"connectivity of the surface", coherence describes "connectivity of underlying content." Many text linguists, including De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), have oversimplified this relationship, viewing the two concepts as being separate. Steffenson (in Carstens 1997: 115) states, for instance:

> A distinction exists between cohesion and coherence. The former refers to the *relationship of linguistic elements within a text*, while the latter refers to the *consistency of meaning* which is constructed by the skilled or knowledgeable reader.

Clearly, however, the surface linguistic elements within a text must somehow be linked to the consistency of meaning constructed by the skilled or knowledgeable reader, and thus the two concepts are in fact inextricably intertwined, as Yang (in Carstens 1997: 116) points out:

> Cohesion... is defined as the *linguistic features* which help to make a sequence of sentences in a text, i.e. to give it 'texture'. Coherence... is partly based on the interconnections within the text and partly on the mind of the reader who constantly relates the text to its extratextual situation. Halliday and Hasan (1976) regard coherence as arising from among other factors, cohesion.

However, research has proven that, while cohesion may contribute to coherence, a text may in fact be cohesive without being coherent (Witte & Faigley 1981; Markels 1983; Carter 1987). Crystal (in Carstens 1997: 119) states: "Cohesive links go a long way towards explaining how the sentences of a text hang together, but they do not tell the whole story. It is possible to invent a sentence sequence that is highly cohesive but nonetheless incoherent." As Carrell (in Carstens 1997: 119) says: "If a reader does not have, or fails to access, the appropriate background schema underlying the text, all the cohesive ties in the world won't help that text to cohere for the reader."

Clearly, then, any discussion of cohesion should also take coherence into account. Carstens (1997: 110-111) maintains that because cohesion deals with surface elements in texts, it is relatively easy to identify. As a result, studies concentrating solely on cohesion have proliferated, in turn creating the false impression that cohesion is the most important determiner of textuality. In fact, it is only one of De Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) seven principles of textuality, and should be treated as such.

It is for this reason that I have chosen to use a model which does relate cohesion back to coherence, focussing not on itemising the different types of cohesive ties, but on how they combine to organise text. To go even further, while a comparative text analysis on the level of the surface patterning of feminist texts and their translations forms an important focus, it is a tool and not an end in itself, and must inevitably be related to the larger discourse processes surrounding the texts.

2.3.2.1.3 Types of cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976)

The most widely known work on cohesion is Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English* (1976), which examines local ties in surface structure that link up sentences or propositions in discourse. (Other models have of course been proposed by various linguists, such as Callow (1974), Gutwinski (1976), de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981).) For Halliday and Hasan, the organisation of text (which they term *texture*) is made up (in large part) of relationships amongst items in the text, some semantic, some grammatical, which they refer to as *cohesive ties*. Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish five major classes of cohesive ties, four of them grammatical, the other lexical. The four types of grammatical cohesion are *reference*, *substitution*, *ellipsis* and *conjunction*. *Reference* indicates instances where a grammatical element forms a tie with another element because of shared reference; *substitution* occurs where one grammatical element can replace another grammatical element in a sentence because of shared sense; *ellipsis* refers to the omission of certain elements which can in any case be interpreted from the context, and *conjunction* refers to elements which link the propositions in two or more sentences on the basis of certain semantic relations. The only class of lexical tie identified by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is *lexical cohesion*, defined as "the cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary, and embrac[ing] the two distinct though related aspects of reiteration and collocation" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 318). In other words, lexical cohesion is provided by several occurrences of the same lexical item, or by the co-occurrence of items paradigmatically related in the sense that they may belong to the same lexical set. Halliday & Hasan (1976: 287) explain that collocation is

> simply a cover term for the cohesion that results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments,

also claiming that, while close proximity contributes most strongly to this phenomenon, "lexical cohesion regularly leaps over a number of sentences to pick up an element that has not figured in the intervening text" (1976: 16).

These five types of cohesive devices enable the researcher to determine the nature of the semantic relationship between lexico-grammatical elements, but in themselves they are nothing more than a pointer to the 'texture' of a text, or text organisation.

2.3.2.2 Hoey 's *Patterns of lexis in text* (1991)

In his book, *Patterns of lexis in text* (1991), Michael Hoey draws on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion in general, and on one category of cohesion in particular, *lexical cohesion*, in order to investigate the text-organising function of lexis. What distinguishes Hoey's (1991) study from previous studies of cohesion is that the focus is not merely on itemising cohesive features, but on observing how these features combine to organise text (Hoey 1991: 3). In his view, lexical cohesion is the most important contributor to cohesion in a text[6]:

> Lexical cohesion is the only type of cohesion that regularly forms multiple relationships (though occasionally reference does so too). If this is taken into account, lexical cohesion becomes the dominant mode of creating texture. In other words, the study of the greater part of cohesion is the study of lexis, and the study of cohesion in text is to a considerable degree the study of patterns of lexis in text. (Hoey 1991: 10)

Hoey (1991: 6) points out that with the exception of conjunction, what Halliday and Hasan's (1976) classes of cohesive tie share is that they are all ways of repeating, and this is especially true of lexical cohesion. If one examines the two sub-classes of lexical cohesion, namely reiteration and collocation, more closely, it becomes clear that it is the reiteration sub-class in particular that is concerned with repetition. Reiteration covers a range of ways in which one lexical item may be understood to conjure up the sense of an earlier item. A lexical item may repeat another item exactly, it may be in a relation of synonymy or near-synonymy with an

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6 Lexical cohesion accounts for more than forty per cent of the cohesive ties found in the sample texts used by Halliday and Hasan (1976), although Halliday and Hasan pay this type of cohesion scant attention compared to other forms of cohesion.

earlier item (e.g. *book* and *volume*), it may be a more general reference by a speaker or writer to an earlier item, i.e. a repetition by superordinate (*Siamese* followed by *cat*), or a general word may be reiterated. In using Halliday and Hasan's (1976) definition of reiteration, Hoey (1991: 6) acknowledges that the boundary between reiteration by superordinate and reiteration by general word is extremely fuzzy, but makes the point that is not of any great importance for text analysis to distinguish them more clearly.

As regards collocation, Hoey (1991: 7) explains that for Halliday and Hasan (1976: 285-6), this includes a "ragbag of lexical relations, many of which have no readily available name", such as *boy-girl, wet-dry, order-obey, laugh-joke, ill-doctor, try-succeed, king-crown* and *sky-sunshine.*[7] Hoey goes on to explain that in Hasan (1984: 202), Hasan attempts to tighten up on the category of lexical cohesion, and includes within her sub-categories some lexical relations that would previously have been handled under the heading of collocation. Her categories are as follows:

Categories of lexical cohesion

A	*General*	i. repetition	leave, leaving, left
		ii. synonymy	leave, depart
		iii. antonymy	leave, arrive
		iv. hyponymy	travel, leave (including co-hyponyms, leave, arrive)
		v. meronymy	hand, finger (including co-meronyms, finger, thumb)
B.	*Instantial*	i. equivalence	the *sailor* was their *daddy*; *you* be the *patient*, *I*'ll be the *doctor*
		ii. naming	the dog was called *Toto*; they named the *dog* *Fluffy*
		iii. semblance	the *deck* was like a *pool*; all my *pleasures* are like *yesterdays*

Thus, there appears to be a connection that warrants further investigation between lexical repetition and certain kinds of patterning in text. But in order to determine how lexical

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7 Despite the fact that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) categorisation of lexical cohesion is contentious, Hoey (1991: 7) believes that they at least point to the text-forming properties of lexis, even though they might not be able to provide a precise classification of the types of lexical relationship involved in organising text. In Hoey's view, Martin's (1989) classification makes up for this deficiency.

cohesion actually contributes to text organisation, Hoey draws on a number of other approaches, which will briefly be outlined below.

2.3.2.2.1 Background to Hoey's (1991) method of analysis

Hoey's (1991) method for the analysis of patterns of lexis in non-narrative text draws upon the notion of *cohesive harmony* (Hasan 1984), *repetition-replacement relations* (Winter 1974, 1979) and *long-distance organisation* (Phillips 1985).

The notion of a lexical chain, first mentioned in Halliday and Hasan (1976), is developed further in Hasan (1984), who concludes that cohesion contributes to the recognition of coherence because cohesive ties form chains that interact with each other; this interaction she terms *cohesive harmony*. Whereas Halliday and Hasan (1976) regarded all types of lexical cohesion as being instantial[8] (i.e. not part of the language system, but dependent on the text in which they occur), Hasan (1984) allows for a lexical chain to occur when the members of any possible pair stand in any general or instantial relation to one another. "Chains are thus not seen as merely lexical or grammatical, "but have a status by reference to their potential function in the text" (Hasan in Wessels 1993: 34). What is important is not the careful subcategorisation of different kinds of ties, but their function. She identifies two types of chain, namely *identity* chains and *similarity* chains. An identity chain consists of cohesive ties that all share the same referent, whether these ties are pronominals, reiterations or instantial equivalents. Similarity chains are chains of ties where issues of identity cannot arise, such as in parallel processes or descriptions. Hoey (1991: 15) explains that if three entities in a writer's world are described as "little", there will be a chain of three lexical ties formed by the occurrences of "little", despite the fact that "little" refers not to one item, but to three different items.

According to Hoey (1991: 16), Hasan (1984) makes two valuable contributions to the question

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8 Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish between two major categories of cohesive relations, namely general and instantial relations. The category of general relations expresses general semantic relations that are a feature of the language system, referring to lexical items related through repetition, synonymy, antonymy and meronymy. Instantial or text-bound relations are words related through equivalence, naming or semblance.

regarding the relationship between cohesion and coherence. Firstly, she demonstrates that greater insight into text can be achieved if the classificatory view of cohesion is abandoned in favour of an integrated approach, and secondly, she shows that what is significant is the *combination* of ties, not their occurrence in isolation.

But Hasan's (1984) work does not provide any insight into the question of how cohesion relates to the ways sentences connect as wholes, since it does not take into account that sentences relate to each other as sentences in a text. As Hoey (1991: 16) puts it, "the entire strategy of describing text in terms of cohesive chains militates against consideration of how the sentences relate to each other as sentences." For this Hoey (1991) draws upon the work of Winter (1974, 1979), who is not interested in the detailed classification of cohesive devices, but in how the grammar of sentences contributes to their repetition in context. Winter (1979) sees the function of repetition as that of concentrating attention on what has been replaced. He sees systematic repetition not as the physical replacement of one word by another, (e.g. when a pronoun 'replaces' a noun), but as the provision of new information in a context that has been previously presented. (Winter 1979 calls this *replacement*.) The repeated clause structure undergoes compulsory changes or additions which give it new meaning as a clause. The repeated material acts as a framework for the interpretation of the new material, as in the following example:

> Pressures built up on all sides; his father, a 'moderately successful plumbing contractor' (said *Time*) **demanded** performance. **His** mother, who left her husband in Florida and moved to Austin to be near her son, **demanded** love. Whitman could provide neither. (Winter 1979 in Hoey 1991: 18).

The items in bold are repeated and create an environment in which attention can be given to what is replaced: *mother* replaces *father*, signalled by the possessive **his**, and *love* replaces *performance*, which is signalled by the repetition of the verb **demanded**. Thus, Winter (1979) is able to interpret pairs of sentences by making use of the way in which cohesion and grammar interact in context. Hoey (1991) himself finds Winter's (1979) emphasis on the importance of context in repetition significant, as well as the notion that repetition relations between sentences need not be adjacent, may be multiple and also possess informational value. One shortcoming of Winter's work is that it is based on examples which are rather short. It also fails to provide an analytical technique for the examination of longer stretches of text. For this, Hoey (1991: 21) draws on Phillips' (1985) notion of *long-distance organisation*. Phillips analyses the nature of collocation and its power to organise book-length texts using statistical methods only, with no recourse to syntax or semantics. What is significant about this for Hoey (1991) is Phillips' discovery that words often intercollocate, i.e. that if word **a** collocates with words **b**, **c** and **d**, then word **b** would probably also collocate with **c** and **d**, etc. This intercollocation can be represented by drawing networks of connections between the words. Phillips' (1985) work implies a fair amount of lexical repetition, and thus the collocations in a text are "a crude measure of the interconnectedness of cohesive chains" (Hoey 1991: 22). In addition, if collocation is seen as a function of co-occurring cohesive chains, then Phillips' (1985) findings could be interpreted as meaning that chapters are connected by lexical cohesion which, in turn, implies that cohesion plays an important role in the organisation of texts (Hoey 1991: 25).

To sum up, the implication of the work of Hasan, Winter and Phillips is that cohesion does contribute to coherence, it is directly relevant to the interpretation of pairs of sentences, and it does produce a form of text organisation. What is therefore needed is a way of describing cohesion that will reveal the cohesive harmony that Hasan discusses, the repetition-replacement relations that Winter describes, and the long-distance organisation that Phillips points to (Hoey 1991: 25). In the next section, Hoey's (1991) own model to account for lexical patterning in text as informed by Hasan (1984), Winter (1974, 1979) and Phillips (1985) will be discussed in more detail.

2.3.2.2.2 Types of repetition link in Hoey (1991)

Hoey (1991) focuses on the types of lexical relation that permit repetition, but also includes a small number of grammatical cohesive devices that permit repetition. He therefore uses the term *repetition* in a far broader sense than do Halliday and Hasan (1976), abandoning the strictly taxonomic approach to cohesion, and concentrating on the *function* of items which bring about coherence in a text. For Hoey (1991: 69), what is important is "the repetition in context of the sense of one item by another, whether the wording [is] the same or not". He calls both lexical and non-lexical cohesive relations *links*, a term he prefers to the term *tie* used by Halliday & Hasan (1976), as the latter term has a wider meaning than his use of the term *link* (*tie* includes sentence conjunctions, collocations and certain types of reference item and seems to imply directionality more than *link* does).

The links identified by Hoey (1991) can be summarised as follows. The first category of link is **simple lexical repetition**, which refers to the repetition of an open-set lexical item with no greater alteration than is entirely explicable in terms of a closed grammatical paradigm (e.g. *bears→bear*). Hoey (1991:53) excludes connections between grammatical items such as determiners, prepositions, auxiliaries, negatives, co-ordinators, subordinators, sentence conjunctions, sub-modifiers, or particles from this category which, he explains, is an analytical decision, and not a statement about the impossibility of repetition of grammatical items or their failure to contribute to the relatedness of sentences. The second type of link is **complex lexical repetition**, where two items share a lexical morpheme, but are not formally identical (e.g. *drug→drugging*), or where they are formally identical, but have different grammatical functions (e.g. *humans→ human* (adj).

The third type of link is classified as **simple paraphrase**, where one lexical item substitutes for another in context without loss or gain of specificity in meaning and with no discernible change in meaning (e.g. *produce,...causes*). This type of repetition therefore functions like Hasan's (1984) synonymy, except that she sees it as a general relation, whereas Hoey (1991) sees it as an instantial relation. The fourth category of link is **complex paraphrase**, where one item includes the other, although they share no lexical morpheme. Hoey distinguishes three types of complex paraphrase: firstly, where antonyms occur which do not share a morpheme (e.g. hot/cold, i.e. cold is far from hot); secondly, when one item is a complex repetition of another (e.g. writer; writings) and also a simple paraphrase or an antonym of a third item (writer... author). A complex paraphrase link exist between writings and author. This he terms a "link triangle" (Hoey 1991: 65), since the presence of two types of link creates a third. The third type of complex paraphrase occurs when the mediating term is missing, but there is an item capable of paraphrasing *exactly in that context* one of the items and of repeating the other (Hoey 1991: 66), e.g. *instruction...teacher*. The word t*eaching*, which could substitute for *instruction* in the context and which would form a repetition link with *teacher*, is missing.

As regards **superordinate, hyponymic and co-reference repetition**, Hoey (1991:70) states that two items will be treated as repetitions if, and only if, these two items are interpreted as having identical referents - even if they are unrelated lexically, as in co-reference (e.g. *Augustus→the Emperor)* or related as superordinate to hyponym (hyponymic repetition) (e.g. *scientists→biologists*). Thus, Hoey (1991: 69) does not include relations between hyponyms relating to different referents in his model, for the reason that if this were the case, it would lead to a proliferation of cohesive links which do not contribute significantly to the organisation of text. He gives the example of *man* and *woman* appearing in the first sentence of a text and states: "if hyponyms were considered to be repetitions, then each and every mention of human beings that followed, whether by name, relation, or profession, would be repetitions of one or the other original items as long as there was some immediate shared context." (Hoey 1991: 69).

Substitution, unlike the other links, refers to grammatical links. These links differ from lexical items in that they depend entirely on other items for their interpretation and have no definitional meaning in themselves. (Lexical items in lexical repetition or paraphrase links do not depend on each other for their meaning, although they share a dependence on co-text to realise their meaning potential). The function of these items is to substitute for lexical items, which is why they are termed substitution links, following Quirk et al. (1972, cited in Wessels 1993). Items included in this category are personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and modifiers, as well as the class of items that Halliday and Hasan (1976) term substitutes, namely *one, the other, (the) same, different* and *similar*. (Hoey (1991) uses the term substitution in a far broader manner than do Halliday and Hasan (1976), since he also includes most of the items that Halliday and Hasan (1976) term *reference* in this category.

A final category of links, **ellipsis**, is regarded as a means of creating repetition only in those cases where a sentence is grammatically incomplete unless something from earlier in the text is supplied.

2.3.2.3 Hoey's (1991) method of analysis

The first step in Hoey's method of analysis is to identify all the repetition links in a text, according to the assumption that all repetition is anaphoric only (Hoey 1991: 41). A lexical link is also regarded as forming a repetition link with every previous occurrence, not only its immediate predecessor in the text, thus creating a *network*, or *net*, of links (Hoey 1991: 81). When all the lexical repetitions have been identified, the paraphrases are identified. Then only are substitution and ellipsis taken into account. In other words, Hoey (1991: 83) classifies the types of repetition link according to the following weighting (in decreasing order of importance):

- simple lexical repetition
- complex lexical repetition
- simple paraphrase
- complex paraphrase
- substitution
- co-reference
- ellipsis.

Substitution and ellipsis are ranked far down the scale, as an investigation into the patterning effect of lexis should naturally give priority to lexical links over grammatical links. Moreover, the complex interconnections of lexical links will be lost if preference is given to substitution links, in cases where both types of links occur.

Hoey (1991) then examines these types of repetition link as they occur between sentences.[9] Although he admits that links internal to the sentence are still links, he does not record them, because "they interfere with the clarity of the patterns of lexis" in a text (Hoey 1991: 84). He concentrates on the function of sentences as the "building blocks" of a text, and is therefore not concerned with the internal structure of the sentence. This is an approach shared by Halliday and Hasan (1976:9), who regard inter-sentence cohesion as "the ONLY source of texture", although they do identify intrasentential cohesive ties as well.

Hoey (1991: 81-2) initially uses a topological diagram to indicate how lexical items link to

[9] The choice of the sentence as the unit of analysis could be regarded as being contentious, and will be discussed in more detail in my adaptation of Hoey's (1991) model.

form a net. Each pair of sentences that form a cohesive link is joined by a line, no significance being attached to the length, position or the angle of the lines. There is a direct relationship between sentence order and the vertical axis of the diagram, links "higher in the diagram" standing for "earlier in the text", as follows:

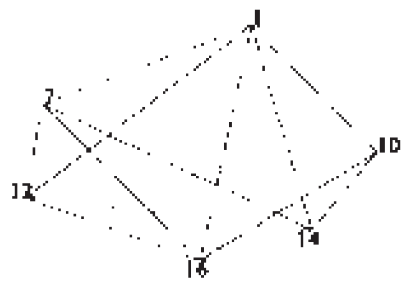

Figure 2: *A "net" of links*

Thus a word such as *reader* repeated in sentence 16 of a text is repeated not only in sentence 14 but also in sentences 1, 7, 10 and 12 as well. And each previous instance of *reader* likewise reiterates its predecessors, thus creating a web-like net of links. It is this basic method, which clearly illustrates the cumulative patterning effects of lexis in text, that will be applied in this study to feminist texts and their translations.

However, it is important to note that only Hoey's (1991) categories of repetition links and his idea of a net of links will be applied in this study; his model of **bonding** (1991) will not be used, since it depends on the itemising of the number of links between sentences in non-narrative text. This procedure makes little sense in my study, firstly because bonding occurs mainly in non-narrative texts, and secondly because of the amount of intrasentential repetition which occurs in feminist texts (discussed in more detail in chapter 4). Nevertheless, I will briefly explain how bonding operates.

According to Hoey (1991), every text contains sentences that are linked to one another, but some sentences are linked to a number of other sentences, while others are linked only to a few other sentences or to no other sentences. As Hoey is mainly concerned with the text-organising function of lexis, he concentrates on those cases of linkage that show a significant degree of connection within the text. A minimum of three links between sentences is considered to be the cut-off point for distinguishing between significant and insignificant pairs of sentences within a text.[10] A significant linkage is called a **bond**. Hoey's central claim is that

> all non-narrative texts produced by competent adult writers are made up of a network of relations between non-adjacent as well as adjacent sentences, and that some of these will take the form of bonded pairs (Hoey 1991: 190).

In order to count the number of intersentential links in a text, Hoey (1991: 104) assigns each sentence with a two-figure coordinate, the first showing the number of previous sentences to which an instance of repetition is bonded, the second showing the number of subsequent sentences to which it is bonded. For example, sentence 10 in fig.2 above could be assigned a coordinate of (2.3), which indicates that sentence 10 is bonded to two earlier sentences, and to three subsequent sentences. In this way, the bonds between sentences in a text can be indicated in terms of a *repetition matrix* that has as both its parameters the sentence numbers of the text, as follows:

1 **1**

2 1 **2**

3 2 1 **3**

4 0 1 0 **4**

5 4 2 1 1 **5**

6 2 1 1 1 5 **6**

Figure 3: *Repetition matrix*

In figure 3, sentence numbers are indicated in bold. Horizontal rows indicate a sentence's connections with its predecessors in a text, while the vertical columns tell of its connections with later sentences. Each cell in the matrix reflects the number of links a particular sentence makes with another sentence in the text. For instance, sentence 5 is shown by its horizontal

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10 Hoey (1991) makes the point that a bond cannot be defined in terms of an absolute number of links, but that it will be accepted that a bond cannot exist if there are fewer than three links.

column to have 4 links with sentence 1, 2 links with sentence 2, 1 link with sentence 3 and 1 link with sentence 4. Its vertical column shows it to have 1 link with sentence 5 and 1 with sentence 6.

2.3.2.2.4 Theoretical implications of Hoey's (1991) method of analysis

What do Hoey's (1991) findings suggest for theories of text in general?

Hoey (1991) points out that for many linguists it is axiomatic that text is **structured** (that is, capable of being described in predictive terms). In his view, part of the motivation for treating text as having structure was the sometimes unconscious application of the analogy of the sentence to text description. He cites Katz and Fodor (1963), who provide an early and rather extreme example of this approach:

> Except in a few types of cases, discourse can be treated as a single sentence in isolation by regarding sentence boundaries as sentential connectives. As a matter of fact this is the natural treatment. (Katz and Fodor in Hoey 1991: 27)

Other linguists who have in some way or other applied sentence grammar to the study of text are Harris (1952); Pike (1967); van Dijk (1972); Grimes (1975), and Rumelhart (1975).

Hoey's (1991: 193) own viewpoint with regard to text is that it is "impossible to imagine that the nets we have generated and the bonds of which they are formed could ever be described in terms that could properly be regarded as structural." The best that could be hoped for is a system of description in which these non-structural facts coexisted with other truly structural facts (Such may indeed be the case with genre studies, where, as has already been pointed out, the terms of the structure may be drawn in part from outside the language). However, he does not intend to imply that structural descriptions have no value whatsoever, merely that they have to be reinterpreted as descriptions of the culturally popular patterns of organisation which might occur: "structural statements claim to say what is possible; organisational statements claim to describe what is done." (Hoey 1991: 193)[11] Hoey explains that whereas a structural

11 Clear parallels can be drawn here from translation studies; whereas translation theories based on equivalence are prescriptive, devising a theory and then applying it (not always successfully) to practice, descriptive translation studies describes the existing translational relationship between two (or more) texts in a non-evaluative way.

description attempts to predict all possible combinations and their circumstances, and must inevitably fail in this endeavour, a description in terms of patterns of organisation makes no prescriptions, and simply tries to account for probabilities.[12]

Hoey (1991) argues that phonology, syntax and interaction are structural, and thus it is possible to make predictive statements about these aspects of language. But he maintains that this is not true of either text or lexis:

> Useful generalisations [about text and lexis] can certainly be made, but there are always inconvenient exceptions to be handled - and more importantly the certainty of further exceptions to come. As already noted, twentieth century literature has been prolific in the production of text that do not conform to any generalisations made previously about text organisation. Deviations from such organisational principles may or may not be noticed, but they rarely result in unintelligibility unless severe and persistent. Similarly, whoever invented the words *lay-by* or *way-out* (in its adjectival sense) demonstrated that in word formation the consequence of 'rule' breach is not unintelligibility. (Hoey 1991: 209)

What are the implications for reading? In this study it is hypothesised that cohesion, specifically lexical cohesion, has a bearing on coherence in that specific features internal to the text contribute to the reader's assessment of the text as being coherent. This is a viewpoint shared by both Hasan (1984) and Hoey (1991), unlike many linguists. As Hasan maintains: "an examination of coherence necessarily involves an examination of cohesion." (Hasan 1984: 184) in Wessels (1993: 22). Hoey (1991: 222) states :

> The text-as-object supplies a large resource of potential semantic connections at both the word and clause level, but ... it takes the reader to activate the resource and select which connections to take note of. The reader's role, then, is rarely a passive one and, from many perspectives, is a positively creative one.

He goes on to explain that the most relevant implication of this statement is that the reader has the freedom either to recognise or to ignore individual links, and thus the possible variation

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12 Hoey (1991: 28) also explains that while his approach to text is not entirely compatible with the stronger claims made by structurally-oriented text linguists, approaches such as those of genre analysis Martin (1985), Swales (1985) and Ventola (1987), where the 'structural' description derives as much from the context in which the text is used as from the internal features of the text itself, are not incompatible with his approach.

amongst readers with regard to links recognised (or not) is almost limitless. This in turn implies that if readers vary in the relatively minor matter of recognising repetitions, this may lead to differences in the way a text is interpreted. According to Hoey (1991: 222), "[t]his supports the view that readers derive different discourses from the text, without requiring us to abandon the notion that the meaning is found rather than imposed by the reader."

Meaning is clearly a crucial factor in an analysis of repetition in text, but a too-inflexible approach to meaning could also be problematic in an examination of feminist/ deconstructive texts which are constructed around inconstancy of meaning and the resultant "slippage of the signifier". Rimmon-Kenan (in Hoey 1991: 53) states: "[E]ven when the whole sign is repeated, difference is introduced through the very fact of repetition, the accumulation of significance it entails, and the change effected by the different context in which it is placed." As Hoey (1991: 53) points out, even in a standard conversation between two participants, the meaning of a lexical item may be the subject of renegotiation between those participants. A speaker may choose to use the same lexical item as his or her co-conversationalist, but with a slight shift in meaning. Hoey (1991: 53) comments that as a rhetorical ploy this presumably can hardly be bettered, since it combines apparent acceptance of the other speaker's terms of reference with a redefinition of them in reality. But even where a word is not renegotiated, it may be the subject of semantic "drift" - without speakers intending it, the sense of a word may slowly shift in the course of a conversation such that its meaning at the end it slightly different from that it had at the beginning. Polysemy is a further indication of the slipperiness and inconstancy of lexis (Hoey 1991: 54). Hoey (1991: 54) acknowledges that the unstable nature of meaning is a potential problem for cohesive studies:

> How, it might reasonably be asked, can one claim in the light of this that repeated lexical items mean the same? Drift can only be described in terms of something held constant, and communication would soon break down if our experience of lexis was that it was unreliable and continually shifting.

Hoey (1991) solves this problem by explaining that absolute identity of meaning is not required; no requirement is made that the items linked should have identical meanings. However, a *shared collocational environment* is an important factor in determining which links should be taken into account.

Thus, Hoey's (1991) method of analysis is broad enough and non-prescriptive enough to accommodate the analysis of feminist texts which attempt to breach the known rules of text organisation. Hoey's (1991) text-linguistic approach also coincides rather neatly with the approach to reading discourse outlined in the previous section. Together, they provide the basis for the model of analysis of feminist/ deconstructive texts developed in this study and discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

2.4 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis were discussed in the context of a brief review of literature and then related to the specific types of discourse analysed in this study, namely feminist discourse and translation discourse. A broad interdisciplinary framework was then outlined for the analysis of the factors underlying the production of discourse as well as for the analysis of written text. Aspects of polysystem theory, critical discourse analysis and literary pragmatics provide the framework for discourse as process, discussed in chapters 3 and 4, and text linguistics provides the framework for the analysis of text as structure in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 3

Translation as discourse

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss translation studies as discourse, distinguishing between dominant and peripheral positions which have a bearing on modern approaches to translation - linguistics-based approaches, the 'cultural turn' in translation, and 'resistive' theories of translation - in order to place in context the origin and spread of translation as 'difference' as it pertains to feminist translation.

3.2 Translation and the possibility of transgression

Like any human activity, translation takes place in a specific social and historical context that informs and structures it (just as it informs and structures other creative processes). But in the case of translation, the operation becomes doubly complicated since, by definition, two languages and thus two cultures and two societies are involved. Because translation traverses the boundaries between cultures, by its very nature it represents the possibility of violating an established social order by introducing new ideas, new characteristics, new ideologies into the target culture. As Anthony Pym (1992: 154) so aptly puts it:

> [T]ranslators, like spies, can only be employed in situations between cultures of which they have substantial personal experience; they can only be employed in places where their loyalty is open to question (...) [S]ince they speak the language and know the lands of the foreigner, since they share the cultural references of real or potential enemies, translators will never be able to convince sceptical [employers] that their inner subjective identification is entirely one-sided.

This has interesting implications in practice, as Pym (1992: 156) observes, using two interpreters at high-level bilateral international summits as an example. Since summit-level interpreters are competent in two-way communication, it should strictly be necessary to use only one interpreter if one were only to take *linguistic* skills into account. But because neither side can trust only one interpreter to be free of ideological bias, and neither side wants the other to have a power advantage, two interpreters are used: 'ours' and 'theirs', which gives both sides the feeling of having some sort of control over the proceedings.

It is precisely this ever-present danger of transgression on the part of translators that translation theorists have tried to eliminate. As Lori Chamberlain (1992: 67) puts it:

> the reason translation is so overcoded, so overregulated, is that it threatens to erase the difference between production and reproduction which is so essential to the establishment of power. Translations can, in short, masquerade as originals, thereby short-circuiting the system.

So how should translators translate? Translation theorists themselves have never been able to agree as to which strategies the translator should follow. In fact, some theorists have even gone so far as to characterise the history of translation studies until Roman Jakobson as a continual rehashing of the same theoretical distinction between faithful and free translation (Gentzler 1993: 2). Theodore Savory's much-quoted parody of a list of "instructions" for the would-be translator is a good illustration of the contradictions that emerge from this debate:

- A translation must give the words of the original.
- A translation must give the ideas of the original.
- A translation should read like an original work.
- A translation should read like a translation.
- A translation should reflect the style of the original.
- A translation should possess the style of the translator.
- A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
- A translation should read as a contemporary of the translator.
- A translation may add to or omit from the original.
- A translation may never add to or omit from the original.
- A translation of verse should be in prose.
- A translation of verse should be in verse. (Savory in Ingberg 1986: 2)

Each of these statements was once thought by its author to reveal an everlasting or universal truth about translation at different periods of history, But all that we can really learn from this list is that perceptions change as to what constitutes faithfulness, that the conditions required to produce 'equivalence' differ from period to period, and from language culture to language culture. A text which functions as a translation today may not be called a translation tomorrow and may be called a 'version', an 'adaptation' or a 'crib' instead; a translation strategy (for example, turning verse into prose) which was valid in the past may not be seen to be the most effective strategy of reflecting the original today (Heylen 1993: 4). In other words, the only way in which to 'pin translation down' even temporarily is to examine it as a discourse, in terms of the prevailing historical and systemic translation conventions. As mentioned earlier, one of the main requirements for a dominant discourse is that the discourse remain unquestioned, accepted as the only alternative in a given situation. Translation theory or translation studies is a particularly good example of this tendency. 'Translation Studies' (translation science, *Übersetzungswissenschaft, Traductologie*) is such a young discipline that

> neither the nature of its object nor its exact name have been clearly established. Only in very recent years has there been growing agreement on certain key areas of what is more and more generally called 'translation studies' (Holmes 1972; Toury 1980; Lambert 1991) (Lambert & Robyns in Posner et al. 1992: 4).

The late Antoine Berman (in Fawcett 1997: 144) has categorised the discourses in translation as: *objective-sectorial*, in which translation is seen as an object of study for specific disciplines such as linguistics, poetics or comparative literature; *objective-general*, where translation becomes the object of general discourse studies such as hermeneutics, and *experiential*, which intertwines translation and philosophy or psychoanalysis. The objective-sectorial view of translation is dominant; in general, translation theorists are not used to reflecting on theory, only on using theory to reflect on practice (although objective-general and experiential discourses on translation do exist and will be discussed alongside objective-sectorial views in the following paragraphs).

3.2.1 Translation and binarism

Traditionally, translation, like most bastions of Western thought, has operated according to the overarching framework of binarism. The two terms of a binary opposition logically imply and presuppose one another on every occasion and cannot be escaped. (For instance, structuralism's binary logic is based on the primary distinction between *identity* and *difference*, which is expressed in the distinctions between signifier and signified, langue and parole, synchrony and diachrony (Marshall 1992: 46)). In the case of translation, discourses on translation are generally characterised by a series of recurring and varyingly combined dichotomies which are important for translation studies, since it is on the basis of the manipulation of these dichotomies that the specific position of translation within various discursive practices is determined (Lambert & Robyns 1992: 1). Because translation studies still has difficulty in distancing itself from its object of study, translation discourse continues to be determined and compromised by these well-worn dichotomies.[1]

The first dichotomy operational in discourses on translation is the artificial distinction between an implied, supposedly *ahistorical ideal of translation* and its *historical, necessarily imperfect, realisations*. Since the ideal translation is supposed to be the integral transposition of every feature of a given source text, this first dichotomy is generally combined with the *source text/ target text dichotomy*. In both cases, the first item serves as an absolute reference for the other. Closely linked to this is the dichotomy between *form* and *content*, based on the traditional epistemological postulate of communication: it is assumed that a fixed meaning, a 'transcendental signified', could be transferred by a different form which refers to the first form (cf Derrida 1972). The form/ content dichotomy legitimises the distinction between literary and technical texts, which in turn leads to the opposition between translation as an art and translation as a skill. While 'technical' texts allow faithful translation provided that the target languages possesses the necessary concepts, literary texts are characterised by the inseparability of form and meaning, which makes them 'untranslatable.'

A third dichotomy operational in discourses on translation is the *identity/ alterity* dichotomy, which appears in various forms (foreign vs receiving language, literature, culture, nation, state) and has led to the identification of translation with the crossing of national borders. According to Lambert & Robyns (1992: 2), this is a static view of translation which ignores the heterogeneous and dynamic character of discursive systems and has proven insufficient for the explanation of translational phenomena, which are to be seen as discursive practices resulting from the confrontation between numerous, not necessarily homologous discourses. The identity/alterity dichotomy also gives rise to the age-old dichotomy between *faithful vs free translation* (also closely linked to the form/content relation), which has become the dominant binary relation in discourse on translation through the ages. Translation is generally seen as

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1 They criticise binarism in translation as follows:
"More generally, since the alterity of a discursive element to be translated always refers to several codes/discourses, and since the acceptability of a potential translation is an acceptability for certain individuals/groups at certain moments and in certain situations, a binary representation of the translator's interpretation process is an unjustifiable reduction. Transforming dichotomies into continuums, as some scholars have attempted to do (e.g. Snell-Hornby 1988), is no solution, since it maintains the one-dimensional presentation of a complex phenomenon." (Lambert & Robyns 1992: 7).

a series of either/or decisions, of choices between the alterity of the source text and the identity required for the translation to be considered acceptable in the target culture.[2] Two more binary relations related to the faithful/ free relation and not mentioned by Lambert and Robyns are the *master/servant* and *male/female* dichotomies, which constitute relations of subservience versus dominance. Both these dichotomies often appear in metaphorical descriptions of the relation between an original text and its translation.

A characteristic feature of most theorising about translation which stems directly from the juxtaposition of binary relations is *conceptional reductionism*. As is clear from Savory's "how to translate" list (in Ingberg 1986: 2) quoted earlier, translation theorists would seem to have to make a series of either/or choices, in choosing to adhere either to the source text or to the target text, either to the form of the message or to the content etc. Many scholars also explicitly limit the concept of translation to the *written* reproduction of a previous message in a given 'source' language (in many languages two different terms are used for oral and written translation), and to entire messages, rather than text or sentence fragments. Strangely enough, this reductionism does not seem to occur in more general discourse on translation, where the metaphorical use of 'translating' and 'translation' (in the sense of transformation, e.g. from ancient into modern language variants, from written into oral, visual or other kinds of communication) is quite common in most languages and in many scholarly theories (mathematics, semiotics, logics, deconstruction, etc.). Lambert & Robyns (1992: 3) comment as follows:

> It may be assumed that a recurring feature of the translation concept in any kind of cultural tradition is precisely this vagueness, hence openness to metaphor and manipulation. The fact that translation scholars tend to define their object of study exclusively in connection with the *language shift* therefore is to be seen as a defensive reaction against a general-semiotic view of translation.

In fact it would seem that many of the problems in current translation theory have resulted

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2 According to Lambert & Robyns (1992: 6), although this dichotomy is especially problematic when entire texts are characterised as 'faithful' or 'acceptable', this dichotomy may also be questioned where individual discursive elements are concerned. In their opinion, translation is rarely a matter of binary choices only: instead of choosing between otherness and familiarity, for instance, a translator may well choose non-translation.

from attempts to isolate the concept of translation, to reify it, and to establish it as a reality independent of other discursive activities. These approaches tend to hypostatise translation, to treat it as something different from reading and writing on the one hand and imitation, adaptation, interpretation and paraphrase on the other. According to Ingberg (1986: v), what is needed is a model which bases itself on a theory of practice where such pseudo-essential distinctions do not operate. Such a model, which would treat translation along with other discursive activities as practical actions performed in specific circumstances, may even have implications for our understanding of the functioning of signifying processes in general.

But in order to examine translation as a practical action performed in specific circumstances, it is not enough simply to enumerate the kinds of dichotomies which typically recur in translation studies. It is also important to examine how these dichotomies are manipulated in order to determine the position of translation within various discursive practices:

> In effect, to understand discourse, one must try to position it, to see it in its own terms, to describe its place within a network of other analytic and theoretical concepts which are 'weapons' for grappling with contemporary society and its history. (Bové 1992: 6)

For instance, one pole of a conceptual dichotomy may be positively evaluated or presented as self-evident while the other is denied, or an entire discourse may be subverted or reaffirmed. This choice of one pole over another can be linked to dichotomies functioning in social discourse at large as well as providing information about the position of literature in the cultural system and/or about the position of translation in the literary system.

3.3 Dominant and peripheral discourses on translation

With the above questions in mind, and in order to place in context the origin and spread of translation/ transformation as 'difference' as it pertains to feminist translation, I will distinguish between dominant and peripheral positions which have a bearing on modern approaches to translation - approaches to translation since the 1960s, the 'cultural turn' in translation, and 'resistive' attitudes and theories of translation. What is termed pre-scientific discourse on translation, i.e. statements on translation made prior to the advent of the new discipline aiming at a scientific discussion of translational phenomena (ca 1950-1960s) will not be discussed here, because it does not have a direct influence on modern translation discourse or feminist translation discourse. Despite the heritage of rhetoric which influenced both theory and practice in Western Europe until the 18th century, it is also very difficult to distinguish any systematic or continuous trends through the ages of a coherent discourse on translation. However, metaphors used in pre-scientific discourse on translation will be discussed later on in this chapter as part of resistive translation approaches, which appropriate and re-examine these metaphors. In this discussion I take into account the dynamic nature of discourse and the fact that continuous contact must exist between discourses in order for a discourse to determine its position towards the 'other'. Relationships between discourses are constantly shifting; dominant discourses are relegated to the periphery, and peripheral discourses assume the dominant position. Thus positions discussed are recognised as being transitory.

3.4 Linguistics-based translation thinking

It was the development of computers after the second World War and the dream of an ideal language which could make machine translation a reality that gave birth to what is termed linguistic-based translation theory. A clear characteristic of these approaches to translation is their emphasis on the theoretical nature of the discussion, the implicit stance being that the theory is infinitely complex, but that once a suitable theory has been developed, the problems associated with translation practice will automatically be solved' (this might be ascribed to the fact that in machine translation the notion of practical activity is marginal.) Another characteristic feature of these theories is the value placed on objectivity; it is assumed that the isolation and description of the formal linguistic features of source and target texts will lead to a clear, objective method of analysing translations.

Under the influence of Chomsky's transformational generative grammar, scholars such as Catford in England, Nida in the United States, Wilss, Reiss and Koller in West Germany and Kade, Jager and Neubert in East Germany used the concept of equivalence to formulate the first 'scientific' theories of translation. In the context of transformational generative grammar, equivalence was seen as the replacement of a word in one language by a word in another language, a process which seemed easily applicable to machine translation. Lefevere (1992: 7) writes:

> The dominant concept in this first phase of linguistics-based translation thinking was that of equivalence, which was gradually to lose its authority over the next forty years. It is not hard to see that any approach to translation dominated by equivalence is likely to focus on the word as the unit of translation, since words can be pronounced equivalent to other words more easily than sentences can be pronounced equivalent to other sentences, paragraphs, or texts to other texts.

Soon, however, equivalence in this extreme form proved unsatisfactory and linguists began to broaden the concept to include phrases, sentences and texts. However, literary translation was not included in these analyses, since literature was seen as a 'special case', characterised by the inseparability of form and meaning, and therefore 'untranslatable.' [3]

Coupled with the distinction between form and content was an ongoing debate as to whether translation should be seen as an art or a science. One of the first scholars to attempt to elaborate a sound 'science' of translation was Eugene Nida, who drew heavily on Chomsky's transformation grammar in elaborating a scientific theory of translation which was to become the most influential approach in the field for subsequent decades (Gentzler 1993: 52). The success of Nida's theory is easily understandable when it is compared to the other linguistics-based theories at that time. Where linguists such as Catford examined whether rule-giving was in fact possible at all, essentially reducing the study of translation to translatability and a number of ahistorical, context-free criteria against which translations could be judged, Nida's translation theory mainly involved the elaboration of rules for Bible translators, and thus took into account both context and culture, albeit a type of 'universal culture'. In fact, the success of Nida's theory (which is still used by Bible translators thirty years after it was formulated) could also partly be attributed to his reversal of the form vs content dichotomy. Whereas earlier theorists associated 'faithfulness' with adherence to form and designated as 'free' those translations hat privileged content, Nida believed that faithfulness to content should take

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3 Lefevere & Bassnett (1990: 4) comment:

> It is not clear whether we are to understand by this that literature is not really written in any language at all, or in a language so different from the language linguists would like to analyse that it is not worth the effort. The overall position of the linguist in translation studies would be rather analogous to that of an intrepid explorer who refuses to take any notice of the trees in the new region he has discovered until he has made sure he has painstakingly arrived at a description of all the plants that grow there.

precedence. Nida's motivation is clear: he wishes to ensure that the message of the Bible is translated 'faithfully' into other cultures. Of course, the style of the source text should be retained if it is meaningful. This however depends on the structure of both the source and target texts. If, for instance, the textual structure of the source text has no equivalent in the target language, the content receives priority over style, which Nida and Taber (1969: 24) call dynamic equivalence:

> Dynamic equivalence is therefore to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language. This response can never be identical, for the cultural and historical settings are too different, but there should be a high degree of equivalence of response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose.

Nida feels that the dynamic translator is able to be more faithful than the literal translator by somehow perceiving "more fully and satisfactorily the meaning of the original text" (Nida 1964: 192). Thus, Nida and Taber (1969) and Nida (1964) redefine the notion of equivalence, distinguishing between **dynamic equivalence** and **formal correspondence**. But although they have attempted to redefine the principles used to govern and judge the accuracy of translation, the fact that their theory relates solely to Bible translation severely limits its applicability. It is true that the idea that cultures may differ has been taken into account; nevertheless, they still cling to the concept of equivalence in its prescriptive sense, which means that the failure/success of a translation is still judged on the basis of equivalence with the source text, and therefore with the source culture.

The fact that the cultural context within which a text is embedded must be taken into account led to the next phase of the linguistics-based thinking about translation which began in the late 1970s. The unit of translation for text linguistics is no longer the ideal contextless sentence but the text as such. Text linguistics also sees the text not as an isolated verbal construct but as an attempt at communication that functions in a certain way in a certain situation or culture and may not work with the same degree of success in another situation or culture. Neubert & Shreve (1992: 24) state:

> the text-linguistic model differs from the linguistic model in its broader, text-based conception of meaning and its more realistic formulation of the notion of translation equivalence. It locates equivalence at a textual and communicative level, not at the

sentential and lexical level.

Thus, in their view, translations are "text-induced text productions" (Neubert & Shreve 1992: 25). Translation theorists working within text linguistics examine aspects such as cohesion, coherence and theme dynamics, attempting to examine not only the conceptual logic of how a text is structured, which will often be reflected in surface cohesive devices, but also the network of meaning relations both within the text and between the text and the real world and how these aspects are reflected in translation (Fawcett 1997: 98) (See for example Baker (1992), a textbook for student translators which not only examines issues such as theme dynamics, cohesion and coherence in translation, but also identifies translation problems at word, sentence and text level and discusses translation strategies which professional translators have used to solve them.)

Text linguistics therefore added a much-needed functional dimension to the analysis of the translation process and the analysis of translated texts. Another important contribution was the attempt to draw up text typologies, particularly on the part of Katharina Reiss (1976) and Juliana House (1977). Some interesting work has also been done in the field of psycholinguistics, with think-aloud protocols shedding some light on how people's minds handle the linguistic process of translating (Krings (1986) and Lörscher (1991), Kussmaul & Tirkkonen-Condit (1995)). Another less obviously psycholinguistic approach is that of Ernst August Gutt (1991) who draws on theories of cognition and psycholinguistic communication and adapts relevance theory to translation. But according to Fawcett (1997: 138), "this is another theory about translation and translator behaviour that has been deductively arrived at from a general principle rather than inductively from empirical data."

While these contributions have been recognised as being significant by other linguistically inspired translation theorists, their more literary-theoretical counterparts have criticised them for "not altogether freeing themselves of the normative mind-set that characterises Western thinking about translation". (Lefevere 1992: 9) Of course, like the first phase of linguistics-based approaches to translation, the second phase had a pedagogical aim and was therefore strongly prescriptive.

3.5 Hermeneutic approaches to translation

Running parallel but somewhat in opposition to linguistics-based translation thinking is the hermeneutical inquiry into translation, which originated in the 1930s and continues today (Lefevere 1992: 10). Even though translation scholars working in this vein use insights acquired from linguistics-based thinking, they oppose the scientific ideal of objectivity common to linguistic approaches to translation, and generally opt for a notion of translation as art. To these scholars translation means interpretation, and the translator is not the finder of equivalences, but the mediator between two texts (Lefevere 1992: 11). Hermeneutic approaches therefore tend to choose to work with texts which are assumed to require more elaborate interpretive procedures, namely literary texts. In their emphasis on art and the quest for aesthetic norms, the concerns of hermeneutic approaches can, of course, be seen to overlap significantly with those of mainstream literary criticism as guardian of values and of a literary canon. Traditional humanistic values often provide scholars with a kind of norm, although generally implicit, for hermeneutic discourses about translation. This norm, by virtue of being tied to the tradition and the literary canon, is difficult to foreground or even to remain aware of, and thus it is generally at the level of evaluative judgements about translations that contradictions and ambiguities of perspective manifest themselves.

Thus, in hermeneutic approaches, for which George Steiner is the most well known, the issue of equivalence generally takes on an aspect different from its common formulation in linguistic discourses. There is less emphasis on objectivity, but what appears to replace it is the attempt to determine standards of adequation. And if linguistic approaches take for granted the assumptions and methods of linguistics, hermeneutic discourses operate as if certain value judgements were more "natural" and self-evident than others. Ingberg (1986: 71) also makes the following point about the implicit adherence to the notion of equivalence by hermeneutic scholars:

> [W]hile professing scepticism about, or outright denial of, the theoretical possibility of adequate or accurate translation, [hermeneutic scholars] almost invariably undertake to explain ' untranslatable' phrases or idioms by juxtaposing the 'original' with several 'rough', confessedly 'inadequate', 'literal' or 'idiomatic' translations. The explicit function of such manoeuvres is to demonstrate the difficulty or impossibility of translation, while its implicit effect is almost the opposite.

Thus, the two dominant modes of research in the field of translation through the seventies were those focused on primarily literary concerns, rejecting theoretical presuppositions, normative rules, and linguistic jargon, and those focused on linguistic matters, claiming a "scientific approach and rejecting alogical solutions and subjective speculation. Both sides limited the kinds of texts they addressed to show their methodologies to best advantage, viewing each other's work and accomplishments with scepticism: literary translators dismissed any scientific linguistic analysis; linguists dismissed non-scientific literary analysis." (Gentzler 1993: 74). Despite the gradual shift from an equivalence-based view to a more functional approach to translation, these theories all retained their normative or prescriptive nature.

3.6 The 'cultural turn' in translation studies

But, from the mid 1980s, translation studies began to undergo a shift in focus, which Gentzler (1993: 185) describes as a "move away from looking at translations as linguistic phenomena to looking at translations as cultural phenomena". Bassnett (1991: 9) concurs:

> the main impulse of Translation Studies in the last 10 years has been towards an examination of the language in its cultural context also as a reaction against the work of linguistics in the 1950s and in the early 1960s which has been very heavily formalist and focused on the text.

The change from pure linguistic-oriented research to approaches which view texts as elements in a wider cultural context, and language as an expression and repository of culture, opened up new perspectives for the field of translation studies. Whereas in the early post-war decades, translation studies was considered to be a subdivision of comparative literature or of applied linguistics, depending on the approach of the scholar concerned, from this period translation studies gained recognition as an independent discipline in its own right - or, as one might more aptly put it, given the large number of subjects with which it overlaps, as an interdiscipline.

Although it was Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: 4) who coined the phrase 'the cultural turn' in translation studies and themselves brought a strong cultural studies focus to translation, it is important to remember that the cultural turn in translation in fact extended right across the board - from linguistically inspired approaches to those originating from comparative literature. Here it is important to distinguish between 'culture studies' and 'cultural studies'; the former has a very long history which spans a number of disciplines, including anthropology and sociology, and has been part of the general intellectual climate since the 1950s (influencing theories of translation from the 1960s), whereas the latter focuses specifically on the political and ideological manifestations of culture (cf. par. 3.6.4). Thus, mainstream descriptive translation studies can be said to be part of the 'cultural turn' (partly retrospectively), as can offshoots of descriptive translation studies such as the cultural studies paradigm in translation (Bassnett, Lefevere and Venuti) as well as more linguistically-based approaches such as functionalism/ skopos theory (Reiss & Vermeer (1984) and Nord (1991, 1997)) and corpus translation studies (CTS). These approaches will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

3.6.1 Descriptive translation studies

Intervening in the confrontational situation between linguistic and literary approaches to translation in the late seventies were a handful of scholars mostly from the Netherlands and Belgium, who were interested in both linguistics (scientific) and literary translation (non-scientific) and did not see why the two need be mutually exclusive. At a "Literature and Translation" symposium in Leuven in 1976, they coined the term Translation Studies (or Descriptive Translation Studies or DTS) to signal this new approach, which stressed the function of the translated text in a given sociocultural context:

> Translation Studies began with a call to suspend temporarily the attempts to define a theory of translation, trying first to learn more about translation procedures...Most characteristic of the new field was its openness to interdisciplinary approaches... Limiting distinctions such as right and wrong, formal and dynamic, literal and free, art and science, theory and practice, receded in importance. Translation as a field was no longer viewed as either literary or non-literary, but as both...The object of study was...the translated text itself. (Gentzler 1993: 76)

Lambert (1994: 18-19), one of the best known proponents of DTS, comments as follows on the collapsing of the literary/linguistic opposition:

> One of the most embarrassing consequences of the (re)discovery of the cultural component is that the very concept of translation and all translation theories, mine included, are subject to cultural-historical circumstances. Until a few years ago it was fashionable to classify those who stressed the cultural aspects of translational phenomena within the so-called literary approaches and to distinguish them from the

so-called linguistic ones. The fact that this binary opposition has become less common indicates that the cultural component has been gradually redefined in more complex terms.

Instead of taking pre-existing theories about literature and linguistics and applying them to translation, proponents of descriptive translation studies reverse the order of thought, suggesting that the field first look at what is specific about translation and then apply that knowledge to literary and linguistic theory. These theorists are of the opinion that the strongly theoretical and normative approach of preceding theories had a restricted range of applicability because they were limited to the concentration on norms for the establishment of ideal, optimal translations. So, instead of trying to 'pin down' the notion of equivalence between source and target texts as a yardstick in the evaluation of the quality and faithfulness of a translation, descriptive translation theorists began to analyse the type of equivalence decided upon by a particular translator, focussing on: "*existing* translations rather than on hypothetical ones, on actual *products* rather than on the process of translation on one hand, and on a priori 'translatability' on the other." (Toury 1980: 7)

This approach had a number of implications, particularly as regards the notion of equivalence, which is seen not as an abstract ideal which translation can only aspire to but never reach, but as the term used to examine the existing relationship between a translation and its original. In other words, the researcher describes the specific characteristics of a translated text (or multiple translations of the same original) in terms of constraints or norms reigning in the target system at a particular time that may have influenced the translation method and the ensuing product (Hermans 1985: 13). Thus, descriptive translation theorists start with a practical examination of a corpus of actual texts and their translations and then attempt to determine which norms and constraints operate on these texts in a specific culture and at a specific historical moment. The aim of descriptive translation theorists is not to prescribe how translation ought to be done, but to observe how translations have been done in practice. Their approach is therefore **functional** and **target-oriented**: they accept any text as a translation if it functions as such in the receiving cultural system. In other words, these theorists attempt to account not only for textual strategies in the translated text, but also for the way in which the translation functions in the target cultural and literary system (Hermans 1985: 13). It is this