototypes is therefore likely to marginalise "the Other", which "will ultimately stifle research in translation studies". Moreover, the urge to provide definitions of 'translation' (in more general terms) has been particular to and "persistent [...] in Western translation theory", where "there have been efforts to specify definitions; [...] to categorize types of translations; to look for commonalities linking types of translations; to establish hierarchies among translation types and establish prototypes of translation" (*ibid*.). Moreover, as Baker (2010:1) suggests:

> ... human behaviour is too complex and too dynamic to be streamlined into stable sets of choices that can be tied to specific textual and non-textual features. As a form of behaviour, translation cannot be productively explained as a consistent choice between two or more discrete sets of strategies or options, however nuanced.

A theory that moves away from clear-cut definitions, simple and dichotomous categorisations and prototypes is in order (see Chapter 4 for an extension of my theoretical foundations and Chapter 7 for discussion).

Encouragingly, a more inclusive conceptualisation of translational modes is beginning to be emphasised with the emergence of audiovisual TS. When investigating practices where ST and TT combinations are multimodal, the rigidness of previous categorisations becomes problematic (see Section 3.2.2 for examples). As Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:10) remark:

> Translation must be understood from a more flexible, heterogeneous and less static perspective, one that encompasses a broad set of empirical realities and acknowledges the ever-changing nature of practice.

As the example of audiovisual TS demonstrates, the investigation of non-central and emerging practices has the potential of promoting a re-evaluation of existing conceptualisation in TS.

Another, related problem noticeable in the accounts reviewed above promoting a multiparameter model of translational modes is that the studies are purely theoretical; none of the authors investigate real-life or other empirical data. Even if – as we can assume – they are negotiated on the basis of the authors' individual experiences, the proposed models are essentially based on *assumptions*, which are necessarily informed by existing pre-constructed conceptualisations and likely to be based on central notions in our discipline. In order to rectify the situation, we need data-driven research that investigates the issue with a fresh eye. Before proposing an extension of our conceptual framework by interdisciplinarily looking towards the area of literacy and multimodality studies with reference to recent sociologically driven approaches in TS, I will first finish the literature review by narrowing the focus and concentrating on the field of sign language translation. The models above will be further critiqued and negotiated, i.e. re-evaluated, on the basis of the data in my discussion, Chapter 7.

3.4 Sign Language Translation Studies

As the discussion so far shows, a differentiation between *translation* and *interpreting* seems omnipresent with regard to spoken/written languages, at least in the dominant centres. Although there are indications that this might be changing, traditionally the distinction between two translational modes has not been made with regard to sign language translation; the focus is on *interpreting*. The discipline has traditionally been referred to as Sign Language *Interpreting*, rather than *Translation*. To date, in Britain, there are only courses for future (sign language) *interpreters*[29] and the general label for practitioners working in a sign language context is *interpreter*. In fact, "[t]he phenomenon [of sign language *translation*] itself is so unfamiliar to translation and

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[29] As discussed in Chapter 2.4.1, *translation* might be part of the training, however, predominantly with the view to prepare future *interpreters* (Davis 2000:109).

interpreting professionals that the concept may seem, at first, perplexing" (Leneham 2007b:online).

This is reflected in the research on the subject to date. Whereas Grbic (2007:44) finds that "SL [sign language] interpreting has been examined and described intensely and from a wide range of perspectives for some decades", the concept of *translation* has been largely ignored. After an initial focus on more 'prestigious' forms of *interpreting*, e.g. conference *interpreting* or *interpreting* in the courtroom, more recently the attention has turned to the probably most common form of sign language *interpreting*, i.e. dialogue *interpreting* within community settings. Current paradigms have developed with reference to events where the *interpreter* not only translates but also has to manage the *interpreting* situation and deals with a power imbalance between source and target participants. This mode of *interpreting* also attracts the most attention within training programmes and it appears to be the major reference point for the majority of prevalent current studies. Works by Roy (2000) and Wadensjö (1998), focusing on the roles of the *interpreter* and the primary participants in community settings, are amongst the most seminal, which indicates another significant development of the discipline, i.e. an increased merging of the theories developed on signed and spoken language. For once, research on sign languages is at the forefront of producing ideas within mainstream scholarship, providing "vital input to the disciplinary evolution, both theoretical and empirical, of IS" (Pöchhacker 2004a:106).

As dialogue *interpreting* within community settings probably constitutes the most common, 'day-to-day' translation scenario in the life of the average current sign language TP, such a development is desirable, revolutionary in many ways, and its relevance is indisputable. However, there is a danger that sign language translation has come to be regarded as synonymous with dialogue, community *interpreting* (Turner and Pollitt 2002:25). We may question whether such theories account for the emerging diversity of TEs as described earlier (Chapters 1.1 and 2.4). Do such models accommodate translation between written and signed languages? Can we apply existing ideas to TEs where the translational process happens in the absence of the primary participants? I will use the following sections to narrow down my reference points and focus on research that investigates translational practices similar to this study, i.e. sign language translation involving recorded source and/or target texts.

3.4.1 Developments

After one article by Tweney and Hoemann in 1976, which introduced aspects of sign language *translation* and *interpreting* in a more general TS context (Tweney and Hoemann 1976), the explicit discussion of sign language *translation* was taken off the agenda until very recently. Much of the literature, including general overviews of the

discipline, completely ignores the notion of *translation* (even in general overviews of the discipline, e.g. Neumann Solow 1981; Mindess 1999), while others only briefly mention it. At this stage, we find frequent references to Brislin (1976; referenced in Frishberg 1990:18; Cokely 1992:1; Napier 2002a:viii), who states that "[t]ranslation is often used as a generic term to refer to the transfer of thoughts and ideas from one language (source) to another language (target) regardless of the form of either language (written, spoken or signed)". It is therefore acknowledged that *translation* can be applied to a sign language context, but discussion rarely goes beyond this acknowledgment.

In her bibliometric analysis of research carried out on sign language translation between 1970 and 2005, Grbic (2007:33-4) only identifies nine entries (out of 239 in the subcategory 'Settings and Modes') that refer to works in which she recognises '*translation*' to be the prime focus. Apart from isolated publications in the 1990s, the category of *translation* has only been filled since 2000 (*ibid.*:34). In 2001 Gresswell (2001:50) states that "there is no existing research relating to the process of translation between signed and spoken languages"; Leneham (2005:80) adds that "there is much work to be done within the area of translation between signed and spoken/written texts". Only in the last decade do we find a growing amount of interest in recorded sign language translation in the literature. We find the first PhD theses (Stone 2006; Leneham in progress) and Master's dissertations (Widmann 2005; Gansinger 2008; Wiener in progress). Another sign that the situation is changing is indicated in the title of the recently introduced publication series *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter*.[30] As Turner (2007a:7), the founding editor, states, the publication seeks to include aspects of *translation* in addition to the discussion of *interpreting* issues:

> An important development represented by the journal is the desire to bring together multiple different forms of language mediation 'under one roof'. Whereas the literature in our field to date has been heavily dominated by discussion and exploration of interpreting between signed and spoken language, this journal will be interested in several other forms of activity, too. One can begin to see more carefully elaborated studies which address professional practices that might more appropriately be characterized and theorized as 'translation' (...).

This aim is also reflected in its review section, which actively includes evaluations of seminal works on mainstream *Translation* Studies, i.e. Hatim and Munday's *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book* (2004; reviewed by Davis 2007) and Gentzler's *Contemporary Translation Theories* (2001; reviewed by Leneham 2007a), demonstrating that conceptual and theoretical input developed within *Translation* Studies is regarded as relevant to sign language translation research.

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[30]While *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter* was first published as a journal, from 2010 it is published in the form of a book series rather than in journal format.

3.4.2 The Research Environment

Despite the increasing work carried out on recorded sign language translation, most publications in the area still appear in isolation. With some exceptions, the topics are diverse, the issues discussed often unrelated and the conceptual backgrounds of the authors and the theoretical underpinnings varied. Some of the publications are peer-reviewed articles (e.g. Turner and Pollitt 2002; Stone 2007b), others short reports or practical guidelines (Stewart, Bennett and Bonkowski 1992; Vaupel 2000; Gibson 2005). Although we already find instances of cross-referencing,[31] there are some that clearly stand by themselves (e.g. Ebbinghaus 1998; Heßmann 2007; Novak 2003; Vaupel 2000).

The majority of these works appear within publications that are at home in the more general fields of Deaf Studies and Sign Linguistics; a number of articles were published in *Deaf Worlds* in the UK (Banna 2004; Conlon and Napier 2004; Gresswell 2001; Leneham 2005), others in *Das Zeichen* in Germany (Gibson 2005; Heßmann 2007; Raule 2004; Schwager 2002; 2003; Vaupel 2000), *American Annals of the Deaf* (Crowe Mason 2005) and *Sign Language Studies* (Montoya *et al.* 2004) in the USA. Another group of publications can be found in Research Methodology or Psychology journals (Cohen and Jones 1990; Steinberg *et al.* 1998; Temple and Young 2004). Interestingly, considerably few are included in mainstream TS publications, with the exception of Tweney and Hoemann's (1976) early account in Brislin (ed. 1976), as well as one article in *The Translator* (Turner and Pollitt 2002); more recently, however, and as mentioned above, *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter* included some further work that can be categorised as having an interest in *translation* (Herrero and Nogueira 2007; Rayman 2007; Stone 2007b). This diversity suggests that a theoretical and conceptual unity has not as yet developed. The following section presents an attempt to put some order into the work carried out to date by reporting on the different settings and practices that have come under investigation.

3.4.3 The Settings and Objects of Study

The studies reviewed focus on a number of settings and practices. All, however, concentrate on practices that involve at least one recorded text, either written or recorded with audiovisual media. Leneham (2007b:online) identifies six possible combinations of source and target texts in the activity sign language *translation*:[32]

1. signed ST (video) → spoken TT
   [e.g. to be found in Deaf television programmes]

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[31] For example by and between Gresswell (2001), Turner and Pollitt (2002), Banna (2004), Conlon and Napier (2004) and Leneham (2005; 2007b).
[32] Leneham (2007b) makes the point that TPs may produce intermediary texts in a different modality (such as the production of a written text in order to prepare a spoken text, as in example 1), but chooses to disregard this issue and concentrate on ST and ultimate TT combinations only.

2. spoken ST   →   signed TT (video)[33]

    [e.g. the translation of television news]

3. signed ST (video)   →   signed TT (video)

    [e.g. translation between different national sign languages, no example given]

4. written ST   →   signed TT (live)

    [e.g. theatre interpreting, when based on a written script]

5. written ST   →   signed TT (video)

    [e.g. the translation of religious texts, children's literature or policy documents]

6. signed ST (video)   →   written TT

    [e.g. a subtitled clip from a Deaf television programme, film or documentary]

Although the completeness of the account may be questioned (we might also distinguish between recorded and live speech, and speech with or without script), Leneham's account demonstrates the variety of practices that can be termed *translation* involving signed languages. With the differing natures of source and target texts, each combination involves different constraints and opportunities in the process of creating a TT.

The settings documented in the literature are equally diverse. A considerable amount of work carried out in this area deals with the issue of translating in the theatre (Turner and Pollitt 2002; Banna 2004; Leneham 2005; Novak 2003; similarly, Heßmann 2007 explores the live translation of a film screening). This is not surprising as '*interpreting*' in the theatre has been identified as one of the typical examples of sign language *interpreting* in the literature (e.g. Frishberg 1990) and can be regarded as a traditional form of sign language translation. A new angle is, however, to stress its overlaps with literary *translation* (Turner and Pollitt 2002). Leneham (2005:83) agrees that due to "the existence of a script, the interpreter's access to it and the amount of preparation time the interpreter is given", the task is beyond prototypical, i.e. dialogue or conference, *interpreting*.[34] At the same time, however, the actual task is carried out simultaneously with the theatre performance only allowing scope for a short or no time-lag at all. The rendering of the TT is not only 'speech-based', but it also happens in real-time, leading TPs to deal with the immediacy of the situation, especially in the case of unexpected circumstances, such as when an actor or actress forgets his or her lines or in the case of technical difficulties (Leneham 2005:87).

The translation of literary and, more generally, canonical genres seems to attract a number of researchers. The translation of poetry is discussed by Eddy (2004) and

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[33] Leneham (2007b:online) stresses that this kind of translation is very close to *interpreting*, yet with "subtle differences". In these cases, the TPs might have access to a written script in advance.
[34] Although Novak (2003) does not discuss this explicitly, he describes a very thorough translation process that involves much preparation. One of Heßmann's (2007) explicit rationales for his paper is to outline similarities between signed and written translation practices.

Herrero and Nogueira (2007). While the former concentrates on a translation from a signed language (American Sign Language) into a written language (English), the latter looks at the translation of Spanish poetry into Spanish Sign Language (LSE). The translation of the *Lord's Prayer* is at the centre of Schwager's (2002; 2003) study. The interests in these studies centre on cross-linguistic issues and equivalence and, reflecting the probably most common approach in *translation* research, the investigation of products rather than processes (see above, 3.2.1). The fact that TPs are dealing with a shift between a written and a visual-gestural language particularly evokes the authors' attentions.

Translation in educational settings is another area of interest. Stewart, Bennett and Bonkowski (1992), Conlon and Napier (2004) and Gibson (2005) present accounts of projects in which educational and children's literature is translated into signed languages particularly in order to promote an appreciation of literature and positive attitudes towards literacy. Tate, Collins and Tymms (2003) discuss some of the problems when translating written assessment tests for primary school children into signed language, which are partially caused by the fact that the testing of written English concepts is part of the assessment. Although not focusing on primary or secondary education, Gansinger (2008) investigates the translation of the Austrian theoretical driving test from German into Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS), applying House's (1997) "quality assessment" model. Vaupel (2000) concentrates on the translation of written academic texts into German Sign Language (DGS). Like Gibson (2005), she discusses how the translation is produced at least partially to provide a bridge to the ST, enabling the students and academics to use ST and TT in parallel and thereby to make direct reference (e.g. through citing) to the original written text when producing their own written work. Vaupel (2000) proposes how 'new' media (a CD-ROM in her case) provide facilities of transferring certain ST features that are particularly associated with written modalities, such as footnotes, into the signed TT, for example, by inserting a link to a pop-out window with the translated footnote.

Another field of investigation focuses on the translational issues involved when conducting research with Deaf people or on signed language (Cohen and Jones 1990; Ebbinghaus 1998; Steinberg *et al.* 1998; Crowe 2002; Raule 2004; Temple and Young 2004; Crowe Mason 2005). Notably a number of these accounts have been produced by outsiders to TS (Cohen and Jones 1990; Steinberg *et al.* 1998; Crowe 2002; Crowe Mason 2005). At home in psychology and with little reference to translation theory, the researchers advocate the strategy of "back-translation" to ensure the quality of the translation. The authors propose a procedure in which research questionnaires and other research instruments are translated back and forth and compared between source and target language in order to assure 'equivalence', which is interpreted as a 'closeness'

between source and target texts. The authors thereby neglect a long history in TS that problematises the issue of equivalence and the direct relationships between source and target texts (Vermeer 1989/2000; Baker 1992; Hatim and Mason 1990; 1997, to name but a few). Temple and Young (2004), on the other hand, provide a valuable discussion of the inevitable impact of translation and cross-cultural communication when conducting research with participants who do not share the researchers' language or culture. In order to make the translational process visible and to acknowledge the effect that it has on a research project, the authors plead for an open reflection on translational issues in research reports.

As sign language translational practices involving recorded texts have been enabled through the advancement of new media, it is unsurprising that we find a number of studies of translational practices within multimedia communication. While Wiener (in progress) focuses on websites which have been made available in signed language, the translation of television news has been under investigation by Stone (2006; 2007a; 2007b) and Allsop and Kyle (2008). The latter particularly focus on the involvement of Deaf TPs.

3.4.4 Describing the Translational Event

A way of opening up the discussion of sign language *translation* practices is the presentation of 'model examples' of 'how it is done', describing personal experiences or reporting on existing translation projects. A large number of the accounts are written or co-authored by practitioners who present, describe, reflect on and/or analyse TEs that they themselves have been involved in (Vaupel 2000; Turner and Pollitt 2002; Conlon and Napier 2004; Allsop and Kyle 2008). Typically, the authors talk us through the translational process. Allsop and Kyle (2008) elucidate the procedure involved in translating television news, describing the necessity for preparation, a general lack of rehearsal, as well as the TT production which is prompted by an autocue.[35]

Conlon and Napier (2004) as well as Stewart, Bennett and Bonkowski (1992) give details of the different steps involved in producing a sign language library in educational settings. While the latter provide more practical advice on which books to choose, the former offer a more academic account of the steps involved in the translational process. As notable in Conlon and Napier (2004), the novelty of such events is the availability of time. The authors describe how intensive preparation precedes a first recording of the signed TT, after which an intensive review process begins. A number of Deaf and hearing experts are involved in reviewing the first translation draft and various translation options for specific parts of the texts are discussed, before the final TT is delivered by a Deaf

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[35] An autocue, also known as teleprompter, is an electronic device, commonly used by television presenters, where a script is provided in small chunks on a screen, prompting a presenter, who reads the text in order to speak (or sign) to a camera or live audience.

presenter. Although the translational strategies (particularly the use of back-translation in order to ensure a closeness to the ST) can be questioned, Cohen and Jones (1990), Steinberg *et al.* (1998) and Crowe (2002; Crowe Mason 2005) equally report on the extensive review process that precedes the recording of their research instruments, which also involves a mixed group of Deaf and hearing people.

The descriptions of the process are predominantly based on subjective experiences; without reference to theoretical or methodological frameworks, authors report on their own examples of completing the translations, presenting some suggestive guidelines on good practice. Conducting an ethnographic study involving interviews as well as think-aloud protocols and a linguistic analysis of the TT, Stone's (2006; 2007a; 2007b) study, based on his doctoral research (Stone 2006), is one exception. He reveals that the extent to which the participants of his study prepare the translation of television news depend on their background; while the hearing TPs of his study treat the event closer to a live *interpretation* with less extensive preparation, their Deaf counterparts use the availability of previously obtainable STs and of (albeit limited) time in order to prepare and rehearse the TT extensively, which is later presented 'live', prompted by an autocue, in front of the camera. Although not explicitly stated by Stone, there are thus some first indications that it is not only the nature of the event *per se*, but the cultural and socio-professional background of the TPs that influence the translational process, leading him to argue that there is a particular "Deaf translation norm". As the other studies similarly reveal, the constraints and opportunities during the process deviate from more typical live *interpreting* processes. Yet, further investigation of the different steps of the process based on sound theoretical and methodological frameworks are needed to understand the nature of such events and how they compare to other translational practices.

3.4.5 Conceptualising the Activity

Considering the 'newness' of our field of enquiry, it is clear that there is still a need for the activities to be situated and conceptualised. Definitions of *interpreting* and *translation* are frequently reviewed, and there seems to be a common understanding that the activities described differ from prototypical *interpreting* (Stone 2006 Chapter 3; Gansinger 2008 Chapter 1; Leneham 2005; 2007b; Turner and Pollitt 2002). However it is less clear what the activity is instead. Labels range from "translating" (Leneham 2007b; Gansinger 2008 uses the German term "übersetzen") to "interpreting" (or, in German, "dolmetschen", Heßmann 2007) via "prepared live interpretation" or "prepared recorded interpretation" (Banna 2004) and "T/I" (translation/interpretation) (Stone 2006; 2007a; 2007b) to the avoidance of any definite label with the conclusion that we are concerned with a "hybrid" (Turner and Pollitt 2002). The different conceptualisations and labels given to the activities will be outlined below.

Heßmann (2007), setting out to highlight the commonalities between translations involving signed and those involving two written languages, uses the term *Gebärdensprachdolmetschen* (sign language *interpreting*) with reference to the live translation of a film screening in the cinema. By – inadvertently or otherwise – avoiding the term "übersetzen" (*to translate*) or the generic German term "Translation" (generic "translation"), his usage reflects the most common label for translational activities involving signed language. Similarly, but more consciously, Banna (2004:103) settles for discarding the term *translation*, arguing that "it is important to recognise that in certain contexts, sign language interpreters do receive the text in advance and prepare extensively before proceeding with the interpretation". Instead of *translation*, she prefers using the term "prepared live interpretation" for activities such as theatre "*interpreting*" or the "*interpretation*" of religious events and "prepared recorded interpretation" for activities that are recorded on video. She acknowledges that in the latter "the distinction between translation and interpretation is obscured even further" (*ibid.*).

In their discussion of live translation of theatre performances, Turner and Pollitt (2002) are the first to explicitly identify a hybrid nature of the activity, arguing that it contains elements of both literary *translation* as well as community *interpreting* (later supported by Banna 2004; and Leneham 2005). Turner and Pollitt describe how theatre '*interpreters*', in fact like any literary *translator*, deal with the translation of linguistically and stylistically highly challenging literary texts. However, by being regarded as *interpreters*, preparation time – or the scope for *translating* the text – is limited:

> This phenomenon is treated by most English sign language interpreters as 'just another assignment', and yet a moment's reflection might raise second thoughts. If this were an assignment to translate Play X from English into Swedish, it would be unlikely to expect the whole thing to be completed within two-and-a-half days. Yet the BSL-English interpreter is expected not only to be able to achieve this, tackling equally everything from Shakespearean tragedy to experimental multimedia productions, but within this time-frame also to deliver on stage a solo performance of his or her translation of the entire play to a live audience. (Turner and Pollitt 2002:28)

Although not overtly discussed, the statement suggests that the hybrid nature of the activity is at least partially influenced by the socially driven, practical constraints imposed in the TE. While the nature of the texts and modalities involved allow for extended preparation time, thereby making the activity lean closer towards prototypical *translation*, the limited timeframe imposed by the translation commission makes it lean closer to *interpreting*.

In his comparative study of Deaf and hearing "T/Is" (translators/interpreters) providing a broadcast BSL rendition of British television news, Stone (2006:55-6, with added footnote) equally finds that the activity is not easy to classify:

This [kind of translation] appears to fall between the Frishberg distinction[36] of the form of SL [source language] and TL [target language] for interpreting, in that the SL is written but the TL is not. Similarly, hearing T/Is receive the SL script beforehand and are able to have sight of the information that will be rendered into the TL before live transmission.

As mentioned above, Stone's data reveal that hearing and Deaf TPs take on different approaches to the activity. The hearing TPs approach the event more like an *interpretation*, while the Deaf T/Is' course of action reveals attributes belonging to a *translation* terrain. Again, it is not the language modalities involved that steer the TE, but the socio-cultural and professional background of the TPs. Although Stone detects *translation* elements in the Deaf TPs' approaches in his study, throughout his work he remains consciously ambivalent in terms of classifying the translational activity. He uses the label Translator/Interpreter (T/I) for the professionals who carry out this work. Since there is, as he argues, an element of 'performance' in such activity, the translational mode remains ambiguous, a hybrid between *translation* and *interpreting*, thereby supporting Turner and Pollitt's (2002) findings.

Although Leneham (2005), like Turner and Pollitt (2002), notes the hybrid nature of sign language translation in the theatre, he argues that, more generally, "there are increasing opportunities where sign language interpreters are called upon to do tasks that are clearly acts of translation" (Leneham 2005:80; see also 2007b). Like Leneham, Gansinger (2008), too, uses the label *Übersetzung* (*translation*) after carefully reviewing a number of definitions and categorisations of *translation* and *interpreting* from both sign language and mainstream literature. Gansinger (2008:15) particularly refers to the repeatability, correctability, writtenness and the fact that the translation is not produced in real time as criteria for her studied activity, the translation of the driving test into Austrian Sign Language, to constitute a *translation*. Leneham uses similar parameters to justify the label sign language *translation*, yet adds the distance between target audience and TP as well as the recordability (rather than just writtenness) of source and/or target texts as further factors. Despite a thorough review and justification for choosing the label *translation*, Gansinger (2008:15) carefully warns that "there is [...] a possibility that future research will discard the label sign language translation for the activity it denotes

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[36] "*Interpretation* refers to the process of changing messages produced in one language immediately into another language. The language in question may be spoken or signed, but the defining characteristic is the live and immediate transmission.
Translation may be a more general term referring to changing messages from one language into another. Brislin (1976) allows that the form of the languages might be written, oral or signed; the languages might have standard orthographies – written forms – or not. In a more narrow technical usage, it refers to the process of changing a written message from one language into another." (Frishberg 1990:18)

in [... her] study".[37] Nevertheless, the use of the label sign language *translation* seems to reflect the increasing use of the term within common discourses denoting translational activities that include recorded signed and/or written language.[38] Notably, the label *translation* also seems to be comfortably used with reference to recorded translation practices when carried out by Deaf TPs (Boudreault 2005; Allsop and Kyle 2008; with the above-mentioned exception of Stone 2006; 2007a; 2007b).

The issue of conceptualising and classifying translational activities that involve written and recorded signed source or target texts does not seem to be settled yet. The studies are predominantly based on theoretical assumptions or introductory reflections in order to introduce (working) terminology. Considering that translational modes are predominantly distinctive in the constraints encountered during a TE, further empirical analyses that particularly set out to investigate the translational process are needed.

3.4.6 Testing Translation Theory

Despite the ambiguity of terminology, the accounts generally open up the discussion to include theoretical foundations that fall outside the realm of *interpreting*. Noting the resemblances with written-written *translation*, the authors feel moved to look towards the wider field of *Translation* (rather than *Interpreting*) Studies, something which has been only minimally explored in the past (cf. Banna 2004:105).

Again indicating the newness and uncertainty of the field, the overwhelming majority of references to (mainstream) translation theory focus on what we might call general 'classic' works in the field (e.g. Hatim and Mason 1990; 1997; Nord 1997; Venuti 1998a; 1998b; Munday 2001/2008), sometimes with authors relying primarily on seminal, yet arguably out-dated texts such as Nida (1964) or Catford (1965/2000) (as for example in Ebbinghaus 1998). 'Favourite' translation theories, particularly the functionalist *Skopostheorie* (e.g. Vermeer 1989/2000) or Venuti's (1995; 1998a) notion of domesticating and foreignising translation strategies, receive much attention (Gresswell 2001; Banna 2004; Leneham 2007b). Rather than going back to the original accounts (e.g. Vermeer 1989/2000; Venuti 1995) the authors frequently rely on secondary, general overviews (such as Snell-Hornby 1988/1995; or Munday 2001/2008). This, at points, results in a simplification of the subject matter.[39] Moreover, this preoccupation

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[37] My translation of Gansinger (2008:15): "Es wäre daher durchaus möglich, dass sich bei weiteren Forschungen die Bezeichnung Gebärdensprachübersetzen für die hier damit benannte Tätigkeit als unpassend erweist."

[38] See Chapter 1.1: a number of translation agencies offer what they call "translation" services, and the BSL Bible Translation project equally refers to their endeavour of rendering the Bible in BSL as *translation*.

[39] Gresswell (2001) particularly ignores some highly significant ideas that underpin Vermeer's and Venuti's theories respectively. She interprets *Skopostheorie* predominantly to equal a TT-oriented approach, playing down the main idea that the identification of the purpose of the translation is of particular importance, leading to *either* a target or a source text oriented approach. In a similar vein, the ideological issues so importantly underlying Venuti's promotion of minoritising translation strategies are only marginally taken into account. Some of the issues are rectified by Banna (2004).

with general theories of translation leads to a neglect of more specific works. For example, Conlon and Napier's study of children's books' translations from English into Australian Sign Language (Auslan) only makes marginal reference to accounts that investigate children's literature translation despite a growing body of literature in the area (e.g. Shavit 1981; Ben-Ari 1992; Puurtinen 1995; Oittinen 2000). It seems that the field first needs to get to terms with the 'bigger' ideas in TS before benefiting from more specific studies.

Another indication that we are dealing with an area that has not quite found its place yet is a recurring urge to 'test' the applicability of mainstream TS to signed language translation practices and vice versa, suggesting that we first need to *question* whether data involving signed languages fit into the discussions of the wider field. Reflected in titles such as *How Applicable to BSL are Contemporary Approaches to Translation?* (Gresswell 2001) or Banna's (2004) subtitle *What Can We Learn from Translation Theory?*, one of the main aims of the studies under investigation is to "highlight the significance of translation theory" (Conlon and Napier 2004:141) for translational practices involving signed language. Statements, such as Gresswell's (2001:56) – "(...) this study concerns itself with spoken language translation theories and whether they may be successfully applied to BSL/English translation" – indicate a reservation to blindly adopt all theories that have developed with a view to spoken/written translational practices; a 'testing' of the usefulness is necessary in her view. The general conclusion is that TS is useful for the investigation of practices involving signed languages (Banna 2004; Gresswell 2001; Leneham 2007b; Turner 2007a), however with reservations, e.g. Leneham (2007b):

> This research has shown that there is scope to apply contemporary translation theories and approaches to sign language translation; however, there may not always be direct correlation, so it should be done with caution.

Gresswell (2001:61) similarly argues that "although the basic principles of both theories [i.e. skopos theory and the notion of minoritising translation] can be applied, they may not be the most appropriate ways of approaching BSL/English translation, due to the differences between the two languages" and Banna (2004:114) warns "that the use of foreignisation as a strategy in Auslan interpreting should be considered carefully".

A danger notable in these accounts is to discard or approve of mainstream translation theory with regard to sign languages on the basis of only a small number of examples. Moreover, such an approach suggests that ideas within TS are carved in stone, rather than being regarded as being in flux, constantly in need for re-evaluation with the application of new data, new ideas, new paradigms, generally respecting the change of times (see Section 3.1). What we find is the attempt to, what I have called, *integrate* sign

language data into the dominant discourse of TS, rather than an aim to *negotiate* our current understanding of translation. By being satisfied with an answer that translation theory is either useful or not, we miss an opportunity to re-think and re-evaluate our current knowledge, open up a dialogue with the wider discipline and move the field forward by enlarging the discourse of translation.

3.5 Conclusion

The aim of the chapter was to situate the TE of this study academically and conceptually by reviewing some of the more general TS literature, as well as accounts particularly concentrating on translational practices involving signed and written texts.

In the few studies available that deal with written-sign translation, the fact that we are concerned with an unusual modality pair seems to influence the authors to discuss the activity separately from more prototypical sign-speech *interpreting* events and invites them to create a new (sub-)field, drawing on other theoretical frameworks (such as TS) and finding new labels for the activity. Continuing this aim to situate and conceptualise the activity, the aspect of translating across modalities from writing to sign is at the centre of this work. Leaning on the assumption that due to its 'odd' modality pair of written ST and signed TT the activity differs from arguably more 'usual' translational modes (written-written *translation* and spoken/spoken or spoken/signed *interpreting*), this work sets out to explore this new translational mode, and in the process of doing so takes the opportunity to start re-thinking our understanding of common translational modes in general.

Mirroring the two-fold division of the discipline into *Translation* and *Interpreting* Studies, translational activities are typically categorised according to two, or two sets of parameters leading to a conceptualisation of translational modes which results in the binary division of the two prototypes *translation* and *interpreting*. I have argued that these conceptualisations are partially flawed as they are based on a "cultural moment", starting with dominant translational practices, and rely on theoretical assumptions only. Contributing to the call to enlarge the discipline of TS by using data, ideas and knowledge from non-dominant practices, cultures and languages, I aim to challenge taken-for-granted knowledge that has been based on dominant, written Western languages. This study particularly aims to negotiate existing knowledge with 'new' data, rather than integrating such 'new' practices into existing knowledge or vice versa.

I have noted above that a common starting point for introducing this new area of study is a description of the translational process. While the above-mentioned studies are predominantly based on 'talking us through' subjective experiences, I will argue further in the next two chapters that a data-driven, descriptive and moreover explorative account

of translational practices manifested in a TE is a suitable way of opening up a discussion of a new area. The translational process of our TE will be at the forefront of this work. Having marked out the ground and explained the motivations for this study, I will use the following chapter to refine and define my theoretical foundations by looking outside the realm of TS.

Chapter 4 – Translating across Modalities: A Multidisciplinary Theoretical Foundation

A review of the literature in the previous chapter suggests a link between translational modes and the linguistic modalities of source and target texts. The starting point for defining *translation* is commonly that it is based on two written texts, whereas *interpreting* generally involves source and target texts in ephemeral modes of communication, i.e. speech and/or sign. Even when ST and TT modalities are not regarded as the sole defining parameters, the texts' inherent features – whether fixed and available through time and space or ephemeral and produced in the presence of the primary participants – constitute characteristics that impact on a translational mode. We have seen that, because of its 'odd' ST/TT modality pairing, the practice of translation between written and signed language does not easily fit a categorisation that is based on two prototypes, which leads to challenges when conceptualising the activity.

Taking the connection between translational mode and linguistic modality of ST and TT as a starting point, I use this chapter to introduce an approach that actively avoids conceptualisations based on binary, prototype-informed theory. Deconstructing the "great divide" between speech and writing, I will draw on literacy studies and multimodality research to provide an approach which allows analysis of a multimodal TE. I will begin by discussing some necessary background developments that led to the paradigm shift within literacy studies that forms the basis for my framework (4.1). I will thereby critically address Cronin's (2002) call to draw on orality studies in order to conceptualise translational events that go beyond "chirographic and typographic" translational practices. By reviewing the field of New Literacy Studies (NLS) (4.2), I will argue that a detached, "autonomous", dichotomous model of linguistic modalities is flawed and insufficient for us to conceptualise the complexities of communication; the notions of practice and events will be at the centre of this approach, emphasising the social dimension of a situation. Additionally, with reference to the field of multimodality (4.3), I not only further deconstruct a clear divide between modalities, but also introduce the concept of "affordances", which will provide a tool to analyse the inherent properties of texts and language modalities and how they influence a translational process. I will finish this chapter with a review of my proposed theoretical foundations and a reflection on how this study accompanies current analytical approaches in what has come to be known as the "social turn" (e.g. Wolf 2007) in TS (4.4).

I will thus build a theoretical, analytical foundation for the study by looking across disciplines. Interdisciplinary frameworks are naturally somewhat problematic, as they will have been developed for purposes different to those they are borrowed for. The studies that are influential here concentrate on monolingual spoken and written

communication; signed language is largely ignored and translation is only peripherally discussed. We could argue, like Stone (2006:39), that "…unlike English, BSL is an unwritten language" and "[u]nwritten or 'oral' languages exhibit different features"; signing and orality are thus on a par, forming a unity in opposition to written language. Indeed we can expect the former two to have much in common as both are generally produced linearly (i.e. text elements are communicated chronologically, sequentially in the same order as perceived by the communicants), their 'natural' forms are ephemeral and they constitute primary modalities (i.e. those that can be acquired rather than learned). They are therefore, I expect and infer from experience, used in similar situations and contexts. Research that focuses on speech might therefore, at least up to a point, be applicable to signed contexts. Yet there is a danger in making false assumptions, in imposing knowledge of speech on signed languages, thereby in failing what I have called a "negotiative" approach (see Chapter 3.1.4).[40] However, the proposed framework consciously moves away from a clear separation of modalities and pays particular attention to non-central and cross-cultural practices, inviting an application to TEs involving signed languages, which will be made clear at various stages. Moreover, the focus of this review is not so much on *what* is analysed but on *how*; it is the reviewed studies' theoretical framing that is important in this chapter, and which will direct my own analytical gaze.

4.1 Speech versus Writing

In order to comprehend the variety of translational practices around the world that involve different combinations of written, spoken and, we may add, signed language, it is argued that we need to understand the differences between orality and literacy, as we "cannot examine an oral practice through the explicative apparatus of chirographic and typographic translation" (Cronin 2002:388). In this section I will review the different approaches to conceptualising speech and writing practices that impacted on the development of an ideological model of literacy, which will form the basis of my theoretical framing.

4.1.1 Linguistic Accounts

For the major part of the twentieth century the study of speech and writing and their relationship was of little consequence to linguists (Stubbs 1980:16). Influenced by Chomskyan ideas, language *per se* was of more interest than its use within different contexts or modalities. At the same time it was written language that served as the basis for investigation amongst most linguists and only with advanced recording technology and a growing interest in the social aspects of language use did speech become an object of study in its own right (Street 1984:67-8). Only in the second half of the

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[40] For an in-depth discussion of the differences and similarities between signed and spoken languages see the contributions in Meier, Cormier and Quinto-Pozos (eds 2002).

twentieth century did the relationship between speech and writing, the characteristics of the different modalities and how they are used within different contexts and cultures become an issue studied by sociolinguists and functional linguists, educationalists as well as in cultural studies and anthropology. After the relationship between the different modalities had been ignored for a long time, it seems natural that earlier studies started by contrasting writing and speech, emphasising the differences between the two. In this section I begin by mentioning studies that discuss the issue from a more 'purely' linguistic perspective.

Halliday (1989) approaches the topic from a functionalist perspective. He considers the context in which a text (spoken or written) is produced, or in functionalist terms, the field, mode and tenor of discourse, to be more important for the outlook of a text than the inherent properties of the different modalities themselves. In his comparison of spoken and written texts, Halliday (*ibid.*:87) finds stark differences between the two. He comes to the conclusion that written language is more lexically dense, while spoken language is characterised by its grammatical intricacy; in writing we tend to be efficient, producing a high level of ideational information in a short amount of space, while spoken texts are characterised by fillers, hesitations, repetitions and false starts. The clear dichotomy that emerges from Halliday's analysis, however, is likely to be influenced by his choice of texts. He bases his analysis of writing on prepared formal or literary texts, which might seem most typical of written genres to individuals who work and live within a Western, academic environment. The spoken texts of his analysis, on the other hand, are predominantly spontaneous conversations.

Although functional variation is the focus of Halliday's work, the fact that there is more than only one written and one spoken register remains largely undiscussed in his conclusion, and his opposition of writing and speech seems too generalised. His findings are based on what might seem to be the prototypes of writing and speech, at least from the perspective of Western academics, but neglect the large variety of instances in which we use language (cf. Street 1995:4). Although it is generally acknowledged that oral and written features are not separable in their entirety, an oppositional understanding of language modalities, as exemplified here, leads TS researchers (e.g. Baumgarten and Probst 2004) to analyse source and target texts in TEs in terms of their "spokenness" or "writtenness".

In some earlier work, Gregory and Carroll (1978:47), similarly addressing the issue under a functionalist framework, suggest providing categories according to the language user's relationship to the medium. As illustrated in Figure 4, the spoken modality is distinguished between *spontaneous* speech (either *conversing* or *monologuing*) and *non-spontaneous* speech (either *'reciting'* or *the speaking of what is written*). Writing, on the

other hand, is categorised into written texts *to be spoken, to be spoken as if not written*, and *not necessarily to be spoken* (either *to be read*, or *to be read as if heard, i.e. as speech* or *as if overheard, i.e. as thought*).
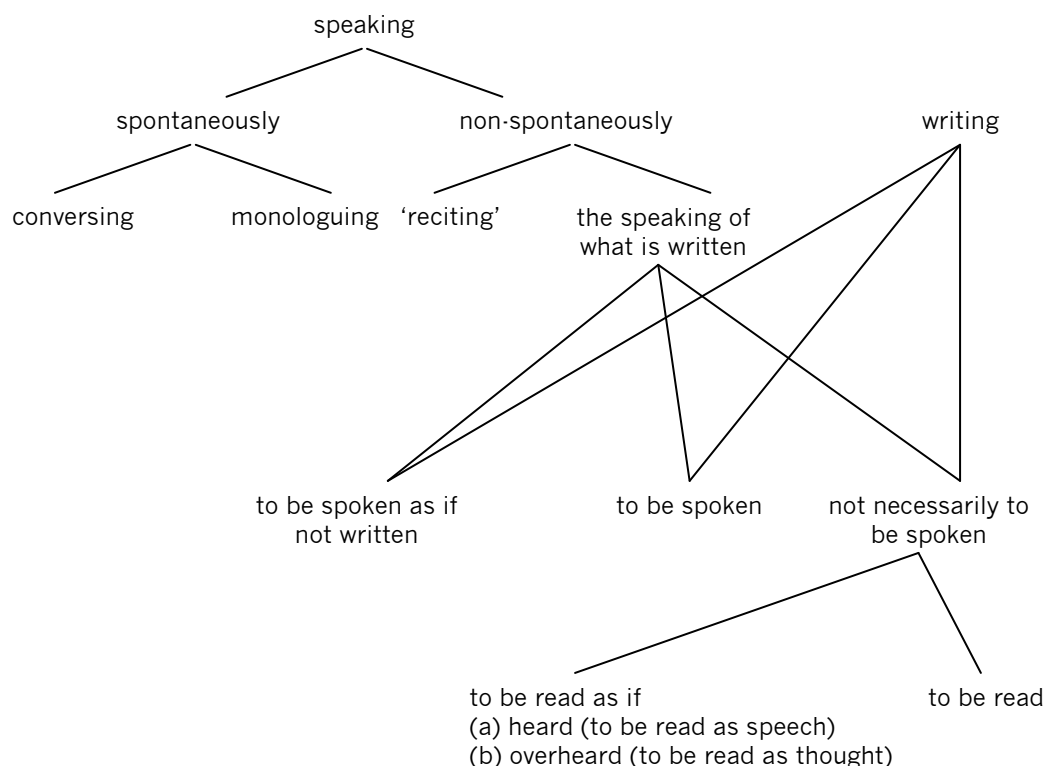
Figure 4: Speech and Writing from Gregory and Carroll (1978:47)

As suggested here, there cannot be an *ad hoc* formula that indicates the linguistic properties of a certain modality, whether written, spoken or signed, and the dichotomy of speech and writing is broken up.

Another attempt of making the relationships between writing and speech more meaningful is Tannen's (1982:15) notion of an "oral/literate continuum" with writing on the one end and spoken language on the other. Analysing 'oral' and 'literate' features in Greek and American women's narratives and in conversational talk amongst middle-class friends at an American Thanksgiving party, she states that "no individual is either 'oral' or 'literate'" (Tannen 1982:3), but that "people use devices associated with both traditions in various settings" (*ibid.*). Yet, the premise in the continuum model remains a prototype-based understanding of speech and writing on which other, less prototypical practices are measured. Drawing on a study by Biber (1988), who compares written and spoken texts in a large corpus of texts in both modalities, finding that "there is no single, absolute difference between speech and writing in English [... but] rather there are several dimensions of variation" (Biber 1988:199), Besnier (1988:710) concludes that a "uni-dimensional continuum is inadequate to accommodate the variations in linguistic

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behaviour across contexts of oral and written communication". The model is still based on an assumption that there are fundamental differences between the two modalities (cf. Street 1995:160). The perceived dichotomy of speech and writing seems intertwined with our most fundamental understanding of *translation* versus *interpreting*, which in a similar binary vein assumes that *interpreting* is realised within speech events, while *translating* is based on written communication.

Although context is seen in a fairly narrow sense in the studies above, it emerges that linguistic modalities should be discussed with regard to the situation in which language is used: "[i]n addition to its linguistic characteristics, any writing system is deeply embedded in attitudinal, cultural, economic and technological constraints" (Stubbs 1980:15). We need to take into account not only the immediate social surroundings (i.e. the event in which a communication takes place) but the wider socio-cultural context. Unsurprisingly then a larger body of works investigating the relationship between writing and speech can be found under the notions of *literacy* and *orality* in anthropological and sociologically driven studies rather than in purely linguistic accounts. Work by Ong (1982), which will be reviewed in the following section, has been particularly influential and is suggested to provide a suitable basis for understanding non-central oral translation practices and for moving away from an essentially Western literacy-focused TS (Cronin 2002).

4.1.2 Orality versus Literacy

Led by scholars such as Goody, Watt and Ong, there are a number of studies investigating the potential effects of written language on cognition and cultural developments in comparison with speech. This model argues that literacy, i.e. the use of written language and the ability to read and write, influences the way people structure their thoughts (Goody and Watt 1968; Goody 1987; Ong 1982; 1992; Olson 1977; Olson 1991; Olson 1994). Based on ideas formulated by Havelock (1976; 1991), it was argued that alphabetic writing is the most sophisticated writing system, being able to break down human language (i.e. speech) into small particles and thereby representing speech 'completely', in other words presenting "the sole instrument of full literacy to the present day" (Havelock 1991:26). When put onto the page, it was concluded, thought is decontextualised and distanced from the human mind, making it abstract and objective. The representation of language on the page, it was argued, is an analytical process in itself and therefore encourages critical and abstract reflection of an utterance. The logical structure of (alphabetic) writing, by its ability to de-body and de-contextualise language, is thus the key to logical and abstract thinking: "[b]y distancing thought, alienating it from its original habitat in sounded words, writing raises consciousness" (Ong 1992:301-2). In this model, known as the cognitive model of literacy, much power

is attached to written language, arguing that it enables cognitive developments and the enhancement of the human mind *per se*.

Speech, ephemeral in nature, on the other hand, can only retain ideas for as long as the sound of the words are uttered.[41] Oral cultures, it was concluded, have developed in different ways from literate ones and have, in such terms, been restricted due to the lack of a writing system. Ong (1982:37-49) asserts that there are vast differences between literate and oral cultures. Thoughts and communication based on orally formulated rather than written ideas are said to be:

i)   additive rather than subordinative; typically involving language that is characterised by connecting conjunctions such as 'and', rather than subordinate syntactic structures;[42]

ii)   aggregative rather than analytic, i.e. frequently carrying epithets, such as 'the beautiful princess' or 'the brave soldier';

iii) redundant or 'copious', i.e. involving repetitions, as well as pauses or hesitations;

iv)   conservative or traditionalist; having to preserve what has been learned, as speech itself is ephemeral, much attention is paid to reinforcing knowledge through repetition;

v)   close to human life world, i.e. speech being close to individual experiences and the here and now;

vi)   agonistically toned; while "[w]riting fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one another", "[m]any, if not all, oral or residually oral cultures strike literates as extraordinarily agonistic in their verbal performance and indeed in their lifestyle" (43-4);

vii) empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced;

viii) homeostatic, i.e. "oral societies live very much in a present which keeps itself in equilibrium or homeostasis by sloughing off memories which no longer have present relevance" (46);

ix)   situational rather than abstract.

Orality is here characterised by descriptiveness rather than analysis, a relation to the here and now rather than abstraction, and an affection for redundant, subjective attributives rather than an objective portrayal of facts. Literacy on the other hand, Ong argues, enables "subordinate", "analytical" and "abstract" thought and reflection. Orality, characterised in this way, goes against what dominant Western societies typically associate with progress and development of knowledge.

Starting his analysis with a set of concepts that are central in dominant Western literate cultures as exemplified in the list above, Ong (1982) compares 'the other' to 'the known', replicating and re-enforcing a discourse that is built on central Western values. Although

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[41] Signed language in this sense, corresponds to speech, as signs are as ephemeral as spoken words (Stone 2006:38).
[42] It is worth noting that Ong bases his analysis of these oral features on a passage from different versions of the Christian bible (Genesis 1:1-5), i.e. a written text.

aiming to "overcome our biases in some degree and to open new ways to understanding" (1982:2) and despite attempts of reassuring us that "[o]ral thinking, however, can be quite sophisticated" (*ibid.*:56) or that we "must [not] imagine that orally based thought is 'prelogical' or 'illogical' in any simplistic sense" (*ibid.*:56-7),[43] Ong's discourse, as discussed above, does not manage to deconstruct prejudices. He uses language that from a Western perspective portrays 'them', i.e. the 'oral people' (as if such a group existed as a unit), as very different from 'us', with values that are different from 'ours', and as people who are presumably incapable of or disinterested in striving for developments which are regarded in our Western world as progressive. The implicit conclusion – at least for a dominant Western audience – is that literate ways of thinking are more complex, more developed and more sophisticated. Moreover, his black-and-white taxonomy suggests that there are large gaps between oral and literate societies based solely on the introduction of writing to societies. In other words, literacy itself, "autonomously" (cf. Street 1984:19ff), encourages the development of certain cognitive abilities and skills, which would be impossible in purely oral environments. This is put forward more explicitly by Goody and Watt (1968:68), who claim that "the consequences of literacy" have affected "the intellectual differences between simple and complex societies".

The argument goes further. Written texts communicate through time and space and can be picked up by future generations:

> Once reduced to space [through writing], words are frozen and in a sense dead [..., yet] its removal from the living human lifeworld, its rigid visual fixity, assures its endurance and its potential for being resurrected into limitless living contexts by a limitless number of living readers. (Ong 1992:300)

Cultural evolution, a development of science and 'modern' societies are only made possible through the recording of thoughts through (alphabetic) writing. A 'missionary' assumption follows that literacy, as it developed in dominant Western countries, should be introduced to all 'non-literate' societies, as it constitutes the key to 'civilisation' and scientific and social advancement (also reported by Kulick and Stroud 1993:30).

These ideas result in an equation, critically put forward by Baynham (1995:52) as "LITERACY = PROGRESS = DEVELOPMENT = ENLIGHTENMENT". In this sense scholars led by Goody and Watt as well as Ong make assumptions about hierarchical orders between 'literate' and 'non-literate cultures', that in many respects fall into a discourse that is reminiscent of distinguishing between 'primitive' versus 'civilised' or 'simple'

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[43] He reassures us that "they", i.e. 'the oral people', "know very well that if you push hard on a mobile object, the push causes it to move" (Ong 1982:57).

versus 'complex societies', that have long been criticised by anthropologists, cultural analysts and postcolonialists.

Stressing the overriding power of the 'technology' of writing to influence thought, communication and social developments, while ignoring other potential social factors involved, the cognitive model of literacy has served as the basis for great debates and often fierce criticism. In 1981, the psychologists Scribner and Cole (1981:14), with a seminal analysis of literacy practices among the Vai, a people of relatively small population yet with their own developed writing system in contemporary Liberia, produced results that challenged the idea of the overriding social and cognitive causality of literacy. Since literacy was not necessarily taught through formal education in the Vai village, Scribner and Cole are able to distinguish between the effects of literacy and those of schooling. With a variety of tests analysing cognitive abilities, they were able to provide evidence that "effects of nonschooled literacy are spotty and appear on only a few performance measures" (*ibid*.:132), thereby contradicting previous claims outlined above:

> Instead of focussing exclusively on the technology of a writing system and its reputed consequences ('alphabetic literacy fosters abstraction,' for example), we approach literacy as a set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it. (*ibid*.:236)[44]

Seen in its social and cultural environment, literacy does not necessarily induce intellectual development and added cognitive skills autonomously but rather reflects conventions and practices particular to a specific cultural community.

The cognitive model of literacy described above has been criticised most fiercely of all by Street (1984; 1995; 2003; Heath, Street and Mills 2008). Street (1995:155) argues that Ong's approach, explaining the nature of oral cultures as an outsider based on his own examples without conducting empirical research, is methodologically flawed, being "mainly deductive" and having "affinities with the nineteenth-century methodology in social anthropology known as 'if I was a horse' thinking [...], whereby the observer puts himself or herself into the position of the imagined subject". A subjective collection of examples leads Ong to overgeneralise and find patterns in, what he calls, 'oral' and 'literate cultures' that do not, as such, exist (Street 1995). By critically introducing the label 'the great divide', Street (1984) further argues against a clear opposition of speech and oral societies on the one hand, and writing and literate societies on the other. He questions whether there are 'pure' oral and literate communities respectively, "since most people have had some contact, however minimal, with forms of literacy, whether in

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[44] The notion of literacy practices will be outlined further below in Section 4.2.2.

the shape of labels on clothes, street signs, or more formal procedures as found in westernized schooling" (Street 1995:155). Regarding speech and writing merely as two opposite poles is detached from reality, overgeneralises the issue and ignores its complexity, as "every society presents some 'mix' of oral and literate modes of communication" (Street 1984:46).

4.1.3 Orality, Literacy and Translation Studies

Despite considerable criticism of theories adopting an autonomous model due to their ethnocentric and over-generalising approaches, Ong's model remains highly influential to this day and is frequently uncritically referred to within TS. This is true even for scholars who themselves generally adopt methodological frameworks that resemble those employed by Ong's critics and who specifically investigate the relationship between majority and minority relationships, using discourse analytical, ethnographic and/or postcolonial frameworks (e.g. Cronin 2002; Stone 2006). Critical debates of such theories and claims often remain unnoticed or unmentioned.

Cronin (2002), pleading for an understanding of orality and literacy in TS, draws on Ong's dichotomy, arguing that oral and chirographic/typographic translational practices need different treatments. He states (*ibid.*:388): "If we do not recognise the specific psychodynamics of orality, then our analyses of interpreting encounters will repeat assumptions that underlie depictions of unsophisticated and dissembling natives." Although Cronin's argument is valuable in the sense that this highlights the preoccupation with central, written translational practices in TS (see Chapter 3.1), it is questionable whether Ong's approach, supporting a link between literacy and cognitive abilities and drawing on a discourse that supports images of simple versus sophisticated communities, manages to achieve Cronin's goal. While I support Cronin's call for a 'cultural turn' in IS and to make minority cultures visible in TS, it seems unhelpful, if not impossible to introduce a dichotomy between oral and literate translational practices as suggested in a framework that draws on Ong's model. The practices mentioned by Cronin under the aspect of orality range from community and conference *interpreting* events to audiovisual translation and *interpreting* practices in colonial contexts. Discussing these very diverse practices in one breath under the label 'orality' and in contrast to literate practices confuses the issue.

Pöchhacker (2004b:138) similarly draws on Ong's notion of orality to characterise *interpreting* events, arguing that "[i]nterpreting [...] implies 'orality' in the sense of natural language use for immediate communication – that is, 'talk' realized by speech sounds or signs in combination with a range of **nonverbal** signalling systems" (highlight in original). However, as Pöchhacker (*ibid.*:139) suggests, *interpreting* practices, whether a conference *interpreting* event in the EU or UN, an *interpreted* immigration interview or

a sign language *interpreted* classroom situation, frequently happen in contexts that are highly influenced by literacy practices. Oral and literate relationships in such events are complex, potentially involving various combinations of written, spoken and/or signed texts, texts of different written, spoken and/or signed registers, as well as combinations of participants of what Ong would call both 'oral' and 'literate' cultures. Describing such situations as purely 'oral' simplifies the issue.

In another study that has been influential for the present work, Stone (2006:38-9) draws on Ong's taxonomy of oral and literate features to explain differences in cohesion patterns between BSL and English texts. Although signed languages may be called 'oral', in the sense of being 'unwritten' languages (Stone 2006; Pöchhacker 2004b), it may be more problematic to call Deaf communities purely oral cultures. Embedded in wider Hearing societies in which writing plays a central role, Deaf people (at least in the UK and other dominant Western countries) are in regular contact with literacy and participate in literacy events in educational, professional, public and private domains. Even within the Deaf community, for communication amongst community members, writing plays a central role (Thoutenhoofd 2001; see Chapter 2.3 for discussion). Although more research needs to be conducted on the issue, we can expect signing and literacy practices to be complexly interwoven, one potentially influencing the other; the two should thus not be regarded in purely separate terms.

The existence of cross-modal translation from writing to sign challenges the notion of a strict dichotomy between 'oral' and 'literate' cultures. Through translation of a written text, 'literacy' is introduced into what Stone calls an "oral", 'non-literate' culture; written thought is 'transferred' into a non-written language. Fostering an unrealistic, unhelpful dichotomy between oral and literate practices, cultures and events that does not sufficiently account for cross-cultural relationships, Ong's model of literacy and orality should be used critically and with care in TS. Comparing 'the other' to 'the known', the model is based on ethnocentric, hegemonic values and fails to investigate other practices with a fresh eye, thereby supporting what I have called an 'integration', rather than a 'negotiation' of ideas that emerge from non-central practices with 'old' knowledge. I will use the following sections to discuss an approach, known as the New Literacy Studies, which offers a non-binary discussion of orality and literacy and which accounts for the complex relationships between written and spoken and, we may add, signed discourses, while recognising the ideological forces that steer communicational practices.

4.2 Deconstructing the Big Divide: The New Literacy Studies

The label *New Literacy Studies* (hereafter abbreviated as NLS) was first used by Gee (1990) and describes those theories that developed as a reaction against the 'autonomous' model of literacy I have described above. Most significant in such research

has been the move away from a "big divide" between speech and writing, and orality and literacy (Street 1984). The aim is to investigate literacy as social practice embedded in its wider social and ideological context, rather than in terms of abilities and skills (Maybin 2000:197). Its key premises are summarised by Baynham (1995:1) as follows:

- literacy has developed and is shaped to serve social purposes in creating and exchanging meaning;
- literacy is best understood in its contexts of use;
- literacy is ideological: like all uses of language it is not neutral, but shapes and is shaped by deeply held ideological positions, which can be either implicit or explicit;
- literacy needs to be understood in terms of social power;
- literacy can be critical.

Influenced by the anthropological background of some of its key figures, ethnographic methodologies feature high in the NLS movement and are combined with socio-culturally and ideologically driven linguistic approaches, such as critical discourse analysis. As noted by Gee (2000), the paradigm shift in literacy studies induced by the NLS fits into broader epistemological and ontological developments apparent within the social sciences, where we find a general shift of focus from cognitive and psychological aspects to the practices that present themselves in the local but are steered by broader social and ideological undercurrents. It is in this sense that my adoption of an NLS-informed approach reflects current developments in TS, where sociologically driven studies are becoming more prominent (see Section 4.4.1).

NLS research focuses on literacy practices in different situations and societies, on cultures that have newly adopted writing and reading as well as individuals and communities who use written language differently from the written texts that are the focus in education and other central contexts. Researchers thereby specifically avoid a sole focus on literacy practices that are apparent in dominant, Western intellectual elite communities and that have served as the basis for previous studies on literacy and written language (cf. Halliday 1989). Such a model of literacy will then be applicable to situations in signing communities, as the concepts and ideas have specifically been developed with regard to non-central cultures and groups of society. Moreover, we can argue that sign language data will constructively add to the understanding of literacy practices and might produce results that can enhance or refine existing ideas within such a model. In the following paragraphs I will take a closer look at the key concepts and findings developed within this approach to literacy.

4.2.1 An Ideological Model of Literacy

The key to NLS is to adhere to an ideological model of literacy, a label first introduced by Street (1984:1-3). The ideological model doubts that literacy is an 'autonomous' entity

that is capable of influencing cognitive abilities of individuals and cultural evolutions: "rather than stress how literacy affects people, we want to take the opposite tack and examine how people affect literacy" (Kulick and Stroud 1993:31). It is regarded as more than just a 'skill'. Rather than determined by intellectual or cognitive abilities, people use literacy according to communicative practices that are relevant to them and their communities, historical contexts and cultures. Here it is key to recognise "literacy practices as inextricably linked to cultural and power structures in society" (Street 1993:7). The acquisition of literacy as well as its characteristics are necessarily linked to present ideologies and cannot be separated from the socio-cultural surroundings.

This resonates with current understandings in TS and IS, where the involvement of ideological forces is recognised:

> ... the ways in which interpreters work – the particular 'communicative competencies' that they bring to an interpreted event – are influenced by the social and political contexts in which both their work and the training that may inform their professional practice occurs. It [i.e. Inghilleri's approach] maintains that interpreters – though not unreflexively – are caught up in larger social configurations of power and control – both internal and external to their professional field of practice. (Inghilleri 2004:73)

In this sense, the TE of our study is ideologically driven. The language combination, the direction of the 'transfer', the modalities and media involved, the choice of the text, the perception of socio-professional norms, the availability or absence of relevant TP training, the practices promoted in training, the selection of a particular TP and the decision to commission a translation in this particular context are factors that reflect wider social and cultural structures and values. The participants' actions, the translation brief, the TP's translational approach, her development of the TT and negotiations with other participants will in return be embedded in the participants' socio-cultural frame of reference, either replicating or challenging common practices. It is not only the inherent features of the modalities that may impact on a translational situation, but also the experiences and attitudes around it. Accounting for the complexity of a situation, the notions of *events* and *practices* are at the centre of an ideological conceptual framework of literacy.

4.2.2 Literacy Practices and Events

In order to enable a meaningful, comprehensive discussion of the subject, two principles regarding the macro and the micro are at play in this approach. Firstly, it is insufficient to analyse texts and situations without taking into account their immediate and wider contexts, i.e. their direct surroundings and the wider social and cultural environment as well as the ideological powers at play. Secondly, we can only approach the understanding of such powers by describing the local and avoiding over-generalisations. As summarised

by Maybin (2000:197), "these studies share common roots in the anthropological ethnographic tradition of documenting literacy activities in small communities, but also go beyond this tradition in their analysis of how the meanings of local events are linked to broader cultural institutions and practices".[45] Connecting the here and now with its wider social, cultural, ideological context, literacy is described at three levels in an NLS framework, *literacy practices*, *events* and *texts*:

> These three components [...] provide the first proposition of a social theory of literacy, that *Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these can be inferred from events which are mediated by written texts.* (Barton and Hamilton 2000:9, italicisation in original)

This can be illustrated with the following diagram:[46]
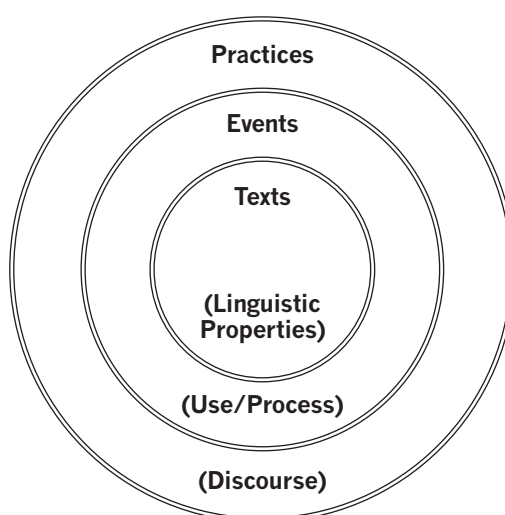
Figure 5: Practices, Events and Texts

These levels necessarily intertwine; we cannot discuss one without respecting the other in order to create a complete picture of literacy. While *practice* is a "broader concept, pitched at a higher level of abstraction" (Street 1993:12) and difficult to pin down, *events* are observable entities and incorporate *texts*. These levels relate closely to different stages of analysis: when analysing practices, we critically deal with discourse, when analysing events we are concerned with the process of use or creation, and when analysing texts, we are interested in linguistic properties. Since this work does not focus on the latter, I will concentrate on a more thorough introduction of events and practices only.

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[45] Maybin here particularly refers to the studies present in the volume in which she writes; however, we could argue that this statement applies to studies within an ideological model more generally.
[46] This corresponds to a model of language in social context described by Baynham (1995:22), where we find *language as social practice* in the outer layer, *language as social process* in the second layer, and *language as text* in the middle.

Literacy Events

The term *literacy event*, first used by Anderson *et al.* (1980:59-65), was further developed by Heath (1982:93) and defined by her as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretative processes". Literacy events in this sense refer to situations ranging from the more obvious ones, e.g. a person writing a novel, to those where literacy plays a less prominent part, for instance an example discussed by Hamilton (2000) where a giant cheque was displayed to illustrate a fund-raising event, revealing the symbolic relevance of literacy.

Research into literacy events, investigating "who is using written texts, where and how" (Hamilton 2000:16-7), has shown that situations to which a piece of writing is integral frequently involve "talk around text" (e.g. Baynham 1993; Jones 2000). Writing is often produced and received in combination with spoken conversations and situations may involve instances of mode-switching, the reading-aloud of written texts or discussions about written texts.[47] Although this has to my knowledge not been investigated in an NLS framework, we can assume that literacy practices amongst Deaf people might equally include signed 'talk around text'. Literacy events cannot be investigated in isolation of other communication modalities. Rather, investigating the relationships between literacy and speech/signing events will enhance our understanding of how written language is used.

Such research then constitutes a challenge to the more traditional theories adhering to a 'great divide' between the two modalities. This might further critically confront our conceptualisations of translational modes, which are generally based on the assumption that the modalities of source and target texts respectively are constant. Instead it is not difficult to recall situations in which translated communication involves a shift between various source and target modalities, such as sight *translation/interpreting* for example.[48] Moreover, the approach accounts for situations in which, for example, written texts are used for the preparation of a predominantly oral *interpreting* situation, or for a TP's 'talk around a text' when working with written source and target texts. Rather than focusing purely on an analysis of visible products, the model accounts for the process of how texts are prepared, created and received.

According to this definition, since the ST constitutes a piece of writing integral to the event, the TE of this study can be regarded as a literacy event. NLS thereby highlight the

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[47] Proponents of the NLS here go one step further than scholars like Gregory and Carroll (see Section 4.1.1 and Figure 4). Rather than only investigating mixtures of spoken and written modes, when for example a written text is read out aloud, they are interested in spoken conversations around written texts, and how written texts accompany situations in which writing or reading do not constitute the central activity. The aim is to understand the relationship better and to be able to make assumptions about wider social practices.

[48] Outside a TS context, the code and mode switching practices of *interpreters* working with the Moroccan community in London are discussed by Baynham (1993) under an NLS framework.

complex relationships between literacy and 'orality', assuming that a separate treatment of each modality, their communities and practices, cannot provide a complete picture. It may be argued at this stage that despite recognising the multimodal nature of communication events, the NLS discourse focuses on the notion 'literacy' and thereby singles out *writing* (rather than other communication modes) as the starting point, affording it the centre of attention. Developed with other purposes in mind, arguably with a particular view to rethink the notion of literacy in educational contexts (e.g. Street 1994; Pahl and Rowsell 2005), a primary focus on literacy may be useful in the reviewed literacy studies. In our context, however, the terminological bias distracts our attention from the other modalities, particularly the 'minority' modality of signed language. Regarding the situation as a 'multimodal' event (see Section 4.3), or as a 'translational event' (see Section 4.4.2) may provide a more appropriate focus. Conceptually, however, the framework offers an opportunity to investigate the usages of different modalities in unison and is particularly useful in recognising the link to wider social, cultural and ideological powers.

Literacy Practices

Literacy practices, related to Grillo's (1989) concept of "communicative practices" and Hymes's (1974) discussion of "ethnography of communication" (in Street 1993:13), is a more abstract concept and refers to the social and cultural conventions which impact on the ways we communicate:

> Literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilising written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. (Barton and Hamilton 2000:7)

Baynham (1995:39) further stresses that the concept does not only refer to how people use writing, but also to what they know about it and how they value it. *Practices* are thus formed by beliefs and 'folk models' and their ideological underpinnings (Street 1993:12). They are informed by knowledge and conceptions about literacies in certain societies and contexts, i.e. individuals' assumptions and beliefs about what writing and reading mean. In this sense, it does not suffice to analyse literacy as a universal entity or as a skill; the way a person uses reading and writing is not only informed by their abilities but by her or his assumptions about what is right and wrong.

Practices manifest themselves in literacy events. We can come closer to answering what the question of what certain *practices* are only through observations of events and an analysis of describable texts, in connection with an investigation of people's views on why they use writing and reading in specific ways (Tusting, Ivanič and Wilson 2000:216). The notion of *practice* thereby bridges the gap between literacy events, i.e. the observable

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here and now, and the wider social, cultural and ideological context in which they take place; the analysis of literacy practices, events and contexts go hand in hand.

Defining the translation of our case study as a literacy event therefore suggests that it is characterised (amongst other factors) by literacy practices of the 'source community', which provides the written ST, and those of 'the target community' at which the TT is aimed. That is, the TP of this study can be expected to draw on her own experience of creating texts in various modalities, both in terms of *how* to produce them, i.e. the text building strategies in the translational process as well as with regard to the product that she is producing, which will be informed by her perceived social conventions associated with the event, whether re-enforcing, challenging or further developing them. It further assumes that these literacy practices are linked to wider social practices, cultural beliefs and ideologies. In other words, the event is embedded in a context which is informed by attitudes towards the modalities, languages, communities as well as the professional approach involved.

By focusing on the notion of practice, we are able to move away from binary or narrow categorisations by accounting for the diverse landscape of translation as well as for the complexities involved. By starting with the local, an observation of a particular TE, we are able to move away from prototype-based understandings of translation which are founded on central practices.

4.2.3 Literacies – Plural

NLS research suggests that we cannot talk about one single overruling, universal literacy; the term should be used in its plural form: literac*ies* (Baynham 1995:42; Barton and Hamilton 2000:10-1; Rogers 2001:208-9). Literacy practices and events are specific to different contexts, domains and cultures. In other words, "[l]iteracies are situated" (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič 2000:1). A look at the collected accounts of literacy events and practices, for example in Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič (eds 2000), reveals that literacies vary when produced in a prison (Wilson 2000), at a farmer's market (Jones 2000) or in a university setting (De Pourbaix 2000; Pardoe 2000), and will further vary according to the activity or event within each setting; each event is attached to its own institutional and social environment. Our past learning and perceptions of what is right and wrong in a certain domain impacts on our literacy practices. In other words, literacy practices are embedded in the educational, political, religious or other institutional and socio-cultural practices, attitudes, rules and conceptions of the contexts in which they take place.

Literacy practices in different domains not only vary in terms of the product, i.e. the linguistic qualities and textual outlook, but the processes of creating and using texts also

vary. Whereas some literacy events are performed by one person only, others involve a variety of people, some involve communication here and now, while others involve communication across time and space; some of the processes are interactional, others are monologic in nature. Yet again, this raises questions in terms of defining translational modes. It becomes clear that source and target modalities are not the only factors shaping processes in TEs, and that a dichotomy-based model is insufficient to account for the diversity of the multitude of existing practices.

Studies on literacy practices outside central Western domains, such as those employed by the villagers of Gapun in Papua New Guinea (Kulick and Stroud 1993), the Nukulaelae islanders of a Central Pacific Atoll (Besnier 1993), and by teenage high school students in Philadelphia (Camitta 1993), to name but a few examples from a single collected volume (Street ed. 1993), confirm that "[literacy] varies from one culture or sub-group to another" (Street 1993:29). This particularly challenges previous assumptions about an overriding universality of literacy and the following categorisation of "us" (literate people) versus "them" (oral people), as well as assumptions that have been made about the characteristics of written texts (e.g. Halliday 1989, see above, Section 4.1.1). We cannot conceive of literacy as a singular autonomous entity that is unchangeable and behaves in a fixed way according to predictable principles.

4.2.4 Hierarchical Literacies: Dominant and Vernacular Practices

Acknowledging that cultures, communities and domains produce different literacies should, however, not suggest that all literacies have a perceived equal status. NLS accounts have been criticised for romanticising the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-contextual diversity of literacy practices (Prinsloo and Breier 1996). Although it is necessary to describe the plurality of literacy practices in different cultures and communities, it would be wrong to deny the fact that some literacies rate 'higher' than others in certain contexts and that there are ideological powers at play reflecting institutionally and socially imposed hierarchies and hegemonies that influence the way we perceive literacies. In Barton and Hamilton's (2000:12) words, "*literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others*" (italicisation in original).

Within this hierarchy of literacies we find those that are *dominant*, i.e. that are supported by the institutional, cultural and social elites in a certain context and promoted within education (Street 1995 chapter 2), and others that are *vernacular*, *local* or *marginal*, i.e. "closely associated with culture which is neither elite nor institutional, which is traditional and indigenous to the diverse cultural processes of communities as distinguished from the uniform, inflexible standards of institutions" (Camitta 1993:228-9). Although raising the visibility of the plurality of creative, indigenous and innovative

literacy practices encourages an empowerment of marginalised communities on the one hand, denying them access to dominant literacies diminishes the level of empowerment at a different level. As Tusting, Ivanič and Wilson (2000:217) propose, "[o]ne of the critical tasks of the NLS is to make visible, or to bring to presence, the process-based and therefore challengeable nature of the dominance of particular literacies". Again, literacy cannot be detached from ideologies.

Being part of an educational, academic domain, the ST of our event clearly belongs to dominant literacy practices. In terms of the signed TT, the status is more complicated. The practice of creating recorded signed text in an academic context is not very common at this stage. Deaf people in educational contexts are usually expected to access original English source material, rather than signed translations. A recorded signed text, in terms of frequency, can therefore be regarded as vernacular. Nevertheless, even when translated, the TT belongs to a dominant domain and, at least within the target community, is likely to be regarded as a dominant text.

4.2.5 Colonial Literacies

The dominance of certain literacies is not confined to the borders of a particular cultural community but may resonate cross-nationally, cross-culturally. Considering that literacies are regarded as an important asset for a nation, as it is said to raise national unity and confidence as well as encourage economic stability, countries that do not have an indigenous literacy frequently institute policies that will ensure the introduction of a literacy (cf. Lewis 1993). Literacies may be 'borrowed', usually from developed, industrialised, central nations. Street (1995:30) calls such literacies *colonial literacies*, stressing that the process of exporting or importing literacies cannot be neutral:

> For social groups with virtually no prior exposure to literacy it is likely that the dominant feature of acquisition will be not so much the consequence of literacy *per se* but the impact of the culture on the bearers of that literacy. By definition, literacy is being transferred from a different culture, so that those receiving it will be more conscious of the nature and power of that culture than of the mere technical aspects of reading and writing. Very often this process has involved some transfer of 'western' values to a non-western society.

Although the process of 'transfer' as well as relationships between different cultures are arguably more complex than proposed in Street's account above, it is important to re-affirm that 'imports' of literacy do not happen in isolation. Such a process is likely to be accompanied by other forms of colonialisation. Borrowed literacy practices carry along with them other practices and values, listed by Street (1995:37) as "forms of industrialization, bureaucracy, formal schooling, medicine, and so forth". Street stresses that such incidences are not necessarily solely imposed by an outsider, intruding or colonising power, but with "a degree of 'internal domination'" (*ibid.*), i.e. literacy

'imports' are often accompanied by movements from dominant circles within the receiving community. Whether such practices and ideologies will necessarily be accepted within communities is another question.

Lewis (1993) presents the case of an introduction of literacy in Somalia, where a number of imported literacies had already been introduced by religious and cultural powers, when the Somali government introduced a written form of the local language, Somali, in order to create a feeling of national pride and strength in the 1970s. Although literacy rates went up to a great extent in a short period of time and linguistic awareness and pride was increased (*ibid.*:151-2), Lewis (*ibid.*:154) comes to the conclusion that:

> Somali writing, though indispensable in certain contexts, falls into second place, as an ancillary medium for communication – a written extension of oral culture with its tendency towards fixed forms. Thus literacy, which symbolically as well as literally is so central to the Ethiopian (Amhara) national consciousness, remains, I believe, peripheral to Somali identity.

Instead he describes how the "transistor revolution", enabled by the advancement of technologies that record spoken texts, has had a bigger effect on invoking national pride, by being able to reproduce and extend longer, more established oral traditions, in the form of pop songs and 'oral chain letters' stored on cassettes. This example as well as other research on cultures where literacy has only recently been part of people's lives (Kulick and Stroud 1993; Besnier 1993) shows that different societies in fact use written language and texts quite differently from those more 'established', dominant ones in central Western communities. It "draws our attention to the creative and original ways in which people transform literacy to their own cultural concerns and interests" (Street 1993:1).

Applying the concept of colonial literacies to an analysis of literacy practices in Deaf communities seems a useful analytical tool. Not only are dominant, mainstream literacy practices imported into Deaf communities particularly given the focus of mainstream literacy within Deaf education, Deaf people also borrow majority literacy practices for internal community practices. Simultaneously we find movements that actively depart from mainstream, colonial literacy practices by developing indigenous writing systems, such as *Sutton SignWriting*, or by recording signed languages, as is the case in our event. Translation itself may be regarded as importing practices associated with dominant communities. Even if language and outlook of source and target texts are adapted to target cultural practices, the content and ideology associated with the ST are still promoted. Although the term 'colonialisation' evokes negative connotations, implying a uni-directional, top-down movement with passive recipients, the process might, in fact, be actively encouraged by minority community members. The borrowing of a literacy may provide access to dominant discourses and thereby foster

empowerment. This short discussion suggests that the issue evokes questions of an ideological, political nature that need further investigation.

4.2.6 Changing Literacy Practices

Societies and cultures are not stable but are shaped by constant change and developments; literacy practices are in flux, new practices develop, dominant practices lose their central status, vernacular practices gain visibility, whether through social developments, technological advances or changes in political and institutional policies (Street 1995; Lewis 1993). Thus, literacy, like other communicational and wider social practices, changes over time. In other words, "*literacy is historically situated*: literacy practices are as fluid, dynamic and changing as the lives and societies of which they are part" (Barton and Hamilton 2000:13; italicisation in original). In conclusion, we can only investigate literacies by recognising its historical context.

Considering that archaeological evidence suggests that the first systematic writing system dates back to around 3500 BC (Holme 2004:135), it is unsurprising that the practices around writing, as well as the writing systems themselves, have changed. Viewing literacy as a constant, autonomous entity or skill that can be unanimously described and taught, and suggesting that written language behaves in a certain, definable way, is therefore restrictive and "[t]here is [...] a danger that practices can come to be seen in a rigid, structural way, when the events they pattern are dynamic and changing" (Tusting 2000:39). As de Pourbaix (2000:129) notes, the ideological model of literacy, viewing literacy as social practice, accounts for such developments over time:

> ... while regularity can be observed in the repetition of literacy events, it is possible that both the events and people's experiences and expectations of these literacy practices change over time. This change does not imply a weakness in the theory of literacy practices; rather the essentially situated nature of the practices drawn on requires them to change as the situation changes. This conceptualisation enables us to keep the idea of structured or patterned literacy events while freeing us from the tyranny of imposing a static structure on dynamic events.

Time and temporal change of literacy practices have frequently been at the centre of discussions in the NLS paradigm (De Pourbaix 2000; Tusting 2000; Kress 2003).

In an age that is shaped by advances in communication and information technologies, literacy practices and communication practices in general are changing rapidly and vastly, which has been commented on widely both within public as well as academic discourses (e.g. Crystal 2001; Beard 2004; Kress 2003; De Pourbaix 2000). Some of the issues will be further discussed in the following section under the heading of multimodality.

4.3 Multimodality

In this section I move from a discussion of literacy to multimodality. I will describe how our perception of communication has shifted from concentrating on 'monomodal' language to a focus on multimodality, both in terms of the ways we communicate as well as in the frameworks with which we conceptualise communication. A discussion of multimodality will not only shed light on features that are important in the TE of this study, it will also extend our analytic frame of reference. I will begin by providing definitions of the concepts multimodality and multimedia.

4.3.1 Defining Multimodality

As defined by Stöckl (2004:9), "multimodal refers to communicative artefacts and processes which combine various sign systems (modes) and whose production and reception calls [sic] upon the communicators to semantically and formally interrelate all sign repertoires present". "Mode" is usually understood as a semiotic, meaning-making entity that contributes to communication and that is accessible to one of the sensory channels. In spite of this general definition, specific understandings of the term vary. Kress (e.g. 2003:1) regards writing and speech, as well as non-verbal entities (e.g. an image), as different modes. Stöckl (2004:12-3), however, differentiates between core modes that, in combination with different media, have various sub-variants. He argues that "the range of existing modes represents a hierarchically structured and networked system, in which any one mode can be seen to fall into sub-modes which in their turn consist of distinct features that make up a sub-mode" (*ibid.*:12). He regards "language" as a core mode, whereas writing and speech (and we can add signing) are what he calls "medial variants". These medial variants may be sub-divided into peripheral modes (e.g. typology and layout for writing), which again carry different means of meaning-making in the form of sub-modes, such as type-size, font-type, colour etc. The non-verbal core mode "image" may be distinguished according to its medial variants "static" and "moving", carrying sub-modes such as "elements", "vectors" and "colour", which again can be distinguished with the features "value", "saturations", "purity", "modulation" etc. Stöckl (*ibid.*) stresses that "modes" should not be confused with "media", but that rather the two are interdependent.

Unpacking the different meaning-making parts of communication and particularly language in detail, Stöckl's model highlights areas where there are still large gaps in our understanding of communication, raising, for example, questions about the relationship between language and gesture or between linguistic and paralinguistic elements. While a reflection on Stöckl's model is useful in demonstrating the complexity of the issue, its attention to detail is not necessary for our purposes and its adoption would unnecessarily complicate matters. My own usage is closer to Kress's approach, which does not explicitly distinguish between core- and sub-modes. In addition, following usage in sign

language linguistic accounts (e.g. Brennan 1997; Meier 2002), my usage of the term "modality" denotes the main linguistic modes, speech, signing and writing.

The event of this study, as per this definition, involves at least two modalities, writing and sign, and is therefore a multimodal event. It is important to note at this stage that research following an NLS framework suggests that most literacy events are multimodal, as they frequently involve 'talk around text'. A theoretical frame that takes into account multimodality therefore does not contradict our assumption that our event is a literacy event; in fact, it adds to our understanding of the intermodal relationships involved. In order to investigate how the modality combination of the event influences the translational mode, our theoretical foundation needs to account particularly for the relationships between the different modalities.

4.3.2 From Literacy to Multimodality

According to the definitions above, multimodal communication is not an exception and never has been. Speech, probably the oldest linguistic mode (or mode variant), rarely happens without gesture and simultaneously incorporates verbal information as well as other potential meaning-making features such as intonation and stress. In fact, Stöckl (2004:10) states that he "would go as far as to argue that the purely mono-modal text has always been an exception while the core practice in communication has essentially been multimodal all along". Nevertheless, sparked by the emergence of multimedia technology, multimodal communication has become more varied, accepted and dominant. We have moved from a central focus on text-based print media to a culture in which a combination of modes of communication is gaining prominence. Whether (with restricted possibilities) in print or (with more possibilities) on screen we are mixing the linguistic with the non-linguistic, the static with the dynamic and the audio with the visual. This results in compositions of mixed semiotic entities, such as written, spoken and signed language, still and moving images, music and noise. This conscious shift of focus toward multimodal discourses has evoked an increased interest in enquiring into the relationships of different means of communication and into the distinct properties that are inherent in particular modalities.

At this stage it is worth revisiting Ong (1982) and taking a look at his notion of *secondary orality*. In 1982, i.e. before many of today's new communication and information technologies were available, Ong described how audiovisual recording technologies, particularly fostered in radio and television media, impacted on the way we communicate. On the one hand, he noted that our communities are becoming more 'oral' again, that "[t]his new orality has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas" (Ong 1982:136). On the other hand, Ong

(*ibid.*) stresses the difference of this new "secondary" orality, as it is "more deliberate and self-conscious" and is enabled by technologies that can only develop through the aid of literacy. In this sense, although our 'literate' societies might turn into more 'oral' ones through television, radio and other media, our ways of thinking are still distinguishable from 'purely' oral societies (see Section 4.1.2). Although the notion of secondary orality softens the dichotomy to some extent, Ong's model is still based on the premise that there is a big divide between 'literate' and 'purely oral' communities and thought.

The idea that writing is not coming to an end because of electronic forms of communication – which may, of course, themselves incorporate writing – is equally supported by proponents of a cognitive model of literacy (Ong 1982:135), as well those who view literacy as social practice, e.g. Kress (2003:10):

> This [shift] does not 'spell' the end of alphabetic writing. Writing is too useful and valuable a mode of representation and communication – never mind the enormous weight of cultural investment in this technology. But it is now impossible to discuss alphabetic writing with any seriousness without full recognition of this changed frame.

At the same time it is undeniable that communication practices have been affected by the advancement of other technologies that combine writing with other modes of communication. An extensive account of such circumstances has been produced by Kress (2003; 2004; also Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; 2006), describing the apparent multimodality in today's communication with reference to changing literacy practices. He describes the "broad move from the now centuries-long dominance of writing to the new dominance of the image and, on the other hand, the move from the dominance of the medium of the book to the dominance of the medium of the screen" (Kress 2003:1). Kress has been criticised for overgeneralising this argument, as images were part of print communication in the past (see Prior 2005 for discussion), but Kress's statement reflects a general shift of focus from language to other modes of communication (cf. Stöckl 2004:9).

With emerging communication modes we adapt our literacy practices to the particularities of the new media. In many circumstances, communication technologies, as apparent in text messaging, emailing and on the internet, have made written communication more immediate and spontaneous, less 'formal' and further-reaching. On the other hand, with advanced word-processing facilities, editing has become easier, making it more functional to revise, correct and edit 'polished' texts. Today we are able to produce a large number of written texts and distribute these vastly with much less effort than it was possible in the age where print was the only way of reaching wide audiences. "In this process writing is undergoing changes of a profound kind: in

grammar and syntax, particularly at the level of the sentence, and at the level of the text/message" (Kress 2003:21).

Moreover, the status of written language is challenged. "Writing now plays one part in communicational ensembles, and no longer *the* part" (Kress 2003:21), together with still and moving image, recorded sound and film. More generally, print communication is being replaced by the screen. This is true in formal contexts (we may now write an email where an official letter would have been more appropriate in the past), as well as in informal situations (we might now keep in touch with our friends via online social networking sites, whereas we may have previously written personal letters). This is true also for popular genres (e.g. the dominance of film and television in our culture) as well as canonical ones (we may now watch television news or read broadsheet newspapers online). Even in academic, i.e. highly literacy-dominated, settings such as conferences we notice a shift toward multimodal communication; with PowerPoint it has become the easy and expected standard to accompany the spoken (or signed) talk with written text, images, film-clips projected on a screen and sound. With the emerging *acceptance* of other modes in dominant settings we are now 'allowed' to produce signed genres that were previously only in the reserve of print. With specific regard to this case study: it is now possible and regarded as appropriate to produce an academic text in signed language, recorded and distributed on a DVD.[49]

4.3.3 Translation and Multimodality

The increased importance of multimodality has not gone unnoticed in TS. The sub-discipline of multimodal TS, also referred to as audiovisual or multimedia TS (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:11), emerged and flourished in the last decade. Accounts include discussion of translational practices that involve multimodal and/or multimedial communication including interlingual activities such as subtitling (e.g. Gottlieb 1997), dubbing (Romero Fresco 2006), screen *interpreting*, as well as intralingual, intersemiotic activities such as subtitling for Deaf and hard-of-hearing people (Neves 2005) and audio description for the blind (Yeoung 2007).

Zabalbeascoa (2007:7) stresses a change from writing to multimodal communication with reference to TS:

> If, thanks to technological progress, we now have a greater range of communication systems [...] in some way, it should come as no surprise that we may be witnessing a change from a writing-based society (and so too translation theory) to an audiovisual, multimodal, multi-semiotic and multilingual society, and hopefully audiovisual translation will be taken more into account, both as a research topic and as a contribution to a general theory of translation.

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[49] For a discussion of further impacts of communication-technological advances on Deaf communication practices, see Chapter 2.2.3.

While Catford (1965/2000:93) 35 years ago pronounced that the translation across media is impossible, it has now become accepted to include inter- and even intralingual communication across modalities under the notion of translation. Rather than predominantly dealing with written text as presented in the traditional TS literature, TPs now work on interlingual and intralingual subtitling, dubbing, localisation, audio descriptions of films, surtitling in operas etc. The "semiotic resources" or "meaning-making modes" include "language, image, music, colour and perspective" (Pérez-González 2009:13). As already mentioned in Chapters 3.2 and 3.3, the theory of translation thus needs to account for these practices by going beyond a focus on written text. A brief overview of how the issue has been approached in TS will be provided below.

Already in the 1970s, Reiss addressed the issue of "audiomediality" under her discussion of text types. Next to the three functions of language, "informative", "expressive" and "operative" (based on Bühler's 1934 three-fold categorisation), Reiss's fourth function "audiomedial" seems like an add-on. Rather than qualifying the content of a text, like the other categories, the latter refers to the outlook of a text, i.e. the channel, in which a text is being communicated. Chaume Varela (2002:5) concludes that so far no approach has been "successful in finding a satisfactory and definitive space for our modality of translation [i.e. audiovisual translation] because [they are] based either on the function of the texts, or on the subject matter that they cover". Instead he suggests that "[a]udiovisual translation is [...] opposed to written or oral translation, and not legal, technical or scientific translation" (*ibid.*:2) and that "[t]he only possible position for the classification of our texts as a whole is a paradigm based on the mode of discourse [...] in opposition to oral, written, iconic and so forth" (*ibid.*:5). He thereby regards audiovisual translation as a particular translational mode.

Although the field has been studied under a number of frameworks ranging from pragmatics (Kovačič 1994; Hatim and Mason 2000) to Descriptive Translation Studies frameworks (Delabastita 1990; Karamitrouglou 2000; Cattrysse 2004), it has been the study of semiotics that has been most successful in helping us to understand the modalities involved in multimodal translation, classed by Chaume Varela (2002:2) as "the only way of accounting for the different modes". Such an approach, with reference to the wider field and particularly with reference to Kress (2003; 2004; 2010; also Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; 2006), will be discussed in the following sections.

4.3.4 A Social Semiotic Approach

Adhering to a social semiotic framework, Kress (2003; 2010) regards communication as governed by both social forces, as suggested by the ideological model of literacy, as well as the potentials and constraints, i.e. the affordances (see 4.3.5 for further discussion), of the different modes:

> In a social-semiotic approach to mode, equal emphasis is placed on the *affordances* of the material 'stuff' of the mode (sound, movement, light and tracings of surfaces, etc.) and on the work done in social life with that material over often very long periods. The distinct material of sound (in the case of *speech*) and of graphic stuff (in the case of *writing*) is constantly shaped and reshaped in everyday social lives, in the most banal as in the most extraordinary circumstances. (Kress 2010:80)

In this regard, a specific mode might be better suited for certain purposes than others. For example, writing (or any other recorded communication) is inherently long-lasting and offers the opportunity to communicate through time and space. Kress (2003:45, italics in original) goes further and suggests that certain modes are better at communicating certain kinds of information than others:

> The *materiality* of mode, for instance the material of *sound* in *speech* and *music*, or of *graphic matter* and *light* in *image*, or the *motion of parts of the body* in *gesture*, holds specific potentials for representation, and at the same time brings certain limitations.

A semiotic framework gives Kress (*ibid.*:44) the opportunity to discuss different modes of communication, including linguistic ones such as writing and speech, as well as images. The essence of the framework is described below:

> There is no question of separating form from meaning; the sign is always meaning-as-form and form-as-meaning. The means of dealing with meaning are different; we need to understand how meanings are made as signs in distinct ways in specific modes, as the result of the interest of the maker of the sign, and we have to find ways of understanding and describing the integration of such meanings across modes, into coherent wholes, into texts. (Kress 2003:37)

He thereby extends the theoretical framing developed within the NLS movement. Although largely adhering to ideas proposed within an ideological model of literacy, he stresses that "... the by now very extensive work in the area of literacy practices (and literacy events) needs to be complemented by work on the affordances and potentials of the stuff, the material which is involved in the practices" (*ibid.*:13), arguing that modes have some influence on certain practices (see also Brandt and Clinton 2002:138).

Avoiding falling into a discourse that resembles an autonomous model of literacy and that assumes a causality imposed by the technology of writing, he is keen to stress that it is not technologies alone that have an effect on communities but rather "[t]echnologies become significant when social and cultural conditions allow them to become significant" (Kress 2003:18) and moreover, that "[c]ultures work with these material affordances in ways which arise from and reflect their concerns, values and meanings" (*ibid.*:45). When analysing literacy practices we should therefore shed light on the materiality of the texts,

while paying attention to the ideological and social factors at play in the process. In other words, both the affordances of the modalities and social practices are important factors in shaping literacy practices.

Whether consciously or otherwise, Kress addresses some criticisms that have emerged against an ideological model of literacy. While concentrating on literacy as social practice alone, it is argued, the ideological model "sometimes veers too far in a reactive direction, exaggerating the power of local contexts to set or reveal the terms and meanings that literacy takes" (Brandt and Clinton 2002:338; see also Stephens 2000:13). By distancing itself too much from an autonomous model of literacy, and concentrating too much on the events and socio-cultural practices which undeniably surround literacy, some aspects have been neglected. Literacy *does* involve a technology and this is likely to influence our practices. Brandt and Clinton (2002:343), who themselves are declared proponents of a literacy-as-social-practice model ask critically:

> Can we not approach literacy as a technology – and even as an agent – without falling into the autonomous model? Can we not see the ways that literacy arises out of local, particular, situated human interactions while also seeing it also regularly arrives from other places – infiltrating, disjointing, and displacing the local life?

With reference to Latour (1996), who proposes that "objects have roles to play" (Brandt and Clinton 2002:344), they argue in favour of extending the model by recognising literacy as an active agent in a literacy event, i.e. an "actant" (*ibid*.:338) that through its materiality and "(some)thing-ness" (*ibid*.:344) contributes to literacy activities. Although not denying that literacy is 'anthro-centric' (*ibid*.:349), they bridge their perceived "great divide" between people and things (*ibid*.:338,346) apparent in an ideological model of literacy:

> We are not suggesting that the technology of literacy carries its own imperatives no matter where it goes. But we want to grant the technologies of literacy certain kinds of undeniable capacities – particularly a capacity to travel, a capacity to stay intact, and a capacity to be visible and animate outside the interactions of immediate literacy events. These capacities stem from the legibility and durability of literacy: its material forms, its technological apparatus, its objectivity, that is, its (some)thing-ness. (*ibid*.:344)

In a comprehensive model of literacy we need to "restore the thing-status" (*ibid*.:337) and take into account the materiality of the modes that we are dealing with.

Accounting for the 'stuff' that communicational modes are made of, Kress (2003; 2005; 2010), as already mentioned above, uses the notion of "affordances", i.e. the "distinct

potentials and limitations" (Kress 2005:12) of a particular mode. It will at this stage be useful to further discuss the concept and its origin.

4.3.5 Affordances

Despite his recurring usage of the concept, Kress fails to provide a thorough definition of the notion of "affordance". It will be useful for our discussion to return to the roots of the term. First introduced by Gibson (1979/1986) in the context of perceptual psychology, the concept stems from a discipline quite remote from our study. Gibson uses the term in order to explain the way animals and human beings 'perceive'. In this, its original context, Gibson (1979/1986:127, italicisation in original) defines "affordances" as "what [something] *offers* (...), what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or for ill", thereby stressing that an object is perceived in terms of its potentials. In other words, an animal or human being perceives an object in terms of its subjective *usability* rather than in an objective way. Gibson's main argument is that affordances are perceived directly – "picked up" – without further cognitive processes, which constituted a radical way of thinking about perception at the time, and the cause for much debate thereafter (cf. Bruce, Green and Georgeson 1996:263). The latter argument and the debates it caused, central in the developments of perceptual psychology yet of little relevance in multimodality research, will not be pursued further in this study.

The term becomes relevant to this work with its emphasis that objects inherently carry certain properties which invite humans (or animals) to act upon them. A chair, for instance, carries properties that make it 'sit·on·able'; similarly, a large stone found in nature may also have the affordance 'sit·on·able'. In terms of our study the modalities of the texts carry certain properties that invite us to do something with them; e.g. a written text carries the property of permanency, thereby invites us to communicate through time and space. The notion of affordance therefore allows us to discuss the features of a modality that make it inherently different from another. In terms of my research question, it enables us to investigate the specific impact that written source and recorded signed target text modalities have on an event.

However, the concept is of particular value as it denotes an inseparable relationship between the properties of some·thing and an actor; affordances are relational – inextricably connected between object, actor and the environment. In other words, the relationship between object and actor is essential for an affordance to exist (Gibson 1979/1986:129): one cannot be there without the other. Furthermore, the affordances of an object depend on the characteristics of an actor. A small chair, for example, might be 'sit·on·able' for a small child, but not for an adult. Although this is where, according to Bruce, Green and Georgeson (1996:263), his theory is most controversial, Gibson (1979/1986:139) offers an example that suggests that affordances are socially informed:

a letterbox, Gibson argues, only carries the affordance of letter-posting in an environment which has a postal system. Given this example, we are not veering too far when suggesting that the affordances of a modality, the potentials and constraints that invite us to act upon it, i.e. what we 'perceive', are linked to our experiences and embedded in a social context. The concept thereby allows for a social semiotic approach, i.e. an approach that acknowledges the social, cultural and ideological forces at play in a communication event, while recognising that different modalities carry certain potentials that are likely to be "picked up" by the TP.

The notion allows us to take into account the impact of the modalities themselves without losing sight of the people who use it. Moreover, it is particularly "the invitation to act" on the basis of one's perception of an object that is stressed within the theory of affordance (Bruce, Green and Georgeson 1996:263). It is this quality of the term, the aspect that an inherent characteristic only becomes relevant when it is acted upon, that makes it interesting and useful for this discussion; it helps us regard the properties of the different modalities and media involved in context, rather than in isolation. The notion allows us to discuss the modalities' inherent features without falling into the trap of conceptualising the characteristics of the event as detached from real-life, static and pre-conditioned. Rather than suggesting that the inherent properties of a certain modality influence an event *per se*, it is only through the actor's (i.e. in our case the TP's) perception that it is acted upon.

A discrepancy between Gibson's term and my usage is that in its original sense the notion is introduced with regard to the sensual perception of *physical* objects, whereas the 'objects' of this study (the modalities and media of different languages) are much more abstract, and so is my notion of 'perception'. I am interested in the TP's *ideas* of the properties of the modalities and media and how these ideas invite her, or indeed *afford* her, to conduct certain actions. However, I do not claim that I use the term affordance in its original sense, nor do I aim to contribute to Gibson's discussion of perception. With reference to the usages of the concept within the discussion of multimodal discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; Kress 2003; 2005; Prior 2005; Lee 2007), I borrow the concept almost in a metaphorical sense. With its above-mentioned denotations, the concept of affordances can help shed light on this investigation of the modalities' impacts on the TE of this study.

4.4 A Discussion of the Theoretical Frame

The discussion above demonstrates the very complex relationships between different modalities and the way they are used. Modalities are not foreseeable, unchangeable, autonomous entities that behave in a certain set way and have the ability to influence individuals or communities (as in Ong 1982; 1992; Goody and Watt 1968; Goody 1987).

Contextual, cultural, social, ideological and idiosyncratic factors are at play in human communication and in the ways we use written, spoken or signed language. However, as Kress (2003) points out, the 'stuff', i.e. the materiality and the semiotic characteristics of a certain modality, in itself embedded in its social context, impacts on how we communicate.

We are coming full circle. While earlier linguistic theories did not deal with the issues of speech and writing, from the 1960s onwards there was a trend to stress the differences between writing and speech and between literacy and orality. This is significantly apparent in the 'great divide' of an autonomous literacy model. NLS and its ideological model of literacy discards such an idea and stresses the complexity of the situation, pointing out that communication is predominantly informed by social and cultural practices rather than the properties of linguistic modalities. Yet, without losing sight of the social context, the notion of affordances, as defined above, enables us to account for the potentials and constraints attached to individual modalities in particular media. This approach makes it possible to analyse in what way the modalities influence the process and the translational mode of the TE in this study, both socially as well as with their inherent capacities. Based on these premises, I treat the translation of this case study as a multimodal literacy event, which is:

- inextricably governed by literacy and signing practices.
- additionally shaped by the perceived affordances of the modalities involved.
- embedded within its wider social, socio-professional, cultural and ideological context.

The theories presented above have concentrated on written and spoken languages and communication practices in non-signing communities; practices in signing communities have remained greatly unexplored in such accounts. However, it should have become clear that particular modalities are not the main factors in this framework, which instead focuses on the complex relationships between modalities in communication events. Moreover, NLS pays particular attention to literacy practices in societies and communities where literacy is 'new' and whose 'literacies' are non-dominant. An ideological model of literacy, focusing on practices in cross-cultural contexts, will offer an approach that takes into account practices in Deaf communities and is adaptable and able to accommodate other modalities and their relationships in use. By taking into account the semiotic characteristics and the '(some)thing-ness' of texts and different media, we will be able to account for the fact that such texts will have their own meaningful capacities. Most importantly, however, the TE is intertwined with the wider practices and ideologies of both Deaf and Hearing communities.

With only a few exceptions (particularly Baynham 1993; see also Faustich Orellana *et al.* 2003), translation has not been on the agenda in NLS. However, the approaches account for the complex relationships between different modalities and modes (Hamilton 2000) as well as between countries and communities (see the contributions in Street ed. 1993). The notions of 'dominant' and 'vernacular' in addition to 'colonial literacies' meaningfully describe relationships between written and signed modalities, and we can analyse translations between the two by recognising the ideological powers that are at play in such an event. This work thus contributes to the study of literacy in this framework by providing insights into the interlingual, intermodal relationships realised through translation that are involved in a multimodal, multilingual literacy event.

4.4.1 A Social Turn in Translation Studies

I will end the discussion of my theoretical foundations by pointing out some recent movements in TS that are in parallel with the proposed approach. After the "cultural turn" (Snell-Hornby 1990; see also Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) in the 1980s and particularly 1990s, which moved the focus from texts to the wider cultural and historical impacts of translation, we are now experiencing what has been called a "sociological turn" or "social turn" (Wolf 2006; 2007). Wolf (2007:4) explains the relationship between the cultural and the social as follows:

> The process of translation seems, to different degrees, to be conditioned by two levels: the 'cultural' and the 'social'. The first level, a structural one, encompasses influential factors such as power, dominance, national interests, religion or economics. The second level concerns the agents involved in the translation process, who continuously internalize the aforementioned structures and act in correspondence with their culturally connoted value systems and ideologies.

Although keen to conceptualise the distinction between the two, Chesterman (2006:10) acknowledges that social and cultural issues are not always easily separated, which according to him "perhaps" explains "the tendency of many scholars [...] to resort to the compound concept of the 'sociocultural'".

Although the field is still "under construction", Wolf (2007:31) argues that a theory of translation that places emphasis on translation as social practice is starting to formulate and become more prominent. Work by Bourdieu has become particularly influential in shaping a sociological focus in the field (see the special issue of *The Translator* edited by Inghilleri 2005; particularly Thoutenhoofd 2005 on sign language *interpreting*). Other sociological theories that have been regarded as useful in the field include Latour's actor-network theory, which plays a central role in Buzelin's (2007a; 2007b) work, narrative theory, particularly promoted by Baker (e.g. 2006), and Luhmann's system theory (Hermans 1999; 2007). These approaches share an interest in the impact of wider social

structures on translation and vice versa. In this sense, a sociology of translation is based on the premise that "[a]ny translation, as both an enactment and a product, is necessarily embedded within social contexts" (Wolf 2007:1). Such studies attempt to investigate the relationship between the local and the wider context in which it is embedded. The notions of practices and events take centre stage. However, although translation is increasingly regarded and labelled as social practice in such a framework, clear definitions of the terms are rarely provided. Chesterman (2006) is an exception; his definitions will lead the following section.

4.4.2 Translational Practices and Events

The notion of translational (or translation) practice, "filling the gap" (Chesterman 2006:18) in a theory of translation that accounts for social processes, is defined by Chesterman (*ibid*.:19) as "an institutionalized system of social conduct in which tasks are performed by actors fulfilling roles, under contextual conditions which include a striving for quality".[50] Drawing on conceptualisations of the wider field of sociology, his definition places emphasis on *people* who constitute active participants in social structures. Furthermore, practices adhere to ideological principles and are therefore closely connected to the concept of norms (cf. *ibid*.:18). Chesterman (*ibid*.:20) adds that "the *practice of translation* (in a given context) is made up of *tasks* whose performance takes place via *translation events* (in that context)" and defines a *translation event* "as the duration of a translation task, from initial request to delivery and payment" (*ibid*.:13). As within an NLS framework, these two concepts enable us to make a connection between the observable 'local' and the more abstract social and ideological powers at play (cf. Inghilleri 2004).[51]

Investigating translation as an event, which constitutes a "rupture with exclusively text-bound approaches" (Wolf 2007:3), allows us to direct our attention to the process of translation and focus our attention on people. Rather than concentrating on cognitive processes, i.e. the "black-box" of a TP, the analytical gaze is directed to observable, 'real' processes that involve people and their interactions with other human and non-human actors, such as technologies. Chesterman (2006:23) proposes the following list of aspects in an attempt to frame the field that focuses on a "sociology of the translation process":[52]

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[50] Although appreciating Chesterman's aim to portray a positive image of TPs by assuming that their intentions are based on a shared ethos for quality, I take issue with his view that translating actors are necessarily, by definition, influenced by a "striving for quality". The underlying forces that govern translational practices and the actions performed by TPs should be part of the investigation of a sociology of translation, rather than presupposed assumptions.

[51] This corresponds to some extent to Agorni's (2007) notion of 'localism' which enables her to make similar connections between the local and the wider context.

[52] The items in italics are highlighted in the original and refer to concepts that Chesterman believes to be in need of further investigation and definition.

- The sociology of translating focuses on translating as a social *practice*.
- The practice consists of the performance of translation *tasks* (observable as translation *events*).
- The practice is *institutionalized*, to a greater or lesser extent.
- The tasks are carried out by *translators*, as people with their own subjectivity, interests and values.
- Translators create and use *networks*, with the help of which the tasks are accomplished via cooperation.
- Networks consist of human and non-human *actors* (or resources).
- Each actor fulfils a *role* or function (division of labour...).
- Each role has a *status* (public perception...).
- Each task is completed under *constraints* (norms, policies, other networks....).
- Translation practice is governed by some notion of *quality*.

Focusing on the translational process in this sense provides a suitable approach for the analysis of a translational mode. It provides an opportunity to analyse the constraints and opportunities at play in the event, both in terms of the social structures as well as with regard to the modalities' affordances. I will thereby particularly attend to one aspect that according to Chesterman (*ibid.*:20) still deserves particular attention:

> What are the distinct phases of the task process (i.e. the translation event), from initial need to the delivery of the translation and payment of the fee? How are the phases distributed over time?

Each of the aspects in Chesterman's list will be, to a smaller or larger extent, considered in my analysis, allowing for a complex, or 'thick' (see Chapter 5.1.4), understanding of the event. Additionally drawing on ideas developed in an ideological model of literacy allows me to direct my focus on the modalities involved without losing touch with the social focus. This study hence responds to Cronin's (2002) call to take into account aspects of orality and literacy in TS without relying on an unrealistic, binary categorisation.

Overall, an approach rooted in the notions of translational practices and events will help us move away from a dichotomous, prototype-based understanding of the object of our discipline. It helps us make generalisations without losing sight of the particular, the specificity of one event and, as demonstrated in the NLS, allows us to direct our gaze to practices outside the dominant centre. This theoretical grounding will support my aim to challenge existing knowledge of TS by focusing on non-central practices through negotiation rather than integration. This study thus further contributes to current approaches in TS that draw on sociological frameworks.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined a number of accounts that investigate communication in different modalities. I have shown that the relationships between written, spoken and signed modalities are very complex, involving micro- and macro-related social forces as well as semiotically-driven differentiations. By drawing on literacy and multimodality studies, I am able to conceptualise the modalities, i.e. the pertinent building-blocks of cross-modal translation, in their social surroundings. I also present an analytical approach that accounts for the complexity involved in multimodal communication events by actively deconstructing assumptions that rely on a binary prototype approach. This interdisciplinary foundation allows me to direct my analytical gaze to a TE which falls outside central, extensively described domains by involving a minority language in a visual-gestural modality. I am thus able to extend the conceptualisations of translational modes as presented in the TS literature to date (see Chapter 3). In conclusion, drawing on the interdisciplinary theoretical foundation discussed above, I will investigate the process of the translation of this case study as a TE that is governed by social, socio-professional and translational practices, as well as semiotically-driven, ideologically-embedded literacy practices.

Chapter 5 – Methodology, Methods and the Case

I will now discuss how I put the above-constructed theoretical underpinning into practice by presenting my methodological considerations and approaches. This chapter moves from a reflection on my research-philosophical standing, i.e. outlining my methodological foundations (5.1), via introduction to the rationale for choosing a particular case (5.2) to portraying my methods of data generation (5.3) and analysis (5.4).[53]

5.1 Methodological Approach

> We are what we study: the reflection upon and the acknowledgement of one's own objectives and biases therefore become part of the research findings. (Lentin 1994:online)

In any research project, it should be a prerequisite to reflect upon, understand and be open about one's methodological approach, that is, the strategy with which one conducts a study, the methods used to generate and analyse data, and one's underlying epistemological and ontological worldview that influences one's research design and interpretation. All of these factors have some bearing on the focus of a study, and therefore on the questions asked and the answers found. The acknowledgement of and reflection on one's methodological approach have become increasingly routine practice in a number of disciplines, particularly by researchers who shy away from positivist frameworks. In a somewhat simplified way, such an approach is generally – though not exclusively – associated with a qualitative research paradigm.[54] Janesick (2000:385), providing a model of good practice, states:

> ... qualitative researchers accept the fact that research is ideologically driven. There is no value-free or bias-free design. The qualitative researcher early on identifies his or her biases and articulates the ideology or conceptual frame for the study. By identifying one's biases, one can see easily where the questions that guide the study are crafted.

By leaving one's underlying rationale, one's decisions and potential implications undiscussed, we are left with some kind of seeming objectivity that reflects a positivist worldview, following the conscious or unconscious assumption that "science separates facts from values; it is value-free" (Robson 2002:20), and an ontological position that "views truth as absolute" (Grbich 2007:4). However, as many have argued before, "[t]he myth that research is objective can no longer be taken seriously" (Janesick 2000:385).

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[53] I would particularly like to thank Hanna Eichmann and Priscilla Chueng-Nainby. Our discussions and their insights have influenced my methodological approaches to a great extent.

[54] Although arguably qualitative research may also be conducted under positivistic frameworks and quantitative research in non-positivist ones, both approaches are however associated with particular research paradigms. I here use the concept 'qualitative research' in a 'deeper' sense, with which, following Creswell (2009:4-5), I do not only mean that qualitative researchers use open-ended rather than closed questions or words rather than numbers, but "the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to the study, the types of research strategies used overall in the research [...], and the specific methods employed in conducting these strategies".

By reviewing and using interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks at home both in TS and in the anthropologically-driven literacy studies, I came to realise that not only the nuances of my questions, but also my answers look very different according to the theoretical and methodological approach I follow. In the following sections I will explain how I came to design a multi-method single-case study that is explorative, qualitative, ethnographic, authentic, thickly described and informed by a social constructionist worldview.

5.1.1 Towards a Data-Driven Approach

It is difficult to generalise about methodological strategies in translation research, as TS, often referred to as an 'interdiscipline' (Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker and Kaindl eds 1994; Wolf 2007), is diverse and so are the approaches used within the field. However, there seems to be a persistent dominant voice arguing in favour of conducting research by following a hypothesis-testing approach, as, for example, proposed in *The Map* (Williams and Chesterman 2002), one of the few textbooks on TS methodology, or here:

> Any rigorous academic discipline progresses by way of hypotheses: first discovering and proposing them, then testing them, then refining them. Otherwise we are condemned simply to go round and round in circles and to reinvent the wheel for ever. (Chesterman 2000:21)

Such an approach follows deductive reasoning, which is most commonly associated with the 'traditional science way', "whereby theoretical propositions or hypotheses are generated in advance of the research process, and then modified – usually through the process of falsification – by the empirical research" (Mason 2002:180).

In his endeavour to promote the scientific legitimacy of IS, Gile (e.g. 2005) also supports an approach that is systematic, empirically based and hypothesis-testing. However, as Cronin (2002:390) argues:

> The obvious theoretical danger is that the approach will privilege further depoliticized, minimally contextualized experiments, carefully controlled by a researcher who assumes objectivity, and that these experiments will be carried out almost invariably in conference interpreting on the grounds that the booth is the nearest thing we have in interpreting to a cage.

By way of describing my research process, I will use the following sections to argue that a hypothesis-driven, experiment-based approach has its limitations.

We should at this stage remind ourselves of the area of research in this study: translation from written into signed language. As outlined above (Chapter 3.4), the topic is very

much unexplored, whereas general (mainstream) TS have developed extensively over the past decades. It could therefore be argued that answering the research questions 'afresh', without reference to existing ideas, would indeed, as Chesterman (2000:21) above suggests, attempt to "reinvent the wheel". In fact, I believe that we should assume that successful translation theory should account for translations including all language pairs, irrespective of their (minority or majority) status or modalities (see Chapter 3.1). In terms of answering my research questions, with which I attempt to conceptualise and situate the activity of written-sign translation, I initially set out to 'test' the seven parameters proposed by Salevsky (1982; see Section 3.3.4) theoretically, i.e. by asking "is the translation (potentially) repeatable?", "is the whole ST (potentially) available?", "do ST and TT creation (potentially) happen independently?" and so on (see Chapter 7.1).

However, a top-down approach, following a deductive logic, becomes problematic if the theory is based on prototypes modelled on experiences with dominant practices only, if it reflects a mere "cultural moment" (Tymoczko 2006:14). The notion "top-down", associated with a hypothesis-testing, deductive approach, thereby receives another meaning; knowledge is uni-directionally imposed from the top, i.e. central, dominant, hegemonic understandings, down onto non-central practice, reinforcing a biased hierarchy. Moreover, as Street (1993:3) writes with regard to Ong's (1982) autonomous approach of investigating literacy and orality (see Chapter 4.1.2), "[t]rapped within approaches such as this, it is difficult to learn anything new or to see anything different [...] since we see only our own reflections when we look at others". When regarding communication as *practice* that is informed by socio-cultural values, we need to investigate events with a fresh eye, with "detailed, in-depth accounts of actual practice in different cultural settings" (1993:1). This is done in the NLS, where, for example in Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič (eds 2000), studies are "based upon real texts and lived practices and locate literacy in time, space and discourse" (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič 2000:1). Hence, when regarding TEs, like literacy events, as steered by socio-cultural practice, it is not enough to investigate translational processes 'autonomously', without reference to authentic, observed events or regard to their narrow and wider contexts as well as the complexity involved (Buzelin 2007b). When using the data as a starting point, however, theorising – bottom-up – based on one's analysis, one is able to distance oneself from pre-conceived ideas which, in TS, are often based on dominant practices (cf. Baker 2009:224).

In other words, particularly *because* I am concerned with a relatively unexplored field of research, a top-down, deductive approach would be too restrictive, promoting an 'integrative' rather than 'negotiative' approach (see Chapter 3.1.4). Instead, as Creswell (2009:18) argues, new fields of research lend themselves for an explorative enquiry:

[...] if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to examine. This type of approach may be needed because the topic is new, the topic has never been addressed with a certain sample or group of people, and existing theories do not apply with the particular sample or group under study.

In the case of written to signed translation, it is indeed not clear what the variables are, the field is new, and existing theories focusing on written *translation* or spoken/sign *interpreting* have only just started to be applied to those situations that involve visual-gestural and written languages (see Chapter 3.4).

This has led me to approach my project by following what is sometimes called an explorative, or "flexible" research design (Anastas and MacDonald 1994; Robson 2002). As suggested above by Creswell, such an approach is usually associated with research practices that are predominantly qualitative. Qualitative research is here regarded as:

...a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making meaning of the data. (Creswell 2009:4)

The research design is here less fixed than it would be in a traditional positivist deductive study. Its methodologies "celebrate richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity rather than being embarrassed or inconvenienced by them" (Mason 2002:1). In other words, what is regarded negatively by Chesterman (2000:21) above as "go[ing] round and round in circles and [...] reinvent[ing] the wheel", i.e. an approach that strives to move away from a deductive methodology by accounting for new, unexpected nuances, is here embraced and seen as the essence of driving our knowledge forward.

An essentially data-driven approach became the focus of this research project. However, rather than resisting any influence of previous theoretical accounts (as would be good practice in purely inductive strategies such as a grounded theory approach, see Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006), I accept that the analysis was at least partially driven by my previously formed conceptualisation of translational modes. Moreover, I will argue that the situation itself is influenced by the agents' previous conceptualisations, as well as common practices that practitioners necessarily draw on. Such an understanding reflects a social constructionist view. Concepts and activities are not absolute. Instead they are inevitably influenced by the ways in which we

perceive them and what we make of them within the context of our social and cultural surroundings, i.e. how we socially construct them. This will be further discussed in the following section.

5.1.2 A Social Constructionist Perspective

As suggested above, a researcher should reflect on the worldview that influences their research: "[a]lthough philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research (Slife and Williams 1995), they still influence the practice of research and need to be identified" (Creswell 2009:5). Our understanding of the world shapes what we make out of our research. I will now explain how a social constructionist[55] epistemology has steered this research and how such an approach can move the discipline forward.[56]

We seem to know what we mean by *translation* and *interpreting*. Although definitions vary and there have been attempts to conceptualise the terms more critically and comprehensively (see Chapter 3.3), in our daily lives we hardly question the existence of these two translational modes, nor what they essentially entail. When somebody describes herself as an *interpreter*, we, as translation scholars, have an idea of the activities she carries out, and we are also aware in which ways the activities are likely to differ from *translating*. However, I have argued above that these two activities are less easily conceptualised when signed languages are concerned (see Chapter 3.4). Following a social constructionist assumption that "the categories that people employ in helping them to understand the natural and social world are in fact social products" (Bryman 2004:18) and that a "meaning is likely to be a highly ephemeral one, in that it will vary both in time and place" (*ibid.*), we can argue that our understanding of the concepts *translation* and *interpreting* is socially constructed. The terms are influenced by the way the two professions and their academic enquiry unfolded over history, i.e. their socio-professional and socio-academic institutional environments, as well as by the particular nature of the dominant, i.e. culturally-biased, practices in spoken/written language contexts on which they are based. An analysis of unexplored activities, such as translation between written and signed texts, invites us to understand concepts, such as *translation* and *interpreting*, afresh, to re-think our conceptualisations.

At first, a discussion of the *meaning* of concepts such as *translation* and *interpreting* might seem unimportant, unhelpful and unapplied – it might look like a refinement of definitions of some significant terms, at worst it might be suspected that a discussion hardly goes beyond meaningless terminological debates. In an age, however, where

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[55] Although there have been attempts to make a distinction (Crotty 1998), I do not distinguish between constructivism and constructionism in this study, since the two "are often used interchangeably" (Patton 2002:97) and the debates are not central to my research.
[56] Other works in related fields that explicitly take on a constructionist view include Kiraly (2000) on translator education, Cook-Gumperz (2006) in literacy studies, Eichmann (2008) in sign linguistics and Corker (1998) in Deaf Studies.

communicative practices, including translational practices, are changing, TPs and other agents are re-defining their approaches and strategies. (An example was given in 3.3.4, where in the European Commission public enquiries need to be translated rapidly, in near-real time, and the decision was made that the job was to be carried out by *interpreters* rather than *translators*; cf. Schäffner 2004:7). The activities are in flux, and our conceptualisations should be flexible enough to follow the practice that TPs portray when working in both majority and minority, dominant and vernacular settings. As Robinson (1998:online) suggests, "we need to deconstruct and demystify the old knowledge [about translation]". And what Buzelin (2007b:146) argues in the context of discarding conservative assumptions that view translation as a linear, equivalence-seeking process, i.e. that "we are seeing new conceptualizations that highlight the creative, disruptive and unpredictable nature of translation at the crossroads of multiple practices", I expect to be equally applicable to the investigation of translational modes in 'new' contexts, such as the one of this study.

A social constructionist perspective reinforces the importance of investigating an event in its social, cultural and historical context. Moreover, since actions are embedded in an agent's individual, yet socially-informed understanding of the activity, we can only understand a situation by getting to know the motivations of the people involved and by stressing that these motivations contribute to the 'meanings' of the reality that we are observing and describing: "the question 'what is going on here' cannot be answered without reference to the agent's own understanding of what she is doing" (Cameron *et al.* 1992:11). In this study the voice of the TP was deemed as particularly important, not only as she was the driving force in the TE, but also because of her expert knowledge and experience in translating such events. This study thereby contributes to an important tenet in sociologically driven theories of translation which "give voice to the translators and other agents of this process as subjects ensuing from particular cultural dynamics" (Wolf 2007:4).

Finally, a constructionist view acknowledges that meaning cannot be absolute and objective. My own understandings, influenced by my background and social surroundings, as well as my academic knowledge, will have a bearing on the findings. As a (Hearing) researcher on translational activities with academic experience in *translation* between (written) German and English, and *interpreting* between BSL and English, I have my own understandings of how the activities differ. Because of my lack of experience as a professional TP, they are likely to be different from those of practitioners who have been active in the field; my understandings are largely founded on theoretical and 'educational' knowledge of the matter.

Taking a social constructionist view as the basis for this research has thus three consequences for this study: (1) I consider it as important to investigate the conceptualisations of the key participant of the study; (2) concepts, including those of *translation* and *interpreting*, are regarded as socially constructed and in flux; (3) I acknowledge that my particular research design, methodological approach and the methods of data generation and analysis steer the findings of this research.

5.1.3 An Ethnographic Approach

An ethnographic study was deemed useful as a way to follow my methodological approach, which will be explained in this section.[57] *Ethnos* is a Greek term for 'the people' or 'cultural group', and combined with *graphic* it "refers to a social scientific description of a people and the cultural basis of their peoplehood" (Vidich and Lyman 2000:40). Although I am not describing 'a people' or 'a culture' as such in this study, the aim is to explore the TE which is at the centre of this study, as if entering unknown territory. Of course, it is not unusual to conduct ethnographic studies in fields other than anthropology.

> Since the time anthropologists 'returned home', ethnography has been applied to research objects of varying natures within neighbouring disciplines that are sometimes rather far removed from anthropology. Considering that today there exist ethnographies of writing (Fabre 1993; 1997) and of communication, among others, can we not envisage one or more ethnographies of translation? In a certain way, each time they have attempted to reflect upon and theorize about translation on the basis of their own practice, translation scholars and translators have acted as ethnographers. (Buzelin 2007b:143)

Besides Buzelin's (*ibid.*) study on the creation of translations in three Montréal publishing houses, other ethnographic research on translation include works by Wolf (2002), Inghilleri (2006) and Koskinen (2006).

Even more influential for this research have been the ideas, concepts and methodologies developed within an ideological model of literacy (as outlined in Chapter 4.2). Following the ethos that an "understanding of literacy requires detailed, in-depth accounts of actual practice in different cultural settings" (Street 1993), NLS research has been heavily based on ethnographic studies (e.g. Wilson 2000 on literacy practices in prisons; or Pardoe 1999 on student writing), which contributed to shaping the idea that literacy is a socially, culturally and historically situated practice. Another significant study for this research, and probably one of the closest to this, has been Stone's (2006) *Towards a*

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[57] Hammersley (2002) discusses some discrepancies between constructionist methodologies and ethnographic approaches. However, a social constructionist perspective does not reject realism in its entirety, i.e. it does not attest that we cannot perceive reality at all. Rather, all reality is constructed through people's perspectives and understandings and it is important to take into account the social and cultural surroundings in which meaning is constructed, either through language or through actions.

Deaf Translation Norm. In order to compare the approaches followed by Deaf and hearing translators/interpreters of television news, Stone conducted interviews and think-aloud protocols, following a critical ethnographic approach, so as "to study and to represent cultures from within their own frame of reference" (Stone 2006:91), particularly with a view to conducting Deaf-led research.

Following on from these approaches, I advocate that the best way of exploring a new situation is by gaining 'first hand experience' of the TE and by being 'there':

> Ethnographers [...] lay great emphasis on a researcher's 'first-hand experience' of a setting, and on observational methods. The metaphor of 'immersion' in a setting is frequently used, and says much about ethnography's ontological and epistemological orientations. It [...] argues that the best – although not only – way of generating knowledge of these is for the research to get right inside them. (Mason 2002:55)

Although it was not possible for me to 'immerse' myself in the TE at all stages, my aim was to get as close as possible to the activity carried out by the TP, both through observation and interviews. In the following section I will discuss my ethnographic approach within a multi-method single case-study.

5.1.4 A Single, Authentic, Multi-Method Case Study

A case study is described by Runyan (1982:121, cited in Platt 1999:162) as "the presentation and interpretation of detailed information about a single subject, whether an event, a culture, or ... an individual life". A case study research design is based on the following premises:

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that:
> - investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when
> - the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident [...]; and in which
> - multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin 1984:23)

The key characteristic that singles it out from other research methods is that it focuses on an object of research in a real setting. Such a study is therefore able to analyse data in its actual social context. The strategies and choices employed by the TP and other key players were made under *real*-life circumstances including a *real* timeframe and with considerations concerning a *real* audience.[58] If the TE were set up as an experiment, the TP's motifs and strategies would have been quite different. As Robson (2002:112) suggests, participants' actions in an experimental research design are "likely to be co-

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[58] Despite the authenticity of the event, my involvement did have an impact on the event: The interviews gave the TP room for further reflection, and the TP was aware of my observation. A knowledge that one's actions are analysed is likely to influence one's behaviour. Nevertheless, the commission would have happened without my involvement and the purpose of the event was genuine.

operative but could well be obstructive", that is, participants tend to aim to 'please' the researcher and thereby adjust their strategies according to what they think the research is about. While this may have been similarly true in the authentic event of this study, since the TP was aware of my presence and my research, additional 'real' forces of working with an authentic commission to produce a TT to be used by a real audience with genuine time constraints were at play. We can assume that it is the latter which primarily led the TP's approach, giving her an authentic focus. Moreover, in order to avoid the imposition of preconceived theory that is based on dominant practices on a non-central event, a data-driven approach drawing on a real-life event which incorporates non-central practices was essential.

Although single case studies are quite typical in ethnographic research, it is possible to conduct research on multiple, comparative or parallel cases (Platt 1999; Susam-Sarajeva 2009). In my research design, I was faced with essentially two options, either to investigate one defined, narrowly focused research question at a number of examples, or to investigate one case with a broader focus and a flexible research design. Both approaches are valid, however, since we are concerned with a largely unexplored activity which we can expect to offer a vast number of unexpected, unexplored features, I set out to take on the more explorative approach to investigate the topic. Not only was it difficult to find comparable cases that could have been realistically included in this research in an appropriate timeframe, also, considering the novelty of the activity, we can expect that common ground in carrying out such TEs has not developed yet. Rather than attempting to establish generalities where there are none, I was able to explore one particular event fully, in its specificity and in its individual context. I conducted a single case study.

We are therefore faced with the following problem concerning *generalisability*: "How can a single case possibly be representative so that it might yield findings that can be applied more generally to other cases?" (Bryman 2004:50). The answer is: it cannot, nor does it intend to – at least not in terms of statistical generalisability. As Susam-Sarajeva (2009:44) reports:

> The traditional notion of generalizability as scientific induction, with its reductionism, assumptions of determinism and assertions of enduring and context-free value, has been criticized as incompatible with qualitative research [... and] such a notion of generalizability does not take into account the complexity, embedded character and specificity of real-life phenomena and social purposes.

However, although vast generalisations should necessarily be avoided in single-case study research, it does not mean that the findings of this study will not have any wider implications. Rather than aiming to be representative, narrowly focused qualitative

studies have wider resonance by presenting watertight analyses from which coherent logical consequences and careful, specific generalisations can be drawn (Yin 1984; Mitchell 1999:191; Maxwell 2002:53). This study aims to analyse data, which is then "abstracted conceptually [...] so that the links between the theoretical postulates and the case(s) studied [here only one case] are lucid and strong", in other words, it aims to "generalize *into theory*, not generalizing over onto other case studies" (Susam-Sarajeva 2009:49). Indeed, analyses of single cases are not uncommon in *translation* and *interpreting* research (*ibid.*:43). As demonstrated, for example, by Roy's (2000) seminal study on a thirty minute dialogue *interpreting* event, even a considerably small body of data can provide deep insights into an activity as complex as translational practice.

Focusing on one case only allowed me to use a variety of data generation strategies, including three interviews (one of which included a retrospective think-aloud protocol), observation of part of the TE, an investigation of the TT, as well as the collection and analysis of various documents used and produced by the TP in order to create the TT (see Section 5.3 for a portrayal of each data source). Informal conversations with the commissioner of the translation gave additional contextual information. I was further able to adjust the research questions, purposes and methods sufficiently in response to the data generation, when the particularities of the case invited me to. In order to ensure systematicity when carrying out multiple case studies, flexibility and the ability to conduct a data-driven approach are comparatively limited. Moreover, by employing different data sources, I was able to draw on a number of "ontological properties", i.e. the varying kinds of "component properties of social reality/ies" (Mason 2002:15), particularly: the TP's perspective, her understandings, motivations, ideas and perceptions as portrayed in the interviews; my own observations of the process generated through fieldwork; and my analysis of collected texts. These entities were cross-referenced, i.e. the findings were negotiated between the insights from the different sources. I was thereby able to make connections between motivations and processes, perspectives and actions, impressions and texts. Thereby, as Yin (1984:14) suggests, "the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events".

By drawing on different data sources and ontological entities, this study goes beyond the 'local', taking into account the wider context and places emphasis on both the micro and the macro. I thereby adhered to what has been called a *thick* description (Geertz 1975; Holliday 2002; see also Appiah's 1993/2000 notion of "thick translation") described by Denzin (1994:505) as follows:

A thin description simply reports facts, independent of intentions or circumstances. A thick description, in contrast, gives the context of an experience, states the intentions and meanings that organized the experience, and reveals the experience as a process.

Overall, rather than aiming for breadth, this study concentrates on depth; it is vertically-focused, rather than horizontally-oriented.

5.1.5 Ethical Issues

With each research comes some form of ethical responsibility. In the widest sense this involves aiming at conducting "quality research", which according to Mason (2002:202) involves "some forms of generalization", the avoidance of "inappropriate or false generalizations" as well as an attempt at producing "generalizations that feed into wider sets of issues or questions, or help to initiate debate about issues and questions which you see as 'legitimate public concerns'"; research should thereby be 'socially meaningful', emerging from social demand and feeding back into practice.

More particularly, any research that focuses on human social activity should respect its participants. Bryman (2004:479; drawing on Diener and Crandall 1978), summarises four different principles of ethical research, which involves no "*harm to participants*", no "*lack of informed consent*", no "*invasion of privacy*" and no "*deception*". In order to ensure these four principles, the study was designed appropriately, the TP of the study was informed about the research purposes and the nature of the study, and my involvement was negotiated. Although at the time of the study, the hosting institution of this research, Heriot-Watt University, did not require the approval of an ethics committee, I felt it ethically necessary to agree on my research involvement in the form of a formal contract. The research aims and the nature of the participant's involvement were explained, negotiated and agreed upon. "[R]especting individuals' right to confidentiality" (Turner and Harrington 2000:259) is an important tenet in committing to ethical research. Given that it is not or hardly possible to show sign language data without revealing the signer's identity (e.g. Metzger 1999:35), it is nearly impossible to obscure a person's identity in a research context that uses visual data without concealing important parts of the research. In order to respect the participants' confidentiality, it was decided to conceal their faces in the data shown, although this reduces the illustrativeness of the data to some extent. Nevertheless, important information regarding the TP's background as elicited during the interviews may – in a world as small as the sign language translation community – reveal the TP's identity. This issue was discussed with the TP before our first interview and she gave her consent that the portrayal of data may reveal her identity. A consent form (see Appendix A) was signed by the participant and myself at the beginning of my involvement.

However, in accordance with Cameron *et al.* (1992) and Turner and Harrington (2000), my understanding of ethics goes further than adhering to the above-mentioned four principles and conducting quality research. My aim during the study was to conduct what Cameron *et al.* (1992) describe as research *on, for* and *with* people, i.e. to go beyond 'faithfully' representing participants' lives, actions and opinions without causing any harm (i.e. conducting *ethical* research *on* people), and to use one's research to promote the participants' interests (i.e. conducting *advocating* research *for* people). Additionally, my aim has been to conduct *empowering* research together *with* the participant, which promotes "(a) the use of interactive methods; (b) the importance of subjects' own agendas; and (c) the question of 'feedback' and sharing knowledge" (Cameron *et al.* 1992:23). Although Cameron *et al.* particularly focus on promoting research that gives a voice to people from disadvantaged backgrounds and I do not regard the participant in this study as being in a powerless position (given her professional status and her membership with a dominant cultural-linguistic community), the three principles of working *with* people still stand in this situation.

This approach had consequences for my research methods, which were carefully chosen to promote the centrality of the TP. By conducting interviews I ensured an "interactive" dimension and paid particular attention to the TP's perspective. Moreover, while ensuring that a focus on the general interest area of this research was maintained, a flexible structure of the interviews was deliberately designed to encourage the TP to steer the conversation, thereby "to influence the framing and conduct of the research" (Turner and Harrington 2000:257). Data generation methods were negotiated with the TP and her ideas, e.g. to share some of the 'documents', the preparatory texts she created during the translational process, were taken into account, which positively directed the research. Moreover, the TP was able to steer the direction of the research. For instance, the issue of collaboration between her and the commissioner of the translation turned out to be strikingly central in her account, coming up as the first topic during Interview 1, and reappearing throughout the interviews as well as other data sources. Not only did this lead me to extend my fieldwork to include an observation of a meeting between her and the commissioner, the issues of collaboration also turned out to be a revealing topic of this study with considerable implications for the conceptualisation of the activity. Paying attention to the TP's agenda thereby not only addressed the aim of striving for an empowerment of the research participant, but led the research into a desirable direction. Moreover, if wished, I will continue to share and discuss my research findings with the TP and other stakeholders involved. Additionally, a future joint publication with the TP on an aspect of or related to this study has been under discussion, which takes the aspect of conducting research *with* people even further.

5.2 Choosing the Case

Selecting a suitable case is important in order to carry out a meaningful study (Stake 2003:151; Platt 1999:177). Yin (1984) identifies three types of cases, the *critical case* (which is suitable for testing a certain hypothesis), the *unique case* (which constitutes a highly special situation), and the *revelatory case*, "when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation" (Yin 1984:44). Bryman adds:

> While the idea of the revelatory case is interesting, it seems unnecessary to restrict it solely to situations in which something has not previously been studied. Much qualitative case study research that is carried out treats single studies as broadly 'revelatory'. (Bryman 2004:50)

A *revelatory case* was regarded as most appropriate for this study. This study aims to investigate an unexplored situation which 'reveals' the emerging practice of written-sign translational practices.

In order to respond to my research questions, aims and objectives, the following limited set of criteria was identified as essential:

The case needed to involve a translation:
- that is based on a written ST,
- that involves a recorded signed TT,
- with source and target languages being English and BSL,
- with the ST following dominant literacy practices,
- with the ST being of an appropriate length for the purpose of this study,
- that constitutes an authentic event (i.e. the translation needed to be commissioned for purposes that were unconnected to this study),
- that I could observe,
- that would allow for interviews with the TP,
- for which I could get the consent from the TP and other participants,
- which would be carried out within a realistic timeframe and at a location that would enable my involvement.

In addition the following further criteria were identified as desirable:

The TP should:
- be trained and qualified (to ensure an appropriate level of translating ability and adherence to common standards),
- have experience in translating between written and signed texts,

- be Deaf and have BSL as her or his first or preferred language in order to promote the emerging Deaf translating workforce and conduct Deaf-led research (Ladd 2003).

Initially a case had been identified and nearly secured that fulfilled all above (essential and desirable) criteria. However, the prospective TP withdrew at the last minute because s/he had an interest in using this event for his/her own research purposes. I therefore had to identify a new suitable case in a short period of time. Although many Deaf TPs were contacted, the response was low and I could not identify a suitable case within an appropriate timeframe that was conducted by a Deaf TP. The case that I finally chose, the translation of the second chapter of *How Languages are Learned, 3rd ed.* (Lightbown and Spada 2006:29-51), fulfilled all criteria above bar the last. Considering that it is common practice for hearing TPs to conduct such TEs since to date there is little opportunity for Deaf people to train and qualify as TPs (Collins and Walker 2006), it was decided that the case reflected reality and would therefore be suitable for this study. A particular strength of the case includes the experience and expertise of the TP. With Heriot-Watt University, the commissioning institution of the translation being my home university, I knew the participants including the TP, the commissioner, as well as other people involved such as technical support staff in the studio, and I was comfortable with the surroundings. This had a positive effect on my involvement, as my being there felt natural.

5.2.1 The Schedule
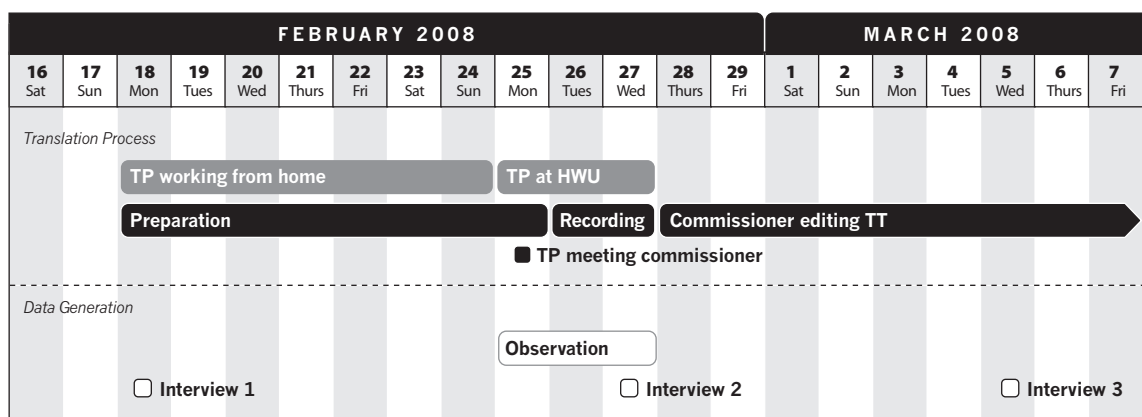
Figure 6: Case Study Schedule

The event took place in February/March 2008. The translation was commissioned by the coordinator of the ToTs (Training of Sign Language Trainers) course at Heriot-Watt University (HWU) approximately half a year prior to the event and my involvement was agreed upon in December 2007. The translation is the fourth of a series in which eight texts, constituting core reading material of the ToTs course, were translated from English into BSL (one of which was translated by a different TP). The TP started working with the

text during the week beginning Monday, 18 February 2008, the day of our first interview and the beginning of my explicit involvement. After a week, in which the TP prepared the translation in her own time and at various places, including her home and on train journeys, the TP worked on the translation at HWU from Monday, 25 February, to Wednesday, 27 February 2008. On Monday she had a meeting with the commissioner and conducted some final preparations, which continued till Tuesday morning, before going into the studio to record the TT on Tuesday and Wednesday. Afterwards, the unedited tapes of the recorded TT were passed on to the commissioner, i.e. the course leader, who then edited the text and passed it on for distribution to the target audience. The TP's involvement ended after the studio recording, apart from a final check of the edited TT version at the very end of the process. I observed her work at HWU (Monday, 25 February 08, till Wednesday, 27 February 08), conducted a second interview on the evening of the final recording day (27 February 08), and a third interview the following Wednesday, 5 March 08, a week after the TT was recorded.

5.3 Data Generation

Having described some of the wider methodological considerations and the choice of the case, I will now explain the data generation process in more detail.[59] As explained above, the analysis of a single case allowed me to use a number of data sources, which helped in formulating a rich, rounded description of the case. The following section explains how I employed different methods of data generation in order to investigate the various ontological properties mentioned above. I will further outline the logistics, opportunities and limitations I encountered during the process.

5.3.1 Interviews

> ... interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings. (Fontana and Frey 2000:645)

In order to place the TP at the centre of this study, interviews (together with the data generated through observation) constitute the core data source for my study. Interviews were chosen because they pay particular attention to the key agent's "views, understandings, interpretations and experiences" (Mason 2002:63); they are in line with the understanding that meaning is constructed (*ibid*.:64); finally, they provide useful data sources for laying emphasis on "depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data" (*ibid*.:5).

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[59] In accordance with Mason (2002), I use the term "data generation" rather than "data collection" in order to indicate my belief that data are not absolute or objective, but rather that by choosing methods of gathering examples and/or evidence for one's arguments, researchers influence what they study, in other words, the term reinforces "the idea that a researcher can[not] be a completely neutral collector of information about the social world" (Mason 2002:52; see also Eichmann 2008:70).

In order to prepare for the first interview, guidelines proposed by Mason (2002:67ff.), were followed (see Appendix B). Mason asks researchers to reflect on their research questions and formulate interview questions in accordance. The questions I generated during this process contributed to what served as an "interview guide", where the researcher "has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered [...] but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply" (Bryman 2004:314). Instead of fixed formulated questions to be repeated in their exact wording, the guide included a number of broad topics together with more specific prompting questions. The order of the questions remained flexible and changeable, leaving room for unprepared topics and changes of direction, in order to be led by the interviewee's input (cf. Section 5.1.5 on how this contributes to conducting 'empowering' research).

Although rough topic areas were prepared beforehand, the following two interviews built up on previously generated data, in adherence with my flexible research design. The interviews, each lasting approximately 1.5 hours, were carried out at different stages of the translational process: Interview 1 (hereafter abbreviated as I1) at the very beginning of the preparation stage, the second interview (I2b) four hours after the recording of the TT and, the final one, Interview 3 (I3), one week after the recording. All three interviews were recorded, with the TP's consent, both with a small digital dictaphone and a video camcorder, the latter of which was placed as unobtrusively as possible in the corner of the room positioned to capture the TP as well as my back.[60] The interviews took place in an informal, private setting of the TP's choice, which contributed to a relaxed atmosphere, encouraging rapport, despite the considerable formality imposed by the interviewer-interviewee relationship and the recording of the situation. In addition, personal conversations throughout, during and beyond the translational process gave further insights into the TP's perspectives and were taken into account in this study.

Interview 1

At the time of the first interview, several weeks after she had received access to the ST, the TP was about to start her preparation process. The content of the interview focused on her experience of previous events with particular reference to those of this translation series, as well as her plans on how to approach the event of this case (see Appendix C for the interview guide used). The interview had multiple aims. It provided an opportunity to introduce the TP to my research and the particularities of the study[61] and to negotiate and agree on her involvement. The main part of the interview began with an invitation for the TP to introduce her professional experience. Not only did this provide important background for the study (see Chapter 6.2.1), it also constituted a way of easing myself

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[60] A visual recording, providing significant information by accounting for paralinguistic features, proved to be useful during the transcription and analysis process.
[61] Here it was carefully considered how I summarised my research in order not to steer the interview topics and replies unnecessarily, thereby minimising my impact on the TP's voice.

and the interviewee into the conversation. The interview then set out to deal with two topics, the translational process involved in the TE (and the other TEs of the series), and the particularities of the text involved. The interview enabled me to refine my research questions and focus, preparing me for the coming ways of data generation, including the forthcoming interviews, observation and document analysis.

Interview 2

The second interview took place on the evening of the second, i.e. final day of the TT recording when the preparation and recording process were still fresh in the TP's mind. Some further follow-up questions had already been asked in an informal conversation after the recording where her first impressions and some particular strategies were discussed (see Appendix D). Although this conversation was not recorded, notes were taken from memory straight after (marked in my notes as "Interview 2a", or I2a). The interview in the evening was dominated by the TP's reflections on a particular passage by looking at the ST and watching her recorded TT renderings.

This kind of data source can be regarded as a think-aloud protocol (TAP), a data generation method in which participants verbalise their thought processes, which has been used in TS in diverse research projects, ranging from the comparison between novice, trainee and expert *translation* behaviour (Ivanova 2000) and the analysis of strategies in simultaneous *interpreting* (Vik-Tuovinen 2000) to the investigation of decision-making processes in subtitling (Kovačič 2000). Stone's critical ethnographic study (2006), comparing Deaf and hearing TPs translating television news, also includes a think-aloud protocol. At home in cognitive psychology (Ericsson and Simon 1984), think-aloud studies are mainly concerned with "the 'black box' of translation, i.e. the thought processes which take place when someone is translating a text" (Jääskeläinen 2009:265). Researchers might, for example, employ TAPs to detect which decision making processes are conscious, and which ones are automatised. Less concerned with how the mind works in translation, or finding anything 'hidden' in the 'black-box', I used a TAP element in this study, because it serves as a useful method of data generation by emphasising the TP's centrality in the TE. It further encourages a research process that places emphasis on being led by the agent's own agendas. By commenting on the ST and her own translation rather than responding to my initiated questions, the TP was able to lead the conversation. The fact that she reflected, in her own voice, on her translation and her choices, her impressions and her solutions, was important in this study. In this sense, my central aim differed from typical TAP studies.

Another difference relates to the fact that typical TAPs are usually carried out in experimental settings (see Jääskeläinen 2000 for discussion of some methodological issues to do with experimental studies). Methodological concerns (focusing, for example,

on the evaluation of variables and ecological validity) are therefore quite different from those in this study with its focus on authenticity and context. The aims and purposes of TAPs were thereby adapted to suit this study and deviate from those inherent in the paradigms in which TAP studies traditionally take place.

Another deviation from traditional TAP studies, but a common problem faced by *interpreting* as well as sign language researchers (Stone 2006:115), is described by Shlesinger (1995:17) as follows:

> ... thinking-/talking-aloud *methodology* as such is ill-suited to interpreting; an interpreter can hardly be expected to verbalize both the text and the metatext while keeping pace with the input! (italicisation in original)

It would have been impossible for the TP to reflect on her translational strategies during the production of the TT. I was left with different choices to overcome this problem. A session where the TP works with the ST and is engaged with the preparation of the TT before going into the studio while verbalising her thought processes, could have been arranged. This, however, was discarded due to time constraints as well as its intrusion on the translational process between preparation and production phase. Another option would have been to record the TP's verbalised thoughts during the breaks after the recording of each take (see Vik-Tuovinen 2000). However, this would have not only added a considerable load of stress for the TP (cf. Chapter 6.4.1), since it would prevent her from taking breaks, it would have impacted on the TP's natural behaviour in the studio, which I was interested in observing. Instead I opted for a retrospective interview after the TT recording. Not only was the preparation and recording process uninterrupted this way, it also gave the TP an opportunity to reflect on the final translational product.

Ivanova (2000:28) mentions the issue of memory in such data generation strategies:

> In retrospective studies the vocalisations are based on information about thought processes that is stored in LTM [long term memory], whose accuracy can consequently be reduced due to forgetting.

In order to overcome this problem, I made use of "retrieval notes" (*ibid.*), i.e. aids that prompt the research participant's memory, using one chosen passage of the ST as well the different corresponding TT versions, recorded in the studio, as the starting point for her reflections. The TP was now asked to comment quite generally on the translational issues in this passage, such as potential problems, her solutions or whether she would change anything in retrospect. As suggested by Ivanova (2000:35), the focus was deliberately left open, in order to give voice to her own thoughts. In order not to influence the depth of her answers, I decided not to specify the length of the passage; instead she

was asked to reflect on the translation for thirty minutes. The time allowed the TP to discuss roughly one paragraph from the ST with five sentences and 170 words. Since this part of the retrospective interview was undertaken before the TP had a chance to view the TT, we can assume that her discussion focused on her *aims* of producing a TT. Afterwards, the TP was asked to reflect in a similar way on translational aspects while watching the different TT versions she produced in the studio, giving her the opportunity to compare her aims with what she actually produced. She was able to evaluate her translation and comment on developments between the different takes.

Interview 3

During the third interview, conducted one week after the recording of the TT, the actual TE was less immediately present. Our conversation was somewhat more structured and gave me an opportunity to follow up issues that were neglected beforehand and to discuss aspects in more general terms detached from this particular TE. After raising questions on her professional identity, the main part of the interview was used to investigate the TP's constructions of the concepts *translation* and *interpreting* in a sign language context (see Appendix E for the third interview guide). Whereas the former interviews intended to discuss the topics in more subtle ways, I took the opportunity in the final interview to ask her questions on her own views about differences between *translation* and *interpreting* directly, i.e. give her an opportunity to reply to my explicit research question. Not only did this allow me to analyse where she herself positions the case in terms of its translational mode, but it further provided room for her to express her expert opinion on the matter.

5.3.2 Observation

Observation has been described as "the mainstay of the ethnographic enterprise" (Werner and Schoepfle 1987:257). The discussion in Chapter 3.3 suggested that a translational mode is determined by the process employed in a TE. Whereas a prototypical *translation* allows for much preparation and revision and is usually carried out by the TP remote from the primary communicants, a prototypical *interpreting* event usually happens in real time, with the communicants present and with little room for preparation and revision. This is why I observed part of the translational process in order to investigate the translational mode employed in this TE. However, not all parts of the translational process were deemed as appropriate for me to observe. The main part of the preparation of the translation happened in the TP's own time, in between or after other job commitments and was carried out at various places. Observation of these parts of the process was not only difficult to arrange, it would have also interfered with the TP's approach and disturbed her work and privacy. In negotiation with her, it was decided that my observation would concentrate on those parts of the process that were carried out at Heriot-Watt University, i.e. a professional environment, which included a

meeting between the TP and the translational commissioner, her preparation of flipchart prompts, as well as the recording of the TT in the studio.

> The terms 'observation', and in particular 'participant observation', usually refer to methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research 'setting' so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting. (Mason 2002:84)

Immersing myself in the situation, albeit as a passive (rather than participating) observer, gained me access to the event itself; *being there* allowed me to get a feel of the situation, and to 'witness' parts of the activities involved in the translational process. First-hand, I observed the TP's strategies of producing the TT, I watched her repeating certain passages and taking breaks, and listened in on her interacting with other agents of the translational process. At the same time, the process allowed me to ask her questions and engage in conversations with her with reference to particular actions.

Rather than 'participating' in the event, I entered the situation as, what Gans (1968/1999) calls, a "*total researcher*", i.e. someone "who observes without any personal involvement in the situation under study". Although my participation was known and agreed upon with all participants, I aimed at behaving as unobtrusively as possible, by sitting quietly at the back of the room outside the TP's vision in order to disrupt her work as little as possible. The media studio, where the TT was recorded, consists of a main recording suite with an adjacent technician's room separated by a door and a window, which offered an ideal setting for me to observe the process with little disruption, since from the technician's room I was not heard by the TP and positioned outside her vision.

Instead of using what has been called "field guides" (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez 2000:674), which were considered as too restrictive and interfering with my inductive strategy, I approached the situation fairly flexibly. Prepared with refined research questions and some first themes which had emerged from the first interview, I had a rough plan of what I was looking for, but left room to be steered by my impressions and the unpredictable nature of the event. In order to document my observation and *generate* the data, I took fieldnotes during the process. In addition, the situations (in the studio and during the meeting with the commissioner) were recorded with a digital video camcorder and I was further able to collect the unedited tape with which the TP recorded the TT, which gave me an additional perspective. These two recordings provided the opportunity to jog my memory at a later stage and enabled a second round of data generation and analysis. More detailed, what we might call, *retrospective* fieldnotes were taken afterwards when watching those tapes in more explicit response to emerging themes.

Mason reminds us that the observing researcher needs to "engage with criticisms of the idea that a researcher can 'capture' naturally occurring phenomena by entering a setting in this way" (Mason 2002:85). The ontological dilemma – how can a situation that we as researchers are often entering as outsiders and are perceiving through our own senses, informed by our understanding of the world, be the basis for knowledge? – has been described extensively (e.g. Hammersley 2002). However, although I would not go as far as Mason suggesting to "have a position which suggests that meaningful knowledge *cannot* be generated *without* observation, because not all knowledge is for example articulable, recountable or constructable in an interview" (Mason 2002:85; describing an ontological position that regards observational data as the basis for knowledge; my emphasis), observational data provide us with a different perspective and rounds up the picture of the case in question. Following a social constructionist perspective, however, I am aware that I, as the researcher, actively generate the data and construct the meaning I portray. In this sense, I follow the ontological assumption that it is not the event itself, but rather my own fieldnotes that can be regarded as data. Moreover, the situation is socially embedded and cannot be taken out of its context, nor be disconnected from the personality of the main participant, who steered the translational process, influenced by her own background, professional experience and preferences. In other words:

> The results of ethnographic study are thus mediated several times over – first, by the fieldworker's own standards of relevance as to what is and what is not worthy of observation; second, by the historically situated questions that are put to the people in the setting; third, by the self-reflection demanded of an informant; and fourth, by the intentional and unintentional ways the produced data are misleading. (Van Maanen 2002:114-5)

5.3.3 Documents

The TP invited me to collect the 'bits and pieces' that she produced or used during the translational process, i.e. a copy of her annotated ST, with which she prepared the translation, flipcharts she created as prompts for the recording of the TT, a voice recording of the ST, that she produced as a more detailed prompt during the recording process, the unedited tape of the TT recording, as well as a copy of the finalised, edited TT, which was distributed to the target audience. I was thus able to generate and use document data, which are defined by Bryman as "the objects that are (...) simply out there" (Bryman 2004:370). It is essential here that none of the documents have been produced for the purpose of the research, but that they constitute authentic material that form part of the case. Lincoln and Guba distinguish between *records*, i.e. those formal documents that are produced for official or public use, and *documents*, i.e. material that has been produced for private use (Lincoln and Guba 1985:277; Hodder 2000:703). Whereas the final edited TT in this sense constitutes a "record", the other texts are "documents".

Although not mapped out as part of my initial research plan, the "documents" produced as part of the translational process turned out to become essential parts of the data. Here I did not only take their 'content' and the 'purely' linguistic properties (such as syntactical, lexical, morphological and phonological elements) into account; the materiality of the texts, the different media with which they were produced (the size of the paper, the colour of the pens, whether handwritten or typed, the quality of the voice etc.) were of particular importance. I thereby viewed the texts "not just as a form of visual and verbal representation, but also as a material object with distinct physical features" (Ormerod and Ivanič 2000:91). This approach is thus in line with the New Literacy Studies, where researchers are interested in the physical nature of texts on the one hand, and the texts' values as cultural 'artefacts' on the other (Barton 2001:99).

5.3.4 An Overview

As a summary, the different data sources are listed in the following overview:

Interviews (recorded on video and audio)
- Interview 1 (I1)
- Interview 2a (I2a) (unrecorded, retrospective notes only)
- Interview 2b with TAP element (I2b)
- Interview 3 (I3)

Observation (including fieldnotes, recordings, retrospective fieldnotes) of
- A meeting between the TP and the translational commissioner
- The production of the flipchart prompts
- The studio recording process of the TT

Documents
- A copy of the annotated ST
- Flipchart prompts
- Voice recording of the ST
- Unedited TT, recorded on DVD
- Final, edited TT DVD

Additionally, several informal conversations with the commissioner of the translation provided useful background information and helped in contextualising the TE, by providing another perspective from another agent. The variety of data sources, incorporating different ontological properties, including opinions, processes and texts (with their linguistic but also material elements), allowed me to provide a rounded picture of the case and, by cross-referencing, thereby triangulating the different entities, to offer a thick description of the event.

5.4 Data Analysis

With the generation of data came the analysis of it. In fact, we could argue that the boundaries between generation and analysis are blurred, that the two processes are not always easy to separate. For example, the generation of fieldnote-data already involves some necessary analysis through elimination of certain observation filtered through the researcher's expressions; some of the follow-up questions asked during the interviews already brought our discussion to an analytical level; in fact, the choice of the case alone was made with an eye to my analysis and arguments. The distinction, however, is that during the generation process the focus lies on external input, albeit being led by myself and the research questions, whereas the analysis involves internal meaning-making and the connecting of the external input developed during the generation process. Often, both processes can happen simultaneously. This section will focus on the latter, the analysis of the generated data.

5.4.1 Grounded in Data

As argued in Section 5.1.1, this case study aims to be essentially data-driven. Although the data, throughout generation and analysis, were compared to ideas generated from a literature review and experience, in particular as regards translational modes and ideas about literacy and multimodality, I made a conscious effort to approach the data with a fresh eye, allowing myself to be driven by it as far as possible. My theoretical understanding of the issues, however, helped me to notice aspects that stood out by being different from my theoretically informed expectations and, moreover, to negotiate the data with my preconceived ideas. At the same time, I made an effort not to be restricted by the pre-conceived categories with which I was approaching the data. Although I am not committing myself to following a grounded theory approach that is purely inductive as proposed and described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and others (e.g. Charmaz 2000), the following four principles of dealing with data in a grounded theory approach, as identified by Bryman (2004:391), were used in this approach: theoretical sampling, coding, theoretical saturation and constant comparison.

Theoretical sampling is "the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his [sic] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his [sic] theory as it emerges" (Glaser and Strauss 1967:45). Because this case was fairly fixed in terms of time, I was only able to carry out the main coding process at a later stage. Nevertheless, through research diaries, memos and analytical notes, I started at a very early stage to discover the first emerging themes, which then influenced the later data generation process.

Coding refers to a process "whereby data are broken down into component parts, which are given names" (Bryman 2004:391). The analyser wades through her or his data

developing labels for different parts, which enable her or him to notice emerging patterns. By categorising data in this way, the researcher organises complex and detailed data and focuses their interest of research. It is here advised that the categories are not preconceived, as it would be the case in positivistic, hypothesis-testing approaches, but developed by the data bottom-up. At a later stage, these categories or *codes*, are ordered into meaningful, hierarchical groups (for further discussion, see below Section 5.4.3).

The process of wading through the data is continued until the process is *theoretically saturated*, i.e. "(a) no new or relevant data seem to be emerging regarding a category, (b) the category is well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions demonstrating variation, and (c) the relationships among categories are well established and validated" (Strauss and Corbin 1998:303). Through *constant comparison* the researcher is able to refer to the aim of maintaining a close relationship between data and theorisation.

Additionally the process of data analysis was positively shaped by multiple layers of analysis, which will be discussed in more detail below. With each round of analysis the focus of the study became more refined. The first round of analysis involved some initial notes, whereas the main round of analysis involved tagging in NVivo, a qualitative data-analysis software.

5.4.2 Initial Stages of Analysis

Immediately after each interview, I sat down to record my thoughts, feelings and first reactions, summarising initial topics that emerged from our discussions. This round of analysis was deliberately kept at a very intuitive, subjective level, and I paid conscious attention to the themes that remained uppermost in my memory. Not only was I able to listen to my initial impressions, the notes also provided a basis for me to get back at a later stage and evaluate critically in what ways my analysis might have been influenced by my own personal background and preconceptions. In the second round of analysis of each interview, which happened the day after the interview, I watched and listened to the recordings, while taking notes at the same time. Although at this stage the analysis was still based on intuition and impressions, my relationship to the data was closer and more comprehensive. I had the opportunity here to pay closer attention to the parts of the interview that were not so fresh in my memory, or that I missed during the interview process itself.

After all interviews had been conducted and recorded, each one was transcribed. I actively used the transcription process to listen to the TP's account in more detail and to tag the transcript with comments and write memos in a research diary at the same time.

In this sense, transcription itself forms a tool of analysis (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999:72). Not only did the transcription process force me to listen carefully to the data, I had to make decisions on which details to transcribe. Although I did not provide a phonetic transcription, as the amount of detail was not felt necessary considering the focus of this study, I indicated pauses and pause-fillers such as "erm", and indicated iconically (via emoticons) when prosodic features such as intonation and tempo indicated irony or humour. The transcription of such features gave me additional information about the context in which the TP's account was uttered.

The fieldnotes, taken during my observation of the translational process, may be regarded as initial notes forming a first round of analysis. Rather than noting down 'everything', I made a conscious decision to focus on the aspects that seemed relevant to the research questions, albeit leaving room for flexibility and noting down intuitive impressions. When watching the recording of the observation data of the TT production, a second round of (retrospective) fieldnotes was made, which at this stage were closer to the data and less influenced by my intuition. It is here that the blending between data generation and analysis discussed above is most visible. These retrospective fieldnotes were then typed, which provided the basis for the coding phase.

Considering the amount and variety of the collected documents, including vocal texts as well as a variety of signed texts, I decided against a full transcription of the document and record data including the edited and unedited versions of the TT. Transcription of visual language particularly is a labour intensive activity. In order to account for the complex information involved in signed communication, including non-manual features, prosody and rhythm or simultaneity of different features (such as the use of both hands, or gestures and voice) to name but a few examples, detailed transcription systems are required. Although there is modern software which is particularly geared towards the transcription of signed data in parallel with a video, such as Elan (www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan), the process is still highly time-consuming. Baker, van den Boegarde and Woll (2009:26), for example, report that the twenty minutes worth of data of signed dialogue took approximately twenty hours to transcribe. More importantly, any transcription already involves an analysis; in order for the process to be manageable, the researcher needs to decide on her or his research focus and match the transcription of the data to single out the relevant elements. Aiming to be driven by the data without pre-establishing a focus of the analysis, I discarded the option of full transcription of the document data. Instead, intensive handwritten and typed notes, recording impressions and findings in a variety of ways, using glossing, descriptions and more elaborate transcriptions of a few selected passages depending on the example, as well as electronic memos connecting different data-sources and offering a means for reflection and interpretation, were taken during the analysis of the documents and records. In this

thesis, I will refer to BSL data in different ways, using forms of glossing for transcription, which will be adapted to the particularities of each example.

5.4.3 Coding

Once available in electronic form, the transcripts and typed notes were imported into NVivo 8. NVivo allows for the tagging of information at various levels, including coding as well as annotations, and offers the opportunity to write memos which can be linked to the data. The software enables the researcher to hierarchically order the coded information and provides easy access to the parts of the data the codes refer to (see Figure 7 below).

This analysis tool was used in order to establish emerging themes according to the research question. Although I had prepared several codes beforehand, based on the parameters of Salevsky's (1982) translational model (see Section 3.3.4), these preconceived themes soon became less useful. New, fresh codes, emerging from the data themselves, were regarded as being more appropriate and meaningful.

In this process every line of each transcript was coded, often with more than one label, according to its emerging themes. This procedure was repeated several times. In the first round, codes were intuitive, unstructured and unordered, and at points not immediately related to the research questions. The second round, before which the research questions were refined, provided an opportunity to conduct a more structured analysis. At this stage, patterns had emerged, codes had already been ordered according to common themes and structured hierarchically, enabling a deeper interpretation of the data and connection of different parts of the data. A third round, conducted after each data source had been analysed and tagged at least twice, enabled another opportunity to reflect holistically on the case, making connections beyond data sources, and aiding the structure of the final thesis.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described my methodological approach. I have argued how an explorative, qualitative, flexible research design was deemed as most appropriate to describe a 'new' activity, such as the translation of written texts into recorded signed language. I have further argued how an ethnographic, authentic, multi-method single case study served as an appropriate research design to fulfil this aim. I have illustrated how a variety of methods of data generation contributed to taking into account different ontological entities and to consider the narrow and wide context in which the translation took place, which enabled a thick description of the case. The various data sources were carefully chosen to ensure a study in which the TP, i.e. the main participant, is allocated a central role. This project seeks to account for peripheral translational practices and to

Figure 7: NVivo Coding

avoid imposing theory which is based on dominant practices onto data involving non-central events. I have therefore argued in favour of a data-driven research design. It is moreover necessary to regard the concept as well as the practice of translation as being *in flux*, situated in its wider social, cultural and historical context, in other words, to acknowledge that practices and concepts are socially constructed. I have now set the background for the analysis and discussion of the case, which will be presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 6 – The Translational Event: An Analysis

> *[Working out the framework in which a written text can be translated into recorded signed language] is a fascinating process and I think from that is emerging some sort of skeleton about how you might do this. If you could get that skeleton – it's not finalised – it doesn't have all its bones and some of the bones are stuck on in the wrong places and it still needs jigging about, but if you could come out at the end of this process, having some sort of skeleton like that, then that would be very useful.* (I3:743-52)[62]

In this excerpt the TP of this study provides part of an answer to the question whether she regards the TE of this study as a *translation* or an *interpretation*. Her answer emphasises that the process of translating a written text into signed language is not yet established, that this type of translation is an emerging activity, an activity in flux. It reminds us to regard this study as a snapshot of an evolving practice, an individual act, developed by one person at one point in time. It further stresses that identifying the mode of translation is not straightforward in this case. A skeleton of the activity first needs to be *created* by each individual TP when working on a translation of this kind, it does not just exist. As will be demonstrated, the framework that the TP develops, the different steps that she goes through in order to create the translational product, neither reflects prototypical *translation* nor traditional *interpreting* practices as conceptualised in the literature.

This chapter presents my analysis of the TE. By going through each phase of the process, I will depict the different parts of the translational process. The different data sources, including the three interviews with the TP, the insights from my correspondence with the commissioner, my observation and various documents including the TP's annotated ST, her voice recording of the ST, flipcharts she created as prompts and various versions of the TT, contribute to providing a rich, rounded picture of the event. Moreover, through cross-referencing the different data sources, while paying particular attention to the TP's perspective and taking into account the context of the translation, I aim to provide a thick description of the event, emphasising that the translation is deeply nested in its social surroundings. The analysis of the process, presented largely chronologically, is based on the themes that emerged from the data in response to the research questions and in negotiation with the conceptualisation of translational modes portrayed in the literature. It will thereby provide the foundation for the following chapter, in which I discuss the translational mode with reference to my theoretical basis. Before exploring the different elements of the process in further detail, it will be useful to provide an initial overview of the event.

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[62] Quotes from the data will be indicated through italicisation. The TP's utterances from Interviews 1, 2a, 2b and 3 will be referenced as I1, I2a. I2b and I3; the numbers at the end of the reference indicate the lines of my transcription in NVivo. Unless indicated otherwise, the quotes refer to utterances made by the TP.

6.1 The Process: An Overview

As illustrated in Figure 8, the actual translational process can be divided into three major phases: a **preparation** period, in which the TP works with the ST preparing the translation, a **production** phase, in which she produces and records the TT in the studio, and a **post-production** stage, in which the TT is edited and prepared for distribution and future events are planned.

Pre-TE	Preparation	TT Production	Revision	Editing	Post-TE
	TUES | WED | THUR | FRI | SAT | SUN | MON	TUES | WED			
TP's Professional Background	Working with the ST	Recording	Monitoring	Cutting	Reflection
Commission	Meeting the Commissioner	Re-Recording	Involving Reviewers	Subtitling	Planning Future TEs
Preliminary Translation Decisions	Creating Flipcharts	Final Recording	Revising	Inserting titles & images	
	Creating a Voice Recording				

Interview 1   Interview 2   Interview 3

Figure 8: The Translational Event: An Overview

The **preparation** happens during one week before the TT recording process in the studio begins. The TP reports that during this time she spends approximately a total of three days working with the 21 pages long ST in her own time and place. Reading, understanding, researching, chunking and marking the ST, the TP considers different translation options and creates an overall mental image of the TT. Another day of preparation is spent meeting the commissioner to discuss particular translational issues and preparing prompts for the recording stage. Going through the ST, she prepares 16 flipcharts (i.e. A1-sized paper) to highlight particular information of each ST section, which she hangs up in the studio as prompts. Additionally, she produces an approximately 1.5 hours long audio recording of her reading the ST aloud, which acts as a more detailed prompt in the studio.

The **production** happens on two consecutive days at a media studio at Heriot-Watt University.

Figure 9: The Media Studio

Working alone in front of a camera, the TP records the TT chronologically, section by section, prompted by the voice recording and with the aid of the flipcharts. Each section, generally based on one sub-chapter of the ST, ranging from a few lines to two pages, is recorded separately. This gives the TP the opportunity to repeat a section and produce several takes of the same part, either interrupting the recording process in the middle of a section, or repeating a part after a whole version has been produced. The number of takes she produces of one section varies from one to five.

The unedited tapes are then passed to the commissioner to edit the video recording digitally in the **post-production** phase. He includes titles, subtitles, and other visual information before distributing the finalised DVD (Figure 10) to the target audience.

Figure 10: The Final Target Text

Additionally, the TE should not be regarded in isolation. It constitutes the fourth translation in a series of similar events produced for the same purpose. Moreover, previous experiences of the key players shape the TE, which is why I will include a section on the **preliminaries** of the event, reflecting on the TP's professional background, the commission and particular preliminary translation considerations.

Another aspect to mention is my involvement during this process. As indicated on the timeline (Figure 8 above), our first interview took place at the beginning of the actual preparation phase before the TP had begun working with the ST in detail. This interview, giving her a space for preparation and reflection on her strategies, might therefore be regarded as another stage in the process of this TE. I observed the meeting with the commissioner and the preparation of the flipcharts during the preparation phase, as well as the production phase in the studio. The other two interviews happened after the recording of the TT, one on the evening of the second recording day, the final one a week after.

6.2 Preliminaries
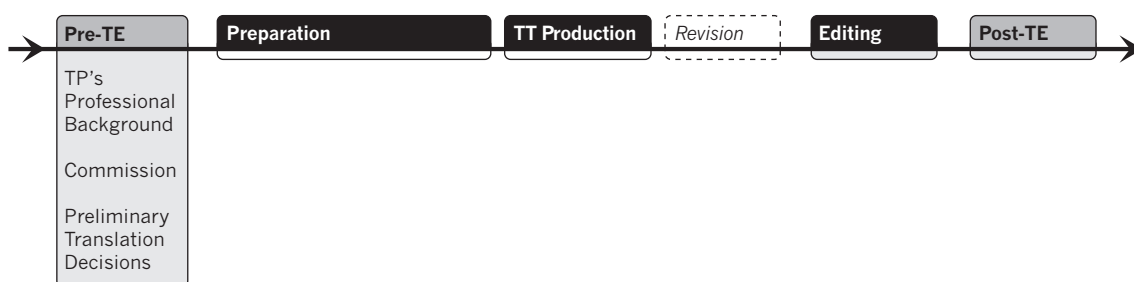
Figure 11: Timeline: Pre-TE

Every translational process starts before the actual TE. The TP's professional background and identity, other key players' expectations informed by previous experiences, the standards posed by the profession as well as the socio-cultural context in which the translation takes place (see Chapter 2) are pre-existing factors that are likely to influence the TE. Predominantly based on the interview data, as well as my correspondence with the commissioner, I will now concentrate on these preliminaries by depicting the TP's professional background, the commission of the TE and some preliminary translation considerations.

6.2.1 The Translational Practitioner's Professional Background and Identity
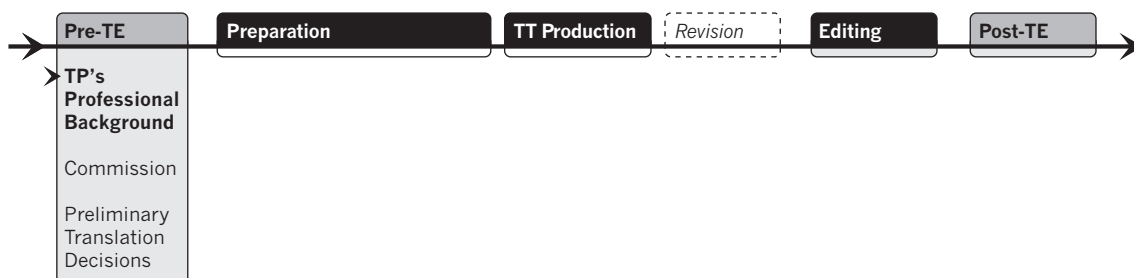
Figure 12: Timeline: The TP's Professional Background

The TP is a qualified and registered English-BSL *interpreter*, who is experienced in translating between written and signed texts. Trained as one of the first people in the field, having graduated in 1990, she has worked as an English-BSL *interpreter* (English being her native language) since 1988. She holds a Master's degree in Linguistics and also has school knowledge of German, French, Spanish and Latin. When asked about her professional background, she points out that she has "*worked as an interpreter all of [her] working life*" (I1:295), "*mostly, working in simultaneous mode, because that tends to be what's expected of sign language interpreters*" (I1:306-7), but then particularly highlights her involvement with work between written and signed texts (I1:309-72).[63] She

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[63] This might at least partially be influenced by her knowing my interest in the TE.

here clearly distinguishes between "*interpreting*" and "*translation*". The following paragraphs give a summary of those professional activities that she chooses to point out when asked about her background in I1, with some additional reference to I3, when she reflected on differences between *translation* and *interpreting*.

She describes her first experience of translating written English into BSL as follows:

> *...very early on, working from English to BSL [...], when I was still a student learning sign language, so not yet training to be an interpreter, the local Deaf community would ask me to go round to their houses [...] and translate books, so* When the Mind Hears,[64] *things like that. And we'd just do a chapter a week, and they would get access to them and I would get all kinds of nice treats in the Deaf club.* (I1:348-57, with added footnote)

The scenario is interesting, as, although the written ST is recorded and fixed, the target audience is present and meaning can be negotiated with the primary participants in an informal environment. The example resonates with social practices apparent in Deaf communities, as, for example, described by Stone (2006), where Deaf (BSL-English) bilinguals give other (BSL) 'monolingual' community members access to written texts on an informal basis. Stone stresses that it has been common practice to make the information culturally meaningful to the target audience, moving considerably away from the ST. Such practices, Stone argues, have led to the formation of a "Deaf translation norm", which informed the practices of the Deaf TPs in his study, who placed more importance on preparing the TT than their hearing counterparts.

The TP's work for a Deaf television programme involved both work as an "*interpreter*" (I1:310) from English to BSL in front of the camera, as well as what she calls "*translation*" (I1:311) of the signed texts, produced by the Deaf presenters, into written English, which served as the basis for subtitles. She reports that the process of creating a *translation* was particularly developed in this context, the brief was very clear and the setting was very suitable for *translation* work (I3, 802-4):

> *I've got best quality equipment, I can do frame by frame, [...] midi-frame by midi-frame, [...] demi-frame by demi-frame [...]. So visually it was just fantastic! I can rewind at demi-frames, I can get tiny movements of hands [...], I can get [...] really, really specific with this stuff, and [...] I've got time to go over and over and over and over the English again and again and again. [...] So that was a really good experience in terms of really [...] being able to get down to the nitty-gritty of what translation involved.* (I3:810-9)

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[64] The TP refers to a seminal publication in Deaf Studies, Lane's (1984) *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf.*

It is particularly the possibility to hone the detail that makes this work different from more prototypical *interpreting* work and the TP remarks that "*that's where I got interested in translation*" (I1:317).

When working in higher education she gained further experience in translating written texts into BSL:

> So that's where a student would have a core text or chapter that they had to access in order to write their dissertation or their essay or whatever and they would give that to me and I would sign that back to them with some preparation (...). Not as much preparation as is involved in a text, like this [pointing towards the ST of this event], which will be recorded. (I1: 343-6)

The situation is similar to the one described above, translating written texts in the presence of the target audience. Although some preparation is possible, because the TP potentially has access to the ST in advance, the TE echoes the process of sight *translation/interpreting*, another translation hybrid.

As an *interpreter* trainer, she has been involved in teaching *translation* theory and practice. Furthermore, she reflects on how assessing students' recorded *interpreting* work gave her the opportunity to develop *translation* techniques further:

> So, a huge part of the teaching job, the part that I loved, was looking through people's samples [...], critiquing people's samples. And that's going frame by frame [...] "yes, in the source language [...] the input was this; in the target language you've produced this. What about...? [...] Can we question equivalence here? Or [...] the fact that you've placed it in this space here means that it's less equivalent than if you had placed it here, for example. Would you like to consider that?" You know, all of those kinds of issues you could really get into. (I3:823-9)

Again, she stresses the ability to reflect on translational issues in extended, potentially unrestricted time with the ability to go back and forth and try out different TT versions, something which is impossible in prototypical *interpreting* events.

More recently, while continuing to work as a simultaneous English-BSL *interpreter* at the same time, she has specialised in *translation*:

> [L]ast year I entered into a partnership with two other people. And we set up a fairly innovative business based on translation rather than interpreting. [...] This year [...] the partnership ended and I set up my own business, again working in translation, but focusing particularly on academic translation. (I1:368-77)

It is as part of the latter business that she was commissioned for this TE.

The account above alludes to the varying nature of TEs which the TP loosely refers to as *translation*, including situations where the target audience is present, as well as those where the communicants are absent, working both from English into BSL and vice versa. Not only is the TP experienced in translating between written and signed texts in a variety of circumstances, she also expresses particular interest in this kind of work and, furthermore, having published on the subject, has a theoretical concern in the differences between simultaneous sign language *interpreting* and other translational modes. While being experienced and qualified as an *interpreter*, her background does not match the profile of a typical sign language TP.

It is apparent that she considers the above-mentioned TEs to be somewhat different from prototypical *interpreting*. References to her school experience of translating between two written languages, French and English (I3:134-6, 367-70, 448-9), further reveal that she makes a connection between the activities described above and (written-written) *translation*. At this stage, however, her use of the term *translation* is mostly intuitive; later, when specifically asked about the difference of the two main translational modes, she reflects on the concepts of *translation* and *interpreting* involving signed language more critically, emphasising that the distinction between the two translational modes is not easy to make and that hybrid forms between *translation* and *interpreting* are more common in sign language contexts than pure *translation*.

> *Franz Pöchhacker once said, I think, there is no difference between interpreting and translating. You know, at a certain level I agree, there isn't. I think the process is the same, the circumstances render it different, [...] because you have more time, certainly from simultaneous work. [...] time, and the ability to rewind and [...] go over work and redraft [...] makes it different to interpreting. So on one level it's the same, on another level it's completely different.* (I3:196-201)

In order to explain the difference to her clients, she refers back to the most basic distinction of translational modes by stressing the recordedness of ST and TT:

> *... on the website to potential clients [my business partners and I ...] emphasised [...] the written aspect. So in one of the languages, English, there was some written element, or there was some recorded element if we're working in sign language. And this made it different from simultaneous interpreting, where you would go along and the interpreter would be there.* (I3:202-5)

Her conceptualisations, expressed spontaneously, resonate loosely with the parameters described in the literature. It is particularly the extended amount of time available, the possibility to hone the detail and repeatedly go over certain parts of a translation, the writtenness or recordedness of the texts involved as well as the aspect of working detached from the primary participants that stand out in comparison with *interpreting*

and also mark the events described above. In addition, she stresses one aspect that remains undiscussed in the literature:

> *[...] the power and responsibility of the translator is greater [...] than the interpreter's [...] because [...] when the interpreter is working in live settings – [...] they're not always [...] – their control of the message is mitigated by the presence of the message generator and the message receiver. All kinds of visual clues, [...] body language, feedback, all sorts of things going on there, and in translation those things are removed to a greater extent and so [...] the translator has greater power, greater freedom and therefore greater power, but also greater responsibility because you have to account for some of those decisions that you're making in absentia.* (I3:242-55)

Being able to work together with the participants during certain *interpreting* events allows her to share the power and responsibility of ensuring successful communication with the other communicants, while when *translating* recorded texts, she alone decides on translational strategies, producing texts that stand by themselves; the primary participants are unable to draw on their own impressions of the other illocutors.

When reflecting on whether *translations* involving signed language are possible according to her definition of the term and whether they exist, she argues:

> *[...] it might not be possible for any or every text, but yes, it is possible. However, whether they exist or not, is different. Because I think that in [...] sign language translation, no one has yet been paid to do a proper job basically. So no one has yet recognised the process of translation such that they have funded someone to do a translation of, you know,* Under Milk Wood *or something, properly, you know, for the five years that it would take to do a proper translation of* Under Milk Wood. *[...] And nobody has yet done any such project. And, that's a shame. I don't know whether it will ever happen.* (I3:530-42)

Although it is potentially possible to create *translations* involving signed and written language, in her view there are social constraints that prevent TPs from unpacking the text as it would be possible under ideal circumstances without time constraints. Although this does not suggest that the circumstances are necessarily perfect in written-written *translation*, the TP's perception is that the situation is different for other languages (cf. I3:539-40, 553-4). One of the reasons, she explains, is that "*the field is used to interpreting and not to translating*" (I3:670).

The difficulty of categorising sign language TEs is reflected in the various labels the TP uses when describing herself professionally, including both *interpreter* and *translator*. Despite her focus on written-sign translations, she has worked as an *interpreter* since 1988, and moreover, the dominant translational mode apparent in Deaf communities

and her professional surrounding is *interpreting* (see Chapter 2.4). When asked how she would describe herself professionally, she explains:

> *... it varies depending on where I am. And I think that's only because of the sociolinguistic situation of sign language. I think if it was French it wouldn't vary at all. [...] I would just say I'm an interpreter or I'm a translator. [...] [K]ind of lately, I found myself saying "I'm an interpreter, I do translations these days". [...] Or I have occasionally tried out my new title of "I'm a translator". But [...] more often I would – certainly in the past – I've always said that I'm an interpreter because that's what I've done.* (I3:14-9)

Even other TPs working in the field seem most used to the term *interpreter*, whereas the concept of sign language *translation* still needs clarification in her conversations with colleagues. She describes their reactions as follows:

> *I think most [...] kind of go 'Oh!' And they do ask about '[...] what's that? Is that... [...] do you work in...' whatever it is they think you work in. [...] 'Do you work in a school?' or 'Do you work [...] for television?' or whatever. [...] So then I talk about: 'No. I do it from the internet.' [...] That's usually how it goes I think. [...] [T]hat's a sort of new concept introduced to people [...]. Their assumption is that you'd be an interpreter. Usually.* (I3:53-8)

The situation described in this comment exemplifies that the use of the concept "sign language *translation*" is still not conventional yet, highlighting the ambiguity with which it is being understood in the TP's experience. Interpretations of the term *translation* in her encounters have varied from individual to individual.

Already in the early 1990s, the TP started reflecting on her professional identity when applying for membership of the *Institute of Translation and Interpreting* (ITI), where she could choose between the status of "conference *interpreter*" or "*translator*". Having worked in television at the time, she recognised that her professional status was unclear, and now remembers "*debating which one [she ...] should apply for*" (I3:122). Where she positions herself professionally still remains ambiguous. While belonging to the community of sign language *interpreters* on the one hand, she recognises her specialised, less common professional identity as a *translator* (as well as *interpreter*) and uses both labels to describe herself.

The TP's awareness of the issue as well as her long-term and varied experience of translating between written and signed language as well as working as an *interpreter* are likely to have some bearing on her approach. She suggests that her *interpreting* background might influence how she approaches an event that would loosely fall under the label *translation*:

Obviously I've got a lot of experience in interpreting, which might prohibit the development, of you know, translation processes, but I'm hoping eventually it won't. [...] I have an interest in [...] developing this field and working out how, how we do it. (I3:768-71)

It will be shown that she uses her *interpreting* skills in this TE but, familiar with translating between written and signed texts, she also develops innovative strategies to suit the particulars of the situation. Having reflected on the TP's background, I will now discuss the translation commission, another aspect that impacted on the event from the outset.

6.2.2 The Translation Commission
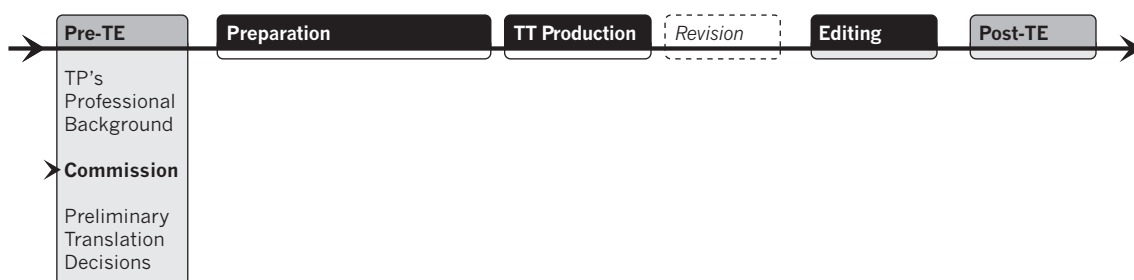
Figure 13: Timeline: The Translation Commission

A translation commission is vital because it provides the basis for the translational process by indicating what is expected of the TP. The first plans of producing BSL translations of key reading material for the ToTs course were made after students enquired about the possibility around half a year into the two-year course. In total eight texts were translated, one for each module, with the texts being chosen as core reading material by the module leaders. All translations but one were undertaken by the TP. The commissioner explains that it was difficult to find TPs (who generally work in live *interpreting* events between spoken and signed language) to conduct such a translation. The translations are intended to give students access to the course's core texts in their own language. The commissioner explains how a provision of academic material in BSL does not only give them access to texts in their first or preferred language, it is also intended to increase their confidence of dealing with academic texts in general.

Funding, calculated on the basis of a professional quote, was secured from the overall budget of the course. For this TE, the TP calculates that she was paid for two days, although she worked on it for six days. The amount of payment essentially reflects her 'visible' work in the recording studio and neglects the work she puts into the translation before and afterwards. The TP, however, suggests that the reasons for the miscalculations are more ambiguous:

... it's just about how much budget there is in the whole project. But [...] that in itself speaks for itself. Why have they not budgeted for translation in a real amount of time? You know, because I'm sure if they had, then they would have been able to secure that funding. It wasn't secured in the first instance and now they're trying to do something on a shoestring because it's [...] only a minimal amount that's been included in the bid basically. So it goes right back to the beginning. (I3:715-20)

Such calculations have an impact on the process as well as the quality of the product (I3:722-5; 754-7). With an interest in developing these events, the TP nevertheless took on the job. As she suggests, decisions are often made long in advance. Since translational procedures in events like this are not developed yet, it is particularly difficult to make realistic judgements about appropriate time and payment. The commissioner's decisions based on his conceptualisation of the translational activity and expectations thus shape the process and determine the opportunities and restrictions facing the TP with regard to the timeframe, technical equipment provided and the features of the TT.

6.2.3 Preliminary Translation Considerations
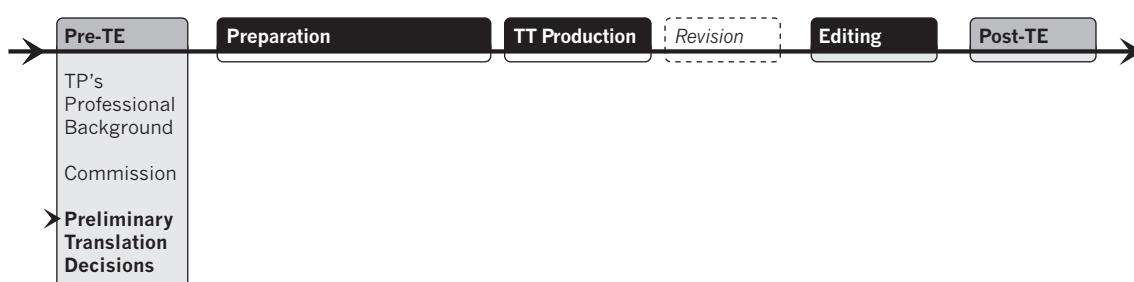
Figure 14: Timeline: Preliminary Translation Decisions

In addition to setting the payment and timeframe for an event, the commission provides information on the ST and target audience, based on which a TP is able to determine the purpose of a translation. In this TE, the TP explains:

... these texts are to be used by students on the course as [...] core texts basically for studying, which presents some very interesting questions when you're trying to put these into sign language because you have to begin to think about how they're gonna be used [...], how the end-users are gonna interact with the text. (I1:470-3)

The TT gives the students access to key course material in their own language. It is expected that BSL is the first or preferred language of all TT users and that the individuals' English skills vary. The students, living in an essentially Hearing environment (see Chapter 2.1.2), are expected to write and read about the content in English, both for the course and in their continuing professional lives. Another purpose of the translation is therefore to provide a direct bridge to the ST in a language that is easily accessible to

the target audience. The TP therefore aims to create a text that can stand by itself and be used independently, and that can at the same time be used in parallel with the ST: "*what we wanted to do is giving them an opportunity to do both, either/or, or both*" (I1:611-2).

As described in Chapter 2.2.3, the use of recorded signed texts is fairly new, practices of using recorded signed academic texts are less developed than literacy practices around written academic texts and the respective media of ST and TT provide different opportunities:

> *When I look through texts in English, if I'm studying from it, what I want to be able to do is go backwards and forwards to different [...] parts of the page. I want to be able to write all over it and put highlighter all over it, and I want to be able to know clearly where bits are, so that I don't have to read through the whole thing to get to that bit that I really want to quote from [...] and so on and so forth. That's led us to where we are now. [...] We're not at the point where students can highlight all over their BSL text, which I think would be the ideal place to be, but we haven't quite got there yet.* (I1:476-92)

Recorded sign language formats do not invite the opportunity to interact with texts as print material does. Commonly available technology to date does not allow us to easily insert comments on movies or scan a text as this would be possible in writing.[65]

The challenge in this event is to increase the ability to actively engage with the TT within the target medium:

> *... we're trying to make something that [...] is not just a solid, almost linear piece of signing from start on. We want something that they can interact with. [...] Also, to produce a text, particularly an academic text as this, [...] erm, it's very very dense. There is quite a lot of jargon and specific terminology. And we felt that a lot of it is just gonna look too heavy as a text to absorb visually. And also that a lot of these words are gonna look unfamiliar. Again [...] the purpose of this is to afford access to students to further study, if they want to look something up. If they want to chase a reference or something, they need to know very clearly how that's spelled, [...] probably slightly more clearly than my fingerspelling[66] will open it.* (I1:566-75)

Instead of producing a monomodal signed text, the strategy in this TE is to draw on the potentialities of the available multimedia technology. As illustrated in Figure 15 (left), subtitles provide additional access to subject-specific terminology, references to the literature and quotes in written English, while the information is simultaneously available

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[65] Technology, however, is developing rapidly; more specialised software, such as Elan (Language Archiving Technology 2010), allows for such actions.
[66] One way of introducing names into BSL or more generally of borrowing terminology from a spoken/written language is to use a manual alphabet that is inherent to BSL and "fingerspell" a term.

in BSL; this gives the target audience access to the source rendering and enables them to quote from it, while more generally the subtitles emphasise particularly important ST features. Moreover, imposing subtitles over the signed text increases the ability to navigate through the text. While it is difficult to identify particular signs when fast-forwarding or rewinding, the subtitles are easier to identify in a fast-moving text, providing pointers to particular parts of the TT.
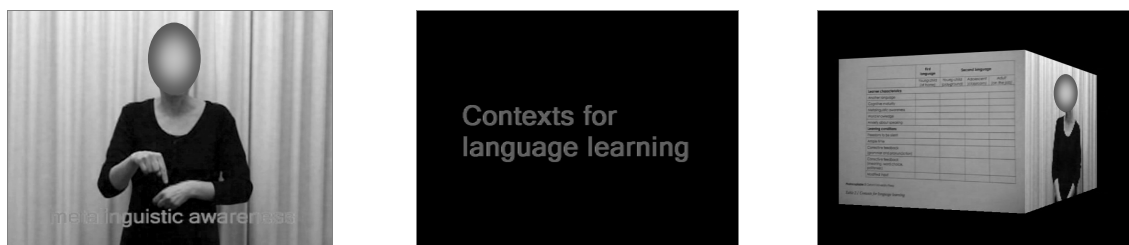
Figure 15: Target Text Elements: Subtitle, Title, Inserted Still

Navigation is further facilitated by the use of chapterisations on the video for each section, as well as the insertion of titles for each sub-chapter (see Figure 15, middle). Images from the ST, i.e. a table with an exercise (Figure 15, right) as well as two cartoons, are scanned and inserted into the TT. Again, these interruptions of the signed text not only provide paralinguistic textual information of the ST but also offer breathing spaces for the target audience, by breaking up the densely signed text, and aid navigation when fast-forwarding or rewinding.

Strategies to allow easier navigation, developed by the commissioner, who also acts as editor, affect the translational process. The technical and editorial considerations regarding the formatting of the video need to be coordinated with the TP, who makes references to superimposed subtitles as well as the inserted images in her signed texts:

Figure 16: Superimposing Subtitles (unedited and edited versions)

As illustrated, she makes explicit reference to the subtitles, which are superimposed later on. Collaboration between commissioner and TP to coordinate the process is therefore necessary before the TT recording (see Section 6.3.2).

Summing up the above account of the preliminaries, there are four forces that steer the event:

> *[...] the translation process is effectively a dialogue between the person who commissions this, who's also the course leader of the course, and myself as the translator, and technology, and the end-users. So there are kind of four participants in this dialogue really.* (I1:493-5)

At the moment, the TP mentions, "*I'm not sure that [...] all our voices are equally heard but we're working towards it*" (I1:495-6), with the TP leading the dialogue. While she feels that the brief put forward by the commissioner significantly steers the translation series, "*the end-users still don't have an enormous amount of voice*" (I1:551). An element of actively including the target audience in the translational process is not scheduled at the moment; the needs and wishes of the end-users are judged by the TP herself. The TP adds: "*And now technology's got a bit of a say*" (I1:47), both imposing constraints as well as offering opportunities. We should remember here that all four of these key players are part of wider networks; the way they operate and the roles they play in this event are informed by wider social and historical practices, i.e. the attitudes, beliefs and conventions that are associated with their roles.

After contextualising the TE and outlining preliminary influential factors, I will now proceed by depicting the different steps of the translational process.

6.3 Creating the Target Text 1: Preparation
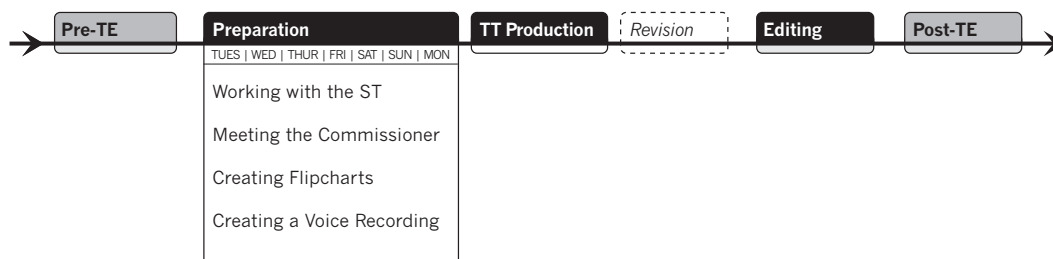
Figure 17: Timeline: Preparation

The nature of this TE allows for a large amount of preparation; the ST is fixed and the amount of time is potentially largely unrestricted. The process further offers the possibility of using translation aids, such as reference material, and lends itself to collaboration. The TP makes extensive use of these opportunities, spending approximately two thirds of the overall process on preparation. By the time the TT is recorded in the studio, the translation is well developed, albeit at this stage predominantly mentally and with room for change and flexibility. Her groundwork of producing aids and prompts enables the TP to be sufficiently prepared for the production of the TT in the studio. The following account draws on the interview data

negotiated with my analyses of the various collected documents. Apart from the TP's meeting with the commissioner and her production of the flipcharts, I was unable to observe the process, as the preparation happened at various places that I was unable to access.

6.3.1 Working with the Source Text: The Creation of a Mental Skeleton
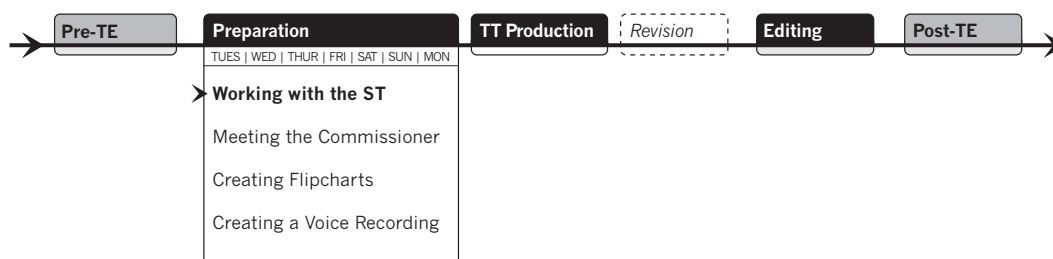
Figure 18: Timeline: Working with the ST

One significant element of this TE, that distinguishes it from more prototypical *interpreting* events, is the ability to work closely with the ST in an extended period of time:

> I have the script well in advance [...], so I can read through it, I can go through it, I can highlight, I can read through it, I can get [a ...] draft skeleton in my head. (I1:891-2)

The permanence of the ST allows the use of reference materials:

> [I use] Google, [...] there are very often things in a text that I have no idea about, [...] sometimes I've had to look up other references, [...] the first or second [... translation] that we did had lots of references to so-and-so theory. Well, what's so-and-so theory about? So and then I had to look up so-and-so theory and get a kind of brief précis of what's that about. (I1:846-57)

With the ability to read and re-read the ST and research the topic, the TP is able to spend time to fully understand the content, acquaint herself with background information and familiarise herself with the structure of the ST. At the same time, she is able to consider translational strategies.

The TP explains how she starts developing a mental draft of the TT during this process:

> I'll be doing that from the first reading, so I'm doing that even as I'm going through the highlighting, I'm already doing that and I'll be doing it again. Usually I read it through again and then I'll do it as I'm doing the voice as well. So I've had kind of three, or four maybe, shots of thinking, ok, I'm gonna do this one there, I'm gonna do that one there. (I1:823-7)

Different from live *interpreting* situations, she is able to spend time thinking about problematic parts and weighing up different TT versions. Even if preparation material is made available before an *interpreting* event, there is no guarantee that the ST will not be altered or affected during the actual TE. Since the ST is fixed here, the TP has the certainty that it will not change, and is able to work out the majority of the TT beforehand.

However, the TP stresses that rather than developing a clear, fixed TT image, she generates some "*rough guideline*" (I1:823), a "*rough plan, a road map*" (I1:1596), "*an etched skeleton of a translation in [her ...] head*" (I1:838). While her repeated ST reading at different stages allows her to familiarise herself extensively with the content and structure of the text, she points out that she concentrates on the parts that are more challenging to translate:

> *I'll identify knots in the translation, areas where I think I know that's gonna be difficult, you know, that's gonna be a knot, so then I kind of tease that out a little bit in my head. What can I do? I could do this, could do that, could do this. And I'll play with that. Other places where I read through it and I go, no, easily, a translation is coming very easily now, I'm just gonna not bother at all. I'll just leave that, I won't go back over that really.* (I1:832-7)

She is able to be selective in her preparation, dwelling on challenging passages as long as needed, while treating more straightforward parts with less intensity, avoiding redundancy of working on elements that could be produced without much preparation.

Taken from the retrospective think-aloud protocol, her long reflection on the rendering of the term "innate", which repeatedly appears in the ST and is eventually signed as below, exemplifies the extensive thought process that goes into the translation of one term.[67]

Figure 19: INNATE

> *Then 'innate' – [...] 'innate' is really hard and I ummed and ahhed about what to do with 'innate' and Chomsky's notion about how this is innate. [...] Ideally I would want to place the innateness, i.e. the site of this knowledge of universal grammar and principles somewhere in the brain. However, I've got all kinds of things already going on in this text with things in the brain. I've got cognitive stuff going on back here [pointing to the back of her head], I've got processing as in information processing which is related to cognitive stuff over here [pointing towards the front of her head]. I've got neurobiological [...]. And then*

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[67] Subject-specific terminology is a recurring challenge when translating into a signed language. As the social situations in Deaf and Hearing communities differ (see Chapter 2), signed vocabulary is less developed in certain domains, such as the area of linguistics. In BSL there is no established term that denotes the Chomskyan meaning of "innate". While it is possible to introduce an English loan word through fingerspelling in such instances, another strategy is to 'invent' a new sign, i.e. make use of what is known as "productive lexicon". Such a new sign cannot be randomly created; it needs to adhere to morphological rules and is visually, iconically motivated (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999). Here the TP describes her thought processes of developing a sign for the concept "innate" with particular regard to the iconic location of the sign.

[...] the site for universal grammar [...], what is it, where is it? Is it here in the frontal lobe? [...] Erm, what's more nat... So, that's on the one hand... and also it feels like that more naturally [placing the sign towards her stomach, see picture above], Deaf people talk about knowledge of things, innate knowledge of things here [pointing to stomach]. So if you see signs for Deafhood, they're here [pointing to stomach]. [...] they're not here [pointing to her head]. [...] I mean it is actually a mental function, but they're here [in the stomach], so I want to put it here. And that was just kind of really intuitive: "Oh, need to put it there, need to put it there". And that's fine, but I know that later on when there are critiques of innatist perspectives from other perspectives – [...] psychological, cognitive developmental perspective critiques – this text talks about such-and-such a perspective [... and] does not believe that there is a particular site in the brain for [...] language acquisition. It clearly says "in the brain" and I'm very aware I already put it here [stomach], so then I gotta deal with that in some other way. So "innatist" is a nightmare. And I put it here [pointing to stomach], but while I'm doing that I'm feeling kind of very uncomfortable about that. "Oh, no, I deal with it later on". [...] I think, what I tried to do was later on when the text says there is no particular area in the brain, I say that there is no particular area in the brain, but I also add, it's not... it's not in there. [pointing to stomach] [...] So that's that. (I2b:149-81)

Taking into account cultural aspects (Deaf people associate innate knowledge with a feeling in the stomach), as well as intertextual features (Chomsky's wider notion of the term "innate") and intratextual considerations (later occurrences of the term in the text), the TP weighs up the advantages and disadvantages of different TT renderings. The process allows her to make such extensive considerations in extended time *before* the recording and to take into account the text as a whole in order to create intratextual coherence.

This process, the identification of 'knots' and the consideration of different TT versions, takes place essentially in the TP's head. She reports that she would neither try it out in BSL nor record a TT draft through notation, glossing or transcription. She stresses that this approach is specific to working with signed languages, as they are unwritten languages (see Chapter 2.3). Although it is possible to use glosses or other notation systems, a transcription would almost necessarily rely on the use of English; a written draft in the target language is therefore nearly impossible.[68] In the TP's experience BSL is processed and stored predominantly mentally; notation of signed text or taking written notes seem unnatural or unhelpful. Comparing it to working with other (spoken/written) languages, she argues:

I don't do French interpreting, but I do a course in French, and when I get my French homework, and I sit there, [...] I will write things down and I think about how that's translated, and I write down possible words, all of those kinds of things. I never ever do that with sign language, it's entirely all in my head... (I1:1631-4)

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[68] Arguably, Sutton *SignWriting* (see Chapter 2.3) or complicated notation systems such as HamNoSys would provide systems of noting down BSL without relying on English, but this was not an option for the TP.

Her practices of producing texts differ according to whether they are written or signed, suggesting that the translational process is influenced by the TT modality. Producing a draft version mentally demands considerable effort, as the text needs to be memorised sufficiently to be recalled at a later stage. In order to reduce the effort, it is likely that a written target modality would invite a TP to record a first TT version simultaneously while considering translational strategies; the 'skeleton' would probably not be developed entirely in the TP's head, but constitute a recorded, written draft. In other words, while it is possible to simultaneously prepare and record a draft of a written TT, the signed target modality in this event requires that the preparation and recording of the TT happen during separate phases.

The TP reflects that processing and generating texts without taking notes is a "*massive cerebral load, [...] massive processing load*" (I1:1635). However, as an experienced sign language *interpreter*, she is used to producing TTs *ad hoc* without notes:

> ...*a lot of the processes [...] of actual translation that I do are so embedded now, because I've done them for so long, and because, [...] unlike with other [...] languages, [...] sign language interpreters go straight into consecutive/simultaneous and so your brain function, [...] all of your translational procedures are kind of embedded in simultaneous processing.* (I1:1615-9)

The mental development of the translation, the processing of a TT version, as in an *interpreting* situation, is thereby hidden in the TP's mind and remains unarticulated until a developed version is presented in one piece. It is apparent that she is used to working this way. Interestingly, she relates the process of this TE to her experience as an *interpreter*, although she is here able to prolong the processing stage to a great extent.

6.3.2 Discussing Choices: Collaborating
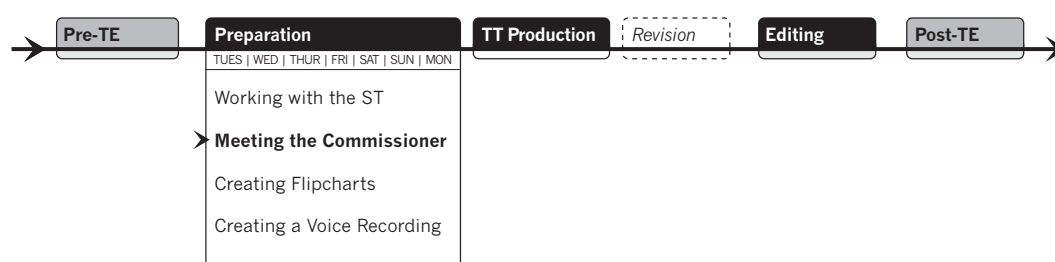
Figure 20: Timeline: Meeting the Commissioner

The theme of collaboration appears to be particularly close to the TP's heart. Stressing that "*whenever I'm doing a job, I think of translation as a collaborative act basically*" (I1:445-6), it is the first thing she mentions when asked about the particularities of this TE:

What's been interesting about this one [...] has been the opportunity to work with [the commissioner ...]. [...] It's a very interesting collaborative process that's evolving. And I think for both, the person who commissioned it and myself, the commissioner who is d/Deaf and myself, the process has been a... you know, we've both learned, and we're both really enjoying it. (I1:443-61)

Having known each other and worked together in a variety of contexts for over ten years, they have developed a functioning, comfortable working relationship. Considering furthermore that this TE is part of a series of translations, together they have gradually built up a routine of working with each other to collaboratively find strategies for the recurring challenges that are particular to this translation series, as will be exemplified below. The cooperation between TP and commissioner is most visible during their meeting.

The meeting, held in BSL, takes place in the commissioner's office a day before the recording phase, lasting just under thirty minutes. With both standing next to each, rather than sitting formally around a table, conversing in an informal manner, and having a dialogue while looking through the text together (see Figure 21), the meeting has a relaxed feel to it, reflecting their close working relationship.
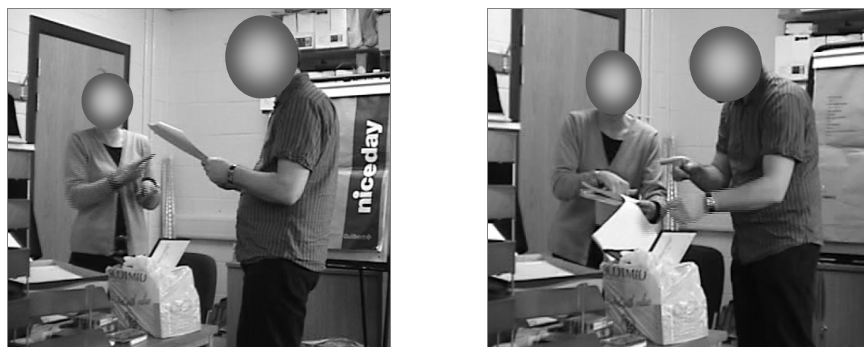
Figure 21: Collaborating

At this stage the TP has already developed a mental draft of the TT and is aware of the issues that need further consideration. She leads the dialogue by bringing up the topics for discussion, which will be exemplified by the following episodes.

The following example demonstrates how they work out translational strategies together. The dialogue is about a translational problem that is linked to the change from print media of the ST to the moving-image medium of the TT, and thereby goes beyond purely linguistic, translational considerations. The ST incorporates a cartoon to illustrate and lighten up the text. The problem is whether or how to incorporate the image in the TT video. The following includes my translation of their BSL conversation:

<u>Meeting with Commissioner, Episode 1</u>

TP: *(points towards cartoon in text)* HAVE DRAWING. REALLY IMPORTANT LINK TO TEXT NOTHING. WELL LIKE ADDED HUMOUR. HELP-YOU REALISE. NOT-SURE. HOW YOU FEEL? HAVE-A-LOOK.

[Translation: There is an image here which really doesn't have any link to the text. It's sort of "added humour", helps you make the connection to the text. Not sure, what do you think? Have a look.]

(*both leaning towards text, Commissioner[69] takes text and reads*)

TP: IMAGE YOU-AND-I LIKE MORECAMBE WISE YOU-AND-I

[Translation: I've got the image of us doing a 'Morecambe and Wise'.[70]]

(*both laugh; … C reads text*)

C: WELL. *(thinking)* … FOLLOW point-to-text INSERT-PICTURE IMPORTANT ADD-PICTURE

(*C looking questioningly*)

[Translation: Well... To match the text, the picture can be inserted from the side. Adding the picture is important.]

(*TP nods, looks at C.*)

C: *(thinking)* EXAMPLE-NO

[Translation: It's not really an example.]

TP: NO

C: HUMOUR ADD *(thinking)*

[Translation: It's added humour!]

TP: WANT SHOW THIS?

[Translation: Do you want to show this?]

(*C nods hesitantly*)

TP: YES? *(looking questioningly)*

(*C nods*)

TP: OK

C: HANG-ON. WELL... *(thinking)*

[Translation: Hang on. Well...]

TP: point-at-cartoon SHOW-TOWARDS-RIGHT, SHOW-TOWARDS-LEFT, RIGHT, LEFT, RIGHT

[Translation: Should I reference the cartoon to my right or left?]

C: ....NO-PROBLEM WATCH-TAPE SEE WHICH-WAY MAKE-SURE YOU REFERENCE-ONE-SIDE, YOU point-to-left I PICTURE INSERT

[Translation: It doesn't matter. When I watch the tape I see which way you insert it. Just make sure that you reference it, and I insert the picture at the correct side.]

TP: (nods) INSERT-PICTURE AND MOVE-OUT-PICTURE

[Translation: OK, so the picture is inserted and then fades out.]

Although the TP points out the problem, it is the commissioner who decides that the cartoon will be inserted and how, with the TP insisting on him making the final decision. The instance exemplifies that the overall decision-making process is split between

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[69] "Commissioner" is hereafter abbreviated as "C".
[70] Morecambe and Wise were a famous British comedy duo.

various actors in this TE, with the TP dealing with linguistic, translational strategies and the commissioner being responsible for the editing and choices that particularly relate to the medium shift. Nevertheless, both parts need to be coordinated and it is the TP who keeps an overview of the process and initiates the dialogue.

In the following episode the discussion between TP and commissioner focuses on lexical issues, the translation of the terms "metalinguistic" and "cognitive", which are two examples of the many instances of subject-specific terminology found in the ST.

> **Meeting with Commissioner, Episode 2**
> **TP:** JARGON THEY BEEN LEARN m·e·t·a·l·i·n·g·u·i·s·t·i·c THEY KNOW? NOT·SURE?
> [Translation: In terms of jargon, have they learned the term 'metalinguistic'? Do they know about this? Do you know?]
> **C:** NO COME·UP
> [Translation: It has not come up.]
> **TP:** I WILL? – PSYCHOLOGICAL THINGS THEY ALREADY
> [Translation: So I should? – Have you covered psychological topics yet?
>   *(They look through the text)*
> **TP:** COGNITIVE...
> [Translation: There is 'cognitive'...]
> **C:** DIFFERENT SIGNS COGNITIVE THREE OPTIONS
> [Translation: There are three signs for cognitive.]
> **TP:** WHICH?
> [Translation: Which (should I use)?]
> **C:** SCOTT·LIDDELL USE COGNITIVE·SIGN·1 DISCUSS COGNITIVE·SIGN·2 COGNITIVE·SIGN·3 *(demonstrates signs)*
> [Translation: Scott Liddell[71] uses and discusses these three signs.]
> **TP:** WHICH WANT?
> [Translation: Which one do you want?]
> **C:** DON'T·KNOW *(thinking)*
> [Translation: I don't know.]
> **TP:** THEIR WHAT?
> [Translation: What's their sign?]
> **C:** SITUATION LEARN STUDENTS COGNITIVE·SIGN·1
> [Translation: Well, it's about how students learn, which would be sign nr. 1]
> **TP:** COGNITIVE·SIGN·1?
> [Translation: So the first sign?]
> **C:** *(checks text, thinks)* PSYCHOLOGY *(thinks)* COGNITIVE·SIGN·1 PSYCHOLOGY COGNITIVE·SIGN1 COGNITIVE·SIGN·1 *(nods)*
> [Translation: Mmh, it's about psychology, so the first sign, yes, the first sign.]
> **TP:** COGNITIVE·SIGN·1 *(nods)*
> [Translation: OK, sign nr. 1 it is.]

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[71] Scott Liddell is a prominent sign linguist.

As the course leader and teacher on the course, the commissioner has inside knowledge of the target audience. The TP makes use of this information, asking whether the students will be familiar with the concept "metalinguistic". His answer enables her to make the choice to introduce the term afresh. The concept "cognitive" constitutes an example where more than one TT rendering is possible, each option having a slightly different meaning. As a linguist, the commissioner is also an expert in the field, and being a BSL user, can advise on appropriate target language terminology. Again, the TP is persistent in letting him make the decision on the most suitable TT rendering.

As the examples demonstrate, the meeting enables the TP to extend and clarify the translation brief and discuss more specific translational choices, allowing her to go through various translational issues and gain input from the commissioner, who as the editor, course leader and linguistic expert is able to contribute to the decision making process and make the TT functionally appropriate. It furthermore provides the TP with another opportunity to go through the ST again, redraft and develop her mental skeleton and discuss certain choices in BSL, the target language.

Collaboration, however, is noticeable throughout the event and becomes a recurring theme during the interviews, while signs of their cooperation repeatedly emerge from the other data sources. In order to explore the theme of collaboration further, I will at this stage deviate from a chronological portrayal of the event and make reference to other stages in the translational process that involve collaboration.

On the ST, we find the TP's notes for the commissioner:
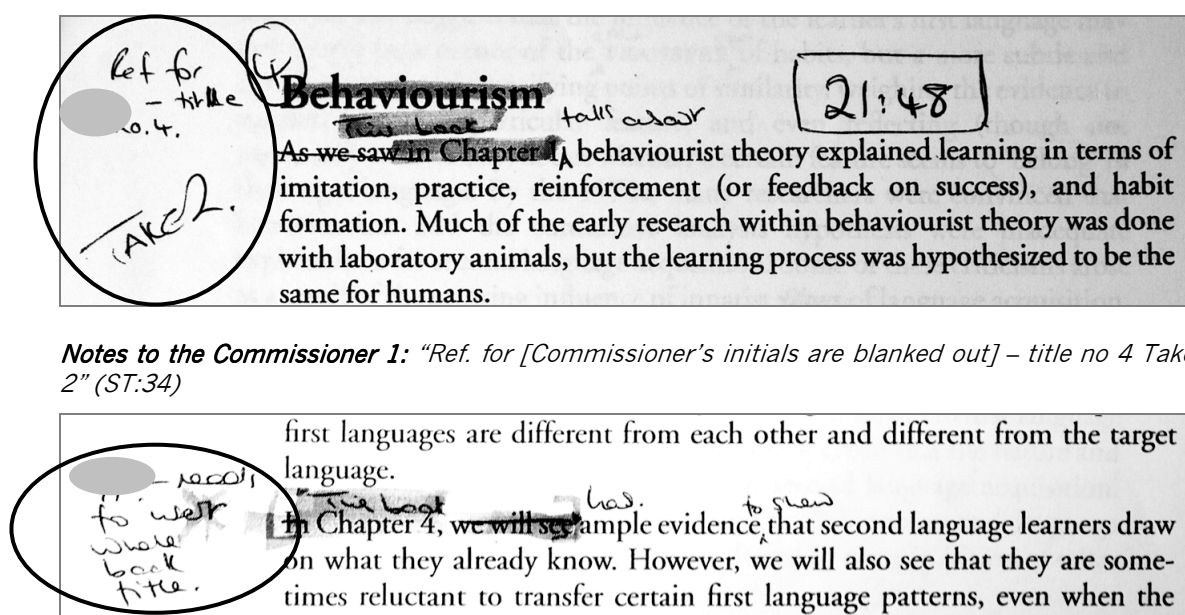
Notes to the Commissioner 1: *"Ref. for [Commissioner's initials are blanked out] – title no 4 Take 2" (ST:34)*

Notes to the Commissioner 2: *"[Commissioner's initials are blanked out] needs to insert whole book title." (ST:34)*

Figure 22: Collaboration: Notes to the Commissioner

For each section ("Title"), she communicates the number of the take which is to be put into the final TT version, as in Example 1 (Figure 22, ST:34). As Example 2 (ST:34) indicates, at points she also explicitly communicates which parts exactly need to be subtitled. In this case, where it says "Chapter 4" in the ST, she asks for a subtitle with a reference to the title of the whole book.

Through coloured highlighting she marks elements that will be subtitled or titled at the editing stage. The TP explains that the commissioner has developed "*a little colour-code,* [...] *"pink: jargon; yellow: reference; yellow: quote; blue: footnote*" (I1:558-60); when working through the ST, she highlights the relevant parts in these colours, informing the commissioner how to edit the TT later:

Colourcoding 1: *"Pink – Jargon; Yellow – Ref;" – Quote; Blue – Footnote" (ST:title page)*

Colourcoding 2 (Text Example): *References (ST:35)[72]*

Figure 23: Collaboration: Colourcoding

Here (Figure 23, ST:35) we find an example of references to literature, which are later provided as subtitles in the TT by the commissioner.

Further evidence of communication between the TP and the commissioner can be found on the unedited TT tapes. Before each recording of a section the TP signs the title, as marked on the ST, as well as the number of her take, i.e. "TITLE ONE TAKE ONE", "TITLE TWO TAKE ONE", "TITLE TWO TAKE TWO", etc. Rather than constituting a part of the TT, this is information to guide the editing process. Additionally she communicates

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[72] The data samples shown here are taken from a black-and-white photocopy of the TP's annotated ST; the original copy was needed back for editing purposes. This is why colours cannot be shown here.

repeatedly – through the camera – with the commissioner between takes, as in the following example:

> **Unedited TT, Title 5 Take 2**
>
> **0:39:30:** *(relaxed signing, looking towards camera)* THIS TITLE NUMBER FIVE TAKE TWO. FEEL FIRST NOT-BAD point NOT BAD BUT HAVE-A-LOOK SECOND
>
> [Translation: This is title number five, take two. I don't think the first one was bad, but let's wait and see what the second one will be like.]
>
> **0:39:40:** *(leaning forward to laptop, checking voice recording, listening)*
>
> **0:39:45:** AH WAIT-WAIT-WAIT TAPE MOVE-ON
>
> [Translation: Ah, have to wait for the tape to get to the right place.]
>
> **0:39:50:** *(visibly waiting, moving towards the laptop playing the voice recording, checking voice recording)*
>
> **0:40:15:** *(moving back to recording position; looking towards laptop)* MOVE-MOVE-MOVE. *(towards camera)* NOT READY.
>
> [Translation: *(looking towards laptop)* Come on! *(towards camera)* It's not ready.]
>
> **0:40:30:** *(nods to camera)* READY. THIS TAKE TWO NUMBER 5 TITLE.
>
> [Translation: It's ready. This is take two title number five.]

Here the TP communicates directly with the commissioner. Aware that he will need to make sense of the unedited tapes in her absence, she explains why she is waiting. Although the TP is alone when working with the ST and during studio productions, there are signs, as exemplified above, that she is aware of the commissioner's involvement at a later stage; the process becomes a collaborative act throughout.

In addition to practical functions, there is another reason for the TP's heightened urge for collaboration:

> *I think, where that need [to collaborate] comes from is that I'm very aware as most people are who work as sign language interpreters or translators that... of the difference, erm, of the power relationship that I work in, so BSL and English, and the [...] differential between those two. I think that then lends itself to a different sensitivity about collaborating with the disempowered minority language users than it would with other languages. [...] So I think that's where it comes from, and that's what it's about, [...] that sort of [...] involvement, transparency, because the community of language users has been exposed to such imperialist practices, language practices in the past, that one is very aware of not replicating or perpetuating that. So I think there is a heightened sensitivity.* (I3:931-41)

The act of collaboration is empowering in the sense that it involves members of the minority target language community in the decision making process. The genre of a linguistic textbook does not yet exist in BSL and there are no model texts that serve as examples for the TT. The 'import' of such texts through translation therefore has a

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potentially significant impact on language practices in the target culture. By collaborating, the power and responsibility involved in this process are shared.

6.3.3 Flipcharts: An Overview of the "Tricky Stuff"

The next stage in the translational process, after the meeting with the commissioner, is the TP's creation of translation prompts. Considering the size of the text (the ST being 21 pages long, the TT being a film of 1 hour 45 minutes' signing), relying entirely on memory in order to produce the TT would be an immense task. The TP's developed strategy of dealing with this "massive cerebral load" of remembering the text is the production of two different kinds of translation aids, a voice recording of the ST and flipcharts, the latter of which are at the centre of this section.
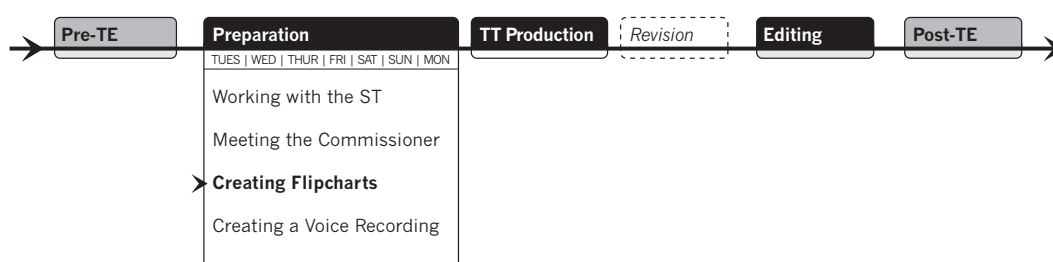
Figure 24: Timeline: Creating Flipcharts

The TP creates the 16 flipcharts straight after her meeting with the commissioner in his office. As this happens in his presence, the process provides another chance to discuss translational and editing strategies with him. Going through the ST, page by page, she elicits key information and factual detail:

> *what I write on the pieces of paper are the titles, [...] so section 1, section 2 [...] and I will write down all of the things I need to reference. Plus, any names, any dates, anything that's gonna come up that might stop me in my tracks [...]. So that all goes on a piece of flipchart paper.* (I1:897-903)

The titles and subtitles as well as key information are noted. Later in the studio, a quick glance allows the TP to situate a section within the text and be reminded of its key points.

The examples below (Figure 25) illustrate the kinds of information on the flipcharts, including bibliographic references (Example 1), subject-specific terminology (Example 2), examples (here a foreign language example, Example 3) and a quote (Example 4).

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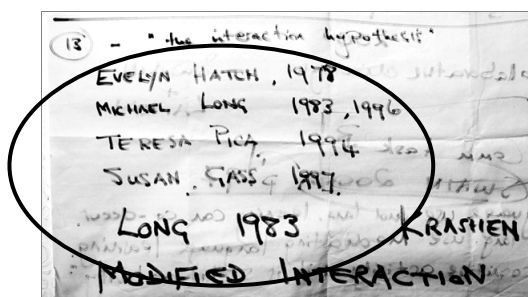
Example 1: References

"Evelyn Hatch, 1978; Michael Long 1983, 1996; Teresa Pica, 1994; Susan Gass, 1997"
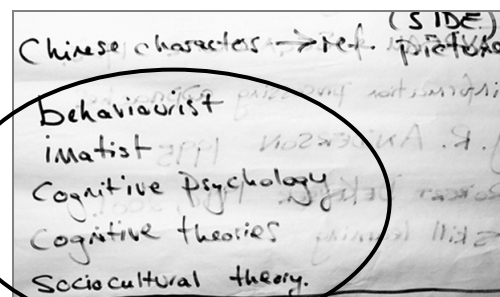
Example 2: Subject Specific Terminology

"Behaviourist; innatist; cognitive psychology; cognitive theories; sociocultural theories"
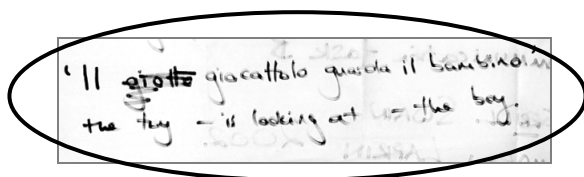
Example 3: Foreign Language Example

"Il giocattolo guarda il bambino
the toy – is looking at – the boy"
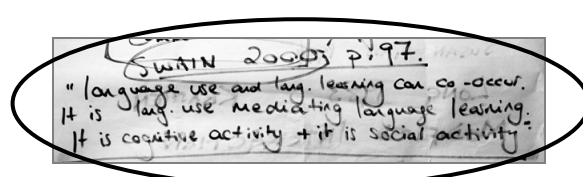
Example 4: Quote

"Swain 2000 p.97. Language use and lang. learning can co-occur. It is lang. use mediating language learning. It is cognitive activity + it is social activity"

Figure 25: Flipcharts Examples

The flipcharts provide reminders of the spelling of names, the exact wording of a quote and the details of an example. Furthermore, they include information on the elements that will be added later by the editor, reminding her how to refer to a subtitle or wait for the insertion of a still image.

Overall, the flipcharts demonstrate the TP's individual approach of creating translation prompts. Their main function is to jog her memory, to give her an immediate, manageable overview of the content of a certain section. These aids provide pointers on how to deal with details that are easy to get wrong but important to get right, such as subject-specific terminology, dates and names, as such information is likely to be used by the target audience in their own written work in the form of quotes and references or in order to look up further information. Moreover, the flipcharts include pointers to elements that will be superimposed later by the editor and that the TP makes reference to in order to create a coherent multimodal TT, e.g. by pointing towards a subtitle. The TP summarises the flipcharts' function stating that they incorporate "*all the tricky stuff that's being covered*" and adds "*[in the studio] I can just go with it*" (I1:1604-5). Whereas a simultaneous *interpreter* has to deal with such "tricky stuff" in situ, simultaneously processing the ST utterance and finding unprepared TT renderings, here the TP has time to reflect on such challenges in her own, extended time and the prompts give her

immediate pre-prepared advice on how to deal with them. This is designed to reduce the processing load and stress during the TT production.

The flipcharts thus provide pointers to particularly selected features of the text, providing a scaffolding of the challenging items through the text only. Their creation offers an opportunity for the TP to elicit and prepare herself for the details that a simultaneous *interpreter* might stumble over during the TT production. The flipcharts do not, however, contain sufficient detail to prompt her for the rendering of a full TT. The development of another, more detailed translation aid is necessary, which will be discussed in the following section.

6.3.4 The Voice Recording: Towards Creating a Translation Draft
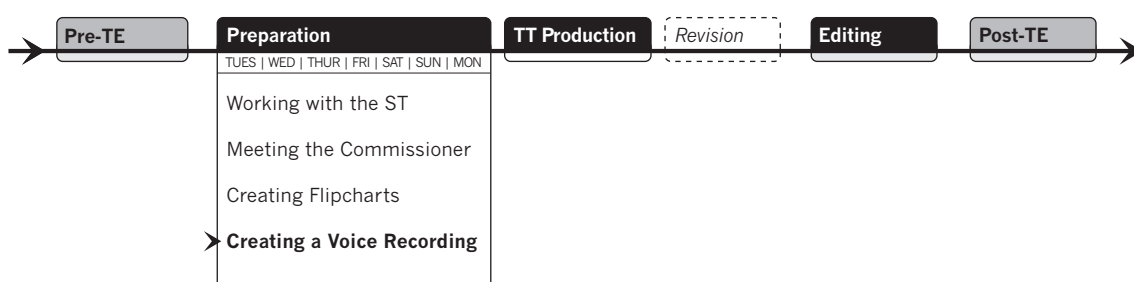
Figure 26: Timeline: Creating a Voice Recording

The voice recording of the ST, recorded by the TP at home after producing the flipcharts, constitutes a full reading of the English text with only minor adjustments, giving access to the complete ST. This provides a secure safety net for the TP. Although prepared with a mental TT draft skeleton, which she generates throughout the extensive preparation process, it would be impossible for her to remember the structure, overall content as well as detail from memory. It is worth noting here that in order to produce a sign language recording, a variety of types of prompts are possible, such as the use of an autocue (where a written version of the ST is shown on a screen, scrolling down section by section). Working with written glosses or memory aids, visually inspired notes[73] or being prompted by another person are further options. While an autocue was considered, it was impossible to secure funding for it. The most natural alternative for the TP, who as an *interpreter* is used to producing a signed TT based on aural input, is the use of a voice text which gives her access to the full ST.

While the recording of the voice text takes a considerable amount of time – in total the text is just under eighty minutes long – the process of reading the ST one final time has a

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[73] Winston and Monikowski (2005), for example, advocate the use of "discourse mapping", i.e. the creation of 'mind maps', which may involve written information or only pictorial elements, in order to prepare a translation in educational contexts. This technique may be developed further to serve as a prompt for sign language TT productions, without having to rely extensively on ST wording.

positive side effect. It provides a last opportunity for the TP to finalise the mental skeleton and to access the ST in full before recording the TT section by section in the studio the following day. It acts as a final reminder of the issues to consider and, like a 'checklist', enables her to make sure that translational knots are disentangled and the mental skeleton is sound. The following account is based on analyses of the voice recording and the TP's annotated ST, on which the voice recording is based, and will be linked to interview data.

Although the TP is "*keeping it in English at this stage*" (I1:792) and the reading follows the ST essentially sentence by sentence, the annotated ST as well as the voice recording reveal instances where the original text has been changed:
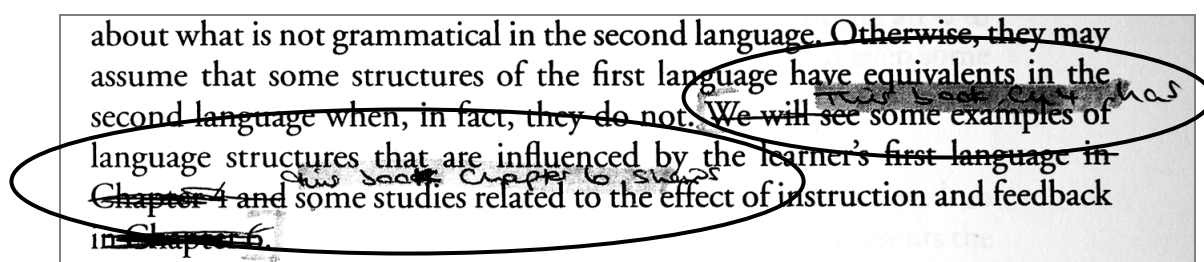
"*We will see* (This book ch.4 has) some examples of language structures that are influenced by the learner's first language *in Chapter 4* and (this book chapter 6 shows) some studies related to the effect of instruction and feedback *in Chapter 6*." (ST:36)

Figure 27: Adapted Source Text 1

The source wordings "in Chapter 4" and "in Chapter 6" (ST:36) are crossed out, and in her own handwriting the TP changes this to "This book, ch. 4 has…" and "…this book chapter 6 shows…". This reflects a strategy developed together with the commissioner of dealing with the fact that the TT is removed from its original context (i.e. the second chapter of Lightbown and Spada 2006 is removed from the rest of the book). It was decided during their meeting that the TP would still include the references to other chapters in the TT. In order to make the TT meaningful for its audience, an explicitation of where the chapters can be found is necessary. It is apparent that the TP makes the decisions on how to deal with these adjustments before going into the studio. Including these adaptations into the ST reading eliminates certain translational difficulties and reduces the processing load in the studio.
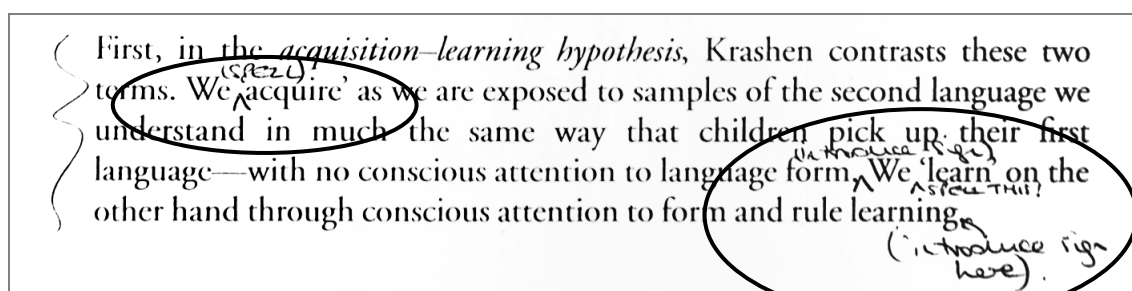
"We (spell) 'acquire' as we are exposed to samples of the second language we understand in much the same way that children pick up their first language – with no conscious attention to language form. (introduce sign) We (spell this!) 'learn' on the other hand through conscious attention to form and rule learning (introduce sign here)." (ST:36)

Figure 28: Adapted Source Text 2

As Figure 28 exemplifies, the TP writes instructions to herself on how to sign particular parts of the TT on the ST, which she also includes when recording the reading of the text. Here the source sentence, introducing the subject-specific terms "learn" and "acquire", is adapted in the TP's annotated ST. Her approach is to fingerspell the terms "learn" and "acquire" before introducing the signs later, which is a common strategy of introducing subject-specific terminology in the TP's TT. Having prepared her translation solution before going into the studio and reminding herself of this in the voice recording means that she no longer has to resolve the translational problem during the recording process.

The following ST excerpt provides examples where the TP substitutes particular lexical items of the ST with other English words:
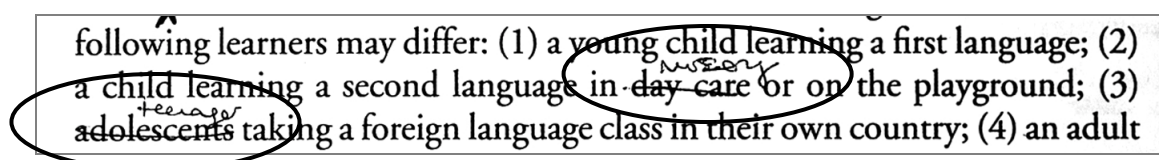
"... (2) a child learning a second language in day care nursery or on the playground; (3) adolescents teenager taking a foreign language class in their own country..." (ST:29)

Figure 29: Adapted Source Text 3

"Day care" is crossed out and replaced by "nursery", "adolescent" is replaced by "teenager" (ST:29), and this is also adopted on the voice recording. The replacement terms represent glosses that are attached to the signs NURSERY and TEENAGER. On the TT we notice that the signs are also accompanied by a mouthing of the English words "nursery" and "teenager", rather than "day care" or "adolescent".[74] We are confronted with a strategy of including TT elements in the preparatory texts, presumably making it easier to find a TT version in the studio. Interestingly, however, while moving closer to

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[74] In BSL, some signs are accompanied by the silent mouthing of its English counterpart.

the TT, the changes made on the annotated ST and the ST reading still follow standard source language structure. There are only few exceptions:
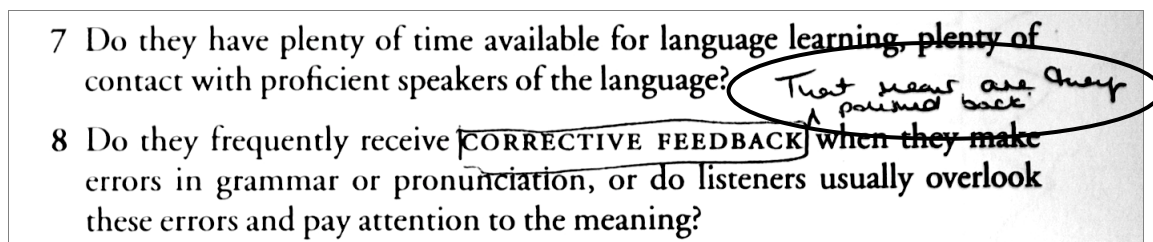
"... Do they frequently receive CORRECTIVE FEEDBACK *That means are they polished back* when they make errors..." (ST:30)

Figure 30: Adapted Source Text 4

Here, influences of target language structure can be noticed. Where it says "corrective feedback" (ST:30), she adds the note: "*That means are they polished back*". The phrase does not correspond to standard English usage; instead the words constitute glosses, closely describing the TP's BSL rendering.

Another example can be found in the instructions given to complete an exercise in the ST (ST:30). The ST readers are invited to reflect on the circumstances of different groups of second language learners, by taking a look at different statements and considering which learner group each statement applies to. By using the symbols: +, – or ?, they are asked to indicate if a statement usually applies to a certain learner group (+) or not (–) or whether the issue is uncertain (?). The meanings of these symbols are explained, and the TP adapts the ST as follows:
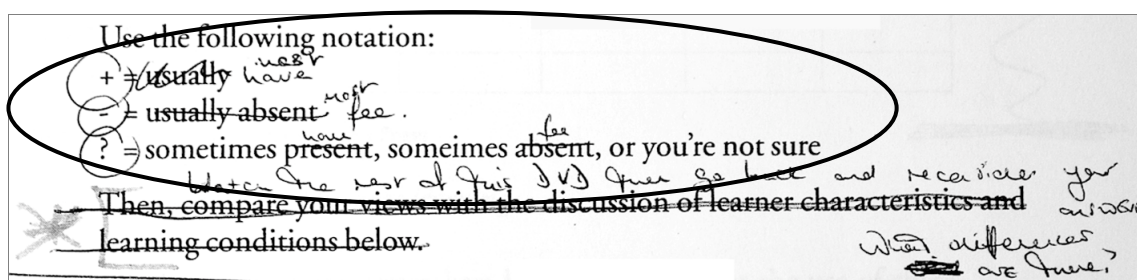
"+ = ~~usually~~ *most have*

– = ~~usually absent~~ *most fee*

? = sometimes ~~present~~ *have*, sometimes ~~absent~~ *fee*, or you're not sure" (ST:30)

Figure 31: Adapted Source Text 5

"Fee" is a common gloss for a sign which could be translated as "non-existent" or "not there". This constitutes the only example where the TP explicitly uses a target language gloss that is not English. Interestingly, while the adjustments marked on the ST are

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incorporated into the voice recording as in the examples above, in this instance she does not use this formulation on the voice recording, but replaces it with "most haven't", which comes closer to standard English usage. Although this was not discussed with the TP, we can assume that too much deviation from a natural sounding English text might be too distracting when listening to the recorded voice text or that the label FEE is ambiguous. On the flipcharts however, the 'non-English' notations of "fee" are copied. As can be seen, we find a variety of ST adjustments, including explicitations as well as direct translations of lexical items and phrases, predominantly following standard English structures, but at points incorporating target language glosses. The voice recording thereby constitutes a text that provides a bridge towards the TT by including translational strategies as well as target language features.

Additionally, the voice recording resembles the TT in another way; like the target language it is produced in a primary modality, i.e. a modality that creates texts linearly within a set speed and which invites the text producer to include additional, paralinguistic information through pace, intonation and stress. The TP explains that she adapts the speed to match the TT output:

> *I try to take care about speed. So [...] bits, that I know are gonna be places that I'm gonna turn the text around completely, I'll slow down to allow myself to do that. Or conversely I speed up because I know that I'm gonna do that bit very quickly.* (I1:796-9)

While reading, she considers the translation and is thus able to estimate how long it will take to sign the text. The text is read slowly, in a calm, yet animated voice.

<u>**Voice Recording (0.59 – 1.56)**</u>[75]

```
1    Krashen described his model (0.5) in terms of <FI:VE>
     (0.5) hypotheses. (2)
     number one. (3)
     in the (1) ↓°spell°↓ (1) 'acquisition' (1.5)
5    ↓°<hyphen>°↓ (0.5) ↓°spell°↓ (0.5) 'LEAR:NING' (1)
     'hypothesis' (4) Krashen ↑contra:sts↑ these (.) two
     (.) terms. (2)
     We (1) SPELL (0.5) 'acquire' (2) as we are exposed to
     samples (.) of the second >language that we
10   understand.↑< (2) in much the same way that
     ↑children↑ pick up their first °language.° (2) with
     no: conscious attention to language FORM. (2)
     °°introduce the sign for acquire there.°° (3)
```

As the above transcription of a section (ST:36) demonstrates, particular elements are stressed (<u>underlined</u>), sometimes through a rise of pitch (↑), through increased volume (CAPITALS) or animated, usually rise-fall, intonations (' '). Pauses (length of pause is indicated in seconds in brackets) break up the text and add to stressing particular elements. Moreover through rhythm, speed and the lowering of volume (° °), the TP makes it noticeable where she herself adds information, for example, indicating where to fingerspell a certain element (e.g. in lines 4, 5, 8). Considering that in 'normal' speech we produce approximately five syllables per second (Bloomer, Griffiths and Merrison 2005:45), the TP reads the text markedly slowly, in this section producing approximately three times less. The prosodic information delivered in the voice recording informs the intonation, speed and stress of the BSL TT. The modalities of a spoken text are closer to the signed TT than the written ST.

The voice recording, although essentially following English structure, carries TT features and therefore constitutes an intermediary text between ST and TT. Although the generation of the translation skeleton remains predominantly unverbalised during the preparation phase, we find instances of written TT notes on the annotated ST and the TP produces what we might call a predominantly intralingual translation draft with TT elements in the voice recording. Positioned between source and target text, it is adjusted to make the TT production in the studio easier. Nevertheless, essentially following English language structure, the voice recording does not prompt a ready-made, finalised TT version; the TP still needs to convert the ST into the target language while the camera is running. She is therefore relying heavily on her memory as well as her ability to produce a simultaneous translation (see Section 6.4.2 for further discussion).

Finally, by creating a voice recording, the TP changes the source modality from written to spoken. Considering that the modalities of source and target text refer to two of the key parameters used to define translational modes (see Chapter 3.3), we might conclude that the TP actively moves the situation to resemble an *interpreting* event. With her *interpreting* background, she is used to producing signed texts based on a spoken ST. Using audio input, she is able to be prompted without having to move her eye gaze. This modality change from a written to a spoken intermediary text challenges conceptualisations of translational modes that are based on mono- or bimodal ST-TT combinations.

6.3.5 Preparing the Building Blocks of the Target Text: A Summary

As the account above shows, preparation constitutes a major part in the TE. By the time the TP goes into the studio, she has read the ST, discussed it in both BSL (with the commissioner) and spoken English (with me), prepared a mental skeleton, written notes in English and BSL glosses and read the adapted ST aloud. In other words, she has used

a number of communication and processing modes in both source and target languages to prepare the translation. Preparation is multifaceted. Initial readings of the ST allow her to form an overall picture of the text and familiarise herself with the details; collaborating with the commissioner enables her to discuss translational issues, receive insider information and work together with the editor; by preparing flipcharts she elicits and prepares problematic translation elements; and the preparation of the voice recording provides a final opportunity to refresh the mental skeleton and results in a draft which already lies in between source and target text. These different features provide the building blocks for the recording of the TT. Additionally she is able to draw on her *interpreting* experiences and skills to produce a TT based on simultaneous aural input:
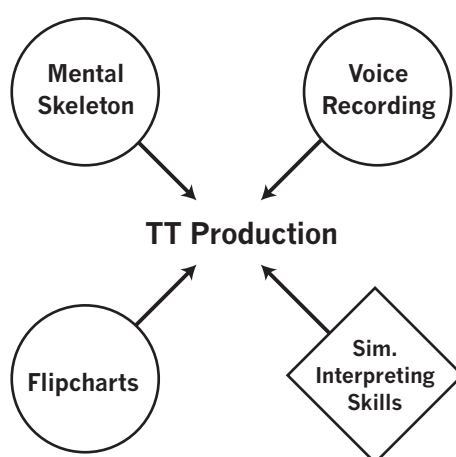
Figure 32: The Building Blocks for the Target Text Production

The creation of the TT thereby already begins during the preparation phase. Although at this stage still flexible, a first draft is already developed before the TP records the TT. Time restrictions are not imposed by the modalities of source and target text, but by other professional and personal commitments, personal time management, payment and the time scheduled in the commission. The TP can use reference material and receive advice from colleagues and other stakeholders in an extended amount of time. These features resonate with *translation* practices. At the same time, with her preference of using a spoken prompt and her ability to deal with mental processing loads with strategies similar to those used by simultaneous *interpreters*, it appears that the TP also uses her experiences as an *interpreter* in this TE.

6.4 Creating the Target Text 2: Production
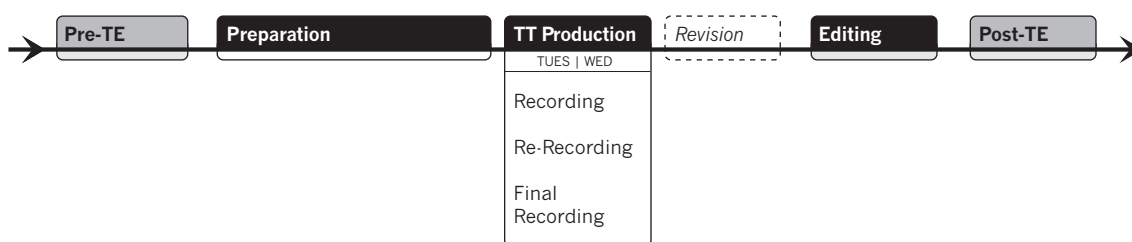
Figure 33: Timeline: Production Phase

The most visible stage of the translational process, which is at the centre of this section, happens in the recording studio. I will consider the setting and the different roles that the TP takes on at this stage; I will further revisit the issue of preparation and discuss in what way the TP is able to draw on the building blocks described above. This leads me to make a distinction between translation and presentation (or performance) aspects. I will finish the section by reflecting on the working conditions during the recording process.

6.4.1 The Setting

The recording of the TT takes place in a small media studio at Heriot-Watt University, the academic institution offering the course for which the translation was created. A portable video camcorder is set up on a tripod facing a wall, which, covered with a light-coloured curtain, serves as a neutral backdrop for the TP's signing. A laptop, from which the voice recording is played back, is on a table in the middle of the room. The flipcharts are bluetacked on two flipchart stands and a filing cabinet behind the camera. Only three flipcharts can be displayed at any one time; the TP consequently has to exchange them with the relevant sections after recording a few chunks.

The technology and tapes are provided by the university, and the room is set up by the TP together with the commissioner and an in-house technician. After the studio is set up, the TP works on her own. A complex process begins: the TP switches on the camera, presses the play button of the voice recording, positions herself in front of the neutral backdrop and, adjusting her hair or rolling her shoulders, visibly starts concentrating. After indicating the number of title and take to the commissioner, her position changes, her eye gaze is directed downwards or towards the camera, her hands in neutral position, and once the voice recording begins, she starts signing a section of the TT. She now frequently repeats a section multiple times. In between takes she usually leaves the camera running, but has to rewind the voice recording to the right place. In order to find the correct place quickly, she notes down the counter number on the ST before each take. A few times the TP uses the time in between takes to go over a ST passage or practise a particular part, e.g. fingerspelling a name that she has stumbled over before. After a section has been recorded to her satisfaction, and the number of the preferred

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take (in all cases the final take) has been indicated on the ST for the editor, she chronologically moves on to the next chunk; the process is repeated for each section. Every now and then, she exchanges the flipcharts and the camera tape (each tape being fifty minutes long). The recording process is interrupted by regular short breaks. After the first day in the studio she finishes nine out of 19 sections, the rest is completed the next day. The time in the studio is limited to two short days, with her arriving at approximately 9AM and leaving at around 4PM.

The TE involves a multitude of tasks, which the TP herself describes as a "*ridiculous juggling act*" (I1:921-2):

> *so now I'm starting to run around, controlling all, my brain starts going now, because I'm trying to control too much technology, I've gotta make sure that the camera is on, I've gotta make sure I've noted the time code before I turn it off.* (I1:939-41)

Her role goes beyond translating; she acts as a camera person, director, the editor's co-worker, as well as translator and, as will be discussed in Section 6.4.4, presenter. The multitude of actions adds an extra processing load to the already complex task of rendering the TT.

The complexity of the process creates room for technical problems. In this TE, the TP signs Title 6 three times before realising that the camera is off, and thus has to record yet another take. At another two occasions, the tape runs out in the middle of the recording; again, she has to start from the beginning. Relying on technology and having to remember all the different undertakings in order to minimise technological problems, as well as to arrange clear instructions for the editor, demands extensive concentration and causes additional stress and frustration when something goes wrong. The TP concludes: "*it actually feels very stressful actually and I (...) probably need a way around this*" (I1:929-30). At this stage, however, the involvement of a technical assistant has not been scheduled.

6.4.2 Recording: An Oral Source Text after All
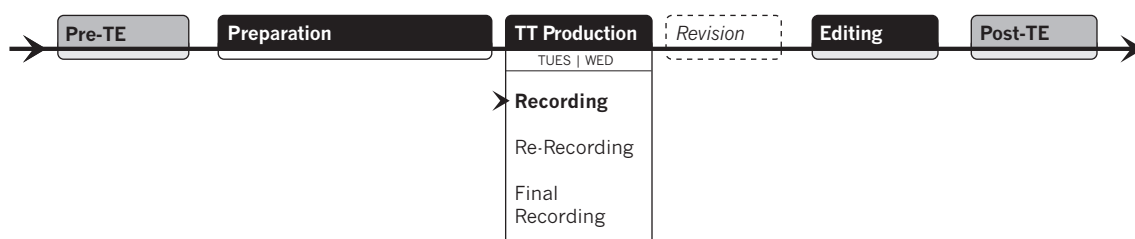
Figure 34: Timeline: Recording

The following sections will take a closer look at the TT production. I will investigate this somewhat paradoxical situation, in which the TP is restricted by the voice recording, like an *interpreter*, while at the same time working with a prepared draft, like a *translator*. I will start by discussing the restrictions imposed by an oral ST.

Once recorded, an oral text constitutes a linear, and thereby temporally rigid form of communication. Acting as a prompt, it sets the speed for the production of the TT, leaving little room for restructuring, explicitation or condensation. It therefore poses a number of restrictions, faced typically by *interpreters*, and requires advanced simultaneous processing and production skills from a TP. The translation of the 'simple' phrase "especially by learners" constitutes one example where the TP struggles to produce a satisfactory TT rendering under the restrictions of the voice text. The whole sentence is:

> *Others, for example, Robert Bley-Vroman (1983) and Jacquelyn Schachter (1990) argue that, although UG is a good framework for understanding first language acquisition, it is not a good explanation for the acquisition of a second language,* **especially** *by learners who have passed the critical period.* (ST:35, highlight added)

Qualifying adverbials such as 'especially' create translational problems as such information is usually communicated differently, either through non-manual features or explicitation, in a BSL text. The TP explains:

> *'Especially'. [...] But not always! [...] Those are nasty little catches [...] because you have to really unpack that if you have time [...]. In sign language that's a phrase in itself, the whole of 'especially', that's a nasty little weasel word. [...] In sign language, if you were generating this text, you would say: "Ok, so this theory doesn't explain how adult learners can acquire second language, it doesn't explain how teenagers are processing it." [...] You have to elaborate the whole thing.* (I2b:355-68)

Whereas it would potentially be possible to elaborate and unpack the phrase in the TT as there are no restrictions to its length in terms of the recording process, having to adjust her signed output with the aural input, the TP has to make compromises:

> *There's no way I'm gonna have time to do that here. So I just nod at it in some sort of compromise with English, [...] it's not gonna be discoursally explained as it would be in sign language. You know, the structure is gonna be wrong in sign language really. I'm gonna have to try to throw something in to nod at it. [...] I think I should expand it, it's just... You know, there are some points in the text where I do that with certain things; I go "this hasn't and this has and this hasn't..." and it doesn't do this in the text, but I do it, because I know that's how you would do it discoursally in sign language. That would be the structure of it. But I haven't*

done it here [...] because this whole paragraph is just too loaded and [...] I'm overburdened, I haven't got the time to do that. (I2b:368-84)

While she is able to unpack similar phrases more satisfactorily in some parts of the TT, this is not always possible due to the restriction of the voice recording. Her translational coping strategy is to produce a TT that is closer to ST structures.

Her adjustments of the ST on the voice recording reduce the occurrence of such 'weasel' situations. By adjusting the speed (see Section 6.3.4), she is able to leave further time to produce satisfactory TT utterances. However, the TP explains that it is difficult to get this right:

And this was a problem with the voice tape because when [...] I'm doing the voice I try to think about places where I have to elaborate in sign language and speak more slowly [...] and I've mis-judged it there and actually the voice is too slow. And there are quite a few places in this where the voice is too slow. I think it's because I made changes and corrections in the voice text before going to the studio, so I don't have to leave those spaces any more. So those spaces are just really dead empty spaces. And they're really awkward. So I'm trying to kind of glide over the fact I've got no input now. (I2b:830-6)

In the voice text she regularly and deliberately includes breaks (see Section 6.3.4), in order to be able to unpack phrases in BSL. However, as the TP describes, it is easy to misjudge how much time she needs. As the following instance exemplifies, there are repeated instances where the TP waits several seconds for the voice recording.

Voice recording:

0:09:28-0:09:44:	It has been suggested that older learners draw on their problem solving and metalinguistic abilities precisely because they can no longer access the innate language acquisition ability they had as young children.
0:09:44-0:09:52:	*pause (8)*
0:09:52-0:10:00:	In addition to possible cognitive differences, there are also attitudinal and cultural differences between children and adults.

Final TT:

0:09:33-0:09:46	SOME ref-left SAY ref-right OLDER USE COGNITIVE TWO USE METALINGUISTIC WHY GROW-UP FINISH CAN'T TAKE-IN-LANGUAGE OPEN CAN'T FINISH TOO-OLD ref-right PALMS-UP (hands neutral position) [Back translation: Some say that older ones use cognitive and, secondly, metalinguistic features, because when they grow up, it's finished, they can't take in language. They're too old.]

0:09:46-0:09:54	*pause (8)*
0:09:54-0:10:	WELL MEANS ref-left YOUNG CHILDREN ref-right ADULT HAVE COGNITIVE DIFFERENCE EACH-THEIR BUT SITUATION-left SITUATION-right ATTITUDE-left ATTITUDE-right DIFFERENT TOO [Back translation: Well, while young children on the one hand, and adults on the other hand have different cognitive abilities, the situations and attitudes for either are also different.]

We notice that both in the voice text as well as in the signed text there are pauses of eight seconds. The TP's hands are in neutral position. While the pause gives her a breathing space, providing her an opportunity to look at the flipcharts (her eye gaze moves over to the wall) and prepare herself for the next section, eight seconds of 'silence' are a long time. The TP's lips tense slightly, and she blinks. To give further examples, in the following sub-chapter, we find other breaks from 13:32-13:36 (4 secs), 14:01-14:06 (5 secs), 17:54-18:01 (7 secs). Without more research on target audiences' perceptions of pauses in recorded signed texts, it is difficult to quantify how many seconds of silence are acceptable and how many are perceived as too long. However, as the TP above states, some of the pauses are not deliberate and feel "awkward". Sometimes the voice recording is too fast, other times, it veers in the other direction and it is too slow. The process of producing an overall satisfactory voice recording is still developing.

Using an aural prompt is not ideal, imposing restrictions that are reminiscent of *interpreting* events. There are, however, not many alternatives that provide comparable access to the same amount of detail and provide input without her having to move her eye gaze to read a written text. An autocue was not funded at the time. Basing the TT purely on memory and the flipcharts would not provide the same amount of detail. Although aware of its restrictions, the TP is therefore still comfortable with an aural prompt, arguing that she is used to dealing with spoken STs (I2a notes). With her simultaneous *interpreting* skills, she is used to dealing with processing loads, in terms of simultaneously processing ST information and generating TT output, and working with oral ST messages.

However, the TP reminds us that the voice recording predominantly acts as a way of jogging her memory:

> *Yes, I am working from the voice, but I'm not working solely from the voice in the way that I do when I'm doing simultaneous interpreting. When I'm doing simultaneous interpreting, I'm relying entirely on that source text as it comes in. I'm working on it there in situ. When I'm doing this kind of stuff, the spoken is almost like a prompt, slightly more than a prompt, as I*

do need it, couldn't do it without it, but I'm not relying on it very, very heavily. It's prompting my mental rehearsals and mental notes in this, so [...] this [...] feels very different. (l1:1581-7)

Although this kind of aid imposes certain restrictions that remind us of simultaneous *interpreting* processes, the activity is still different due to the extensive preparation involved and the possibility of re-recording a section. The latter will be at the centre of the next section.

6.4.3 Re-Recording: Rehearsal and Revision
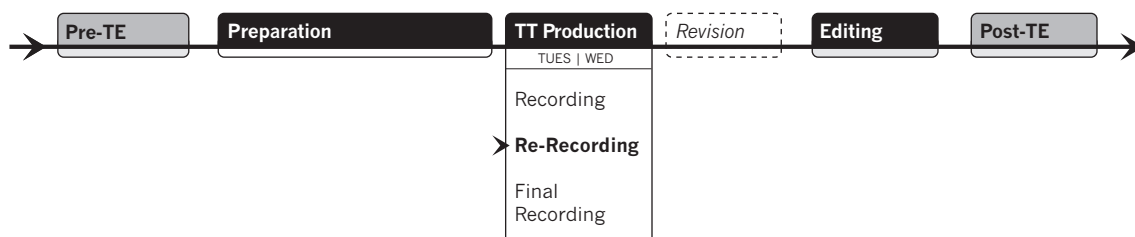
Figure 35: Timeline: Re-Recording

By the stage the TP is in the studio, she has never produced a full signed version of the TT. The first rendering therefore constitutes her first attempt at signing the text. She explains, "*in the studio [...] I tend to [...] always mark the first one down as just a practice for me really*" (l1:1573-7). The re-recording is scheduled into the process. Out of the 19 sections, only five are recorded once and three of those constitute very short introductory paragraphs. Nine times she uses the second take, three times Take 3, once Take 4 and once Take 5. This section will explore the reasons for re-recording a certain section, whereas those for moving on will be discussed afterwards in Section 6.4.4.

The TP explains how during the recording process she is self-monitoring her TT rendering:

> *I try to do some self-monitoring, of course that's only gonna be [...] very, very limited, so there are some very obvious things that I know. You know, if I've fingerspelled somebody's name wrong, or I've hit an 'o' instead of a 'u' or something. Or I've hit a [wrong] number and I go "18... oh!" However, having said that, if the whole of the rest of it has gone really well, I'm really happy with it, and I just made... I will kind of go "Ok, I'm not gonna do it again because of just that one thing". But, yeah, just a general sense of getting to the end of it and thinking "That wasn't really very clear, was it?".* (l2b:473-9)

Because she monitors the process herself, she relies on her own judgement of whether a TT rendering has been sufficiently successful. As she explains, it is thus often the most striking mistakes or mishaps that make her decide to re-take a section, often interrupting the recording in the middle of the section:

<u>ST:34:</u>
Nelson Brooks (1960) and Robert Lado (1964) were two proponents of this perspective whose influence was felt directly in the development of AUDIOLINGUAL teaching materials and in teacher training. *[capitalisation in original]*

<u>TT: Title 2 Take 5:</u>
n·e·l·s·o·n b·r·o·o·k·s 1960 ref·subtitle ALSO OTHER r·o·b·e·r·t l·a·d·o 1964 ref·subtitle ref BOTH STRONG PROPONENT THIS THEORY STRONG ref BOTH STRONG INFLUENCE·ref·left INFLUENCE·ref·right ref·left DEVELOPMENT a·d·i·o·u... *[stops, says "can't spell audio, oh dear! Hey!" moves to stop voice recording and start again.]*
[Back translation: Nelson Brooks (1960) and another person, Robert Lado (1964) were both strong proponents of this theory. Both greatly influenced adiou...]

This is one example where the TP stops the recording in the middle because she mis-spells a word. Further instances, where she stops in the middle to re-record a section due to mis-fingerspelling words, can be found in Title 4 Take 1, Title 17 Take 1 and Title 18 Take 1. Similarly, another reason for re-taking a section constitutes the mixing up of factual information. In Title 16, the ST talks about immigrants in Germany who are learning German. The TP, however, mistakenly calls them GERMAN PEOPLE, which causes her to produce another take. Such instances can be regarded as slips of the tongue or false starts. Often, although not always, they induce her to interrupt a section in the middle, to record the section again and correct the TT.

More importantly, between takes the TP changes certain translational strategies in order to improve the TT. She explains how she develops her sign for the source term "logical problem" (ST:35) during the recording process:

I changed 'logical problem' later on [i.e. in a later take], cause I didn't like that. [...] I do a 'logical problem', which is kind of, you know, 'mentally thinking' rather than 'THE NEXT AND THE NEXT AND THAT'S A PROBLEM', and I drop it, and then later on, I do something much freer as a translation which is something like, THERE IS A FASCINATING DIFFICULTY or something like that. Just because it makes more sense. (I2b:635-54)

This constitutes an example where her mental draft has not been prepared sufficiently beforehand, but where she uses the possibility to re-record as a means for improving a translational strategy. The earlier takes allow her to rehearse and try out different versions of the TT without facing the pressure of having to get it right the first time. Through re-recording, she is able to inhabit the ST and familiarise herself with the text in the target language. The TP distances herself further from the ST and the TT becomes more refined.

At the same time, it is impossible to produce a TT version that she perceives as flawless. After watching her translation of a section in the think-aloud protocol she evaluates:

> *So there are some good things in that take. I've introduced that nice sign instead of LOGICAL, and I've done the three repeats[76], so that's really nice, but I am critical about that universal grammar, I use that [...] sign that is actually not very good but is widely accepted, and, erm, hmm, not happy about that.* (I2b:759-62)

The final version includes both good elements, as well as some imperfections as judged by herself. We still find false starts such as stumbling over fingerspelling in the final TT. Interestingly, whereas such instances constitute reasons for her to interrupt the recording and re-take a section in earlier attempts, later she becomes less perfectionist and decides to ignore them. As there are reasons for re-recording a section, there are equally reasons for continuing, which will be analysed in the following section.

6.4.4 Recording the Final Take: Translating and Presenting
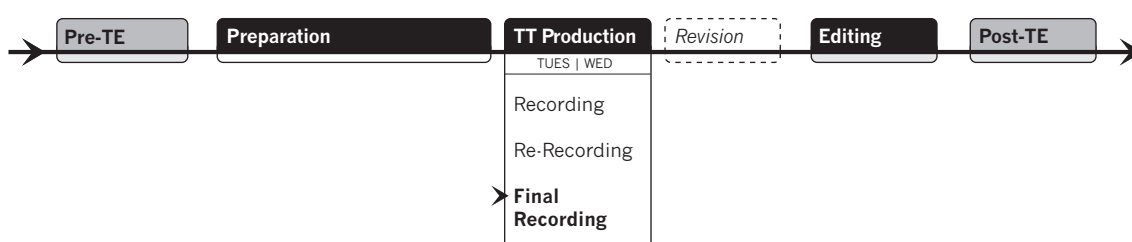
Figure 36: Timeline: Final Recording

Although the medium potentially invites indefinite renderings and multiple recordings, there comes a point where the TP has to move on because of general time constraints. The time in the studio was restricted to two days. She explains:

> *... that sense [...] of I know I have a limited amount of time in the studio and not being sure how long this is gonna take ... and wanting to get all of it, [...] at least one version of all of it, in the bag, so that there is something that we can make this thing out of, rather than [...] doing 15 takes of just the first section and that's all I've done.* (I2b:507-11)

Repeatedly producing more than three attempts would cause problems, reducing her time at the end and leaving less scope for the development of later sections.

Reflecting on why at some stages she continues while other times she decides to produce another take, she states:

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[76] Repeating information in different ways in BSL feels very idiomatic to the TP (I2b:743).

I either go: "Ah, ph, I'm not gonna do more takes, [...] and anyway it's not gonna make a difference, it's still a hybrid text",[77] or I go "Yeah, actually I'm really on to this, let's do another three takes, and it'll be a hybrid, but it'll be a little bit more in the ballpark. [...] It depends. But I feel that in a sense that depends on how I feel. That kind of blasé-ness about it comes from the fact that ultimately I know it's still gonna be a hybrid text. (I2b:993-7, with added footnote)

According to the TP, the TT can never be perfect, no matter how many attempts are recorded. Through self-monitoring and self-judgement, she balances the effort of producing another take against the extent to which she will be able to improve the TT.

Multiple re-recordings of a certain chunk do not necessarily induce a reduction of mistakes in the TT version or make its rendering easier. Her description of the process suggests that her physical condition has an impact on the situation:

This [section], you know, I felt physically quite tired, erm, also just because where I'm at at the moment, I've kind of, you know, loss of short-term memory and physical coordination and things like that and I know that I'm gonna get more and more tired. (I2b:503-5)

Increasing fatigue impacts on the quality of the TT renderings. The longer the TP is in the studio, the more she has to deal with tiredness. Repeating the same section numerous times can therefore in fact increase the number of mistakes, which causes frustration and in a vicious-circle fashion affects concentration. It is thus more efficient to continue with a new section rather than becoming hung up on smaller flaws.

Whereas in earlier takes, mis-spelling a term often constitutes a reason for her to interrupt the recording and produce another take, it is apparent that in later takes such 'mishaps' become less of a reason to repeat a section; she is becoming more lenient. A striking example can be found in a comparison of two sections:

<u>ST:34:</u>
As we saw in Chapter 1, behaviourist theory explained learning in terms of imitation, practice, reinforcement (or feedback on success), and habit formation. Much of the earlier research within behaviourist theory was done with laboratory animals, but the learning process was hypothesized to be the same for humans.

<u>TT: Title 4 Take 1:</u>
THIS BOOK c-h-a-p-t-e-r 1 ref-subtitle THIS BEEN TALK OVER b-e-c-h-a-v-o-i-o-r-i... *(rolls eyes, stops, to commissioner: STOP, moves forward to stop voice recording and start again)*
[Back translation: Chapter one in this book talks about bechavoiori...]

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[77] She explains before that, although it is her intention to produce a text as meaningful for a Deaf target audience as possible, it is impossible to achieve a 'perfect' text as the conventions of producing a recorded academic text in BSL have not been developed yet (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). Instead it will always be a hybrid text, very much based on the written English ST.

Here, mis-spelling the term behaviourism causes her to re-take the section. This is different in Title 5 Take 3, which, re-recording the section for the third time after having mis-spelled "audiolingual" in Take 2 (see e.g. above, Section 6.4.3), serves as her final take:

ST:34:
Thus, behaviourism was often linked to the CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS HYPOTHESIS (CAH) ...

TT: Title 5 Take 3 (final version):
THIS b·e·n... b·e·h·a·v·i·o·u·r·i·s·m THEORY ref. THIS LINKED WHAT c·o·n·t·r·a·s·t·i·v·e a·n·a·l·y·s·i·s THEORY. THIS BRIEF c·a·h.
[Back translation: This ben..., behaviourism theory was linked to contrastive analysis theory, in short CAH.]

While in the short paragraph in Title 4, the mis-spelling of the word "behaviourism" invites the TP to retake the section, in the third take of Title 5 she accepts the 'slip of the hand', repairing it within the text, and regards the TT version as good enough to serve as the final take. Not only is the term at the centre of the discussion of the former section, the first section is also shorter and therefore quicker to re-take. Moreover, after having already produced two takes for the latter section, one which she decided to interrupt because of another fingerspelling slip, and already being one third through the section, she cannot afford to be perfectionist here, and therefore decides to repair the mistake within the text.

We here have to distinguish between translational issues and what has been referred to as "performance errors" (e.g. Stone 2006:56-7). Due to the fact that signed texts are, like spoken language, created *ad hoc*, Stone (2006:84) argues that, no matter how prepared, the text producer necessarily faces a performance element: "mental preparation and BSL practice supports the production of the text but cannot remove the performance factor". Like any speaker or signer, whether translating or not, it is possible for a TP in this situation to stumble over one's utterance or incorporate a false start or hesitation. However, whereas a speaker still has the option of reading a text aloud based on a written text, which presumably reduces the scope for performance errors, this option is not available to signers due to the absence of a writing system. Although practice and preparation reduce the occurrence of performance errors, they cannot necessarily be eliminated. It is precisely the kind of errors which we can label "performance errors" (such as stumbling over fingerspelling) that the TP becomes gradually lenient about, whereas in earlier takes they are more likely to constitute a reason for her to repeat a take. As an interim summary, during the recording stage the TP is not only faced with the act of translating but also that of *presenting* a text.

Translational elements generally improve from take to take (lexical items such as the rendering of "logical problems" are refined, the text is made more 'Deaf', etc.), even if it is impossible to reach perfection (it will always be a 'hybrid text'). However, once a more general translation strategy is developed and refined through rehearsal, the TP is able to include it in the different takes. Yet, the number of takes does not guarantee an elimination of flaws in the **presentation**. In fact, although practice contributes to the fluency of the presentation (e.g. the TP is increasingly able to adjust to the speed to the ST prompt), repeating a take does not reduce the likelihood of performance errors and the process is increasingly hampered due to the factor of fatigue.

The performance factor makes the TE different from producing written texts, and thereby prototypical *translations*. Since the invention of print, and even more prominently since the advent of increasingly developed word-processing facilities, producers of written texts are able to edit a text intricately and repeatedly, potentially being able to eliminate all 'performance errors', i.e. errors that are made during the initial process of writing, such as typos. In signed texts, on the other hand, performance errors such as false starts or hesitations are arguably an inherent feature, making the text look natural and resemble spontaneous conversation. Word-processing facilities further present the opportunity to improve a TT rendering at a later stage. Whereas in writing we can edit a text to the level of a letter at any stage of the writing process, editing in this TE is comparatively limited. Although the TP has the opportunity to re-take a section when flaws are apparent and the editor is able to mix and match the different recordings on the final TT, an editable unit constitutes one section, i.e. a piece of film of up to eleven minutes. Without breaking up the recording of one section, it is impossible to edit any smaller unit.

The reason for producing chunks of this considerable length is to do with the cutting of the final text (l2a notes). Each sub-section will be interrupted by a title in the video, which makes the editing of the different sections easy and smooth. Combining smaller chunks would make the editing process more complicated.[78] From her *interpreting* experience, the TP is used to producing much longer sections without interruption. Although she notes at a later stage in an informal conversation that a reduction of the length of units might be beneficial and reduce the level of stress of having to produce a satisfactory TT rendering in one go, the production of (on average) five-minute chunks seems natural and appropriate to her.

Having analysed some of the opportunities and restrictions imposed by source and target medium, the next section will explore the working conditions at the recording stage more

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[78] It is worth noting that modern audiovisual recording technology increases the opportunities to edit recorded signed texts. However, for non-specialists this process is still considerably difficult and time-consuming, particularly when compared to the highly accessible, user-friendly word-processing facilities available.

generally by discussing the restrictions and opportunities created by the fact that the TP works alone.

6.4.5 Working Alone on Camera

She says 'damn', positions herself and says 'bastard bastard'. (Fieldnotes:673-4)

This sentence is taken from my fieldnotes, watching the studio process. Other remarks in my notes include:

she mumbles, 'oh, that wasn't bad'... she's humming. (Fieldnotes:325-6)

and:

She stops and says: 'I'm gonna fingerspell this again ... ding dong ding dumm.' (Fieldnotes:608)

These are utterances and kinds of behaviour that we would not usually find in community *interpreting* events; this kind of conduct is appropriate only because she is working by herself.[79] Working alone, the TP is not only able to walk around and do what people might do when they are alone, such as humming, swearing and talking to herself, she is also able to structure her time herself, take breaks when she wants to and finish the process when she needs to. The process provides her with flexibility. Such behaviour reminds us of a typical freelance *translator's* way of working; it radically differs from the work of an *interpreter* where every moment of their time is matched with other people's pace and decisions. The aspect of managing the process that includes primary participants, which is regarded as a major part of typical sign language *interpreting* situations, is not applicable in this event, reducing the task-load considerably. The stress factor, on the other hand, that is caused due to handling the technology alone has already been discussed in Section 6.4.1. In addition to managing the complex technical processes while performing the actual translation task, it is also her responsibility to self-monitor her recording without feedback or response from an audience.

This situation is different from a typical sign language communication event, which commonly includes interlocutors, an exchange between communication partners, or at least an audience. In this setting the TP is alone, signing to an inanimate object, the camera. The TP explains how the situation differs from live-*interpreting* with an audience:

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[79] The fact that I was observing her through the window and filming the process did not eliminate these utterances.

Oh, certainly, [this is different] from live interpreting, yeah. Because you know you're working into a vacuum. And with live interpreting you're generally working to one or two clients and so you hone your translation or your interpretation to match them. (I1:1024-6)

It was considered to overcome this problem by having the commissioner stay in the room and 'listen'. Yet, taking into account experience from working in television, the TP considers this to be unnatural and insufficiently useful:

... there comes a point where you realise actually how hollow that is as an exercise. But to expect somebody to be attentive to the details of your translation in that studio process is actually a bit much, so what they are doing is just the nodding dog kind of thing. And then having somebody doing the nodding dog at you is actually more distracting than it is helpful, so... No, might as well dispense of them. (I1:1016-20)

While the TP is alone in the studio, her solitude is interrupted whenever the camera is switched on. As soon as the TT is being recorded, her facial expressions and posture change, her hands are now at neutral position, and her eye gaze directed at the camera (see Figure 37). She is now visible to other participants. Moreover, her renderings of the TT, including successful parts as well as potential mistakes and quirks, are recorded, documented for a potentially wide-ranging audience, available across time and space, ready for critique and evaluation, something which might have an impact on a TP's future reputation.

Figure 37: Change of Posture

The TP emphasises that the stress factor caused by her visibility is increased by the fact that signed languages are visual languages:

... as I'm standing there thinking about starting, all of that impacts, [...] the whole sense of "Do I look good? You know, are my dress... is my hair nice today? Does my face look tired?" [...] So when you feel kind of slightly below that, then you're already starting off on a bad foot, and you know that's nothing to do with the quality of the translation at all, but just as a psychological factor, it's there! [...] Whereas if I was translating it from a spoken language into writing, I could turn up in my jeans and it wouldn't matter. (I2b:546-65)

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The TP feels that when communicating in a visual medium, visible features, including non-linguistic ones, are becoming more dominant, recognisable and important for signers than in other languages. For example, as is expected of sign language *interpreters* (Stewart, Schein and Cartwright 1998:62-3), the TP dresses in plain-coloured clothes that contrast her skin colour. The situation is different from the one *translators* working into a written language find themselves in. The latter can 'hide' behind a computer, their appearance will usually remain concealed to their target audience, often to the extent that their names are not at all mentioned. Instead, as in an *interpreting* situation, the TP is visible, and additionally her performance is recorded.

Considering this paradoxical situation of being alone and, at the same time, being recorded producing a TT in a visual language, makes the setting different from a typical *interpreting* setting where the primary participants are present, yet also from written-written *translation* work where the TP prototypically remains invisible.

6.4.6 Opportunities and Restrictions during the Target Text Production: A Summary

The situation shares features with both prototypical *interpreting* as well as prototypical *translation*. First of all, the familiarity with the ST, the prepared TT draft and the possibility to stop the recording and rehearse make the situation different from *interpreting*. Although an *interpreter* might have, in some circumstances, the ability to access a prepared version of the ST (e.g. a written script of a speech), s/he has to expect unpredictable situational factors which change the situation (whether the speaker/signer decides last minute to alter a text, spontaneously responds to reactions of the audience, or whether other events, such as a fire alarm, interrupt the process, to name but a few examples). In this scenario, the TP has the security that the ST will not change, and should interruptions occur, she is able to produce another take without this being noticed by the target audience.

Although a prototypical *interpreter* in face-to-face *interpreting* events has the ability to ask for repetition or the slowing-down of the source message, this usually disrupts the flow of the communication event. In this TE, any repetition, correction or editing remains hidden and invisible to the target audience who is presented with a finalised, polished product. At the same time, the absence of an audience introduces a certain difficulty. Instead of receiving feedback from target participants, the necessity of self-monitoring is increased. Nevertheless, the situation is also different from a prototypical *translation*. Similarities to *interpreting* include the unavoidability of performance errors and the restrictions imposed by the speed of the spoken ST. Furthermore, although the TP is able to make changes after a first TT version has been produced by recording another

take, the scope for revision is limited due to the size of editable units, and performance errors are difficult to eliminate. Whereas a TP working into a written language has the ability to simultaneously prepare, produce and revise a TT, the TP has to separate the different elements into different stages, a preparation and a production phase.

6.5 Revision: A Missing Element
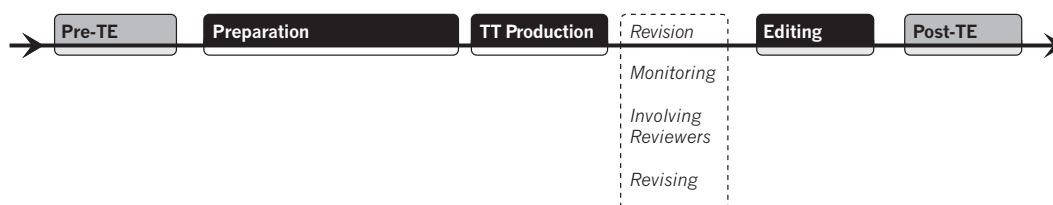
Figure 38: Timeline: Revision

After the TT is recorded, the TP hands the raw tapes to the commissioner who now edits the DVD, assembles the final takes of each section, adds titles, subtitles, stills and chapterisations to facilitate navigation, and designs a cover for the DVD. The final stage involving the TP is the 'proofreading' of the final DVD, where she checks whether the subtitles are complete, at the right places and whether the spelling of the English subtitles is correct. The DVD is then multiplied by the commissioner and distributed to the target audience. This section, however, will focus on a 'missing element' that could have been included in the process before the final editing of the TT: the TT versions could have been watched by the TP and/or separate reviewers before being passed on to the editor.

In situations in which one communicates directly with interlocutors or an audience, as a prototypical *interpreter* would, the text producer only has a single opportunity of producing a text. S/he has to monitor comprehension and potentially include adjustments and corrections into the immediate communication. The ability to record and re-record a text, on the other hand, offers the opportunity to watch and evaluate the text after it has been produced. On paper or video, a text becomes literally 'de-personalised', i.e. physically detached from a person. The text producer is able to distance her/himself from it to a certain degree and access it in a similar way as the intended target audience would. One is able to evaluate the content, style and linguistic clarity of a text, to spot mistakes, flaws or inconsistencies with more distance. Although the TP conducts some self-monitoring during her text production, she argues, as mentioned above: "*self-monitoring [is...] only gonna be limited, you know very, very limited*" (I2b:474-5). Her ability to evaluate her output is restricted as it happens simultaneously with the already vast processing load of recollecting the mental skeleton, listening to the voice prompt, taking into account the written information of the flipcharts and producing a TT version. It has not been scheduled for her to watch the recorded TT

versions, evaluate them, consider potential improvements and record another version in which the improvements could be incorporated.

Another possible method for evaluating the TT versions before the final production of the DVD that was not employed in this TE is the involvement of other people in the monitoring process. As already mentioned above, the TP regards a token 'listener' who gives encouraging feedback like a 'nodding dog', as unhelpful, hollow and ineffective. Providing meaningful and effective feedback during text production is difficult. Not only might a listener be reluctant to discourage the acting TP by giving negative feedback, it is also difficult to make *ad-hoc* judgements about a TT, particularly if aiming to include feedback on both translational strategies as well as the general stylistic and linguistic clarity of the presentation. Furthermore, an effective and efficient way of communicating feedback without interrupting the flow would have to be developed.

However, the TT in this situation is recorded, it has been made permanent and can be passed through time and space. The involvement of additional reviewers who could watch the TT in their own time would be possible. A different person, watching a text afresh without knowledge of the thought processes that are behind its production, will be better equipped to distance her/himself from the text and evaluate its clarity and style. A team of additional translational experts acting as revisers and editors would further be able to evaluate and advise on translational choices. In their own study, Conlon and Napier (2004) highlight the involvement of a mixed team of Deaf and hearing people, watching the TT and giving feedback before a revised version is produced. Such a process would further increase the opportunity for collaboration. A mixed team of English and BSL A-language users would increase language expertise and provide a more balanced perspective with direct input from members of the target culture, who may, arguably, be regarded as representatives of the minority target community.

At the same time, the inclusion of further experts would not only be time consuming, but also introduce additional costs. When asked why a feedback element had not been included in the process, and whether it had to do with time constraints, the TP answers as follows:

> *[Hesitant, doubtful:] I suppose so, yeah, I suppose so. [Confident:] It's just that we haven't scheduled that in. But then the process is expanding in itself. [...] [T]he process itself is expanding each time. And that may well be the next thing to include in. You know that kind of post discussion.* (I1:989)

Her comment suggests that the constraints apparent during the TE in terms of the absence of a review team are not necessarily linked to practical reasons, such as the lack of time and money. Instead it has to do with the way the TE is conceptualised by the

stakeholders, their ideas of which steps are included in the process of a TE like this. The TP reminds us that the process is developing. The skeleton, mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, "*doesn't have all its bones yet*" (I3:745-6), and it constitutes a learning experience, for the TP, the commissioner as well as the end-user, involving an element of (informed) trial and error. The next section will explore the TP's own evaluation of the translational process further.

6.6 The Translational Practitioner's Perspective
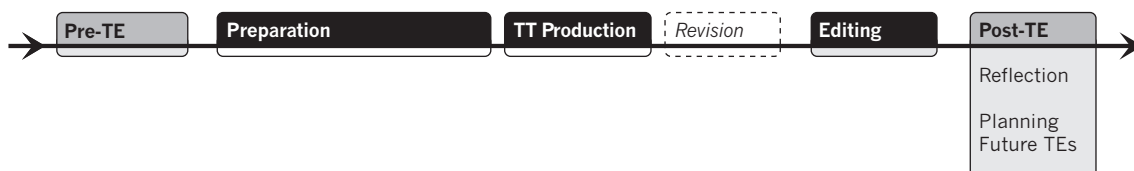
Figure 39: Timeline: Post-TE

I will round up the chapter by presenting the TP's own reflections on this particular TE, as well as her conceptualisations of the event and how it compares to other TEs.

6.6.1 Evaluation and Making Plans

The TP's evaluation of one particular part of the TT during the think-aloud protocol indicates her overall satisfaction with her translation. Although she still notices certain problematic parts (partially to do with the impossibility of creating a perfect TT), she notes an improvement of the text from take to take. When asked whether she would have produced another TT version, had the opportunity been available, her answer suggests a satisfaction with the product (in terms of this particular section), however, a critical view towards the process:

> I'm happy with that take as a result of that process. If I would do the whole process again, [...] from getting the script right down... if I can do all that again, then yes, I would do that whole thing again. As a product of [...] that process that has been possible, [...] given the time and the constraints and all the rest of it, then I think I'm probably at this stage still happy with that fourth take, well, that paragraph of that fourth take. (I2b:860-9)

The quality of the product is as good as the process and wider circumstances allow it to be. I am here less concerned about her evaluation of the TT, my interest lies in her assessment of the process.

Constituting a series in which the circumstances, including the key players and the purpose of the translation, remain largely constant, the situation invites a development of the process from translation to translation. From the TP's discussion it is apparent that the process has developed extensively since the beginning of the translation series:

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So when we first did it [...], it was just "Here's the script, there's the studio, ... bye!" and I had to fight to get this meeting with the [... commissioner]. But now, it was the [... commissioner]'s idea to send me the final version to look over. (I1:990-1)

A more intensive, prominent discussion and working relationship has become increasingly routine, which has led to the inclusion of subtitles and further editing improvements. The TP stresses that collaboration is a continuing important element, arguing that for the "*next one, definitely, [I] will [...] still try [...] to get that pre-meeting and talk about that brief and how that works*" (I2b:1023-4). Their cooperation is "*an evolving process*" (I2b:1024), negotiations about the translation brief are still developing.

Another aspect that was further improved in this TE was the creation of a more restructured voice recording. The TP suggests that she has included more adjustments in the voice recording than in previous events, which simplified the TT rendering in the studio and decreased the number of takes she recorded (I2a notes). Noting the benefits of this, the TP states that in the future:

I would allow myself to have time to do more structural alteration of the English text, [to] produce a structurally altered vocal text. (I2b:1027-8)

Based on previous experiences, the different steps of the translational process are refined with each event. Altering the spoken prompt by moving it closer to the TT allows her to decrease the processing time in the studio; she specifies:

[I could have] add[ed] a little bit more on top of the text. So I think I'd have done more of that, erm, translation really, adapting of the text for the spoken text. [...] More restructuring..., sentence restructuring, and ... there are a couple of points in the text where [...] I should have done a bit more research, [...] I'd done a bit more restructuring, so I had less work, less load actually in the studio, [...], mental load. (I2b:880-8)

She refers to the restructuring of the voice text as "translation", suggesting that a major part of the translational process happens *before* the TT production in the studio. By refining the translation draft further in the preparation phase, her aim is to shift the translation work even more from the recording phase to the temporally unrestricted preparation period. Not only does this allow her to spend more time developing translational strategies, it further reduces the work load in the studio which would allow her to concentrate further on the *presentation* of the TT.

Moving a further part of the translational process into the preparation phase, she expects, will allow her to save time in the studio and allow for the inclusion of what I have called 'the missing element' earlier, i.e. a more robust monitoring phase:

I would hope that that will by the time in the studio... to make me be able to check back the text that I've just done. Actually look back over, physically look back over them, and, hopefully speed up that process of shifting away from the source text ... (I2b:1028-31)

Such monitoring would enhance the effectiveness of the revision element already apparent in the re-taking of the TT sections. After coming out of the studio she reflects that the schedule of the translational process as a whole would need to be adapted. Leaving more time between the meeting with the commissioner and the booking of the studio as well as after the recording, would allow for extended preparation and revision phases and improve the process (I2a notes:48-51). Here she also notes the other 'missing element', adding that an improvement would be the inclusion of a different person to watch the TT, whose role, however, would go beyond performing 'nodding dog duty', but resemble what she calls a production officer who could provide a review of the translation and make suggestions (I2a notes:65-7). Ideally her work load could be further reduced by the involvement of an additional person who could offer technical support, such as operate the camera, switch on the voice recording and change tapes. Such alterations, however, would affect costs and time commitments, and the budget would have to be re-scheduled to allow for major alterations (I2a notes:62-3).

Another element of improvement relates to the involvement of the fourth 'key player', the target audience. The TP is aware that "*the quietest voice [of those involved in the translational process] is definitely the feedback from the end-users*" (I1:973). Feedback from the target audience so far has been informal. Considering the novelty of the type of TT, informed feedback is difficult to obtain as the end-user does not necessarily have access to comparative texts. However, "*they are becoming more educated, [...] by seeing the different products because the product by the end of this one[80] will be very different from the other two, and so they're becoming more sophisticated as end-users, and so therefore feedback is becoming more useful*" (I1:551-4). Whereas we can assume that at the beginning, 'anything would have been better than nothing', the end-users are now able to reflect on the differences between translational products and evaluate the texts, which will further feed into the translational process.

The TP's plans for improvements, i.e. her aim to include more TT elements in the voice recording and involve a more sophisticated monitoring process, particularly focus on the development of the preparation and revision phases of the event, decreasing the work load during the recording stage. Due to the recordedness of source and target texts, which allows for potential temporal flexibility, the TE shows much potential for preparation and revision, which at this stage, is not yet completely exploited. While at the moment, the TP is still drawing extensively on her simultaneous *interpreting* skills, this

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[80] She here refers to the previous TE of the series.

aspect seems to be reduced further and further with each event. The **translating** work increasingly happens in the preparation phase, while the studio process focuses on the recording and **presentation**.

6.6.2 Situating the Translational Event

The final section will provide a lead to the following chapter, in which the TE will be positioned and translational modes in general will be discussed. At this stage, I will portray the TP's perspective on these issues and address where she herself positions this particular TE in terms of its translational mode:

> *I think it's some sort of hybrid really. Sort of neither one thing nor the other. I think there are things that are happening there that wouldn't happen in an interpretation. [...] but then a lot of the content that fills up that is an interpretation, so, mmh, it's a kind of funny mixture of stuff.* (I3:729-35)

The TP feels quite strongly that this event is different in comparison to *interpreting*, the 'default' translational mode in sign language contexts. It is, however, more difficult to place it elsewhere. Parts of the process make it difficult to categorise it as any common translational mode.

The format change from a printed, written ST into a signed, multimedial TT that involves not only a signed text but also subtitles, intertitles and inserted stills, makes this TE different from a more common *interpreting* event.

> *So, particularly moving into, changing into a format and I think all those kinds of things I think are part of – or are they? [thinking] Yeah, they are, they are... That sort of attempt to format it in some way is probably part of a translation, [...] or moving more towards a sense of translation.* (I3:731-4)

The editing considerations involved in this TE would not occur in a more typical *interpreting* event. Her hesitation, however, reveals that a simple classification is not easy. While the event clearly differs from *interpreting*, it is not quite *translating* either, although her answer suggests that there is a move towards the latter.

Although the format, the modalities, generally make it different from *interpreting*, restrictions to make it a real *translation* are set by the circumstances. The following is the TP's answer to my question whether this TE constitutes a *translation*.

> *Mmh... [pauses] that's a really clear example of very little time, very little budget. [...] I'm already doing more than I'm commissioned to do. [...] Why have they not budgeted for translation in a real amount of time? [...] But, so, now, no, I always come away from those*

things dissatisfied. I mean, I'm happy that they're happening and I kind of really like them because they're learning environments [...]. But in terms of the finished product – I think they provide access at this stage. I don't think they are – they are certainly not a translation in the sense of, if the publishers of that particular book [...] had said, "could you go away and do a translation of this chapter?" That's not how it would have been produced. (I3:705-25)

Temporal, financial and technical limitations, due to miscalculations, wrong expectations set during the commission and limited resources, restrict the TE from becoming a prototypical *translation*.

Additionally, due to the novelty of such TEs, the TP stresses that her main effort is focused on the development of the *procedure* of creating a *translation*, creating the 'skeleton' mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, which in return hampers the process from being a 'proper' *translation*. Only once it is established what a *translation* procedure might look like, the TP will be able to concentrate on the TT product alone:

Because what you could then go on to do would, instead of having to think about those kinds of elements, you know, those kinds of elements would already be outlined, you would have some sort of schema of how to do that, and then [...] you could use your time maybe to do a proper translation for the bits in between and to fill, you know, put the flesh on the bones. Yeah, so that's why it's really interesting and that's why I really like to do it. But, I think – coming a long way around to answer your question [of whether this constitutes a translation *or* interpretation*] – no, [...] I wouldn't say that's [...] a translation [...] in that sense. Or certainly if it is, it is a very poor one, because it hasn't been allowed to go through [...] those revision processes and those perfection processes and whatever, because of time constraints, budget constraints and because of simultaneously trying to work out what this skeleton is, [...] this procedure is.* (I3:748-57)

The hybrid features apparent in this TE are therefore mainly due to situational factors, i.e. the working conditions provided with the commission, and the social context in which the event takes place, where such events have been happening less frequently in the past. Such 'outer' circumstances seem to play a larger role in preventing the event from moving closer to a *translation* than limitations caused by the modalities and media constituting source and target texts.

6.7 Conclusion

Drawing on observation and various document data, while taking into account the TP's and the commissioner's perspective, I have presented a thick description of the different steps and elements involved in the process. The analysis has shown that the translational process is split into different phases. Important decisions are made *before* the actual event. The commission, which itself is influenced by the stakeholders' perceptions of the translational practices involved in this TE, lays the cornerstones for the TE, setting the

timeframe and payment of the event. The TP's professional background, which, embedded in the wider translational practices apparent in Deaf-Hearing contexts, provides her with both simultaneous *interpreting* skills as well as experience and a particular interest in the development of recorded TEs, both of which feed into the translational process. During a *preparation* phase, the TP develops the building blocks for the TT creation by developing a mental skeleton of the TT and two different translation prompts, while being able to research important information and collaborate with the commissioner in an extended time period. This phase is temporally and spatially separated from the TT recording as well as characteristically different. While the former allows for an extensive development of the TT in an extended period of time, the latter is characterised by opposing forces of opportunities and restrictions. While the ST and TT modalities as well as the timeframe allow the TP to rehearse and revise the translational product, her aural prompt, determining the speed with which the TT is produced, imposes temporal restrictions. While a draft of the TT has been prepared before, reducing the translational process at this stage, she uses additional simultaneous *interpreting* skills to produce the TT. Despite the ability to re-record, there is necessarily a performance element induced by the signed TT modality; detailed editing, as would be possible when creating written text, is impossible. Further constraints are imposed by the technological complexity of the recording. We are confronted with a complex, almost paradoxical situation with opportunities that resemble those in prototypical *translation* events, as well as constraints that are reminiscent of simultaneous *interpreting*. The following chapter will pick up on the opportunities and constraints apparent in the TE, particularly in relation to source and target modalities and will critically conceptualise the event.

Chapter 7 – The Practice of Translating a Written Text into Recorded Signed Language: A Discussion

Having maintained a close connection to the data in the description of the TE in the previous chapter, I will now revisit my main findings by lifting the analysis to a more theoretical level with reference to the literature reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4. Drawing on the thick description of the event portrayed above, this chapter centres on an exploration of the translational mode adopted by the TP in this event, and argues for a reconceptualisation of our understanding of translational modes. From the data analysis it emerges that a definite, binary, prototype-based categorisation founded on pre-existing parameters is too simplistic to account for the multilayered characteristics of the event. With a particular emphasis on the language modalities involved, the aim of this chapter is to pay attention to the different layers that steer the event.

In the first part of the chapter (7.1) I will outline the characteristics of the event that emerge from the data by revisiting the multiparameter model (see Chapter 3.3.4). Secondly (7.2), increasingly taking into account the social context in which the event takes place, I will argue that it is crucial not only to discuss *what* elements a TE is made of, but *why* a TP adopts certain strategies in a translational process. The notions of affordances and practice will be at the centre of the discussion. Thirdly (7.3), I will situate the event within its wider cultural, professional and, particularly, historical context, arguing that we are concerned with an activity in flux, emphasising that practices are changing. I will argue that the TE is part of a wider movement of changing communication practices, which have an impact on translational modes across a wide-ranging area of translation. Out of this contextualisation, in a fourth concluding part (7.4), I will argue that our notions of *translation* and *interpreting* are socially constructed. Through the chapter I will gradually move from an autonomous categorisation to a socially-constructed conceptualisation of the event with the aim of progressing from an essentially integrative approach, in which data and existing theory are tested against each other, to negotiating 'old knowledge' with 'new insights'.

7.1 Translation or Interpreting?

After reviewing the literature in Chapter 3.3, I concluded that the ability or inability to prepare, repeat and revise a translation, the restrictedness or un-restrictedness of time, the temporal relationship between ST and TT production, the absence or presence of the primary participants during the TT production, source and target text modalities as well as the availability or unavailability of the ST as a whole have been identified as the key characteristics that shape a TE in terms of its mode (cf. e.g. Kade 1968; Salevsky 1982; Alexieva 1997; Riccardi 2002; Gansinger 2008). In this TE, the ST is fixed, the translation is repeatable; the ST is available as a whole; source and target texts are

produced independently; the duration of the event is potentially largely unrestricted; the ST is written; and, although the TT is not written, it is recorded. As illustrated in the following table (Figure 40), according to Salevsky's model we could come to the preliminary, theoretical conclusion that this TE fulfils the characteristics of a *translation*:

Translation	Interpreting
☑ repeatable	☐ not repeatable
☑ whole ST is available	☐ ST is only available in chunks
☑ ST & TT creation happen independently	☐ ST & TT creation happen in parallel
☑ time is unrestricted	☐ time is restricted
☑ ST producer & TT receiver are absent	☐ ST producer & TT receiver are present
☑ ST written / (recorded)	☐ ST spoken / (signed in situ)
(☑) TT written / (recorded)	☐ TT spoken / (signed in situ)

Figure 40: A Theoretical Application of Salevsky's (1982) Multiparameter Model

Using a similar set of parameters, Gansinger (2008:15) also categorises the TE of her study, which equally involves a written ST and a recorded signed TT, as a *translation*, although she is conscious that the categorisation may only be preliminary.

This approach, however, resonates with what Turner (1994:111-2) in a different context has described as a "Bingo Card Model": "just tick 'em off until you have a full house!". Such a deductive approach seduces us to search for the different parameters until we find them. The thick, data-driven analysis of an authentic event, however, demonstrates that the issue is more complex, which will be elaborated in the remainder of the chapter.

7.1.1 The Characteristics of the Preparation Phase

One important characteristic of our event has been its division into two separate phases, a preparation phase and a production phase (see Chapters 6.3 and 6.4). The two carry quite different characteristics. By investigating the features of the TE with regard to each phase respectively, it emerges that a categorisation is not simple. I will now outline the elements that shape the process during the preparation phase, before moving on to discuss the production phase separately in the following section.

Two thirds of the event were spent on preparing the translation, which led to the development of a mental skeleton of the TT, as well as translation aids and prompts, which resulted in what I have called an intralingual translation draft with TT elements (Chapter 6.3.4). The preparation phase was characterised by the TP's temporal and

spatial flexibility, the ability to develop the TT as a whole with the availability of resources such as reference material and by collaborating, while working with a written ST. I will now discuss each of these points separately.

The Source Text Modality

As was discussed in Chapter 3.3.2, the modalities of ST and TT are often regarded as the sole defining parameters that determine a translational mode, with written/recorded modalities representing prototypical *translation* and *ad hoc* ST and TT modalities, signing and speaking, indicating prototypical *interpreting* events (e.g. Gile's 2004a working definition; also cf. Kade 1968; and Schäffner 2004:1). Although the literature review and theoretical considerations relativised this claim, suggesting that the modality of the ST can be regarded as less crucial in terms of defining a translational mode (e.g. Kade 1968:34), the ST modality is still regarded as one of the parameters characterising a translational mode (e.g. Salevsky 1982; Alexieva 1997). From the data it emerges that the constitution of the ST shapes the event considerably by offering a number of opportunities, similar to those available in what we conceptualise as prototypical *translation* events: due to its writtenness and printedness, the ST is fixed, permanent and accessible as a whole in a scannable, non-linear fashion, making extensive preparation possible.

Preparation Time

The permanency of the ST allows for potentially unrestricted preparation time. This particularly contrasts with the experience of prototypical *interpreters* who are regularly faced with significant time restrictions (Bell 1998:186):[81] "While the translator is free, in principle, to weigh a range of alternatives before deciding on the 'best' version, the interpreter has one chance and one only." *Interpreters* prototypically have access to the ST once *ad hoc* in real time and, when *interpreting* simultaneously, produce the TT matching the speed of the ST production, while at the same time coordinating the communication situation (e.g. Wadensjö 1998). Even when *interpreting* consecutively, the time available for processing a ST, translating it and producing the TT is considerably limited. The extended preparation time in our TE, the ability to read and re-read the ST repeatedly in order to develop a TT, by considering various versions, using reference works as well as asking for advice without facing fundamental time constraints, resembles prototypical *translation* (Salevsky 1982). Moreover, the TP is able to structure her time flexibly. This again is different from *interpreting*, where a TP needs to be present at a particular time.

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[81] Bell (1998:186) refers to figures suggesting that *translators* following United Nation norms translate around 300 words per hour, while simultaneous *interpreters* deal with 9000 words per hour. Salevsky finds that an *interpreter* translates 24 times as much as a *translator* in the same amount of time.

Although time restrictions are not imposed by the constitution of the ST or other fixed factors, the TP is confronted with time restrictions during the event. As in a prototypical *translation* event, these relate to the payment and the timeframe scheduled in the commission (Bell 1998:186). Although taken into account in Salevsky's (1982:83) discussion, the socially constructed individuality of such real-life constraints does not make it into the multiparameter model.

Preparation of a Fixed Text

Although preparation is regarded as a necessary tool also in *interpreting* events, it refers to a preliminary analysis of the TE, constituting general research that provides the background of the situation and helps the TP foresee the potential topic areas, specific terminology and interactional situation that is likely to arise during the event (Demers 2005:213-5; Janzen and Korpinski 2005:177-8). Even if full preparatory texts, such as prepared speeches, are available particularly in situations that might be categorised as conference *interpreting* situations, the ST is not fixed and the TP does not have the same security that the text is fixed, as summarised by Leneham (2005:86):

> 1) the speaker stumbles over words, or makes false-starts of sections of the text; 2) technical difficulties which affect the flow or audibility of the text; 3) difficulties understanding the presenter due to his/her accent or idiosyncratic style of articulation; and 4) the interpreter, unable to remember all information contained in the paper, is required to process the auditory input of the speaker's presentation in real time.

Neither can unexpected disruptions (such as fire alarms, technological failure or last-minute cancellations of proceedings) be foreseen (Nolan 2005:18-9). Even when preparatory material is provided, this often comes late and, for community *interpreters*, preparation is frequently entirely unavailable. It is the *ad-hocness* and the single rendering of the ST in a typical *interpreting* event that makes the TP argue that this TE is very different from *interpreting* (I1:1583-7, quoted above in Chapter 6.4.2). This aspect resonates with Banna (2004:103) who distinguishes between "prepared live interpretation" and "prepared recorded interpretation".

Availability of the Source Text in its Entirety

It has been generally accepted that translations should be analysed at the level of the text (rather than the word or the sentence) and that intercultural differences of structuring a text should be considered when translating (e.g. Baker 1992; Hatim and Mason 1990; 1997).[82] If the full ST is available before the TT production, a TP not only has the opportunity to gain a better understanding by reading it repeatedly as a whole, s/he is also able to plan the text in its entirety and thus regard the translation at a

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[82] For discussions of structural differences between signed and spoken/written texts, see Roy (1989), Christie *et al.* (1999:95) and Janzen (2005).

discourse level, taking into account the context and cultural references of the ST (cf. Winston and Monikowski 2005:50). In prototypical *interpreting* events, however, the ST is only linearly, successively accessible, chunk by chunk. Although an *interpreter* may make predictions, the process leaves little room for large scale restructuring. Not only does it have an impact on the processing load when a TP deals with rapidly incoming utterances, the situation also impacts on the outlook of the TT (Salevsky 1982:83). Although the TP in this study refrains from altering the overall structure of the text, her considerations of how to deal with certain translational aspects were informed by the text as a whole. This was illustrated by her reflections on how to deal with the term "innate", demonstrating that she takes into account later occurrences of the term in the text when drafting her TT (see Chapter 6.3.1).

Resources and Tools

Translation aids, such as the computer-assisted translation tools SDL Trados (www.trados.com) or Atril Déjà Vu (www.atril.com), have by now become part of the everyday lives of *translators*. Although such translation tools are not yet available for sign languages, the TP has the opportunity to use reference material such as internet search engines to research any unknown ST information and potential TT renderings. In an *interpreting* event it is normally impossible to consult translation aids and a TP has to rely on previously acquired knowledge (Riccardi 2002:84); an *interpreter* thus has to predict the requirements in order to undertake research, as preparation must happen before the event rather than in parallel.

Absence of the Primary Participants versus Extended Collaboration

The event is characterised by the fact that the primary participants, the ST authors and the target audience, are absent from the event. The 'dirty' work of preparation remains invisible to the target audience who will be presented with a finalised, edited version of the TT. The preparation period is thus characterised by a high amount of flexibility, both temporally as well as spatially, allowing the TP to work on the translation whenever and wherever she chooses. Her visibility, regarded by the TP as a stress factor facing sign language *interpreters* due to the visual nature of the language and the focus on a TP's appearance, is not an issue during this period. The presence of the primary participants is a significant element in certain – particularly dialogue – *interpreting* events, whether regarded as an additional challenge, or an additional resource. While the communicants' presence results in the extra responsibility of having to manage the communicative situation, e.g. regulating turn-taking and dealing with overlapping talk (Roy 2000), at the same time, the situation offers the opportunity to co-construct meaning together *with* the communicants; the responsibility of enabling communication between TP and interlocutors is shared (Turner 2007c).

Stressing that she believes in translation as a "*collaborative act*" (I1:445-6), the TP places much emphasis on cooperation. In the absence of the primary participants, the commissioner acts as the main collaborator, contributing to decisions about individual TT renderings and replacing ST authors and target audience by providing inside information on the latter as well as background on technical possibilities; it offers the TP the opportunity to extend and negotiate the brief. This resembles *translation* events where the commission and a collaborative refinement of the brief is regarded as important in order to produce a successful TT (Nord 1997). Moreover, while managing collaboration in an *ad hoc interpreting* event is a complex task, as it needs to be interwoven within the communication situation, the act of collaboration during the preparation phase is extended in this event. Without time restrictions the TP is able to discuss issues extensively during the preparation phase and beyond, an opportunity not usually present during prototypical *interpreting* events, allowing for an emphasis on what Turner (2007c:189) summarises as "co-construction, co-participation, co-production and co-operation". We may conclude then that collaboration is significant in both *translation* and *interpreting* events, yet differs in terms of the parties involved and the time available.

Summary

As illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 41), the preparation phase is marked by the TP's flexibility, both temporally and spatially, and a number of opportunities which allow her to develop the translational product with the necessary resources (intertextually by using reference works and through collaboration, as well as intratextually by preparing the fixed ST as a whole) in a largely unrestricted timeframe.
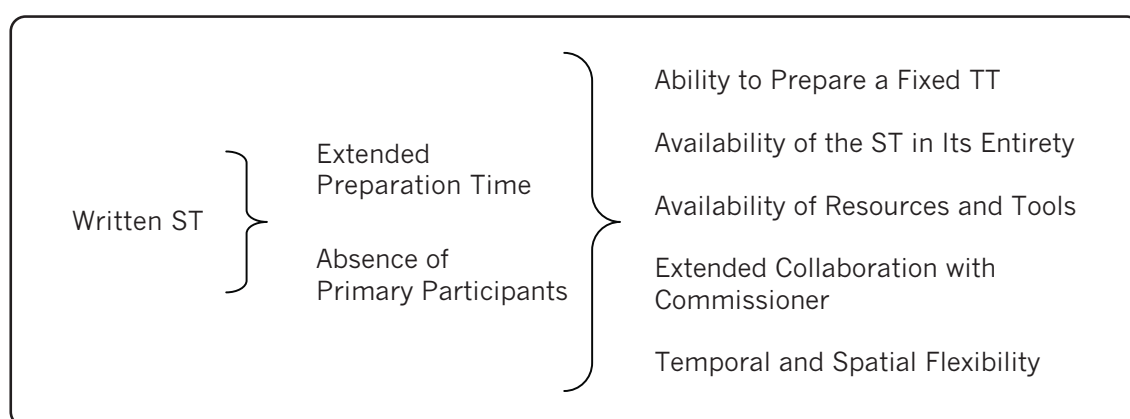
Figure 41: The Characteristics of the Preparation Phase

The characteristics of the event resemble those we conceptualise as prototypical *translation* events, particularly when carried out by freelance *translators*.[83] The restrictions apparent during this phase are, as in *translation* events, inflicted by socially

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[83] However, temporal and spatial flexibility is reduced for in-house *translators* or those who work in *translator* teams.

constructed constraints, such as the time and money made available for the event, as well as neglected opportunities, such as the use of further reference materials, rather than unchangeable, pre-existing parameters such as ST mode. Such constraints are, of course, part of reality and therefore constitute an integral part of the event.

7.1.2 The Characteristics of the Production Phase

The characteristics of the production phase are quite different. Not only does the TP now work in an institutional environment, where the time for her work is negotiated with other people, the activities are also distinct from those during the preparation phase. Producing, recording and re-recording the TT, the TP faces rather different restrictions and opportunities, as discussed below.

A Changed Source Text

What constitutes the ST is problematised during this phase. A sheer categorisation according to the multiparameter model is no longer possible. Although the original ST, the written copy of the second chapter of Lightbown and Spada (2006) still constitutes the ST of the TE overall, the TP hardly uses this version during the production phase. The text is regarded as unsuitable as a prompt in its original modality. In the absence of an autocue, the TP chooses to use a voice recording of it to prompt her TT rendering, thereby changing the modality from written to spoken. This reflects her previous experiences of working as an *interpreter* and preferences of receiving spoken input when producing a signed, recorded TT. Although Leneham (2007b:online) argues that "[a]ny intermediary written, spoken, or signed texts [...] can be seen purely as a means to the end, and as part of the drafting process which would exist in any translation task" and therefore does not consider it as important in an analysis, my data have shown that the spoken draft has a significant impact on the TE; disregarding it in our discussion would thus limit and arguably falsify our understanding of the event.

Presenting a Prepared Translation versus Restricted Speed and Linearity

The change of modality of the ST contributes to defining the phase significantly. Despite being repeatedly accessible, each section of the spoken voice recording is – unlike a written text – only linearly accessible, providing the text elements in small chunks one after the other at a set speed. However, as the voice recording was prepared by the TP herself, she was able to adapt it by including TT elements and matching the speed with her envisaged TT production. The issue is further complicated as the spoken ST is not the only input for the TP's TT production. The flipcharts provide her with an immediate overview of each text section and provide more detailed information on facts and content. Most importantly, her previously developed mental draft allows her to recall the prepared TT without having to develop it entirely in real time. According to the TP, this makes the situation very different from a prototypical *interpreting* event. Nevertheless,

the data reveal that, albeit to a reduced extent, the TP still relies on the aural input, drawing on her simultaneous processing skills. In order for the prompt to be meaningful, she needs to work with a manageable time lag; the oral feed thereby still restricts the speed of the TT rendering. While the permanent nature of the initial written ST allows for major restructuring of the text, that opportunity is no longer available at this stage.

We are confronted with opposing forces; whereas the focus during the production stage lies on the *presentation* of an essentially previously prepared TT, the TP encounters restrictions due to the spoken modality that to some extent resemble those faced by *interpreters* who also deal with linearly incoming messages. A different choice of prompts, e.g. an autocue or an elaborated notation system, is likely to cause different restrictions and opportunities. Again a categorisation according to the multiparameter model is complicated.

The Target Text Modality

The TT modality has been regarded as another prime parameter in characterising a translational mode in the literature (cf. Kade 1968; Schäffner 2004:1). While the TT modality is of lesser consequence during preparation, the production of the TT is at the centre of this phase and its modality, recorded sign, impacts on the event. While a recorded signed text – like a written text – is permanent, it is – unlike writing – within chunks necessarily predominantly linearly produced, i.e. within one recording, a text producer is unable to move between different parts of the text, although advanced digital technologies enable the editing at a post-production stage (see below for discussion). The opportunities and restrictions imposed by this will be outlined below.

Repeatability: Rehearsal and Revision

Its recordedness makes the repetition of the TT production possible, which is listed as a parameter constituting prototypical *translation* by Salevsky (1982). The data have shown that the TP uses this feature in order to rehearse, for the first time physically carrying out a signed version of the text, and to revise the TT. Furthermore, although not put into practice in this event, the recordability potentially allows for the playing back of the text, which enables refined monitoring and thereby enhances the opportunity to revise the text. The nature of the TE further allows for the involvement of different people who could contribute to the revision process. This makes the event different from prototypical *interpreting*, where the TT is produced in real time, allowing only limited repeatability and revisability, which necessarily needs to be embedded into the communication event. If a TP (or another member of the TE) wishes to correct the text, this is noticeable by the primary participants. Although monitoring and repairs are an integral part of *interpreting* (Gerver 1976:202), the activity differs from *translation* events in which extensive revision is possible (cf. Mossop 2001).

User-friendly, modern word-processing facilities offer advanced text production and editing opportunities; writers are able to create texts in a non-linear fashion, to move flexibly between different sections of a text and to edit text elements to the level of a single letter during and after text production, without this being detectable in the end product.[84] Although audiovisual technologies are advancing, intricate editing facilities require expert skills. For non-professionals, on the other hand, the editing of small chunks of signed texts without the cutting being noticeable by the target audience is hardly possible or would require major effort and time. Moreover, whereas TPs working with written texts will commonly develop proficient editing skills using word-processing facilities in education and personal contexts, the development of advanced editing skills using audiovisual media is much less emphasised in training and less likely to be picked up by an individual in their personal life. The revision and editing apparent in this TE happen at the level of whole sections based on one sub-chapter of the ST, lasting up to eleven minutes. Although the TP is able to reproduce a whole chunk, she is unable to exchange smaller units within one paragraph unit; performance errors (Stone 2006) within one chunk cannot be edited. Had the TT been written, the opportunities to edit and revise a text would have been far greater. Although Salevsky (1982) and Gansinger (2008) both list repeatability as a parameter, the latter additionally mentioning the aspect of correctability, neither go into detail about the varying degrees of revisability.

Permanence of the Target Text

The permanence of the TT allows it to travel across time and space; the target audience does not need to be present during the text production. Rather than being able to respond to the audience's feedback as in an *interpreting* event, the TP must predict the audience's response like a prototypical *translator* (Mason 2000:6). The permanence of the TT introduces another source of stress. Whereas an *interpreter's* output is usually ephemeral, the signed text in this event is permanent and therefore ready for scrutiny across time and space. However, as Leneham (2005:82-3) argues, "...unlike translation, the interpreter is inextricably linked to the TT, which limits (if not eliminates) its ability to become an independent entity". With the TT being of a visual modality, the TP is inextricably linked to the TT. Her identity is revealed and her performance might impact on her reputation. This is very different from the presence of TPs working into written modalities; unless their names are accredited, their identities may be hidden.

Technology

Although offering the opportunity to create a permanent, repeatedly producible text, the technology involved in the event also introduces a number of additional tasks during the event; the camera needs to be handled, the tapes changed, the voice recorder switched

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[84] See Mossop (2001) for an account of revision and editing process in translation.

on, and the final copy of the text requires editing. While the latter activity is taken on by the commissioner, it is the TP who deals with technological issues during the TT recording. By taking on tasks that go beyond translational duties, the TP's role is divided. This shapes the process considerably by increasing the workload and differs from prototypical *interpreting* events where recording is rarely necessary, as the primary participants are generally present, or where other people would take responsibility for filming.

Summary

By means of summary, the different characteristics of the production phase are illustrated in the following diagram:
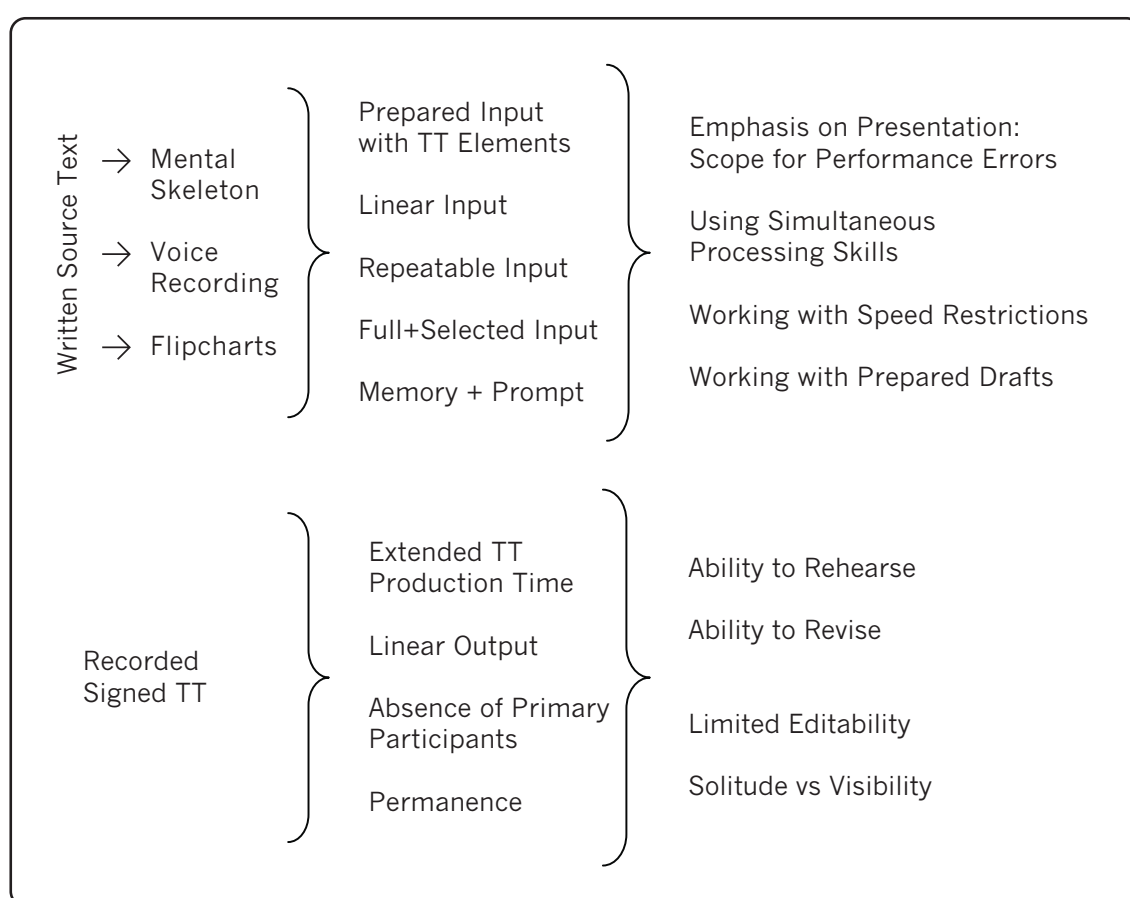
Figure 42: The Characteristics of the Production Phase

During the production phase we find a complex web of opportunities and restrictions imposed by the recorded, signed TT and the spoken modality of the 'new' ST, the voice prompt. While the TT is produced linearly and restricted to some extent by the speed of the voice recording, the process is repeatable and editable, yet the level of revisability is limited; a draft of the TT is prepared beforehand, however, the TP still relies to some extent on simultaneous processing skills; while the primary participants are absent, the TP is visible and the TT permanent. The phase thereby carries characteristics that

resemble both *translating* and *interpreting* or neither of the two. The following section will discuss the translational mode of this TE further by revisiting the multiparameter model.

7.1.3 Both, Neither or Different? Revisiting the Multiparameter Model

My proposed characteristics that emerge from the data in response to my theoretical understanding of translational modes resemble the parameters identified in the literature in Chapter 3.3 to a certain extent. The repeatability of the event, access to the ST as a whole, the fact that ST and TT production happen remotely, the availability of time, the absence of the primary participants and ST and TT modalities impact on the event. However, despite going beyond a two-tier categorisation, the multi-parameters still do not account for the complexity of the TE. Some of the parameters are contradictive in our event: whereas the time of the overall event is largely unrestricted, the TP faces temporal limitations during the recording process; although the translation is repeatable and therefore revisable, the editability during the event is limited; while the ST is written and the TT recorded sign, the TP introduces further (written, spoken and mental) texts into the process. The parameters need to be fine-tuned to cater for this particular TE of translating a written text into signed language.

Based on these parameters, we are unable to establish a unanimous categorisation of the TE. As illustrated in Figure 43, the discussion of both phases indicates that the event bears elements of both prototypical translational modes.

		Translation	Interpreting
Preparation		• Ability to Prepare a Fixed TT • Availability of the ST in Its Entirety • Availability of Resources and Tools • Extended Collaboration • Temporal and Spacial Flexibility	
Production	**Presenting**	• Working with Prepared Drafts	• Scope for Performance Errors • Using Simultaneous Processing Skills • Working with Speed Restrictions • Visibility • Working with Prepared Drafts
	Revision	• Ability to Rehearse • Ability to Revise • (Limited) Editability • Solitude	

Figure 43: Translation *and* Interpreting *Elements*

As the diagram illustrates, there is a distinction between preparation and production phase; not only are the 'outer' spatial and temporal circumstances different, the TP also carries out distinct activities and is faced with other restrictions and opportunities in each of these two phases; different skills are needed for each phase. During the preparation phase we are overwhelmingly concerned with features that resemble *translation*. The production of the TT, however, bears resemblance with *interpreting* as well as *translation* events. If we conceptualised the event by including another phase, namely revision, the features associated with *interpreting* would predominantly appear during the presenting of the TT, while the elements of the revision phase would primarily resemble *translation*.

This separation alone makes the situation different from both *translation* and *interpreting*. During prototypical *interpreting* events, the preparation phase happens separately in advance of the actual TE, while production and revision are interwoven, happening simultaneously. In *translation* events all aspects arguably take place simultaneously, although a revision phase, in which other professionals such as editors or revisers are being consulted, is often separate at the end of the event. Although Salevsky (1982:81, translated by Alexieva 1997:154) acknowledges the different phases a TP undertakes as reception, transposition and realisation, which loosely resemble the three phases I have identified (preparation, production and revision), she does not account for variability of a parameter during the different phases of an event.

The set parameters do not cater for the differing phases, and this is where my initial preliminary, data-autonomous categorisation at the beginning of this chapter, stressing the *translation* features in this event, is flawed. By not accounting for the details that came to light in my thick description of the different tasks and phases of the event, our conceptualisation is simplified. This supports this methodological approach that specifically sets out to investigate an authentic event and to place the data into the foreground of this study (see Chapter 5.1). Moreover, the categorisations in the literature, based on theoretical, experience-based, yet data-detached assumptions, as conducted by Salevsky (1982) and Riccardi (2002), cannot account universally for the complexities of all real-life events. The conceptualisations, founded on individual knowledge of familiar situations, which necessarily reflect only a section of the multitude of TEs, can only represent what I have earlier called a "cultural moment" (Tymoczko 2006:14, see Chapter 3.1.1).

My argument then resonates with Street's (1995:150) criticism of a detached, autonomous investigation of literacy, as performed by Ong:

the basic problem here is that if the observer has no first-hand experience of the people whose thinking he is trying to replicate imaginatively, then in effect the account becomes a reflection of the writer's own culture and own thinking.

My own preliminary theoretical categorisation above, negotiated with similar preconceptions in the literature, bears some resemblance to this approach. It seems that a detached reflection on the event was led by our common frame of conceptualising translational modes based on the overruling dominance of a dualistic polarisation of conceptualising translational modes. Such a two-tier conceptualisation is based on our Western translational practices, which are themselves very much rooted in a culture in which literacy is of tremendous importance, in which literacy and orality have traditionally been opposed (e.g. Ong 1982) and in which, historically, the activities of *interpreting* and *translation*, embedded in their own separate institutional environments, are regarded as distinct activities.

This is where a prototype approach falls short; it restricts us by focusing on two modes only, ignoring the variety of events which remain unacknowledged in the model. As argued by Turner and Pollitt (2002:41), hybrid modes of translation are common; focusing on the hybrid status of an event therefore "opens up the possibility of revisiting our understanding of other forms and permitting some of their richly textured hybridity to be appreciated and more fully understood" (*ibid*.). However, I would go a step further, to argue that the label 'hybrid' in itself is insufficient, as an activity only becomes a hybrid because it *deviates* from the proposed prototypes. This becomes problematic when prototypes are chosen 'arbitrarily', based on a narrow, culturally and historically specific frame of reference (Tymoczko 2007:90-100):

> ... approaching translation from the perspective of prototype theory is not particularly advantageous in advancing theoretical analyses of the cross-cultural concept *translation, where translation processes and products must be considered in the broadest and most general sense possible rather than in ways that are culturally specific and culturally restricted. (...) A prototype approach to translation will risk effacing philosophical and cognitive implications of the data as well as the richness of the concept. (Tymoczko 2007:97)

Dominant conceptualisations of *translation* and *interpreting*, based on dominant events, ignore the de-central practices of translation between written and signed texts, marginalising them as "the Other", with an in-between status that does not make it into the theory. In order to deconstruct such deeply rooted beliefs and conceptualisations, we have to attempt to investigate practices, realised in events, with a fresh eye.

Another problematic implication underlying the current literature is the apparent assumption that a certain TE carries a number of characteristics with it *per se*; the

existing attempts at categorising *translation* and *interpreting* activities suggest that each event has a set of parameters that is static, fixed, preconditioned. The term "parameter" itself denotes that something, in our case a TE, is established *a priori* by a defined set of pre-existing, pre-established features. It suggests a passivity, in which a TP is faced with a static fixed number of constraints and opportunities in an individual event. Moreover, real-life constraints, such as payment and the time allocated, the influences of the key people or the wider social context are ironed out in the model. This is not only unrealistic, it is also unhelpful as it ignores that some of the restrictions are human-made and embedded in social, economic and ideological practices. This ethnographic study of an authentic event demonstrates that the parameters of the event are flexible, stretchable and at least partially chosen by the TP, influenced by decisions made by herself and other key players. The parameters were not fixed *a priori*, the event was steered by people's experiences and expectations, preferences and perceptions.

I will use the remainder of the chapter to gradually widen our discussion by taking into account the 'soft', social factors that impact on the event and move the analysis from a discussion which focuses on the micro elements to one which increasingly recognises the local and wider social context of the event.

7.2 A Matter of Affordances and Practice

Having set out in this research to ask in what way the modalities and media of source and target texts of this translation shape the event, I will in this section pay particular attention to the constitution of source and target texts, and the potentialities and limitations they bring to the event. However, after the data analysis, which was negotiated with my extended theoretical framing (see Chapter 4), it appeared that even such preconditioned particulars as source and target modalities cannot be analysed without regarding the context, without reference to the people involved and without taking into account the event's social surroundings. In order to accommodate this, the notions of *affordances*, particularly *perceived affordances*, and *practice* will be leading the discussion. I will thus go beyond describing the characteristics of the event and analyse the determining factors that shape the TE; I will move from asking *what* is apparent to discussing *why* the TP undertakes the actions as she does.

7.2.1 Affordances: The Modalities' Potentialities and Limitations

I have argued above that the modalities seen in isolation are of little consequence to a TE; they only become relevant because of the possibilities and constraints they bring to an event and offer a TP to undertake certain actions, i.e. it is their *affordances* that are of significance. As introduced in Chapter 4.3.5, I borrow the concept from perceptual psychology (Gibson 1979/1986) and multimedia studies (Kress 2003; 2010; Prior 2005; Lee 2007). Affordances are the opportunities and limitations inherent in some-thing,

denoting an "invitation to act" (Gibson 1979/1986:46) and being "picked up" by an actor. The relationship between object, in our case quite abstractly the different language modalities and media in our event, and actor, i.e. the TP in our event, is emphasised. The modality affordances of the different texts involved in the TE will be outlined below.

The written ST, printed on paper, has the intrinsic property of being permanent and stable (at least for the duration of the event). It therefore carries the affordance of being readable and re-readable for as many times as wished. This inherent feature of permanency, and the affordance of readability and re-readability enable and invite the TP to spend time working with the ST and prepare the translation over an extended period of time. The fact that the ST does not vanish but remains accessible makes it possible to revise its content both in terms of overall understanding and familiarity with the detail. The TP is able to go over it multiple times and develop her mental skeleton of the TT further each time. The extended time frame of preparation further enables the TP to use other resources, such as internet search engines, and to collaborate with other people in order to prepare the TT. Had the ST been produced in an ephemeral medium, these activities would not be possible. The constitution of the ST and the modality and medium with which it is realised therefore have an impact on the event, they afford extended preparation.

Whereas I was interested in the affordances of the *final product* of the ST, as it already exists, with regard to the TT I focus on the potentialities and limitations inherent in the *production* of the text. The technology of producing the TT allows us to record and re-record a text without this being visible to the target audience. The recordability and re-recordability is an inherent feature of the TT and affords the repeatability of the TT production. It thereby invites the TP to rehearse, develop, revise and correct the translation potentially multiple times. In comparison, ephemeral ST and TT modalities, where the repetition of a text or part of a text is apparent to the target audience, do not afford the invisible revision of a text. However, the editability is limited compared to written modalities during this event, particularly compared to writing produced with modern word-processing tools. Whereas the latter enables effortless editing and insertion of text in a non-linear fashion, this is not as easily possible when creating a recorded signed text by non-specialists. The affordance of editability is therefore limited and the inherent features of the technologies with which the TT is recorded invite the TP to produce each section of the TT in a linear fashion. This restricts the TP in producing a flawless text; the process affords performance errors.

The TP introduces another text of a different modality to the event, the voice recording of the ST, which offers a different set of possibilities and constraints. The voice recording is marked by its linearity and its rigidity in speed. It does not afford the possibility of

moving back and forth while recording a section of the TT. With the voice recording acting as her prompt, the TP needs to match her TT production to the spoken text's structure and speed. The restrictions imposed by the voice recording are therefore similar to those evoked by ephemeral source modalities, such as speech and sign produced in face to face communication. Due to its permanency, however, the voice recording does afford the playback of the text, hence makes the procedure repeatable.

The intrinsic properties of the different modalities have an impact on a TE, offering particular possibilities and restrictions. The permanency/non-permanency and linearity/non-linearity, as well as the ability to communicate across time and space seem to be the most crucial characteristics that affect the event. Although this is often played down in the literature,[85] current writing technologies still offer broader and simpler functionality in terms of composing and revising a text than video recording technologies of signed texts.

The affordances as described in this section so far resonate with the parameters that are identified in the literature to conceptualise translational modes. Yet, different from the multiparameter model, the notion of affordance allows us to realise that it is not the inherent properties of source and target modalities in isolation that shape the event but rather the way people perceive what to do with them. The idea that affordances are "invitations to act" (Gibson 1979/1986:46), which may or not be accepted, will be further discussed in the following section.

7.2.2 Situating the Affordances

Some of the TP's actions cannot be explained only by the properties of the modalities alone. I will now give some examples to demonstrate that the event is not fully preconditioned by the inherent features of the modalities, but that the TP (and other key players) have choices. Drawing on a framework that regards communication, including translational practices, as tightly connected to their social and cultural context (see Chapter 4), I argue that the practices employed by the TP in this study are also influenced by her own professional background as well as the social context in which the event takes place.

The TP's choice to introduce a spoken text as a prompt is an interesting example. Despite its restrictions, a spoken text lends itself to be used as a prompt, as it is easily accessible when producing a signed TT; the TP can listen to the incoming ST while

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[85] See, e.g., Czubek (2006), arguing for the use of the label "sign language literacy", since video technology allows us to record signed texts like written texts; Boudreault (2005:34-7), arguing that in signed language we can "refine the final text to make it as perfect as possible before finalizing a fixed product"; Leneham (2007b), arguing that sign language translation is comparable to written-written translation because we are able to record the language.

signing, without the eye gaze or head position being restricted. However, the usability as a prompt only becomes an affordance because of the TP's background and her personal preference. As an experienced *interpreter* she is able to cope with the speed restrictions and the increased processing load of receiving ST input and producing TT output simultaneously. This would have been quite different for somebody without *interpreting* experience, and, of course, also for a deaf person, who would be unable to access aural input. Her background and experience – to a certain extent individual, yet arguably reflecting the experience of the majority of TPs working with Deaf and Hearing communities (see Chapter 2.4) – has an impact on the event.

Another example indicating that affordances are socially situated relates to the size of the final TT chunks the TP produces without interruption. While the technology affords the production of shorter sections, say, signing one sentence at the time which would allow for more refined revision and editing, the TP chooses to match the length of one chunk with that of a paragraph of the written ST. She thereby draws on the literacy practices apparent in the ST in order to create the TT. Moreover, while it may involve a considerable effort to produce sections of up to eleven minutes without a break, as an *interpreter*, the TP is experienced in producing TTs of this length or longer. Performance errors (Stone 2006) are unavoidable during this approach, yet this is regarded as acceptable. Whereas the chunkability and editability of written texts afford the production of 'flawless' texts, this is different for texts produced in real time.[86] 'Mistakes' are natural when producing speech, and people readily incorporate repair mechanisms into their texts (see the contributions in Fromkin ed. 1973). Arguably, with performance errors the text looks natural, resembling spontaneous signed communication and the flow is not interrupted by intensive editing. While conventions around recorded signing in academic contexts are still developing, the TP's approach is influenced by the literacy practices of the ST as well as practices associated with spontaneous signing and *interpreting*.

Emphasised by the TP throughout the interviews, collaboration is central to this particular TE. Current models of translational modes stress that "a significant feature of interpretation which has been the stimulus for a great deal of literature – and which is not evident in translation – is the human element; the presence and influence of the interpreter" (Leneham 2005:82). During *interpreting*, it is stressed, the TP and the primary participants can work together to co-construct meaning.[87] As Leneham suggests, the topic of collaboration plays a significant role in the discourse around *interpreting*, to the extent of having led to the creation of a paradigm in IS, i.e. the participatory model of

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[86] There are, of course, also written texts which are produced in real time, such as in instant chat messaging. The characteristics of written text here have been argued to differ from other written discourses, incorporating amongst others features of spontaneous speech (Lee 2007).
[87] It is here acknowledged that certain *interpreting* events lend themselves to this kind of collaboration, whereas others, for example when the *interpreter* works in a booth, do not.

interpreting (e.g. Leneham 2005; Roy 2000; Turner 2007c), which regards translation as a collaborative act. Although collaboration is part of *translation* processes, too,[88] the issue remains less central in the discipline. Stressing that she believes in "*translation as a collaborative act basically*" (I1:445-6), the TP's heightened sense to work *with* the other key players echoes the discourse of a participatory framework. Arguably she imports her understanding of translational processes based on IS paradigms to this TE, despite the absence of the primary participants. This exemplifies one example where *interpreting* paradigms may be fruitfully applied to what may be conceived as *translation* events, inviting an exchange between the two (sub-)disciplines.

Probably the most indicative example that events are not preconditioned but steered by the people involved is the allocation of time. Although preparation, recording and revision periods are potentially unrestricted in this TE, the actual time available is framed by the funding and deadlines. These are negotiated by the TP and the commissioner based on their understandings of what is realistic and feasible, as well as available resources. The question of how long it takes to prepare and produce a translation of this kind in order to create a satisfactory product is not easily answered. The response will be individual, based on one's preconceptions and understanding of what constitutes a successful translation; in other words, it is socially constructed. In this TE, by placing emphasis on an extended preparation phase and revision, the key players perceive the activity as different from a typical *interpreting* event where a TP delivers a TT in real time. At the same time, the TP indicates that the allocated time is insufficient to produce an ideal TT. An understanding of what is realistically required in an event like this is only starting to develop and will need to be negotiated with available resources.

Overall it is evident that the TP exploits the possibilities afforded in this TE to maximise the quality of the product in negotiation with creating a feasible process. At the same time, how she perceives the affordances is linked to her professional background as well as her and the commissioner's conceptualisations of what constitutes a TE involving a written ST and a recorded signed TT; in other words, the affordances are situated. The following section will use the above discussion and revisit the notion of *affordances* before applying the notion of *practice*.

7.2.3 From Affordances via Perceived Affordances to Practice

After the discussion above, the notion of *perceived affordances*, introduced by Norman (1988; 1990; 1999), seems valuable. In contrast to Gibson (1979/1986), Norman stresses the impact of the actor's background, individual and cultural, when perceiving an object. Acknowledging that "[his] view is somewhat in conflict with the views of many

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[88] Nord's (1997) discussion of loyalty to various participants in the TE and of key figures in the translation commission, exemplifies this. Mossop (2001) also discusses more hands-on aspects of collaboration between TPs and other actors.

Gibsonian psychologists" (Norman 1990:219),[89] he argues that "affordances result from the mental interpretation of things, based on our past knowledge and experience applied to our perception of the things about us".

This resonates with our case. In order to develop the process, the TP uses her experience of being an *interpreter* (particularly apparent in her choice to use a spoken text as a prompt, and in producing chunks of up to eleven minutes). Considering that *interpreting* is the 'default' mode of translation in the Deaf Community (see Chapter 2.4 for discussion), it is not surprising to find traces of this translational mode. Practitioners translating between written and signed languages tend to be, like the TP, qualified *interpreters* (usually, considering the history of TPs in the Deaf community, hearing), or untrained bilingual Deaf individuals (see Chapter 2.4 for discussion); both of which are likely to have extensive experience with spoken·sign *interpreting* events, as either or both TPs and users. Without training and specific certification, there are no qualified, registered written·sign "*translators*" yet. Experiences, discourses and conceptualisations will be naturally informed by the familiarity with TEs involving spoken and signed source and target texts.

At the same time, as indicated by her reference points during the interviews, the TP negotiates her approach between her experiences with speech·sign/sign·speech *interpreting* events, her knowledge of written·written *translation* events, her previous involvement with written·sign and sign·written TEs, as well as the potentials and constraints offered to her in this particular event by the demands of the different key players, i.e. the commissioner, her perception of the target audience and the technology involved. The event is then not only steered by some pre·conditioned, unchangeable, what we might call 'hard', factors, but moreover shaped by the TP's and the commissioner's experiences and ideas about the practices associated with the activity, the translation conventions around them and their general conceptualisations of the activity. The event becomes a matter of social practice.

The idea that TPs draw on practices apparent in their social and cultural surroundings when translating is supported by Stone's (2006; 2007a; 2007b) findings. Although not expressed explicitly, Stone, introducing the notion of a Deaf translation norm, concludes that the approaches portrayed by the Deaf and hearing TPs of his study were influenced by their respective backgrounds and the common translational practices of their social and professional communities. Moreover, my discussion is in accordance with the current debates within the New Literacy Studies, where it is argued that literacy and

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[89] As mentioned in Chapter 4.3.5, although this is where his theory becomes most controversial and shows some discrepancies (Bruce, Green and Georgeson 1996:263), Gibson, too, acknowledges that affordances are influenced by a person's individual background by giving the example of a letter·box, suggesting that it only affords to post letters to those who live in an environment that incorporates the practice of letter writing and a postal service (Gibson 1979/1986:139).

other communicative practices are situated in their cultural, social and, we can add for our case, professional context (Barton and Hamilton 2000; Street 1993; 1995; 2003).

7.3 Translation in Flux

As I argued in Chapter 4.2.6, communication, like other social practices, is situated in its current time (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič 2000:1). As Tusting (2000:39, see also Chapter 4.2.6) puts it:

> There is [...] a danger that practices can come to be seen in a rigid, structural way, when the events they pattern are dynamic and changing. An understanding of the way in which the past and future are emergent in and constructed in the present enables us to move beyond this static idea and see the way in which patterns may be both regular and dynamic.

This seems particularly relevant for our case; the practice of translation between written and signed language is considerably new and has only just started to develop. The implications will be discussed below. I will begin my reflection by remaining close to the event itself, discussing the TP's plans for future events, before moving to a wider frame of reference by regarding the event as one example within wider changing translation and communication practices and discourses.

7.3.1 Towards Translation?

The procedure that is part of the translational process is not static. Not only does the TP have choices in each individual event how to design the process, she repeatedly indicates that with each event her approach becomes refined. Reflecting on and learning from each experience, she is able to develop a refined procedure that suits her way of working and uses the resources available efficiently, while her continued and increasingly routine collaboration with the commissioner helps create awareness of what is involved in the TE amongst the key players. This leads to a more sophisticated translation brief over time. Picking up on the TP's own metaphor (I3:743-52), with each event the skeleton of the translational process grows more bones. I will now discuss some of the TP's plans for future events. It is important to remember that these are plans only, my study does not investigate whether they will materialise.

The TP's plans for improvement particularly focus on refining the spoken prompt by including more TT elements as well as an extended emphasis on revising the TT by including a phase of reviewing the video and, ideally, collaborating with other experts (including BSL A-language users). These intended improvements and plans particularly focus on the preparation and revision phases of the event. By extending and refining the pre- and post production phases, the work load during the recording stage is reduced and the effort of the presentation is minimised. Her plans indicate that her reliance on

simultaneous *interpreting* strategies becomes less dominant throughout the translation series, while she increasingly draws on her mental skeleton, the flipcharts and the voice prompt during the production phase. Figure 44 illustrates this shifting process:
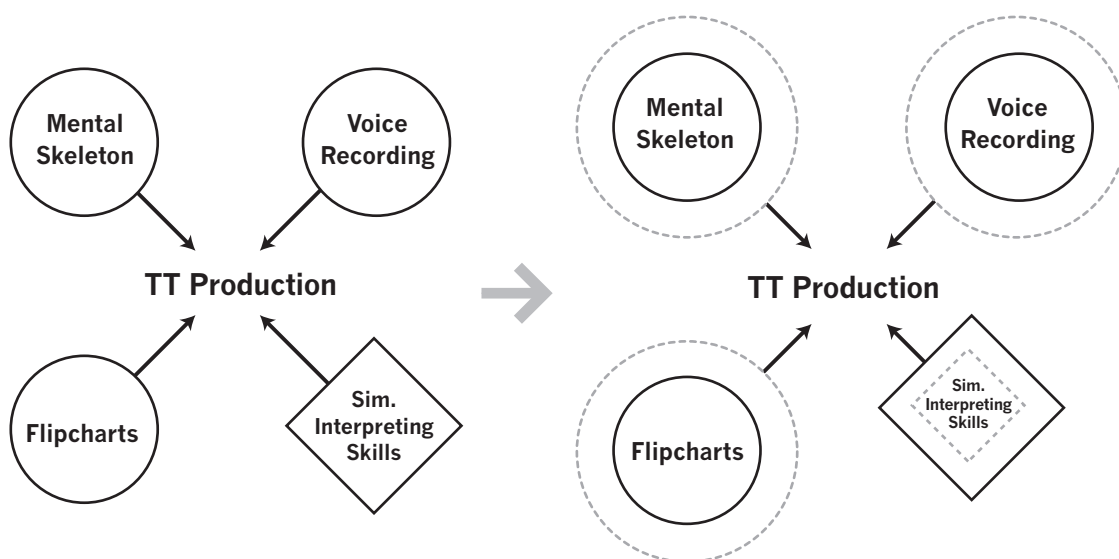
Figure 44: Enlarging Preparation, Reducing Simultaneous Interpreting Skills

This means that during the production phase the TP focuses increasingly on presentation, while the acts of translating and improving the translation happen before and after. In other words, the building blocks for producing the TT are increasingly developed outside the studio, leaving the TP more room to focus on the delivery of the text, and reducing the scope for performance errors. This suggests that the act of **translating** is increasingly separated from the act of **presenting**. Similarly, detaching the revision element from the recording phase by including an additional phase in which the TP plays back the TT and is able to monitor her production with more distance, ideally taking into account other experts' views, further reduces the workload during the presentation stage, again leaving more room for the presentation element.
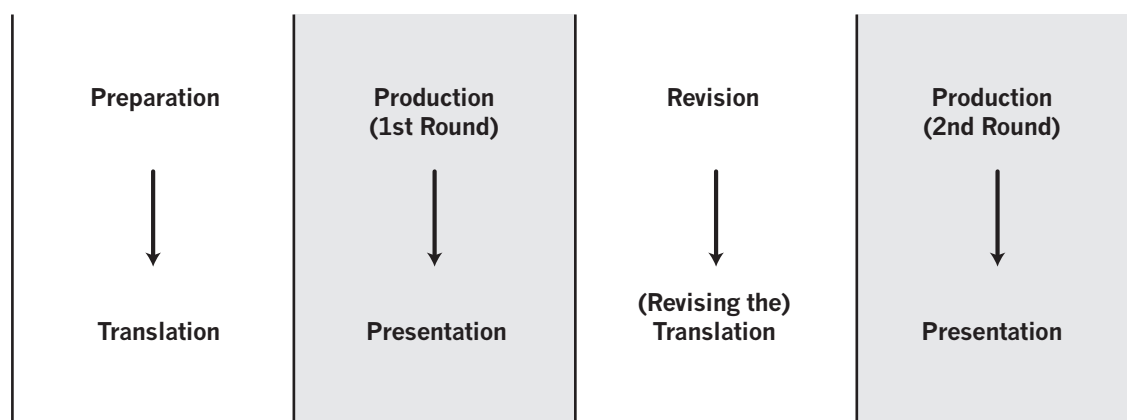
Figure 45: Separating Translation and Presentation

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As illustrated in Figure 45, the development of the TT, the research and planning of translational strategies, (through preparation and revision) happen increasingly during phases in which time is (potentially) unrestricted. Exploiting such phases where time constraints are limited, the event increasingly resembles prototypical *translation* practices. At the same time, the potentials associated with typical *interpreting* events, particularly the element of collaboration, remain an increasingly important aspect adapted to the particulars of the event.

Increasingly exploiting the full potential of developing and improving the TT during the preparation and revision phases, the TP makes increasing use of the affordances of the event. At the same time, the evolving nature of the event seems to go hand in hand with more general changes of translational practices in the Deaf community. With translation activities in the Deaf community becoming increasingly varied and the notion of sign language *translation* becoming more prominent (see Chapter 2.4), we can assume that expectations and the frames of references are changing. This aspect will be further explored in the following section.

7.3.2 Trends in Signing Communities

My analysis and discussion of the activity of this case study has, in the previous sections, concentrated on the local, the individual characteristics of this particular event. Although I have argued that the event cannot be regarded in isolation and that the TP's approach is embedded in her own socio-professional background, I have remained close to the data. While the TP's strategies are likely to be individual, the event is part of a wider movement and fits a pattern of changes in translational practices that we can observe in a variety of contexts. I will use the following sections to refer to evident wider trends as noted in the literature, based on my own impressions and observations and with reference to the discussion in Chapter 2. I will thereby make a connection between the case of this study and the social, cultural and historical context in which it is embedded.

The fact alone that the written ST is translated into a recorded signed text in this TE is an ideological act. It is based on the philosophy that Deaf people have a right to access this kind of text in '*their*' language. It assumes that sign languages are capable of producing didactic texts, even if they are 'unwritten' languages. It demonstrates that BSL is regarded as a fully-fledged language, able to express topics as complex as academic accounts of second language acquisition. Today this might not seem too surprising, yet, a few decades ago would have been viewed quite differently. (And with many misconceptions about visual-gestural languages still prevalent, the fact that signed languages are in this respect equal to written languages is probably still something to be political about.) Communication via recorded sign language texts is in this context favoured over other Deaf literacy practices, such as *Sutton SignWriting* or perhaps a

culturally adapted written English version. Moreover, the situation suggests that Deaf people are not necessarily required to access information via the dominant Hearing channels.

The event is further inextricably linked to wider social circumstances. It reveals that we are living in a society in which Deaf people have access to higher educational settings, again something which would have been less common a few decades ago. It reveals that written texts are regarded here as insufficient, either because of an estimated lack of necessary bilingual skills of the target audience, or due to more political reasons such as to foster a growth of signed texts or to acknowledge the linguistic rights of minority communities. Overall, it supports an empowerment of Deaf people to contribute to the academic discourses of the majority society in their own languages. At the same time, it illuminates a situation in which texts of the dominant Hearing community, rather than indigenous texts, are at the centre of (Deaf people's) education.

As outlined in Chapter 2.2.3, the activity presented in this study is only possible because of the current social situation of the British signing community in which Deaf people are empowered members of society with roots in their own cultural linguistic minority community. Whereas this was much rarer in the past, more and more Deaf people are working as professionals and contributing to a number of discourses across society. As members of a linguistic, cultural community, it has become increasingly commonplace for Deaf people in the UK to contribute to dominant mainstream discourses in their own language, BSL. Correspondingly, mainstream texts are being made available in BSL, as is the case in our TE, the aim being to make the text available in the target audiences' 'preferred' language, thereby enlarging the body of texts available in BSL, as well as providing a bridge to the written ST and academic literacy practices.

These changes go hand in hand with translational practices in the Deaf community (see Chapter 2.4), where TEs involving written and signed texts are increasing and the notion of sign language *translation* is emerging. With a growth in this activity, we can expect practitioners as well as consumers and other stakeholders to become more sophisticated and refine their expectations. Moreover, wider social and communication changes will impact on the practice of translating written text into signed language. An already noticeable increase of Deaf practitioners, i.e. TPs whose A-language is BSL, will change the landscape of TPs working in signing communities with immense political ramifications, counteracting the "imbalanced workforce" (Turner 2006:286) of sign language *interpreters*, which has been predominantly provided by the Hearing majority in the past. Also, an expected increase of original recorded signed texts will certainly change practices associated with producing these TTs. Our event is part of wider social developments; the activity is in flux.

7.3.3 Trends of Changing Communication and Translation Practices

The change in communication practices is, of course, not restricted to the Deaf community; it is a recognised fact and has been widely noted that all living languages are constantly undergoing change (e.g. Turner 2006; Crowley 1992; Lehmann 1992; Trask 1994). However, as De Pourbaix (2000:145) noted ten years ago, "[c]ertainly change has always been in evidence in all aspects of our lives, but it is currently occurring with great speed, in many contexts simultaneously, and with possibly hidden expectations in tandem with those changes". Vast advances in communication and information technologies have extensively impacted on communication practices (see Sections 4.2.6 and 4.3). Communication is becoming faster, increasingly cross-cultural, and, as Kress (2003:1) notes, involves a shift of the dominance from print media to the medium of the screen. The event of this study is part of these changes. It reflects the more general acceptance of multimodal texts using multimedia recordings in an educational domain, at least partially replacing writing. In other words, as exemplified by the event of this study, multimediality is becoming an increasingly central part of dominant literacy events.

Such emerging communication practices have recently become a stimulating basis for developments in TS.[90] As mentioned earlier (Section 4.3.3), most attention has probably been paid to the impact of 'new' media on translational practices within the area of audiovisual translation. In the analysis of these activities, changes in translational practices have been noticed that resonate with the practices I have encountered in this study. As mentioned earlier, the non-prototypical ST-TT combinations in subtitling, for example, challenge the connection between *translation* and *writtenness* on the one hand, and *interpreting* and *spokenness* on the other hand. Faster, more immediate communication in the use of written text and more prepared spoken and/or signed language complicates our association of preparedness with the former and spontaneity with the latter (see Section 3.2.2 for examples). These instances, picked from a variety of areas, suggest a move away from a binary polarisation of distinct translational modes. The practices of *translators* and *interpreters*, on the one hand, overlap, and we find completely new modes of translation that do not resemble either. The landscape of translational modes is widening and becoming more diverse. Echoing such trends, my case study seems to be one of many in this changing landscape.

The move away from a 'big divide' between *translation* and *interpreting* also resonates with discussions within literacy studies arguing that the 'big divide' between speech and

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[90] To mention but a few points of reference, Cronin (2003:1) discusses the consequences for and the role of translation as part of what he calls the "dramatic changes in technology and in the organization of economies and societies at national and international level"; O'Hagan and Ashworth (2002) analyse the impacts of globalisation on translation particularly in a digital world through the example of localisation; remote *interpreting* is another area where translational practices have been affected by technological advances (Braun 2007; Wadensjö 2009).

writing has been overstated. As is the case with speech and writing, the situation around translational modes, it seems, is more complex. Encouraged by current changes in communication practices, particularly linked to technological developments but also, as this study suggests, linked to wider social and general translational practices, this has implications for our conceptualisations of the activity. The following section will further investigate the shift away from a dichotomous categorisation of translational modes by discussing an apparent changing discourse of translation.

7.3.4 Changing Translation Discourses

We have come a long way since Catford's (1965/2000:93) argument that translation across media is impossible and Reiss's (1976:20) inclusion of audio-medial text types as a special category in her attempt to produce a text typology (see Section 4.3.3). By now, it has become increasingly recognised that multimediality is an integral part of communication and thereby of translation. From being a specialised area on the fringe of TS, the field has become increasingly mainstream and people are becoming further aware that the issues faced and described within multimedia translation go beyond specific areas such as film translation and are relevant through a wide range of events as communication itself becomes increasingly multimodal (Kress 2003).

We are moving away from concentrating on what Jakobson (1959/2000) called "translation proper", namely interlingual intrasemiotic translation, to including a variety of translational modes. Rather than discussing these as 'special cases', a move to widen the discipline is beginning to take place. As Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:11) optimistically put it:

> We believe [...] that the battle has now been won with regard to the nature of these practices and translation is perceived by most scholars as a more flexible and inclusive term, capable of accommodating new realities rather than disregarding practices that do not fit a corseted, outdated notion of a term coined many centuries ago, when the cinema, the television and the computer had not yet been invented.

The growing number of publications in the field of audiovisual, multimodal and multimedia translation are one sign that the area is gaining respect. Another indication is the recognition of this (sub-)discipline in the wider field, indicated, for example, by the inclusion of an overview of the sub-field in the latest version of Munday's (2001/2008) *Introducing Translation Studies* (chapter 13).

With the shift away from conceptualisations of traditional modes of communication and translation which are based on a speech-writing dichotomy and do not take into account any other, non-linguistic modes of communication comes a call for widening our understanding of translation by acknowledging the evolving diversity of translational

practices. We thereby not only extend our frame of reference, but are offered an opportunity to reconceptualise the activity. As mentioned earlier (3.3.5), the area of audiovisual translation sets an example of moving beyond binary oppositions of translational modes and calls for a more general rethinking of what translation is. As Zabalbeascoa (2007:8) argues:

> One of the most important contributions of AVT is that it has shown the limitations of most traditional dichotomies in traditional thinking about translation. We can no longer afford to think in terms of one-to-one relationships. There are multiple variables: the language is not 1 to 1, the textual mode is not 1 to 1, and the semiotic system is not 1 to 1. We need to adapt our thinking to human interaction, and textual communication, which is increasingly multicultural, multilingual, multimedia, multimodal, multisemiotic, multisensory, multipurpose, multiauthoring.

Concepts that have been integral in TS, such as the contested notion of equivalence, as well as, perhaps, less challenged concepts such as source and target texts have come under scrutiny with the investigation of translations that include intralingual and intermodal shifts, contributing to a healthy rethinking of the essence of our discipline, negotiating old knowledge. My problematising of the dichotomous conceptualisation of translational modes intends to contribute to such reconsiderations; if we aim to accommodate translation between written and signed language in TS, existing conceptualisations of prototypical modes need to be reconsidered.

In this section I have moved from a discussion of the internal changes of the TE to distinct changes in translational practices reflecting wider trends. I have argued that the discussion of multimedia translation changes the discourse of translation in general. Traditional conceptualisations and categorisations are less dominant and become further problematised. This will lead me to the next, concluding section of this chapter, in which I will summarise the preceding arguments and reflect on the way we conceptualise translational modes and translation in more general terms.

7.4 Translation – A Dynamic Practice, a Dynamic Concept: A Social Constructionist Conclusion

While the literature bases its conceptualisation of translational modes on a number of *a-priori*-set parameters, this analysis demonstrates that the event is pliable; the TP *chooses* to involve a spoken prompt in the event which during the recording becomes a replacement for the ST; she *decides* to repeat the recording process as well as how often this is done; the commissioner and TP set the charges and deadlines thereby *establish* the timeframe. The TP also tells us that the translational process is *developing* with each TE of the series. Drawing on her own socio-professional background, acting upon her socially informed perceptions of the event's affordances, and in negotiation with the

other key players (the commissioner, technology and the target audience), it is the TP who essentially gathers and builds the parameters and thereby *designs* the event; the event is socially constructed. While existing models (e.g. Salevsky 1982; Riccardi 2002) do not deny socially constructed features apparent in a TE, these 'soft' features do not make it into the final conceptualisations of translational modes, which thereby only portray half the picture. Our theoretical description of translational activities needs to account for the pliability, designability and the historical and social situatedness; it needs to become multi-dimensional. By distancing itself from prototypical categorisations, the notion of translation as social practice accounts for the complexity of an event by paying explicit attention to individual, practical, social, cultural and historical dimensions.

A social constructionist perspective goes further. Not only does it enable us to account for the fluid status of translational *activities*, it emphasises that our concepts, our *understandings* of such activities are equally socially and culturally entrenched. Our two-fold, prototype-based understanding of translational activities is rooted in its institutional environment, which historically has been divided into TS and IS. It is furthermore reminiscent of our essentially binary categorisation of linguistic modalities which is based on a process-focused understanding of speech events as well as our product-directed analyses of written texts, and has led influential scholars such as Ong (1982) to find vast divides between what they call oral and literate cultures. Moreover, our understanding of translational modes is founded on individual experiences of TEs that happen in predominantly dominant cultural contexts, traditionally, though not exclusively, the *translation* of canonical, literary (written) texts, as well as simultaneous *interpreting* events, involving spoken source and target texts. They reflect a "cultural moment" (Tymoczko 2006:14) and it is not surprising that our event involving a visual-gestural TT and multimedia technology deviates from the prototypes. An increased focus on multimodal translation practices reveals that, with social and technological changes, the landscape of translation is becoming more diverse with a growing number of events deviating from prototypical *translation* and *interpreting*. With this we find first signs of a changing discourse of translation which moves away from a dichotomy-based categorisation of events. As Baker (2008:26) puts it:

> ... the object of study itself is dynamic – it does not sit still while we develop better and more comprehensive theories to explain it. It changes because the world changes, and our theories have to follow that dynamic.

Our understanding of translation is in flux; it is not only socially and culturally, but also historically constructed.

If our aim is to enlarge TS and create a general theory of translation, our understandings of translational activities need to account for the fact that the activities and discourses relating to translation are in flux, socially and historically situated, and rooted in descriptions of culturally specific events. Otherwise, activities like the one described in this study which are non-traditional, non-central and 'new' will be marginalised with adverse effects on policies, training and academic reflection. It is by promoting a social constructionist perspective, as well as by supporting an understanding of translation as social practice realised and observable in events that I aim to negotiate my findings based on the specificities of this case with our theoretical understandings of what *translation* and *interpreting* are.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

In this chapter I summarise the main arguments and findings (8.1), by revisiting the research questions, aims and objectives as presented in the introduction of the thesis. In Section 8.2 I critically evaluate the study, paying attention to its limitations and achievements. I will then (8.3), look ahead and make recommendations for areas of future research. Concluding the thesis in Section 8.4, I point out the study's contributions to the wider field(s) and address areas where this research may be applied.

8.1 Summary

This thesis aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What characterises the process of one particular translational event?
2. What impact does the cross-modal shift from writing to sign have on the process of translating a written text into signed language?
3. In what way does the translational mode adopted in this case match existing conceptualisations of translational modes, i.e. particularly *translation* and *interpreting*?

In order to do so, I moved from introducing the study, its research questions, aims and objectives (Chapter 1) and situating the case in its linguistic, cultural and social context (Chapter 2) to positioning the study academically and conceptually (Chapter 3), developing an extended theoretical foundation (Chapter 4) and translating this into a more applied research methodology (Chapter 5). The data was then analysed under the proposed methodology (Chapter 6) before discussing the implications of the findings with regard to the research questions under the proposed theoretical approach (Chapter 7). While Chapter 2 provided some of the necessary background with regard to the cultural, linguistic situation in the British Deaf community and the social context in which this TE took place, thereby providing the foundation for a thick analysis and discussion of the case later, each of the other chapters addressed one of the proposed research objectives.

8.1.1 Addressing the Aims and Objectives

Corresponding to Chapter 3, the first objective was:

1. To situate the study academically and conceptually, by creating a space in TS and by reviewing conceptualisations of translational modes in the relevant literature.

The study of translation involving written and signed texts can be placed within the wider area of TS, where research of visual-gestural languages has been rare, almost invisible to

date. Supporting the recent call to enlarge the discipline by particularly looking towards non-canonical practices and studies outside dominant centres, research on sign language translation is well suited to contribute to broadening the discipline with reference to another set of minority, non-written languages and cultures. Here it is necessary to aim for a *negotiation* between 'old knowledge' and 'new data', rather than an *integration* of non-dominant practices into existing theoretical conceptualisations and vice versa. The data of this study was thus used to re-think and re-evaluate existing conceptualisations of translational modes.

A review of the literature in the same chapter demonstrated that our categorisations of TEs are essentially two-fold, resulting in the prototypes *translation* and *interpreting*. This is true whether categorisations are based on a one-dimensional definition (e.g. *translation* deals with written texts, while *interpreting* is characterised by texts in ephemeral modalities) as well as in models that use a number of parameters (Salevsky 1982; Alexieva 1997; Riccardi 2002). This corresponds to a largely binary division in the academic discipline between *Translation* and *Interpreting* Studies, which is only starting to be broken up, as for example by the emerging field of audiovisual translation. In the latter, mode divisions do not only become blurred but also less significant. In an environment, however, that still relies on an essentially dichotomous labelling, there has been some confusion as to where to place practices that involve translation between written and signed texts. While the label "translation" is generally emerging in public and academic discourses (e.g. Gresswell 2001; Leneham 2007b; Gansinger 2008), other authors are more hesitant, describing it as "hybrids" (Turner and Pollitt 2002; Stone 2006)[91] or "prepared recorded interpretation" (Banna 2004:103). A prototype approach which is rooted in dominant Western understandings of central practices becomes problematic, as it marginalises non-central translational practices such as the one of this study.

My second objective, addressed in Chapter 4, was:

2. To provide a theoretical foundation for the discussion of translation from written into signed language that accounts for the investigation of the language modalities of source and target texts and their impact on the event.

In order to understand the impact of the modalities of source and target texts on an event, it is necessary to go beyond their inherent textual characteristics by introducing a social dimension. Looking across disciplines by drawing on an ideological model of literacy (Street 1984; 1993; 1995), a theoretical foundation was developed that regards

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[91] Note that both Stone (2006), discussing the translation/interpretation of television news, and Turner & Pollitt (2002), investigating sign language '*interpreted*' performances at the theatre, refer in their analyses to translation practices that differ from the one in my case study as both deal with prepared and 'fixed', yet spoken STs.

the use of modalities in translation between written and signed language as socially, culturally and historically situated practice. Rather than having autonomous powers over a certain communicational or, more specifically, translational event, the use of language modalities is steered by *people* in correspondence to their own social and cultural backgrounds and the wider context in which the situation takes place. However, filling a gap in the so-called New Literacy Studies, that provide the foundation for my theoretical approach, I argued that the inherent features of the different modalities, each carrying certain potentials and constraints to a communicational event, need to be taken into account. By adding a social-semiotic dimension to the analysis with reference to multimodality research, the notion of "affordances" successfully enhances the approach by highlighting the relationship between a textual modality and the person who produces/uses a text. This was a useful tool to account for both the properties of the modalities and the social context in which the communication takes place. Emphasising a social practice element, this study contributes to the so-called 'social turn' in TS.

My third objective was addressed in Chapter 5:

3. To develop an appropriate methodological approach that accounts for 'new' translational practices and is in accordance with the proposed theoretical foundations.

Arguing that a reflection on one's research approach is necessary, as it impacts on the outcome of a study, I presented the methodological background of this work, both in terms of its underlying 'research philosophy', as well as the methods employed to generate and analyse my data. Building up on the sociologically and anthropologically informed theoretical approach, an explorative, qualitative, flexible research design was regarded as well suited to investigate 'new', i.e. under-researched practices. An ethnographic, authentic, multi-method single case study was chosen in order to create a data-driven, people-centred methodological design. Through observation of the translational process, interviews and the collection of documents (i.e. the TP's annotated ST, her voice recording of the ST, her prepared flipcharts and un-edited and edited versions of the TT), I drew on a large array of data sources that allowed for a thick description of the process. By starting *from* the data and by attempting to regard the case with a fresh eye, I moved away from a hypothesis-driven analysis based on pre-conceived ideas that are, as in our case, based on dominant practices in majority cultures. At the same time, however, a completely fresh approach has been impossible, as my own knowledge of translational modes necessarily influenced the way I approached the data and analysis. By following a social constructionist approach, i.e. particularly by regarding *translation* and *interpreting* as socially constructed concepts, I argued that our understanding of translational modes is historically and socially situated.

A *negotiation* of the concepts with new data is possible under this framework and allows for a critical revision of our ideas.

Chapter 6 reported on my case study and presented the analysis of the data, by addressing objective number 4:

4. To conduct an explorative, multi-method, single case study of one translational event in which a written text is translated into recorded signed language and to provide a thick description and analysis of the translational process.

The thick description, cross-referencing interview, observation and document data, provided a novel take on the research question, triangulating the findings and providing a rich, round picture of the event. A contextualisation of the situation and a description of the different steps that the TP undertakes in order to create a TT highlighted the complexity of the situation. After spending around two thirds of the process preparing the translation, whereby she develops translational prompts and aids and a mental skeleton of the translation, the TP then records the TT in the studio section by section, being able to rehearse, revise and repeat different parts, before the text is edited and distributed to the target audience by the commissioner. Whereas certain features, particularly in terms of preparation and the possibility of rehearsal and revision resemble parameters associated with prototypical *translation*, others, particularly during the production of the signed texts, were closer to what we regard as prototypical *interpreting*. Moreover, it is not only the written ST and one recorded signed TT that characterise the situation, but a variety of written, signed, spoken and mental versions of 'texts' that are of importance in the situation. My analysis, based on observations, document analyses and the agents' perspective, accumulates different ontological entities, demonstrating that the process is steered by the TP's and other key players' choices rather than simply the modalities of source and target texts. The TP's reflections of the event and her future plans particularly emphasise the temporary state of the practice of translating written into signed text.

Chapter 7 addressed the fifth objective and provided the main arguments of this thesis, by discussing the data with reference to the theoretical foundation of the study:

5. To conceptualise the practice of translating a written text into recorded signed language, with a focus on the impact of the language modalities of source and target texts and to re-evaluate our understanding of translational modes.

The data demonstrates that the TE does not match existing conceptualisations of translational modes. The activity is neither a form of prototypical *translation*, nor of prototypical *interpreting*. Opportunities and restrictions faced by the TP at different

times during the event mean that preparation and revision phases lean closer to the former, while restrictions during the recording process resemble typical elements of *interpreting* scenarios. Even multiparameter models conceptualising translational modes do not fully account for the complexity caused by the different phases of the event.

Moreover, the event is not only steered by the inherent features and affordances of the different texts but also by the TP's professional background, which itself is embedded in a wider socio-cultural and historical context. To date, existing conceptualisations of translational modes have focused on contextual characteristics in a narrow sense without moving beyond the actual situation, largely neglecting that a TE is influenced by wider social forces. As my findings suggest, influenced by their social experiences, the event is shaped by the agents' familiarity with and attitudes toward particular communicational practices. The TP of this study drew particularly on her *interpreting* background, i.e. the 'default' translational mode in Deaf communities, as well as her individual experience with written-sign translation and knowledge of using written text, while negotiating the available resources with the commissioner. These resources are connected to the inherent properties of the texts as well as to decisions on the allocation of money and the availability of technologies, which are themselves socially-constructed. The existing prototype-informed, parameter-based understandings of translational modes are insufficient to account for this case, encouraging us to integrate, to 'fit' the event into a preconceived model without accounting for its pliable state. Instead, regarding the translation as social practice allows us to distance ourselves from a reductive understanding and account for the specificity of the activity displayed as well as the wider context in which it takes place, therefore accounting for the micro and the macro. This research thus suggests that it is a TP's individualised, socially embedded history that directs a TE.

Nevertheless, the particularities of the textual modalities involved in the TE also impact on the possibilities and constraints available to the TP when preparing, creating and revising a translation. The permanence of the written ST enables extensive preparation of the translation, the re-recordability of the TT allows for rehearsal and revision. Yet, the linearity of the spoken prompt regulates and restricts the speed of the TT production, and the medium of the TT allows only for limited editability (particularly when compared to the possibilities enabled by common word-processing facilities). With the notion of "affordance", emphasising the relationship between some-thing and an actor, I was able to discuss the influence of the modality-related characteristics of the texts involved without arguing that texts have 'autonomous', people-detached powers over an event.

Particularly striking in this case study was the number of textual entities used in the event, which went beyond a written ST and a signed TT, but additionally involved other

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written, spoken, signed and 'mental' texts. This supports current understandings proposed in the New Literacy Studies and multimodality research that communication practices involve a more complex web of linguistic (and non-linguistic) modalities and are rarely identifiable as *either* orality *or* literacy events. Equally revealing in this study was that, although being in charge of the translational process, the TP places much emphasis on collaboration. In spite of the absence of the primary participants, the TP co-designs translational strategies together with the commissioner, who also acts as editor, a target-language using specialist in the field and the course leader with inside knowledge of the target audience's requirements. Overall, as suggested by the TP, the event was thus steered by four different key players: herself, the commissioner, the target audience as well as technology. This relationship between the different human and non-human actors is an aspect which is underplayed in current conceptualisations of translational modes, particularly when recorded texts are involved.

Arguing that the practice of written-sign translation is in flux, I discussed the TP's aims to refine the translational process which would gradually lead to a separation of the development of translational strategies and the actual production of the TT. **Translational** procedures could then evolve particularly during periods of the process in which time is largely unrestricted, so that the TP could concentrate on **presentation** and **performance** during the actual, temporally restricted TT production. I thus predicted that the translational process might increasingly, albeit not completely, resemble a prototypical *translation* rather than *interpreting* mode. Overall, this suggests that translational modes are neither stable nor directed by pre-established parameters, but rather that they are part of a social, historical moment. Supporting this argument and enlarging the frame of reference, translational practices in general are evolving. The current changing landscape of communication leads to a blurring of translational modes. This in turn is reflected in current discourses of translation particularly in the field of audiovisual translation which already suggests a blurring of translational modes.

Following a social constructionist perspective, this work argues in favour of conceptualisations of translational activity which regards translation as a fluid, dynamic concept. The notion of practice, as realised in particular events, accounts for the specific individuality of translational activities while recognising their situatedness. By moving away from taken-for-granted understandings in traditional TS, this work encourages a critical re-thinking and re-evaluation, i.e. a negotiation, of our current conceptualisations of translational modes which takes into account central as well as non-central translational practices.

Overall, by situating the study academically in TS, by providing a theoretical foundation, which regards translation as social practice which is realised in translational events, and

by suggesting a methodological approach that accounts for the analysis of non-central, multimodal translational activities that involve non-written, visual-gestural language, I lay essential foundations for similar future studies; I addressed the first aim of this study, i.e. "to contribute to opening up the field of translation between written and signed languages". With my analysis, based on an interdisciplinarily extended framework that borrows from literacy and multimodality studies, I was able to investigate the translational mode in this event and argue for a re-evaluation of a binary categorisation of TEs by paying particular attention to the linguistic modalities involved, thereby "to contribute to our understanding of the impact of language modalities on translational events and our conceptualisations of translational modes" (Aim 2). Finally, with the analysis of the sign language TE and the aim to *negotiate* this data with existing ideas rather than to *integrate* this new kind of data into existing ideas, I "contributed to enlarging our understanding of TS and to de-centralising the discipline by challenging conceptualisations that have been based on dominant practices involving written/spoken majority languages with a focus on translational practices involving signed, i.e. unwritten, visual-gestural minority languages", thereby fulfilling aim number 3.

8.2 Looking Back: A Critical Evaluation of the Study

Research on translation between written and signed language to date is rare, with a considerable proportion of the few studies available only having been published during the course of this research project. Investigating a topic as new and under-researched as this was equally exciting and demanding, leaving a researcher with many relevant and original topics as well as the freedom of choice of how to approach a study. At the same time it posed challenges due to the absence of role-model studies that focus on similar questions. This section addresses some of the challenges, limitations and achievements of the study by considering aspects of the present theoretical frame first and of the methodological approach thereafter.

8.2.1 Evaluating the Theoretical Approach

Without sound conceptual, theoretical and methodological internal foundations for the investigation of written-sign translations, an interdisciplinary approach was regarded as fruitful to provide a solid basis for this study. The essentially two-fold, prototype-based conceptualisations of TEs in TS, favouring practices at home in dominant literacy-focused societies, was regarded as restrictive for the application to multimodal practices. Looking towards literacy studies and multimodality research and introducing the notions of practice, events and affordances for the investigation of language modalities in TEs, enabled me to challenge this essentially two-dimensional categorisation. Moreover, this provided an approach that moved away from attaching autonomous powers to linguistic modalities but instead takes into account the social, cultural context.

Developed with a view to understanding phenomena which range across subject areas, interdisciplinary frameworks unsurprisingly bring concomitant problems. Translational issues as well as signed languages remain largely undiscussed in the New Literacy Studies to date. Nevertheless, by placing emphasis on the plurality of literac*ies*, and the differences between dominant and vernacular practices, as well as the notion of colonial literacies, cross-cultural relationships of literacies are part of the framework. An extension to account for TEs (as already demonstrated by Baynham 1993 who, without extensive reference to TS, discusses the activity of sight *translation/interpreting*) is not difficult. Nevertheless, there are some limitations as to what this theoretical foundation may offer. This particularly relates to the investigation of signed languages in such an event.

Although conceptually the ideological model of literacy, which served as one of the bases for this study, moves actively away from singling out the discussion of different modalities, the focus, as implied in its title, is still on *literacy*, i.e. the use (that is production and reception) of and attitude towards *written* language. Although written text is an essential part of this event, which therefore qualifies as a literacy event, the signed modality of the TT is just as important. Particularly considering the status of written languages compared to unwritten languages, it is problematic to take literacy as a starting point, again placing emphasis on the 'centre' and marginalising non-written practices. Although subscribing to the ideas proposed by the New Literacy Studies, particularly their emphasis of acknowledging the social dimension involved, I felt it more appropriate to investigate this study as a translational (rather than literacy) event and to focus on the translational (rather than literacy) practices involved.

Drawing on the notion of affordances, a concept developed within environmental psychology over three decades ago, i.e. an area which is rather unconnected from the context of this study, had its limitations. Taken out of its initial environment by, for example, design researchers as well as, closer to our investigation, in multimodality studies by Kress (2003; 2010; see also Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; 2006; Prior 2005; and Lee 2007), the term has been defined in numerous ways and to suit various scholars' points of views, with different people picking up on different aspects of the concept. The present approach may be accused of falling into a similar trap. However, acknowledging its limitations and aiming to 'borrow', rather than adopt the concept, I considered its denotations useful in order to communicate the theoretical points of this case. Although this theoretical foundation is successful in what it aims to achieve, i.e. to account for the properties of the modalities without losing sight of a social dimension, another theory, arguably somewhat closer at home, might have been at least equally useful: Latour's (1996) *Actor Network Theory* similarly accounts for the role of human and non-human actors (including technologies and we may add the channels, i.e.

modalities, with which we produce language) and thereby provides a tool for the relationships between different (human) key players and texts, while being placed within a sociological framework. The theory has already been successfully used by Buzelin (2007b) in an ethnographic process-oriented study of a TE and is promoted by Brandt and Clinton (2002) to extend the ideological model of literacy. An investigation of translational modes (whether involving written and signed language or other modalities) under the framework of *Actor Network Theory* may offer further revealing findings.

8.2.2 Evaluating the Methodological Approach

The explorative, data-driven, qualitative methodological approach of conducting an ethnographic, authentic, multi-method case study has proved to be fruitful in analysing an event as under-researched as this. However, a few issues arose that deserve further reflection.

As re-enforced throughout this work, the event of this study presents an individual case, carried out by one particular TP in a specific social, cultural context, in a distinctive professional environment and at a certain point in time. If any of these factors had been changed, it is likely that the event and the strategies employed in order to produce a TT would have been different. It is worth restating that a single case study has its limitations in terms of generalisability. In order to make further-reaching claims about the impact of source and target text modalities onto translational practices, we would need a larger sample of cases. Instead of a statistical generalisation, however, the aim of this study has been to provide a generalisation that is based on "logical", "theoretical" or "analytic" inference (see, e.g. Susam-Sarajeva 2009 and Section 5.1.4 for discussion). Moreover, the focus on a single case enabled a thick analysis, which, considering the scope of the project, would not have been possible in a comparative study.

In terms of data generation, a considerably large variety of data was taken into account, which proved to be useful in order to account for the complexity of the situation and provided a rich picture of the event. There were limitations, however. I was unable to observe an important part of the process due to practical reasons. Carried out by the TP in her own time and space, partially on a train and away from home, the observation of part of the preparation phase was impossible not only because my presence would have been intruding on the TP's privacy, it was also unfeasible to plan for a schedule that would not disturb the authenticity of the event to a large extent. Instead I relied on the TP's account of what happened during this phase as well as documents, such as the voice recording, flipcharts and the TP's annotated ST, that resulted from this phase.

While particular emphasis was placed on the TP's perspective during this study, the analysis demonstrated that other key players further impacted on the process of the

event. It would have been additionally revealing to place more emphasis on their views and perspectives, including extended interviews with the commissioner as well as the members of the target audience. The commissioner particularly, himself a steering figure in establishing the process of the event with different roles, could have provided insights into strategic, translational and editorial choices; members of the target audience could have contributed by providing their opinion about the translation as well as their habits of using (or not using) the TT. This approach would have widened the reference points of this study, ensuring an enlarged social focus. However, considering the range of data sources of this study, the project did not allow for generation of further data. In fact, a large part of the generated data and analysis, particularly as concerns the TT, could not be included in the thesis due to time and, particularly, space constraints. Furthermore, a concentration on the TP as the main key player in the TE recognised the centrality of her role in the event.

Although this case study did not fulfil one of my 'desirables', to investigate a translation that is carried out by a Deaf TP, i.e. a BSL A-language user, the fact that the TP is hearing did not negatively impact on this study. While the particular background, including her audiological status, as well as cultural and linguistic heritage, was significant in terms of her approach to the translation, the same factors – in different ways – would have impacted on an event, had the TP been Deaf. As the TP herself states during the interview, ideally a translation into BSL should be carried out by someone whose A-language is BSL. As this case demonstrates, this is not always happening at the moment. Reflecting the reality, in which TEs of this kind take place, this supports the argument that the event is historically and culturally situated; in a different cultural context it would have been less likely that the translation would be carried out by a TP translating into her or his B-language. The workforce of sign language TPs is still dominated by hearing people translating bi-directionally, as has always been the case in sign language *interpreting*. Future studies focusing on Deaf practitioners may help promote Deaf-led TEs in this field.

8.3 Looking Ahead: Suggestions for Future Research

As the literature review in Chapter 3 demonstrates, we are only at the beginning of researching translational practices that involve written and signed languages. My overall goal was to situate the topic academically and to conceptualise the activity with a sound theoretical and methodological foundation in order to respond to the confusion that is apparent in terms of labelling and conceptualising the activity and the academic 'home' discipline that may cater for its investigation. This, however, can only be regarded as a starting point. Considering the 'newness' of the topic, areas of relevant and necessary research that move the discipline forward are numerous and diverse. In addition, this research raises questions for the wider discipline and with regard to practices involving

different combinations of modality pairs. With reference to Holmes's (1972/2000) 'map' of TS, I will propose some particular suggestions for further descriptive research in terms of product-oriented, process-oriented and function-oriented studies that emerge from this work.[92]

8.3.1 Process

This research falls under Holmes's category of process-oriented research (1972/2000:177). Holmes particularly refers to cognitive studies with regard to process-oriented research, i.e. those that aim to investigate "what exactly takes place in the 'little black box'". While mine focuses on the social and observable environment of the process, this research equally "concerns itself with the process or act of translation itself" (*ibid.*). Although emerging with an increased emphasis on sociological aspects in TS (e.g. Buzelin 2007a; 2007b), studies investigating the process are rare (cf. Chesterman 2006). Analyses of further events, whether with the same or other modality pairs, would be useful in order to investigate:

- The roles of the different key players involved in an event, their relationships, interactions and ways of collaborating.

My event already provided some interesting revelations regarding the collaborative practices between TP and commissioner. In order to promote an understanding of "translation as a collaborative act" (TP, I1:445-6), future studies need to investigate the issue further, by paying particular attention to the perspectives of the various key players involved and the networks which connect them.

- The different steps that are undertaken in order to produce a TT and to understand the processes of preparation and editing.

As this case demonstrated, a translational process involves a number of essential steps that go beyond the actual 'translational act', including preparation, development of translation drafts and/or prompts, revision, editing and collaboration. Each of these aspects deserves further attention in investigations of translational practice. Understanding these activities further will be of specific relevance for students and practitioners.

- The time allocated and needed for certain tasks and the social constraints under which TPs work.

As was shown in this research, TPs work under social constraints and towards socially constructed expectations of the key players involved. Although increasingly

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[92] Holmes's map of TS can be criticised for being too restrictive. Proposed around four decades ago, his categorisations are limited in characterising the range of existing and possible research projects. Without arguing that research can be unproblematically divided into process-, product- and function-oriented studies, I use these categories as a structuring aid to hint towards the diversity of potential future research in relation to this work.

recognised as essential parts of translational processes, such constraints are still largely under-researched. Only by understanding the reasons for socially constructed restrictions can we start a dialogue with the actors involved and improve the situation of TPs and other key players.[93]

Comparative studies of TEs involving different modality pairs would further increase our understanding of translational modes and the requirements and skills involved, while longitudinal elements would further reveal how translational practices are historically situated and emerging.

8.3.2 Product

One area that had to be ignored in this research due to time and space constraints relates to what Holmes (1972/2000) calls product-oriented studies, i.e. those that are "text-focused". With regard to my data, a number of issues arose, which are likely to apply to similar TEs also, and which centred on the following question: How can a written text (i.e. a text that is 'disembodied' in the sense of being physically separated from the text producer, that is easily editable and revisable, and that can be accessed in a non-linear fashion) be translated into a signed text (i.e. a text in which the presenter is necessarily visible,[94] a text that is produced in a process in which editing and revision are more problematic and one that is played back in an essentially linear way)? Moreover, which challenges are created when a text of a genre such as a linguistic academic textbook is translated into a language in which this kind of text has not traditionally existed and how do TPs overcome them? These questions may only be regarded as starting points. More particular queries regarding textual and medium-related aspects that emerged directly from this study included, for example: how does the TP translate a quote, a reference or a footnote? How does she deal with pictures and graphic text elements in the target medium? What features are included in the TT in order to enable navigation through the text? What are her reference points when she translates a text of this kind into BSL? Such queries may be related to lexical, syntactic, pragmatic or medium-based issues.

The question of how dominant source-culture literacy practices influence a TT might be particularly revealing, highlighting the ideological dimension involved in such practices. It is here necessary to relate these questions to a framework that does not consider literacy or the use of other language modalities as autonomous. Instead, acknowledging that literacy (and signing) practices vary across cultures, an approach which combines ideas of an ideological model of literacy with the notion of affordances as proposed in this study will be more suitable. Acknowledging that literacy and signing practices differ

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[93] See Chesterman (2006:20) for further suggestions in terms of process-oriented research.
[94] The only way of circumventing this aspect is the use of a signing avatar, i.e. a technology which is being further developed in various research centres (see e.g. Verlinden, Tijsseling and Frowein 2002).

across cultures, such an approach would be sensitive to the social and cultural context of the texts as well as to the constraints and opportunities related to the different modalities. It is only by including a dimension that further investigates the product that we will move towards understanding translational practices involving written and signed languages fully.

8.3.3 Function

According to Holmes (1972/2000:177), function-oriented translation research "is not interested in the description of translations in themselves, but in the description of their function in the recipient socio-cultural situation: it is a study of contexts rather than texts". Although context was regarded as highly important in the thick analysis of my event, a function-oriented study in this sense would bring the context element to a different level. Rather than starting with the local and relating this to its wider surroundings as in this research, the direction would be the reverse, moving from the macro to the micro. Studies of this kind will provide insights into the status of translation in signing communities and the impact on other social structures and cultural practices. Further studies might shed light on the reception of a particular translation of a written text in the Deaf community; they might investigate which kinds of texts are translated from written into signed languages (and vice versa) and which remain untranslated, and whose decision this is, thereby discussing aspects of import and export. We may ask what role translations play in signing communities, whether they contribute to Deaf empowerment and support the promotion, expansion and visibility of signed languages, or whether they have the reverse effect, supporting Hearing hegemonic views and thereby contributing to what has sometimes been referred to as "colonialism" (cf. Ladd 2003:78). In Cronin's (2003:142) words, is a translation between written and signed language "predator [... or] deliverer, enemy [... or] friend"?

With particular regard to the research question of this study, we may ask in what way TPs from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds conceptualise the activities they undertake as part of their profession. Do they regard it as *translation* or *interpreting*, both or neither? Emphasising a social-constructionist perspective, may we receive different answers depending on who we ask? What are the different expectations of different stakeholder groups? Rather than concentrating only on the target culture reception, a function-oriented approach might thereby further investigate the views of TPs. As was central in this study, a focus on practitioners may further promote their status as well as the recognition and understanding of translational practices in general.

8.4 Contributions and Applications

Although we are still at an early stage of understanding translational practices involving written and signed languages, this study, as one of the few dealing with the subject

matter and the first of its kind in terms of the theoretical and methodological framework it employs, is envisaged to make a significant contribution. Having placed the study within the wider field of TS and having made a beginning of conceptualising the activity by analysing its translational mode as displayed in this event, the study stabilises the foundations for this emerging field. Addressing one objective each, all of the main chapters (3-7) make a contribution to research in the area in their own right. Addressing conceptual issues of the topic and its academic position (Chapter 3) and developing a theoretical foundation with regard to the research questions (Chapter 4), this approach will be applicable to other translational practices and of further relevance to the area of literacy and multimodality studies. I have used an 'unusual' methodological approach which moves away from a text-centred analysis of a TE, but takes into account data sources as varied as handwritten notes, translation drafts, observations of the process, while placing particular emphasis on the TP's view. In this way, the study has provided an example of going beyond ST-TT comparisons and proposed an approach which is suitable for the exploration of a translational process (Chapter 5). This work thereby makes a contribution to methodological considerations in the wider field of TS and beyond. Chapters 6 and 7 reveal the particulars of one event and begin to answer questions about the role of modalities in TEs. Shedding light on the possible strategies of translating a written into a signed text as employed by one particular TP, this study provides a basis for comparison to other events (either involving the same or other ST-TT modality combinations).

The insights of this study contribute to a variety of disciplines, ranging from literacy and multimodality studies as well as other sociology-based areas, to more specifically the fields of Translation and Interpreting Studies and Sign Language Translation and Interpreting Studies, and most specifically the research on written-sign translation practices. The implications for each of these areas will be individually discussed in the following sections.

8.4.1 Contributions to the Field of Sign Language Translation

This study provides particular insights into the practice of translating written into signed language, laying the foundations for further study. By investigating the event as a multimodal literacy event which is informed by social practice as well as the affordances of the event, I highlighted the impact of the written and signed modalities on the event in terms of their affordances as well as the social practices to which they relate. The event neither resembles prototypical *translation* nor *interpreting*. The potentials and opportunities embedded in the event, and the TP's strategies employed in reaction to this, differ from other, more described translational practices. The study thereby reveals that the practice of translation between written and signed language does not match the prototypical translational modes presented in the literature. In order to account for the

activity, we should investigate it with a fresh eye; the notion of "translation as social practice" provided a suitable framework.

My study stands out from other studies that aim to conceptualise the activity of translating between written and signed languages by arguing that the event is socially, culturally, socio-professionally, historically and individually situated. I argue that the event is steered by the individual TP's approach, which itself is based on her own individual social, cultural and professional background. With implications beyond this particular activity, such events are socially constructed, and in flux. By promoting an awareness of requirements in terms of time and money as well as technological aids, we may improve the situation that TPs find themselves in.

8.4.2 Contributions to Translation Studies

With my analysis based on a framework that puts the social context into the foreground, this study challenges previous assumptions about the conceptualisation and categorisation of translational modes. Whereas the literature has conceptualised translational modes as preconditioned by a set of parameters (whether single or multiple) which are particularly linked to the modalities of source and target text, the study reveals that the translational mode is not so much determined by the 'fixed', preconditioned attributes of an event alone, such as the nature of the source or target text, but by the key players' choices. The characteristics of the event were flexible and constructed by the agents, based on their perceptions of translational practices, with influences on the timeframe, as well as the aids and strategies employed. This was most apparent in the TP's choice of including a voice recording of the read ST, which revealed that even the modalities of source and target texts were not fixed. My findings pose questions on the reliability of the models proposed within the literature. While definitions of *translation* and *interpreting* that are based on ST and TT modalities alone have already been questioned and problematised, we may ask other additional questions: Do *translators* really and *per se* have more time than *interpreters* to prepare and revise texts? In the absence of the primary participants, which opportunities do TPs employ to collaborate and co-construct a translation actively? Only by exploring a variety of events and by comparing them with other cases can we come closer to finding the answers. It is particularly important to investigate such questions with regard to dominant practices such as literary *translation* between two written majority languages, as well as more peripheral ones, such as, for example, sight *translation/interpreting* in an asylum seeker's interview, or subtitling. I have provided a theoretical and methodological basis on which such questions may be successfully addressed.

By deconstructing our binary understanding of translational modes, it is hoped that this study contributes to an exchange between *translation* and *interpreting* scholars. By

arguing that the boundaries between *translation* and *interpreting* modes are blurred and increasingly so in an age where multimodality dominates our communication practices, the field of Audiovisual Translation Studies is already making some efforts in departing from a dichotomous division. Although my aim is not to deny that different translational modes may carry different characteristics, many of the social, cultural and ethical considerations are common in all translational practices (as already argued in the contributions to Schäffner ed. 2004). One area of fruitful exchange might be found in an application of the participatory model of *interpreting* (Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000; Turner 2007c) to *translation* events.

By placing emphasis on the aspects of literacy and orality in the present framework, I respond to Cronin's (2002) and Tymoczko's (1990) calls to include the notion of orality in our understanding of translational practices. The approach followed in this study supports a framework that deconstructs a big divide between speech and writing and that moves away from a model that regards literacy as an autonomous entity. This approach stresses the social and cultural circumstances in which oral, literate and signed texts are produced, by placing emphasis on the people involved and by recognising the ideological implications. Unlike Ong (1982), whose work has been promoted in TS, this framework thereby contributes to the call for orality in Translation and Interpreting Studies without relying on a model with an ethnocentric starting point. This goes together with the call to enlarge the discipline of TS by actively including contributions that are not rooted in dominant Western centres, or based on dominant, majority, written language practices. By conducting a data-driven, ethnographic study that specifically searches for the particulars of a non-central TE, I was able to provide an example of negotiation of 'old' knowledge with 'new' data instead of an integrative approach.

This study contributes to the current trend in TS that draws on sociological theoretical frameworks. By regarding translation as social practice we are moving the discipline forward by making a connection between the local and the wider context, and between the social and the cultural. Such studies are innovative in terms of the methodologies employed to investigate translational issues. By investigating the more abstract translational practices through concrete, observable events, we are eventually able to understand translation more generally, while the connection to real-life activities is maintained through data-focused, data-driven studies. Ethnographic accounts have proved useful to fulfil such an aim (e.g. Wolf 2002; Buzelin 2007a; 2007b), as was additionally demonstrated in this study. By using a non-traditional approach of generating data from a whole range of sources and of varying ontological origin, including interview data that investigated the TP's perspective, observation which revealed my own perceptions of the event, as well as analyses of textual and document

data including the translation drafts and prompts produced by the TP, I provided a thick description of a TE. This study thus offers an example where the micro and the macro are related. Overall it makes conceptual, theoretical and methodological contributions to the field.

8.4.3 Contributions to Other Fields

My analysis of the social and affordance-based impact of the modalities on a TE further advances the field of literacy studies. I argue that the ideological model of literacy needs to account for the inherent features of the modalities (see also Brandt and Clinton 2002). The notion of affordances offers a framework with which we can investigate the 'stuff' of the modalities without losing track of the social dimension. My investigation of translational aspects in literacy events provides another dimension to the analysis of cross-cultural analyses. Considering the intrinsic connectedness of ST and TT in a translation, our attention is directed to the differences and explicit relationships between literacies. Furthermore, the present emphasis on cross-modal translation reinforces the deconstruction of the big divide between different modalities, and orality and literacy. Finally, by investigating literacy practices that take place in signing communities we may provide further data of communities in which literacy is new, or in which literacy practices are potentially very different from those in other cultures or communities. The fact that I have specifically concentrated on the use of a visual-gestural language in a literacy event supports the long-overdue revelation that sign languages may equally contribute to literacy events.

An investigation of the various kinds of literacy practices that take place within signing communities will be equally revealing for Deaf Studies, sign linguistics and research on Deaf education. The framework proposed in this study will help understand the way Deaf people use writing according to the social and cultural context in which the activity is embedded. Instead of regarding literacy as a skill, which Deaf people may or may not achieve according to dominant standards, an ideological model of literacy reinforces that vernacular practices are equally part of the notion of literacy as dominant ones. What may be perceived as a lack of 'ability' to write according to dominant standards may in fact be part of cultural and social practice. More research needs to be conducted in this area. This study further suggests that writing may be replaced or accompanied by sign language in certain events. Given the increase of multimodal texts in general, there are indications that academic, didactic genres as well as others that previously only existed in writing will become more commonplace in recorded signed language. I predict that projects, such as the one described in this study, will promote the emergence of such practices and lead to the increase of similar texts originally produced in BSL and other visual-gestural languages with inevitable effects on the recognition of sign languages. The event of this research, initiated by the Deaf target users themselves, set an encouraging

example of promoting the development of academic discourse in BSL, empowering BSL users to access information in their preferred language and raising the status of signed language.

8.4.4 Practical Applications

Sign language *interpreting* theory, often created by practitioners themselves (see Section 3.2.2), is traditionally applied. This study is in many ways more theoretical, thereby filling a gap in the discipline. Despite its theoretical focus, this research has practical implications. First of all, it describes the emergence of a new activity, for which neither training nor accreditation is available in the UK at the moment. As the study demonstrates, the TP develops and refines the process with each event and in collaboration with other key players. It was apparent that there were no standards as regards the process, the product or terms and conditions in the situation in which the event took place. An increased understanding of the activity, which was supported by this study, will help us to recognise the requirements involved in an event of this kind and thereby to make informed decisions on setting realistic deadlines and adequate payment. Furthermore, standards in terms of translation quality should be introduced, which should be provided through training and registration of qualified writing-sign translators. TP novices and students should be equipped with the resources and strategies that are available for this kind of translation. Training should therefore account not only for the prototypical translational modes in Deaf communities, i.e. particularly bi-directional community *interpreting*, but for a variety of translational practices, including the emerging one which deals with translation between written and signed texts. This would further encourage the inclusion of Deaf TPs in training and contribute to balancing the sign language translation workforce. This study outlines some of the issues at stake, the constraints and opportunities faced by the TP, her strategies of dealing with certain challenges, as well as her reflections on how to improve the process in future event. I hope that, together with other emerging research, this research will contribute the foundations of a (robust, yet flexible and challengeable) model of best practice that will feed into training and decisions of policy-making.

8.5 Final Remarks

With my theoretical foundations, my methodological approach, the aim to negotiate the insights from non-central data with previous conceptualisations of translational modes, I have set an example of conducting a study that accounts for the emerging translational practices that are part of today's communication explosion. With this ethnographic case study, I hope to have stimulated a dialogue, which will move the field forward with benefits for practitioners, students, trainers and researchers alike, i.e. those who deal with the practice of translating across modalities, and beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Information Sheet and Consent Form

<div align="center">

INFORMATION SHEET

</div>

THE AIM OF THIS RESEARCH

My name is Svenja Wurm and I am a postgraduate research student in the Department of Languages and Intercultural Studies at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh. This research will be part of my PhD work. I am investigating translation from written into signed language. The aim of this research is to describe and analyse the process of this kind of translation and the intermodal shift from written into signed language.

YOUR ROLE IN THIS RESEARCH

You have been invited to participate in this research on the basis of your professional position and expertise in this kind of work, as well as your involvement with the translation of "Explaining Second Language Learning", chapter 2 of *How Languages are Learned* by Patsy Lightbown and Nina Spada.

Your translation of the above-mentioned text will form the basis of a case study, which constitutes an important part of this research. Different components of the case study will provide a rounded picture of the issues present in this particular translation of a written text into a signed text:

- Interviews with you as the translator and as an expert in the field will be carried out at different stages of the process of the translation and will provide first-hand data to reveal a deeper understanding about the process and issues involved in this translation by way of providing a perspective of a practitioner and expert in the field.

- Further participation in order to gain deeper access to the process and issues involved in this kind of translation will be discussed with you at the first interview.

- In addition, an analysis of parts of the source text and your target text will be carried out. This will not necessarily involve you directly.

Although this case study will constitute the main part of the data, further interviews with other practitioners in the field may be carried out at a later stage in order to provide further perspectives and different experiences.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your expressed permission (see consent form, page 3).

Your involvement in this research will contribute to building an overall understanding of translations between written and signed language, an area which to date remains widely unexplored in the research and teaching of sign language interpreting and translation.

The findings of the research will be shared and/or discussed with you at any stage of the research, if wished.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may stop, review and edit the recording at any stage. You may withdraw from this research without prejudice or negative consequences. If you wish to do so, please contact one of the contact persons within three months after the end of the final interview.

CONTACT DETAILS

If you have any questions, please contact me:

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If you have additional questions or concerns, you can contact my supervisor Professor Graham Turner:

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CONSENT FORM

Title of the project: Translation from written into signed language

- I have been informed and understand the purposes of the study.

- I have been informed of the general nature of the project and why my co-operation is beneficial to the project and its anticipated outcomes.

- I have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

- I have been offered the opportunity to receive feedback about the results of the study.

- I agree to participate in the study as explained to me.

- I agree to the interview to be recorded on video and dictaphone.

- I understand that written quotes from a transcription of the interview and information which might potentially identify me might be used in published material.

- I understand that I can withdraw from this study without prejudice. If I wish to do so, I will contact one of the contact persons within three months after the end of the final interview.

_____ _____ _____

Name of participant (printed)   Signature of participant   Date

_____ _____ _____

Name of researcher (printed)   Signature of researcher   Date

Appendix B – Developing Research and Interview Questions

(Taken from Mason 2002:67ff., prepared January 2008)

<u>Research Area</u>
TRANSLATION between written and signed languages

<u>More specific research area</u>
TRANSLATION from written (English) into recorded (BSL) signed texts with a focus on academic texts.

<u>Research Questions</u>
PROCESS
- Is TRANSLATION from written into signed language an act of translation or an act of interpreting?

    - Is the activity repeatable?
    - Does the TRANSLATOR have access to the whole text or portions of it?
    - Do source and target text production and reception happen dependently or independently from each other?
    - Are there any time restrictions for the production of the target text?
    - Are the communicants in the same place?
    - What is the mode of the source text (written/spoken/signed with or without use of technology)?
    - What is the mode of the target text (written/spoken/signed with or without use of technology)?

TRANSLATION ISSUES AT MODALITY LEVEL
- What are the issues/problems in a TRANSLATION from written into signed texts?

    - Are they linked to
        - The fact(?) that we write differently from the way we speak or sign(?)/that practices are different in writing and signing?
        - The availability/lack of availability of established genres in written and signed modalities?
        - The direct presence of the audience?/lack of direct presence of the audience?
        - The 'technology' involved?
        - The newness of the situation?
        - A lack(?) of training in situations of this kind? / A lack(?) of theory available for such a situation?
        - The power imbalance between ST and TT and 'literacy' and 'non-literacy'/or dominant and vernacular literacies?

<u>Research stages</u>
1. In-depth, fairly unstructured interview with the TRANSLATOR of chapter 2 of *How Languages are Learned* in order to find out about her background, what she intends the process to be, and what she envisages the problems/issues/difficulties to be
    - to establish what the issues are in this TRANSLATION.

2. 'Watching' the process (*how?: Direct observation with interviews? Videoing of process? Interview in the middle of the TRANSLATION Process? 'Talk me through the issues of a particular passage?'*), in order to find out about the process and to observe what the issues are and how the TRANSLATOR deals with them.
    - what is the process? What are the difficulties? How is the TRANSLATOR dealing with this?

3. Analysis of the TRANSLATION (ST and TT comparison with regard to specific issues established in 1 and 2)
    - What has 'changed'? How did the TRANSLATOR deal with certain issues?

4. Follow-up interview to find out about the intention of the TRANSLATOR and to probe my findings.
    - Testing my findings.

5. Possibly: Interviews with other TRANSLATORS who have done similar work in the past
   ➢ To get more perspectives
   ➢ To get a Deaf perspective

Interview Questions: Interview 1

I need to tell:
- Doing research on TRANSLATION from written into signed texts
- I am interested in her TRANSLATION of chapter 2 of *How Languages are Learned?*
- Particularly I am interested in two things:
  - the process of the TRANSLATION
  - the shift from writing into sign.

I am asking about::
Background
(establishing the experience of the TRANSLATOR with regards to this TRANSLATION):
- Qualification/Training
- Previous work
  - Majority of jobs undertaken in the past and now
  - TRANSLATIONS between written and signed language in the past?
  - Jobs in relation to this job:
    - What is different?
    - What is similar?

Process of the TRANSLATION (interpreting or translating?):
Core questions
- What is the process of this TRANSLATION?
  - What is she planning to do? Talk me through the different steps.
  - In how far does the process differ from other jobs/is this similar to other jobs?

Probing questions
- What is the mode of the source text (written/spoken/signed with or without use of technology)?
- What is the mode of the target text (written/spoken/signed with or without use of technology)?
- Does the TRANSLATOR have access to the whole text or portions of it?
- Do source and target text production and reception happen dependently or independently from each other?
- Are the communicants in the same place?
- Is the activity repeatable?
- Are there any time restrictions for the production of the target text?
  - How much time does the TRANSLATOR intend to spend on preparation of the TRANSLATION?
  - How will she prepare?
  - Does she work on the whole text 'at once' or on portions of it at the time?

Intermodal TRANSLATION
Core questions
In the eyes of the TRANSLATOR:
- What will be the issues/problems/shifts in this TRANSLATION?
(> what does the TRANSLATOR envisage to be the issue? Does she envisage the intermodal shift to be a problem herself?)
- Are there any features of the written texts that might be difficult to be TRANSLATED into a signed text?
- Are there any features of the written texts that will be different/have to be 'changed' in a signed text?
  - What are they?
  - Why?
- What is her frame of reference? Are there parallel signed texts? Does she import 'written' features into signed language?

Probing questions

- Are modality shift issues related to:
  - more 'technical issues' of the modalities, such as how to have a footnote/reference on a video or in a signed mode?
  - Or are they related to register?
  - Do we write differently from the way we sign?
  - Are writing and signing 'compatible'?
  - Or are they related to genre?
    - Or are they related to a lack of terminology/jargon?

Process and Intermodal TRANSLATION

- Did the TRANSLATOR'S training prepare her for this TRANSLATION? / Are there any theories that help her make these decisions?
- Can she refer to her experience?
- Can she refer to other people's advice?/'copy' other TRANSLATORS?

Appendix C – Interview Questions: Interview 1 (18/02/08)

I need to tell:
- Doing research on TRANSLATION from written into signed texts
- I am interested in her TRANSLATION of chapter 2 ('Explaining Second Language Learning') of *How Languages are Learned* by Patsy Lightbown and Nina Spada*?*
- Particularly I am interested in two things:
  - the process of the TRANSLATION
  - the shift from writing to sign

- Interview
  - o Will last around 1.5 hours or so
- 3 areas I would like to ask you about:
  - Professional background
  - Process of this TRANSLATION
  - more specific issues that you feel are important in this TRANSLATION.

  - Generally very flexible, might jump between the topics.

I. BRIEFLY: BACKGROUND *(ESTABLISHING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE TRANSLATOR WITH REGARD TO THIS TRANSLATION):*

Can you tell me a bit about your professional background?

- *Qualification/Training*
- *Previous work*
  - *Majority of jobs undertaken in the past and now*
  - *Teaching?*
  - *Academic work?*
  - *TRANSLATIONS between written and signed language in the past?*

II. PROCESS OF THE TRANSLATION (INTERPRETING OR TRANSLATING?):

Can you tell me a bit about this job?
  - *Series of jobs*
  - How does this job compare to <u>previous jobs</u>:
    - *In terms of process:*
      - Are there <u>similar</u> jobs?
      - Are there <u>different</u> jobs?
      - What is different?
      - What is similar?
      - Is anything '<u>unique</u>'?
  - What makes this (kind of) job more <u>challenging</u>?
  - Is there anything that makes this job <u>easier</u> than others?
  - Is there anything that makes it <u>more difficult</u>?

Would you call this a translation or an interpretation?
  - o Why?
- What are the <u>differences</u> between a translation and an interpretation?
- (Can you give me a definition?)
- What makes <u>translating easier than interpreting</u>? What makes it harder?
- What makes <u>interpreting easier than translating</u>? What makes it harder?
- Are there <u>sign language translations?</u> What are they?
- Were there always sign language translations?

II. PROCESS 2

Can you talk me through the different steps of the process?

  - *Will you do any preparation? Have you done any preparation for it?*
  - *How much time do you have to prepare? How much time do you intend to spend on it?*
  - *How will you prepare?*

- aids,
- notes,
- practice,
- edit,
- feedback
- ...

- *Will you produce different versions of the target text?*
- *How will you record the target text?*
  - *[autocue? Memorise? Do it there and then...?]*

- *Will you work on the whole text? Do it bit by bit? (Does that make it different from other jobs?)*
- *Does it matter that ST and TT production don't happen at the same time?*
- *Will there be an audience? Does it matter?*

- Is this a text book version?
- What happens in reality?

III. INTERMODAL TRANSLATION

What do you think will be the issues in this particular TRANSLATION?
- Anything particularly challenging
- Anything particularly easy
- Anything different from other jobs

What is the aim of the TRANSLATION?
- Will the TT stand on its own? Will it be used with the ST?

Are there any features of the written texts that might be difficult to be conveyed in the signed target text?
- How would you describe the source text?

- Are there any features of the written texts that will be different/have to be 'changed' in a signed text?

- What might they be?
- Why?
- Have you thought about this before? Did you see this as a problem?

- *Are modality shift issues related to:*
  - *more 'technical issues' of the modalities, such as how to have a reference on a video or in a signed mode?*
  - *Or are they related to register?*
  - *Or are they related to a lack of terminology/jargon?*

What is your frame of reference? What do you have in mind for the target text? What do you base the target text on? Are there parallel signed texts?

IV. BACKGROUND

- Did your training prepare you for this TRANSLATION?
- Are there any theories that might help you making decisions?
- Can you refer to other experiences?
- Do you use your experience of sign language interpreting – or are you trying to copy the process of written to written translations?
- Can you refer to other people's advice?/copy other TRANSLATORS?/signers?

V. PLANNING THE NEXT STAGE

Could I be involved? How?
- Journal
- Camera?
- Observation?
- Additional interview, go through the text together (before or after?)

Appendix D – Interview Questions: Interview 2a (27/2/08)

1. How did it go?

2. Was there anything that was particular to this text?

3. Was there anything that was particular to this TRANSLATION?

4. Process

5. Do you think you negotiated more with the commissioner than usual?

6. Do you think you included more of a review element here?

7. How much did you work on this before going to the studio?

8. How do you schedule the time?

9. Have you considered using a different cue?

10. Have you considered doing smaller chunks?

11. Have you considered watching the TT?

12. When you do another take, what is usually the reason for it?

13. You seem to be doing fewer takes than I thought you mentioned in our interview – is there a reason?

Appendix E – Interview Questions: Interview 3 (5/3/08)

Just some general questions... brief answers...

1. **How would you describe yourself to somebody you have just met? What is your job title?**
   a. Would this differ depending on who you are talking to?

      i. A sign language interpreter
      ii. Deaf person you meet at a party
      iii. A hearing parent from school...
      iv. A spoken translation specialist ...

   b. Would you say you specialise in some kind of work?
      i. Why?

More specific...
2. **What do you think is the difference between translation and interpretation?**
   a. Can you give a 'definition' of the two?
   b. Is there anything that is specific to translating? – anything that you can't/don't do when you are interpreting?
   c. Is there anything that is specific to interpreting? – anything that you can't/don't do when you are interpreting?

3. **Do sign language translations exist? [explain what I mean]**

   a. What are they?
   b. Are there differences between translations involving sign languages and translations between, let's say, two written languages?

4. **What about the work for the ToTs course? Was this a translation or an interpretation?**
   a. Why?
   b. Do you remember whether you were hired as a translator or as an interpreter?

5. **What do you think prepared you for this kind of work?**
   a. Your training?
      i. What exactly?
   b. Your experience?
      i. What experience?
   c. Theory/literature?
      i. Which ones?
      ii. Do you think you benefit more from Interpreting Studies / or Sign Language Interpreting Studies? – or do you think you benefit more from Translation Studies?
      iii. Collaboration seemed to be important for you in this job. Where does this come from?

6. **Can I go back to the beginning?**
   ➢ In relation to other professionals/people who do similar work to yours, do you see yourself as an interpreter or as a translator?
   ➢ What do you think they see you as?

To finish off, just some details that got left behind before about your background... You don't have to answer this if you feel that this reveals too much or whatever...

7. Would you mind telling me where were you trained to become an interpreter?
8. You were also involved in interpreter training, is that right?
   a. What did you teach?
9. You've also done some research, right?
   a. Focus of the research?
10. Were you also involved in 'policy making'? ASLI or whatever?

- *If I have forgotten anything, would you mind if I contact you again? – less formally and briefer...*
- *Confidentiality*
- *Publication?*

Appendix F - Transcription Conventions

(Based on Bloomer, Griffiths and Merrison 2005:43-8)

:	Elongation of the preceding sound.
(.)	Short pause.
(0.0)	Pauses of at least half a second.
?	Rising intonation.
.	Falling intonation.
' '	Fall-rise intonation.
____	Stressed word.
< >	Slower than surrounding talk.
> <	Faster than surrounding talk.
↑ ↑	Higher pitch than surrounding talk.
↓ ↓	Lower pitch than surrounding talk.
° °	Quieter than surrounding talk.
°° °°	Much quieter than surrounding talk.
CAPS	Louder than surrounding talk.