Irish Translators' and Interpreters' Association
Cumann Aistritheoirí agus Teangairí na hÉireann

Translation Ireland

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Editor, Mary Phelan

The Irish Translators' and Interpreters' Association represents the interests of translators and interpreters in Ireland and aims to promote the highest professional and ethical standards in translation and interpreting.

For more information on the work of the Association, along with details of how to become a member, please see the Association's website: www.translatorsassociation.ie.

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Editorial

Mary Phelan

The Irish Translators' Association, as it was then known, was established in 1986, a time when there were no courses in translation or interpreting in Ireland and very little research in Translation Studies. Over the last thirty-five years the landscape has undergone a huge transformation.

The first change is at the level of courses available. Translation courses are now available at undergraduate level at the University of Limerick and at Dublin City University. In addition, there are taught Masters programmes in Translation Studies in DCU, University College Cork, NUI Galway and Queen's University Belfast. DCU also runs the MSc in Translation Technology. The DCU and UCC courses are part of the European Masters in Translation (EMT) Network set up by the Directorate General for Translation at the European Commission. Trinity College Dublin is home to the MPhil in Literary Translation. At NUI Galway the MA in Conference Interpreting was established in 2008 and features Irish along with French, German, Italian and Spanish. At the University of Limerick, there is a Graduate Diploma course in Multilingual Software Development and Translation Technology and in 2020 UCD introduced a Graduate Diploma in Localisation.

Translation into and out of Irish is taught on some of the above programmes. In addition, NUI Maynooth runs an MA in Irish translation, the MA san Aistriuchán agus san Eagarthóireacht while Gaelchultúr in Dublin runs the Dioplóma Iarchéime san Aistriúchán.

As courses were established, research began, slowly at first but in recent years this has gained momentum with research being undertaken by academics working in the area but also some interesting work being done by Masters students and of course by PhD students.

The Translation Studies Network of Ireland (TSNI) was set up by Professor Michael Cronin (TCD) in September 2018 to 'bring together colleagues from across the island of Ireland with an interest in the study of translation and to provide a supportive environment for colleagues interested in pursuing research topics in translation studies.' A conference was held in Trinity College Dublin in October 2019 and a second is planned for Queen's University Belfast in 2022.

On the accreditation front, in relation to translation into and out of Irish, Foras na Gaeilge examinations are well established at this stage for translators who work in and out of Irish; 215 accredited translators and eight accredited editors are listed on the Foras na Gaeilge website.

Sadly, there is currently no course available in community interpreting, although there was one, the Graduate Certificate in Community Interpreting, from 2004-09 at DCU, where interpreters were trained in French, Polish, Romanian, Russian and Spanish. The lack of an appropriate accredited course is a real problem with regard to interpreting in courts, garda stations, hospitals, social protection and international protection.

The ITIA has raised this issue regularly over the last twenty years, along with the need for accreditation, in submissions to the authorities, but there does not seem to be any major desire for change as yet. However, there have been some interesting developments in recent times such as the Crosscare report on interpreting in social protection cases,[1] reports by Judge Bryan McMahon (2015)[2] and Catherine Day (2020)[3] and a subsequent White Paper on ending direct provision (2021) which address the issue of interpreting in international protection interviews and appeals. In late 2021, Mary Phelan and Annette Schiller were invited to join the Interpretation and Translation Working Group for the Implementation of the White Paper on ending Direct Provision set up by the International Protection Support Service (IPSS) at the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth.

The issue of standards in court interpreting was central to the Court of Appeal judgement in *DPP and HM and BO* (2021) based on transcription and translation of a digital audio recording of French-English-French interpreting for a defendant by Mary Phelan, Professor Christiane Driesen and Liese Katschinka. The judges found that the court verdict was 'unsafe and unsatisfactory' as 'due to inadequate interpretation' the jury did not receive an accurate account of the defendant's testimony, and ordered a retrial. This is the first such judgement based on inadequate court interpreting in Ireland and is particularly interesting because the interpreter was very well educated although apparently untrained in interpreting and unfamiliar with medical and legal terminology. A previous case, *DPP (at the suit of Detective Garda Patrick Fahy) and Darius Savickis* [IEHC 557], centred on interpreting in Galway Garda station by an interpreter who 'had no training or qualifications in the provision of interpretation or translation services' and was 'educated in ordinary level English at secondary school in Lithuania.' Apparently,

1 Do you speak English? A study on access to interpreting services in public social welfare offices in Ireland (2018)

2 Working Group to report to Government on improvements to the protection process, including direct provision and supports to asylum seekers (2015).

3 Report of the Advisory Group on the provision of support including accommodation to persons in the international protection process (2020).

the caution was not translated for the defendant and the interpreting provided was inadequate. Donnelly J. stated that:

> 62. It is for the executive and legislative branches of the state to provide the formal structures designed to ensure the appropriate quality of interpretation. The qualifications, skill level, and experience required to be permitted to act as an interpreter are matters within the domain of the legislative and executive branches. […] The fundamental issue is whether adequate translation was provided that permitted the accused to exercise fully their right of defence so that the fairness of the trial proceedings has been safeguarded.

Solicitor James MacGuill has been central to these and other cases. We hope that other solicitors follow his lead in highlighting the lack of standards in legal interpreting in Ireland.

By contrast, there have been many positive changes in relation to Irish Sign Language. TCD is home to the Centre for Deaf Studies, established in 2001, which offers a four-year Bachelor of Deaf Studies. The Irish Sign Language Act 2017 recognised Irish Sign Language and made provision for the engagement of verified, competent interpreters. Subsequently, the National Disability Inclusion Strategy 2017-2021 included provision for resourcing of the Sign Language Interpretation Service (SLIS) to increase the number of trained Sign Language and Deaf Interpreters, the establishment of a quality assurance and registration scheme for interpreters, and ongoing professional training and development. SLIS used this funding to explore how best to organise a register and the SLIS Register of Irish sign language interpreters (RISLI) became available in December 2020. Alongside the register, continuing professional development (CPD) is mandatory and sign language interpreters on the register must engage in and record CPD and provide evidence of work practice.

This volume consists of articles by academics based in Ireland and by Translation Studies students and as such reflects the move towards research. It opens with **Kathleen Shields**' reflections on three decades of involvement in teaching translation modules, how ideas changed over that time, and how her teaching and research evolved. Shields' trajectory began with dictionary projects, followed by work in the field of translation. She observes that 'translators are skilful writers and cultural intermediaries' and that 'teaching informs research and vice versa'. Over her career, she has applied a descriptive translation studies approach, looked at exemplary translations, and introduced specialised modules such as political translation.

Sabine Strümper-Krobb's research has focused on transfiction and literary translation studies. In her article in this volume, she considers the case of author Mary Chavelita Dunne who, under the pseudonym George Egerton, translated Knut Hamsun's novel *Sult* (1890) from Norwegian to English for publication as *Hunger* in 1899. Dunne/Egerton had an interesting life: born in Australia, she lived in Ireland, attended school in Germany, and eloped to Norway.

Alexandra Lukes does not deal with translation *per se* but considers the work of three people who have used language in unusual ways. Chace (1956) devised a type of intralingual translation in English based on sound while Van Rooten (1967) ingeniously combined French words to sound like English language nursery rhymes and Wolfson (1970) strived to make English words sound foreign.

Jamie Murphy and **Ciarán Mac Murchaidh** tackle performability, speakability, translation and adaptation in the realm of translated drama drawing on translation into Irish and other languages and providing examples from Shakespeare to Martin McDonagh.

Hannah Rice focuses on two Irish language translations of *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (1843). The first, by Fr Pádraig Ó Duinnín, was published in 1903 in the Gaelic Irish typeface. The second, by Maitiú Ó Coimín, was published in 2017 and is not so much a translation as an edited and adapted version of Ó Duinnín's work, with updated orthography and vocabulary to make the text more accessible to the modern day reader.

Danielle LeBlanc writes about two English language translations of Antonine Maillet's works published in 2004. The first is Barbara Godard's *The Tale of Don L'Orignal*, a translation of *Don l'Orignal* (1973), and the second is Philip Stratford's *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie*, a translation of *Pélagie-la-Charrette* (1979). Maillet is a prolific author in the Acadian language which is similar to sixteenth-century French and is spoken in Acadie, Nova Scotia, and other parts of Canada.

In an article based on data collected in England and Ireland, **Sarah Berthaud** discusses project managers' use of technologies. She addresses issues such as the ownership and maintenance of translation memories, the interpreting sector and continuing professional development.

How can people who are both deaf and blind communicate and how can others communicate with them? **Eimear Doherty** explains that while some people are born deafblind, it is more common for some people who are born congenitally deaf to become blind in adulthood. For example, Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller were both deafblind. Tactile sign language involves the use of touch to communicate with this group of people and communication methods are adapted

according to their individual needs. Tactile sign language interpreters work with deafblind people to help them communicate with others.

There has been a recognised link between interpreting and vicarious trauma experienced by interpreters. However, **Dylan O'Reilly** focuses on vicarious post traumatic growth. To do this, he devised an online questionnaire with thirty respondents plus three interviews to find answers to his research question, namely: Do interpreters who have experienced negative effects associated with working with trauma victims, in turn experience vicarious post traumatic growth? The respondents included conference, court, and community interpreters for spoken and sign languages who had experience of interpreting content related to the traumatic experiences of a speaker.

The Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 led to conferences being cancelled across the world and eventually to a move online. While the shift to online platforms may have proved successful in that it allowed conferences to proceed, what effect has this had on simultaneous interpreters' hearing? **Rosemary Hynes** surveyed 68 professional conference interpreters to explore this topical issue and find answers to three research questions: Do simultaneous interpreters minimise risk factors for hearing impairment in their working environment? Do simultaneous interpreters minimise risk factors for hearing impairment in their personal environment? Are simultaneous interpreters aware of the risk factors for hearing impairment in their working/personal spheres?

Christine O'Neill has kindly provided an explanation of the problems around the 2018 German translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Due to legal issues, only 200 copies were printed, and made available in libraries and academic institutions only.

I would like to thank three book reviewers for taking the time to read through books carefully and write reviews. **Siobhán McNamara** has reviewed *Ár dTéarmaí Féin* by Fidelma Ní Ghallchobhair; **John Kearns** has reviewed *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland* by Robert Looby, and **Christine O'Neill** has reviewed Leesa Wheatley's *Forging Ireland: German Travel Writing from 1785–1850.*

Indeed, thanks are also due to all our contributors who have made this volume possible. In addition, I owe thanks to James Hadley (TCD) and Susan Folan (NUIG) for recommending the work of their students Danielle LeBlanc and Hannah Rice (TCD) and Dylan O'Reilly and Rosemary Hynes (NUIG). It is wonderful to see such high quality, interesting research in literary translation and conference interpreting by Masters students. Thanks also to reviewers and proofreaders.

Reflections of three decades of translation studies

Kathleen Shields

> The word translation . . . which should be applied to scenery, acting and words alike, implies, or should imply freedom. In vital translation . . . a work of art does not go upon its travels, it is re-born in a strange land.
> [A note by Yeats in an Abbey theatre programme for the first production of Lady Gregory's Molière plays in 1909] (Gregory: 1910: 230-1)

Introduction

My understanding of this statement by Yeats is that translations can have a transformative effect on the languages and cultures in which they arrive. However, there are many popular theories and opinions about translations which do not take this view, and which tend to be rather limited and prescriptive: they concern translation howlers, jokes about bad translations, and ideas about what a correct or incorrect translation might look like. As an example of the latter I can cite an American suggested 'proper' translation of the opening sentence of the Camus novel, *L'Étranger*: 'Aujourd'hui, maman est morte'. 'The sentence, the one we have *yet to see correctly rendered* in an English translation of 'L'Étranger,' *should* read: 'Today, Maman died" ([my italics] Bloom 2012). Translation is seen as a treacherous activity and translators, when they make mistakes, are viewed as blunderers, or even worse, as traitors.

Of course, not all translations are as radical or as innovative as Lady Gregory's Kiltartan Molière. Many other translations of drama in Ireland through the twentieth century were hardly ground-breaking and linguistically rather conservative, often made using intermediary texts in English. While some ideas about translation have changed and evolved, others that have been around in the West since the days of the Bible are extremely strong, with the result that conflicting and recurring theories can be seen to co-exist, held in a kind of suspension. Before the advent of Internet memes, Andrew Chesterman developed the concept of **memes** in translation theory to describe ideas about translation that spread, develop and replicate, like genes. **Supermemes** are particularly resilient, for example the idea that translators should remain invisible and that translation is an ancillary activity that need not be acknowledged (Chesterman 2000: 8-14). Describing translations and contributing to awareness of their complexity is as important as it ever was.

It is not just in the popular imagination that translations and translating are overlooked. Increasingly, university colleagues tell me there is no need for language

reference works or publishing house dictionaries in the library. Nor is there much need for translators since software tools are all there on computers and smartphones in the form of DeepL or Google Translate. Yet the study of translators, the process of translating and translated texts themselves demonstrates that translators are far more than service providers or post-editors. They are skilful writers and cultural intermediaries. Moreover, examining translating and the resulting texts is not simply of interest as an academic pursuit but also important for translators themselves because it contributes to reflection on the profession. A desire to move beyond negative or prescriptive criticism and to understand the complexities of translations and the specifics of their production was what drew me to descriptive translation studies in the first place. What follows is not an exhaustive survey. It is partly memoir and partly a consideration of developments in translation studies in Ireland, from the perspective of samples from my own research and teaching in the field at third level, over three decades.

Starting out in translation studies, 1990-2000

I came to translation studies by choice, after completing a doctorate in literature and then working on large scale bilingual English French dictionary projects for Larousse and Oxford-Hachette. While the doctorate touched on bilingualism and languages, the question of translation was tangential. The solitary humanities researcher was working with examples of **parole**, instances of creation by writers in different historical moments. During this time, I did some translating of tourist literature, art exhibition catalogues and, hardest of all, economics texts. In contrast, dictionary writing was a specialised kind of translation, using very large corpora, machine readable searchable collections of words (such as the Bank of English, articles from the French press and bilingual Canadian parliamentary debates) in order to write dictionary entries that would enable users to create safe translations in the second, or less strong, language. Along with a colleague I also devised the framework for the Oxford pocket dictionary in Irish. With these bilingual bi-directional dictionaries, it was a case of looking at many citations to create a secure translation that would not be skewed by context and to warn users about context. The dictionary team was working with **langue**, in the great sea of language.

When I came to lecture in French the institutional divorce between language and literature perpetuated the divide between **langue** and **parole**. Yet I was discovering that many writers were also translators and that when languages are in contact, cultures are also in contact. With language contact, other extralinguistic factors, for example attitudes towards the languages, come into play (Weinreich 1979: 12). I began to read my way into the burgeoning field of descriptive translation studies,

which was still in its infancy then, starting with Eugene Nida, Roman Jakobson, Georges Mounin and moving on to Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett, Gideon Toury and others. Translations bring us back not only to cultural specifics, but also to the matter of the transmission of texts and ideas. During that period of nationalism and multilateralism José Lambert made some interesting points about the 'customs officers of literature' (2006) and the conceptual frameworks which exist in the minds of publishers, editors, authors, translators, and readers:

> My claim is that most of us have an indistinct, even medieval image of the literary world, and that we need to use more than one map to gain a more realistic and detailed view of literature and literatures … the maps show only standard languages characterized by a written tradition. This is what makes our language maps so interesting in terms of ideology. They are based on a familiar tradition according to which a language needs to be well institutionalized in order to be recognized as such (1991: 134-35).

Lambert's observation can be extended to beyond the literary world.

At the same time, I began to study the translation work of Irish writers through key moments of the twentieth century. Descriptive translation studies informed my approach to strategies at play in Derek Mahon's translations from French. For Mahon Irish writers tended to be too inward looking.

> [Their] assumptions and credulities were those of the Irish country people of the time, and the Irish, for many years, returned the poets' reverence with reverence for a poetry which evaded the metaphysical unease in which all poetry of lasting value has its source.

In a culture which has grown too ethnocentric, translation, an encounter with another culture, or other cultures, can become a way of expressing the poet's metaphysical unease (Shields 1995: 62). In this context, Antoine Berman's focus on the ethics of translation came as a breath of fresh air: 'l'essence de la traduction est d'être ouverture, dialogue, métissage, décentrement. Elle est mise en rapport, ou elle n'est *rien*' (Berman 1984: 16). 'The essence of translation is to be an opening, a dialogue, a cross-breeding, a decentering. Translation is a 'putting in touch with',

or it is nothing' (Berman 1992: 4). Berman introduced the idea of translation as a decentering force and an escape route from ethnocentrism. By drawing attention to how he as a translator positions himself in relation to the source text, Mahon shows a concern with the ethics of translation. Translating allowed him to create an alter ego whereby he could comment obliquely on the suffocating politics of Northern Ireland during the Troubles (Shields 1995).

At this time, I designed a new course, an introduction to translation studies for Masters students of French. A colleague warned me that I would be making a lot of work for myself, by engaging with multiple versions of texts instead of one, not to mention having to deal with a huge amount of jargon ridden translation theory. It goes without saying that teaching informs research and vice versa and that one learns a great deal from the questions that students ask. One student took issue with Susan Bassnett's idea that it was important to accept and describe translations, not to be prescriptive or to evaluate them. Did this mean that you shouldn't say that one translation was better than another? One answer to this question is that you can accept and describe all translations that present themselves as such but if you prefer one over another then at least you will know the reasons why as well as being explicit in the justifications for this preference.

My book *Gained in Translation: Language, Poetry and Identity in Twentieth-Century Ireland* was published in 2000. The motivation behind it was the indifference, even the wilful blindness to translation in approaches to twentieth-century writing in Ireland, both within the English-speaking and the Irish-speaking spheres, exceptions being the studies of Michael Cronin, Maria Tymoczko and Robert Welch (Cronin 1996; Tymoczko 1999; Welch 1988). Yet throughout the century exemplary translations stand out, both reflecting and shaping the time during which they were produced. These works defined and redefined the culture of the new nation; they challenged restrictive versions of cultures; they opened Ireland up to a wider Europe and the modern world. Retranslations afforded a cross-section through the century: in the early years, translations from Irish activated debate as part of the continuing effort to construct a national cultural identity. In the 1930s the translations and multiple versions (in French, English, Irish and Spanish) by the modernists Brian Coffey, Denis Devlin, Thomas MacGreevy and Samuel Beckett, worked against a narrow cultural nationalism to open Ireland up to other European traditions. As an example, I quote from a translation by Denis Devlin of Apollinaire's 'Chanson du mal-aimé' published in the magazine *Ireland To-day* in 1937:

Tráthnóna ceoigh éadrom is mé i Londain
Thánaig cladhaire óg dom dháil
Agus gnúis air mar ghnúis mo ghrá
D'fhéach sé orm go géar am bhuaireadh
Gur dhallas radharc mo shúl on náir.

Do chas sé suas port feadaíola
A lámha ina phóca is mé a leanadh
Ba dhóigh leat orainn idir na tithe
Gur i mbun Rua Mara scoilte a bhíomar,
Gurb é an tArm Eabhrach is mise an Forann.

Apollinaire's poem goes as follows:

Un soir de demi-brume à Londres
Un voyou qui ressemblait à
Mon amour vint à ma rencontre
Et le regard qu'il me jeta
Me fit baisser les yeux de honte.

Je suivis ce mauvais garçon
Qui sifflotait mains dans les poches
Nous semblions entre les maisons
Onde ouverte de la mer Rouge
Lui les Hébreux et moi Pharaon

Devlin's 'Amhrán an Leannáin Mhí-Amharaigh' imports Apollinaire's techniques of juxtaposition and surprise while placing popular song form into an urban, Baudelairean setting. The subject, a chance homoerotic encounter in the streets of London, must have been shocking for the time. Later in the century, translation, self-translation and multilingualism showed writers (Kinsella, Hartnett, Mahon, Heaney, Carson) continuing to question narrow definitions of nation and culture through the 1960s, after accession to the EU and during the Troubles. Translation was the very opposite of insularity.

Gained in Translation showed that translation was at the heart of writing that questioned dominant and contradictory ideas about national culture (one people, one language, one literature). Radical translations played an important part in shaping and reshaping what a country might look like. In twentieth century Ireland,

retranslations such as Thomas Kinsella's *Táin* or Frank O'Connor's *Midnight Court* were nodes where translation worked against restrictive ideas about peoplehood while redefining place and tradition in a modernising state. The focus of the book was not conservative translations, those written to support a regime, to preserve a status quo or advance a career, which were all questions that were to preoccupy me later. Now, from the perspective of having lived through a period of intense globalisation and with the resurgence of populist xenophobic nationalism, I wonder if I was a bit hard on cultural nationalism in the book. Translations need to be from and for somewhere specific. Landmark translations, along with conservative nationalistic ones, belong to the category of cultural goods that are important for debate about who we are and where we want to go. Otherwise, translations that are cut off from their roots feel bland and can feed into the equivalent of world music, approximating to the norms of the most dominant producer in the marketplace.

Translation controversies provide interesting case studies for research because they reveal unspoken assumptions about the cultures that are in contact. With Masters students of French, we examined translations from English into French and controversies arising from these. It became clear that attitudes to controversial translations involved attitudes to whole languages as symbolic objects. For instance, ideas about good or bad translations of Virginia Woolf reveal the increasing prestige of English and its growing dominance as a world language (Shields 1998). From these questions of prestige that inevitably arise with contact between two big languages, I later came to examine evolving and emerging attitudes in France towards English as a whole language. While interest in this area arose originally from working in translation studies it also grew out of my experience in lexicography and forms part of a whole other applied sociolinguistic story outside the remit of this discussion.

Collaboration and interdisciplinarity, 2000-2010

In the following years my research and teaching took me beyond the French department. In collaboration with colleagues at Maynooth from other languages in the university, I set up an interdisciplinary course for Masters students in 2007, an introduction to translation studies for students of French, German, Irish and Spanish (Mandarin Chinese came later). With participation from these colleagues and others from Ireland and abroad, I organised, along with a colleague from Classics, a translation symposium at Maynooth in March 2006 which led to the publication of a collection of articles, *Translating Emotion: Studies in Transformation and Renewal between Languages* (Shields and Clarke 2011). Drawing on cases from German, French, Portuguese, medieval and modern Irish, from printed works as well as film subtitling, the focus was on translators as agents. The book dealt with emotion at different levels of the translation process and brought diverse questions

to a topic rarely addressed in order to map out areas of enquiry: the translator as emotional cultural intermediary, the importance of emotion to cognitive meaning, the place of emotion in linguistic reception, and translation itself as a trope whereby emotion can be expressed.

The interdisciplinary MA module was accompanied by another involving practical translation for each of the languages taught. There was much to be discovered and learned from collaborative teaching and from guest speakers. Some of the students of Irish were published translators. While we were considering translators' roles, when we studied codes of practice from different countries, one student pointed out that the codes had not caught up with the Internet age. Software tools, localisation and what the French call *robotisation* (automation, or the idea that robots and algorithms are taking over human jobs) led us to question where this left the individual translator. A student from Argentina noted the separation between interpreters' and translators' professional bodies. In some countries there was a professional divide between literary and technical translators. A Chinese student was surprised to discover that the translators' association had no code of practice while the French students drew a distinction between the aspirational nature of charters as opposed to the practicalities of an ethical code (or *déontologie*).

World English, contact and conflict, 2010-2020

Within the framework of a themed MA programme in the School of Languages, titled Narratives of Conflict, I proposed a practical translation module, Translation and Conflict, for students of French. In 2014 the focus was on Rwanda twenty years after the genocide, translating different genres of text, including historical, journalistic, official, literary. The difference between Belgian and French texts was striking while some of the French-speaking writers involved in the Rwanda writers' project — such as Véronique Tadjo and Abdourahman Waberi — in hindsight expressed discomfort with aspects of the enterprise. Tadjo noted the linguistic and cultural remove in her novel *L'Ombre d'Imana* as she was writing in French about Rwanda, a country that was distant from Côte d'Ivoire, the country she knew well (Tadjo 2002). There was a double linguistic remove when her French text sold far more copies in its English translation.

Mads Rosendahl Thomsen notes the rise of 'traumatic literature' of wars and conflicts in the twenty-first century (2008: 103, 129-30). Readers of international literature come in search of windows upon other cultural phenomena 'looking for some exotic religious tradition or political struggle' (Owen 1990: 29). Teaching this course led me to investigate further the question of world literature and translation (or rather the lack of awareness of translation). The dominance of English as a supra-language in the age of globalisation has meant that world literature can

focus on the exotic while airbrushing out transmission of ideas, translation and the granularities of cultural specifics (Shields 2013).
In the case of Ireland, although it is a multilingual country (with for instance the 2011 census recording 182 different languages in use in the city of Dublin) the monolingualism of global English prevails. Multilingualism has not led to more translations or to agreement on what languages are to be translated.

> In the Republic of Ireland, a kind of US melting-pot model prevails, where everybody is expected to function through English and where the majority is made up of monolingual English speakers. It is important to distinguish between the 'multilingualism' of a society where languages coexist within a group and the 'plurilingualism' of the individual who can use more than one language (Shields 2016: 359-60).

English is, more than it ever was, the dominant language in Ireland to the extent that the current situation of multilingualism is likely to decrease over time.
Even with the older idea of *Weltliteratur* as a place of exchange between nations, it was translation into European languages that tended to guarantee an author a place in the pantheon (Shields 2010). In the twenty-first century, world languages, such as Arabic, Hindi, French, German, Chinese, and Russian are all yielding to English in the hierarchy of translations. David Bellos, who has studied the UNESCO statistics for the translation of literary works between seven languages between 2000 and 2009, comes to the striking conclusion that:

> Nearly 80 per cent of all translations done in all directions between these seven languages [Swedish, Chinese, Hindi, Arabic, French, German, English] over a decade — 104,000 out of 132,000 — are translations from English. Conversely, barely more than 8 per cent of all translations done in the same set are translations into English — whereas French and German between them are the receiving languages of 78 per cent of all translations (2011: 210).

Bellos's hypothesis is that the more prestige a language has, the higher it is on the pyramid and the more it is used as a pivot language for translations in and out of other languages. It can perhaps be added that when a language, such as English,

is a strong lingua franca and serves as an intermediary, there is little interest in translation among speakers of the language.

A key text for the study of translation and conflict was Mona Baker's book *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (2006), in particular chapter six, in which she outlines the strategies used by translators and the ways in which they manipulate or warp texts to defend a position or advance a cause. In 2018 when students translating texts relating to the Northern Irish conflict were assigned, or chose, political roles (for example to defend a position or advance a cause) the validity of Baker's observations was borne out in the ways that we found ourselves generalising, particularising and naming in our translations.

From 2016 to 2019 I designed and delivered an elective course for BA students in Advanced Translation Skills. The aim was to move beyond using translation to teach grammar in order to introduce students to ways of using different translation tools and to introduce different genres of text on topics such as politics, ecology and travel. A key text which exists also for German and Spanish and which I adapted for this course was *Thinking French Translation* (Hervey and Higgins 2002). I am pleased to say that some students went into areas of employment involving their translating skills after graduation.

From an initial focus on describing translated texts in the receiving culture, translation studies moved on in the 1990s to concentrate on translators themselves (Robinson 1991). The new century saw a preoccupation with the sociology of translation, for example in the work of Michaela Wolf. She stresses the need to conceptualize a methodological framework to account for 'the various agencies and agents involved in any translation procedure, and more specifically the textual factors in the translation process' (Wolf 2007: 1). In approaching the textual features my guiding questions continue to be, firstly, *how* does this translator translate and, secondly, *why* does she or he translate in this way? These questions very often lead to rewarding and illuminating answers.

In an article for a forthcoming volume on translation and nationalism, I have revisited Samuel Beckett's translations and self-translations in prose fiction in the light of some of his own essays on national and international literature. The establishment of translation studies as a discipline has led to an ever-increasing body of criticism about Beckett as translator. In many commentaries on writers and translation generally, not just in the case of Beckett, the same approaches to translated texts can still be observed (we're back to Chesterman's memes). For instance, the translator is viewed as a lone bilingual figure straddling two cultures and traditions while a hermeneutic approach to the status of the original versus the translation is followed. Or else the intentions of the translator are studied,

for example through reworkings of the texts or through translators' notes. Yet, as Susan Bassnett has asked, can we ever determine what goes on in the 'black box' of a translator's mind? Other approaches are psychoanalytical: what are the relations between the translator and the mother language and the other languages used? Finally, the reception approach of descriptive translation studies continues for me to be the most rewarding: what is happening for the reader of the translated text? One accepts that that the text is there in order to describe its function and its contribution to the receiving culture and society. All the above approaches are still present in the body of writing about Samuel Beckett's translations. It is striking how many models and approaches view the translator as a single figure whereas collaboration, teamwork and the demands of clients are all important factors, even in the literary self-translation of a writer like Beckett.

In addition to the *how* and *why* of translation strategies and decisions, my other guiding principle is to examine the situation in which a translation is produced, its historical moment as well as its conditions of production. The student of translation needs to be inside and outside the textual system simultaneously, or as Suman Gupta expresses it in relation to the production of literature:

> the relationship between globalization and literature is arguably most immediately to be discerned not in terms of what is available inside literature and within literary studies but in terms of the manner in which globalized markets and industries act upon and from outside literary studies. This requires a great deal more attention than it has received within literature and literary studies (2009: 170).

Because it is a concept that combines transmission, representation, and transculturation — the last being 'the transmission of cultural characteristics from one cultural group to another' (Tymoczko 2006: 27) — translation is an important pathway connecting inside to outside.

Conclusion

Translation studies is now firmly established in Ireland at many institutions. I was first attracted to the field because I have always been interested in the concrete examples of encounters between cultures and languages that translations provide. There is always something interesting and new to be learned from translations. While my initial approach to the field was via literary translation, the experience of teaching led me to wider aspects, such as questions of ethics, conservative and radical translations, conflict and contact situations and prestige of whole languages.

The study of translation is still as important as ever because translators are skilled transmitters of ideas who can reshape influential texts.

It is important for another reason. A backward look over three decades throws light on the periodisation of translation activity and the world in which it takes place. Descriptive translation studies began in the 1970s at a time of nationalism and multilateralism. From the late 1990s and the new century onward, globalisation saw the expansion of translation software, digitisation of texts, and machine translation, while the founder effect of the Internet made English the most successful and prestigious world language, for now. But the advent of big databases does not necessarily change ideas about translation, which, if anything, go even more unquestioned because the processes of transmission and means of production are concealed. With the more recent emergence of protectionism and xenophobic populism, translation studies will undoubtedly have a part to play because the very concepts of 'them' and 'us' and representations of the other are shaped by translations and their absence.

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Focus on the Translator: At the Intersection of the Fictional Turn and Literary Translator Studies

Sabine Strümper-Krobb

Two directions in Translation Studies have informed my research in recent years, both placing their focus firmly on the agent who drives the translation process and is commonly credited with facilitating communication between different languages and cultures. Against the backdrop of an expectation of the translator to be most 'successful' when he or she remains unnoticed – even if, ironically, this often requires quite substantial intervention in the translated source (Venuti 1995) – these approaches aim to make translators visible, both in the important roles they have played throughout history in the encounter between different languages, cultures and literatures, and as the embodiment of a modern existence in a globalized world of migration and hybrid identities. The Fictional Turn in Translation Studies has directed attention to the representation of translation in fiction, with fictional translators – either professional or accidental – the primary protagonists of interest (cf. Delabatista and Grutman 2005, Delabatista 2009, Kaindl and Spitz 2014, Strümper-Krobb 2009b). Translator Studies, meanwhile, places its main emphasis on the human beings involved in translation activities throughout history, thus countering a perceived over-emphasis within the discipline of Translation Studies on the process and product, rather than the agents of translation (Chesterman 2009, Pym 2009). In my research, I have written about both fictional and historical translators. With regards to the former, my interest has straddled different periods, literatures and languages (cf. Strümper-Krobb 2003, 2009b), while my focus on historical agents of translation is mostly on German and English translators who transmitted authors and works of the so-called Scandinavian Modern Breakthrough. Initially focusing on the relationship between individual and society and with a social-critical impetus, the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish authors of this period turned increasingly towards the psyche, irrational forces and the subject (Heitmann 2016: 186f.), and it was not least through their translators that they made a significant contribution to the development of European Literary Modernism in the last decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries (Strümper-Krobb 2007, 2020, 2021a and 2021b).

Sometimes, research areas intersect and overlap in unexpected ways. In the example discussed below, my search for an Irish angle to introduce a research talk at the University of Kiel, Germany, some years ago, about the translation of a Scandinavian literary text into English, presented me with such an intersection: a

case where a translator who was also a well-known writer fictionalizes her encounter with a Scandinavian author, thus directing my focus both on to the historical translator and her fictional representation.

Imagining translation and the translator

Over the centuries, different metaphors have been used to describe the product, process and agents of translation, affording insight into the concept of translation that prevailed at a particular time. Some of the more common metaphors, such as that of the translator as bridgebuilder or ferryman, frame translation as a transport from one place to another – transported contents will be conserved and protected, or they will be pillaged and exploited or, at the very least, forced to adapt to their new surroundings at the receiving side. Other metaphors conceive of the translator as potentially duplicitous, someone who is not to be trusted, who will manipulate and distort the message they transmit, either on their own behalf or on the behalf of those who provide them with patronage – the Italian wordplay *traduttore traditore* fits in here, as do images of a translation as counterfeit or forgery. Then again, the translator is seen as a slave, someone who is not entitled to their own identity or opinion but entirely beholden to their master (the original author or text). There is also the metaphor of the translator as a performer who carries out the most precarious of balancing acts. Some metaphors display a particularly gendered view of translation: the translator is imagined as the alluring mistress, leading the original author astray, the emphasis of the translation is on beauty rather than on faithfulness, as is indicated in the famous term *belles infidèles* which dates back to the 17th century and has in particular been used to describe domesticating French translations. In any of these metaphorical conceptions, the view of the relationship between original and translation is key. The often-assumed natural hierarchy between the sanctity of the original text and the translation as a mere derivate, can be subverted by images that envisage the translation as sucking the life out of the original, or by the understanding that any original already represents a translation of sorts, and that it is only in translation that survival, that an 'afterlife' is secured for any given notional 'original'.[1]

Metaphors describe an object or an action in a way that helps to explain an idea or to relate the object to a comparative foil while also adding colour to the language. Metaphors that are used to describe the translator or the translation process thus also appeal to the imagination, they compare the translation process or the translator to something the recipient might be familiar with from a different literary or cultural

1 The idea of translation as afterlife dates back to Walter Benjamin's seminal essay 'The Task of the Translator' (Benjamin 1992). On translation metaphors see Hanne 2006, St André 2010, Strümper-Krobb 2009a, and Strümper-Krobb 2016.

realm. Whose imagination wouldn't be piqued more by the idea of a dangerous journey across choppy waters, a conquest, an act of betrayal or forgery than by the linguistic process of recoding a text in a different language?

While translators themselves, in correspondence, forewords or translators' notes, and translation theorists, critics and historians in their articles and books, often use metaphors to make their subject matter more relatable to their readers, the imagining of the process, product and agents of translation has also become an increasing trend in fiction. In what has been termed 'transfiction' (Kaindl 2014: 4) – and can be observed in literature and in film (Cronin 2008) – the many different connotations associated with translation are played out in varying character constellations and plots while, at the same time, translation itself serves as a 'master metaphor epitomizing our present *condition humaine*, evoking our search for a sense of self and belonging in a perplexing context of chance and difference' (Delabatista and Grutman 2005: 23). However, while the concept of transfiction has certainly attracted increasing attention in recent years, with the editors of a collection of articles on the *Fictions of Translation* identifying in it the 'potential to provide insights into problematic personal and social situations such as displacement, migration and hybridity, all characteristic of the modern world' (Woodsworth and Lane-Mercier 2018: 2), there is a long history of literary works that feature translators, or include the theme of translation in some shape or form. Famous examples include Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (presented by the author as, in large parts, consisting of accidentally discovered old notebooks and documents originally written in Arabic) (Cervantes 2003: 67f.), and Goethe's *Faust* in which the protagonist famously and unsuccessfully tries to translate the opening lines of the Gospel of John (Goethe 1982: 44).

The transfiction text which I stumbled across in my search for an Irish angle on the transmission of Scandinavian literature into English was published at the end of the 19th century.

George Egerton and Knut Hamsun: A fictional encounter between author and translator

Born in 1859 in Australia as Mary Chavelita Dunne to a Welsh mother and an Irish father, Anglo-Irish writer George Egerton spent a good part of her childhood in Ireland. In a *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*, her father is listed as John Joseph Dunne, 1837-1910, and is described as 'traveller, journalist, writer on sporting subjects' (Room 2010). After working in Australia for some time, and then serving in the British Army, Dunne moved back to Ireland and became a supporter of Isaac Butt, founder of the Irish Home Rule movement, for which he served as secretary from 1870-1875. Dunne was later a prison governor, journalist and artist, and wrote

a successful guide to fly fishing, *How and Where to Fish in Ireland*. According to Iveta Jusová, his 'disregard for conventions and middle-class values' encouraged his daughter's own 'disdain for conventional lifestyle and thinkings' (Jusova 2005: 50). However, this unconventionality and unsteady existence came at the price of financial stability.

After her mother's death, money left over from what an uncle had sent to contribute to the funeral costs was used to enrol Mary, the eldest child, in a boarding school in Germany where she encountered foreign literatures, both German authors and modern Scandinavian works which she read in translation. Soon, she had to return home to help look after her younger siblings, later she moved to London and eventually took up a position as a travel companion for a Mrs Whyte Melville and her husband Henry Higginson (aka HHW Melville) – with whom she then embarked on an affair and scandalously eloped to Norway. Here, she learnt to read the authors of the Modern Breakthrough in the original – and apparently took a particular interest in Knut Hamsun's prose debut *Sult.* Higginson died in 1889 and in 1891 Mary married Egerton Clairmonte and moved to Ireland where their economic circumstances were so grim that she started writing stories in a last-ditch attempt at making ends meet and avoiding emigration to Africa where Clairmonte had previously lived (de Vere White 1958: 17).[2]

In 1893, John Lane, working for the liberal and progressive publishing house The Bodley Head, brought out a collection of stories by Mary Chavelita Dunne under the pseudonym George Egerton (Egerton 1983). With its emphasis on the expression of female sexual desires in innovatory and often fragmentary narrative forms (Shaw and Randolph 2007: 9), the book was an immediate success, so much so, that the publisher subsequently adopted the title of the collection, *Keynotes*, for a whole series of books by different authors, many of them female. Egerton became something of an icon of New Woman writing in late Victorian England, despite not being particularly invested in social or political equality for women.

In 'Now Spring has come', one of the *Keynotes* stories, the first-person narrator travels to a coastal town in Norway to meet a writer with whose work she has become infatuated. There is mutual attraction at first, but a second visit dashes any hopes she has for a joint future, and she leaves, devastated by his rejection (Egerton 1983: 37-67). It is generally acknowledged that the story fictionalises Egerton's encounter with the Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun – to whom she dedicated the entire *Keynotes* collection – after she had expressed her interest in translating his debut prose work *Sult* (1890). There is no doubt about the autobiographical nature

2 Looking at de Vere White's account of Egerton's encounter with Hamsun, any biographical information he provides on his aunt should probably also be treated with a degree of caution.

of the narrative – the book which sparks the narrator's interest is a clear allusion to Hamsun's *Sult*, and the comment that author and narrator were 'both of an age' (Egerton 1983: 48) references the fact that Egerton and Hamsun were born in the same year. Egerton ultimately did produce the first English translation of Hamsun's text, so the story can be read as a piece of 'transfiction', with Egerton herself the fictional translator protagonist. As the fictitious character shares many features with the author, the investigation also incorporates aspects of Literary Translator Studies. For what makes this case so interesting is that George Egerton's story about her own encounter with Hamsun intersects with the story of George Egerton as the first English translator of Hamsun's prose debut. The extent to which the fictional encounter can be read as a true account of the nature of Egerton's relationship with Hamsun, blurring the borderline between biographical fact and fiction, seems to have impacted on the assessment of her transmission of Hamsun's ground-breaking work, or, at the very least, obscured her actual translation efforts. Translation plays second fiddle to the nature of the relationship as a love affair and the female partner as somewhat obsessive.

The transfiction piece 'Now Spring has come' stages the (potential) translator as a (potential) lover of the original author, a fictional imagining of their relationship that seems to have informed many biographical accounts of both protagonists without much consideration of the poetic licence Egerton surely employed here. In his edition of Egerton's correspondence, her cousin Terence de Vere White quotes directly from the story to describe Egerton's impression of Hamsun: 'They met in a little town on the coast. […] She fell instantly in love with him. "I had felt no breath of it as maid, wife or widow". He was like "an American bison or lion. You might put his head among the rarest and handsomest heads in the world"' (de Vere White 1958: 45f.) The double quotation marks signal direct quotations from Egerton's story. However, this is not acknowledged and, it can be argued, easily overread. No distinction is made between de Vere White's biographical and Egerton's fictional accounts. In fact, by embedding passages from fiction into biography de Vere White enforces the view that the first-person narrator of the story and the author are indeed one and the same. A relative of Egerton, and himself an author of several novels and biographies, de Vere White is perhaps not to be expected to adopt the most objective perspective. However, Hamsun's biographer Robert Ferguson (1987: 117), while suggesting that Egerton's story may have changed the nature of the relationship slightly, similarly fails to distinguish much between autobiographical fact and fiction and takes the 'tone of her story' as proof that Egerton did in fact fall in love with the author and even proposed to him.

The story of the male genius author and the female translator who takes on the role of lover or mistress fits perfectly into one of the gendered master narratives of translation (c.f. Chamberlain 1988, Simon 1996). That this perception of her relationship with the author has over-shadowed Egerton's actual translation of Hamsun's work is not exclusively due to Egerton's story, though, nor to her own confession to her father that she was deeply unhappy because of the 'Hamsun affair' (de Vere White 1958: 18). Rather, Knut Hamsun himself played into this interpretation with remarks he made in a number of letters about his encounter with the potential translator. In September 1890, he wrote to Bolette Pavels Larsen:

> I have been in Arendal for business for a few days – just imagine! There was an eccentric Englishwoman who had obviously read Sult, and then she sent a telegram that she wanted to come. […] And now she wants to translate my books! By the way, the person is a widow, 29 years of age, very rich; I cannot remember her name, otherwise I would tell you. There is a bit of a story about her which was in the newspapers recently (in the Norwegian ones under the title: An English life story in Norway), but I don't remember any of it, as I didn't read it. (Hamsun 1994a: 204)[3]

The article, which Hamsun – not very convincingly – claims not to have read, probably referred to Egerton's relationship and elopement with a married man – a relationship that fits into a narrative commensurate with tabloid journalism readership. Hamsun's own presumption about the nationality or social status of his visitor may have been informed by this journalistic piece. In reality, Egerton and Henry Higginson lived together on a small estate in Norway which was left to her after his death, providing her with a small income but far from making her wealthy. At the same time, Hamsun's claim elsewhere that the visitor had proposed to him on the spot and that he would keep the widow's proposal in his back-pocket as an insurance, should he ever find himself in dire straits, reads very much like an anecdote of his own making, in which he attributes to himself a starring role (Hamsun 1994: 200). It does, however, contain an element of truth: If Hamsun saw anything in Egerton, it was most likely first and foremost a business opportunity.
For many writers of the Scandinavian Modern Breakthrough, being translated into other European languages was key to a financially viable career as a writer. The Scandinavian book market was small, and Scandinavian languages too peripheral

3 All translation from Norwegian, if not otherwise stated, are by S. S-K.

to create a sizeable reading or (in the case of dramatists like Ibsen or Strindberg) theatre audience. Like many contemporaries, Hamsun was keen to have his work translated, especially as *Sult* was initially not very successful in Scandinavia. In July 1890, for example, he asks the England-based Norwegian journalist and translator Hans Lien Brækstad for his opinion on the prospect for *Sult* to come out in English and suggests William Archer as a possible translator (Hamsun 1994: 178). In the same month he boasts that, in addition to proposals from German translators, an English translation of *Sult* is imminent (Hamsun 1994a; 185). However, some months later he contemplates the possible outcome of the visit from the 'eccentric Englishwoman' and suggests that 'If she wanted to translate my books and send me English pounds, I would be so terribly fond of her' (Hamsun 1994a: 185). Not only does this remark reveal that an English version of *Sult* was still purely hypothetical; it also once more shows Hamsun's tongue-in-cheek attitude to his flirtation with Egerton.

If one legend has been created around George Egerton's 'relationship' with Hamsun, allocating to her the role of a somewhat erratic, lovesick woman, another one emerged with regards to her translation of *Sult*, which was eventually published as *Hunger* in 1899 (Hamsun 1899). Initially not making much of a splash in the book market, Egerton's translation was republished after Hamsun was awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1920, for a different work, namely 'for his monumental work, Growth of the Soil' (The Nobel Prize in Literature 1920), in which he had left the innovative, modern narrative forms of his earlier texts behind and adopted a much more conventional, simpler writing style. Egerton herself prefaces the reprint of her translation, of which the English public 'never bought even the limited edition issued', with the hope that '[n]ow that 'Pan' and the 'Growth of the Soil' have won him admirers here', *Hunger* will also 'prove of interest' (Egerton 2003: v). However, it was when a new English translation of *Sult* came out in 1996, that a second myth around the translator Egerton and her work emerged, namely the assessment of Egerton's version as inadequate, heavily influenced by the morals of Victorian society and suppressing any features of the text that would run counter to conservative ideology or conventional narrative technique. Almost 100 years after Egerton's *Hunger* first appeared, Sverre Lyngstad introduced his retranslation of Hamsun's *Sult* with a preface in which he accuses his predecessor of 'bowdlerization' and unfaithfulness especially with regards to what he calls the 'explicitly erotic content' of the source text. His contention that the most Egerton 'allowed to slip through the Victorian censor that must have been operating at the back of her mind was a kiss or an embrace' (Lyngstad 1999: xi), is subsequently echoed in the English reception history of Hamsun's text more generally – the conclusion that the

translator 'deletes all the explicitly erotic passages' in *Hunger* is repeated, without any evidence, for example in the *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* (Classe 2000: 610).

On the one hand, the independent spirit of the female protagonist in Egerton's story who follows her spur-of-the moment attraction to an author whom she doesn't know by travelling to meet him, and who subsequently entertains the dream of a physical relationship with him seems quite at odds with the idea of the self-censoring proponent of Victorian values that emerges from Lyngstad's preface. On the other hand, both assessments have in common that they are espousing genderised clichés. Furthermore, the image of a female translator who has internalised the morally restrictive code of Victorian society to such a degree that she suppresses pertinent features in a source text also fits in neatly with the narrative of domestication dominating the history of translations into English (Venuti 1995) and, equally, with the traditional view that first translations in particular avoid contents and structures of the source text that might go against norms of the target literature or culture (Gürçağlar 2009: 232f.).

Obscured by the emphasis on the personal relationship between Egerton and Hamsun, as imagined in fiction and biography, and distorted by her successor's preface to his retranslation, Egerton's actual translational engagement with Hamsun's text deserves a closer look. In fact, an analysis of Egerton's translation shows that the translator does not hesitate to include descriptions of sexual encounters, or other erotic allusions that would have shocked Victorian society, nor does she conventionalize Hamsun's narrative style – all of which are features that show Hamsun's text as particularly innovative and which Lyngstad accuses his predecessor of having omitted. The mismatch between Lyngstad's evaluation and the actual translation is further confirmed when looking at the surprise a contemporary reviewer expresses about the fact that such unconventional writing would have seen the light of day at all at the turn of the century. Quite obviously struggling with the unconventionality of the fragmentary form and episodic structure of the text, the reviewer nevertheless acknowledges its 'graphic power, the audacious realism'. His conjecture that a passage referred to as a 'seduction scene' would not have been left unchanged by many London publishers highlights Egerton's disregard for Victorian sensibilities that publishers of the time would normally have been mindful of (Review in *The Academy*, June 1899, cited in Graves 1998: 33). In fact, as I have shown elsewhere (Strümper-Krobb 2021a), in her translation of the scene that describes an increasingly disturbing encounter between the narrator and a woman, Egerton follows the source text almost word for word, even where Hamsun himself exercised self-censorship for later editions of his text.

The translator George Egerton

The comparison of Lyngstrand's assessment of Egerton's translation with the actual translation moves the focus from the translator figure as constructed by Egerton in her transfiction piece 'Now Spring Has Come', by Hamsun in the anecdotes he includes in his correspondence with friends and colleagues, and by Lyngstad in the introduction to his retranslation of Hamsun's work to the actual translator George Egerton, the woman behind the text.

Translator Studies aim to make translators visible as 'social agents' and as 'a group with its own interests, attitudes, identity and history' (van Dam and Korning Zethsen 2009: 9). Often, the present focus on the agents of translation has been placed on women. With translation frequently considered an inferior, secondary activity, and precisely for that reason 'more suitable for women than, for example, 'original' writing' (Bland and Brown 2013: 12), female translators, so goes the argument, have been rendered doubly invisible and are thus, it seems, particularly deserving of attention.

The case is somewhat different with Egerton though - she defies the cliché of invisibility in many ways as she was first a published author with The Bodley Head which was associated with modern, decadent literature, including the magazine *Yellow Book* that featured contributors such as Oscar Wilde or the illustrator and author Aubrey Beardsley who also provided the title illustration for the *Keynotes* collection. In 1894, the conservative magazine *Punch*, defender of Victorian values and gender roles, chose a caricature of a woman with features clearly resembling Egerton to ridicule what they saw as an attack on Victorian society (Richardson & Willis 2001: 13). In fact, Egerton's life and her views on literature were anything but conventional, and they were also part of her public image.

In 1893, using the name of their Irish cottage as a pseudonym, Egerton sent her first literary attempts to Thomas P. Gill, Irish cultural editor of the London *Weekly Sun*, receiving both praise and constructive criticism in return. Referring to a passage, in which 'the husband falls on his knees over the wife and then takes her up and carries her off in his arms 'to their own room", Gill asks the author, whom he quite obviously believes to be a man, to consider toning down the 'mere effects of starkness and of appeals to the sexual senses' and practically accuses him of voyeurism: 'To put it brutally you would not (however Scandinavian your ideas may be) invite your coachman, or even your bosom friend, to 'assist' while you and your wife were engaged in the sacred mysteries' (de Vere White 1958: 23). Gill's advice provides not only an insight into the morals and expectations of a conservative Victorian readership, but also into the unequivocal association, in the early 1890s, of 'Scandinavian ideas' with daring subject matter. Egerton, however,

had clearly no intention of respecting Victorian prudishness, and had little time for the hysteria evoked by 'Scandinavian ideas' in the English press and the controversial passage remained intact. When the infamous production of Ibsen's *Ghosts* at the Independent Theatre in London in 1891 resulted in an outrage and a climax of the Ibsen debate, she sarcastically proclaimed that 'I see more to be shocked at in one walk through the Strand or Leicester Square, let us say, at 11 p.m.' (de Vere White 1958: 11).

As a writer, Egerton felt an affinity with Hamsun who had found a new form of literary expression for decidedly modern sensitivities. In her Translator's Note for her translation of *Sult*, she calls him a 'master at probing into the unexplored crannies in the human soul, the mysterious territory of uncontrollable, half-conscious impulses' (Egerton 2003: v) something she also liked to focus on in her own writing, albeit from a decidedly female perspective. For her, 'the terra incognita of herself, as she knew herself to be, not as man liked to imagine her' (Egerton 1932: 58) was the main subject matter of her fiction.

Hamsun's prose debut follows the anonymous first-person narrator as he roams the streets of the Norwegian capital and allows the reader what appears to be unfiltered access to his fantasies and hallucinations. The construction of the narrative, in which any kind of linearity is undermined by frequent tense changes, contravened conventions of the time. Hamsun was quite prepared to 'lose a part of a public which reads in order to see if the hero and heroine get each other', by placing less emphasis on plotlines involving 'engagements and balls' and instead exploring the 'wanderings of motionless, trackless journeys with the brain and the heart, strange activities of the nerves, the whispering of the blood' (Hamsun 1994b, unpaginated). This must have appealed to Egerton who in her original writings showed a similar disregard for conventional plotlines and experimented with alternative narrative forms. Both authors shocked their readers as much with *what* they wrote about as with *how* they wrote, defying genre expectations and the conventions of chronological storytelling (Bjørhovde 1987). However, while connections between Hamsun's and Egerton's writing styles, their common emphasis on the irrationality of the human psyche, the role of their early works as important proponents of modernism, have frequently been acknowledged in Egerton scholarship (Bjørhovde 1987: 130, O'Toole 2000: 153, Jusová 2005: 52, Sjølyst-Jackson 2011: 125), with regard to *Sult*, the exclusive focus on the very fleeting relationship between author and translator may well have distracted from the innovative force of Egerton's first English translation which, like Hamsun's original, defies narrative conventions.

The delay in the publication of Egerton's translation of *Sult* may be viewed as indicative of the translator's refusal to bow to Victorian censorship. In 1896

Egerton accused John Lane of holding on to her *Hunger* manuscript rather than rejecting it, thus allowing her to look for a different publisher. In the same letter, she complains that changes requested by Lane for one of her original manuscripts would turn it into a 'milk and water' book (de Vere White 1958: 41). It was clear that the appetite for innovative practices and provocative subject matter had changed in the wake of the Oscar Wilde trials in 1895, in which John Lane, as publisher of the *Yellow Book*, to which Wilde had contributed and of which he allegedly carried a copy when he was arrested, was implicated (O'Toole 2000: 147). If he wanted to stay in business, he had to turn much more mainstream. Possibly unhappy with the resulting policies, Egerton went over to the publishing house of Leonard Smithers, who continued to work with avant-garde writers and artists even in the conservative climate of the second half of the 1890s (Nelson 2000: 4). However, Smithers did not engage in much publicity for his authors, and when he eventually published *Hunger* in 1899, the translation remained very much under the radar, until the award of the Nobel Prize in 1920 prompted several new editions of Hamsun's works in English, including Egerton's *Hunger*. In the shadow of the giant Ibsen, it would have been difficult for Knut Hamsun's radically innovative prose and George Egerton's transmission efforts to achieve a prominent position in British modernism. What is obvious, however, is that Egerton's *Hunger* is reflective of her own position in the literary landscape of late Victorian England, and that the translator was supportive of, rather than trying to suppress, the formal and thematic innovation that Hamsun's text espouses.

In recent years, literary criticism has given increasing attention to George Egerton, mostly focusing on her as a writer and – reluctant – representative of New Woman literature at the end of the 19th century. Her translation efforts have largely been overlooked or glossed over as a footnote to her presumed relationship with Knut Hamsun. However, looking at this translator-author through the lens of Transfiction and Literary Translator Studies demonstrates how such a reception is missing an important aspect of Egerton's profile. She was as daring as a translator of Hamsun's narrative debut as she was as author of her own texts. She refused to compromise on the innovative style or content of her source text. While the fictional translator and would-be lover in 'Now Spring has come' retreats after having been rejected by the author, the translator George Egerton stands her ground, remaining true to her convictions by producing a congenial translation of a revolutionary text at a time that was less than conducive to innovation of this kind.

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Translation Limits

Alexandra Lukes

> '*...an unbelievable number of English words, regardless of their usual meanings, can be substituted quite satisfactorily for others*. When *all* the words in a given passage of English have been so replaced, the passage keeps its original meaning, but all the words have acquired new ones. *A word that has received a new meaning has become a* wart*, and when all the words in the passage have become warts, the passage is no longer English; it's* Anguish.'

This epigraph comes from Howard Chace's *Anguish Languish* (1956), a humorous collection of homophonic transformations of English nursery rhymes and bedtime stories into what Chace calls 'the Anguish languish', whereby fairy tales such as 'Little Red Riding Hood' or 'Goldilocks and the Three Bears' become 'furry tells' entitled 'Ladle Rat Rotten Hut' and 'Guilty Looks Enter Tree Beers'. I chose this quotation as a framework for my paper because it raises many of the questions that I examine in my study of literary works: the relationship between sound and sense; the tension between humour and 'anguish' created by disrupting that relationship; the fine line between nonsense and madness; the psychology of language acquisition and loss; and the role and limits of translation. But before presenting these aspects of my research through the analysis of choice texts, I would like to begin with a personal anecdote.

A few years ago, I signed up for Portuguese evening classes on a whim, with no prior knowledge of the language. After the initial shock of finding myself for the first time in many years on the other side of the classroom, as a student rather than as the teacher, and being confronted with a host of new and unfamiliar sounds, I slowly began feeling my way into the language. I started to register differences in listening, hearing, understanding – or, more frequently, *not* understanding – and I began paying attention to the feelings of discomfort, anxiety, elation, and amusement that these differences were producing in me. These feelings were amplified tenfold when I decided to take my newly acquired language skills on the road in Portugal, where my competences were severely put to the test. The following two examples illustrate what I mean.

The first occurred at the checkout of a grocery store. The cashier asked me a question that startled me because of the speed at which it was delivered. Accidentally, I blurted out a Spanish word, 'perdone?', instead of the Portuguese 'desculpe?',

which was itself an interesting revelation: I turned to a language that I barely speak, Spanish, instead of saying 'sorry?' in English, 'scusi?' in Italian, or 'pardon?' in French, the three languages that I juggle on a daily basis. Having thus revealed my foreignness, I was unceremoniously dismissed by the cashier. In the meantime, however, the sounds of her sentence started to take meaningful shape in my mind. I latched onto one of the sounds I thought I had heard, 'cartão', and I replayed the rhythm of the sentence in my head, slowly reconstructing through guesswork the words I thought she must have uttered: 'tem um cartão de fidelidade?' ['do you have a loyalty card?']. After a long delay the penny dropped and, finding the words in the right language, I answered 'desculpe, não tenho cartão' ['sorry, I don't have a card'], which startled the cashier and made her laugh because as far she was concerned our exchange was long over.

The second interaction involved a hotel receptionist. As the conversation got underway, I noticed that something was off. Beyond the fact that the man's delivery was very fast, I felt that I was being confronted by a wall of sound that had a different quality compared to my interactions in Portuguese so far. It was not until I hit on a sound that I recognized, 'gracias', that I realised why I was confused: the man had been speaking Spanish all along! The confusion was greater because I had been expecting him to speak Portuguese, which in turn had muddled my hearing capacities, rendering me temporarily unable to distinguish Spanish. I gathered that the misunderstanding had occurred because, once again, I had slipped some Spanish words into what I thought was Portuguese, prompting my interlocutor to launch into Spanish, erroneously thinking that he was putting me at ease.

What interested me most about these situations – beyond the fact that I kept replacing Portuguese (which I wanted to speak) with Spanish (which I hardly speak) – was the degree to which sound and sense are tenuously related, so that a word pronounced in a particular manner can throw one's understanding into disarray. I became acutely aware of the fact that language is first and foremost sound to which we attach meaning, but which can rapidly revert to nonsense, disconnected from any meaningful content, depending on the context and on the expectations of the individuals involved. But mostly I was struck by the complexity of linguistic interaction and, in particular, the disconnect that can occur at any moment between hearing the sounds of words, feeling the rhythm of a sentence, and making sense of these two experiences, aligning them with a coherent thought, the response to which involves finding the right words in the right language and expressing them with the correct sounds, intonation, and rhythmical patterns in order to be understood.

These examples shed light on my research interests, which focus on the limits of understanding, where sense breaks down into nonsense, or even madness, and language ceases to be an intelligible vector for the transmission of meaning by becoming instead unbounded sound. More specifically, living and working with more than one language, my overarching concern relates to the limits of translation, that is, the extent to which translation negotiates the interplay between sound, sense, and nonsense within and across languages, and what happens if it fails to help us out of the mire of linguistic confusion. In order to illustrate my approach to these questions, I will examine three texts published roughly within the same timeframe: Chace's aforementioned *Anguish Languish* (1956); Luis d'Antin Van Rooten's *Mots d'Heures: Gousses, Rames* (1967), a collection of homophonic translations of English nursery rhymes into French poems; and Louis Wolfson's *Le Schizo et les langues* [The Schizo and Languages] (1970), a narrative in French of the author's battle with schizophrenia, the symptoms of which are physical and psychic pain in speaking or hearing his mother tongue, English.

Before entering into a discussion of the texts, a few preliminary words about why I chose them are in order. All three texts display a skewed relationship to language that dismantles familiar sound-sense relations and produces a particular form of discomfort in readers. Chace's 'Anguish' contorts English by using English words according to their sounds rather than to their meanings; van Rooten's French poems sound like English spoken by a French speaker with poor mastery of English; and Wolfson's French is full of anglicisms, sounding at times like a literal translation of English into French. In all cases, English is heard through a veil, either a distorted version of itself or another tongue, and readers are confronted with the 'anguish' inherent in losing their grip on language. My analysis focuses on what happens when we read these texts, examining the disconnect between seeing the words on the page and hearing their sounds and rhythms. In particular, I explore the tension between familiarity and strangeness that emerges from reading such texts; how this tension helps us think about what we do when we read, and by extension, communicate; and the role of non-verbal communication developed in reading and translation practices.[1]

Let us begin with Chace's *Anguish Languish*. Unlike the other two examples, Chace's book remains within the bounds of English (with few exceptions[2]) because 'Anguish'

1 My theoretical approach is indebted to Clive Scott's work on the psycho-physiological dynamics of reading and translating (2012) and Douglas Robinson's study of 'somatic markers' in translation practice (1991).

2 The book contains a couple of French songs translated into 'Anguish': 'Frère Jacques' rendered as 'Fryer Jerker' (1956: 57) and 'Alouette' as 'Alley Wetter' (1956: 59).

uses English words. Thus, Chace adopts a form of 'intralingual translation' based on sound, which he refers to as writing 'in other words':

> *Heresy ladle furry starry toiling udder warts – warts welcher altar girdle deferent firmer once inner regional virgin.* This sentence means: 'Here is a little fairy story told in other words – words which are altogether different from the ones in the original version.' (1956: 18)

Chace's practice disregards not only the meaning of words but also their syntactic function within the sentence, as new versions of familiar stories are created. The key to understanding these stories, Chace informs us, lies in reading them aloud and in company: 'Make a game of it. You'll find it easier to understand Anguish when you *hear* it than when you see it' (1956: 17; emphasis in original). For the game to be successful, readers must be able to recognise the sounds of familiar English words and word patterns in similar-sounding ones. 'If you have trouble,' Chace continues, 'listen to someone else read it to you, preferably someone who doesn't quite know what he's reading' (1956: 17). Thus, a certain degree of not-knowing is advised for 'Anguish' to have the desired effect on listeners. At the same time, readers are invited to 'give all words their usual English pronunciation, regardless of the new meaning the word has acquired' and not to worry if they 'seem to have suddenly acquired a slight accent'; this effect, we are told, 'is most attractive' (ibid.). Speaking 'Anguish', then, is best performed unwittingly, by pronouncing English words with an English accent; doing so, however, alters that very accent and, as a result, changes the speaker's relationship to English.

Chace presents this practice as a way of learning language and the book offers itself as a pamphlet sponsored by the fictitious 'SPAL' or 'Society for the Promotion of the Anguish Languish' (1956: 7-8) to promote 'Anguish' among academics and the general public. But joking aside, Chace, who was a professor of Romance Languages at Miami University (Oxford, Ohio), devised the book as a teaching tool for improving his students' language skills and published it with the American educational publisher Prentice Hall. Thus, learning 'Anguish' is intended to expand students' knowledge of English, as Chace claims: 'Anguish improves your English' (1956: 14); and the book contains an important lesson on the role of context in language use:

> Although other factors than the pronunciation of words affect our ability to understand them, the situation in which

> the words are uttered is of prime importance. You can easily prove this, right in the privacy of your own kitchen, by asking a friend to help you wash up a dozen cops and sorcerers. Ten to one, she'll think you said a dozen *cups and saucers*, and be genuinely surprised if you put her to work cleaning up even *one* police officer, let alone all the others, and the magicians, too. (1956: 9; emphasis in original)

Context and expectation can change how individuals hear words – as shown by my experience with the hotel receptionist in Portugal. Thus, despite the humorous way in which Chace presents this important conceptual point, the book raises serious questions about the psychological effects of language acquisition. This appears in many instances, not least in the claim that 'Anguish can be used [...] as a psychological test of something or other (we don't know just what)' (1956: 15-17), a statement that is accompanied by the following footnote:

> A research psychologist plans to use *Anguish Languish* to provide data for a study entitled: '*Individual and Sex Differences in Configurational Perception of Artificially Contrived but Phenomenologically Comprehensible Auditory Stimuli*.' This sounds as if it should mean something. (1956: 17)

The link between 'auditory stimuli' and 'psychological test' is significant and Chace's description of how 'Anguish' can be used in social settings sheds light on the psychological dimension of the experience:

> Suppose you have been asked to dinner by the president of your company and his wife. Since you haven't met your hostess, you have spent some time, before going, thinking up something to say that will really interest her. Finally you decide to ask, during the dinner:
> 'Mrs. Bellowell, didn't I hear that your brother Henry was discovered to be in collusion with those election crooks?'
> The moment arrives, but you no sooner get her attention than you have sudden misgivings. Too late to change your subject, you slip deftly into Anguish:
> 'Mrs. Bellowell... deaden are hair ditcher broader Hennery

> worse dish-cupboard toe bang collision wet dozer liquor-chin crocks?'
> Chances are that everyone will be so fascinated by the graceful form of your question that not even your hostess will attach much importance to what you've asked. (1956: 12-14)

Here the benefits of speaking 'Anguish' lie in dazzling one's listeners with the 'graceful form' of the new language so that the content of the statement becomes irrelevant. 'Anguish' separates form from content and, in doing so, creates 'fascination' in its listeners; that is, it casts a spell that ensnares them, much like a siren song. Jean-Jacques Lecercle, eminent scholar of literary nonsense, raises a similar point in describing the experience of learning a foreign language:

> A foreign language is a treasury of strange but fascinating sounds, and the speaker is caught between the urge to interpret them, the pervasive need to understand language and the fascinated desire to play with words, to listen to their sounds, regardless of their meanings. (1990: 73)

The image of the 'fascinated' foreign language learner 'caught' between 'urges', 'needs', and 'desires' underscores the psychological quality of the experience. The 'anguish' produced by Chace's experiment, then, is a 'psychological test' in that it tests the extent to which individuals can tolerate the disruption of familiar links between sounds and meanings, and the potential disappearance of the latter. Moreover, and perhaps more fundamentally, Chace's 'Anguish' tests his readers' capacity for tolerating syntactic incoherence.[3] Indeed, as Lecercle reminds us, disrupting syntax is profoundly destabilising: 'I can take any amount of semantic incoherence in my stride, but syntactic chaos, because of the centrality of syntax, provokes the deepest unease' (1994: 57).[4]

Van Rooten's *Mots d'Heures: Gousses, Rames* takes readers one step further into such 'unease' by highlighting the dangers inherent in losing language. Van Rooten was a

3 Richard Lederer uses the term 'anguish' to characterize 'accidental assaults' on the English language in a series of humorous anthologies, the first of which, *Anguished English*, comes with the following health warning: 'Overdosing on *Anguished English* could be hazardous to your daily routine' (1987: viii).

4 Lecercle's comment relates to the only example of chaotic syntax in Lewis Carroll, known as 'the Duchess's sentence': 'Never imagine yourself not to be otherwise than what it might appear to others that what you were or might have been was not otherwise than what you had been would have appeared to them to be otherwise' (Carroll 1992: 72).

polyglot actor and humorist, born in Mexico and raised in the United States, famous for adopting foreign accents in his English-speaking roles in radio, television, and film. The book reflects this linguistic play. Ostensibly, it is a collection of poems in French, allegedly discovered by van Rooten and edited by him with explanatory footnotes and translations into English. However, on closer inspection, the French poems reveal themselves to be homophonic translations of English nursery rhymes, as we can hear in the book's title, *Mots d'Heures: Gousses, Rames*, which approximates the sounds of the English words *Mother Goose's Rhymes* pronounced with a thick French accent. In the foreword, van Rooten explains how the poems are supposed to be read:

> The most fascinating quality of these verses is found upon reading them aloud in the sonorous, measured classic style made famous by the Comédie Française at the turn of the century and whose greatest exponents were Coquelin, Lucien Guitry, Mounet-Sully and the divine Sarah; these poems then assume a strangely familiar, almost nostalgic, homely quality. (1967)[5]

The term 'fascinating' appears once again, alerting us to the psychological effects of reading the poems. Here, the fascination is tied to the emergence, for Anglophone speakers, of 'a strangely familiar, almost nostalgic, homely' feeling that is paradoxically achieved by speaking French in the 'classic style' of the Comédie Française. The first poem in the collection offers a clear illustration of the process:

> Un petit d'un petit
> S'étonne aux Halles
> Un petit d'un petit
> Ah! degrés te fallent
> Indolent qui ne sort cesse
> Indolent qui ne se mène
> Qu'importe un petit d'un petit
> Tout Gai de Reguennes. (1967: n.1)

As soon as the poem is read aloud, Humpty Dumpty's song of misfortune springs to life, albeit mangled by a French pronunciation. Herein lies the humour and the

5 The book is not paginated, but each poem is numbered. When quoting a poem, I will reference the number preceded by 'n.'.

game consists in identifying which English nursery rhyme lies behind each French poem. As in this case, many of the songs are easily recognizable and the bilingual reader has no difficulty in hearing, for instance, 'Lucy Locket' in 'Loup si l'eau quête' (1967: n.29) or 'Rain, rain, go away' in 'Reine, reine, gueux éveille' (1967: n.16).

Yet there is more to the book than the standard comedic practice of putting on a foreign accent; moreover, some of the English nursery rhymes are not easily or immediately recognizable in their French form, such as 'Terre, vasée, Krous qu'est dément' (1967: n.9) or "Adieu, notes laïques,' dit d'acteur frêle' (1967: n.33). The main reason readers may struggle to identify the English nursery rhyme, beyond simply not knowing it, lies in the fact that there are many conflicting actions going on at the same time. Readers are striving to separate between, on the one hand, the sounds of a song that they are trying to remember in English, to which are attached certain words with certain meanings, and, on the other, the words in French that they see on the page in front of them, which have different meanings and which are discussed in the footnotes, but which they are pronouncing in a strange accent, ignoring everything they know about French intonation, grammar, syntax, and punctuation, as these become visual obstacles to hearing the English that they cannot quite reach. Thus, 'Terre, vasée, Krous qu'est dément' (1967: n.9) must be liberated from its commas in order to render the sounds of the nursery rhyme 'There was a crooked man'; likewise with "Adieu, notes laïques,' dit d'acteur frêle' (1967: n.33) for 'I do not like thee, doctor Fell'.

Even if readers successfully recall the English nursery rhyme behind van Rooten's French poems, a certain discomfort remains because the rhymes continue to be heard through the distorting lens of their French typographical packaging. More fundamentally, the enduring discomfort lies in the fact that the book runs counter to an individual's typical learning trajectory. In the nursery, children initially learn songs by listening to their soothing sounds and subsequently consolidate that knowledge by connecting and differentiating words through rhymes, assonance, and alliteration, as sounds crystallise into meanings. Conversely, van Rooten's readers find themselves having to separate sounds from meanings, thereby undoing the painstaking work of conjoining the two that was undertaken in the nursery. Reading the book relies not only upon a wilful act of forgetting one language (French) in order to recover another (English), but significantly, it involves unlearning verbal language in order to access the babbling sounds of childhood.[6] It

6 For an examination of related issues, see Roman Jakobson's work on language acquisition and its loss in children and aphasics (1968) and Daniel Heller-Roazen's study of the phenomenon of 'echolalia' (2005).

is not surprising then that, beyond the humour and the nostalgia, this practice may also cause a certain degree of 'anguish'.

The relationship between 'anguish' and language is central to the third case study in this paper, Wolfson's *Le Schizo et les langues*. The book is generically unclassifiable: part autobiography written in the third person and narrative of life in New York City in the 1960s, part linguistic treatise on phonetics, and part clinical document on the schizophrenic condition, it recounts the protagonist's battle with mental illness and his tortured relationship with the English language. To liberate himself from the pain endured in hearing, reading, or speaking his mother tongue, the protagonist teaches himself a variety of foreign languages, primarily French, German, Russian, and Hebrew, by studying grammars and dictionaries and listening to foreign language radio stations. Throughout the book, Wolfson refers to himself as 'the schizophrenic student of languages' ['l'étudiant de langues schizophrénique'], 'the demented student of tongues' ['l'étudiant d'idiomes dément'], and 'the mentally ill student' ['l'étudiant malade mentalement']. These expressions reveal a connection between mental illness and the study of language, which in Wolfson's experience is both painful and therapeutic, as we can see in his turning *away* from English and *towards* foreign languages.

Wolfson explains that his troubled relationship with English dates from his childhood learning difficulties, in particular, an inability to spell words (1970: 34), which contributed to his diagnosis of schizophrenia in later life. His illness, then, is linked not only to language in general, but also to a specific act of splitting words into their component letters. This provides a context for understanding the particular nature of his self-devised therapy, namely a complex translation practice that involves separating English words into letters and phonemes and finding multiple foreign language equivalents. The aim of the practice, however, is not to eliminate English altogether; rather, Wolfson imposes upon himself the task of retaining both the sounds and the meanings of English words within the foreign languages used to translate them, while distorting the sounds just enough to be able to hear and speak them without pain.

The following is an example of his practice. When Wolfson accidentally sees the term 'shortening' on a food container as he rifles through the pantry, he is compelled to convert the sounds of the word as well as both its meanings – 'fat' (used for making pastry) and 'abbreviation' (to shorten). He begins the process by explaining that the word is pronounced 'chortni(gn)" (1970: 53), and that 'ch' is symbolized in English as 'sh' (1970: 54). He then elongates this sound into the word 'shshshortening' (pronounced by him in French as 'chchchortnign') and transforms it, along with the first 'n', into the Hebrew 'chèmenn' (oil, fat); he then changes

the 't' into the German 'Schmalz' (grease); 'shor' moves into the fictive Russian 'jor' and becomes 'jir' (fat); the suffix '-ing' becomes the German '-ung'. For the second meaning, 'abbreviation', 'ch' passes through the French 'chétif' (meagre), the German 'schmal' (slim), and the Russian 'korotche' or 'kratche' (shorter); 'r' and 't' become the French 'courte', the German 'kurz', and the Russian 'korotkiy' or 'kratkiy' (1970: 53-56). By the end, no single translation is chosen; instead, all the foreign words together are used to eliminate – while also maintain – the one offending English term.

According to Wolfson's self-imposed rules, foreign words must meet the following conditions in order to qualify as successful translations:

> En effet, ayant un mot étranger remplissant, à la fois dans le son et dans le sens, les conditions, selon lui, de similitude avec un mot anglais donné, celui-ci ne lui semblait plus guère exister, et l'écouter, ce lui serait plus ou moins écouter le mot étranger similaire. (1970: 63)
>
> [In fact, having a foreign word fulfil, both in terms of sound and sense, the conditions, according to him, of similarity with a given English word, it seemed to him that the latter no longer existed, and listening to it would be more or less like listening to the similar foreign word] [my translation]

Like Chace and van Rooten, Wolfson makes English sound foreign. While this practice has a therapeutic function for him, in that it neutralises the pain caused by English, it also creates a certain discomfort in readers, similar to the one produced by Chace's 'furry tells' and van Rooten's 'curious verses'. Such discomfort is in part caused by the heavily anglicised French through which the story is told, which produces in readers a sense of estrangement from both French and English. But, more fundamentally, the discomfort relates to the self-enclosed nature of Wolfson's practice, which keeps readers at arm's length while also aspiring to rebuild a channel of communication with the English-speaking world. Wolfson locks readers into a claustrophobic space, where suffering and respite are precariously balanced on specific translation choices. These choices however are entirely dependent on the personal, even private ways in which Wolfson hears the sounds of his languages, which are affected by two main factors. First, the majority of his foreign language learning occurs in written form rather than through immersion or interaction with

other native speakers (with some exceptions[7]); and second, the English spoken to him by his most frequent interlocutors, his parents, is inflected by their native Yiddish. As such, Wolfson's practice of filtering the sounds of English through the sounds of other languages creates a self-enclosed world that ultimately cannot be shared.

Yet Wolfson is hopeful at the end of the book that he has made progress towards reintegrating into the English-speaking community in which he lives. Reflecting on his fascination with foreign languages, he claims to have discovered an 'emotional factor' ['un facteur émotif'] that drives people to study linguistics and comparative grammar:

> un désir, peut-être vague sinon subconscient et refoulé, de ne pas devoir sentir leur langue naturelle comme une entité comme la sentent les autres, mais par contre de pouvoir la sentir bien différemment, comme quelque chose de plus, comme exotique, comme un mélange, un pot pourri de divers idiomes. (1970: 245-246)
>
> [a desire, perhaps vague if not subconscious and repressed, not to have to feel their natural language as an entity the way that other people feel it, but rather to be able to feel it quite differently, as something more, as something exotic, a mix, a potpourri of different idioms] [my translation]

This passage comes after Wolfson manages to persuade his mother to speak to him more frequently in her native Yiddish rather than in English. The mother's use of Yiddish has a therapeutic effect on her son that goes beyond the fact that Yiddish is not English. As a composite language of German, Hebrew, Romance and Slavic, Yiddish resembles Wolfson's image in the quotation above of a 'potpourri of different idioms', which itself evokes the 'potpourri' of translation solutions that Wolfson produces by dismantling English. Significantly, Wolfson does not speak Yiddish; indeed, at the beginning of the book, Wolfson asks his father on one occasion to speak to him in Yiddish but replies in German (1970: 37). While Wolfson does not specify which language he uses to reply to his mother, his request that she speak to him in Yiddish precludes the possibility of replying in the same language, despite the similarities between Yiddish and German. However, by blocking communication in the same language, Wolfson also opens up a channel

7 See, for instance, his exchanges with a group of French-speaking builders (1970: 180-213).

of interaction between mother and son that comes close to recapturing their non-verbal connection before the painful separation caused by his learning English as a child. This potentially becomes a way of mending his internal schism, which ultimately helps him reintegrate into the English-speaking world.

To conclude, the three texts discussed in this paper highlight the psychological aspects of learning or unlearning languages; they display the effects of playing with sounds and sense on verbal and non-verbal communication between individuals; and they reveal the serious nature of such a game, whereby tensions between familiarity and strangeness produce pleasure and discomfort in equal measure. In doing so, they challenge the role and limits of translation, by showing the extent to which moving between languages or similar-sounding words within the same language constitutes a liberating and potentially therapeutic experience, but one that is never far removed from the threat of 'anguish' and language loss. Thus, the concept of 'translation limits' that I am presenting here refers not only to the limits of translation but also to the ways in which translation itself can be conceived of as a limit.

My foray into Portuguese gave me first-hand experience of these issues and a renewed understanding of their importance. Flailing between languages, trying to differentiate between the sounds I was hearing, either to distinguish them from the sounds of another language (Spanish) or to match them to the words I thought I could recognize in Portuguese, I was also in some ways forgetting the languages I know – English, French, and Italian disappeared, making room for my hesitant Spanish. But paying attention to sounds and rhythms made me more aware of the non-verbal elements that occur in conversation, such as tone, gesture, facial expressions, and encouraged me to rely more on intuition than on interpretation. And I found this to be both uncomfortable and liberating, because I had to be creative in using language in every instance. Integrating my personal experiences with my research allowed me to understand that texts that produce this kind of tension between pleasure and discomfort can be powerful tools for understanding forms of communication. By paying attention to the feelings that such texts produce in us, as readers, we become more mindful of how we register internally subtle differences in language use; and this, in turn, allows us not only to deepen our knowledge of how we read literary texts, but also to understand how we process that which is unfamiliar in the world at large.

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Translated drama under the spotlight: the case of Irish and other languages

Jamie Murphy and Ciarán Mac Murchaidh

Introduction

Certain scholarly commentary suggests that a drama script only represents one piece of its entire story and, as a result, it is frequently not afforded a status equal to that assigned to other genres in literature. In the following article, the subject of drama, especially as it pertains to translation, will be discussed. International examples will be drawn upon to assert that drama deserves its own space within the field of literary endeavour and that it is not as easy as one might think to distinguish between literary and dramatic works. The difficulties in defining what is meant by drama as well as the complications involved in staging a drama will be illustrated. Even though Irish-language drama, particularly in Irish cities, has generally been considered as underground theatre down the years, examples from international drama will be used as a mechanism to compare and contrast them with Irish-language equivalents, thus demonstrating that Irish-language drama and international drama have many traits in common in this context.

Defining drama

Ploix (2019: 61) states that the integrity of dramatic texts has to be looked at as a complete entity so that they can be analysed correctly. If this analysis is approached in a diachronic way, drama texts can be used as a useful historical tool to map the cultural evolution of a language. Drama texts and translations exist in an interconnected space, i.e. between the dramatic and literary systems. In the western world, for the most part, a drama emerges from a written text and it is accepted that every element needed to stage the drama is already part of that text (Aaltonen 2000: 33). Can this ever be entirely true, however? If we examine two different examples in exploring this point, we see that the statement is not as clear-cut as might first appear. In Chinese drama, for example, the dramatic text is used as a framework on which the production is built and it is on the stage itself that the majority of the work is executed and seen. In this case, it can be claimed that the text performed on stage does not have the same status in comparison to a book in the literary system, as the production of the drama depends on the physical work carried out on stage by the actors (Aaltonen 2000: 27). Italian drama between the 16th and 18th centuries, known as *Commedia dell'arte*, supports this assertion, as

the drama is completely based on the actors' skills in putting the show together on the spot without scripts or texts (Aaltonen 2000: 34).

On the other hand, we can consider 'closet drama' as being in contrast to this, where a text is written by an author but might not necessarily be intended for the stage. Aaltonen has observed that many of the translations she analysed were never officially published and were only available in the form of typewritten scripts. These texts were usually not available publicly and thus had to be requested from the Central Library in Helsinki (Aaltonen 2000: 39).

With regard to the Irish language, it could be argued that an opposing paradox exists. On the whole, source dramas or foreign texts are translated into Irish so that they can be performed on stage. In certain cases, these texts are only performed once and, for the most part, an official version of the Irish-language drama is never officially published. A number of reasons can be attributed to this: (1) Out of the 736 Irish-language plays (excluding pantomimes) that were staged in Ireland between 1901 and 2010, over half were translations (384 in total) (Irish Theatre Institute, 2011). (2) As well as the widespread use of translations to fill Irish-language theatre seats, many plays were written for literary competitions as part of Oireachtas na Gaeilge (a bi-annual Irish-language festival of culture and heritage). This meant that dramas were available for theatres like the Abbey and the Damer in the 20th century but that also, more often than not, an official version of the Irish-language drama was never published.

With no funding or support, many Irish-language plays only exist in typescript form in the archive of An Comhlachas Náisiúnta Drámaíochta (The National Drama Association) and in other archives around the country. *Dúirt Bean Liom* by Aisteoirí Ghobnatan (1959), *Éirí na Gealaí* by Eoghan Ó Lionáird and Máirtín Mac Donnchadha (1952), *Uaigneas an Ghleanna* by Risteárd Ó Foghludha (1923) or *Leannáin* by Máire Stafford (1988) all fall into this category. Even though these plays did not start out as closet dramas, they became closet dramas retrospectively, as the public could not access them and, in many cases, the plays are no longer staged.[1]

Staging a drama

In other cases, plays have acquired a dual role in that while they may have been written for the stage only at first, they now exist in the literary canon as well as still being performed. If we take Shakespeare or perhaps Molière, for example,

1 This situation is not unique to Irish, as the same applies to translations and adaptations into English, e.g. Sebastian Barry's 'version' of Lorca's *The House of Bernarda Alba* http://www.irishplayography.com/play.aspx?playid=30646.
Moreover, some plays written in English have also never been published.

even though their works are still being shown on stage, in certain cultures such as Finland, they are read primarily as part of the literary canon (Aaltonen 2000: 39). On the whole, dramatic texts and their translations are written primarily for the stage, and the writer and the translator alike have to be aware of the crucial element of the stage itself, and that there is a rigid bond between what is written and what is ultimately shown on stage (Bassnett 1985: 87). According to the Cameroonian director, Pierre Makon, the writer must foresee how the text will come together on stage when writing: 'un créateur théâtral qui se veut constructeur, écrit-il dans la perspective d'une réalisation concrète pour un public' (Makon 1988: 262). The ability to realise this prophecy shows that the writer is able to produce a text that will work effectively on stage and so bridge the gap between literature and drama. Scholars such as Susan Bassnett call this concept 'performability.' The concept is often discussed in the context of drama and the term itself is meant to encompass a wide number of aspects including the ability (a) to compose a text that will transfer easily to the stage and (b) to ensure that every effort is made to realise this aspect in the staged production. Bassnett readily admits, however, that it is almost impossible to fully define 'performability', as the concept changes from culture to culture, from era to era and from text to text (Bassnett 1991: 102).

As well as performability, Jiří Levý also alludes to 'speakability' as another demand that the text must aim to fulfil, i.e. using short sentences, avoiding the use of rare or obscure words or sentence structures with difficult consonant clusters, which will add to the overall effect of the drama on stage and will impress the audience as a result (Levý 1969: 128). To support the importance of this point we can consider a review of a show by the drama society, An Comhar, which appeared in the newspaper, *An Phoblacht,* in 1930. The actors' stage skills were called into question by the reviewer, as it appeared to him that they had spent the night simply trying to memorise their lines in Irish. The reviewer's contention was that they did not have enough time to bring all the necessary elements together in the play, i.e. good acting and fluent Irish. A similar issue was noted by another reviewer in *Star* in 1929 who observed that the prompter was the busiest person in the theatre on the night he watched the show (O'Leary 2004: 470-71). One might have a degree of sympathy for the actors in these instances, however, as it was amateur theatre and the actors simply did not have enough time to master entirely all the necessary elements of the plays before the opening night. It seemed that reviewers of the time, in particular, expected a professional standard of acting from the performers (even though these were often low-budget productions) and to hear fluent, mellifluous Irish on stage.

Even on the west coast of the country, where the Irish language was stronger and more widely spoken, similar difficulties were faced by actors. It was noted that the dialectal and acting skills of the cast performing *Hyacinth Halvey* by Lady Gregory in An Taibhdhearc were substandard and that the actors' spoken Irish, in particular, was unsatisfactory. In a review in *Éireannach* in 1935, the actors were criticised for not attaching enough importance to the issue of Irish-language phonology. It was noted that the standard of delivery itself was poor and that the accent of the actors was less than desirable (O'Leary 2004: 473-75). These examples tie into Levý and Bassnett's ideas of speakability and performability but concern over the issues of phonology and ease of capacity regarding spoken Irish on stage stretches back to the start of the 20th century. In a review of *Tobar Draoidheachta* by Father Pádraig Ó Duinnín, which appeared in *Muimhneach Óg* in 1903, it was reported that '[the play] was generally enjoyed even by people who did not understand a word of Irish (O'Leary 2017: 4).' This point illustrates that Irish-language drama had to kill two birds with the one stone, as it were – to stage entertaining and enjoyable plays but to do so in such a way that would draw a sizable audience that might not necessarily have fluency in Irish.

In order to overcome this issue the playwright, Mairéad Ní Ghráda, has often been in favour of writing Irish-language plays in such a way that they could be understood by those whose command of the language might be limited. She often wrote original plays using simple yet effective Irish, to make the language easily comprehensible. This ensured that she was able to build a sufficiently broad Irish-language audience and thus draw more people into theatres to see her plays (Ní Bhrádaigh 1996: 36 & 42). It is evident that this did not detract from the overall standard of Irish in her work, as *An Triail* was one of the first original Irish-language plays to be translated into English and subsequently enjoyed significant success in that language (Ní Bhrádaigh 1996: 57).

In similar fashion, Mícheál Ó Conghaile, the translator of the works of Martin McDonagh, used English words in his translations in order to facilitate the audience's understanding of the language spoken on stage. In the Irish translation of *The Cripple of Inishmaan*, he retained English words like 'cancer' and 'T.B.' in the play in order not only to stress the power of those words in English but also to give an opportunity to the audience to keep up with the pace of the play itself. According to Ó Conghaile, if the listener is immersed in the live story of the play, they do not have two or three seconds to register the word and its implications in their mind. This eases the sharpness and power of the play as a result.

> Má tá éisteoir báite i scéal beo an dráma níl an dá nó an trí soicind sin aige leis an bhfocal agus a impleachtaí a chlárú ina intinn. Maolaítear faobhar agus cumhacht an dráma dá réir creidim. (Ó Conghaile 2015: 119).

However, with regard to translation, performability or speakability should not be understood to mean free rein to shape the source text so that it suits the stage of the target culture. As the translation scholar Christiane Nord (2018) has observed, some textual loyalty needs to be retained and cultivated as, ultimately, the text itself is the starting point for the translator. To help retain this textual loyalty as well as ensuring the suitability of the translation for the stage, the theatre semiologist Tadeusz Kowzan suggests five categories that the playwright or translator should bear in mind when producing a text:

1. The spoken text
2. The expression of the body
3. The external appearance of the actor (gestures and physical traits)
4. The acting space (the size and layout of the space, props, lighting effects, etc.)
5. Non-verbal sound (Bassnett 1985: 88)

These five points can also be compared to the concept of *mise en scène*. According to the actor and director, Antoine Vitez, 'because it is a work in itself, a great translation already contains its *mise en scène*. Ideally the translation should be able to command the *mise en scène* and not the reverse (Vitez 1982: 9).'
Once again, a comparison can be drawn here to works by Shakespeare; translations of his plays are based on the text itself as it is frequently thought that the power of the word lies in the original script. Even though plays by Shakespeare can be staged without too much difficulty, the text stands as the reference point for translators when translating. It is not often that the performability of his plays is discussed, as significantly more emphasis is placed on the well-written text, which shows that the performance element is intertwined in the text and is waiting for playwrights and translators to work it out, allowing actors to then perform it on stage (Bassnett 1991: 106). This view was reinforced by Heiner Müller when talking about the famed theatre director, Robert Wilson, observing that 'He never interprets a text, contrary to the practice of directors in Europe. A good text does not have to be 'interpreted' by a director or by an actor (Pavis 1992: 39).'

The chain of players in translated drama

Another aspect within the drama translation process also emerges from this discussion, i.e. who are the players in this system? In the literary system, we talk about publishers, producers, writers, translators, readers or receivers. In the dramatic system, however, other players are added to the chain, i.e. directors, producers, actors, the audience (as well as readers) and dramaturgs. With respect to the place of the translator in this process, Bassnett believes that they still have a marginalised role within this system and that very often translators are only asked to produce a version of the original text so that a monolingual dramatist can adapt the script for the stage in the receiving culture (Bassnett 1991: 101). In such cases, textual loyalty between the source and target text is cast aside in order to focus on filling theatre seats which is often a challenge in itself, especially for Irish-language theatres in the 20th century like the Damer and the Abbey. Even if a true translation of a text is produced, Bassnett has indicated that loyalty to the translator's text cannot always be assured as directors, actors and dramaturgs have their own way of interpreting and registering a text before finally putting it on stage in front of an audience who will also react to the staged play in their own unique way (Bassnett 1998: 101).

This was an issue seen in the case of the Irish-language play, *An Triail,* for example. The play's producer, Tomás Mac Anna, said that he discussed the play with Mairéad Ní Ghráda and that the ending was rewritten after the first production to dramatise and add further to the overall impact of the play. It was decided that it would make more sense for the play to end with the suicide of the main character (Ní Bhrádaigh 1996: 65). In this instance, it is clear that this was an effective decision as is evident from the international success subsequently enjoyed by the play.

Mícheál Ó Conghaile mentioned that he and playwright Martin McDonagh often contacted one another while he was translating *The Cripple of Inishmaan* into Irish (Ó Conghaile 2015: 125). While he was working on his translation of the play, Ó Conghaile said that difficulties arose with the translation of the insult 'goose' in the English version, as its equivalent in Irish, 'gé', might have implications for the phonology of the words, as 'gay' and '*gé*' are homonyms of one another. Having contacted McDonagh and suggested 'gandal' as an alternative version, McDonagh replied saying, 'gandal is good.' In the same correspondence, Ó Conghaile mentioned that he and the actor playing the main character (Billy) didn't see eye to eye regarding Scene Seven. The actor believed that the scene should be kept in English as in it Billy was observed rehearsing a script in Hollywood but Ó Conghaile and the producer thought that the scene represented events in Billy's own life and that it should be translated into Irish. McDonagh confirmed that Billy was in fact rehearsing in the scene but that it should not be kept in English as it

would expose a giveaway in the following scene that the audience should not be aware of at that stage in the play (Ó Conghaile 2015: 126).

Therefore, where there is a chain of players in the dramatic process, it is almost certain that there will be some sort of alteration to the final presentation of the content. This can be looked at negatively or positively, as these players could potentially rescue a bad play on stage or, perhaps, even destroy a good text during its production phase due to conflicts of interest that may arise before the play ever sees the light of the stage. In spite of that possibility, however, Ploix (2019: 68) refers to some examples where it was the text itself that had the final say. He references Serpieri (2013) and his Italian translation of *Hamlet*. After much toing and froing with the actors about the speakability of the text on stage, the translated text was completely adhered to in the end in order to preserve the complexity of the written script.

Reinforcing this consideration, Barker claims that 'If language is restored to the actor he ruptures the imaginative blockade of the culture, if he speaks banality he batteries up servitude' (1997: 18). A writer, therefore, can offer a helping hand to the various players in the chain, too, so that the original idea in the text is maintained and brought through to the stage itself. In that context, as well as the main body of the text, writers can use stage directions as a metatext with an exact description of the body language that should be employed when saying certain lines, if they wish to control the behaviour of the actors to a certain degree, as well as other minor details that might not necessarily be obvious in the text itself (Pavis 1992: 28).

To adapt or translate a play?

In engaging with the challenges that often attach to the staging of a written text, the idea of adaptation is sometimes discussed as a phenomenon that pertains to drama as a whole. If we take *Romeo and Juliet* by Goethe, for example, his version of the play drew sustained criticism, as it was a complete adaptation and did not adhere to the source text. This was deemed to be an 'amazing travesty' by certain Shakespearean scholars throughout the years that followed Goethe's published version of the play (Aaltonen 2000: 22).

By contrast, however, the playwright, David Hare, actually prefers using the term 'adaptation' when he speaks about his version of *Pirandello*. He believes that there is a sense of achievement associated with the term, as it suggests that he was able to address elements that were lacking in the source text and rectify them in the target text. 'Adaptation' instead of 'translation' underpins the idea that the 'translator'

succeeded in producing a text that was natural instead of static (Aaltonen 2000: 45).

Another example of this is the English 'translation' of *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett himself. When he was translating this play from French, it is clear that he emphasised the speech of the tramps through use of Hiberno-English, i.e. 'Ah, stop blathering' or 'It'd be gas', which is something that was not evident in the original French version of the same text (Roche 2006: 489). This indicates the right of the original author to produce a version of the original play without having to adhere to the convention of translating a text word for word.

As well as this, when deciding whether to adapt or translate any particular play, a writer may decide that a significant differential in time between the appearance of the original text and the new version being prepared may need to be addressed. If we consider *The Plough and the Stars* by Seán O'Casey, for example, the play ends with the complete defeat of the freedom fighters. When that play was staged in Finland in 1972, however, an extra scene was added to illustrate that the struggle against the English continued long after. It is thought that this was done to remind the audience of the recommencement in 1968 of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and that this was not in fact the true ending of the story (Aaltonen 2000: 93). Seamus Heaney, in his version of Sophocles' *Antigone* (*The Burial at Thebes*), also adopted a markedly Hiberno-English idiom in the text of the play and explained his approach thus:

> R. C. Jebb, for example, and E. F. Watling, who did the old Penguin translations of The Theban Plays, were under an obligation to render the Greek correctly. They had a scholarly discipline to obey. I, on the other hand, did want to give the substance of the meaning, but my first consideration was speakability. I also wanted different registers, in the musical sense, for different characters and movements in the play.[2]

These examples serve to illustrate that the way in which the passage of time is handled in particular plays also plays an important role in drama. As well as various readings and interpretations of the same text by actors, directors and dramaturgs, it should also be noted that these readings or interpretations can change over time and that the same person may read the same text in a new light years later and derive from a fresh reading a different take-home message. This may be one of the

2 Cited in a review of *The Burial at Thebes* by Eileen Battersby in *The Irish Times* (3 April 2004).

reasons why a new adaptation or translation of a text can emerge (Aaltonen 2000: 37).

En Attendant Godot is a good example of this. When the play was first written, it was described as a non-political play but when it was staged years later in Algeria, the play was interpreted as having adopted a revolutionary stance on behalf of peasants who possessed no land in their own country (Aaltonen 2000: 78).

Adaptation as a practice was also popular in the Irish-language community. The writer and translator, Liam Ó Rinn, was ahead of his time in that he understood that there was more to translation than a mechanical process whereby the translator went from word to word or from line to line in order to transplant the source text into the new culture. To avoid the intrusive influence of the English language on the Irish language, he proposed that it was best to read twenty lines, stand back, and then translate them into Irish in a summarised version so that the language would sound more natural and that the deposits of English would not be sensed in the new Irish translation. He coined the term *dlúth-plagiarizm* ('close plagiarism') for his *modus operandi*. He then revisited this idea and advised that the best solution was to adapt the text instead of translating it in an arbitrary way. Ó Rinn went on to suggest that it would be more beneficial to the development of the language to produce the text as a free rendering so that translators and writers would have more freedom to weave foreign texts into Gaelic culture. This also meant that it was preferable to domesticate the translated texts and essentially gaelicise them. This approach was seen in translations by Shán Ó Cuív such as *An Bhean ón dTuaith* based on *La Vieille Cousine* by Émile Souvestre or *An Uadhacht* by Máiréad Ní Ghráda, based on *Gianni Schicchi* by Puccini (O'Leary 2004: 402).

The notion of culture and nationalism

The previous discussion drew attention to the importance of culture in terms of the Irish language, an aspect that is so omnipresent that it cannot be ignored. Bassnett claims that culture is central in the translation of drama and refers to the phenomenon as 'theatre anthropology' to show that the cultural aspect is intrinsically woven into the theatre. This underpins the idea that there will always be various production conventions based on any given culture (Nikolarea 2002).

Furthermore, Annie Brisset states that drama emerges from society and that often we can see a verisimilitude between what is happening on stage during a play and what is actually going on in a society. She uses the case of Québécois to reinforce her point and to highlight the immense effort expended during the 20th century to use drama in this language for the purpose of promoting nationalism in Canada (Brisset 1996: 5). Throughout the 20th century, these productions stood as a nationalistic symbol against other imports of English and French literary texts

that were used to create a cultural distance between these infiltrating cultures and Québec. This in turn fortified their own culture as a result (Brisset 1996: 54-55). Similar to the Irish language in the 20th century, drama in Québec was used as a propagandist tool to promote nationalistic thinking, as it was difficult to censor live drama on stage in comparison to printed books, for example (Aaltonen 2000: 83). According to Ó Siadhail, the Irish League regarded drama as a propagandist tool to promote the language whereas Yeats and Gregory regarded the craft as a living art form that needed to be preserved (Ó Siadhail 1993: 29). As Irish speakers and as Irish people, it was thought at the time that is was their duty to retain a loyalty to the concept of Gaelachas – a sense of being that was understood to derive from speaking the Irish language – and from practising Catholicism. As a result of that understanding, some of what was being written at the time was restricted in order to realise this vision and conform to it.

The Irish-language community came down harshly on some Irish playwrights writing in English like J. M. Synge, as it was assumed at the time that in his work, he intentionally attacked their dearly held concepts of Gaelachas and Catholicism. At the start of the 20th century, Synge's play, *The Playboy of the Western World,* was widely rejected by the Irish-language community, as it was thought that it went against the values Irish-language writers strove to promote through their literary work in the Ireland of the time.

Writers like Pearse and Hyde endeavoured to promote the Irish language in a positive manner, to highlight Ireland as a prosperous place and to entice those considering leaving for greener pastures to stay in Ireland thereby continuing the growth of the Irish-language revival. Ó Siadhail saw such a propagandist mentality as a contagious disease that was prevalent at the start of the 20th century. The plays that were being written at that time frequently explored historical themes and the revival of the Irish language, and the Gaels were portrayed as brave heroes on stage in order to challenge the idea of the 'stage Irishman' that was often presented in English literature and drama (Ó Siadhail 1993: 30 & 34). Highlighting the importance of literary propaganda in Irish, Art Ó Gríofa wrote in the newspaper, *Sinn Féin*: 'The performer of an Irish play in a public theatre is worth more to Irish nationality than fifty pamphlets or bilingual plays with a propagandist moral at the end (Ó Siadhail 1993: 47).'

Conclusion

In the history of various languages, the status assigned to texts in the literary canon is frequently not assigned to drama. Even though O'Leary considered Irish-language drama to be an underground theatre in the cities of Ireland, it cannot be denied that such a label has remained a central feature of the history of the Irish

language for more than 100 years now – especially during the early years of the 20th century – as the Irish-language revival movement gathered momentum.

As has been noted previously, however, even on an international level, drama and literature are quite often not regarded in the same way, as certain literary scholars believe that a script or drama text only contains one element of the complete process and that the play itself is only ever fully realised when it is produced on stage.

However, the arguments advanced in this essay suggest otherwise. The story of drama on an international level – and on a national level, in the case of Irish – is a great deal more complex than what is normally considered to be the case. It may therefore be argued that plays and texts in the literary system confront and engage with the same challenges. In the case of closet drama, even though such a play can be produced on stage, the complete product is deemed to be mostly in the script itself. This idea was clearly evidenced in the case of Irish because, very often, scripts written for the stage become closet plays thereafter, as they are never officially published.

Furthermore, in exploring the concepts of speakability and performability in drama, and the difficulties such ideas pose, it is clear that they emerge as significant factors in considering the case of Irish-language drama and its evolution during the 20th century. Written dramatic texts are complex and have the capacity to become even more so when they end up in the hands of all those in the chain of people a play must pass through on its way to being staged.

Such complexity pertains to numerous cultures across the world, including the complex culture of the Irish language and the history of its development throughout the 20th century. In fact, the notion of culture is hugely important in any language and sometimes, therefore, it is better to adapt a play in certain instances in order to domesticate (or, in the case of Ireland), to gaelicise the text which will eventually be encountered by the target audience. Drama, then, can be used in the same manner as literature to encourage a certain way of thinking among a group of people or to promote a propagandist agenda such as the case of Québécois in Canada or, indeed, the Irish language in Ireland.

It is essential, therefore, that plays, whether original texts or translations, be treated as key elements in the history and cultural evolution of any language. The same respect and treatment is due to them as would be assigned to any literary text as representing invaluable features of the cultural heritage of a language including, as has been asserted here, the context of the Irish language.

The primary contention in this article is that one can regard drama in any literary system as a highly relevant entity and that it merits its own space in the canon. Irish-language drama contributed greatly to the literature and culture of the language

throughout the 20th century and appropriate status must therefore be assigned in the literary canon to such scripts and plays. It is only by doing so that the literary heritage of the language can be properly analysed, studied and assessed. Dramatic output must deal with its own particular challenges but if the script or play itself is afforded proper standing within the literary canon, much can be learned about the development of a language and its culture. Even though official versions of some Irish-language plays have never been published, it is imperative that an appropriate space is created for them in Irish-language literary discourse, as they have their own story to tell and it is one that has much to say.

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The Ghosts of Works Past: An Investigation into the Rewriting Process of two Irish-Language Editions of *A Christmas Carol*

Hannah Rice

Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (1843) is considered his most famous work (Guida 2000: 12), not only due to the novel itself but as a result of the many adaptations of the text which have been produced since its first publication (Davis 1990a: 109). These various adaptations, including written texts, film, television, theatre and other media, in both English and other languages, transcend time and space and connect Dickens' Victorian society with the modern day (Guida 2000: 3). These multiple versions of the one text are what André Lefevere deems 'rewriting' (2017), the continuation of the relevancy of a text through its afterlife (Derrida 1985 in Bassnett 1998: 25). These rewritings can take many forms, including anthologisation, translation and editing (Lefevere 2017: 8). According to Lefevere, the task of the rewriter is to bring the original text across the boundaries of time, language, and culture (2017: 2), and this rewriting is responsible for keeping the text alive among non-professional readers, i.e. those who read outside of educational and professional settings (ibid.: 1).

As one of the most adapted texts in English literature (Davis 1990a: 110), *A Christmas Carol* lends itself to examination under Lefevere's theory of rewriting as 'the non-professional reader increasingly does not read literature as written by its writers, but as rewritten by its rewriters' (2017: 3). Most people have come to know the story through the versions which have been adapted and produced, both in print and on screen, since the first publication of the text in the nineteenth century (Davis 1999: 96). Disney's cinematic versions starring Mickey Mouse (1983), The Muppets (1992) and Jim Carrey (2009) have ensured the preservation of this text in the public consciousness into the twentieth century, and solidified its transformation into a cultural text (Jordan 2008: 487). The main difference between these versions of *A Christmas Carol* is the intended audience, and this is what informs the strategy adopted by the rewriters of the text, the producers of the adapted versions (Lefevere 2017: 124).

The decisions made as part of the rewriting strategy can be attributed to the dominant ideologies and poetologies which are found in the respective time periods in which the adaptations are produced (Lefevere 2017: 5). Ideology in this instance refers to the opinion the linguistic community holds toward the respective language while poetological considerations encompass literary devices such as genres, motifs and

the characters within the text (Lefevere 2017: 20). Translations are not produced in a vacuum and a translator or rewriter exists and works in a particular society at a particular point in time, and so, time-specific sociological ideologies influence the individual and their strategies (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: 7). As rewriters embark on the task of rewriting they can adhere to, or oppose, the dominant literary system and literary norms (Lefevere 2017: 10). While rewritings can be created which do not conform to the dominant poetological norms or ideology, they are usually aligned with that which is acceptable in a given era (Lefevere 2017: 11-12). This acceptability is usually decided by patronage, and the emphasis largely placed on acceptable ideology (Lefevere 2017: 12).

There are different types of patronage and patronage may lie with publishers, governments, the church, or even society as a whole (Lefevere 2017: 12). The three main aspects that patronage considers are normal ideological practices, economic viability, and author status (Lefevere 2017: 13). Not only do these wider circumstances influence the rewriting strategy, but so too does the ideology of the individual rewriter/translator, with regard largely to the way in which the differences between the source and receiving cultures of the respective texts is negotiated (Lefevere 2017: 66). These ideological differences can influence what is translated into and how into the receiving culture depending on what the rewriter believes is appropriate, and what will be acceptable to the readership in the receiving culture, something that hinges largely on the receiving culture's self-image and perception of itself (Lefevere 2017: 118).

A Christmas Carol (1843) was first translated into the Irish language by Father Pádraig Ó Duinnín and was published in 1903 under the title *Duan na Nodlag*. This translation has since been revised by journalist Maitiú Ó Coimín and the language updated for a contemporary Irish-language readership, and published in 2017, under the orthographically modified title, *Duan na Nollag*. This article focuses on these two Irish-language versions of the text, given the cultural contexts of the Irish-language editions and the differences between them. The Irish-language text published in 2017 is not a retranslation of Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, nor is it an exact reprint of the original translation produced by Pádraig Ó Duinnín. Instead, this contemporary text is 'arna chur in eagar agus in oiriúint' [edited and adapted], for a contemporary readership, largely due to its updated orthography, and as such these two Irish-language texts are examined under the framework of André Lefevere's theory of rewriting (1992).

This article begins by briefly outlining the background of the original English text, as well as the Irish translation and its later adaptation in order to fully appreciate how the three texts serve their respective target audiences. To investigate the

two Irish-language texts, their connections and the differences between them, the following questions will be addressed: Who is the intended audience for each of these two texts, and how do the dominant ideologies and poetological considerations (Lefevere 2017: 5) associated with the time period in which both texts have been published influence the translator and the editor in these cases?

'The First of the Three Spirits': A Christmas Carol

Charles Dickens altered the bounds of nineteenth-century literary fiction through his use of poetry and symbolism, portraying humanity in an unparalleled form (Ackroyd 1991: 9-10). He used his work to draw attention to the major social issues which existed in Victorian England (Hawksley 2017: 65), of which he had first-hand experience from his own youth (Ackroyd 1991: 16). His writing was greatly influenced by the poverty which was rife at the time along with the harsh labour conditions of adults and children alike in the country's factories, and it was considered that his works were more realistic than life itself (ibid.: 26). Dickens sought public engagement with his work (Davis 1990a: 111) and aimed to unite social classes through his portrayal of poverty and destitution (Ackroyd 1991: 27). His professional life was suffering due to his earnest interest in the major social issues of the period, with sales of his books declining due to his open expression of opinion on current affairs in the United States (Hawksley 2017: 65). In 1843, the plight of children working in factories, and the clear division between wealth and poverty greatly disturbed him and inspired him to take action (ibid.: 67). Although Dickens would write other Christmas stories, none of them would provoke such an intense reaction from the public (Hawksley 2017: 79).

A Christmas Carol (1843) is considered the most famous fictional Christmas story of its kind (Davis 1999: 73) and is now rooted in the folklore of the season due to the numerous animated versions of the text which have been produced (Davis 1990a: 109). Dickens is also credited with reviving the celebration of Christmas in England through this text (Davis 1990b: 53). *A Christmas Carol* captured the 'zeitgeist' of the era, with Victorians reminiscing about how the festival had been celebrated in the past (Hawksley 2017: 72), creating a fable which humanised the Christian festival (Ackroyd 1991: 95).

Although the publishers Chapman & Hall did not wholeheartedly support *A Christmas Carol* (1843), the text captured public attention from the very start. Dickens insisted on the inclusion of expensive, colourful, hand drawn illustrations, a cost he was forced to meet himself (Hawksley 2017: 70). Dickens worked closely with the illustrator, John Leech, on these drawings (ibid.: 80). Financial issues led to Dickens putting himself under a great deal of pressure to have the book completed

within six weeks so that it would be ready before Christmas 1843 (Hawksley 2017: 71). Despite the lack of publicity on the part of the publishers (Hawksley 2017: 72), it would appear that the first print run, six thousand copies in total, sold out within a week (ibid.: 76). Pirate unillustrated versions, or rewritings, of the texts were immediately produced, and sold at a more affordable price (Guida 2000: 40). Dickens was also a rewriter of *A Christmas Carol*. He edited the text to be performed at public reading events (Davis 1990a: 113), events in which he himself participated (Ackroyd 1991: 26). Despite the fact that he was the author of the original text, no two interpretations of *A Christmas Carol*, as rewritten by Dickens, were exactly the same (Guida 2000: 42). It was through these public performances that the story was largely communicated to the working class, many of whom had low levels of literacy or could not afford to buy the book (Guida 2000: 39).

Because of the vast number of versions that exist of the story today, the text is often imagined as part of the canon of children's literature (Davis 1990a: 109). However, such a literary genre did not exist during this time period, and as such, *A Christmas Carol* (1843) is an example of 'crossover literature', literature whose audiences have changed from adult to children or vice versa, or whose audience is a mixture of both children and adults (Rudd 2010: 158). It is clear from the full title of the text that it was intended for consumption in the form of a ghost story: 'A Christmas Carol in prose being a Ghost Story of Christmas' (1843). Given its highlighting of child poverty, it has been argued that *A Christmas Carol* contributed to the recognition of children as a distinct group in society (Rudd 2010: 3), and by the turn of the twentieth century the text had begun to be associated with children's literature (Davis 1990a: 114). It was during this period, during the Irish-language literary revival, that the genre of children's literature also began to emerge in the Irish-language literary system (Ní Choileáin 2014: 28), with the publication of Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire's *Séadna* (1904), the first novel for young people (Titley 1991: 39) published in 1904, a year after Pádraig Ó Duinnín's translation of *A Christmas Carol, Duan na Nollag*.

'The Second of the Three Spirits': Duan na Nodlag (1903)

Translation played a strong role in the Irish-language literary system from the translation involved in early Irish-language religious manuscripts to the seventeenth-century translation of literary texts from Latin and other European languages into the Irish language (see Cronin 1998: 136). In 1876 the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded with the aim of encouraging the production of Irish-language literature, in the form of either new compositions or translated literature (Cronin 1998: 137). Much of the Irish-language literature

which was produced during this period consisted largely of religious or scholarly texts, and efforts to provide leisure reading in the language did not begin until the 1880s (Titley 2014-15: 486). At this time, Irish-language literacy was extremely poor (Titley 2014-15: 486) and there was no contemporary literature available in the language to allow Irish-language speakers attain a higher level (Ó Háinle 1994: 752).

There was a fear that translation would distort the Irish language, which was already in a fragile state: 'If we start translating a large number of foreign books into Irish, the result will be that we will lose the natural beauty of the language and distort its form' (Giollabhrighde Ó Catháin in O'Leary 1994: 358). Many of those involved in the language revival took a conservative stance with regard to the preservation of the language, and there was condemnation of 'béarlachas', or the use of anglicisms in Irish-language literature (Cronin 1998: 138). The language activist and educator, Father Risteard de Hindeberg, when commenting on the translation of George Moore's *The Untilled Field* (1903) stated: 'But there must be no foreign admixture. English idioms, mannerisms, style, system of thought must be rigidly eschewed' (O'Leary 1994: 358). Revivalists, such as Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire, believed that 'caint na ndaoine' (i.e. the way native Irish speakers spoke) should be the basis on which the new Irish-language literature should be modelled (Cronin 1996: 147-48). Ó Laoghaire also championed the importance of folklore and the native oral storytelling tradition, which he used to shape his own novel, *Séadna* (1904), locating the story in the context of a traditional storytelling session around the fire (see O'Leary 1994: 98). This connection with the traditional Irish-language storytelling setting can also be seen in the title of an anthology of Irish folk tales, *Beside the Fire* (1890), collected and published by Gaelic League founder, and later, first president of Ireland, Douglas Hyde.

As such, it is clear that Irish-language revivalists sought to adhere closely to native Irish tradition and idiom, and the model of storytelling and folklore was strongly at the forefront of contemporary ideology. Lefevere argues that the self-image of the receiving culture informs the rewriter's decisions, along with the readily accepted norms in the receiving culture, such as the cultural texts to which the readership is already accustomed (2017: 118). Other factors, such as the genre of the source text and literary devices employed, such as dialogue, influence whether a particular text is suitable for rewriting (ibid.). In traditional Irish-language storytelling, the narrator would tell an impersonal, supernatural tale in which miraculous feats occurred (Kiberd 1993: 117). Due to the narrative style of *A Christmas Carol*, as well as its ghostly characteristics and morality lessons, along with the other kinds of otherworldly Irish-language literature that was emerging at the time, for example

Séadna (1904), the English text is naturally in keeping with Irish-language literary culture of the time, and, therefore, supports Lefevere's thesis (2017: 118).

Father Ó Duinnín is perhaps best known for his Irish-English dictionary, first published in 1904 (Nic Mhathúna 2014-15: 473), a momentous undertaking due to the dialectical nature of the language and the lack of contemporary Irish-language terms to describe industrial advancements (Ó Céileachar & Ó Conluain 1958: 142). This publication was highly anticipated by Irish-language revivalists, both seasoned scholars and learners of the language (Mac Amhlaigh 2008: 93-98). The emphasis was on words used in ordinary speech, especially in the Gaeltacht (areas where the Irish language was, and still is, spoken largely as a first language by residents), and terms related to the storytelling tradition and other Gaeltacht customs (Ó Céileachar & Ó Conluain 1958: 44). Ó Duinnín was also a prolific literary figure during this period, however, but among the forty-six works published under Ó Duinnín's name there is only one translation listed, Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (Ó Céileachar & Ó Conluain 1958: 356). According to Philip O'Leary, *Duan na Nodlag* (1903) was the only major translation initiative completed during the revivalist period (1994: 69), and it is believed that this translation, therefore, is the first text to be translated into the Irish language for the purpose of leisure reading (Rice 2019: 49). Ó Duinnín had previously compiled collections of classical Irish poetry, with accompanying translations, including *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille* (1900) and *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Shúilleabháin* (1901). By the time he began working on *Duan na Nodlag* (1903), therefore, Ó Duinnín was already a seasoned rewriter. The Gaelic League and the Irish Texts Society had supported these anthological initiatives from the end of the eighteenth century onwards (Nic Mhathúna 2014-15: 143), and, as such, rewriting was at the heart of the creation of the corpus of modern Irish-language literature from the beginning of the Gaelic Revival onwards.

With regard to the selection of *A Christmas Carol* for translation into Irish, the circumstances of this choice are clearly set out by Ó Duinnín in the preface of his translation: 'For the selection of this work my friend, Mr. H. J. Gill, is responsible ...' (1903.: 3). Ó Duinnín is in firm agreement with his publisher, however, and also shows his appreciation for Dickens as author in the preface:

> Keen satire and melting pathos, well known characteristics of Dickens, are fairly represented in this piece, and these qualities are calculated to commend him to Irish readers. Besides, the sympathy with the poor and outcast, with which this story abounds, will ensure it a welcome in many

an Irish home (ibid.).

Ó Duinnín, like some other revivalists, had a somewhat conservative attitude towards English-language literature, commenting on the morally corrupt message often found, as he saw it, in such literary works, and he feared that they could plant '...seeds of social disorder and moral degeneracy amongst even our still untainted population' (in O'Leary 1994: 21). Ó Duinnín never denied, however, that he read English-language works and learned from them at times (O'Leary 1994: 69). He also recognised the benefits that translation provided for the foundation of modern Irish-language literature: 'If modern Irish is to strike deep literary roots it must be cultivated in the domain of translation from other modern languages, and a better selection could hardly be made to begin with than Dickens' (Ó Duinnín 1903: 3). The intended target audience is key in the shaping of the rewriting strategy (Lefevere 2017: 124). As stated, the level of Irish-language literacy was low when *Duan na Nodlag* (1903) was published (Titley 2014-15: 486). This is somewhat evident in the preface to the translation, with Ó Duinnín stating that his strategy was mindful of 'the student', adhering, '...as close to the original as the difference of idiom of the two languages permitted' (1903: 3). It would appear, therefore, that the translation would be used by scholars of the Irish language — '...who cannot be kept out of sight…' — and that the English text could be used easily as an aid due to the '...condition of Irish studies' during this era (Ó Duinnín 1903: 3). The fact that the preface (1903: 3-5) of this Irish-language text is written in English reinforces this thesis.

One of the clearest ideological considerations for the Irish translation can be seen in Ó Duinnín's poetological decision to translate the names of the characters into Irish. This decision is firmly intertwined with the Gaelic typeface which is used in the Irish-language publication:

> The proper names presented a problem not easy to solve. I determined to give them an Irish form and write them in Irish characters, as the infecting [sic] of the initial letter and the inflection at the end are thus more easily observed, and as it would look unseemly to write Scrooge, Topper, &c., in Roman type in the midst of Irish characters. (Ó Duinnín 1903: 4).

It would appear from what Ó Duinnín says here that the Gaelic typeface is an integral part of Irish identity and writing at this time, creating a distinction between

the English and Irish languages, and the two cultures. According to Ó Duinnín, English names could not be written in the Gaelic typeface, which would suggest that the two languages have wholly different writing systems, despite the Gaelic typeface simply being an insular style of the Latin script. Instead the decision to Gaelicise character names, due to the typeface, is an ideological consideration which strives to intertwine the Irish language with Irish identity and to distinguish this from the English language. This adheres to Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire's method of moulding translated stories into an Irish form (in Cronin 1996: 147-48), with Ó Duinnín himself also stating that he presents *A Christmas Carol* 'in an Irish dress' (1903: 3). Ó Duinnín employs different strategies when translating the character names, and some place names. In some instances the character's name is translated into the Irish version of the name, such as Peter and Peadar, and this is also true of all place names. In other instances character names are left in their original form, e.g. Fred and Topper. However, when the vocative case is used with these names, Ó Duinnín applies the grammatical changes usually made in the Irish language (i.e. lenition and palatalization) — 'a F*h*red' and 'a T*h*oppe*i*r' (my italics) (1903: 86-88). In most cases, however, Ó Duinnín transliterates the English names into Irish, e.g. Eibinéasar and Dic Bhuilcins. Due to Ó Duinnín's decision to Gaelicise the character names, and the use of the Gaelic type, it can be seen that 'bh' replaced 'v' and 'w' in the names, Bhalentine (Valentine) and Bhuilcins (Wilkins). In other instances, it appears that the Gaelicisation of the names aligns more so with aesthetic poetological considerations, rather than the transliteration of the pronunciation of the English name into Irish orthography. For example, the pronunciation of 'Cratchit' [k r a t ʧ i t] in English is not the same as the pronunciation of 'Craitchit' [k r a t 'x' i t'] in Irish, or the pronunciation of' Fezziwig '[fʲ e zʲ zʲ i vʸ i ɟ] in English and 'Feisibhig' [fʲ e ʃ i vʲ i ɟ] in Irish. Although Cratchit and Fezziwig have been Gaelicised, the same transliteration strategy employed in the cases of Ebenezer and Dick Wilkins does not apply.

While Ó Duinnín respected great English-language writers, he was of the opinion that Irish was a more poetic language (O'Leary 1994: 70), and the dominant poetics in the receiving culture is usually used as a yardstick when making poetological decisions (Lefevere 2017: 15). As seen above, the characteristics of the traditional storytelling genre were being used as a basis for the emerging modern Irish-language literature. Ó Duinnín uses traditional Irish-language literary devices to domesticate (Venuti 2008: 15) the text. An example of such a literary device is the use of a series of adjectives or nouns, which all convey a similar meaning, a poetic device Máire Ní Annracháin calls 'thickening of language' (Ní Annracháin 1983: 139). While Ó Duinnín does not add adjectives or nouns that are not in the original text to his

translation, he makes considerable use of alliterative words. For example, 'Scrooge was his sole executor, his sole administrator, his sole assign, his sole residuary legatee, his sole friend, and sole mourner' (1843: 2), becomes 'b'é Scrúg a aoin-fheithiuir, a aoin-fhear-ionad, a aoin-fheadhmanach, a aon-fhuighleachtóir, a aon-chara, agus a aon-chaointeoir' (1903: 10). While there is repetition with the word 'sole' in the English text, in addition to repetition of 'ao(i)n' in the translation the repeated use of 'fh' and 'ch' adds a deeper poetic dimension.

Certain numbers, such as three, seven, nine and ten, are also central to the poetics of Irish-language storytelling and these numbers are evident in minor changes made by Ó Duinnín in translation. In the translation of '...but if they had been twice as many: ah four times…' (1843: 61) 'four' becomes 'trí' [three] (1903: 53). In the same way 'a dozen times' (1843: 89 & 160) is translated to 'naoi n-uaire' [nine times] (1903: 74) and 'deich n-uaire' [ten times] (ibid.: 126). In the final chapter of the translation of Dickens' text 'infinitely more' (1843: 165), becomes the finite number of seven hundred —'seacht gcéad neidhthe nach é' [seven hundred other things] (1903: 129).

Perhaps one of the elements that best demonstrates the ideological and poetological considerations and decisions that needed to be taken by Ó Duinnín when rewriting Dickens' text can be seen on the final page of the Irish-language text. In the English original, Scrooge tells Bob Cratchit to light the fire '...before you dot another i...' (1843: 165). In the Irish-language text, however, due to the use of the Gaelic typeface, there is no dot over the letter 'i', and thus, 'dot' becomes 'síne fada' [acute accent] (1903: 129). This technical difference between the Gaelic and Roman typefaces, the Gaelic used as an ideological marker, flagging the Irish language as distinct from English, along with the change of the poetic content of the sentence, marries the two main pillars of Lefevere's theory of rewriting when adapting a text for a new audience.

'The Third of the Three Spirits': Duan na Nollag (2017)

Since the publication of *Duan na Nodlag* in 1903, the Irish language has seen significant changes, both culturally and orthographically. During the Gaelic Revival it was understood that the largely oral language would need to be standardised in its written form so that modern literature would be readable to speakers of different dialects (Ó Háinle 1994: 754-55) as the spelling used in existing writing depended heavily on the dialectal pronunciation of the writer (Ahlqvist 1994: 43). While some revivalists were of the opinion that seventeenth-century literature should be examined and classical Irish used as a model for the new literary language (Ó Háinle 1994: 756), others, such as Eoin MacNeill, Peadar Ó Laoghaire, and Pádraig

Ó Duinnín understood the importance of the living oral language in creating a literature accessible to the contemporary speakers of the language (Ó Háinle 1994: 757).

It could be argued that the standardisation process of the Irish language began with Ó Duinnín's Irish-English dictionary published in 1904 (de Bhaldraithe 1983: 20), before which no serious attempt had been made to standardise the language since the seventeenth century (Titley 2014-15: 487). Ó Duinnín believed that there was a need for a consistent approach to Irish-language spelling (in Ahlqvist 1994: 43), and he made a number of changes, such as 'sc' rather than 'sg', and 'éa' instead of 'eu', for example (de Bhaldraithe 1983: 20). This inconsistency of the orthography of the Irish language continued to be a heavily debated topic after the foundation of the Irish state, and even after Irish was declared the first official language of the state (Ahlqvist 1994: 46). In 1945 An Caighdeán Oifigiúil [The Official Standard] was published, providing a guide to the standard orthography of the modern Irish language and a number of amendments were made to the spelling of words. For example, words were shortened and the silent 'bh', 'mh', and 'dh' in the middle of words was removed, e.g. dubhairt > dúirt [said] and Gaedhilge > Gaeilge [Irish] (in Ahlqvist 1994: 47-48). The letters 'dl' and 'nl' in the middle of words was replaced by 'll' (ibid .: 49). As such, the spelling of 'Nodlaig' [Christmas] became 'Nollag', the first difference that is observed between the Irish-language texts published in 1903 and in 2017 respectively, as it appears in the title. In addition to these amendments, the use of such letters as 'q', 'v', 'x', and 'z' in Irish technical words was allowed (in Ahlqvist 1994: 50). Prior to this, the spelling of these terms had been Gaelicised (ibid.: 53).

It was only in 1958 that the Irish government's translation department (Rannóg an Aistriúcháin) provided a standard for Irish grammar, a feat described as pioneering by the current lead translator in Rannóg an Aistriúcháin (Uíbh Eachach 2017: xix). This move was driven by the success of the standardisation of spelling amongst teachers and writers (ibid.), and to create this new standard, suggestions were sought from native Irish-language speakers, as well as teachers and others with an interest in the language (Ó Háinle 1994: 785). The new standard was based on words and grammatical forms which were found in the ordinary language in the Gaeltacht, simplicity was sought in the selection of the most common forms found in the Gaeltacht, and the literature and history of the language were given prominence (Ó Háinle 1994: 785). One of the most evident amendments in line with this standard in the edited Irish-language text, *Duan na Nollag* (2017), is the removal of the dative spelling of nouns, with Maitiú Ó Coimín adhering to the dominant poetological norm of the twenty-first century, i.e retaining the nominative spelling

of the noun in the dative case. After the publication of An Caighdeán Oifigiúil most writers adhered to the new standard, and it was taught as the accepted form of the language in schools outside the Gaeltacht (Ó Háinle 1994: 791). In 2012 An Caighdeán Oifigiúil was reprinted as it was decided that it should be revised and modified in line with standard language use (Uíbh Eachach 2017: xvii). In 2013 government legislation[1] proposed a regular review of this official grammar standard and the most up to date version of An Caighdeán Oifigiúil was published in 2017 (ibid.). However, it is still the committee's intention that the standard be a guide for linguists, and natural forms which exist in contemporary Irish-language usage are also accepted (ibid.: xviii).

The typeface used for Irish-language literature was also a contentious issue during the Gaelic Revival and the early years of the Irish state. According to Brian Ó Conchubhair, those who campaigned for the use of the Gaelic typeface argued that it would be immediately clear to the observer that the text was in the Irish language (2009: 174). On the other hand, letters in the Roman typeface were easier to find and make, making it more cost efficient (Ó Conchubhair 2009: 192). In the early years of the Irish state, the Roman typeface was widely used, with a change to the Gaelic typeface in the 1930s (Ahlqvist 1994: 46). However, ultimately, the new administration did not have the economic capacity to maintain two printing systems and eventually returned to the Roman typeface (Ó Murchú 1985: 72-73). Both official standards for spelling and grammar were published in Roman typeface in 1945 and 1958 respectively, and by the 1970s the use of the Gaelic typeface in the education system had also ceased (ibid.: 73). One of the most significant differences between the two Irish-language versions of *A Christmas Carol* is the typeface used, with the 2017 text being printed in a standard Roman typeface.

Ó Coimín acknowledges the central role played by literary translation in the creation of a modern Irish literary corpus fronted by An Gúm (in Rice 2019: 49). While Ó Coimín considered re-translating *A Christmas Carol*, he decided that since the work had already been done, he should simply edit it (ibid.). As can be seen from the catalogue of translations produced under An Gúm, the 1930s and 1940s were the most prolific decades for such work (see Mag Shamhráin 1997), meaning a large number of these texts were published before standardised spelling was introduced, and many of them in the Gaelic typeface. Ó Coimín is of the view that these translations should be revived and made accessible to a modern audience while adhering to contemporary poetological norms (in Rice 2019: 49). The typeface was the first step in rewriting the original Irish-language translation, with Ó Coimín rewriting the text in Roman type, and updating the spelling (ibid.).

1 An tAcht um Choimisiún Thithe an Oireachtais (Leasú), 2013.

While the task began as a pastime, Ó Coimín always intended to edit the entire text and to publish it in some form (see Rice 2019: 51-52). In 2015 he discussed the idea with Darach Ó Scolaí, director of Leabhar Breac, who was also interested in this type of work, having published a translation of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), only a year previously (in Rice 2019.: 50). While the majority of decisions made during the rewriting process of *Duan na Nollag* (2017) were made by the rewriter, some decisions, including the additions of illustrations, were taken by the publisher (in Rice 2019: 52). We have seen that John Leech's illustrations were of great importance to Dickens in the production of the original English text (Hawksley 2017: 71). However, no illustrations were included in the 1903 translation. The illustrations used in the Irish-language edition published in 2017 were by Arthur Rackham, originally used in a 1915 edition of *A Christmas Carol*, thus showing the continuous collaborative network of rewriting.

Ó Coimín states that his intended target audience was 'léitheoirí cumasacha na Gaeilge' [proficient readers of the Irish language] (in Rice 2019), the opposite of Ó Duinnín's imagined student readership. However, Ó Coimín wished to edit and update the Irish-language translation, leaving the text as close as possible to Ó Duinnín's translation (ibid.). As seen above, Irish-language vocabulary had not developed in line with industrial and scientific advancements when the original Irish-language translation was published. Therefore, there were terms used in Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* that did not have an Irish-language equivalent, the language being 'deficient in the terminology of science…in the new terms and conceptions in the world of literature, art and industry…' (O'Neill Lane 1904: vii). Such an example is 'comh-chumann' [co-organisation/co-society] (Ó Duinnín 1903: 10) and 'comhlacht' [company] (Ó Coimín 2017: 8). In the period between the two Irish-language texts, the language was updated by composing or borrowing new words from other languages (Ó Háinle 1994: 770). Pádraig Ó Duinnín himself also revised his Irish-English dictionary, and a second version, three times larger than the 1904 tome was published in 1927 containing more contemporary terms based on vernacular words (Ó Háinle 1994: 771).

When tackling this issue, Ó Coimín decided that if a term used in the 1903 translation could not be found in Ó Duinnín's Irish-English dictionary then he would update it so that it would be accessible to contemporary readers (see Rice 2019: 50). In his translation, Ó Duinnín used the word 'garmhac' to refer to Scrooge's nephew. In modern usage the word 'garmhac' is an equivalent for 'grandson', as evidenced in the most recent English-Irish dictionary (Ó Mianáin 2020: 631). In Ó Duinnín's 1904 dictionary, however, the entry for 'garmhac' reads 'a nephew, a grandson' (331), while this is expanded in Niall Ó Dónaill's

1977 Irish-English dictionary: '1. Grandson. 2. Lit: (a) Adopted son. (b) Sister's son.' (614). Although the meaning 'nephew' is given in Ó Duinnín's dictionary (1904) for 'garmhac', and, therefore, accessible to a modern day reader, Ó Coimín adheres to the dominant poetological choice by using 'nia' [nephew] in this case to avoid confusion. This strategy is largely followed throughout the 2017 text. Another example is the word 'uil-íocadh' (1903: 68) used by Ó Duinnín to convey the word 'mistletoe'. While 'uil-íocadh' appears in Ó Duinnín's first dictionary (1904), the second contains both 'uile-íc(e)' (1927: 1292), and 'druadh-lus' (ibid.: 370). The word is updated to 'drualus' in the revised translation (2017: 77), an updated spelling of 'druadh-lus', and the only Irish word given under the entry for 'mistletoe' in the most recent English-Irish dictionary (Ó Mianáin 2020: 930). This strategy was not employed in its entirety, however. In Dickens' 1843 text, Bob Cratchit puts on 'a white comforter' (1843: 6), or a scarf, to warm himself. Ó Duinnín translates this as 'bán-charabhat' (1903: 3) and in the 2017 edition this appears as 'carbhat bán' [white tie] (11). While the word order has been revised and edited to adhere to contemporary grammatical norms, i.e. the adjective follows the noun the word 'carbhat' was retained. The contemporary Irish-language equivalent of the word comforter as found on foclóir.ie, the online counterpart of the most up to date English-Irish dictionary, provides the words 'cochall' or 'scaif' as the third subentry meaning 'woollen scarf', under the main entry for 'comforter' (Foras na Gaeilge). 'Carbhat', however, appears under the entry for 'tie' in the most recent English-Irish dictionary (Ó Mianáin 2020: 1524). Although this doesn't greatly alter the plot, it does convey a somewhat absurd image of Cratchit trying to warm himself with a tie in the 2017 edition. While this is only a minor detail, it portrays the subtle change that occurs in common language usage over time, as well as the role of dominant ideologies and poetological choices in the rewriting of a text for a new audience using contemporary norms to convey the same images and messages for a different readership.

As seen above, in the revised spelling standard of the Irish language, words with 'gh', 'dh', 'mh', and 'bh', in the middle were contracted and this contemporary norm is evident throughout the 2017 text. Another significant spelling difference is the use of letters which traditionally were not present in the Irish alphabet (i.e. j, k, q, v, w, x, y, z) in the edited work. As explored above, the spelling of 'Valentine' and 'Dick Wilkins' was Gaelicised to 'Bhalentine' and 'Dic Bhuilcins' in the 1903 edition. However, in the 2017 text, 'Bhalentine' is updated to the commonly used 'Vailintín', and the spelling of 'Bhuilcins' becomes 'Vuilcins'. In instances such as these, the Gaelicised spellings are updated to include such letters as 'v' and 'w', or are translated into the accepted contemporary Irish equivalents

of the English character names. The transliteration of some character names, such as, Bob Cratchit, has been updated in the 2017 edition so that the pronunciation of the name in English and Irish become closer: 'Bob Craitchit' (1903) > 'Bob Craitit' (2017). The spelling of others, however, such as 'Feisibhig' (1903 & 2017) - 'Fezziwig' (1843) - were not updated in the revised text although 'non-traditional' letters were used for other names.

The revised edition of the Irish-language translation was not completely standardised, however, and there remains a trace of Ó Duinnín's Munster dialect, something which the editor consciously sought to retain (see Rice 2019: 51). Integrated forms of verbs in the first and second person singular, a marker of Munster Irish (Ua Súilleabháin 1994: 515), remain in the revised text. This dialectal characteristic, dominant in Munster Irish (Williams 1994: 468), is also evident in the retention of the words 'casóg' [jacket] (1903: 26 & 2017: 28) and 'garsún' [boy] (1903: 43 & 2017: 47).

The main difference between the ideologies and accepted norms of Ó Duinnín's era and those of the twenty-first century can be seen in detail in the form of censorship in one small portion of *Duan na Nodlag* (1903). In the original text, Dickens indirectly conveys some sort of ill sentiment, suggesting that Scrooge would rather see his nephew in hell: 'he went the whole length of the expression, and said that he would see him in that extremity first'. This is translated by Ó Duinnín as 'dubhairt Scrúg go bhfeicfeadh sé ag an nd– é' (1903: 15). In the 2017 edition this becomes 'dúirt Scrúg go bhfeicfeadh sé ag an diabhal é' [Scrooge said that he would see him with the devil] (14). Leaving aside the updated spelling, it can be seen that every word is fully spelled out. Ó Duinnín appears to explicate this sentiment in the Irish translation by using the word 'devil', thus making a reference to hell. However, this explicitation is then censored, by either Ó Duinnín himself or his publisher, suggesting that this would not be acceptable to an Irish-language readership at the turn of the twentieth century. This is not the case in the 2017 edition of the text which contains no censorship, thus portraying the constant flux between that which is acceptable and unacceptable to audiences over time, which Lefevere highlights as central to the question of ideology in the practice of rewriting (2017: 118).

Conclusion

While two different processes and strategies were employed in the rewriting of the Irish-language editions of *A Christmas Carol*, both Pádraig Ó Duinnín, translator and rewriter, and Maitiú Ó Coimín, rewriter, used the dominant ideology and poetological norms of the respective time periods as a basis for their strategies. Although there is over a century between these two Irish-language texts, and 174

years between the first publication of *A Christmas Carol* (1843) and the most recent Irish-language edition of the text, the story remains the same, adhering to the contemporary ideological and poetological norms and serving contemporary readerships of the respective time periods.

Pádraig Ó Duinnín was one of the pioneers in publishing works for the purposes of providing leisure-reading material in the Irish language, helping to fill a void which had emerged in written Irish-language literature. His experience of rewriting, including anthologising and translating collections of bardic poetry at the turn of the nineteenth century, highlights his understanding of the value of reviving past literature, making it available to new audiences to illustrate the rich literary heritage of the Irish language. It is, therefore, fitting that his own translation work be revived and rewritten, making it accessible to a modern day audience, and updating the text in line with contemporary literary norms.

Ó Duinnín respected English literature, especially Dickens, but considered the poetics of the Irish language to be superior, and a better literary medium. He adhered closely to the ideological and poetological norms of the Gaelic Revival, using 'caint na ndaoine' [the people's speech] as a literary medium, rather than the antiquated, classical Irish last used in printed Irish-language literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, introducing a new genre of literature and literary creation into the language, while also evoking an image of a Gaelic London for Irish readers. By adhering to existing literary devices in the oral literature, in traditional Irish-language storytelling, Ó Duinnín domesticates *A Christmas Carol* for an Irish-speaking audience. This target audience, due to the poor literacy rate among Irish-language speakers, was largely imagined as students and scholars of the language (Ó Duinnín 1903: 3) and appears completely different from the imagined Victorian audience for Dickens' original text. However, as discussed above, it was Dickens' intention that the text would give rise to social activism to create a positive change in the lives of the poor. Ó Duinnín's translation also sought to invoke a similar sort of activism by providing new literary material during the revivalist period in Ireland. While the two causes are quite divergent, both writer and translator/rewriter use the literature as a vehicle to motivate their readership to act.

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L'habit ne fait pas le moine: Antonine Maillet, Translation, and Acadian Identity

Danielle LeBlanc

Introduction

In her monologue 'Le recensement' [The Census], Antonine Maillet's La Sagouine mulls over her options for answering the question of nationality. She consecutively rules out American (because Americans work in shops in the United States), Canadian (because Canadians are the English-speaking Dysarts, Carolls, and Joneses), French (because the French are from France), and French Canadian (because French Canadians live in Québec). Exasperated, she concludes:

> Pour l'amour de Djeu, où c'est que je vivons, nous autres? … En Acadie, qu'ils nous avont dit, et je sons des Acadjens. Ça fait que j'avons entrepris de répondre à leu question de natiounalité coume ça : des Acadjens, que je leur avons dit. Ça, je sons sûrs d'une chouse, c'est que je sons les seuls à porter ce nom-là. (A. Maillet 1990: 154)
> [For the love of God, where is it that we live? … In Acadie, they told us. And we're Acadians. So I started to answer their 'nationality' question that way: Acadians, I said. If I'm sure of one thing, it's that we're the only ones to bear that name.][1]

La Sagouine's baffled response captures the ambiguous nature of Acadian 'nationality'. Acadie, whose first organised settlement was established in 1604 at Port Royal in present-day Nova Scotia, is generally understood to represent the French-speaking population of Canada's Maritime provinces. It does, however, continue to resist clear definition as it corresponds to ethnic and cultural identity more than to territorial or judicial delineations (A. Maillet 1971: 2; Arsenault 2004: 421-424). What makes the Acadian people the only ones to bear that name, as La Sagouine insists, is a rich folkloric tradition and a tragic history. Continuous warfare between France and England, which had also established colonies in the region, led to the Acadian territory changing hands nine times between 1621 and 1713, when the Treaty of Utrecht placed it definitively under British rule (M. Maillet 1983: 16; Arsenault 2004: 17-128). The French population nevertheless

1 All translations by Danielle LeBlanc unless otherwise referenced.

continued to flourish until the mid-eighteenth century when, amidst concerns about the growing influence of surrounding French settlements, the British demanded that the Acadians sign an oath of unconditional allegiance, which the latter had been resisting on the grounds of neutrality since 1713 (Arsenault 2004: 130, 189-90). That decision ultimately led to the Expulsion[2] of 1755, whereby British forces deported more than two-thirds of the Acadian population to the American colonies and Great Britain; hundreds perished in shipwrecks or from starvation or illness, and those who escaped deportation were forced into hiding or exile in French territories such as Louisiana, Quebec, and France (M. Maillet 1983: 37; Arsenault 2004). Nevertheless, several families returned to their homeland over the next hundred years and slowly began rebuilding to create what is today a thriving, though still minority, Acadian culture.

Acadian history has shaped a rich and vibrant collective consciousness that is intimately connected to artistic expression, especially literature (M. Maillet 1983: 57-114; Bourque 2015b: 50-1). By the early twentieth century, Acadian literature had come to be defined in terms of the body politic and around a responsibility for ensuring the survival of its people (Bourque 2015b: 52). Generated primarily by religious and political elites leading the cultural renaissance from the 1880s on, Acadian literature generally perpetuated nationalist ideologies framed around the myths of a paradise lost and a shared tragic history (M. Maillet 1983: 115-76; Gallant and Raymond 2002: 18; Bourque 2015b: 49). This ideology persisted until about 1958, which coincides with the publication of Antonine Maillet's *Pointe-aux-Coques* that helped set Acadian literature 'sur les voies de la récupération et de la contestation' [on the paths of reconciliation and recuperation] (M. Maillet 1983: 180).

Born in 1929 in Bouctouche, New Brunswick, Antonine Maillet has had a literary career so prolific that, by her own admission, it is nearly impossible to pinpoint the exact number of novels, essays, stories, children's books, plays, and translations she has published over the past six decades (A. Maillet 2016). Maillet nevertheless estimates it to be about 50 stand-alone books. Yet, her literary venture is remarkably unambiguous: 'elle étale glorieusement son lignage' [she displays her ancestry gloriously] in an effort to 'récupérer la petite histoire de son pays et fixer les traditions populaires acadiennes trop longtemps délaissées au profit de l'événement de 1755 et des traditions dites nationales' [recover her people's history and bolster the Acadian folk traditions too often neglected in favour of the event of 1755 and of so-called national traditions] (M. Maillet 1983: 182). While the nationalist discourse had until then been imposed by history books, foreigners,

2 Also known as the Deportation and the Great Disruption, among others (Bourque 2015b: 48-49).

and the Acadian elite (Bourque 2015b: 48-52), Maillet's approach was to write Acadian history from the point of view of common folk – *les gens d'en bas* – rather than from the perspective of the elites – *les gens d'en haut* – or of the foreigner (M. Maillet 1983: 182-83; Bourque 2015a: 63). More importantly, she told the stories in these people's vernacular, the first writer to do so (Malaborza 2006: 195; Bourque 2015a: 63).

Language is one of the most distinctive features of Acadian culture, not only because it distinguishes Acadians from other French-Canadian groups, but also because it carries the history and heritage of its people within it. The Acadian language as Maillet uses it, the *parlure acadienne* [Acadian way of expression] (A. Maillet 1973: 107-20), is rooted in, and indeed remains very similar to, sixteenth-century French. In *Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie* (1971), Antonine Maillet traces the origins of the language to the Middle Ages, using François Rabelais' *Cinq Livres* (1534) as a basis for comparing the late-twentieth-century Acadian oral tradition, its language and folklore, to medieval French (1971: 1). According to Maillet, literary works from the late Middle Ages contain a wealth of popular traditions that, four centuries later, are still found relatively intact in the spoken language of the descendants of seventeenth-century French settlers (1971: 27-8). As she explains elsewhere, while Rabelais used 100,000 words in the sixteenth century, a century later French dramatist Jean Racine used 5,000 words: 'Now, where did the other 95,000 go?' asks Maillet, '[t]o Acadia, to the salty sea… cold country, where you can keep things from rotting' (A. Maillet 1987: 12).

For Bernard Aresu, Maillet's *parlure acadienne*

> symbolizes […] a striking phenomenon of cultural resistance, fighting as it does, unlike the joual and chiac dialects,[3] against the encroachments of the language of the conquerors. To the modern reader, it provides a rich insight into the cultural and historical development of an ethnic group. (1986: 232)

While Aresu's mention of 'conquerors' may refer to linguistic hegemony in colonial contexts generally, it also suggests the duality of linguistic forces pressuring the Acadian language. The resistance to which Aresu points can therefore occur on two levels, to Anglophone Canada and to Francophone Québec, both of which are in a majority, linguistically or culturally, in comparison to the Acadian minority (Statistics Canada 2017).

3 'Joual' is the Québécois dialect and 'chiac' is an Acadian dialect.

Official bilingualism in Canada gave rise to two separate literary translation practices, French-to-English and English-to-French, each spurred by different motivations. Yet, both practices are often defined as a function of Québécois assertions of identity, where Québécois is both the appropriator and the other to be understood and non-Québécois French perspectives are generally disregarded. With a few exceptions (Elder 2005; Nichols 2009; Hébert 1989), little research has been conducted on either the reception of Acadian authors in English Canada or the representation of Acadian identity in Anglo-Canadian translations. Similarly, a few theorists have signalled a sense of Acadian identity in English-to-French literary translation (Malaborza 2006: 194; Nolette 2015: 182-6; Brisset 2017: 145), but the subject has yet to be investigated thoroughly. Literary critic Denis Bourque observed about the Acadian people that 'ce sont les vicissitudes orageuses de son existence […] qui le font reconnaître comme un peuple distinct au milieu de tous les peuples qui l'entourent' [the stormy vicissitudes of its existence are what make it recognisable as a distinctive people in the midst of all those surrounding it] (2015b: 50-1). If the identity of a people lies in its 'stormy vicissitudes' and in a wholly unique history and language, how are these to be rendered in translation? This paper looks at ways in which Acadian identity, in language and ideology, is translated, or carried across, in literary translations whose target audiences are non-Acadian, as well as at some implications of expressing cultural identity for a doubly-minoritised literature. More specifically, it takes as case studies two translations of Antonine Maillet's works into English—*The Tale of Don L'Orignal* (2004b), a translation of *Don l'Orignal* (1973) by Barbara Godard, and *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie* (2004a), a translation of *Pélagie-la-Charrette* (1979) by Philip Stratford—to argue that Acadian identity is threaded through textual and linguistic hybridity. The two translations demonstrate a tendency towards, following Maria Tymoczko's ideas, a metonymic approach that favours multiplicity and the coexistence of cultural values over absolutist appropriation (1999: 283). Godard's and Stratford's translations are considered in light of their respective translation strategies, expressed in the figures of ventriloquism and smuggling, to demonstrate that Acadian identity is expressed through instantiations of the *parlure acadienne*. Its expression can be interpreted in terms of what Michael Cronin calls a micro-cosmopolitan view of translation that pays attention to singularity and where difference and diversity manifest themselves within the particular (Cronin 2006: 15-6).

Literary and historical contexts

In trying to come up with an adequate nationality for the census-taker, La Sagouine relates that:

> ils avont point voulu écrire ce mot-là [Acadien] dans leu liste, les encenseux. Parce qu'ils avont eu pour leu dire que l'Acadie, c'est point un pays, ça, pis un Acadjen c'est point une natiounalité, par rapport que c'est pas écrit dans les livres de Jos Graphie. (A. Maillet 1990: 154)
> [they didn't want to write that word [Acadian] in their census, those incensors. Because they said that Acadie, it's not a country, and Acadian, it's not a nationality because it's not written in Joe Graphy books.]

If geography books prove futile in illuminating La Sagouine's nationality, written literature provides fertile ground for the development and dissemination of an Acadian identity. The first writings from Acadie date back to the early days of settlement, namely Marc Lescarbot's 1609 *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. Writing specifically to support colonisation efforts (M. Maillet 1983: 17; Gallant and Raymond 2002: 15-16), Lescarbot instigated a tradition depicting Acadie as the promised land. The myth was further perpetuated by the first writers to break the post-Expulsion silence,[4] who, paradoxically, were non-Acadian. American Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem *Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie* from 1847 had the most influence, as the eponymous heroine became the central figure in the construction of Acadian identity (Thériault 2013). The myth of an idyllic Acadie was nevertheless reinforced by Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père's *La France aux colonies* (1859), and Québécois novelist Napoléon Bourassa's *Jacques et Marie : Souvenir d'un peuple dispersé* (1865-1866), among others (M. Maillet 1983: 54-56). The first traces of a homegrown Acadian literary tradition followed suit, spurred by the first Acadian national conventions in the 1880s, whereby cultural, educational, and religious infrastructure was established (Bourque 2015b: 50-1). The discourse that emerged out of this renaissance was decidedly nationalistic and its purpose made exceptionally clear:

> Le discours identitaire né des conventions nationales, et notamment le récit commun qui lui sert principalement d'assise, donnera lieu […] à l'émergence d'une littérature acadienne sinon abondante, du moins convaincue du rôle qu'elle doit jouer dans la définition et dans la perpétuation d'une identité acadienne distincte, voire dans la lutte pour

4 Though there is some disagreement as to the level of silence (Thériault 1993: 47-8), there is general consensus that from the Deportation (1755) to the first national conventions (1880s) Acadie remained relatively silent save for personal correspondence, reports, and memoirs (M. Maillet 1983: 37-38).

> la survie de la « nation » acadienne. (Bourque 2015b: 52)
> [The identity discourse born out of the national conventions, namely the common narrative that served as its foundation, gave way […] to the emergence of Acadian literature. This literature, while not particularly abundant, is at least clear on the role it plays in defining and perpetuating a distinct Acadian identity, and even in the fight for survival of the Acadian 'nation'.]

The romantic mythos of Longfellow's *Evangeline* supplied the foundation myths permeating Acadian literature until the 1950s, when Antonine Maillet diversified the patriarchal, singularly nationalist narratives in scope, language, and themes (M. Maillet 1983: 183; Godard 1988: 86-87; Gauvin 2004: 297).

Concurrent to Antonine Maillet's arrival onto the literary scene, momentous changes were taking place in political, social, and cultural spheres across Canada. In New Brunswick, Antonine Maillet's home province, Acadian identity and language formed a 'national' consciousness that found recognition in the public sphere from 1966 on (Merkle 2000: 282). Meanwhile, great debates on questions of language and identity spurred the Quiet Revolution[5] and a growing sense of nationalism in the neighbouring province of Québec.[6] With both English and French as its official languages since Confederation in 1867, Canada fostered an environment where institutional translation has become ingrained in the collective consciousness (Delisle 1987: 34; Simon 1994: 43) and a marker of national identity (Lane-Mercier 2014: 519). The trend does not follow through to literary translation, however. In 1977 Philip Stratford compiled a total of 380 titles translated from French to English, and 190 from English to French since the first translations in the New World in 1534. Louise Ladouceur has more recently reasserted Stratford's statement that literary translation in Canada is not particularly active (2005: 20), though Gillian Lane-Mercier argues that the situation is changing (2014: 518).

Although theorists hesitate to acknowledge the existence of a literary translation *tradition* in Canada (Delisle 1987: 34; Ladouceur 2005: 23-2; Lane-Mercier 2014), Canada's official bilingualism gave rise to two separate Canadian literary translation practices with different motivations. Paraphrasing Sherry Simon, translator and theorist Barbara Godard sums up the difference between the two practices this way: 'Anglo-Canadians translate in order to know the self through an encounter with the other, while Québécois translate in order to know what the other is saying

5 The Quiet Revolution was a time of rapid societal and political change in 1960s Québec.

6 For more on nationalist ideology in Québécois translations, see Annie Brisset's *A Sociocritique of translation* (1996).

about them' (1988: 78). Literary translation practice in English-speaking Canada was conceived mainly as a bridge-building endeavour, a metaphor promoted extensively by translator Philip Stratford, one of the foremost figures in the development of French-to-English literary translation in Canada (Ladouceur 2005: 23-24). Stratford argued that '[t]he political and cultural duty of the anglophone [*sic*] translator […] was both to create an awareness among English-Canadian readers of the nature of the crisis in Québec, and to acquaint them with Québec authors' (quoted in Lane-Mercier 2006: 76). From the 1960s, sociopolitical unrest in Québec complicated the motivation for translation in English Canada: 'there was the continued desire to know the other, to break through the two solitudes, but now this was compounded by a sense of urgency, by a need to understand the turmoil in Quebec society' (Mezei 1985: 214). Conversely, the desire to know what the other is saying in English-to-French translation in Canada stems in part from the fact that 'Quebec's minority situation has always been coupled with a certain xenophobia, particularly directed to the rest of the country' that derives from the linguistic anxieties of the Quiet Revolution (Stratford 1977: preface, unpaginated). Despite Canada's official bilingualism, there has been a distinctive sense since Confederation that, as Jean Delisle puts it, 'le Canada est d'abord *conçu* en anglais, puis *traduit* pour la collectivité francophone [Canada is first *conceived of* in English, then *translated* for the Francophone community] (Delisle 1977: 70), his emphasis). This created a large administrative burden for French translators to uphold Canadian bilingualism (Ladouceur 2005: 25-6) and partially explains why in Québec, translation from English into French was highly political[7] (Brisset 1996: 7-10).

Translated beings

One issue with both of these motivations for literary translation is their emphasis on Québécois assertions of identity, on a monolithic conception of French Canada. The terms 'Québec' and 'Québécois' have often been used to encompass all of French Canada or to designate the works of French-Canadian writers generally (Stratford 1982: 121; Mezei 1985: 214; Godard 1988: 79; Brisset 1996: 74-79; Lane-Mercier 2014: 523), even if the analyses include authors such as Antonine Maillet or Gabrielle Roy, Acadian and Franco-Manitoban writers respectively.[8] As such, 'Québec' becomes an essentialist concept that suggests a homogeneous

7 This idea is the crux of Annie Brisset's argument in *A Sociocritique of Translation*.

8 Kathy Mezei (1985: 222), Philip Stratford (1982: 124), Gillian Lane-Mercier (2014: 85), Barbara Godard (1987: 95), and Annie Brisset (1996: 34; 2017: 145-6) acknowledge Antonine Maillet as Acadian elsewhere, but the point is that her cultural identity is easily muddled.

Francophone cultural experience, generally either excluding or failing to distinguish between other minority French-speaking groups such as Acadians and Franco-Manitobans. Even the examples of Maillet and Roy, comprising a fraction of the French-Canadian literary canon, suggest a plurality of cultural voices and ideologies that warrant different sensibilities in interpretation.

Antonine Maillet's sense of identity, for instance, is fluid, nuanced by her time in Montréal: '[c]'est vrai que j'ai des racines profondes, mais mes racines sont des algues qu'on peut promener, vous savez, je traine mes racines avec moi comme des algues. Alors, je suis acadienne, mais je me suis très bien adaptée à Montréal' [it is true that my roots strike deep, but my roots are like seaweeds that can be transported, you know, I carry my roots around with me like seaweeds. So, I am Acadian, but I have adapted well to Montréal] (quoted in Pellerin 2009). Maillet's dual identity—her daily life unfolding in Montréal and her creative imagination firmly anchored in Acadie—effectively gives her migrant status. Although her migration from Acadie to Québec may not elicit the linguistic anxieties of migrants who are forced to integrate into an unfamiliar and unknown target culture, Maillet does reflect the characterisation of migrants as translated entities. As Michael Cronin observes:

> [t]he condition of the migrant is the condition of the translated being. He or she moves from a source language and culture to a target language and culture so that *translation* takes place both in the physical sense of movement or displacement and in the symbolic sense of the shift from one way of speaking, writing about and interpreting the world to another. (2006: 45, his emphasis)

Antonine Maillet's English translators Philip Stratford and Barbara Godard both reinforce the notion that Maillet is a 'translated being' within French Canada. In his review of the original French *Pélagie-la-Charrette*, Stratford tells his readers that they likely will not understand Maillet's language: 'not even a good command of the best street *Québécois* will guarantee you a full understanding of this speech' (1979: 109). Barbara Godard confirms the necessity for Maillet's Francophone readers to translate the Acadian language, claiming that '[s]topping to ponder over the lexical references of these unfamiliar words, the reader slows his pace. Words come more rapidly than sense and the reader is thus obliged to involve [themselves] actively in the creative process' (1979: 66). Godard's 'creative process' is clearly translational, as the reader grapples with unfamiliar vocabulary to make sense of the text, but it is a process that presumably only non-Acadians must undertake. In

this sense, Maillet embodies Canadian translation wherein the 'doubly colonized' context of Canadian politics, represented today by Canada's official bilingualism, creates a literary industry 'where both English and French writers have been aware of 'translated' language – standard British or American, international French-dominating literature' (Godard 1979: 53).

A misattribution of identity can create situations akin to the experiences of minority-language travellers, whose identity is attributed, or misattributed, based on language. As Michael Cronin explains, 'the challenge for the traveller becomes one of describing this world in the language of the minority-language speaker rather than having it endlessly presented to them in the dominant language' (2006: 162). The attribution of identity in the case of an Antonine Maillet or of a Gabrielle Roy, in a sense domestic and intralingual travellers within French-Canada, is made on the basis of accent as well as language (or sociolect). The implications are nevertheless the same, for '[l]eaving aside nationalist susceptibilities, the difficulty of misattribution is to create a false set of expectations or to conceal histories not normally on view' (Cronin 2006: 163). The tendency can be to regard what is in this case a domestic minority as foreign or exotic. Glen Nichols, a Canadian comparative literature scholar and translator of plays by Acadian poet and dramatist Herménégilde Chiasson, noticed that Chiasson's Acadian identity was sometimes acknowledged in English translation, but that 'the [translated] texts attempt to contain any Acadian particularities as merely interesting side notes, a bit of exotic flavour' (2009: 80). Nichols' concerns for what he qualifies as translations that veer towards the sociological rather than the artistic (ibid.: 81) are justified insofar as they may perpetuate the minority's cultural stereotypes for the majority readership. Maria Tymoczko (1999: 62-89) and Michael Cronin (1995: 98) have each discussed this in the context of Irish literature. In Canada, Sherry Simon has suggested this occurs with the representation of Québécois (and presumably French Canadians generally) as 'non urban, deeply religious' (quoted in Cronin 1995: 98). The risk, Cronin warns, is to 'view the minority language [… as] an heirloom, a relic from another distant, non-urban age spoken by peasants in picturesque surroundings' as speakers of majority languages are wont to do (1995: 96).

The epitext surrounding the publication of *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie* and *The Tale of Don l'Orignal* certainly seems to relish the perceived quaintness and folksy tone of the works. Bernard Aresu points out the 'seeming 'peculiarity' of numberless stylistic surprises' (1986: 232). In his review of *Pélagie-la-Charrette*, Philip Stratford states that Acadian literature now has its *Huckleberry Finn* (1979: 109). The narrative is recycled in reviews of Stratford's English translation of the novel: Sherry Simon takes pleasure in the language's 'strange music and rough-and-

ready tumble' (1982: B8) while Kathy Mezei praises its 'folksy tone' (1983: 387). Similarly, *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*'s marketing material enthusiastically promises that 'Barbara Godard's nimble translation recreates […] the raucous dialogue in an English that's colourful, familiar, and just strange enough to capture the magic of the Fleas' (A. Maillet 2004b: back cover).

From the universal to the particular

What Glen Nichols identifies above in the translations of Herménégilde Chiasson into English is a general shift from the particular to the universal in translations of Acadian works to prepare the texts for an Anglophone audience: the *'cri du cœur* of Acadian particularity in the French, [*sic*] becomes a safe and transcendent universalism, performing the text and author as non-threatening, as something more compatible with a pan-Canadian vision of itself' (Nichols 2009: 83). It is possible, however, to rephrase Nichols' notion of a singular particularity to a plural one. In other words, it is not a question of considering the works as the *cri du cœur* of *a* particularity, but as *cris du cœur* of multiple particularit*ies*. Or, more accurately, particularities as plural forms of expressions of cultural identity. Indeed, Denis Bourque has argued that Maillet's corpus 'se présente comme une vaste fresque de l'Acadie traditionnelle ou historique et comme l'affirmation d'une spécificité qui a bien droit à sa reconnaissance, cette fois sur le plan universel' [presents itself as a vast fresco of a traditional or historical Acadie and as an affirmation of a specificity that merits acknowledgement, this time at a universal level] (2015b: 59-60).

In Antonine Maillet's works, such particularity is twofold, ideological and linguistic, and both aspects are encompassed in the *parlure acadienne*. Ideologically, Maillet distanced herself from her predecessors not by denying a sense of Acadian identity in her work, but by refashioning this identity in difference. Her work is an eloquent manifestation of hybridity, the hybridity of oral and written literatures, of past and present, of rural and urban, of rich and poor, of those *d'en bas* and those *d'en haut*, to use the dichotomy that constitutes her authorial obsession (Merkle 2000: 271; Mallet 2002: 190; Bourque 2015a: 63). The mythology that Maillet creates in her novels resists not only the ideologies of the elite's patriotic and nationalistic discourse, but also the cultural characterisation imposed by the figure of Evangeline. Maillet constructs a nuanced and complex Acadian identity through hybridity, which Michael Cronin considers to be particularly important in expressing diversity outside urban areas:

> To stress hybridity in non-urban settings is not to devalue but to revalue. That is to say, to emphasize the multiple

> origins of a cultural practice, the intercultural dynamic in a micro-cosmopolitanism of the land, is to refuse to give in to a moralizing condemnation of particularisms on the grounds that traditions are always bogus, that the supposedly authentic is an elaborate historical trick. (Cronin 2006: 18)

According to Cronin, the concept of 'cosmopolitanism' provides a useful framework with which to understand connectedness, while 'micro-cosmopolitanism' provides the grounds on which the small and particular can be perceived for all their diversity and complexity, but on their own terms (2006: 8-16). Indeed, '[t]he micro-cosmopolitan dimension helps thinkers from smaller or less powerful polities to circumvent the terminal paralysis of identity logic not through a programmatic condemnation of elites ruling from above but through a patient undermining of conventional thinking from below' (Cronin 2006: 16).
Furthermore, Maillet exemplifies the movement from below rather than from above inherent in Cronin's concept of 'micro-cosmopolitanism'. For instance, *Pélagie-la-Charrette* is the story of a family's (and a few stragglers') ten-year journey, on foot, from the American colonies back to Acadie twenty years after the Expulsion. As such, it is a retelling of history from the point of view of the people (Bourque 2015a: 64). In the novel, Maillet shifts the power structures by conceiving an

> epic that includes the stories of loss and defeat [and] offers new interpretations of time and the past […] The losers' epic shifts narrative power from the centre to the margins, and to the stories of minorities, of women, of the disenfranchised. (Giltrow and Stouck 2002: para. 2)

In *Don l'Orignal*, a quest for origins that doubles as an allegorical recreation of the tensions between British and French imperial powers leading up to the Expulsion, with the Flea Islanders corresponding to the Acadians and the mainlanders to the English, the novel's carnivalesque elements and tragic conventions create similar power shifts. Denis Bourque reads a Bakhtinian carnivalesque in *Don l'Orignal* as a

> conception particulière du monde qui s'est développée chez les couches populaires de la population depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au Moyen Âge et qui s'est exprimée à travers divers formes, rites et symboles de la fête populaire, dans le langage de la place publique. (1993-1994: 72)

[particular world view that developed among the common folk from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and that was expressed in the various forms, rituals and symbols of folk festivals and in the language of public arenas]

Don l'Orignal's Flea Islanders are descendants of the "*gens d'en bas*' sur le plan de l'imaginaire qui […] aiment la fête, la bonne vie, le rire, le manger et le boire, les histoires parodiques, les travestissements' ['*gens d'en bas*' in the collective imagination who love celebrations, the good life, laughter, food, drink, parodies, disguises] (Bourque 2015a: 63).
Apart from casting characters from *en bas* and subverting her narrative form to support her movement from below rather than above, Maillet also gives voice to these people in their own language, the *parlure acadienne*. Along with an innovative approach to narrative, language is what allows Maillet to shift the emphasis from the past to the present, the collective to the individual, the elite to the popular. According to Lise Gauvin, Antonine Maillet writes

> 'tout haut' dans un pays sans véritables antécédents littéraires [et] conduit ses personnages […] où l'imaginaire corrige l'Histoire et où la fable devient vérité de langage. Parfois les mots semblent doués d'une vie propre […] et leur effervescence se traduit par autant d'archaïsmes voire de néologismes. (2004: 301)
> ['out loud' in a country without true literary antecedents [and] brings her characters where the imagination corrects History and where fable becomes the truth of language. Sometimes, words seem to have a life of their own […] and their energy translates into as many archaisms, even neologisms.]

For example, *Don l'Orignal*'s extensive intertextuality (Bourque 1993-1994: 79; Gallant 1986: 289-92; Godard 1979: 62) appropriates the universal word and transforms it into the individual vernacular. Maillet not only stands on the shoulders of giants, but she also translates them. And she mistranslates them at that. Hinting at the multiplicity of her sources, Maillet explains that thanks to Hamlet, Acadians can ponder, in their accent, 'corver ou point corver, c'est là la grosse affaire' (A. Maillet 1976: 82) … or, 'To croak or not to croak, that's the big deal', in Godard's translation (A. Maillet 2004b: 63).

As Antonine Maillet outlines in *Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie*, the Acadian vernacular acts as both language and ideology, signifier and signified: 'elle [la langue] est à la fois moyen de transmission des traditions et elle-même tradition' [it [language] is both the means of transmitting tradition and tradition itself] (1971: 131). According to Maillet, the multitude of songs, superstitions, tales, beliefs, rituals, and legends that are embedded in the words, locutions, metaphors, proverbs, and figures of speech of Acadian language comprise 'tout un arsenal de pensées et de pratiques populaires qui constituent la manière d'être de ce petit peuple fidèle, sans doute à son insu, à son passé' [a whole collection of thoughts and folk traditions that constitute the way of being of a small people unknowingly loyal to its past] (1971: 131). The use of the *parlure acadienne* 'proposes a mythology as much in the vocabulary, syntax and rhetoric of her work as in the figuration' (Godard 1979: 63). Moreover, Maillet harnesses four centuries' worth of rich folkloric legacy contained in the oral tradition of the *parlure acadienne* to create her own language, further reinforcing its particularity. Philip Stratford puts it this way:

> *Acadien* is just *her* base. To this she adds, instinctively, her own accent, images, rhythms, expressions. The product is an imaginative equivalent of *acadien*, heavily laced with Rabelais, Perrault, Molière, folk tales, the Catholic missal […]. What she writes is an amalgam of all these parts, not academic *acadien*, but a new language. (1986: 328, his emphasis).

Through the *parlure acadienne*, Maillet defines 'specificity through and not against multiplicity' (Cronin 2006: 18), a key aspect of micro-cosmopolitanism. In other words, the *parlure acadienne* is the means by which Maillet defines and expresses a micro-cosmopolitan view of Acadian identity. It may therefore be possible to look at particularities in translations of Maillet's work into English to find instances of expression of Acadian identity beyond the quaint and folksy. The particularisms of the *parlure acadienne*—its puns, intertextuality, misnomers, neologisms, metaphors, imagery, parodies, hyperboles, and malapropisms—will provide the framework through which to explore Acadian identity as expressed in translation, namely Philip Stratford's *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie* and Barbara Godard's *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*.

Slutty fish, skunky cows, and wooden ropes

According to Pierre Hébert, translations of Maillet into English have had a lukewarm reception in English Canada, *La Sagouine* notwithstanding (1989: 272-75). Henri-Dominique Paratte qualifies Antonine Maillet as 'maybe the most difficult of all [Acadian writers], linguistically speaking', to translate (1985: 259). He goes on to attribute problems in translations of Maillet's work to one 'major stumbling block: insufficient knowledge and understanding on the part of the translators from elsewhere, of Acadian life, culture, and language' (ibid.: 260). One particularly amusing example of this appears in a *Globe and Mail* article where Maillet's novel *Les Cordes-de-bois* is translated as 'Wooden Ropes' as opposed to cords of wood (quoted in Hébert 1989: 273).

Philip Stratford was accused of not being sufficiently familiar with Acadian culture (Lane-Mercier 2006: 85), which may explain a few minor semantic disruptions in *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie*.[9] For example, Stratford translates 'elle [la colonie] continuait allègrement à planter ses choux' [it [the colony] merrily continued to plant cabbage] (A. Maillet 1979: 21) as 'had gone on cultivating its garden' (A. Maillet 2004a: 13) even though the source text alludes to the Acadian nursery rhyme '*Savez-vous planter des choux*' that Stratford references later in the novel: '… *et le bec, alouette, savez-vous plantez* [*sic*] *les choux* …' (A. Maillet 2004a: 181). For her part, Barbara Godard took significant liberties in *The Tale of Don l'Orignal* (Patterson 1983: 354), leading to awkward phrasing such as 'slut of a fish' (A. Maillet 2004b: 24) when 'damn fishery' may have sufficed for 'saloppe de pêche' (A. Maillet 1972: 29).[10] Reviewer John O'Connor identifies the mistranslation of 'nuque' [scalp] as 'shoulder' (1980: 392), and the translation of 'skunks' (A. Maillet 2004b: 19) for 'vaches' [cows] (A. Maillet 1972: 24) constitutes another possible mistranslation. Both of these examples could very well be the result of aesthetic choices rather than misunderstanding. However, Godard's translation 'a man comes home from cod and whores like he's been to a weddin' (A. Maillet 2004b: 23) clearly adds interpretation to the source text's 'un homme s'en revient de la morue comme des noces' [a man comes home from cod fishing as he does a wedding] (A. Maillet 1972: 28).

Considering these translations from the perspective of what Maria Tymoczko calls the 'metonymies of translation' (1999) is useful in identifying expressions of Acadian identity without succumbing to an entropic view of linguistic and

9 For examples of translation 'problems' in three Maillet novels, including *Pélagie-la-Charrette*, see Lorin Donald Card's thesis entitled *Antonine Maillet et la traduction littéraire : analyse critique et mise en pratique* (1997).

10 John Patterson provides a detailed, though one-sided, overview of mistranslations in Godard's *The Tale of Don l'Orignal* (1983: 352-53).

semantic problems in the translations of *Pélagie-la-Charrette* and *Don l'Orignal*. Tymoczko considers the translation of Irish literature into English in terms of its metonymies—that is, the 'information load' of a text, its 'literary features such as genre, form, performance conventions, and literary allusions; as well as the inevitable questions of linguistic interface' (1999: 47). She considers the textual information load of marginalised literatures particularly problematic in translation because the 'translator is in the paradoxical position of 'telling a new story' to the receptor audience, even as the translator refracts and rewrites a source text' (ibid.: 47). Whereas Maillet retells stories for an Acadian readership already familiar with the metonymies of her texts, her English translators are faced with a readership unfamiliar with these same metonymies. One thing, then, that may explain English Canada's rather lukewarm reception of Acadian literature is the fact that

> it is in large measure the lack of familiarity with the metonymic aspects of the literary texts of marginalized cultures that make it difficult for the audiences of dominant cultures to integrate marginalized texts in their canons, irrespective of any linguistic or even ideological barrier (Tymoczko 1999: 48).

Indeed, Pierre Hébert gleans from the English-language reviews of Maillet's work a general discomfort with her narrative style (1989: 272-75), possibly because of the episodic nature of the oral tale that permeates her work. Considering the translation of a text in terms of its metonymies, or in Michael Cronin's words as a 'mutable mobile' (2006: 28), precludes a reading of translation paralysed in the usual binary of faithfulness or treachery. Indeed, '[t]he perception of translation as a mutable mobile which operates within a topology of fluidity […] would usefully put paid to the conventional habit of dismissing translation as synonymous with loss, deformation, poor approximation and entropy' (Cronin 2006: 28). In other words, 'translation-as-substitution breeds a discourse about translation that is dualistic, polarized, either/or, right/wrong. A metonymic approach to translation is more flexible, resulting in a discourse of both/and which recognizes varying hierarchies of privilege, […] coexisting values, and the like' (Tymoczko 1999: 283). As discussed previously, the *parlure acadienne*, as both signifier and signified, is in itself metonymic, it is both 'miracle et musée populaires' [popular miracle and museum] because of the four centuries of oral tradition that shaped it (A. Maillet 1971: 133).

Both Philip Stratford and Barbara Godard pay close attention to sound, rhythm, and the orality of the source text (Stratford 1982: 125; Stratford 1986: 326; Card 1997: 62-66; Mezei 1983: 387; Mezei 2006: 208). However, aspects of Acadian identity expressed through the *parlure acadienne* occur in English translations of Maillet's works particularly strongly as polysemy and catachresis in *Pélagie: Return to Acadie* and as neologisms and malapropisms in *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*.

Smuggling and ventriloquism: Expressions of Acadian identity in translation

Philip Stratford conceptualised translation as an act of smuggling a source text into a target system, of transferring it clandestinely so as to render 'eux autres' [them], to show that the 'other' is not so distant from the 'us' after all (Lane-Mercier 2006: 82). 'After much reflection, trial and error', says Stratford, 'the primary decision that any translator of Antonine Maillet must reach is, what English idiom to imitate or invent to try to capture that droll, earthy, salty, poetic, archaic, innovative language that is the essence of her work' (Stratford 1986: 326-7). The problem, though, is that any 'English idiom' will fall short precisely because the source language is anything but obscure. Maillet's language is remarkably specific, reinforcing, augmenting, reducing, and repeating as needed to achieve clarity and precision (A. Maillet 1971: 155). In attempting to compensate for the specificity of Maillet's language, Stratford considered using an equivalent dialect, his options including Shemogue Irish (New Brunswick), Nova Scotia Scotch, or Newfoundland Outport English (Stratford 1982: 125). He ultimately settled on Low Standard North American English but adopted an inventive strategy and developed 'Stratfordese' to match the source's 'Mailletois' (Stratford 1986: 328). Stratford noted that he preferred to 'english' rather than 'anglicise' a text (1986: 328), but his critics generally describe a strategy of fluency in his translations of Maillet. For example, Gillian Lane-Mercier states that Stratford 'downplayed questions of strict equivalence in favour of enhanced fluency and a certain sense of translational latitude' (Lane-Mercier 2006: 91). Sherry Simon agrees, suggesting that 'Stratford makes no attempt to reproduce or find equivalents for the specific expressions of Acadian French' (1982: B8).

Barbara Godard, for her part, positions herself as a ventriloquist, likening the art of translation to an act of ventriloquism by which translators insert themselves in the creative process and assert their visibility in doing so (Mezei 2006: 208-11). Godard opts for an 'equivalent' dialect, in this case Ottawa Valley English, for rendering Maillet's language (Stratford 1986: 327). According to Kathy Mezei, Godard's style is 'fluid [and] lively', the result of 'developing tactics for difficult texts replete with neologisms, dialect, and semantic and syntactic disruption' (2006: 207-8). In his review of *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*, John O'Connor lauds Godard for her

'impressive and near-perfect' translation, remarking on her having 'taken great care to find equivalent idioms and to retain Maillet's puns and verbal tricks' (1980: 392). Even John Patterson, whose scathing review points to multiple linguistic deficiencies, concedes that Godard retains the humour and imaginativeness of the source text (1983: 353).

However, for all the talk of fluency and equivalence, there are multiple occurrences of French vocabulary and syntax in both English translations. Stratford routinely incorporates French words: 'charivari' (A. Maillet 2004a: 46), 'sous' (ibid.: 60), 'seigneur' (ibid.: 87), 'chevalier' (ibid.: 221), and the list goes on. Though these words have, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, entered the English lexicon, they have a decidedly French ring to them. Stratford also signals foreignness through untranslated folk songs (ibid.: 40, 181, 222) and by keeping the French terms, in italics, for 'maçoune' (ibid.: 7), 'bien le bonjour', (ibid.: 12) 'déshabillés' (ibid.: 136), and 'patriotes' (ibid.: 152), where 'hearth', 'good day', 'unclothed', and 'patriots' could have conveyed the message, if not the foreignness, equally effectively. With the exception of 'patriotes', the words that Stratford leaves in French all convey a sense of Acadian identity. According to Pascal Poirier's *Le Glossaire acadien*, 'maçoune' is an Acadian diminutive of 'maçonnerie' and means 'âtre, foyer' [hearth, fireplace] (1995: 288). Poirier also reflects on the simple 'bonjour' in his *Glossaire*, linking the slightly altered 'bonjou' to a tradition of greeting involving the Indigenous peoples (allies of the Acadians before and during the Expulsion) and to the old world (1995: 72). Finally, 'déshabillés' echoes 'habillage' and 'habilleux', Old French words that refer to the preparation of meat and fish (Poirier 1995: 249), a reference that resonates profoundly in the context of *Pélagie-la-Charrette* and a return to stability and Acadian customs. The word 'patriotes', on the other hand, is more closely related to Québécois than Acadian culture, hearkening back to the 1837-1838 rebellion in Lower Canada (Arsenault 2004: 385). The word 'patriotes' also appears in the source text (A. Maillet 1979: 186) but is qualified by the indefinite article 'des' in contrast to Stratford's personal plural pronoun 'our' (A. Maillet 2004a: 152) in English. Barbara Godard's reliance on words with French etymology is less conspicuous, although the repeated 'reconnoitre' (A. Maillet 2004b: 26, 40) and 'pince-nez' (ibid.: 66) provide two examples. More to the point in Godard's translation is the title of the epic by *Don l'Orignal*'s resident poet, the 'Pucéade' (Gallant 1986: 290), which Godard renders as 'Fleaiade' (2004b: 36). The title is a thinly veiled riff on *The Iliad* that Godard adapts into French by keeping the final 'e' to parallel the French translations of Homer's masterpiece, *Iliade*.

Philip Stratford's linguistic decisions point to a deliberate attempt to recreate polysemy, the losses and gains of which are discussed at length by Lorin Donald Card (1997: 60-87). Card looks at Stratford's orality, regionalisms, register, language play, and semantic equivalences and provides ample examples of gains and losses in all categories (ibid.). His analysis includes the witty 'resurrextraction' (A. Maillet 2004a: 107), which he identifies as a 'mot-valise […] pour compenser la morphologie populaire dans [le mot] 'relevailles" [portmanteau word […] to compensate for the popular morphology of [the word] 'relevailles'] (1997: 75). 'Resurrextraction' is, furthermore, an example of catachresis, a figure of speech that Maillet uses frequently. La Sagouine is especially renowned for her comedic and satirical misuse of words, as evidenced by her Joe Graphy quip, quoted earlier. They are reminiscent of what Maillet calls 'équivoques' and which she traces back to Rabelais (1971: 179-80). They allow the characters 'to disturb the established discourses of church, state, and community through a shift of register' (Reid and Famula 2003: 77). Catachresis is yet another instance of Maillet destabilising the power structures from the bottom up. Writing about catachresis in *La Sagouine*, Gregory J. Reid and Christine Famula argue that

> as an act of naming that which has not yet been named within a language [it] is the ultimate challenge and accomplishment of translation and causes us to note that Maillet's *La Sagouine* is itself very much like a translation, albeit a simulacral translation for which there is no source text. (2003: 78)

It is telling, then, that both Philip Stratford and Barbara Godard imitate *Pélagie-la-Charrette*'s and *Don l'Orignal*'s few instances of catachresis. Stratford's *Pélagie: The Return to Acadie* has two other examples: 'expectorators' (A. Maillet 2004a: 152) and 'Vamoose' (ibid.: 247). For her part, Godard has, in *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*, 'ecumulical' (A. Maillet 2004b: 19), 'harrycane' (ibid.: 42), and 'drownded' (ibid.: 78). Unlike Stratford, though, she seems to recreate Maillet's catachresis rather than intersperse them randomly throughout the text; for example, 'ecumulical' is a translation of the source's 'concile yeucumulique' (1972: 24).

More frequent in *Don l'Orignal* are malapropisms, which Barbara Godard discusses in her article 'The Tale of a Narrative: Antonine Maillet's *Don l'Orignal*' (1979). Again, such wordplays are characteristic of the *parlure acadienne* and the Rabelaisian legacy (A. Maillet 1971: 179-82). Godard mentions specifically the replacement of 'aurore' [dawn] with the figure of a woman named 'Aurore', as well

as the confounding of 'helicopter' and 'holocaust' (1979: 64). She keeps both in her translation: '… that a watcher somewhere was hoping for Aurora' and 'that a sacrifice would be made of a holocaust or a helicopter' (A. Maillet 2004b: 77). The mistranslation by Citrouille, a character in several of Maillet's works, of Hamlet's famous soliloquy, 'to croak or not to croak' (A. Maillet 2004b: 63), is a case in point as it exemplifies the propensity for parody in the Acadian oral tradition (A. Maillet 1971: 182). In *Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie*, Maillet discusses specifically the parodying of sacred texts, noting that Acadians (and Rabelais) have a penchant for burlesque translations of these texts (1971: 182). In this sense, Godard's 'I can't keep him alive *vitam aeternatam* all by myself' (A. Maillet 2004b: 40) and '[w]e'll drink a *tea deum* to celebrate that' (ibid.: 90) are aptly representative of the playfulness of the *parlure acadienne*.

The greatest distraction in Godard's translation of *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*, and indeed the one that incensed Paratte (1985) and Patterson (1983), is the dialogue rendered in Ottawa Valley English dialect. The dialect produces naturalised expressions such as 'That's how she be, then' (A. Maillet 2004b: 18) for 'Eh ben, c'est comme ça' [Well, that's how it is] (A. Maillet 1972: 23), and 'but what's all this finnin and sinning these days!' (A. Maillet 2004b: 23) for 'Ah! mais c'est quoi c'est que ces pêches, asteur!' [What's all this about fishing, now!] (A. Maillet 1972: 28). Yet, Godard's linguistic and artistic freedoms should not be judged out of context or with disregard for her translation strategy. She obliquely alludes to this strategy in her critique of two translations by Luis de Céspedes when she argues that

> '[n]one of the experimentation of other Maillet translators, such as phonetic transcription or the retention of words in French to recreate the translation effect that the Acadian dialect has in French, has been attempted in these translations. The result is workmanlike but lacks the poetic function which, through defamiliarization, the Acadian dialect produced in the original. (1988: 87)

The review was published in 1988, nine years after the first English edition *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*, which makes it possible that Godard includes herself in those 'other Maillet translators'. Slight linguistic misunderstandings notwithstanding, Godard had a solid grasp of Acadian language and culture, or at least of the extent to which Antonine Maillet relied on Rabelais. Her article 'The Tale of a Narrative' outlines the ways in which *Don l'Orignal* depends on the results of Maillet's folklore research as presented in *Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie*, including through

language (Godard 1979: 52), narrative form (ibid.: 52), superstitions (ibid.: 60), and proverbs (ibid.: 64). It is through such sensibility to the cultural significance encompassed in the *parlure acadienne* that Godard transmits Acadian identity. Both she and Stratford keep allusions, in French, to Acadian legends, namely the 'chasse-galerie' in *The Tale of Don l'Orignal* (A. Maillet 2004b: 34) and the 'coureurs des bois' in *Pelagie: The Return to Acadie* (A. Maillet 2004a: 161, 241).[11]

Another noteworthy example is the allusion to the legend of the 'bateau fantôme' [ghost ship] in *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*. An unexplained natural phenomenon in which a giant ship seems to float ablaze on the horizon, the 'bateau fantôme' has become embedded in the collective consciousness. The story goes that it is a ship of pirates condemned to burn for their crimes and its appearance foretells a storm (d'Entremont 2012: 170-71).

Maillet's source text already explains the phenomenon explicitly, making it clear for any reader unfamiliar with Acadian folklore. In her translation, though, Godard emphasises the connection.

> Depuis un siècle et demi déjà, les habitants des côtes de mon pays apercevaient périodiquement cet étrange phénomène. Un bateau en feu errait à l'horizon avec une lenteur sinistre. C'était un voilier immense, gréé de mâts et de cordages, où montaient et descendaient des marins affairés. Tout le bâtiment et son équipage étaient la proie du feu qui éclairait le ciel entier. (A. Maillet 1972: 31)
>
> [For a century and a half, the inhabitants of the coast of my country periodically witnessed this strange phenomenon. A ship on fire drifted on the horizon with sinister slowness. It was an enormous ship, rigged with masts and ropes on which busy sailors climbed up and down. The whole rig and its crew were the prey of the fire that lit up the whole sky.]

In translation, Godard renders the excerpt as:

> For a century and a half now, the inhabitants of the shores of my country have periodically glimpsed the strange phenomenon *of a* ship in flames drifting on the horizon with sinister slowness. It *is* an enormous sailing ship, rigged

11 For an overview of Acadian folklore in *Pélagie-la-Charette*, see Carmen d'Entremont (2012).

> with masts and ropes on which busy sailors *climb* up and down. The entire vessel and its crew *blaze* with a fire that lights up the whole sky.
> Maillet 2004b: 26, my emphasis)

In the description, Godard opts for the present tense, contrasting with both Maillet's past tense and with the present perfect and past perfect tenses in the sentences prior to and immediately following this excerpt in her translation. It is a nod to the continuing insistence on superstition and magic, especially omens, in Acadian folklore (A. Maillet 1971: 87-99). Godard is like Maillet in that what she retains from her source (Maillet's source being the oral tradition) is 'le grossissement des faits par l'imagination et la volonté de séduire et d'enthousiasmer le lecteur, comme le ferait un conteur populaire' [the enhancement of facts through the imagination and a desire to seduce and stir the reader, much like a storyteller would] (Gallant 1986: 288). Indeed, Godard emphasises alliteration in phrases such as 'the assembly had voted for conscription, coalition, conspiracy, colonization, plus a commanding war budget' (A. Maillet 2004b: 88), a sign of oral literature according to Maillet (1987: 14).

Conclusion

The profound sense of identity that nourishes Antonine Maillet's novels and plays, which finds expression through the *parlure acadienne,* is rendered through the lens of micro-cosmopolitanism in some of the English translations. Philip Stratford and Barbara Godard recreate the movement from the universal to the particular inherent to Maillet's works, thereby creating a space wherein to express Acadian identity. Their understanding of their function as translator, either as smuggler or ventriloquist, allows them the necessary space to render the linguistic and textual playfulness, those aspects intrinsic to the *parlure acadienne*, in English translation. If "[l]ittle history' isn't written in millennia like the other kind, [if] it's passed on by word of mouth, day by day' (A. Maillet 2001: 38), the expression of the cultural identity of the 'littératures de l'exiguïté' [small literatures], as François Paré calls them (2001), or 'de l'intranquilité' [untranquil literatures] in Lise Gauvin's words (2004: 259), should follow suit. '[B]ecause there is always loss and gain in moving between languages and between cultural discourses, because a translator cannot capture everything, […] because there are limits on the practicable information load of the target text' (Tymoczko 1999: 55), translators' decisions create space for marginalised or minority literatures to surface. In the case of Maillet's translations,

this occurs in spite of different target-culture norms in the Anglo-Canadian and Québécois polysystems and sociocultural spheres.

Acadian identity, as expressed through hybridity, straddling the realms of the universal and the specific, infiltrates the two translations analysed above to articulate the vibrancy and resourcefulness of a cultural minority. Maillet enacts a line from the narrator of *Pélagie-la-Charrette* and writes 'en langue du pays' (1979: 284) and this language finds its way into Anglo-Canadian and Québécois literary systems. In Philip Stratford's *Pélagie-la-Charrette* and Barbara Godard's *The Tale of Don l'Orignal*, Acadian identity surfaces through puns, intertextuality, misnomers, neologisms, metaphors, imagery, parodies, hyperbole, and malapropisms, tools that the ventriloquist- or smuggler-translator borrows from the author of the source text, Antonine Maillet. Acadian identity crops up in these works in the particularities that lie beyond the texts' surface, beyond the folksy packaging. After all, *l'habit ne fait pas le moine*, and just as clothes do not make the man, as it were, what are perceived as strategies of fluency can sometimes disguise clear attempts at rendering the specifics of a cultural identity.

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Project Managers' views on the use of technologies in translation and interpreting markets in England and Ireland

Sarah Berthaud

The translation and interpreting market in Ireland shares similarities with that of England but there are also some differences. Like in England the translation market in Ireland is concentrated mostly on translation in and out of English. With numerous multinationals – in the technological sector – based in Ireland, the translation market has been described as 'a world centre of translation and localisation' (Moorkens 2020: 58 quoting Schäler 2003).

One difference between the two markets is that, in Ireland, both English and Irish are national languages with the Irish Constitution recognising Irish as the first national language and English as the second (Article 8, 1937). In addition, the Official Languages Act 2003 provides for translation into Irish. The main aim of the act is:

> to promote the use of the Irish language for official purposes in the state; to provide for the use of both official languages of the state in parliamentary proceedings, in acts of the *Oireachtas [Parliament]*, in the administration of justice, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of public bodies; to set out the duties of such bodies with respect to the official languages of the state; and for those purposes, to provide for the establishment of *Oifig Choimisinéir na dTeangacha Oifigiúla* [Office of the Language Commissioner] and to define its functions; to provide for the publication by the commissioner of certain information relevant to the purposes of this act; and to provide for related matters. (Official Languages Act 2003).

In practice, this has implications for the translation and to a lesser extent the interpreting market in Ireland. For instance, in the administration of justice, any citizen in Ireland can choose to use either English or Irish in court. This might require documents to the translated from English into Irish or Irish into English and interpreting services might also be needed for witnesses, plaintiffs and victims

attending the proceedings. The Act also stipulates that some documents – such as public policy documents or annual reports for instance – must be published in both English and Irish. Therefore translation is required and mostly carried out by public servants – who enjoy job stability – to ensure the State adheres to the Act (Moorkens 2020). There is not only a need to translate/interpret between the two national languages but there is also a need to translate/interpret from either of the two national languages into other languages and vice-versa.

While the present study does not investigate translation or interpreting within Irish government departments, it examines translation and interpreting at Language Service Providers (LSPs) in Ireland who may or may not provide English-Irish translation and/or interpreting and/or who may or may not provide translation and/or interpreting English and/or Irish into/from other languages. The configuration with two national languages adds an extra layer to the translation/interpreting market and means that data observed for the market in England is not necessarily applicable to Ireland.

Two of the main technological advances dealt with in the present article are Translation Memories (TMs) and Machine Translation (MT). TMs are digital databases developed over time as a translator works: TMs store segments, sentences, and texts translated by a translator. The more translation is stored by a translator in the TM, the more developed and useful the TM becomes. Examples of TM tools include Trados and MemoQ. On the other hand, MT is the use of software to translate directly from one language to another without the help of a translator. In this instance, translators are often tasked with post-editing machine translation, i.e. reviewing the computer-translated text to ensure accuracy (Pym, 2013). However, all languages are not equal when it comes to technological advances. Most technological tools required by the market have been developed via English. However, they may not be developed enough for Irish. For instance, translation tools like MT are proving difficult to use for Irish in different settings; Dowling *et al.* (2018) explain that Irish MT has not progressed sufficiently due to lack of resources (data and skilled resources) but it can be used successfully if post-edited.

Project Management

In recent years, technological advances have greatly modified the translation/interpreting market worldwide, whether via the widespread use of information technology (e.g. Computer Assisted Translation (CAT) tools) or with the expansion of the dominance of Language Services Providers (LSPs) in England. With the 'technological turn' (O'Hagan 2013: p.512), research studies analysing the views and perceptions of translators are numerous, whether it is to do, for example, with

job status (Pym *et al.* 2012), job satisfaction (Leblanc 2017; Nunes Viera 2020), Technology-Computer Interaction (Bundgaard 2017) or post-editing (Guerberof 2013; Moorkens *et al.* 2015).

The increase in outsourcing of language services has led to modifications in the way translators and interpreters work. Research by Moorkens (2020) on the Irish context reveals that the 2008 recession had a strong impact on the employment market leading to an increase in freelance workers, including in the translation industry. Freelance translators are now more likely to be connected and working with LSPs and thus collaborating with project managers (PMs), rather than working on their own with direct clients. PMs occupy an essential role in the translation industry and in LSPs as the link between clients, companies, translators and interpreters. In fact, their place is so important within an LSP that researchers have noted that 'There is no direct contact between client and translator; it is through the PM's intermediation that a successful transaction takes place' (Olohan *et al.* 2017: 297). PMs are entrusted with tasks vital for the survival of the company such as negotiating prices, recruiting translation and interpreting staff, allocating projects, and ensuring the completion and quality of projects (Rico Perez 2002). It is not surprising then that the study by Olohan *et al.* (2017) shows that trust is an essential element between PMs and clients, PMs and translators, and PMs and LSPs. PMs take many risks in completing their tasks; if they do not allocate the translation task to a translator who will complete it on time, they risk losing a client and the LSP's reputation. With the advent of new technologies, PMs have seen their tasks increase. Research shows that they also need to educate clients about translation as clients may sometimes think that translation happens very fast, simply at the touch of a button (Olohan et al 2017; Sakamoto 2019).

However, until recently, no study had examined the perception of PMs of the use of technologies in LSPs. I had the opportunity to undertake such a study with my colleagues when I worked at the University of Portsmouth (see Sakamoto *et al.* (2017) for the full report and Sakamoto (2019)). We recruited 16 PMs from 15 LSPs[1] in England to participate in focus groups in a one-day event organised at the University of Portsmouth. During the focus groups, we asked the PMs to answer questions about the tools their company used and their experience and perceptions of them. After obtaining the results from the English study, I decided to replicate the study in order to examine the perceptions of PMs of new technologies and the translation and interpreting market in Ireland. While the current paper will refer to the results of the study carried out in England for comparison purposes, the

1 One LSP sent two PMs to the focus groups (PMENG13 & PMENG14).

main discussion will focus on the preliminary results obtained during my follow-up study in Ireland.

Perceptions of PMs on technology in LSPs in England and Ireland

Data collection in England and Ireland

Ethical approval was granted by the University of Portsmouth prior to starting data collection in England, and by Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology prior to starting data collection in Ireland.

Data collection for the English strand of the project took place in focus groups with PMs organised during a one-day symposium at the University of Portsmouth on 9 June 2016. The Irish strand of the project relied on the collection of data during face-to-face and phone interviews with PMs between April 2018 and May 2019.

Participants

The study participants were all PMs who worked at LSPs in England and Ireland. They were first contacted via email and invited to participate in the study and then sent an information sheet. Those who agreed to take part were provided with a list of questions prior to attending the focus groups. Sixteen PMs participated in the English strand of the study.

For the Irish strand, the participants were sent questions in advance of the interview and a time and place for the interview were agreed. The interviews were conducted face-to-face mostly (n = 4) with one conducted over the phone (n = 1) to suit the PM who was travelling at the time. Both focus groups and interviews were recorded and transcribed before being analysed. The interview questions were divided into two sections: Section 1 concentrated on background information on the company, the PM, and the technological tools they use. Section 2 comprised 11 questions focusing on PMs' perception of the use of technology. The questions focused on four topics: (i) the use of MT, (ii) the use of TM, (iii) changes to the translation/interpreting market (including recruitment and payment) and (iv) training and continuous professional development (CPD). The questions were adjusted slightly for the Irish context.

PM and company profiles

While more PMs took part in the English strand (n = 16 with two PMs from the same LSP) than in the Irish strand (n = 5), the profile data shows that for both the English and the Irish study, medium and large LSPs were recruited (see Table 1). The range of experience of PM participants varies greatly but is broadly similar in the two countries. England-based PMs have between 1 and 28 years of experience (median = 8 years) while Ireland-based PMs have between 1.5 and 23 years of

experience (median = 8 years). Overall, the mean of years of experience for PMs included in this study is 12.05 years in England and 11.7 years in Ireland.

Digital tools used by LSPs

PMs reported that they used a wide variety of digital tools. Overall, Table 1 illustrates that bigger companies tend to use more varied digital tools. For instance, PMENG18[2] working for an LSP with 100 staff in the UK used MT, TM, localisation tools, project management tools, vendor portal, client portal, social media and forums. PMIE1[3] and PMIE2 – both working in big LSPs in Ireland – also provided a long list of digital tools. On the other hand, PMs working for very small LSPs listed few tools (e.g. PMENG1, PMENG4, PMENG6 and PMENG8). However, the results in Table 1 also suggests that medium LSPs use multiple digital tools on a regular basis as is the case with PMENG11, PMIE4 and PMIE5.

2 PMENG: PM = project manager and ENG = England

3 PMIE1: PM – project manager and IE =Ireland.

Table 1: Profiles of PMs and LSPs and digital tools used by LSPs.

PM	Nb of LSP staff	Experience as PM (years)	TM		MT		Project management tool			Localisation tool	Client portal	Vendor portal	Social Media	Forum		Interpreting tools	Other
			Stand alone	Server-based	Free	proprietary	General	Translation specific	Bespoke					Recruitment	Research		
PMENG1[4]	1	22	√		√								√	√	√	√	
PMENG2	1	14	√	√	√								√				
PMENG3	2	28		√	√			√					√		√		
PMENG4	2	19											√				
PMENG5	3	7.5	√					√			√	√	√	√			
PMENG6	5	5												√			
PMENG7	6.5	3.5		√									√		√		
PMENG8	11.5	8			√				√					√	√		
PMENG9	15	3	√	√		√			√	√	√	√	√	√			
PMENG10	15	3	√	√				√	√	√	√		√	√	√		
PMENG11	18	16	√	√	√			√			√	√	√	√			
PMENG12	19	20	√	√					√	√							
PMENG13*	25	20	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
PMENG14*	25	5	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
PMENG15	100	8	√	√		√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
PMENG16	150	19	√						√		√						
PMIE1[5]	120			√		√			√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
PMIE2	200		√			√		√		√	√	√					
PMIE3	9			√					√		√		√				Supplier portal
PMIE4	8 +5/6PT			√				√					√		√		Subtitling tools
PMIE5	2 + 19PT		√	√	√				√		√		√		√		

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Project managers' use of technology

The results of both studies revealed that the increased use of technology and the outsourcing of language services brought new ethical considerations to the translation/interpreting market. Ethical issues arose relating to four areas which we will go on to discuss below:

(i) Lack of transparency in the use of machine translation for PMs
(ii) Ownership and maintenance of translation memories;
(iii) The interpreting market
(iv) Responsibility to engage in Continuing Professional Development (CPD)

(i) Lack of transparency in the use of MT for PMs

PMs in England reported that there was a lack of transparency about translators' use of MT. The report concluded that:

> Project Managers (PMs) are not sufficiently informed about how much their contracting translators are using MT. There is no industry wide consensus about how much and in what way translators should use MT and not many LSPs implement an official policy about it. On the personal level, PMs are cautiously positive about translators using MT. However, their views on PEMT (post-editing machine translation) are generally careful. Although increasing uptake of this service is evident, participants voiced concerns about the financial implications for translators, inevitable change in the nature of translators' jobs and confidentiality (Sakamoto *et al.* 2017: 3).

The results for Ireland are divided, with PMs working in a big multinational LSP (with 'bigger' languages) and thus availing of MT, and medium Irish LSPs working with Irish and struggling with MT.

PMIE1 and PMIE2 reported that their translators can use MT in their work. For PMIE2, MT is an efficient way to translate faster and more consistently. However, the use of MT is not transparent for customers. PMIE2 commented: 'It depends on the company but a lot of clients do not fully understand translation and they might use Google Translate, it's hard to explain to them we can use MT without the quality being affected'. PMIE2's comment shows that clients are not always knowledgeable about translation technologies. The comment suggests that clients

do know about Google Translate and assume that MT is of very bad quality but this is not always the case. Studies have showed that neural machine translation (NMT) produces good results and even produces promising results for Irish (Dowling *et al.* 2018). However, this comment could also suggest that it might be easier if clients do not know about the use of MT if indeed used. As with the findings for PMs in England, PMs in Ireland also reported lack of transparency about the use of MT. PMIE5 did not have issues with translators using machine translation *per se* if the quality was good but suggested that it might cause issues for certain projects and in relation to confidentiality:

> For certain clients, I'd have issues with MT. With confidential information, of course, going to external servers on the back end, unless there's kind of very, very strict agreement about where that information is going. I would be concerned. Yeah, just the lack of transparency is an issue.

It is worth nothing that the work of PMIE1 and PMIE2 did not include Irish translation while that of PMIE4 and PMIE5 did, and their answers reflect their language constraints. PMIE5 said:

> I don't know, my personal view on MT is very much tainted by working on machine translation and Irish. I don't think it's ready for primetime. For me, I find it more of a hindrance than it is going to help. I tested it to see if it actually is increasing my speed and in those tests I found out that it doesn't.

This perception was echoed by PMIE04 who said that:

Machine translation [tools], I don't use them. I cannot vouch for them. I don't think any of our translators use MT. ... I don't think machine translation [for Irish] is at a stage where it is going to work.

Interestingly, PMIE3 noted that MT '...is a personal choice for the translator but DeepL is very good' while also mentioning that 'I wouldn't use MT for Irish though.' This quote is interesting as it raises questions for clients who want their documents to remain confidential and with the EU General Data Protection

Regulation (General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2018) which protects the processing of personal data – personal data often found in documents requiring translation. Indeed, segments entered into MT tools like DeepL can then be retained in the MT tool database. It is impossible to withdraw the data from the database (Kenny 2019). This breaks GDPR rules and if translators use MT without any control this could mean that confidentiality is not respected. This also raises the issue of the actual job of the translator working on text produced by MT who then becomes a post-editor. Nitzke *et al.* (2019) show that full post-editing – where the machine-translated text needs to be edited so it is publishable – can require different skills to translating. This could impact the quality of the output.

(ii) Ownership and maintenance of translation memories

The earlier results from England showed that all PMs that took part had various ways of managing TM files and the report found that: 'There is no standard method of translation memory (TM) file management in the industry' (Sakamoto *et al.* 2017: p.3).

The results from Ireland reveal that the PMs see TM file ownership as belonging to the LSPs. PMIE5 mentioned that they can provide clients with TM files if required at an extra cost but that 'We consider it ours, basically.' PMIE4 said that clients very seldom ask for the TM files:

> They very rarely ask. Because I think they find they don't know what to do with it at the other end, I find what our clients want is they want the job done and the job back. They don't want any responsibility of having to even do tweaks to a job or changes or minor changes, they come back to us to do those, they would not take responsibility for doing the job. Maybe that's a downside in a way. Because they're putting all the responsibility on you.

Generally speaking, the PMs in Ireland gave two different answers as to who was responsible for maintaining TM files. Three PMs said it was the job of the translators and PMs: 'I think it's the translators' and the project management, management's job, or the manager's job to oversee, yeah, and to make sure that there is a continuity, and there's that those memories are updated' (PMIE4); 'I mean, it's the responsibility of the translator to make every effort to make sure that it's, it's working and all that kind of thing, but the actual compiling it's the PM's'

(PMIE5). Interestingly, PMIE3 reported that some of their TMs were being used by researchers developing translation tools for Irish:

> The translators, revisors, should be in charge of populating it. But technically, we have our own TMs so it's the PM who is supposed to look after that. ... DCU are doing research on Irish, because we are working with the government's departments who are involved in that, some our TMs are actually being used for that, because that is needed, in Irish.

Two PMs said it was up to the language specialist with input from the translators (not the PM): 'Really, it's the language specialist's job working with the translators' (PMIE1) and:

> It's the language specialist in the company predominantly who has ownership of the TM. And the translators, they should definitely be providing inputs to the language manager. It's not the project manager's job who is not really the language specialist. The project managers would be more involved with knowing how to manage the data from the files. (PMIE2).

For these two large LSPs, a language specialist is appointed for each language within the company and works closely with the translators and the project managers. The language specialist is in charge of reviewing the translated texts and maintaining the TM to ensure quality and accuracy and to counteract the fact that PMs do not understand the language and cannot guarantee the quality of the output (see Olohan *et al.* 2017).

(iii) The interpreting sector

Half of the participants in the English strand of the study worked in LSPs that provided interpreting services. Most reported that they outsourced conference interpreting equipment due to the cost related to high level equipment needs (booths or remote interpreting equipment). PMs reported benefits to new technologies and interpreting: there was no need to travel a very long distance for a short interpreting assignment, similarly it was easier to provide an interpreter for a rare language. However, PMs reported that new technologies had impacted the pay structure for interpreters and LSPs (with some PMs reporting they no longer

provided business interpreting or public service interpreting as the rates were too low). Two PMs reported that they provided interpreting services as an add-on for some existing translation clients. One PM added that the add-on by itself was not profitable; it was only useful to retain the client.

Only two of the PMs based in Ireland reported that their LSP provided interpreting services. PMIE1 works for a multinational LSP that provides remote interpreting. However, they could not provide further information as this is not part of their division. PMIE3 works for a medium-sized LSP that provides remote, face-to-face, public service, business, and conference interpreting. PMIE3 reported issues with interpreting technologies such as poor broadband in parts of Ireland, the need for a remote interpreting hub/platform to ensure quality, having to hire conference interpreting equipment from third party providers due to costs, and maintenance issues: 'It's not viable for us to own the equipment'. PMIE3 also reported that remote interpreting is only a small portion of their interpreting work and thus most interpreters only require communication tools such as email and phone rather than computer-assisted interpreting tools. PMIE3 reported that there were very few requests for Irish interpreting: 'It's not coming to us anyway. Irish interpreting is rare because it's rare that you find people who cannot speak any English whatsoever.' This does not mean that there is no Irish interpreting taking place in Ireland; as mentioned above, Irish speakers have the right to speak their language. PMIE3 also reported that it was hard to find conference interpreters for Irish when the need arose as most of the qualified interpreters work for the EU institutions and are not necessarily available to work in Ireland.

(iv) Continuing Professional Development (CPD)

The results from England reveal that PMs expect freelance translators to source their own training for new digital tools. PMs view this as part of a translator's CPD. However, many LSPs use bespoke tools for TM, MT and project management and PMs provide training to translators with the in-house tools. This takes place remotely on an individual basis. PMs are trained in-house 'because project management practice is highly company-specific and training materials available in the public domain are often not suitable enough for the company's needs' (Sakamoto *et al.,* 2017, p.3).

The Irish-based PMs highlighted the importance of recruiting strong linguists. PMIE1 noted that they recruit translators who are good linguists and train them with their in-house tools: 'We look for very good linguists, language skills. We can train them with the tools ourselves, so the main thing is that the translators have

excellent language skills.' PMIE5 reported that in addition to university training, translators need in-house training in order to deliver the quality expected:

> ...but without training on the ground ... it's very hard to achieve the level that you need to achieve to be able to work professionally as a freelance translator. And I don't see anywhere that can provide that unless you find a work experience or someone employs you on the basis that you're going to be trained up.

When it comes to training PMs, the results are similar in both countries. All PMs report that training happens on the job: 'I just learned on the job' (PMIE5); 'So we're self-taught really well. And if people come in, we might just try to train them here. ... We haven't had any formal training with project management or with the digital tools, it's all self-taught.' (PMIE4); 'I got on-the-job training.' (PMIE3); 'PMs are trained by managers and other teams members on different part of the process.' (PMIE2); 'It's done in-house. PMs are trained in-house' (PMIE1).
Yet, while the in-house training seems generic for PMs, PMIE1 reported that training PMs was very difficult due to the 'bidding' nature of the translation/interpreting market:

> I find it very hard to train PMs these days. Because if they do not price projects properly, you end up losing money because of the bids and then it's very stressful. With the bidding system, the PM must know what price to quote. If it's too expensive, the bid won't be accepted; if it's too cheap, there is no money to be made. And then it's the same with letting translators bid. All this is the PM's responsibility. It's very hard to train people for that. It's too stressful.

This statement highlights the ethical issues surrounding work practices in the translation and interpreting market. It shows that competition has a negative impact on the PMs as they are constantly caught in a bidding war between LSPs, clients, and translators/interpreters. PMIE1's statement reveals how stressful the job is when trying to juggle the profit-making aspect of the job. For public service interpreting and translation, this is more than likely a direct result of the outsourcing model of the translation and interpreting market. For business translation, this is probably a result of the free-market economy. This is reminiscent of the 'constant

struggle' described by a respondent in the study by Olohan *et al.* (2017) when describing the fine balancing act of working as a PM.

Conclusion

Overall, the data collected in Ireland echoes some of the ethical issues that arose in England, namely that despite some benefits there are ethical issues surrounding the use of MT by translators; that responsibility for the ownership and maintenance of TM files is not always very clearly defined; that there are issues with the interpreting market; and that there are ethical issues surrounding the training of PMs in the current 'bidding' model which is bringing the remuneration as low as possible for translators while maintaining profits for LSPs.

When it comes to the use of MT in translation, PMs cannot always know whether a translator has used MT but most would not be concerned as long as the quality was good. However, PMs raise concerns about confidentiality. The results show that the participants are divided into two groups: (i) PMs who work for LSPs providing translation for main languages and who support the use of MT in translation but need to explain how it works to their clients who may have concerns about MT; (ii) PMs who work for LSPs providing translation for minority languages – such as Irish – who are not as concerned with issues surrounding the use of MT because MT is not good enough to be worthwhile.

Most of the PMs agreed that the TM files should be maintained and updated by the PM and the translators. However, some of the statements reveal that there is no consensus (e.g. 'We **consider** it ours', emphasis mine) as to TM files ownership and responsibility.

Lastly, the results show that while translators are expected to acquire some expertise – for instance with CAT tools – prior to working for an LSP, they will get further training in-house, often with bespoke digital tools they would not have been exposed to in undergraduate or postgraduate courses. Similarly PMs are expected to be trained in-house. However, the current 'bidding' market is proving challenging.

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Tactile Sign Language and Tactile Sign Language Interpreting

Eimear Doherty

Introduction

Gestural communication and sign language communication have been around for thousands of years, dating back to the Ancient Greek Empire (Ruben 2005). However, Tactile Sign Language (TSL) did not become a recognized method of communication until 1836 when Laura Bridgman who was deafblind started learning tactile communication with her teacher, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe (Freeberg 2001). The ability to not only communicate with deafblind individuals, but also teach them, highlighting the possibility for further communication between deafblind individuals, was a milestone in the development of tactile communication. In the late 1800s another deafblind person, Helen Keller, also began to communicate and learn using gestures and other tactile methods with the help of Anne Sullivan (Herrmann, 1999).

The demand for tactile communication continued to grow with the increasing number of deafblind individuals who wanted to learn. However, both Visual Sign Language (VSL) and TSL communication were not taken seriously in the field of linguistic research until the 1970s when their linguistic status was recognised (Armstrong 2011). While there is no clear indication of when TSL interpreting began, a number of studies on the topic were conducted by Petronio in the 1980s. An individual is classified as deafblind when they have a combined visual and auditory disability (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017), meaning not everyone who is classified as deafblind has lost all visual and auditory capabilities. Deafblindness can be either congenital or acquired (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017). The majority of deafblind individuals belong to the second group and are congenitally deaf and become blind in adulthood. Their deafblindness is usually due to Usher Syndrome Type I[1] (Mesch 2013). Given variations in deafblindness, there are also variations in TSL. The methods of interpreting are determined by individuals' visual and auditory capabilities. Taking Usher Syndrome Type I as an example, the majority of deafblind individuals are completely deaf, meaning the variations will depend on their visual capabilities.

The main visual variations include tunnel vision or very restricted tunnel vision, very near-sighted, blurred vision, and complete blindness (Petronio 1988). The

1 A genetic disease that causes hearing loss or complete deafness and progressive vision loss due to *retinitis pigmentosa*, an eye disease that damages the retina (GARD website, 2020)

method of interpreting depends on the level of combined sensory loss, meaning a mixture of VSL and TSL can be used depending on the individual. The way deafblind individuals communicate also depends on the environment in which the interaction is taking place.

Tactile Sign Language

TSL is a form of communication through touch, mainly using hands and wrists (Mesch 2013). This form of communication is mainly used by deafblind individuals. Due to the increase in social activity among this community (Mesch 2013), the demand for tactile interpreting has increased. The skills and adaptations the interpreters need to have depend greatly on the needs of the receiver (Petronio 1988). Petronio outlines the 'levels' of deafblindness in her study on deafblind students, noting that while all students were deaf, they suffered from different visual impairments such as tunnel vision, extreme shortsightedness, blurred vision and dependence on the lighting of a room (Petronio 1988). This study, though from the 1980s, includes great detail on the needs of not only the receiver but also the interpreter. However, it only deals with one setting, a university.

TSL is hand and wrist orientated but can sometimes involve other body movements depending on the spatial availability and situation (Berge 2014). Modifications can include one-handed TSL, two-handed TSL, fingerspelling and lip reading (if the receiver has some sight remaining) (Mesch 2013). The grammatical change in TSL is vital for successful interpreting in any situation. Collins and Petronio discuss some grammatical modifications including phonology and morphology while explaining the subgroups of these categories such as movement, orientation, and handshape (1998). As this study is over twenty years old, it was vital to locate more modern research to back their findings. McAlpine discusses changes in deixis, phonology, pragmatics and sociolinguistics while explaining how these changes take place and the effect they have on the interpreted interaction (McAlpine 2017). This research solidified the grammatical changes mentioned in the earlier research highlighting the importance of both works for this paper.

Continuing with the grammatical aspect of this topic, the discussion of negation is important for the development of TSL interpreting due to almost all interactions using negation. Frankel discusses negation in an interpreted interaction in a deafblind meeting. The case study she conducts is reliable due to the interpreters being nationally certified by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in the United States (Frankel 2002). The interpreters were working from VSL into TSL, allowing for grammatical modifications throughout the meeting. Although useful for highlighting the constant use of negation throughout the interaction, it did not

provide precise information on how negation works in TSL, resulting in a gap for the research in this assignment.

Variations of Tactile Interpreting

TSL and tactile communication differ in a social environment and an interpreted environment. Modifications and adaptations are necessary depending on the situation, interpreter's abilities, and necessities of the receiver. Tactile interpreting has various methods that can be used in different situations depending on the abilities and demands of the receiver. Mesch separates these variations into four groups: narrow visual field, monologue position, dialogue position and tactile one-handed position (Mesch 2013). What exactly are these four groups?

Narrow Visual Field

Narrow visual field is used in situations when the individuals have some remaining visual capabilities (Mesch 2013). This allows for the use of VSL as well as TSL. If the individuals are adequate lip readers, this may also be used due to visual capabilities. Narrow visual field gives deafblind individuals a wider range of available interpreters due to the option of VSL interpreting as well as tactile interpreting as well as more opportunities of communication with a broader range of individuals. It also allows for wider spatial strategies in interpreted situations, allowing for signs to be interpreted on different areas of the body creating faster understanding on the receiver's end (Nilsson & Leeson 2008).

Monologue Position

According to Mesch (2013), the monologue position refers to two-handed conversations where both hands are involved in receiving signs. This position involves both hands of the interpreter and receiver allowing for less spatial strategies and relying completely on touch. Due to the dependence on touch, the nondominant and dominant hands are vital. Similar to writing, if a signer is left-handed, their left hand is dominant when signing and their right hand is nondominant. Elaborating on this, one-handed signs will be produced using the dominant hand and the nondominant hand is only used when necessary (Mesch 2013).

Dialogue Position

Mesch (2013) explains that the dialogue position allows for one hand to be under and one to be over the receiver's hands, allowing for a continuous flow in the conversation being had. This involves the signer's dominant hand being

underneath the receiver's nondominant hand and vice versa. As the monologue position can cause complications referring to the dominant and nondominant hands, the dialogue creates the same complications in an interpreting situation. This position depends highly on phonological modifications such as handshape and hand orientation.

Tactile One-Handed Perception

One-handed perception is the least common form of TSL due to greater likelihood of misunderstandings (Willoughby 2014). This method of interpreting involves the interpreter's left hand producing and receiving signs and the addressee's right hand producing and receiving signs, allowing the involvement of just two hands (Mesch 2013). As previously mentioned, when explaining dominant and nondominant hands, certain words need the use of two hands to be signed, and, because of this, one-handed perception becomes increasingly complicated for the participants involved. Due to its complexity, it is usually very experienced TSL users that converse or interpret through one-handed perception. One-handed perception can also use haptic signing due to the availability of the other hand. (More information on haptic signing is provided below).

VSL vs. TSL Interpreting.

Every language has a unique underlying grammar. One of the vital areas in interpreting is a clear knowledge and ability to adapt to the grammatical changes of the languages involved. Similar to any spoken language, VSL and TSL have a grammatical underlying. The transfer of information across linguistic and modal boundaries, in both spoken and sign language interpretation, is more than an act of semiotic conversion (Metzger *et al.,* 2004). Although TSL is a form of sign language, it differs immensely from VSL due to most of the construction being non-standard VSL but accepted and understood in TSL (McAlpine, 2017). Tactile interpreters have knowledge of both VSL and TSL due to the regular use of both throughout interactions, therefore the need to discuss grammatical differences while interchanging between VSL interpreting and tactile interpreting is essential for a better understanding of this paper.

While interpreting is always a challenging occupation, the grammatical modifications of TSL create many more complications for an interpreter. The social context is affected but the interpreter must be able to mediate the language as well as the variation to modality that occurs from visual to tactile interpreting (Frankel, 2002) in addition to grammatical differences such as deixis and phonology (Collins & Petronio, 1998). TSL also produces modifications and adaptions with pragmatics

and sociolinguistics, such as back channelling and turn-taking (McAlpine, 2017). In the context of TSL, what is meant by deixis and phonology?

Deixis

In VSL, space, objects, and people, with reference to deixis, can be interpreted by simply pointing in the direction of the topic of conversation. However, this cannot be done in the case of TSL interpreting. Deixis, therefore, needs to be modified to successfully convey the correct information to the receiver. Interpreters can do this through a process called 'tactile mapping', through which they touch the receiver's palm to show where objects or people are in relation to themselves (McAlpine 2017).

Discourse deixis also differs in tactile interpreting. Discourse deixis refers to the specifics of the current conversation being had (McAlpine 2017). In the case of listing, which is used as a cohesive marker to indicate points in a meeting or conversation, the interpreter will touch the fingers on the addressee's receiving, or non-dominant, hand (McAlpine 2017). This form of discourse deixis is complex in interpreting due to the need for constant flow of 'conversation' throughout the interaction.

Phonology

Phonology relates to how sounds are organised and used in natural languages. However, due to the lack of sound produced vocally in VSL and TSL, the meaning of phonology has to be modified. Therefore, in this context, phonology is the construction of signs based on the five functions shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Information based on work by McAlpine (2017).

Function	**Meaning**	**Use in VSL**	**Use in TSL**
1. Handshape	Orientation of palms and fingers in relation to one another.	Consistent with TSL.	Consistent with VSL.
2. Location	Spatial strategies/ awareness used while communicating with the receiver.	Spatial area: Circle from head to waist with elbows bent.	Spatial area: Contact must be maintained, resulting in a smaller signing area.
3. Movement	Depends on the spatial area to determine the speed and size of the movements.	Due to the receiver having vision, area and movements are not restricted	Spatial area is smaller, resulting in smaller movements, creating ambiguity with certain signs.
4. Palm Orientation	The positioning of the hand throughout the interaction.	Not a key part of VSL because it does not rely on touch.	Used majority of the time to clarify confusing signs and accommodate for the receiver's wrist.
5. Facial Expression	Expressions made using the face to signify emotions or non-manual modals.	Used often to promote turn-taking or backchannelling.	Rarely used due to lack of visual capabilities.

Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics

In TSL, the interpreter will usually take a dialogical approach which focuses on not only the language, but also the interaction between the participants (Berge, 2014). The interaction between the participants will involve sociolinguistic aspects such as backchanneling and turn-taking. In spoken language and VSL, these are described as non-manual modals, meaning vocal or signed indications that signify actions like turn-taking, questions and misunderstandings, such as facial expressions, pointing, nods, etc. (Bruce, *et al.*, 2007). However, as with the grammatical aspects of TSL, these aspects also have to be modified to ensure accurate, coherent communication between the interpreter and the receiver.

Backchanneling

This is a method by which a participant provides feedback to others indicating that they understand, are paying attention and agree or disagree (McAlpine 2017). In spoken language and VSL, backchanneling can be indicated by body language or facial expressions. In TSL communication and specifically in interpreting environments, backchanneling is vital for the coherence of the 'conversation'. The lesser used method is for the interpreter to pause the signing for a moment and give the receiver the opportunity to express any thoughts (McAlpine 2017). This method, although effective, allows for the risk of falling behind the 'speaker' putting both the interpreter and receiver under pressure. The most frequent method of backchanneling is the use of haptic signs. Haptic signs are made on the receiver's body to convey information about the surrounding environment. Nonetheless, haptic signs can also be used as a touch-based system to convey feedback and backchanneling signals (McAlpine 2017). In this environment, haptic signs are not homogenous, resulting in a need for a mutual construction of meaning between the interpreter and the deafblind person (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017).

Turn-taking

Turn-taking, especially in big groups, is essential for a continuous flow of conversation. According to Slettebakk Berge (2014):

> *A turn is a point of time in a dialogue when the speaker has established a right to talk, alone, until the intended speech act has been completed.*

Similar to backchanneling, turn-taking in spoken or VSL interpreting can be signalled by body language, facial expressions or raising a hand. When interpreting for deafblind individuals, specific modes of turn-taking have been accepted and

used. In casual environments the deafblind individual will tap the hand of the interpreter signalling that they would like to take the floor next (McAlpine 2017). In more formal situations, the deafblind individual will knock on the table and raise their hand to forehead level, informing other individuals they want to take the floor. Additionally, in these formal situations, of more than two people, the deafblind individuals or the interpreter will sign their name before speaking, giving the other participants more information about the environment where the interaction is taking place (McAlpine 2017).

Tactile Interpreting

Haptic sign language and finger spelling are more modern methods of TSL interpreting, both depending on touch as a means of communication. However, neither are fully formed languages and therefore, can only be used alongside sign language or TSL. **Haptic sign language** is a 'dialect' or subgroup of TSL interpreting in which signs are produced on a deafblind person's body giving information about the environment around them (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017).

Fingerspelling is the least common form of signed communication, with the interpreter spelling out the word using their fingers while the receiver uses touch to make out the spelling. Fingerspelling is usually only used in situations when there are reoccurring misunderstandings (Willoughby 2014).

Finger braille is the newest addition to tactile interpreting founded in Japan by Professor Fukushima, a deafblind individual, and his mother. According to research led by Mayumi Bono, 'finger braille users and interpreters tap the index, middle, and ring fingers of both hands of the B-deafblind person, like tapping on a braille typewriter' (Bono *et al.* 2018). However, not many studies have been conducted solely focusing on finger braille, highlighting the need for more research.

The tactile interpreter not only has to adapt to the aspects of a new language but also to the deafblind individual's method of communication and need for contextual information (Slettebakk Berge 2014), allowing for variations of tactile interpreting to be introduced. Tactile interpreters are needed in every aspect of life such as work, education, health treatment and everyday activities, to allow the deafblind individual to lead as normal a life as possible. For the interpreter to be successful in tactile interpreting, they need to encompass the entire communicative event, meaning the interpretation of the utterances made by the participants concerned, description of the context and the communicative situation and guidance to help the deafblind person travel from one point to another (Slettebakk Berge 2014). This aspect can be carried out when the methods mentioned throughout this paper are used coherently by the interpreter. This paper has given insight into these methods

and modifications, and it will now discuss the positive and negative aspects while allowing for new ideas.

The variations that have been described in this paper depend on the needs of the receiver, the abilities of the interpreter and the environment of the interaction. Narrow visual field allows for a wider range in interpreters due to the use of VSL interpreting. It is one of the simplest methods of tactile interpreting as it is fast and efficient, however, it can cause complications if the methods of communication are not discussed beforehand. These complications can lead to misunderstandings that can create a lack of coherence throughout the interaction (Willoughby 2014). Due to this, narrow visual field, even with some visual capabilities, may lead to more complications that interactions with no visual capabilities.

The monologue position, involving all four hands but no changes in hand position, provides a more informative interaction, allowing all signs to be created without changing hand orientation, hand position, etc. However, it can cause complications in interpreted situations, due to the dependence of all four hands. This is caused by both receiver and interpreter having the same dominant hand, highlighting the need for specific information before committing to an interpreting job (Petronio 1988). Due to the use of four hands in a small space, the spatial strategies of the interpreter will have to be modified, resulting in modifications of the signs. The monologue position not only allows for the interpretation of information, but it also allows an interaction between the interpreter and the receiver (Mesch 2013).

The dialogue position is even more interactive than the monologue position, allowing the interpreter and receiver to build up a connection throughout the interaction while equally considering the signing preferences of the deafblind individual. As previously mentioned, the use of four hands in this position creates a smaller sign space, however, unlike the monologue position which is quite restricted, the dialogue position allows for the hand orientation to change as well as hand positions (Collins & Petronio 1998). This constant interaction between the interpreter and receiver can create a more positive, comfortable interpreting environment which can help produce more coherent results. Nonetheless, the dialogue position can run into complications similar to the monologue position if both interlocutors have the same dominant hand.

One-handed perception has the smallest signing space, resulting in a more complex framework of interpreting (Mesch 2013). One-handed perception can be the most useful form of interpreting in situations where the interpreter and receiver are in close proximity, allowing for body movement as well as hand movement. This method of interpreting usually includes the use of haptic signs which are incorporated into the interpretation to give the receiver more information, which

is easier due to the availability of the other, usually non-dominant, hand, resulting in a better understanding (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017).

Although haptic signs are extremely useful to give the receiver a better understanding of the environment around them and can be compared to interpreter-generated utterances in spoken languages (Slettebakk Berge 2014), they are not homogenous and therefore, there needs to be a mutually constructed and accepted concept of signs between the interpreter and the receiver (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017). This mutual construction can build the trust needed between a deafblind individual and an interpreter. However, because of the lack of consistency in haptic signs, it can become frustrating or even confusing for the interpreter with the constant change of meaning and modification of signs with every receiver. Interpreters must also consider that some deafblind individuals may not appreciate being touched or may not be used to two forms of tactile communication (Raanes & Slettebakk Berge 2017), another reason why mutual construction is essential for tactile interpreting. These haptic signs are also used when backchanneling is taking place, resulting in the interpreter breaking from the formal interaction and consulting the receiver to ensure they are following (McAlpine 2017). This use of haptic signs is essential for tactile interpreting, building the trust and bond between interpreter and receiver.

Though tactile interpreting features a lot more modifications, including misunderstandings and negation, the main grammatical modifications mentioned in this paper are vital for structural accuracy pertaining to message equivalency (Frankel 2002). Deixis, phonology, and pragmatics and sociolinguistics are all crucial for an accurate interpretation in any spoken, visual, or tactile language. The modifications in tactile interpreting are essential for the receiver to fully understand the interaction that is occurring. The grammatical modifications of phonology in tactile interpreting allows for the understanding of signs under different headings. These headings act as somewhat of a guideline for the interpreter, especially when the spatial strategies being used are minimal (Nilsson & Leeson 2008). These grammatical modifications act as essential guidelines when an interpreter is interchanging between VSL interpreting and tactile interpreting. If these modifications are not prioritized by an interpreter, it can lead to misunderstanding between them and the receiver, resulting in breaking the flow of communication (Willoughby 2014).

Conclusion

Tactile interpreting is an extremely complex form of interpretation. The constant development of VSL and TSL will continue to cause tactile interpreting to become more intricate and professional over time. Tactile interpreting involves so much

more than relaying information from one language into another, it involves an important trust and bond between the interpreter and receiver, mutual agreement on methods that will be used, and the consideration of both the interpreter and the receiver. The considerations of the interpreter rely on the sign preference of the receiver depending on their level of deafblindness, the signing modifications (both grammatical and other), and visual information they can provide the receiver (Petronio 1988). The continuous growth in opportunity for deafblind individuals, indirectly resulting in a growth in socialising amongst deafblind people, increases the demand for tactile communication and tactile interpreters. Even though tactile interpreting is no longer a 'new' method of communication, constant variations are being created in order to widen the range of methods available to deafblind individuals and tactile interpreters, the newest form being that of finger braille (Bono *et al.* 2018). Research into tactile communication and tactile interpreting needs to continue for deafblind individuals to play a role in modern-day society.

TSL is an intricate language that demands extreme concentration and commitment to learn and interpret. The question of neutrality in tactile interpreting has not been studied enough to understand its role however it is worth noting that the ways interpreters implement their role and responsibility can affect the ability of those using interpreters to interact with their interlocutors and achieve their objectives (Slettebakk Berge 2014).

This article has discussed the various methods of TSL, and the grammatical modifications needed when tactile interpreting. In addition, it highlights the balance of demands both the interpreter and receiver need to consider for a successful, coherent end product. These demands are: training for the interpreter, including theory and strategy in order to develop skills in tactile interpreting, and training for the deafblind individual in how to use and benefit from an interpreter (Petronio 1988).

As well as the need for more research on various languages, more studies on children who are congenitally deafblind will give a better insight into the development of TSL as the primary form of communication (Bruce *et al.* 2007) through the life of a deafblind individual, allowing for the improvement of modifications and will provide continuous updates for tactile interpreting. Tactile interpreting is allowing for the development of tactile communication within and outside the world of deafblindness, which is allowing for the evolution of languages, communication, and interpreting in modern times.

Eimear Doherty is a 2020 graduate of Applied Languages and Translation Studies in Dublin City University. Her article is based on her final year dissertation topic and she chose the topic of Tactile Interpreting due to her keen interest in sign language and the opportunity to conduct research on an unusual, little known topic.

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The Occurrence of Vicarious Posttraumatic Growth among Interpreters

Dylan O'Reilly

Introduction

Interpreters are present in many different settings, some of which involve patients and therapists, victims and witnesses, or perpetrators, which the interpreter must personify in a communicative interaction (Mikkelson & Jourdenais, 2015). Speakers will inevitably include trauma survivors, and working closely with such populations can lead to profound negative changes for helping professionals, such as vicarious trauma (VT) (McCann and Pearlman, 1990). The impact of VT is compounded for interpreters as they speak in the first person to represent the speaker, listening, visualising, analysing, and re-expressing what they are hearing (Mikkelson & Jourdenais, 2015).

Interestingly, research suggests that those who work with trauma survivors, particularly therapists, can also experience *positive* changes from this work, a concept called Vicarious Posttraumatic Growth (VPTG) (Arnold *et al.*, 2005). VPTG can involve changes in self-perception, interpersonal relationships, and philosophy of life for the person working alongside the trauma survivor (Arnold *et al.*, 2005). While there is evidence of VPTG in therapists (Arnold *et al.*, 2005; Hyatt-Burkhart, 2014; Samios, Abel, & Rodzik, 2013), doctors (Taku, 2014), and social workers (Gibbons *et al.*, 2011), Splevins *et al.* highlight 'a complete absence of data pertaining to positive or VPTG experiences in interpreters' (2010: 1706). The present study investigates the occurrence of VPTG in interpreters who have experienced negative effects from working with trauma victims.

Negative effects of vicarious traumatic exposure

The three negative effects from vicarious traumatic exposure for interpreters are: Vicarious Trauma (VT), Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS) and Burnout.

According to the American Counselling Association (n.d.), **Vicarious Trauma** (VT) is 'the emotional residue' counsellors experience after working with trauma survivors, as they bear witness to their trauma second hand (Fact Sheet #9 Vicarious Trauma). Sometimes referred to as 'compassion fatigue' (Figley, 1995), Pearlman & Saakvitne (1995b) define VT as the '[negative] transformation in the therapist's (or other trauma worker's) inner experience resulting from empathic engagement with clients' trauma material' (151). Typical VT reactions include nightmares,

intrusive/disturbing mental images and mistrust of others, all experienced as if these workers had experienced the trauma first-hand (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). In a quantitative study carried out on a sample of community interpreters in Australia, participants deemed 'traumatic material' to involve themes such as sadness, helplessness and isolation, violence, illness, bereavement, sexual/child abuse, torture and murder, which came from their speaker(s) experiences (Lai, Heydon & Mulayim 2015).

Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS) is similar to VT in that it can involve intrusive thoughts and nightmares (Canfield, 2005). However, STS is a more symptomatic or 'normal reaction' to hearing traumatic client material (Canfield, 2005: 85), as opposed to VT, which involves more internalised changes 'in the most intimate psychological workings of the [professional]'s self' (87).

Burnout is similar to STS in that both can be characterised by depression, insomnia and distance from friends and family, with the main difference being their cause (Canfield, 2005). Unlike VT and STS, burnout is typically attributed to factors such as workload or working conditions, and results from working with any population, not necessarily trauma victims, often involving temporary feelings of pessimism, dread about going to work, hopelessness and tiredness (ibid).

Interpreting, particularly simultaneous interpreting which is often used by Conference Interpreters, is known to be a 'high-stress' activity as the interpreter is faced with a constant information load while having to maintain high levels of concentration under time pressure, among other factors (Kurz, 2003: 51). Despite such a workload and working conditions being conducive to burnout over time, interpreters who participated in the Mehus & Becher (2016) study did not show high levels of burnout when compared to other professions. The authors suggest that burnout levels for these interpreters may have been offset by high levels of 'compassion satisfaction' shown by the participants in relation to their work, which were higher than typical levels in other professions (Mehus & Becher, 2016). Compassion satisfaction involves feeling that one's work is valuable (Stamm, 2010), and it may offset the effects of STS and Burnout as a result (Samios, Abel, & Rodzik, 2013). Mehus & Becher (2016) link this finding to a study on VPTG in interpreters who worked with trauma survivors, in which participants reported feeling that their work was important and meaningful (Splevins *et al.*, 2010).

Vicarious Posttraumatic Growth (VPTG) after exposure to client trauma

Trauma literature suggests that survivors of traumatic events can experience positive changes from their experience - Posttraumatic Growth (PTG) (Calhoun

& Tedeschi, 1999). Two studies, by Splevins *et al.* (2010) and Lor (2012) have focused on the topic of VPTG and interpreters.

In Splevins et. al (2010), eight community interpreters working with asylum seekers, who initially felt a range of negative emotions upon hearing clients describe their trauma, subsequently expressed feelings of joy, hope, and inspiration upon witnessing recovery and growth in their speaker(s), feeling that they also experienced this growth.

Lor (2012) looked at how working with clients who have experienced torture, trauma, and war can impact an interpreter, with interpreters in their study similarly reporting signs of VPTG upon witnessing clients overcome their trauma, despite the initial negative reactions to the traumatic content. The interpreters reflected on the journey their clients were going through and how they improved from beginning to end (Lor, 2012).

Interpreters in both studies (Lor, 2012, Splevins *et al.*, 2010) reported that witnessing human resilience made them feel more positive about being interpreters, despite the dire consequences that VT can have on the sufferer's career (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995). Participants from Splevins et. al (2010) felt that exposure to their clients' trauma allowed them to grow as people, as they had to adopt a new vision of reality after what they had witnessed vicariously, placing more value on their relationships and feeling less judgemental towards others as a result. Interpreters also reported positive changes in spirituality and a new perspective of the world from their vicarious traumatic exposure, although in some cases these changes involved them feeling mistrustful of others as they became more aware of what people were capable of (Splevins *et al.*, 2010). Although feeling deeply mistrustful of others can be a lasting effect of VT (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995), participants sometimes view this as a positive change, describing it as part of their VPTG experience as they feel more cautious and better placed to protect themselves and others as a result (Splevins *et al.*, 2010). Splevins et. al (2010) recommend further researching whether VPTG in interpreters is dependent upon witnessing progress or recovery in the client following trauma, as this was the case for all participants in their study, who all reported signs of VPTG.

Factors conducive to VPTG

Empathy with the speaker is important in the interpreting profession, particularly in mental health settings, where transmitting a speaker's feelings is crucial (Mikkelson & Jourdenais, 2015). Manning-Jones *et al.* (2015) argue that there seems to be a positive relationship between empathy and VPTG only when there are high levels

of empathy involved in the work, as only those who work directly with trauma survivors in a 'helping' role show this positive relationship.

Manning-Jones *et al.* (2015) highlight a positive relationship between engaging in self-care activities/using coping strategies and VPTG. Examples of such activities used by interpreters when dealing with speaker trauma include exercising, meditating or deliberate avoidance techniques, which, according to Splevins *et al.* (2010), were conscious coping strategies utilised by participants in their study to 'shield' themselves and 'protect their own wellbeing' (1711). Interpreters also found external support such as counselling or debriefing sessions useful when coping with speaker trauma, and for some, simply interpreting in counselling sessions seemed to encourage VPTG, as it 'helped them cope with their own distress as well as opportunities to recognize their own growth and development' (1711). Manning-Jones *et al.* (2015) argue that ongoing supervision and peer support appear to foster the development of VPTG for those who work with trauma victims more effectively than talking to family or friends.

Resilience is another factor which may foster the development of VPTG, although its role in VPTG is complex and 'would be a fruitful area for further investigation' (Manning-Jones *et al.*, 2015: 133).

Methodology

My research question was: 'Do interpreters who have experienced negative effects associated with working with trauma victims, in turn experience VPTG?'

To address this question, I collected data via an online questionnaire and three follow-on interviews. The thirty participants included professional conference, court and community interpreters (including sign language interpreters) who had experience of interpreting content related to the traumatic experiences of a speaker. Responses came from Europe mostly, with some from North/South America and South Africa also, although the researcher could not see exactly where they were from. An advantage to this sampling technique was the possibility for more participants to join the study in a snowball manner, as the questionnaire could be shared online and sent to others electronically. It is important to consider 'self-selection bias' when using this sampling technique however, as those who choose to participate do not fully represent the entire target population (Methods.sagepub.com, 2020). To ensure that the sample was relevant to the research question, questions at the beginning of the questionnaire ascertained whether the participant was a qualified interpreter, and whether they felt they had interpreted material related to the traumatic experiences of a speaker during their career.

Having collected mostly quantitative data through the questionnaire, a purposive sample was chosen for the interview participants based on that knowledge. The participants had the opportunity to leave their contact details at the end of the questionnaire if they wished to participate in follow-on interviews. Three respondents from the UK, Belgium and US, who had reported signs of VPTG in the questionnaire, were selected for interviews to gain a deeper insight into their potential experience of VPTG. PT1 was a sign language interpreter while PT2 was a conference interpreter and PT3 was a court interpreter.

Three interviews were conducted and recorded on Zoom between 28 May and 10 June 2020. The researcher transcribed the audio with the help of Otter Voice Notes software.

Results and Analysis

All 30 participants (100%) answered question one, agreeing to the processing of their data for the purposes of this study as outlined in the participant information sheet.

Question two was designed to establish respondents' qualifications. Of the 30 participants who completed the questionnaire, 29 answered this question, with 96.6% answering 'Yes' (qualified), and 3.4% answering 'No' (not qualified). The researcher decided to include the data provided by the participant who was not qualified, as they were otherwise relevant to the sample, through experience interpreting the traumatic experiences of a speaker.

Question 3 focused on participants' interpreting experience. All 30 respondents answered this question, with 23.3% having one to five years of experience, 33.3% six to 10 years, 13.3% 11- 15 years, and 30% having over 15 years of experience. These results show that the different levels of experience of the participants are reasonably spread across the sample.

Question four asked if respondents had ever interpreted content related to the traumatic experiences of a speaker. All 30 participants answered this question, with 93.3% of them stating that they had interpreted traumatic speaker material, and 6.7% saying they had not. The researcher decided to include the data provided by the two respondents who answered 'No' here, as they proceeded to provide data regarding the negative and positive effects of vicarious traumatic exposure for the interpreter, suggesting that they had been exposed to indirect trauma in ways not specified in the question.

Question five asked about exposure to traumatic speaker material while interpreting. All 30 respondents answered this question, with 43.3% saying they had rarely been

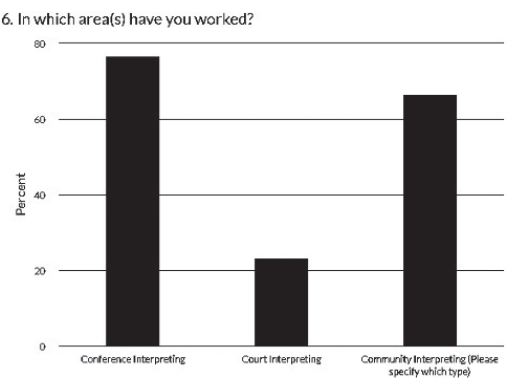
exposed to speaker trauma while interpreting, 36.7% 'Sometimes', 13.3% 'Often' and 6.7% 'Very Often'.

Table 1– Frequency of exposure to traumatic speaker material for interpreters

Value	Percent	Responses
Rarely	43.3%	13
Sometimes	36.7%	11
Often	13.3%	4
Very often	6.7%	2
		Totals: 30

When filtering these results, the researcher found that those who worked as Conference Interpreters reported the lowest levels of vicarious traumatic exposure (87.5% 'Rarely' and 12.5% 'Sometimes') and those who worked as Community Interpreters reported the highest levels of vicarious traumatic exposure (80% 'Sometimes' and 20% 'Often'). Over 57% of Court Interpreters said 'Rarely', 28.6% 'Very Often' and 14.3% reported encountering speaker trauma 'Often'.
The participants were asked in which areas of interpreting they worked in question six. All 30 responded to this question, most having worked as conference interpreters – 76.7%, followed by community interpreters – 66.7%, and court interpreters– 23.3%. A total of 17% had worked in at least two of these areas during their career.

Table 2 Areas of interpreting in which the respondents had worked



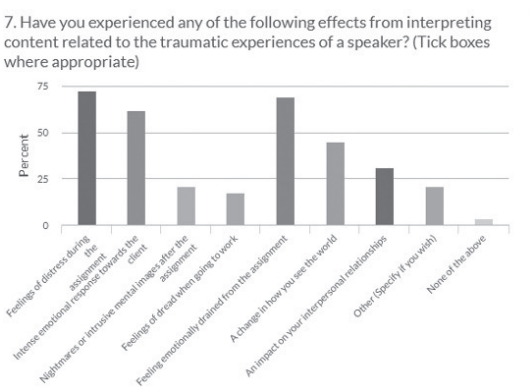
Overall summary and analysis of quantitative data

Question seven provided participants with a range of negative effects within STS, Burnout and VT from vicarious traumatic exposure. According to the 29 respondents for this question, the most common negative effects reported were 'Distress during the assignment' – 72.4%, 'Feeling emotionally drained afterwards' - 69% and 'Intense emotional response' – 62.1%. These effects are consistent with STS literature, which is not surprising as STS is a symptomatic 'normal reaction' to hearing traumatic client material (Canfield, 2005: 85), although feeling emotionally drained from work can also be associated with burnout over time, particularly if it is attributed to working conditions or workload (ibid). Following these, the most common effects were related to a change in the participant's world view – 44.8%, and an impact on relationships – 31%, both consistent with VT literature, as VT can have a lasting impact on the sufferer's thinking patterns, beliefs and assumptions of others (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). Just over 20% of participants reported nightmares/intrusive mental images as a result of interpreting speaker trauma, which could be a sign of either STS or VT (Canfield, 2005). The least common negative effect reported was 'Feelings of dread when going to work' – 17.2%, typical in burnout sufferers (*ibid*).

Participants reported other negative effects here also such as anxiety, feeling inadequate and a reduction in stamina while interpreting. One respondent chose 'None of the above' for this question, without reporting any other effects, suggesting that they did not experience any negative effects from these assignments.

Overall, 96.5% of participants who answered question seven reported at least one negative effect, showing that interpreters who are exposed to traumatic speaker content generally experience negative effects as a result, with STS being the most common, followed by VT and then Burnout.

Table 3 Negative effects from interpreting speaker trauma



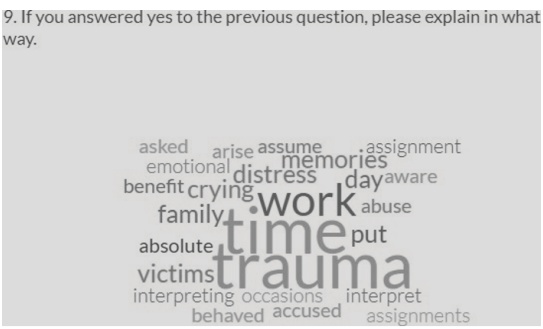
Question eight asked if participants had experienced any 'other' effects from interpreting speaker trauma, and if they chose 'Yes', they were directed to explain their choice in question nine. Twenty-nine respondents answered question eight, with 44.8% of these choosing 'Yes' and reporting other effects from their vicarious traumatic exposure in question nine.

Out of the above 44.8%, the majority reported more negative effects in question nine. Over 53% reported effects associated with STS such as engaged emotional reactions, 38.45% reported signs of VT such as a deep mistrust of others, and 7.69% felt 'burned out' from recurrent exposure to speaker trauma. However, 15.38% reported effects consistent with VPTG literature such as increased gratitude for their own situation and developing coping strategies to deal with emotional assignments (Arnold *et al.*, 2005).

Of those who answered question eight, 23% reported being more mindful of what work to take on, in order to protect their own emotional wellbeing, a point that is not found in literature on PTG (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996) or VPTG (Arnold *et al.*, 2005), but could be related to self-care, seen to be conducive to VPTG when working with trauma victims in several studies (Manning-Jones *et al.*, 2015). The researcher was not surprised that just 15.38% of those who answered question nine reported signs of VPTG unprompted, as this is similar to previous research on VPTG in mental health workers, in which participants readily provided examples of their experience of VPTG, but only when asked directly about a possible benefit (Hyatt-Burkhart, 2014). Indeed, interviewees PT1 and PT3 both commented that they had not thought about the potential for VPTG when working with trauma victims, as 'we focus on the negative parts' (PT1), or we 'hear more and more about VT' (PT3).

The following word cloud shows questionnaire responses to question nine, the size of the word indicating frequency of use from the respondents.

Figure 1 – Other effects from interpreting speaker trauma



Question 10 asked if participants felt any benefit from interpreting traumatic speaker content. Of the 29 respondents to this question, 82.8% reported having felt a benefit from this work. With the research question in mind, these results were compared to those of question seven, to obtain the percentage of those who felt a benefit after already reporting the associated negative effects of vicarious traumatic exposure. The researcher found that 85.71% of those who reported negative effects in question seven, said they felt a benefit from this exposure in question 10. This suggests a high potential occurrence of VPTG in interpreters who are exposed to speaker trauma. Questions 11 and 12 were designed to determine if this reported benefit was a form of VPTG.

Participants who reported feeling a benefit in question 10, were directed to question 11, for which they chose from a list of feelings based on VPTG literature, notably VPTG-related changes in the participant's perception of their work, and in their relationships. Interestingly, 25 respondents answered this question, meaning that one respondent who had not reported a benefit for question 10, felt that some of the positive changes outlined in question 11 were relevant to them nonetheless. This reflects the possibility of many professionals who are exposed to traumatic content not being aware of their VPTG experience until they are prompted to reflect upon it. Of the 25 participants who answered this question, 92% felt that their work was important and 72% felt rewarded from their work after being exposed to speaker trauma. This is reflective of a new professional identity, a form of growth which research suggests is unique to those who experience VPTG - as opposed to PTG - as the worker realises how valuable their work is and that they can be important in the lives of direct trauma survivors (Manning- Jones *et al.*, 2015).

Supplementary information was obtained from the three interview participants who all realised how important their job was after completing assignments involving traumatised persons, with PT2 and PT3 feeling that this work was much more rewarding than working in more technical meetings in Conference Interpreting, including 'elitist' settings where participants are 'not fully appreciative of the fact that they cannot do their job without you' (PT3).

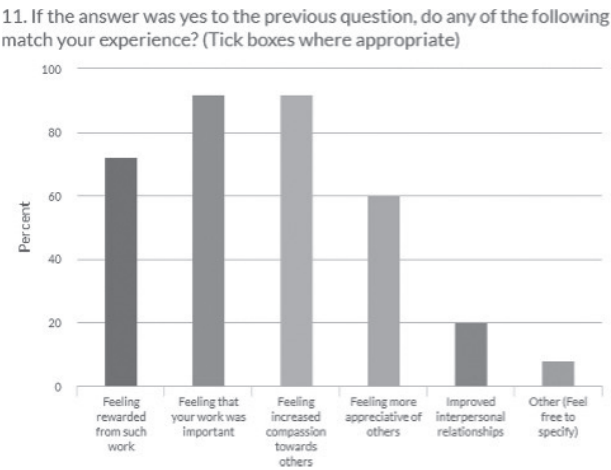
PT1 felt that working with traumatised persons enhanced their professional abilities, as this work motivates them to learn more about mental illness and pursue training courses so that they can be 'on the same level as the counsellor' when interpreting in therapy.

Of those who answered question 11, 92% reported feeling increased compassion towards others, with 60% appreciating others more and 20% feeling their relationships were improved following this work. However, all three interview participants talked about a greater appreciation for the difficult circumstances of

other people as a result of working with traumatised individuals, as opposed to changes in their perception of loved ones. PT2 said that they felt less judgmental of others as a result, with PT3 realising that people from difficult socio-economic backgrounds who are 'invisible' to many in their community, have stories to tell just like anybody else.

Eight percent of those who answered question 11 reported other positive effects of interpreting speaker trauma such as increased appreciation of language use when conveying emotional content and greater ability to regulate their own emotions. Overall, 24 of the 25 participants who reported signs of VPTG related to their perception of work and other people in this question had already reported negative effects associated with interpreting traumatic speaker material, which means that 85.71% of those who reported negative effects, also reported signs of VPTG at this point.

Table 4 VPTG in work and relationships



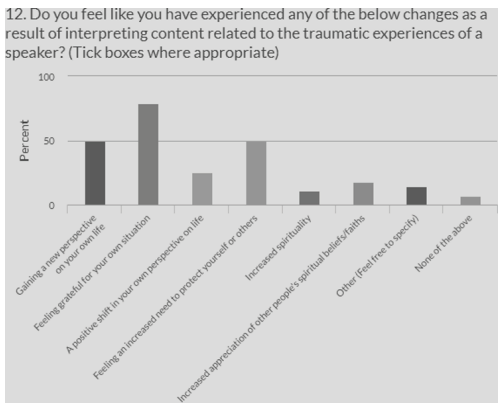
Question 12 was designed as a final attempt to discover the percentage of those who had experienced VPTG on a personal/spiritual level, out of those who had experienced negative effects from interpreting speaker trauma. Of the 28 respondents who answered this question, 92.85% reported signs of VPTG. The most common were increased gratitude for their own situation – 78.6%, and new life perspective – 50%, which are part of the 'greater appreciation of life' domain in Tedeschi and Calhoun's (1996) conceptualisation of PTG, also commonly seen

in those who experience VPTG (Arnold *et al.*, 2005; Hyatt-Burkhart, 2014). This reflects the experience of the three interview participants also, who felt that their clients' trauma allowed them to put their own lives into perspective, and to realise that they were in a relatively privileged situation in comparison, and to be less likely to be affected by 'first world problems' (PT2).

Of those who answered Question 12, 50% felt an increased need to protect themselves or others, which was found in other studies on the effects of vicarious traumatic exposure for interpreters (Lor, 2012; Splevins *et al.*, 2010). This change could be related to VT, as the person's inner psychological schema on trust and safety is altered (McCann & Pearlman, 1990), however, participants sometimes view being more cautious as a positive thing, and refer to this dimension as part of their VPTG experience. Interviewee PT3 also felt more cautious from exposure to speaker trauma, and although unsure if this was positive, they felt better placed to protect their child as a result as they were more aware of the dangers of the world.

The participants reported lower levels of VPTG regarding spirituality than expected, as positive spiritual change is part of the conceptualisation of PTG (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996) and is more frequently reported by participants in studies on VPTG than was the case in this study (Arnold *et al.*, 2005; Barrington & Shakespeare-Finch, 2013; Splevins *et al.*, 2010). Spiritual growth was not reported by any of the three interviewees who took part in this study. However, Arnold *et al.*, (2005) found that the spiritual growth experienced by therapists was more of an acceptance of spiritual beliefs as conducive to healing from trauma, than the personal spiritual changes often experienced by direct trauma survivors. This may explain why slightly more participants reported increased appreciation for other people's spirituality than for personal spiritual growth in this question.

Table 5 VPTG on a personal and spiritual level



By question 12, 89.28% of all participants who had reported negative effects from interpreting speaker trauma in the questionnaire had also reported signs of VPTG, with 7.14% of participants experiencing negative effects only. This shows that most interpreters who experience negative effects from vicarious traumatic exposure can also experience VPTG. Interestingly, one respondent did not report any negative effects from interpreting speaker trauma, but provided data suggesting they had experienced VPTG from their work.

Similarly, interviewee PT2 was hesitant when asked if they were affected negatively from interpreting traumatic speaker material, and then reported sympathising with the speaker and the challenge of maintaining emotional distance as the negative effects, which are milder than the STS, VT and Burnout symptoms reported by other participants. PT2 did however report a positive shift in their perception of work, other people and life philosophy, suggesting VPTG.

Comparison of occurrence of VPTG in different areas of interpreting

As previous research on VPTG focuses solely on community interpreters, I was interested in comparing occurrence in interpreters across community, conference and court interpreters.

In order to get an idea of the occurrence of VPTG in those working in the conference setting, the results of the eight participants who worked solely in that area were filtered. All respondents in this group reported negative effects from interpreting speaker trauma, choosing symptoms of STS and VT most frequently, followed by burnout, similar to the overall results explained above.

In questions 10, 11 and 12, 85.71% of those who experienced the negative effects, reported feeling a benefit from this work and signs of VPTG related to work, relationships, philosophy of life and spirituality. This instance of VPTG is slightly lower than in the overall group, and may be due to the frequency of vicarious traumatic exposure, as in question four, 87.5% of these interpreters said that they were rarely exposed to traumatic speaker content, which was less frequent than interpreters working in other areas. Interviewee PT2, a conference interpreter, said that they had interpreted a speaker describing their trauma only once in a conference setting, encountering this type of material more frequently when working with NGOs. PT3, who worked mainly as a court interpreter, encountered a speaker describing an 'upsetting' experience only once in a conference setting.

Community Interpreting was the second most common area that respondents worked in, including health, social work, immigration, police, mental health, and education. A significant number of these respondents were sign language

interpreters. The researcher filtered the results of five respondents who had worked solely in Community Interpreting. All five reported effects associated with STS and Burnout, followed by a high instance of VT. For questions 11 and 12, all five reported signs of VPTG associated with work, relationships, philosophy of life and spirituality. This indicates that community interpreters experience negative effects associated with interpreting speaker trauma more often than other interpreters, but that they in turn experience VPTG more frequently also. This may be linked to the higher exposure to traumatic content reported by the interpreters in this group, as 80% said they were exposed to traumatic material while working 'Sometimes', with the remaining 20% being exposed 'Often'. This exposure may be due to the nature of Community Interpreting, as these professionals often work alongside other helping professionals such as therapists. It is known that sign language interpreters in particular work in a vast array of settings where there can be a high risk of vicarious traumatic exposure (Macdonald, 2015). Interviewee PT1, a sign language community interpreter, talked about regular exposure to traumatised clients through counselling sessions for example, as they specialised in mental health.

As research suggests that therapists can experience VPTG, it is not surprising that interpreters working alongside therapists can experience VPTG as they represent both the therapist and the client.

Court interpreters were the least numerous respondents to the questionnaire, and all had worked in at least one of the other areas also. The researcher therefore could not obtain a sample of solely court interpreters for this group, meaning the results may be influenced by their work in other areas. Seven respondents interpreted in court settings, with 85.71% of these reporting negative effects associated with STS and 57.1%, reporting signs of Burnout.

This is a higher instance of Burnout than in the overall group, which may be due to these interpreters working with 'difficult populations' (McCann & Pearlman, 1990, p. 133) in court settings, and not necessarily traumatised individuals, as burnout can result from working with any population (Canfield, 2005). Interviewee PT3, who mainly worked as a court interpreter, talked about being exposed to difficult populations in court through murder cases, rape cases, and juvenile cases with teenage gang members 'throwing tantrums, yelling and swearing at the cops'. Of those who worked as court interpreters, 83.33% reported signs of VPTG related to their work and relationships after having reported negative effects in question seven. The occurrence of VPTG was therefore the lowest in this group when compared to the other groups. This may be due to these interpreters being exposed to difficult populations who are not necessarily trauma victims, as outlined above.

VPTG and witnessing progress/recovery in the speaker

I was interested in investigating a possible link between the interpreter experiencing VPTG and witnessing progress or recovery in the speaker, as suggested by previous research (Splevins *et al.*, 2010).

Table 6 Witnessing progress/recovery in the speaker

14. Did you witness progress or recovery in a speaker from the trauma they had experienced?

Value	Percent	Responses
Yes	39.3%	11
No	60.7%	17
	Totals: 28	

Eleven respondents witnessed progress/recovery in their speaker(s) from the trauma they had experienced. All of these had already reported negative effects associated with interpreting traumatic material. However, in questions 10, 11 and 12, 100% of these respondents also reported feeling a benefit from this work, and signs of VPTG related to their work, relationships, philosophy of life and spirituality. For example, for question 11, 90.9% of these respondents viewed their work as more important and had increased compassion towards others after interpreting speaker trauma. For question 12, 81.8% felt more grateful for their own situation.

Seventeen respondents answered 'No' for question 14, meaning they did not witness progress/recovery from trauma in a speaker, with 94.1% of these having reported negative effects. When asked if they felt any benefit from interpreting speaker trauma in question 10, 70.6% of participants in this group said 'Yes', which is lower than the 82.8% reported by the group overall, and the 100% in the case of those who had witnessed progress/recovery in a speaker. Just over 81% of interpreters who experienced the negative effects of interpreting speaker trauma in this group also reported signs of VPTG in questions 11 and 12, indicating a lower occurrence of VPTG in interpreters in this group when compared to the overall sample and the group who did witness progress/recovery in their speaker(s).

These data therefore suggest that interpreters who witness progress/recovery in a speaker who has directly experienced trauma, experience VPTG more frequently than those who do not. Interviewee PT2 said that seeing people who had experienced trauma working for NGOs inspired hope, as they felt that these people

had not only dealt with their trauma, but were now in a position to help others, allowing them to believe that 'there's some kind of light at the end of the tunnel'. PT1 found it rewarding to see clients who seemed better years after interpreting for them during counselling, as they felt the assignments were useful for the client. However, they also felt that there was a separation between seeing this progress years later and other signs of VPTG which they would experience 'within a couple of weeks' of an assignment. It is therefore clear that witnessing progress in the speaker is beneficial for the interpreter, perhaps adding to their VPTG experience, but that it is not essential for VPTG to occur.

Coping strategies/self-care

Previous research on VPTG indicates a positive link between professionals using self-care activities to offset the negative effects from vicarious traumatic exposure and the development of VPTG. Splevins *et al.* (2010) referred to the use of such activities by participants in their study as a deliberate way of coping with the adverse psychological impact of interpreting speaker trauma, protecting their wellbeing by using external support such as counselling or debriefing sessions and personal coping techniques. All three interviewees in the present study mentioned having availed of external support and/or using personal coping techniques as a way of dealing with vicarious traumatic exposure also. PT1 talked about regular supervision and debriefing sessions with the therapist as part of their work with deaf clients in mental health, saying that the therapists can offer a new perspective on some of the traumatic content dealt with in the session, making them feel better.

> 'not just in my debriefing with the counsellor - which I would always do, you know, before I leave, and they kind of, you know, make you feel better, and you go 'oh actually" PT1

Similarly, for question 15 in the questionnaire, three participants mentioned the importance of professional supervision and/or personal therapy as an 'invaluable resource to keep well in work (…) allowing to process the experiences and move to healthier perspectives' (ID 47). ID 41 said that they use professional supervision to 'offload some of the trauma (…) vicariously experienced', and ID 46 attributed personal therapy to them being 'aware of how to deal with trauma' to keep 'safe and well' in work.

In contrast, interviewee PT3 compared an assignment that they undertook at an international genocide tribunal to others of that nature, where therapists are

provided on-site, saying that they had 'absolutely none of that', and that they dealt with the traumatic content they were exposed to through discussing it with peers. They also said that they felt as if they could not discuss this traumatic content with anyone other than those who were also exposed to it, due to its shocking nature. Interviewees PT1 and PT2 also talked about personal coping techniques as a way of protecting themselves from the negative effects of interpreting speaker trauma. Both mentioned keeping an emotional distance or not becoming 'too emotionally involved' as being important while interpreting traumatic content. PT1 kept an emotional distance from the speaker by using the third person rather than the first person while interpreting, to avoid speaking about trauma as if it happened to them directly:

> 'So then I would use different strategies, like maybe use third person, and say 'so she's describing this', rather than saying 'I, I, I" PT1

Coping strategies and self-care activities therefore appear to have been an important part of the participant's experience when interpreting traumatic speaker content, allowing them to protect themselves and better handle the negative effects of vicarious traumatic exposure.

Empathy

By nature, there is a lot of empathetic engagement involved in interpreting, particularly when the interpreter uses the first-person pronoun 'I', increasing identification with the trauma described by the speaker (Mehus & Becher, 2016). Interviewee PT1 described empathy as being conducive to changing their 'view in terms of understanding them (speakers) more'. They felt that they could see what the speakers had experienced through their words and that they really put themself 'in their shoes' to represent them and convey their message as well as possible. Interviewee PT2 found it difficult to 'find that balance within empathy', distancing themself emotionally from the traumatic content so as not to become overwhelmed while interpreting.

> 'I try my best not to get too emotionally involved, because otherwise I feel like that wouldn't serve the people. Let's say if I started crying in the booth, that wouldn't help anyone' PT2

Four out of 18 responses attributed VPTG-related changes they had reported to empathy in question 13, making empathy the second most common cause for VPTG according to participants. When asked if they had any other comments in question 15, ID 51 described empathy as a part of the interpreter's work due to the nature of the profession, and that this empathy is positive for personal and professional development.

> 'Interpreters are forced by the nature of their job to put themselves in other people's shoes. I think the empathy we might have for other people's trauma, as felt in certain interpreting scenarios, is a positive experience for personal and professional development.' (ID 51)

Questionnaire and interview participants who attributed their VPTG experience to empathy came from all areas of the profession. This reflects the importance of empathy in the interpreting profession as a whole.

Reflection

Manning-Jones *et al.* (2015) hypothesise that it may be natural for professionals exposed to client trauma to react initially with distress, but to process and find meaning in this exposure over time, resulting in VPTG. Some professionals talk about reflection as part of their VPTG experience when they reflect on the progress their clients made from their trauma, which can enhance their own VPTG, as was the case for the majority of the interpreters who participated in Lor's study (2012). Other professionals refer to reflection after vicarious traumatic exposure as being conducive to adopting a new life philosophy, such as mental health workers who re-evaluated their lives through comparison with that of their clients, positively shifting their outlook (Hyatt-Burkhart, 2014).

In the present study, respondent ID 16 said that reflection enabled them to have a new world perspective in question 15, saying that interpreting the experience of a trauma victim allowed them to 'reflect on the world's situation, how good we have it in some places, how bad it can be and how it could get'. Interviewee PT1 reflected on their outlook on life and their relationships in a similar way when interpreting for clients in counselling. They spoke about how interpreting traumatic content led them to reflect on how trivial their own problems were, as 'you hear someone's story and you think: 'well, actually, my life's not so bad, right?" Interpreting content related to relationship problems also caused this participant to

reflect on certain parallels with the relationship they were in at that time, making them re-evaluate their own situation, they explained:

> 'there was a lot of parallels. So it really made me look at [the relationship]. (...) and so, sometimes it holds a mirror up to your life, and it does make you re-evaluate things' (PT1)

When asked in question 13 what may have led to their VPTG experience, two participants attributed some of the positive VPTG-related changes they experienced to becoming more reflective. ID 40 said that the supervision they received following their vicarious traumatic exposure developed their 'reflective practice', with ID 45 feeling 'more reflective and less reactive' after learning that many people can experience severe trauma.

These data therefore show that reflection can be an important part of an interpreter's experience when interpreting traumatic speaker content. Reflection seems to be particularly relevant to the experience of VPTG pertaining to the professional's perspective of their own life, the world and relationships, as vicarious traumatic exposure causes them to reflect on their own situations and world-view, often allowing them to move to positive perspectives. The most common signs of VPTG reported in question 12 of the questionnaire were 'feeling grateful for your own situation' - 78.6% (of those who answered that question), and 'gaining a new perspective on your own life' – 50%. Similarly, 60% of those who answered question 11 felt more appreciative of others following their vicarious traumatic exposure. Given that these signs of VPTG appear to be linked to the reflective process following vicarious traumatic exposure, the fact that most participants reported these positive changes in their outlook and view of others suggests that reflection was a key element in their development of VPTG after interpreting content related to the traumatic experiences of a speaker.

Recommendations for further research

There is room for a larger scale study on the occurrence of VPTG in interpreters, ideally involving random sampling to obtain a sample size larger than 50 participants, as no such study has been carried out to date. The results of such a study would therefore be more generalisable to the entire population as the risk of self-selection bias would be removed, thus strengthening external validity (Dörnyei, 2007).

The researcher also recommends further investigating the role of 'Reflection' in VPTG, as although this theme had not been directly addressed in previous research

on VPTG in interpreters, it formed an important part of the participants' experience in this study, and appears to be a key element in the interpreter recognising their VPTG journey.

Another interesting future area of study would be to further investigate the relationship between exposure to speaker trauma and the perception often held by conference interpreters of being invisible when working in the interpreting booth (Pöchhacker, 2009). Two interview participants in this study felt more valued and important when interpreting traumatic or emotional content in conference settings than they would in more technical meetings so it would be interesting to further investigate whether this type of work can counteract the perception of the conference interpreter as a non-involved professional in communication (ibid).

Finally, the researcher did not make a distinction between spoken and sign language interpreters in this study, categorising the latter in the same group as the spoken language interpreters who worked in the community. However, a study into the occurrence of VPTG in sign language interpreters would be beneficial, as research shows they are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of vicarious traumatic exposure, as 'Sign language interpreters do not only process and engage with the material auditorily, but also visually' (Macdonald, 2015, p.8). Some participants in this study also pointed this out, feeling more vulnerable to the effects of vicarious traumatic exposure due to the embodied nature of sign language. Interviewee PT1 said:

> 'I think with sign language because we have to embody it, you know, and find words for it - so somebody is, you know, maybe signing it and it's visual' PT1

Investigating how this additional vulnerability to vicarious traumatic exposure may or may not contribute to VPTG in sign language interpreters would therefore be an interesting area of study.

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Assessing the Risk Factors for Hearing Problems amongst Simultaneous Conference Interpreters

Rosemary Hynes

Introduction

Hearing is fundamental for every one of us, it allows us to communicate with others and stay in touch with our surroundings. For spoken-language simultaneous interpreters the role of the ear is even more important; without functioning hearing, they would not be able to work. In this study I analyse the risk factors for hearing problems among simultaneous conference interpreters.

Conference Interpreting and the Simultaneous Conference Interpreter

Simultaneous interpreting (SI) requires the use of equipment, typically composed of a soundproof booth, microphones, headphones and a multi-channel SI installation (Dawrant & Setton, 2016). Simultaneous interpreters rely on headphones to hear the original speaker and a microphone to relay the interpretation to the listening delegates (Takeda & Baigorri-Jalón, 2016). Interpreters need to wear their headphones in such a way as to enable them to hear and monitor their own output as well as the original speaker. To do so interpreters can wear both headphones ear-pieces half on and half off each ear or wear one earphone on one ear and leave the other ear uncovered (Jones, 2014). This is relevant due to the lack of binaural summation i.e. a sound heard with two ears is judged louder than the same sound heard with one (Porsolt and Irwin, 1967).

According to a study by AIIC, the interpreting profession falls into the category of 'high stress professions' (Mackintosh, 2002). There is a relationship between exposure to stress and hearing problems (Canlon *et al.*, 2012; Simoens & Hébert, 2012). Horner *et al.* (2008) and Horner (2003) concluded that the inner ear is very sensitive to stress-related hormones which could have a deleterious effect on the ear. Some situations are more stressful for interpreters, such as distance interpreting, as found by two United Nations studies (Report of the Secretary General 2001a and 2001b as seen in Kurz 2003).

The use of new technologies to provide interpreting services reached a pinnacle during the Covid-19 health pandemic (Executive Committee AIIC[1] Taskforce on Distance Interpreting, 2020). When AIIC tested six cloud-based platforms that provide remote simultaneous interpreting, they concluded that 'all the codecs (programs that decode sound) showed losses to achieve a better bitrate and make

1 International Association of Conference Interpreters.

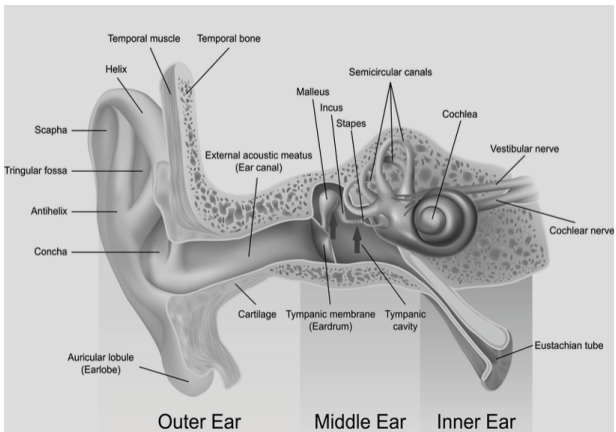
possible the transmission via Internet', while some platforms cut certain frequencies and in some cases there was a 'strong alteration of the signals fed into the system' (AIIC Technical and Health Committee, 2019). The Directorate General for Interpretation at the European Union also tested 21 online interpreting platforms and found that 'the sound was sometimes tinny or unnatural', 'the lack of treble and bass adjustments' was off-putting for interpreters, interpreters 'did not consider that the audio was comparable to audio transmitted by a traditional system' and 'the difference in the sound level between the different sources is disturbing' (2019: 7).

Sound, the Ear and Hearing

Firstly, 'sound is produced when an object (source) vibrates and causes the air [or any other medium] around it to move' (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006: 1). The 'rate at which the source oscillates is the frequency of the sound wave […] and is quoted in hertz (Hz)' (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006: 1). On average, humans can perceive sound between 20 Hz and 20,000 Hz (Bess & Humes, 2008). Another essential aspect of sound is sound pressure or 'the effect of sound on its surroundings' (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006: 16). To measure pressure, including the sound pressure level (SPL) we use newtons per square metre. However, to facilitate measurements of SPL a reference level of zero decibels (dB) is used (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006). Zero decibels roughly corresponds to the lowest threshold of hearing or 'the quietest sound perceivable by an average person at a frequency of 1kHz' (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006: 17). However, unlike the SPL which can be measured exactly in decibels, loudness is subjective and has its own measurement, the phon (Howard & Angus, 2006). Noise is 'sound that is unpleasant, loud, unexpected, or unwanted' (Maltby, 2012). As mentioned above, SPLs are measured using decibels, however, to ensure measurements more closely match the sensitivity of the human ear, sound meters are weighted in different networks; A, B, and C (Bess & Humes, 2008). The A-weighting corresponds closely to the sensitivity of the human hearing (mainly low SPLs) and is quoted as dBA (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006). Examples of common everyday noises and their equivalent dBA are: rustling leaves in a breeze are equivalent to 40dBA, average conversational speech at a distance of 1 metre is 60dBA, a city subway is 100dBA and a typical rock concert is 140dBA (Bess and Humes, 2008).

The ear is the first point of contact between a sound and the brain. As is commonly known, the ear is made up of three main parts: the outer ear, the middle ear and the inner ear (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 The structure of the human ear (Junaidy, 2011)



A sound wave causes the air in the outer ear and the bones that surround the ear to vibrate, this vibration passes to the eardrum which in turn vibrates the sequence of ossicles in the middle ear (malleus, incus, stapes) (Munir & Clarke, 2013). The vibration is then transferred from the ossicles to the fluid-filled cochlea, which converts the vibration into electrical impulses using highly specialised cells (hair cells). The auditory nerve then transmits that impulse to the auditory cortex, the part of the brain that receives and interprets sound (Munir & Clarke, 2013).

Active listening is a key stage in the interpreting process, without this stage the interpreter cannot proceed to interpret the speech (Dawrant & Setton, 2016). As Levey *et al.* put it, 'even a mild hearing loss may lead to an uncertain grasp of many of the grammatical aspects of spoken language' (2011: 264). When hearing deteriorates, 'it becomes more difficult for an individual to monitor his or her own speech production' (Bess and Humes, 2008: 288). Therefore, hearing is essential for the spoken-language interpreter, both for listening and speech production. Unfortunately, the hearing mechanism is complex and sensitive, so if there is a problem at any stage during the transmission of sound through the ear, hearing problems can occur (Alberti, 2006; Munir & Clarke, 2013). These include noise-induced hearing loss, tinnitus, hyperacusis, acoustic shock and tonic tensor tympani syndrome.

Noise Induced Hearing Loss

Noise induced hearing loss (NIHL) is caused by long-term exposure to excessive levels of noise and is both permanent and medically untreatable (Maltby, 2012;

Peter and Whitelaw, 2011). Noise exposure overworks the hair cells in the cochlea, leading to a build-up of waste material which subsequently kills the inner hair cells and diminishes hearing (Fligor, 2020). Excessive noise exposure is considered to be exposure to noise levels of 85dBA or higher for an eight-hour period (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, 2005). It has recently been found that NIHL can be asymmetric due to asymmetric noise exposure (Fernandes and Fernandes, 2010; Le *et al.*, 2017). Interestingly, Fernandes and Fernandes (2010) mention that NIHL is generally considered symmetrical except in single headphone users, which makes it more relevant to interpreters.

Tinnitus

Tinnitus is the 'perception of a sound that has no external source' (Solomon & Bauer, 2018). From the Latin *tinnire* (to ring), ringing in the ears is one of the most common ways of describing tinnitus (Baguley *et al.*, 2013; Solomon & Bauer, 2018). There are numerous risk factors for tinnitus, yet Nondahl *et al.* (2011) found that hearing impairment was the risk factor most strongly associated with it. This finding reflected the result from another study on tinnitus in 1989 by Axelsson and Ringdahl. Similarly, Nondahl *et al.* (2011) concluded that there was a strong link between noise exposure and tinnitus. Noise-induced tinnitus can be acute or chronic, with acute tinnitus fading sometime after the noise exposure, whilst chronic tinnitus worsens over time (Byung *et al.*, 2009). The same authors stated that 'if tinnitus persists for more than 2 years, it is considered permanent and irreversible' (2009).

Hyperacusis

Hyperacusis can be defined as 'unusual tolerance to ordinary environmental sounds' (Vernon, cited in Baguley, 2003). In other words, sounds in general are problematic to the person suffering from hyperacusis (Baguley, 2003). For example, 'an ordinary voice sounds more like gunshots and even the sound of their own voice can be intolerable' (*New Scientist*, 2006).

The exact cause of hyperacusis is still shrouded in doubt (Baguley, 2003; *New Scientist*, 2006) Nevertheless, it is increasingly believed that there is a common underlying mechanism between tinnitus and hyperacusis because the two pathologies often go hand in hand (Nelson & Chen, 2004). Moreover, Sahley and Nodar (cited in Baguley, 2003) found that there is a correlation between hyperacusis (and tinnitus) and tiredness, anxiety or stress. Hyperacusis may even be a precursor to hearing loss, due to the auditory system's innate response to increase the volume in an attempt to improve hearing (Nelson & Chen, 2004).

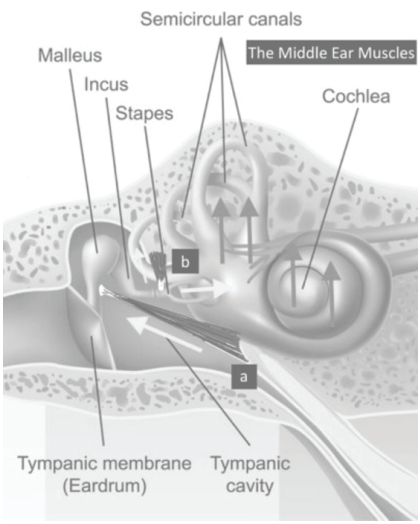
Acoustic Shock

Acoustic shock refers to a 'pattern of both physical and psychological symptoms arising immediately after or soon after exposure to sudden, unexpected noise over their headset or handset' (McFarren & Baguley, 2007). It is distinct from an acoustic trauma which is exposure to a sound of 140dbA or above and which damages the cochlear hair cells and causes hearing loss (Milhinch, 2002). The sound that causes the acoustic shock (acoustic incident) generally does not have an intensity or duration that would be regarded as dangerous by existing workplace legislation (McFarren & Baguley, 2007). Furthermore, the acoustic incident usually ranges from 82 to 120 dBA, well below the 140dBA of an acoustic trauma (McFarren & Baguley, 2007; Milhinch, 2002).

Studies show that the middle-ear muscles (see Figure 2) and the startle reflex may be at the heart of an acoustic shock (McFarren & Baguley, 2007; Westcott, 2006). In fact, Westcott (2006) goes as far to say that:

[acoustic shock] can develop without specific acoustic incident exposure. The dominant factors leading to [acoustic shock] appear to be related to the sudden onset, unexpectedness and impact quality of loudish sounds outside the person's control, rather than to high volume levels alone.

Figure 2 The Middle Ear Muscles (Hofmeyr, 2017)



Tonic Tensor Tympani Syndrome

There may be another explanation for acoustic shock: tonic tensor tympani syndrome (TTTS), as proposed by Patuzzi *et al.* (2002), and subsequently by Westcott, that the middle-ear muscles (MEMs) might be implicated in acoustic shock (Westcott, 2006, 2016; Westcott *et al.*, 2013). As we can see in Figure 2, there are two MEMs, the tensor tympani (a) and the stapedius (b). These two muscles contract to stiffen the ossicular chain, thereby attenuating low-frequency sounds and reducing the risk of inner-ear cochlear damage (Kawase *et al.* 1997; Westcott, 2016). Kawase *et al.* state that MEMs may contract due to loud sounds, vocalisation, tactile stimulation, general body movement and even voluntary contraction (1997). As regards the acoustic stimulation of the MEMs, the acoustic threshold varies and can be 'reprogrammed downwards [and even] triggered without sound [due to] the anticipation and subconscious perception of sounds considered threatening' (Westcott, 2006). The acoustic stimulant can be as low as 60dB, as found by Blumenthal and Goode (1991). The acoustic reflex threshold can be lowered further by complex sounds involving different frequencies, or a combination of sounds reaching our ears (Kawase *et al.*, 1997).

TTTS is, thus, an overreaction of the tensor tympani muscle to low stimuli, meaning that the tensor tympani muscle is 'spontaneously active, continually and rhythmically contracting and relaxing' (Westcott, 2006). The most common symptoms of TTTS are tinnitus, rhythmic aural sensations such as clicks, sensations of aural fullness or blockage, a frequent 'popping' sensation, mild vertigo, muffled or distorted hearing, and pain, numbness and burning sensations around the ear, cheek and neck area (Westcott, 2016). The pain experienced immediately after an acoustic incident may be the result of the over-stimulation of the tensor tympani muscle which irritates the trigeminal nerve[2] and other nerves around the ear, to which it is attached (Westcott, 2006, 2016). Since the tensor tympani muscle has a protective function and is a startle reflex in response to a threat, stress plays a major role (Westcott *et al.*, 2013).

Risk factors in the working environment

As discussed above, simultaneous interpreting is stressful. Unfortunately, stress also has a negative effect on the ear. Therefore, stress is a prominent occupational risk factor for hearing problems in the interpreting environment. Technological factors are also potential risk factors for hearing problems in the simultaneous interpreter. There are international standards for both permanent and mobile conference

2 The trigeminal nerve is a mixed nerve that provides sensory innervation to the face and mucous membranes of the oral and nasal cavities and motor innervation to the muscles of mastication (Brazis et al., 2007).

interpreting booths (ISO 2603 and ISO 4043), where emphasis is put on the sound insulation of these facilities. It is important to note that ISO 4043 states that 'table-mounted hoods are not acceptable' (2012); these are often called tabletop booths, and do not mitigate sound interference as well as full booths. Additionally, AIIC actively discourages the use of bidules (AIIC Technical Committee, 2002), where 'the interpreter sits in the same room together with the participants and quietly speaks his/her interpretation of the speech into a hand-held microphone which transmits the interpretation to listeners who are wearing headsets' (Diriker, 2015: 171). Use of bidules is discouraged because of inadequate sound quality and sound isolation, which overly exert interpreters (AIIC Technical Committee, 2002; Dawrant & Setton, 2016). Nonetheless, the use of bidules almost doubled between 2005 and 2010 (Diriker, 2015).

Another important technological factor in simultaneous interpreting is the audio system, which includes microphones, amplifiers, control panels, and interpreters' headphones (ISO 2603: 2012). The audio chain in an interpreting environment is the transmission of sound through different equipment from the source speaker to the interpreter. Good sound quality is a key factor in simultaneous interpreting while poor sound quality increases the interpreter's stress and fatigue (Hobart-Burela, 2002). The following factors in the audio chain affect the quality of the sound that reaches the interpreter's ear: the person speaking, the conference hall, the microphone, the cables, the microphone preamplifier, the PA system, the interpreter's audio feed and the interpreter's headphones (Huber & Runstein, 2001).

Four main headphone styles will be mentioned throughout this study:

- On-ear headphones rest on the ear and filter through some external sound
- Over-ear headphones cup the ear and provide good sound isolation
- Earbuds rest in the outer ear and do not provide good sound isolation
- In-ear headphones sit in the ear canal and limit sound leakage (TheWireRealm, 2020).

Interpreters' headphones should provide audio frequencies from 125-12,500 Hz or the entire range of speech, so that everything the speaker utters is transmitted to the interpreter (Junpelt 1985). In-ear headphones and earbuds are not acceptable (ISO 2603: 2012). One likely reason for this is that 'earbuds [and in-ear headphones] sit right inside your ear and are very close to the ear canal, so they naturally increase the volume by around 9 decibels' (Wynens, 2016). Moreover, over-the-ear and on-ear headphones block out more external sounds due to the foam pads, allowing you to turn the volume down (Wynens, 2016). There is a growing trend of noise-cancelling headphones. However, according to Flerov, these headphones tend to

slightly distort sound and hinder the interpreter's self-monitoring, because they also partially cancel your own voice (2016).

Another important risk factor for hearing problems in simultaneous interpreting is the exposure to sound. Exposure depends on duration, the type of sound and the type of exposure (asymmetric or otherwise). As discussed in the section on NIHL, an exposure to 85dBA for an eight-hour period can potentially cause hearing loss. However, if the noise increases for whatever reason, the exposure time decreases. Excessively loud sounds can originate from a variety of sources such as: speakers tapping their microphones, coughing into the microphone, a poor speaker that speaks too close to the microphone (Flerov, 2014), feedback if headphones are placed too close to microphones, or even feedback from personal address (PA) systems. ISO 4303: 2012 indicates that PA systems should be used with caution due to their ability to produce loud howl sounds and feedback. Exposure over a lifetime also increases the risks of hearing problems. Peng *et al.* suggest that long-term exposure to noises below the 85dB limit can also cause hearing problems, notably hearing loss (2007). Asymmetric noise exposure is also noteworthy, particularly in interpreters who wear only one earpiece, because sound received in only one ear is perceived as quieter than sound received in both ears, often leading to a natural impulse to increase the volume (Porsolt and Irwin, 1967).

Risk factors in the personal environment

In the working environment, the interpreter might not be able to influence the sound that they are exposed to, however, in their personal environment, the interpreter is in charge of the sound that they are exposed to and can control it to a certain extent. Lengthy exposure to sound is a primary concern. If after a day of interpreting, the interpreter returns home and starts listening to sound using headphones then they are increasing their ears' exposure time to sound. When background noise is added to the mix, headphone-users tend to increase their preferred listening level (PLL) by 10 dBA on average, where the background noise is equivalent to 80 dBA (Henry & Foots, 2012). It is interesting to note that a heavy truck ten metres away is roughly equivalent to 90dBA; heavy car traffic at the same distance is approximately 80dBA and a car interior 70dBA (Howard & Angus, 2006). Therefore, if an interpreter uses headphones in a noisy city environment, it can be assumed that the interpreter's PLL will increase to be audible over the background noise, thus potentially putting the interpreter at risk of hearing problems. The same applies to attending loud venues. According to Howard and Angus, peak levels on a night club dance floor can reach 120 dBA (2006). It is

estimated that an exposure of merely nine seconds to a sound at 120dBA could already damage the sensitive hair cells in the cochlea.

Awareness

The individual interpreter, as well as their employers, have a responsibility to protect their hearing. However, both parties can only mitigate risk factors once they are aware of them. The interpreter can use protective hearing devices when in loud environments. Regular hearing tests and specialist consultations are also recommended to detect any signs of hearing impairment early on. The employer also has a responsibility to train and inform their employees if they could be exposed to noises at or above 80 dBA (Health and Safety Authority, 2007). Sound limiters can be used to reduce loud noises. They function by compressing loud noises down to a safe listening level (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006). However, sound compression may affect speech intelligibility, speech quality, acoustic cues and may also have a fluctuating effect on speech (Souza, 2002).

Methodology

The aim of my research is to analyse whether simultaneous interpreters are at risk of developing hearing problems. To achieve that objective I developed three research questions:

1. Do simultaneous interpreters minimise risk factors for hearing impairment in their working environment?
2. Do simultaneous interpreters minimise risk factors for hearing impairment in their personal environment?
3. Are simultaneous interpreters aware of the risk factors for hearing impairment in their working/personal spheres?

In order to answer these research questions, I obtained primary data using mixed methods, namely, a survey and interviews. I used snowball sampling to roll out my survey. It comprised 37 questions and was fully completed by 68 professional conference interpreters. Therefore, my sample size is 68 (N=68).

In addition to the survey, I interviewed three questionnaire respondents; an individual who self-reported a couple of hearing problems (Interviewee A); a second individual who did not report any hearing problems (Interviewee B) and a third individual who self-reported multiple hearing problems (Interviewee C).

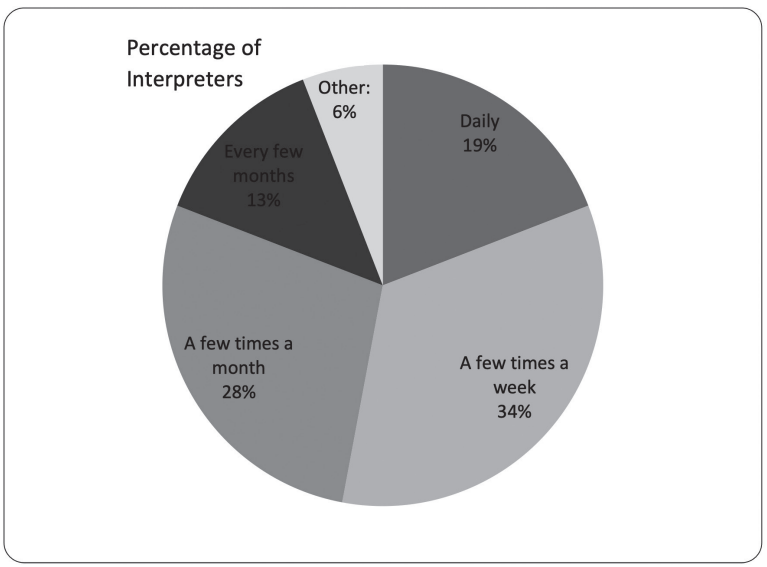
Findings

Duration of Sound Exposure

The initial questions in the questionnaire aimed at establishing exposure to sound over time. Age will be considered further under the external risk factors section,

but it is also important to consider it here because age often means longer sound exposure. Although 47% (n=32) of respondents are in the 25-45 age bracket, the majority of the respondents have been in the profession for more than ten years (n=39). In the follow-up interview with Interviewee C, I learnt that she has been an interpreter in her current position for 18 years and she works daily. Interviewee A has been in the profession for two years and works weekly, whilst interviewee B has been in the profession for one year and works monthly. Table 1 shows the frequency of interpreting assignments among the questionnaire respondents. The 'other' category refers to work as a freelancer which fluctuates.

Table 1 Frequency of interpreting assignments

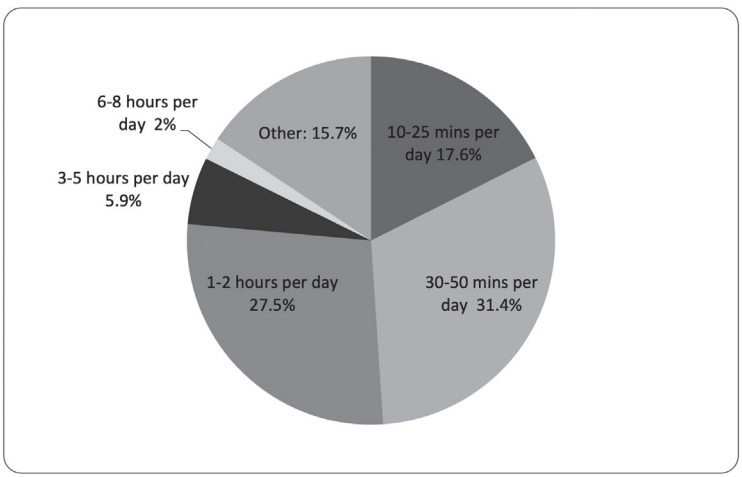


The overwhelming majority (74%) of the questionnaire respondents work for thirty minutes before taking a break, 23% work for under thirty minutes before a break whilst the remaining 3% said it depends upon the meeting. When this aspect was investigated further with Interviewee A, I learnt that although she interprets simultaneously for 20 minutes, she swaps ears and keeps on listening for the next 20 minutes. Concerning the number of hours of simultaneous interpreting in a normal working day, the mode was 3 to 4 hours (n=28), whilst 23 respondents said they worked between 6 and 8 hours. As the number of working hours varied

significantly from 2.5 to 7 hours, it is difficult to depict a typical interpreter's sound exposure time in their working environment.

Table 2 shows how much time interpreters spend using headphones in their own time. Interestingly, 7 out of the 13 interpreters use headphones in their spare time for 30 minutes or more. One interpreter uses headphones from between 3 to 5 hours in her spare time. This interpreter went on to be Interviewee C who accumulates at least 7 hours of headphone use per day. Interviewee A stated in the questionnaire that she works for either 4 hours if the meeting is in the morning or between 7.5 and 8 hours if the meeting lasts the entire day. She explained during the interview that she rarely uses headphones in her spare time. Interviewee B said that he works for 3 to 4 hours on average per working day and that outside work he uses headphones for 1-2 hours per day but is trying to reduce that further. All three interviewees acknowledged that the amount of time they spend using headphones in their spare time had increased since the Covid-19 pandemic.

Table 2 Number of hours per day using headphones in spare time



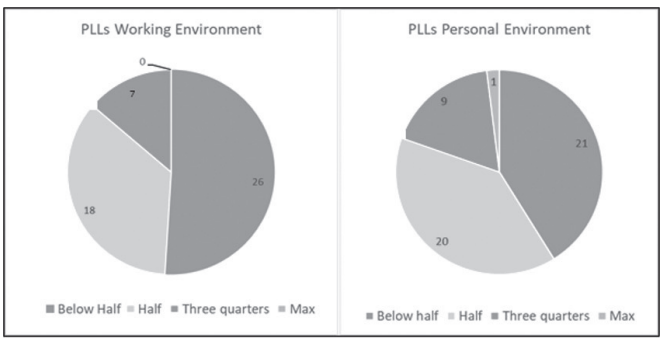
Sound Intensity

Thirty-six respondents (53%) said that their preferred listening level (PLL) was below half of maximum volume for work. Notably, 12% of respondents interpret at three quarters of maximum volume. Table 3 compares the work environment PLL with the personal environment PLL of the 51 interpreters that use headphones

in their spare time. On average, PLLs are slightly higher in the personal sphere than in the working environment.

Interviewees A and B both followed this trend. Interviewee B explained that he uses headphones in noisier environments in his personal environment, e.g. when exercising or when at the gym. Interviewee B's clarification may also explain the trend in general because 66.6% (n=34) of respondents use headphones in their spare time in noisy environments e.g. on the street, on public transport, in the car.

Table 3 Comparison of PLLs in Working and Personal Environments



Background noise while interpreting was also cited as a possible cause of the hearing issues self-reported by questionnaire respondents. Interviewee C discussed loud noises in her working environment from nearby construction sites. Moreover, she discussed an experience with 'extremely loud noise even turned down' due to a new sound system which had not been tested. Background noise is a significant problem with distance interpreting. All interviewees had experienced either overly loud noises or background noise whilst interpreting remotely. Interviewee A mentioned a 'huge whistling all of a sudden in my ears' while working remotely, Interviewee B referred to people working in noisy streets, whilst Interviewee C explained how remote participants often work from huge, echoey rooms.

Sound Quality

According to the three interviewees, poor quality sound requires them to concentrate more and make a greater effort. It was clear that all three interviewees considered the audio quality produced by distance interpreting to be of inferior quality to the sound present in traditional interpreting environments. Interviewee A described distance interpreting sound as being of far inferior quality to bidule

and as being 'more distant and less clear in general'. Interviewee C even went so far as to describe distance interpreting sound as unacceptable 'about 40% of the time'.

Asymmetric Sound Exposure

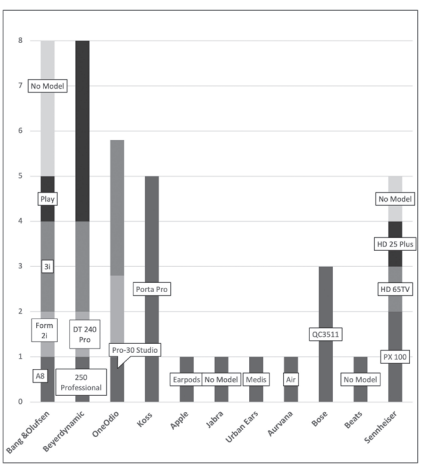
In line with existing literature on the topic, 73% (n=50) of questionnaire respondents interpret with their headphones on only one ear. Of those that listen with only one ear, 63% do not swap ears when interpreting. All three interviewees listen when interpreting with only one ear and do not swap ears.

Technological Risk Factors

Headphones

Interestingly, 48.5% of questionnaire respondents use their own headphones to interpret while 51.5% use those that come with the console. Table 4 shows the brands of personal headphones used by interpreters. Bang and Olufsen are described by interpreters as 'a combination of on-the-ear and earbuds' or 'they sort of hang on the ear'. According to a sound engineer, they do not have any sound isolation and they lack some bass. The same engineer described the Sennheiser as very good quality headphones and the Koss Porta Pro as reasonably good quality. The Beyerdynamic, OneOdio and Bose headphones are all high-quality headphones. There is not enough information available on the Urban Ears or the Jabra headphones, whilst the Apple Earpods are very basic with no sound isolation. There are too many Beats models to know which model this interpreter chose.

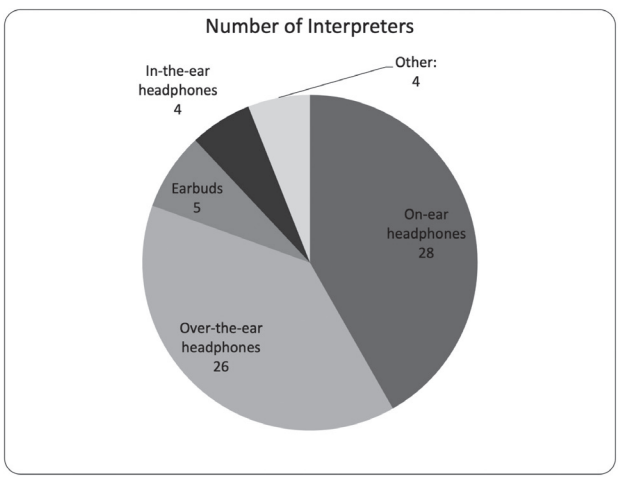
Table 4 Brand and model of headphones used by interpreters



The two most popular headphone styles are on-ear and over-ear headphones. However, nine interpreters use earbuds or in-ear headphones to interpret, an unacceptable option according to ISO 2603: 2012. All interviewees use either on-ear or over-ear headphones for interpreting, but two of the three use earbuds in their spare time. This appears to be a trend amongst interpreters as earbuds and in-ear headphones are used more frequently in their spare time. Among the various headphone models used by interpreters in their working and personal environments, several are noise-cancelling headphones, for example, the Bose QC35ii (Table 6). Nine of the questionnaire respondents (N=68) also said they use noise-cancelling headphones as a precautionary measure.

The comparison of headphones used in the working and personal environments can be seen in Table 5. We can observe a significant increase in the number of interpreters that use in-ear headphones and earbuds in their spare time.

Table 5 Comparison of headphone style used by interpreters in their working and personal environments



Soundproof Booths

I wished to find out if simultaneous interpreters work from soundproof booths which are important for preventing extraneous noise and required by ISO 2603: 2012. When asked, 65% of respondents said they worked in a soundproof booth (n=44), one respondent said he/she works remotely from home and 34% of respondents said they sometimes work in a soundproof booth (n=23). The 34%

of respondents that answered 'sometimes' is probably the most interesting and perhaps worrying from a hearing health point of view because they cited a number of alternatives to soundproof booths, such as, bidule, tabletop booths and mobile booths. As mentioned previously, ISO 4043: 2012 stipulates that tabletop booths are 'not acceptable'. Several questionnaire respondents even mentioned booths that are supposed to be soundproof but in reality are far from it e.g. 'a wooden booth with a broken door', 'in a booth, but usually far from soundproof' and 'sometimes booths are poor quality or are missing a proper door'. Although Interviewee C said she works from soundproof booths, she does not think that they are fully soundproof. The facilities at her workplace are increasingly soundproofed year on year, however, she says that there are still 'leftover booths from probably twenty/ thirty years ago that are not very soundproof at all.'

Sound Limiters

Sound limiters or compressors have been suggested as a solution to loud noises because they reduce sound to safe listening levels (Rumsey & McCormack, 2006). This idea is perhaps gaining ground in the conference interpreting community, because all three interviewees referred to a sound limiter without prompting. Interviewees B and C referred to an event in Canada, where several interpreters working remotely experienced acoustic shocks. This same event was highly publicised and may be one of the reasons for the increased talk about sound limiters (Côté-Sroka, 2019; Wright-Allen, 2020).

Interviewee A had heard about limiters from colleagues and had read articles from interpreting websites that proposed limiters as a precautionary measure. Sound limiters were investigated in Interviewee C's workplace and a policy was established that limiters should be used at all times by the interpreters. The employer provided the interpreters with this device. It is worth noting that Interviewee C highlights a drawback of limiters, that is, a lack of clarity when listening to voices. Sound limiters were also mentioned by two questionnaire respondents as a potential solution to loud noises that may occur during meetings. Eight questionnaire respondents (N=68) stated that they use sound limiters as a precautionary measure.

Distance Interpreting

Interviewees A and B both worked from home in a virtual interpreting booth setting during the Covid-19 pandemic. After the lockdown, Interviewee A began interpreting alone from the traditional interpreting booth but with all participants working remotely. Interviewees C worked from the usual soundproof booth throughout the pandemic, but the participants were located remotely. She explained they had since moved to 'a hybrid model' where some participants appear in person

and others by videocall. All three interviewees believe sound quality deteriorates with distance interpreting. Some of the issues that they mentioned with distance interpreting were: 'chopped up sentences', 'words missing', 'technological issues or inconveniences may hinder the quality of an interpreter's performance', sound quality issues and 'connection issues'.

To safeguard quality on the interpreter's end, Interviewee A was provided with a headset and a computer while working from home. A cabled connection was also a prerequisite for working from home according to Interviewees A and B. Interviewee B uses headphones and a USB microphone which provide better quality sound in his opinion. Nevertheless, he did mention that his microphone was 'too sensitive so I have to try to have absolute silence around me because it captures everything'. In Interviewee C's case, the employer decided to use Zoom for participants' videocalls. She said this decision was made without consulting the interpreters. Speakers that Interviewee B and Interviewee C interpreted for whilst working remotely had been instructed to use headsets when speaking. However, Interviewee C described the situation like this:

> We do the sound test and they put their headphones on and then they may not wear the headphones in the meeting. Or we say, 'Your mic is too high. Can you please move your mic down?' And then they'll move their mic down but because they want to have a coffee or they want to eat something, they'll move the mic back up. Or it's in their way. Some of them don't want to wear the headphones at all or they have picked a uni-directional mic. So we have a whole range of different issues. It's supposed to be standardised, but it actually isn't.

The rural-urban divide was mentioned by Interviewees B and C as a contributing factor to sound quality in distance interpreting. Interviewee B lives in the city 'where the connectivity is good' but notices a difference when video-calling friends in the countryside where connectivity is worse.

External Risk Factors

Question fifteen of the questionnaire asked the respondents whether they had suffered from symptoms of hearing impairment. Thirty-six respondents self-reported suffering from at least one symptom, compared to 32 who never experienced a symptom of hearing impairment. With regard to age as an external

risk factor, it is obviously one that we cannot control, and our hearing naturally deteriorates over time (presbycusis) (Howard & Angus, 2006). Therefore, the 11 individuals who are in the 56-70 age bracket are in theory more likely to encounter hearing issues. The small questionnaire sample does not provide enough data to establish a correlation between age and symptoms of hearing impairment. Five of the respondents aged between 56 to 70 had not experienced any symptoms, whilst the remaining 6 had.

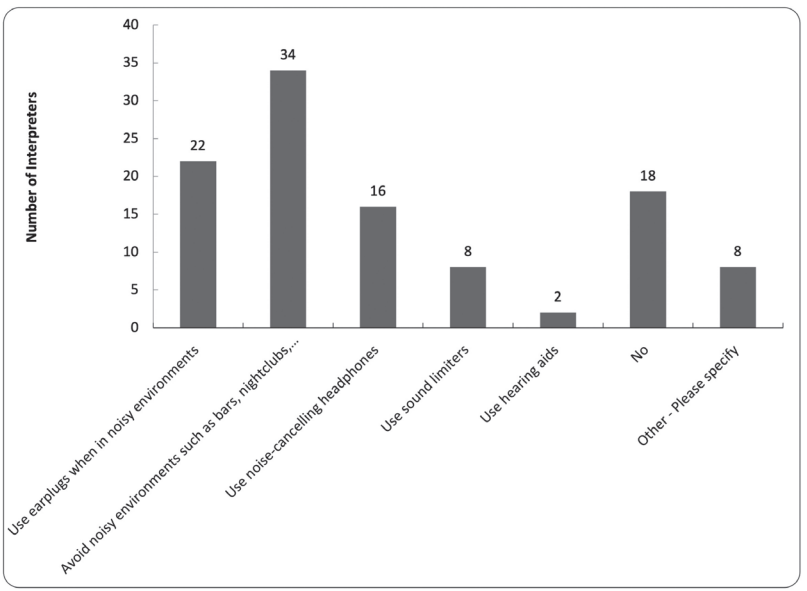
Concerning exposure to noisy environments in the past, 36 respondents self-reported symptoms even though 13 of them did not used to attend noisy environments. Of the 32 that did not report any symptoms, 15 did attend noisy environments in the past. Therefore, no correlation was found in this study between attending noisy environments in the past and the symptoms interpreters self-report. A family history of hearing problems could also be an external risk factor for hearing problems. In response to a question on family background, 79% (n=54) of questionnaire respondents answered that they did not have a family history of hearing issues. Nonetheless, of the 14 respondents who answered in the affirmative, 10 self-reported at least one symptom of hearing impairment. Similarly, 91% of respondents stated that they did not have an underlying condition that could cause hearing issues, but of the 6 respondents that did have an underlying condition, 4 had at least one symptom of hearing impairment. Some questionnaire respondents mentioned 'air travel', 'exposure to wind' or 'water in the ear canal' as possible external causes of their hearing issues. The small sample size does not easily allow for correlations between symptoms and external risk factors; however, they are non-negligible factors in the analysis of hearing impairment root causes.

Awareness

The closing survey questions (32 to 34) aimed at establishing whether interpreters have regular hearing check-ups, whether they take any precautionary measures and whether their hearing is their top priority. Concerning hearing check-ups, 40 interpreters (N=68) said that they do not have regular check-ups. Of the remaining 28, 15 said they have a check-up at least once a year or every six months. One respondent added that he/she uses an application to do 'DIY hearing check-ups'. Table 6 depicts the answers to Question 33 on precautionary measures. It can be seen that 18 interpreters admit that they do not take any precautionary measures, whilst the 'other' category referred to various precautionary measures including keeping the volume as low as possible, occasionally wearing earplugs at concerts but 'not as often as I should', avoiding headphone use outside of work and requesting

to not work with particularly loud colleagues in the booth. As for priorities, 84% (n=57) said that hearing is their top priority.

Table 6 Do you take any precautionary measures to protect your hearing?



When I asked the interviewees whether they had any specific knowledge about hearing, sound or the ear, all three said they have rudimentary knowledge on those matters. However, all of the interviewees believe it would be useful to receive more information about their hearing.

When reflecting upon the beginning of her career, Interviewee C said that she would have liked to have known five main things: 'always wear the best headphones possible', 'get a baseline hearing test', avoid earbuds, always keep your volume as low as possible and 'stop working when the sound is unacceptable'. In a similar vein, Interviewee A would have liked to have known 'that [your hearing] can actually be damaged, because I didn't know that' and also how to protect herself from potential damage.

Some questionnaire respondents stated that they believe it is their employer's responsibility to inform interpreters about the risks to their hearing. One respondent is currently filing a claim to 'establish a precedent and encourage more

active assistance for interpreters from my employer'. Another wistfully pondered the consequences of not knowing about the risks to her hearing, writing 'I wish I had known earlier and tried to protect my hearing from the start of my career.'

Peer Pressure

The idea of peer pressure or a 'shame factor' cropped up from my interviews. Interviewee B believes that interrupting interpreting service due to poor audio quality 'may entail a shame factor' and that it should only be a 'last resort'. However, he added that the pressure comes from clients more than from colleagues. Interviewee C expressed the idea of being under pressure from the client to continue interpreting despite poor quality sound. Moreover, she referred to the shame factor when 'one person is quite adamant that it is doable sound and we should keep working'. When asked whether she thought interpreters are reluctant to interrupt service because it may damage their reputation, she firmly agreed. This idea was supported by Interviewee B who thinks that 'freelancers may be reluctant to publicly speak about potential hearing issues (or even talk about that with only a limited group of colleagues) due to its potential consequences on their reputation or consideration.' All of that being said, Interviewee C took the opposite stance, saying that she had never experienced a 'shame factor' when interrupting service and she does not believe that her colleagues have felt that either. As a former freelancer (for 18 months at the start of her career), she also dismissed the idea that freelancers may not wish to discuss their hearing problems as it may damage their career.

Discussion

Mitigation of Risk Factors in the Working Environment

The first research question I wished to answer in this study was whether simultaneous interpreters mitigate risk factors in their working environment. The findings demonstrate that the answer is two-fold: there are risk factors that the interpreters can control and there are others that are out of their control. For example, interpreters can choose which headphones they use to interpret but they are often passive receivers of the sound coming through their headphones. The vast majority of interpreters choose to wear on-ear or over-the-ear headphones for simultaneous interpreting, but as shown in the data, there are still a number of interpreters that wear in-ear headphones or earbuds. Moreover, the interpreters that use the headphones that come with their interpreting console at work (51%) all said that those headphones were either on-ear or over-ear. Therefore, the in-ear or earbud style headphones are chosen by interpreters, which reveals that some

interpreters do not always make the best headphone choice. As seen in the data, the majority of interpreters wear their headphones on only one ear and do not swap ears. This risk factor is considerable yet monitoring the interpreter's output is key to the interpretation, so it would be difficult to change this technique. Nevertheless, swapping ears could mitigate the negative effect of only listening with one ear. Additionally, a device like a sound limiter could be used to reduce dangerous sounds down to a safe listening level, but as seen in the data, very few interpreters use these. According to the findings, distance interpreting, in particular, is associated with poorer quality sound. This situation is exacerbated by the inconsistent internet access in participants' locations when interpreters work remotely or from home.

Mitigation of Risk Factors in the Personal Environment

The second research question on the mitigation of risk factors for hearing impairment by interpreters in their personal environment has a more straightforward answer because the interpreters are able to control (for the most part) the risk factors in their personal sphere. In spite of this, in light of this study's findings, it appears that interpreters are less likely to mitigate risks in their personal environment than in their working environment. The notion surfaced several times throughout the analysis of the data, that interpreters are more careful in their working environment than in their personal environment when it comes to exposure to risk factors for hearing damage. For instance, the majority of interpreters use headphones in their spare time and, as observed in the data, they are more likely to use in-ear headphones and earbuds in their personal environment than in their working environment. Furthermore, the interpreters who use headphones often use them in noisy environments like on public transport, in gyms, when travelling etc. Regarding daily headphone use in their spare time, a surprising 35.4% of interpreters use headphones for more than one hour daily and on average they set their headphones to a higher volume level than when they are interpreting. Moreover, while 27% of interpreters admit to not taking any precautionary measures, conversely, it is heartening to find that roughly 70% of interpreters do take some precautionary measures. Of those, we can see the use of noise-cancelling headphones, which although they might not be recommended for interpretation, could prove useful in the personal environment to keep background noise to a minimum when in noisy environments, thereby enabling the listener to keep the volume to a minimum (Flerov, 2016; Wynens, 2016).

Awareness

Although the issue of awareness is my third research question, it is perhaps the most important. This is because awareness affects the behaviour of the interpreters

in both their working and personal environments. I believe that interpreters are increasingly aware of the risks to their hearing in their workplace, thanks in part due to the rise in distance interpreting, and in particular to events like the acoustic shock incidents in Canada (Côté-Sroka, 2019; Wright-Allen, 2020) and the first international online conference on interpreters and hearing loss (Fligor, 2020). The increased spotlight on hearing issues suggests that interpreters are more careful in their working environment, something that is confirmed by the data of this study. Nonetheless, interpreters often learn about hearing problems on the job, from colleagues that have suffered from hearing issues or they try to inform themselves as best they can. The lack of formal training, in conference interpreting Masters, by employers of interpreters, as well as by international organisations such as AIIC, is perhaps one of the reasons why interpreters in this study stated that their hearing is their top priority but then went on to explain habits that contradict this viewpoint.

Repercussions for the Profession

When asked in the questionnaire whether they would consider changing profession as a result of hearing problems they experienced, the interpreters overwhelmingly responded that they would not. It is admirable that even with hearing problems, interpreters are so fond of their profession that they would persevere regardless. Yet this is also a worrying finding, because an interpreter's hearing is part of their toolkit to produce good-quality interpretation, and if it is damaged it could have negative repercussions on their output. In addition to the obvious fact that an employee should not face health risks due to their employment, there is the danger that poor quality sound could have negative repercussions on the profession itself. As indicated by the interviewees, poor quality sound requires the interpreter to make an extra effort and concentrate more, which could hinder their interpretation. Furthermore, one of the interpreter's principal concerns is their listeners. Therefore, if an interpreter has to interrupt service due to poor quality audio, the listeners are stranded, and the interpreter can no longer fulfil their role as mediator. Moreover, distance interpreting poses additional problems for the reputation of the profession. The poorer quality sound in distance interpreting necessitates more effort, summarised by Interviewee C as a tightrope walk between interrupting service and continuing interpreting.

Recommendations

Just over half of the questionnaire respondents in this study self-reported at least one symptom associated with hearing damage. However, it is important to note that they *self-reported* those symptoms. Some may or may not have had their personal diagnosis verified by hearing professionals. Thus, further research could

be carried out to investigate whether interpreters do indeed suffer from a verified hearing problem and if so to what extent.

Study Limitations

This study did have certain limitations, namely, the lack of substantiated evidence to establish a direct link between the risk factors that the questionnaire respondents were exposed to and the hearing issues that they self-reported. Aside from the fact that the symptoms were self-reported, no clear correlation could be established between risk factors and hearing problems. This may be due to the relatively small sample size of 68 questionnaire respondents or to the complex, multi-faceted issue that is hearing impairment.

Concluding Remarks

Interpreters are exposed to risk factors for hearing impairment in their working environment, in their personal environment, and, although they are somewhat aware of the risks they face, they do not have enough extensive knowledge of the issues to make informed decisions regarding risk mitigation at all times. Therefore, interpreters can be deemed to be *at risk of developing hearing problems* because of their exposure to risk factors for hearing impairment. Hearing damage in the interpreting profession needs to be taken seriously. This subject necessitates more research to highlight issues so that measures can be taken to mitigate them. The reputation of the profession and the wellbeing of interpreters are riding on it. I hope this research sheds a light on a major problem within the interpreting profession so that future interpreters do not undergo the debilitating experience of hearing impairment.

Rosemary Hynes has a Bachelor's Degree in Applied Languages from the University of Limerick, a Postgraduate Diploma from Swansea University and a Master's in Conference Interpreting from the National University of Ireland Galway. Her languages are English A, French B and Spanish C.

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Widespread disappointment and resounding media silence: Ten years' revision work on the German Wollschläger translation of *Ulysses* cannot be published

Christine O'Neill

Harald Beck spent ten years revising Hans Wollschläger's 1976 translation of *Ulysses* to find in early 2018 that publication by Suhrkamp Verlag of the new version had been blocked by a legal objection. Translators and scholars hoped at the time that the news would cause waves rather than ripples in the media.

The following is an outline of events. Hans Wollschläger's German translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) was first published by Suhrkamp in 1976, within the framework of the Frankfurt Joyce Edition (seven volumes in total). Almost immediately upon publication, it received rare praise as a work of genius, a powerfully eloquent translation and, in its own right, a work of art in German literature. It became a classic overnight.

Wollschläger – translator, prestigious author in his own right and superb stylist – had had the benefit of half a century of Joycean scholarship for his work, but needless to say such research has continued undiminished in the decades since, and a vast amount of data is now available online. Textual and genetic criticism in particular have led to better texts than the seriously flawed source Wollschläger had to work with in the 1970s.

By early 2007, Wollschläger agreed that his translation was in need of revision, primarily so as to bring it in line with the Critical and Synoptic Edition of *Ulysses* prepared by Hans Walter Gabler *et al.* (1984) but also to correct some errors and oversights. To assist him in his work, Suhrkamp put a small team at his disposal. The team consisted of Harald Beck, a seasoned German Joycean who had been part of Gabler's editorial team, and two academic Joyce scholars. Unfortunately, only two months into the project, Wollschläger died – as it turns out, without a written contract of any sort in place. The publisher decided to go ahead with the planned revision anyway, with Beck at the helm, and the endeavour turned into a painstaking labour that lasted ten years.

It appears that upon Wollschläger's untimely death, the limited corrections and adjustments envisaged by him gradually turned into a much more thorough revision by Beck, and although Suhrkamp was aware of the kind of work that was being done, no legal basis for it was ever created between the publisher and the Wollschläger Estate.

In the spring of 2018, rumours spread that the revised translation announced by Suhrkamp had been dropped following an objection that revealed gross negligence on the part of the publisher's legal department. The objection came from Gabriele Gordon, Wollschläger's literary heiress, whose claims were incontestable. In her blog, she argued that Wollschläger would hardly have paid heed to the know-it-all attitudes of Anglicists and philologists who knew nothing about art and, further, she alleged that Beck and his team had defaced the translator's work of art. In her opinion, the changes made were incompatible with Wollschläger's translation.

As a consequence, only 200 copies were published for the use of libraries and academic institutions; no copies were made available to the general market. It is not known whether Suhrkamp intends to continue offering a translation that the publishing house itself considers in need of revision.

Regrettably, there was little reaction to these developments in the media.

So much for a summary of the main points. For those wishing to know more, here is some pertinent background information. Essentially, things revolve around two central issues: fundamentally, the absence of a legal basis for a revision and also the sensitive question of how far such a revision should go.

In his Preface to the revised translation, Harald Beck addresses three main questions: Why publish a fundamentally revised edition forty-two years after the publication of Wollschläger's successful translation; what was the main focus of the revision work; and what procedure was followed? In answering these questions over fifteen pages and supplying textual examples, Beck discusses issues – typical of literary translation work generally but magnified in their complexity in a work like *Ulysses* – such as lexicological quandaries, the text as a historical document of time and place, revising the interior monologue, questions of dialect, recurrences, the network of references and allusions, and how to preserve some of the original's characteristic 'unwieldiness'.

Beck assures readers that the revision made every effort to do justice to the precision demanded by Joyce's work. Naturally, the aim was to bring Wollschläger's translation closer to the English original as it is available to us today. Accordingly, the most important point of reference was, to borrow the words of Martin Meyer, editor with the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the 'normative facticity of the original'. Beck further outlines the time-consuming revision process: he did the primary work which was followed by repeated exchanges back and forth between himself and his team and further was followed by the publishing editor's review.

Beck closes by emphasising that the revised translation does not claim to be a definitive German version of *Ulysses* and he hopes that its errors, to quote Stephen Dedalus, may be 'portals of discovery'.

Gabriele Gordon, Wollschläger's literary heiress, for her part wrote a rather comprehensive blog about the whole business. A published author in her own right and a former chief prosecutor, she only became involved in the Suhrkamp saga on the death of Wollschläger's widow Monika in 2015. Gordon quotes from Wollschläger's reply to a letter from Suhrkamp (November 2005) in which he writes that any revision work should, in any case, be his own and that he promises to consider patiently, and to the best of his ability, any and every well-founded suggestion.

Plans became more concrete only in 2007. Suhrkamp's own records of a meeting with Wollschläger in March of that year are entitled 'Minutes of the planned course of action' and contain mostly technical details about how Harald Beck, Dirk Schultze and Dirk Vanderbeke would support Wollschläger's efforts. The latter's own copy of the translation with its handwritten corrections was to be sent to all involved for a final vote. The minutes mention that an agreement with Mr. Wollschläger is still to be reached for the period of work between January and December 2008.

Ten days later, Wollschläger had to be hospitalised, and he died in May 2007 without such an agreement in place. According to Gordon, a revision beyond corrections necessary to bring the translation in line with the Gabler Critical Edition of *Ulysses* had never been part of the plan. She also quotes from a letter of July by Monika Wollschläger replying to Suhrkamp's editor in which the widow expresses her consent to Beck/Vanderbeke/Schultze executing the 'corrections required', though 'with great restraint', as the publishing editor himself had put it in his letter. Monika went on to say that, 'After all, my husband has only ever talked about a handful of corrections'.

Vanderbeke and Schultze quit in 2010 as a result of internal disagreement, according to Gordon due to Beck's farther-reaching than originally planned ambitions for the revision. The same year, Ruth Frehner and Ursula Zeller, curators at the Zurich James Joyce Foundation, joined Beck. The new team described their goal as bringing the Wollschläger translation closer to the original. Where they disagreed, Beck, according to Gordon, had the last word.

Fritz Senn, director of the Zurich James Joyce Foundation, who in the 1970s had been employed by Suhrkamp as internal copy-editor of Wollschläger's translation, was informally available in an advisory capacity to Beck and his team. What follows is based on two articles he wrote on the controversy; one appeared in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (20 October 2018) and the other in *European Joyce Studies* (2020). Referring to his experience as copy-editor of the 1976 translation, Senn describes Wollschläger as an inspired individualist who was neither amenable to teamwork

nor overly avid to take advice. He would confidently disregard suggestions, the final call always being his. Though the translation has proved itself well and is indeed an artwork in its own right, for all its ingeniousness, according to Senn, it also has its idiosyncrasies.

He points out that while the translator excelled at the more literary passages and could express himself spontaneously in printable sentences, he was less at home with the lower linguistic registers of common usage (e.g. Bloom's thoughts, Irish colloquialisms). Senn quotes several examples to show that Wollschläger was not always comfortable with English and clearly didn't always understand the original meaning. He also demonstrates how both tempo and melody of Joyce's spontaneous, associative, elliptical staccato rhythms were affected in places by Wollschläger's more coordinated, coherent, more heavily punctuated and more conventionally 'correct' constructions.

Senn concurs that Wollschläger would have vehemently opposed most of the major changes; he would never have agreed to massive alterations by several expert revisers. Unsurprisingly, in the process of revision, interventions snowballed as every alteration entailed consequences elsewhere. Nevertheless, Senn maintains that for all the uncontested merits of Wollschläger's translation and its impact on contemporary German literature, there is justification as well as a need for a revision or a closer adaptation, given that we now know so much more about *Ulysses*. Finally, he wonders whether an entirely new translation may already be in the offing.

In conclusion, it must be said that, naturally, many differences between the original Wollschläger translation and Beck's revised version, based on the Gabler *Critical Edition* and on recent philological scholarship, ultimately remain a matter of opinion. This is hardly surprising with a literary text as long and complex as *Ulysses*. Its translation requires both creative ingenuity and the patient probing of details, references and connections, and these two perfectly legitimate, if very different, impulses often enough do not go together but, instead, pull against each other.

The losers in the present controversy are, of course, the readers. As Beck himself acknowledges in his Preface, no translation – and no revised translation either – of a book as complex as *Ulysses* can ever be final. All such efforts must remain approximations. This, however, does not mitigate an all-round sense of disappointment: that the painstaking labours of several experts over years has turned out to have been largely in vain; that Suhrkamp has not given a proper account of its own serious failings; and that the media have not paid more attention to this case.

Most regrettable of all is that after more than forty years, German readers are now not given a chance to compare the 'freer' and arguably more elevated Wollschläger translation of 1976 with a revised version, factually more accurate and internally more consistent, that is closer to the original text as we now know it. Due to their various approaches, different versions would have allowed for a newer and keener appreciation of the original.

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Book Reviews

Ár dTéarmaí Féin, le Fidelma Ní Ghallchobhair. Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life, 2014

Siobhán McNamara

[xv + 290lch. ISBN 9781907494406 (clúdach bog) / €16]

An raibh na téarmaí *rianú* nó *lorg teagmhálaithe* (*contact tracing*), *ionad tástála tiomáin tríd* (*drive through test centre*), nó *clutharú/cochlú/neadú/cocúnú* (*cocooning*) cloiste agat bliain ó shin? Is ar éigean a bhí, cé gur féidir brí na dtéarmaí a thuiscint go héasca. Ach leis an méid atá tar éis titim amach i gcúrsaí leighis agus sa tsochaí i gcoitinne ó thús na bliana, tá na téarmaí sin le cloisteáil gach lá anois ar an nuacht agus i gcumarsáid ó Rialtas na hÉireann. Ós rud é go bhfuil coincheapa nua i gcónaí ag teacht ar an bhfód, ní stopann obair na dtéarmeolaithe riamh.

Má tá suim agat sa chur chuige a úsáidtear chun téarmaíocht nua a cheapadh, a fhaomhadh, agus a shealbhú i dteanga éigin, is fiú go mór an leabhar seo a léamh. Tobar eolais amach is amach atá ann, ina chuimsítear stair na Gaeilge, stair na litríochta Gaeilge, stair an Bhéarla agus an stádas domhanda atá bainte amach aige, stair agus teoiric na téarmeolaíochta, agus stair agus praitic na téarmeolaíochta Gaeilge. Mínítear forbairt na téarmaíochta Gaeilge ón gcianaimsir ar aghaidh, agus tá go leor le foghlaim ann, fiú dóibh siúd a bhíonn ag plé leis an nGaeilge agus leis an aistriúchán go gairmiúil. Tá taithí fhada ag údar an leabhair, Fidelma Ní Ghallchobhair, ar an bhfoilsitheoireacht Ghaeilge agus ar obair an Choiste Téarmaíochta, agus cuireann sí a saineolas leathan os comhair an léitheora ar bhealach soiléir, sothuigthe. Úsáidtear táblaí, liostaí, cló trom, cló iodálach agus léaráidí i rith an leabhair chun an t-eolas a chur in iúl go héifeachtach.

Sa chéad chaibidil 'Téarmaí agus focail – bunchlocha na cumarsáide' déantar plé ar na cineálacha éagsúla cumarsáide is mó a bhíonn ar bun ag pobal teanga, agus ar an difríocht idir focal (aonad aonair teanga bíodh sin labhartha nó scríofa) agus téarma (ainm aitheanta a thugtar ar choincheap i sainréimse eolais), chomh maith le cíoradh ar céard is coincheap ann. Beidh a fhios ag formhór léitheoirí an fhoilseacháin seo céard í an téarmeolaíocht agus céard í an difríocht idir focal agus téarma, ach is ar mhic léinn atá an leabhar seo dírithe, agus mar sin bheadh an t-eolas seo an-úsáideach dóibh siúd atá ag tabhairt faoi staidéar ar an teangeolaíocht den chéad uair. Chun cabhrú le foghlaimeoirí agus le teagascóirí, tugtar pointí plé agus moltaí léitheoireachta ag deireadh gach caibidle.

Téama chaibidil a dó ná cúlra agus stair na Gaeilge 4ú-9ú haois, cé go dtugtar eolas faoi fhorbairt na teanga chomh fada anuas leis an nGorta Mór. Déantar mionphlé

ar cé mar a d'eascair an Ghaeilge ón bPróto-Ind-Eorpais agus cén teagmháil a bhí idir an Ghaeilge agus teangacha eile le linn réanna éagsúla staire. Mar shampla, le teacht na Críostaíochta go hÉirinn tháinig go leor focal a bhaineann le cúrsaí léinn agus reiligiúin go dtí an Ghaeilge ón Laidin, focail ar nós léigh (*legere*), scríobh (*scribere*), cros (*crux*), agus eaglais (*ecclesia*). Ansin, agus na Lochlannaigh i réim in Éirinn ó thús an 9ú haois ar aghaidh, tugadh iasachtaí isteach ón tSean-Lochlainnis a bhain le trádáil, iascaireacht agus seoltóireacht: ancaire (*akkeri*), bád (*bátr*), stiúir (*styri*), agus margadh (*marked*), mar shampla. Níos déanaí tugadh iasachtaí Fraincise isteach tríd an Angla-Normainnis agus tríd an Meán-Bhéarla: seomra (*chambre*); coláiste (*college*), páiste<páitse (*page*). Is minic a chloisim daoine ag gearán nach focal 'Gaelach' rud éigin a fheiceann siad ar chomhartha bóthair nó i gcumarsáid oifigiúil ach tar éis don léitheoir an chaibidil seo a léamh beidh sé soiléir go raibh tionchar ag teangacha eile ar go leor leor de na focail a úsáidtear ar bhonn laethúil sa Ghaeilge inniu.

Ní focalstór na Gaeilge amháin a phléitear sa chaibidil chuimsitheach seo, ach déantar achoimre ar stair na dteangacha in Éirinn chomh fada le lár an 19ú haois. Tá an t-údar le moladh gur éirigh léi an méid sin eolais a chur i gcaibidil ghearr amháin atá an-éasca le léamh.

Tá an t-éacht céanna bainte amach aici sa chéad chaibidil eile, ina bpléitear an oidhreacht litríochta agus gníomhaíocht na hathbheochana. Achoimre ar stair na litríochta Gaeilge ó aimsir na Sean-Ghaeilge go dtí an 19ú haois atá sa chaibidil seo, agus bheadh sé an-chabhrach ar fad mar léargas ginearálta don té nach bhfuil mórán ar eolas acu faoi litríocht na Gaeilge. Mínítear an tionchar a bhí ag athruithe polaitíochta agus sóisialta ar fhorbairt agus ansin ar mheath na Gaeilge mar theanga an phobail agus mar theanga liteartha, agus mar sin tuigfidh an léitheoir an fáth nach raibh an Ghaeilge á forbairt faoi mar a bhí mórtheangacha eile na hEorpa le linn Ré na hEagnaíochta agus na Réabhlóide Tionsclaíche. Faoi am na hAthbheochana, mar sin, bhí bearnaí móra le líonadh san fhocalstór. Tugtar samplaí suimiúla de na liostaí téarmaí a foilsíodh in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* ag deireadh an 19ú haois ('Irish Technical Terms for use at meetings'; liosta de théarmaí rothaíochta, agus liosta fada de théarmaí leictreachais). Rud nach raibh ar eolas ag an léitheoir seo ná na comórtais téarmaíochta a chuirtí ar bun mar cuid den Oireachtas. Ó 1899 go dtí na 1940idí déanacha bhíodh comórtais bhliantúla i gcomhair liostaí nó bailiúcháin téarmaí i réimsí mar 'Na baill bheatha, na galair a thagann orthu agus na rudaí a dhéanfaidh na galair úd a leigheas' in 1903, nó 'Téarmaí a bhaineann le hiománaíocht, le peil, liathróid láimhe agus lúthchleasa faoin aer' in 1906. An aidhm a bhí ag na comórtais sin ná téarmaí dúchasacha a bhailiú chomh maith le cinn nua a cheapadh i réimsí agus i dteicneolaíochtaí nua.

An Ghaeilge faoin stát nua a phléitear sa chéad chaibidil eile, agus cuimsítear topaicí ar nós an Ghaeilge sa chóras oideachas, bunú an Ghúim, an chéad teacht le chéile den Choiste Téarmaíochta in 1927 faoi chigireacht na Roinne Oideachais, agus ceist an chló a bhí le húsáid don Ghaeilge. Faightear cúlra foilseachán tábhachtach ar nós *Gramadach na Gaeilge: Caighdeán Rannóg an Aistriúcháin* in 1958, *English-Irish Dictionary* le Tomás de Bhaldraithe in 1959 agus *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* le Niall Ó Dónaill in 1977, agus déantar achoimre ar na tionscadail taighde, foilseacháin, agus eagraíochtaí a cuireadh ar bun chun an Ghaeilge a athbheochan agus chun tacaíocht a thabhairt do cheantair Ghaeltachta, chomh fada le *Straitéis 20 Bliain don Ghaeilge 2010-2030* agus *Acht na Gaeltachta 2012*. Ceist leathan, casta é ról an stáit i gcur chun cinn na Gaeilge, agus ní dhéantar iarracht anseo anailís a dhéanamh ar éifeachtacht na mbeart agus na bpolasaithe éagsúla stáit, ach ní hé sin cuspóir an leabhair thuairisciúil seo.

Is ar phrionsabail agus cur chuige i leith ceapadh téarmaíochta atá caibidil a cúig dírithe, agus tosaítear le múnlaí ón gcianaimsir a d'úsáid manaigh agus scoláirí, agus filí agus lucht léinn níos déanaí. Ansin tugtar achoimre ar Ré na Foclóireachta, a thosaigh in 1643 nuair a thionscain na Proinsiasaigh foclóir Gaeilge-Gaeilge i Lováin, agus pléitear an chaoi a ndeachaigh foclóirithe i mbun ceapadóireachta nuair a bhí bearna le líonadh san fhocalstór. Déantar trácht ar na critéir a leagadh amach nuair a bunaíodh an chéad choiste téarmaíochta in 1927, agus ansin faightear plé cuimsitheach ar an gcastacht a bhaineann leis an traslitriú, go háirithe mar gheall ar na consain leathana agus caola i bhfoghraíocht na Gaeilge.

Ina dhiaidh sin tugtar eolas ar an gcéad Bhuanchoiste Téarmaíochta, a bhunadh in 1968, ar na freagrachtaí a bhí aige, ar an gcur chuige a bhí ag an gCoiste Stiúrtha agus ag fochoistí oibre, agus ar na prionsabail a leag an Coiste Stiúrtha amach maidir le ceapadh na téarmaíochta. Mínítear céard is téarmaíocht ócáide ann: téarmaíocht a sholáthar taobh istigh d'achar gearr ama nó i gcomhair sprioc a shainíonn an t-iarratasóir i gcomhthéacs seirbhís chomhairliúcháin. Tá sampla fíorthráthúil den téarmaíocht ócáide le fáil sna téarmaí nua a luadh thuas, a ceapadh chun dul i ngleic le paindéim an choróinvíris.

Críortar ceist an Bhéarla mar theanga dhomhanda i gcaibidil a sé, agus mínítear cén fáth gurb é an teanga cheannasach idirnáisiúnta é sa chumarsáid, i gcúrsaí eolaíochta, craoltóireachta agus go leor réimsí eile. Díol spéise don léitheoir an t-eolas a thugtar faoi na bearta atá déanta sa tSualainn chun stádas na Sualainnise a chosaint ón bhforlámhas atá ag an mBéarla i réimsí éagsúla.

Breathnaítear ar an gcomhthéacs idirnáisiúnta i gcaibidil a seacht, mar shampla teoiricí éagsúla sa téarmeolaíocht agus eagraíochtaí idirnáisiúnta agus réigiúnacha. Pléitear teangacha an Aontais Eorpaigh agus an Ghaeilge san AE, agus tugtar eolas

ar GA IATE, tionscadal a bunaíodh in 2007 chun soláthar dóthanach téarmaíochta sa Ghaeilge a dheimhniú do riachtanais aistriúcháin, agus an Ghaeilge ina teanga oifigiúil agus oibre san AE ó thús na bliana sin.

Is ar phraitic cheaptha téarmaí atá caibidil a hocht dírithe, agus cuirtear béim ar thábhacht an taighde ó thús go deireadh an phróisis. Ag an tús, agus coincheap áirithe i dteanga eile (de ghnáth an Béarla) faoi bhráid, déanann an téarmeolaí brí an choincheapa a chinntiú, agus tugtar liosta d'fhoinsí taighde chun cabhrú leis sin. Ansin déantar plé ar chúrsaí stíle, ar úsáid an ailt, agus ar theidil reachtaíochta. Leagtar síos na critéir ar chóir cuimhneamh orthu le ceapadh téarmaí i dteanga ar bith: cruinneas; neodracht; soiléireacht; comhsheasmhacht; dúchas na teanga; gontacht; indíorthaitheacht (an féidir aidiacht nó briathar nó ainmfhocal a bhunú ar an téarma dá mba ghá?); rialacha ortagrafaíochta; gramadach chaighdeánach, agus trádainmneacha.

I gcaibidil a naoi, 'Téarmeolaíocht agus téarmfhoclóireacht,' déantar cur síos ar na céimeanna a leanann an Coiste Téarmaíochta nuair a bhíonn cnuasach téarmaí á chur le chéile acu agus tugtar téarmaíocht na fichille mar chás samplach. Pléitear roinnt deacrachtaí a bhaineann le ceapadh téarmaíochta sa Ghaeilge ar nós teibiú bríonna agus béarlachas. Ansin mínítear céard is téarmfhoclóireacht ann agus tugtar eolas faoin gcomhoibriú idir an Coiste Téarmaíochta agus Fiontar in Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath. Toradh an-fhiúntach amháin ar an gcomhoibriú sin ná www.focal.ie, an Bunachar Náisiúnta Téarmaíochta a seoladh in 2006. Pléitear na dúshláin a bhain le tiomsú na mbailiúchán don bhunachar. Chuir an t-eolas sin ag smaoineamh mé, mar dhuine a bhaineann úsáid as acmhainní leictreonacha ar bhonn laethúil ach nach ndéanann mórán machnaimh as an méid oibre a chuirtear isteach chun iad a thiomsú agus a chur ar fáil don phobal. Déanfaidh mé iarracht a bheith níos buíche astu as seo amach.

Pléitear ceartúsáid na téarmeolaíochta sa chaibidil dheireanach, agus tugtar cleachtaí ar na cineálacha éagsúla cumarsáide a pléadh sa chéad chaibidil. Tugtar moltaí faoi na comhlogaíochtaí is na meafair le gach cleachtadh.

Ag deireadh an leabhair tá aguisíní le liostaí iasachtaí ó theangacha éagsúla, na rialacha maidir le Gaelú téarmaí agus traslitriú; agus tá gluais an-úsáideach de bhuntéarmaí téarmeolaíochta. Tugtar liosta acmhainní téarmaíochta chomh maith, idir shaothair fhoilsithe agus acmhainní ar líne a bhí ar fáil nuair a foilsíodh an leabhar in 2014. Dar ndóigh tá go leor acmhainní nua leictreonacha tar éis teacht ar an bhfód idir an dá linn, nó athainmniú agus athbhrandáil déanta ar na cinn a bhí ann cheana.

Mar shampla, beidh téarma.ie (an t-ainm nua ar an mbunachar náisiúnta téarmaíochta don Ghaeilge, á bhainistiú ag grúpa taighde Gaois, Fiontar & Scoil

na Gaeilge (DCU) i gcomhar leis an gCoiste Téarmaíochta, Foras na Gaeilge) sna ceanáin ag aon duine a bhíonn ag aistriú go Gaeilge, mar a bheidh teanglann.ie. Ar an suíomh sin tá leaganacha leictreonacha inchuardaithe d'Fhoclóir Gaeilge–Béarla (Ó Dónaill, 1977); den Fhoclóir Beag (Ó Dónaill & Ua Maoileoin, 1991); de English–Irish Dictionary (de Bhaldraithe, 1959) chomh maith le bunachar gramadaí (foirmeacha infhillte d'ainmfhocail, de bhriathra, d'aidiachtaí, srl na Gaeilge) agus bunachar foghraíochta (taifid fuaime d'fhocail na Gaeilge sna trí mhórchanúint). Ciste fionnta atá ann d'aistritheoirí, scríbhneoirí, múinteoirí nó d'éinne a bhfuil Gaeilge acu nó atá i mbun staidéir uirthi. Tá an teanga ag fás i gcónaí, le focail agus téarmaí nua á gcumadh ag an bpobal agus ag téarmeolaithe. Tá sé níos éasca ná riamh téarmaí nua a fhoghlaim a bhuí leis na meáin chumarsáide agus sóisialta; tá 'Téarma an lae' curtha amach ar Twitter, Facebook agus Instagram gach lá ag téarma.ie, mar shampla. Tá na téarmeolaithe ag cinntiú go mbeidh stór cuimsitheach, saibhir téarmaí ar fáil chun cumarsáid chruinn éifeachtach a dhéanamh sa Ghaeilge i ngach sainréimse den saol comhaimseartha. Buíochas mór le Fidelma Ní Ghallchobhair as an léargas a thugtar sa leabhar seo ar an obair thábhachtach sin.

Bhain **Siobhán McNamara** Máistreacht san Aistriúchán Liteartha (Rúisis-Béarla) amach ó Choláiste na Tríonóide in 2004 tar éis di dá bhliain a chaitheamh ag staidéar in Institiúid Liteartha Gorky i Moscó. Bhain sí Máistreacht san Oideachas amach ó TCD in 2013, agus Dioplóma Iarchéime san Aistriúchán ó Choláiste na hÉireann/Gaelchultúr in 2015. Is leabharlannaí scoile í i gColáiste Gonzaga, BÁC 6, agus bíonn sí ag aistriú anois is arís ón Rúisis go Béarla agus go Gaeilge. Bhí sí ina heagarthóir Gaeilge ar an irisleabhar *Inis* de chuid Leabhair Pháistí Éireann 2014-2020.

Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland by Robert Looby

John Kearns

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'No censor ever changed a text as much as its translator' (7). Thus begins Robert Looby's analysis of the censorship of anglophone fiction by the Communist authorities during the years of the Polish People's Republic, 1947 to 1989. Though provocative, this opening volley serves to emphasise the parallel in the processes of selection and prioritisation inhering in both censorship and translation. While a censor may decide that every instance of 'East Germany' in a text should be replaced by 'the German Democratic Republic,' a translator must make thousands of such decisions – both censorship and translation are instances of rewriting, though the latter will invariably be on a larger scale. Of course, what does not always correspond to this scale is the degree of audacity in prioritising ideological concerns that is at the heart of censorship, and it is this which is central to Looby's interests in his analysis.

The parallels between translators and writers have, as Looby notes, been drawn by others – Elisabeth Gibbels refers to translators as 'tacit censors' (2009: 57) while Samantha Sherry sees them as 'censorial agents' (2013: 731). Obviously the literary translator is constantly working under self-censorship, determined as a condition of socialisation and manifesting not merely in decisions about ideological acceptability, but also in those pertaining to literary decorum (which, it can be argued, is itself merely another manifestation of ideology). Nevertheless, the distinction needs to be drawn between censorship at this level, and censorship as a weapon of repressive control, wielded most obviously by those employed by the state as ideological gatekeepers, though also more implicitly by editors, publishers, and reviewers. As Looby notes in relation to his own endeavour in studying this phenomenon, if the censor is generous enough to record that she or he changed 'Gypsy' to 'vagabond' or 'god' to 'God', then the researcher's job is easy enough; when, however, it is the translator who is responsible for such changes, they will generally go unnoticed by readers forever (8). 'Perhaps, then, the substitution of ... regional and social speech markers in an English source text with a variety of Polish read (if not actually spoken) and understood by all Poles in the target text is not such an innocent

choice after all' (9). Looby draws this conclusion based on developments in Stanlinist censorship, combined with the fact that 'Polish translations of the post-war period are ... usually poorer in swear words, obscenities and vulgarisms and dialecticisms than their English language originals' (9) – a hypothesis that paves the way for interesting empirical research not just with the comparison of Polish literary translation corpora and their English originals, but also for comparative analyses with the degree of standardisation prevailing in the pre-war period.

The fascinating opening chapter – 'Censors' – gives a theoretical account of the challenges of examining the censorship of translation in the broader context of the censorship of literature in general by the Polish Communists after World War II. A hierarchy emerges, where lower ranking censors were often found to be more draconian in their emendations than their superiors, while the central censorship office in Warsaw tended to be more liberal than those in the regions (23). This, it appears, was less an attempt by junior censors or those on the peripheries to curry favour with their more senior authorities than an example of the fear of the repercussions for the more junior or provincial censors that might result from ideologically suspicious text slipping through the net. Generally censors were less zealous in their treatment of literature in translation than of literature written in Polish, and Looby gives the example of how a sentence in a John Updike short story – 'Jesus is said to have escaped and come back to Japan after wandering through the wastes of Siberia' (Updike 1973: 216) – survived in Polish translation, while it would almost certainly not have made it had the text been in Polish in the first place (24).

In the next chapter – 'Progressives' – Looby examines how foreign writers who were considered to be of a more 'progressive' ideological bent (i.e. they voiced dissatisfaction with capitalist society) tended to be prioritised in the selection of books for translation and publication in Poland. With regard to anglophone literature, this led to many writers who are now generally unfamiliar to a mainstream readership being selected for translation: while Howard Fast may have gained some degree of fame through the film adaptation of his novel *Spartacus* by Stanley Kubrick and Dalton Trumbo, names like Myra Page, Lloyd Brown, Alexander Saxton, Albert Maltz, Albert Halper, Clara Weatherwax, and Henry Roth are now somewhat forgotten by all but a small group of left-wing literary cognoscenti. Particularly under Stalinism, a contemporary western novel was more likely to be selected for publication if it were considered progressive (*postępowy*), though the fact that these writers were the wrong side of the Iron Curtain also meant that they could never be considered truly revolutionary. Looby cites a censor's note concerning a character in Howard Fast's *Freedom Road* chronicling

the American Reconstruction: 'It should be stressed that [his] revolutionary nature is essentially bourgeois, not socialist, which is entirely understandable given the period' (28).[1] Ultimately however, all western literature on the Polish market was overshadowed by translations of writers from the Eastern Bloc, at least until the demise of Stalinism from the mid-1950s onwards.

What of other western authors who, though enjoying major critical reputations at home, might *not* be deemed 'progressive'? The next chapter – 'Others' – addresses these writers, including such authors as Somerset Maugham, many of whose works had been translated before the war, but which now had to wait till the post-Stalinist thaw in the late 1950s to find their way back onto bookshelves again. Sometimes novels like Graham Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* appeared in Polish, but were heavily criticised by the authorities for their focus on characters' inner lives; as one censor wrote: 'The external environment only impinges on the novel's characters because their inner lives are in turmoil' (68).

What of the classics? Following on from earlier work conducted by John Bates (2011), Looby quotes from a 1952 training bulletin for censors: 'Interventions in classic literary works are in principle not advisable except where the works of little known authors are involved and the proposals concern minor deletions' (68). Nevertheless, even more famous authors like Emily Brontë were not safe – Looby cites the censor's comments on a translation of *Wuthering Heights* from 1950:

> The relationships [...] are entirely isolated from any kind of social background. [...] Considering its melodrama, its harmful social tone, and the downright sick isolation of the novel's action from the [main] stream of life in England, I believe publishing the book would be harmful. (68)

It was published nevertheless, but with an anonymous introduction by way of an apologia stating 'this novel is no record of truth about the world. This novel only shows us how writers of the time perceived the world and how they portrayed it' (Brontë 1950: vii, quoted on p. 68).

Chapter 4 – 'Morals' – addresses the censorship of translated literature from the perspective of church-state relations, as well as looking at the censorship of sex and vulgarity. While it will come as no surprise to learn that the Communist authorities' efforts to secularise Poland failed dismally – particularly following the election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope in 1978 – the interplay between the Catholic Church and the Communists in the years after the war is interesting. While the

1 All translations of censors' notes from Polish are by Looby himself.

setting up of the pro-Communist PAX Catholic publishing house might be seen as an effort to placate Polish Catholics, the organisation ultimately sided with Party hard-liners, though they did publish such Catholic authors as Graham Greene and G.K. Chesterton, whose Father Brown detective stories were perennially popular (106). Interestingly Looby notes that the censorship of sexual or erotic content cannot be attributed to the political regime alone and he cites Kamila Budrowska in maintaining that censoriousness of erotic content had also prevailed before the war (131).

The next two chapters provide very interesting discussions of the censorship of material deemed racist and the translation of children's literature. Regarding the censorship of racism, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Looby notes an effort on the part of censors to combat anti-Semitism with the banning of explicitly anti-Jewish works like *Mein Kampf* and *How to Free Oneself of Jews* (*Jak uwolnić się od Żydów* – a Polish text from 1912). European colonialism was also addressed – all works by H. Rider Haggard were banned, as was *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling (135-36). With regard to anti-Semitism it is interesting that in spite of the Polish government's notorious pogrom in 1968, this does not appear to have extended to a change in the censors' policy on anti-Semitism. What conclusions can be drawn from this is a moot point – as Looby notes, 'foreign literature was rarely the burning issue that, for example, Polish-Russian relations or World War II were for the authorities' (137).

A consideration of the censorship of children's literature is important given than, as Looby notes, print runs of translated titles for children and young adults dwarf those of translated titles for adults (155). Polish censors tended not to introduce many changes to children's books on the grounds of overt politics, though they were more stringent when it came to withdrawing books from circulation, particularly under Stalinism – the 1951 list of books to be withdrawn includes Frances Hodgson Burnett's *A Little Princess*, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, and several books by Lucy Maud Montgomery. Under Stalinism 'socialist realism was promoted in children's literature too, with fantasy only permitted in fairy tales' – an edition of Hans Christian Andersen's stories fell foul of a censor in Poznań for its 'glorification of unearned wealth' (158).

The final chapter of the book – 'Translators' – provides an overview of the literary scene in which translators and censors worked in Poland. Looby notes that the standards of translation and of literacy as a whole after the war were considerably better than they had been in the 1920s and '30s and there was less tolerance for bad writing. As such, more zealous censors sometimes found themselves playing the role of proofreaders and editors, often commenting on a book's literary value

in addition to (or even instead of) its ideological acceptability: one noted that the translation of A.J. Cronin's *Three Loves* was 'beneath criticism' and that the book needed to be proofread again, while the censor of Seán O'Casey's *I Knock at the Door* recommended that it not be published simply because it was boring (188). Indeed, both censors and translators often seemed to be in agreement concerning their roles as arbiters of quality: the Polish translator of Samuel Pepys's diary Maria Dąbrowska wrote in 1954 that 'there is no way one should ... preserve all the mistakes and arbitrariness in Pepys's syntax, which sometimes obscure the sense to the point where the sentence becomes a conundrum' (1954/2007: 189, quoted On p. 189).

Looby's book builds on the work of earlier scholars – in particular the writing of John Bates, Kamila Budrowska, Piotr Nowak, and others – but the study itself excels in the wealth of censors' comments that are cited, revealing the author's extensive and meticulous research at the Central Archives of Modern Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*) in Warsaw. Not only have these been fluently translated by Looby himself, but they have also been fastidiously catalogued, enabling future researchers to locate them and pursue further work in this fascinating and important trajectory. The study is also impressive in the necessarily vast range of translated authors and titles that Looby considers, which make it a landmark study both for the study of literary translation in Poland and for an assessment of the work of censors during the Communist period.

John Kearns worked as a translator and translator trainer for many years and is a former editor of *Translation Ireland*. He now works as a psychotherapist in Dublin.

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Forging Ireland: German Travel Writing from 1785–1850 by Leesa Wheatley

Christine O'Neill

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In *Forging Ireland: German Travel Writing from 1785–1850*, Leesa Wheatley gives a thorough and scholarly account of both how Ireland and the Irish people have been conceptualised in such texts and the criteria used to evaluate them. All texts selected are first-person prose accounts of travels undertaken by the author-narrator. Their narrative form includes book-length works commissioned by German publishing houses, guidebooks, private letters, diaries as well as reports on various topics and sectors. The authors, too, were of various backgrounds and included educated middle-class private tutors in the service of Anglo-Irish families, statisticians, ethnographers, merchants, doctors, historians and civil servants. Wheatley examines frameworks current at the time as expressed in aesthetic, racial, colonial, political and national discourses as well as those relating to the savage and the Celtic. Unsurprisingly, various different and sometimes conflicting images of Ireland and the Irish materialise.

Though Germans had travelled to and written about England since the fifteenth century, they knew surprisingly little about Ireland (or Scotland or Wales), which remained outside their scope till the late eighteenth century. Of the approximately thirty first-hand German-language travel accounts written thereafter, most appeared between 1830 and 1850. Until well into the nineteenth century, German perceptions of Ireland were influenced by England, and every German travel writer who wrote about Ireland visited England first. England was admired for its national integration, form of government and progressive economic policies at a time when German politics and economics were characterised by territorial fragmentation. Ireland, on the other hand, for centuries had been viewed as little more than a colonial appendage of Britain. It was not until the publication of Karl Gottlob Küttner's *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber* (1785) that the German reading public had a first-hand account of the country in German. Initially, the two primary fields of interest were intellectual and political. With the emergence of a new kind of travel literature as travelling and travel writing was no longer the preserve of the wealthy, political ideas spread, and readers

were encouraged to compare conditions abroad with those at home (political commentary was subject to strict censorship in Germany at the time).

While Küttner still describes an arduous 37-hour crossing from Wales, from the early nineteenth century transportation improved steadily. Nevertheless, Ireland continued to be perceived as different and unknown due to its distance from the mainland, its status as an island and despite its European Christian tradition.

In practice, observation is never neutral. It is impossible for travel writers to observe and represent their object of study without bias and preconceptions, be they based on previous cultural representations or various ideologies or their own personal values. During the period under investigation, Wheatley seeks to 'identify the patterns which underlie how Irish nature is framed and how the Irish people are constructed'.

But not only is observation never neutral, writers generally write for an audience, and German travel writers naturally considered the expectations of their domestic readership. Rather like Scotland and Wales in contemporary German travel accounts, Ireland was prevented from attaining a sense of uniqueness due to the familiar aesthetic and literary conventions applied, including a concept of generic 'Celticness'. Yet while travel writers did fall short of doing justice to a complex reality, Wheatley also focusses on the limits of explicability when it comes to confronting the 'new'. Moreover, she points to the nuances and variations within conventions and stereotypes and emphasises that some authors, well aware of their various biases, critiqued them from within.

While not denying the important role played by stereotypes in dealing with the 'other', Wheatley is more concerned with 'how the identified images are framed using similar conceptual frameworks across individual narratives, which purposes the images serve, and the implications of this'. In her opinion, it is in 'the evaluation and modification of certain stereotypes that personal predilections and shifts in perspective as well as the intervention in the debates and discourses of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century can be discerned'.

Wheatley argues that familiar modes of representation tended to fail German travel writers when it came to urban inhabitants and social conditions in Ireland generally. She also notes how difficult they found it to make sense of the extreme poverty of the majority of the population. Labelling the Irish 'content savages' saved some authors from analysing their dire circumstances. Other writers thought that they needed improvement in terms of education and work ethic. This, some suggested, required the civilising force of England, while others maintained that it was colonialism which created savagery in the first place.

Unlike in Scotland, the notion of noble, dignified primitives did not have much of an impact on German perceptions of the Irish lower classes in the late eighteenth century. Some writers render them as indolent yet content, while others class them as lawless and violent. Also, it was only from the late 1820s onwards that Irish music and folktales became a central component in the construction of an Irish collective. German travel writers had 'discovered' Irish folk culture thanks to poet and lyricist Thomas Moore, antiquary Thomas Crofton Croker and the Grimm Brothers.

Wheatley examines the emergence of a sense of an Irish *Volk* according to Herder's understanding of cultural (rather than political) criteria such as lore and music forging a sense of collective identity. Some observers played off past against present, asking whether the ancient was authentic while its present-day transmission had been corrupted, or whether there was a unique culture and what role language and its loss as a *Muttersprache* played in this. The author also investigates concepts such as *Nation* and *Nationalcharakter*, and *Volk*, *Volksgeist* and *Volksseele*, and shows that German travel literature on Ireland has used these as ambiguous and contested terms. With the growing political notion of a nation state around 1800 and political nationalist movements, a congruence of culture, geography and political organisation emerged, and during the period under investigation, competing notions of 'nation' co-existed. Ireland was increasingly placed within a European context. Unsurprisingly, German travel writers came away with contradictory impressions and explanations as within Ireland itself, contradictory contestations abounded among the Catholic Irish, the upper-class Protestant elite and Protestant professionals as to who could lay claim to what in the name of an 'Irish' identity.

Furthermore, German travel writing of the mid-nineteenth century reflects the shift in the study of humankind from an approach based on culture, language and literature towards a methodology prioritising physical facts and quantifiable data. From the 1840s, the Irish collective is also constructed by employing notions of race, be it by means of 'physical anthropology and ethnology' or by praising the 'Celtic Irish for developing 'Germanic' racial characteristics such as a love of law and order as well as moderation in political matters'.

With an interesting shift of focus, Wheatley suggests that projective nations may seek to define themselves in opposition to other nations, and with the help of its travel writers, an emerging German nation could construct and differentiate itself from the Irish Celtic 'others', be they one nation, two nations, or none at all.

This erudite and engaging study concludes with a chapter containing biographical information on the individual travel writers and the relationship of their works to other genres, particularly fiction. It is commendable that all quotations from the

travel accounts are in the original German, with the author's English translations in the footnotes. The book includes a comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary literature as well as helpful indexes of personal names, concepts and place names. Alas, in a small oversight, several pages (p. 273 to p. 285) are out of sequence towards the end of the book.

What We've Been Up To:
A Report on ITIA Activities 2017-2021

The last report from the ITIA executive committee was in *Translation Ireland* (2017) and since then there have been some minor changes to the committee as can be seen in this table:

2017-18	**2018-19**	**2019-20**	**2020-2021 (Oct)**
Mary Phelan (chair)	Mary Phelan (chair)	Mary Phelan (chair)	Mary Phelan (chair)
Graziano Ciulli (treasurer)	Graziano Ciulli (treasurer)	Graziano Ciulli (treasurer)	Graziano Ciulli (treasurer)
Anne Larchet	Anne Larchet	Anne Larchet	Anne Larchet (honorary secretary
Susanne Dirks (honorary secretary	Susanne Dirks (honorary secretary)	Susanne Dirks	Susanne Dirks
Miriam Watchorn	Elaine Jennings	Elaine Jennings (honorary secretary)	Tara Russell
Annette Schiller	Annette Schiller	Annette Schiller	Annette Schiller
Penny Eades	Penny Eades	Penny Eades	Penny Eades
Ken Waide	Ken Waide	Ken Waide	Ken Waide
Karl Apsel	Karl Apsel	Karl Apsel	Karl Apsel
Ilaria Furlan	Sarah Berthaud	Sarah Berthaud	Sarah Berthaud
Christine O'Neill	Christine O'Neill	Christine O'Neill	Christine O'Neill
	Rachel McNicholl	Rachel McNicholl	Danièle Tort

The executive committee is responsible for running the association; members are not paid although travel expenses to attend meetings are reimbursed and in non-Covid-19 times we go to lunch after our monthly meetings. The ITIA is a not for profit association and its structure is very different from that of companies, charities and non-governmental organisations which would typically be run by

a director and staff with a separate board deciding on direction and policy. In the ITIA the executive committee does everything and members of the executive committee are also members of ITIA sub committees for professional membership and certified legal translation. The ITIA constitution, available on our website, outlines how the association works. There is a lot of work involved in running the association and obviously not everyone can make the same commitment in terms of time; it has to be kept in mind that we are all volunteers who also have work, families and a social life.

We have been extremely fortunate to have the help of a paid part time administrative assistant who looks after the day to day running of the association: Rosemary Kratschmar from 2017 until September 2020 and Annette Schiller since then. It would be literally impossible to run the association without such input. Graziano Ciulli has been a fantastic treasurer for many years and has introduced numerous improvements such as the directory of members and recording of CPD on the ITIA website. Anne Larchet has drawn on her vast network of contacts to locate lawyers, designers and insurance brokers as the need arises. The members of the executive committee contribute their time and energy for the good of the association.

In the past all our events were held in the Irish Writers Centre on 19 Parnell Square but due to the Covid-19 pandemic, we moved all meetings and events online from March 2020. While we were concerned about this change to begin with, it turned out to be very advantageous, particularly for interactions with members who live outside Dublin. We held regular Zoom 'coffee mornings' for members where we discussed for example the effects of lockdown, challenges facing translators, the latest request for tender for interpreting services, Christmas plans, CPD ideas, pros and cons of working from home, and how to keep clients happy. Given the very good attendance at our 2020 and 2021 Annual General Meetings, it is likely that we will continue to use the Zoom platform for future AGMs and some CPD and other events in the future.

The pandemic led to concerns about a drop in business for freelance translators and particularly interpreters; we surveyed our members to collect up to date information. Many respondents mentioned that their income had fallen and, as a gesture of good will, we decided to implement two changes. First, we reduced all membership fees for June 2020-end of May 2021 by 25 per cent. That meant that Professional Members paid €90 instead of €120 while Associate Members paid €60 instead of €80. Secondly, we ran a number of free CPD events for all members.

Representation

It is important for the ITIA and the executive committee to keep up to date with what is happening at European level and internationally. To this end we have strong links with four different associations that operate at global and European levels: FIT Mundus, FIT Europe, CEATL and EULITA. This obviously involves some expense when our representatives attend meetings abroad. However, we have found that such costs are very worthwhile because being active at this level has allowed us to stay up to date with what is happening elsewhere and to develop links with other organisations and with translators and interpreters all over the world. It is worth noting that colleagues who attend such meetings give up both their free time and potential income.

The ITIA is a longstanding member of FIT, the International Federation of Translators and a member of the regional organisation FIT Europe. In autumn 2014 Annette Schiller was elected to the board of FIT Europe and was a very effective chairperson from 2017 until 2021. Annette has played an important role at European level and established excellent contacts with sister associations across Europe. Mary Phelan and Annette Schiller attended a FIT meeting of presidents of the national associations of FIT from around the globe in Vienna in 2019.

Anne Larchet is our representative on CEATL, the French acronym for the Association of Literary Translator Associations. She is also a member of the editing team of the CEATL ezine, *Counterpoint*. Anne attended four-day general meetings of CEATL in Utrecht in 2017, Copenhagen in 2018 and Norwich in 2019.

The ITIA is also a member of EULITA, the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association. Annette Schiller represented the ITIA at meetings in Sofia, Bulgaria in 2018 and in Luxembourg in 2019. In June 2020 ITIA executive member Karl Apsel was voted on to the board of EULITA.

Anne Larchet was the ITIA nominee on the board of the Irish Writers Centre (IWC) from December 2015 until the end of April 2018 when she was replaced by Susanne Dirks. This particular relationship was a very important one to the ITIA for thirty years; the IWC was our home from the time of its establishment by Jack Harte who was keen to establish a centre for writers. He requested and obtained the support of Anthony Cronin, special adviser to Charles Haughey, for the use of an empty government-owned Georgian building. Cronin agreed that 19 Parnell Square would be appropriate as it was next door to the Irish Writers Museum. Harte then applied for and was granted £100,000 in National Lottery funding which was invested in restoring the building along with £400,000 from Dublin Tourism and £1.8m from the European Union. From the outset, the IWC provided a home to a number of organisations: Children's Books Ireland, Ireland Literature Exchange,

Irish Copyright Licensing Agency, Irish Playwrights and Screenwriters Guild, Independent Book Publishers Association, Irish Writers Union and of course the ITIA. Most of the organisations moved on to other premises over time but the Irish Writers Union and the ITIA continued to have access to the IWC premises and to nominate members to the board. In 2009 the IWC lost its Arts Council funding and risked being closed down. Jack Harte returned, formed a quorum with three other board members, and passed resolutions to permit the IWC board to co-opt members from the Irish Writers Union, the ITIA and from an annual meeting of the members of the IWC. The IWC was turned around and Arts Council funding made available once again. The ITIA is very grateful to Valerie Bistany, IWC director, the board and the staff for their help and cooperation over the years, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic.

In November 2021, the executive committee decided to move to the Trinity Centre for Literary and Cultural Translation, based at 36 Fenian Street, Dublin 2. Given its focus on translation, the Centre, established by Dr Sarah Smyth, is an excellent fit for the ITIA. The current director is Professor Michael Cronin, former chairperson of the ITIA and honorary member since 2007. Eithne Bowen, office and operations manager, is a former freelance translator and member of the ITIA executive committee. The Fenian Street building is also home to Literature Ireland and the M Phil in Literary Translation. We look forward to working with the Trinity Centre in the coming years.

Standards

The ITIA is firmly focused on standards, as exemplified in our examinations for Professional Membership and ITIA Certified Legal Translators (CLT). These examinations are organised on an annual basis by the relevant subcommittees. The Professional Membership Subcommittee is chaired by Annette Schiller while the CLT subcommittee is chaired by Penelop Eades Alvarez. We now have CLTs working from Chinese, Croatian, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Russian, Serbian, and Spanish into English and from English into German, Irish, Polish, Russian and Spanish. State bodies such as the Passport Office and the National Driving Licence Service (NDLS) insist on translations being done by ITIA CLTs.

We have also taken steps to ensure standards on our membership base. At the 2018 Annual General Meeting (AGM) the affiliate membership category which had been in existence since June 2015 was terminated. The following year AGM attendees voted to adjust the criteria for associate membership to include experience in the

case of applicants who do not have a qualification in translation, interpreting or languages:

> Associate membership may be granted to holders of at least a level 7 qualification on the Irish National Framework of Qualifications or equivalent in translation and/or interpreting and/or languages or to holders of at least a level 7 qualification on the Irish National Framework of Qualifications or equivalent in any other discipline, together with documented proof of two years of relevant translation and/or interpreting experience.

At the same AGM, it was agreed that for the purpose of clarity, 'ITIA certified translator' would be changed to 'ITIA certified legal translator'.

Readers are probably aware that the ITIA has been concerned for many years about lack of regulation and standards in interpreting in particular. In 2017 the *Law Society Gazette* published an article by Annette Schiller on legal translation and an article by Mary Phelan on legal interpreting. In May 2018 Mary Phelan gave a presentation on interpreter provision to the Smyth Advisory Committee on the interviewing of suspects in Garda custody. In addition, we have written many submissions over the years (all available on our website). For example, in 2015 we wrote a submission to the working group to report to Government on improvements to the protection process, including direct provision and supports to asylum seekers. Many of our recommendations were included in Dr Bryan McMahon's subsequent report on direct provision.

In 2019 we sent a submission to the Office of Government Procurement in response to their request for information on the provision of interpretation and translation services (2019). This led to a meeting where we had an opportunity to outline our concerns regarding interpreter and translator provision and the lack of standards in requests for tender. However, we have to acknowledge that it is difficult or even impossible for officials to improve the situation given the absence of training courses and accreditation tests. This is why we have been arguing for change at government and departmental level; a whole of government response is necessary.

In May 2020 the request for tender was published and it included a provision that interpreters for the ten languages most in demand in each setting should have at least a C1 level in English while interpreters for other languages should have at least a B2 on the Common Europe Framework Reference (CEFR) for languages.

While this is a small step forward and certainly an improvement on the previous request for tender (2015) that merely mentioned 'an academic qualification' with no definition of what was meant by the term, it is obviously very far from what is needed. In any case, the new 2020 procurement process was stalled before it even began due to a legal challenge.
We wrote the following submissions:

- Review of Child Care Act 1991 (with thanks to Réidín Murphy for her contribution)
- Department of Justice Criminal Justice Sectoral Strategy
- Tusla Child and Family Agency
- Letter to European Commissioner for Justice

Curiously, we received no responses to our submissions. However, in September 2021 we were contacted by a team from the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth who are working on implementing the recommendations of a white paper on direct provision. The recommendations encompass measures to improve interpreting services in international protection cases. Mary Phelan and Annette Schiller attended an online meeting with officials during which it was agreed that a working group would be established.
In late 2019, Mary Phelan, Annette Schiller and Anne Larchet met with SOLAS Further Education and Training officials to discuss interpreter provision for SafePass courses. SOLAS shared our concerns about lack of standards and decided to stipulate that all interpreters working on such courses must be members of the ITIA. At the meeting, we had an opportunity to discuss the issues faced by interpreters. For example, tutors are unwilling to share their presentations with interpreters before courses are run. This is obviously an issue because preparation is essential for competent interpreting. We recommended that tests be translated into relevant languages. We understand that this has been done.
Mary Phelan wrote a piece about community interpreting for thejournal.ie in April 2021 and Sorcha Pollak wrote an article for the *Irish Times* including comments from Mary Phelan and Mariana Ciocca Alves Passos about interpreting on 14th August 2021. HSE West was asked by the Irish Human Rights Commission to develop an equality action plan to provide professional interpreters. Mary Phelan was involved in developing this plan along with Professor Anne MacFarlane from University of Limerick, interpreter Maria Manuela De Almeida Silva and others. These were excellent opportunities to highlight our concerns and share our expertise.

Continuing Professional Development (CPD)
CPD is important for all professions and compulsory for many. The ITIA runs events every year and the recent move online has facilitated attendance by members all around the country. This table lists the events organised in recent years.

October 2017	Legal Translation	Fernando Prieto Ramos (University of Geneva)
December 2017	The challenges of pleasing my mother and Russian-speaking respondents when creating a bilingual research instrument	Sarah Smyth (TCD)
June 2018	Transcreation	Nina Sattler-Hovdar
September 2018	Panel discussion: Career opportunities for linguists	David O'Reilly (Twitter) Alfonsina Mossello (Keywords) Glyn O'Leary and Paul Hegarty (Iota localisation services) Róisín Twomey (Microsoft). Moderator: Annette Schiller
October 2018	What to expect from Neural Machine Translation	Joss Moorkens (DCU)
May 2019	Financial Translation	Tara Russell
October 2019	Panel discussion: Setting up as a freelance translator and marketing your services	Karl Apsel, Anne Fox, Adam Brożyński, Annette Schiller. Moderator: Elaine Jennings
December 2019	Panel discussion: Translating and interpreting jobs at the European Commission	John McGartoll, Caoimhe Alliot-Stenson, Audrey Ann Flynn, Morag Neath, Aisling Ní Chatháin. Moderator: Elaine Jennings

June 2020	Designing a business mindset	David Graham
July 2020	Branding and marketing	David Graham
September 2020	Literary Translation	Rachel McNicholl
October 2020	Certified Legal Translation [for Professional Members who were planning to apply to take the ITIA examination for CLT status]	Sarah Jane Abérasturi
November 2020	An Overview of Professional Membership	Annette Schiller
January 2021	Getting to grips with GDPR	John O'Shea
February 2021	Audio-Visual Translation	Henrik Walter-Johnsen
March 2021	European Parliament recruitment – clear language professionals	Vater
June 2021	VAT [organised in conjunction with CISLI – Council of Sign Language Interpreters]	Ray Farrell
June 2021	Corporate Social Responsibility [with FIT Europe and SFT]	Chris Durban, Kimberly Stewart, Dominique Jonkers, David Jemielity and Lillian Clementi
June 2021	All you need to know about post-editing	Dr Akiko Sakamoto
June 2021	MTPE – the LSP perspective	Diego Cresceri, Creative Words, Genoa
July 2021	Learning to tell poor from good sound [with FIT Europe]	Andrea Caniato and Cristian Guiducci
December 2021	Under the radar – translating corporate crisis communication [with FIT Europe and SFT]	Gerard Braud, David Jemielity, Lisa Rüth, Chris Durban

It was a pleasure to work with Chris Durban on the events in June and December 2021. Thanks also to Annette Schiller for making these happen.
We are always looking out for new ideas for CPD and welcome suggestions from our members.

Promotion
The ITIA website (translatorsassociation.ie) is a vital way for clients to locate translators and interpreters, and for translators and interpreters to learn about the association. In 2018 the website moved to WordPress and Graziano Ciulli introduced new features such as MyITIA and a facility to record CPD, as well as a very useful name search option on the database.
We invested in a 3D card printer and started issuing membership cards, first to Professional Members, and from June 2020 to both Professional and Associate Members. These are particularly useful for interpreters.
We introduced new ITIA logos for Professional and Associate members and drew up the ITIA logo policy explaining where the logo can and cannot be used.
The *ITIA Bulletin* is an ezine, redesigned in 2019, that is made available to subscribers (both members and non-members) and appears four times a year. The current editor is Anne Larchet with Ken Waide on layout and Penelope Eades Alvarez as proofreader. An archive dating back to 2005 is available on the ITIA website.
To celebrate 30 years of the ITIA, in 2016 we organised a translation competition for secondary school students. We chose mainly literary texts, often from the start of novels, and current and former members of the executive committee selected the best translations in each language combination. We enjoyed the exercise and have continued with the competition each year since then. We received 112 entries in 2020 and 189 in 2021 with translations from Irish, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Japanese and Chinese into English. We would like to thank everyone who chose texts and went through the translations, in particular Máire Nic Mhaoláin (Irish), Lichao Li (Chinese), Justyna Maćkowska and Adam Brożyński (Polish) and Ilaria Furlan (Italian).
In December 2019 Ken Waide, Elaine Jennings, Rachel McNicholl and Christine O'Neill looked after the ITIA stand at the Languages Connect Think Languages event for Transition Year students in the Convention Centre. We are grateful to Nellie Tattersall and her colleagues for this opportunity.
Mary Phelan has given a talk on ITIA membership a number of times to Masters students studying translation and interpreting at Queen's University Belfast.

Surveys
We surveyed our members three times to find out about (a) rates paid for translation and interpreting, (b) the early effects of Covid-19 and (c) mentoring. Ken Waide did the lion's share of the work on the rates survey while the Covid-19 survey was Susanne Dirks' initiative. The purpose of the mentoring survey was to establish the level of interest among members in being mentors or mentees.
In March 2021 we introduced an online discussion forum on LinkedIn, another benefit for members. Thanks to Ken Waide for his input on this and many technical items.

Future plans
We will continue with our regular activities, namely:

- Responding to queries about joining the profession / becoming a translator or interpreter
- Processing new membership applications
- Issuing membership cards
- Professional Membership examinations (checking applications, finding suitable texts, organising examinations, liaising with assessors and examinees)
- Certified Legal Translator examinations (processing applications, locating suitable texts, organising examinations, liaising with assessors and examinees)
- Organising CPD events
- *ITIA Bulletin*
- *Translation Ireland*
- Writing submissions to relevant bodies
- Promoting the ITIA
- Representing the association in Ireland and abroad (FIT, FIT Europe, EULITA, CEATL)
- Social media presence (Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn)
- Secondary schools translation competition (selecting texts in Irish, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Japanese and Chinese, emailing all secondary schools and language teacher organisations about the competition, selecting the winners, organising prizes)

In addition, in late 2021 we introduced a mentoring programme which we expect to be very beneficial to members, particularly those who are starting out in the profession. We also introduced a new benefit for professional members, ISO 17100 qualified status.

As stated at the start of this article, the ITIA is run by volunteers who give up their time and energy for the good of the membership. I would like to thank all the members of the executive committee who have made and continue to make such a generous contribution for the good of the profession.

Mary Phelan
Chairperson