

University of Latvia
Faculty of Modern Languages
Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Translation and Interpreting
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Fachbereich Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft in Germersheim

**MANIPULATION AS A SPECIFIC PHENOMENON IN
TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING**

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING**

**MANIPULĀCIJA KĀ SPECIFISKA PARĀDĪBA
RAKSTISKAJĀ UN MUTVĀRDU TULKOJUMĀ**

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Riga 2007

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I, Aiga Dukāte, hereby declare that this study is my own and does not contain any unacknowledged material from any source.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would in particular like to thank Professors Andrejs Veisbergs and Renate von Bardeleben, my scientific advisers, for their wise guidance of the dissertation.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my colleagues at the University of Latvia, Faculty of Modern Languages and the European Commission's Directorate General for Interpretation for their support and willingness to cooperate.

My sincere thanks also go to my family for their love and support throughout the process of writing the dissertation.

ABBREVIATIONS

AS -	Ausgangstext (German)
ATR -	Architranseme (van Leuven-Zwart?)
CR -	Correspondence Rules (Holmes 1988)
DR -	Derivation Rules (Holmes 1988)
ESIT -	École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs
EU -	European Union
PR -	Projection Rules (Holmes 1988)
SA -	Source Audience
SC -	Source Culture
SCI -	Specific Cultural Items (Aixela 1995)
SCIC -	Joint Interpreting and Conference Service of the European Union
SI -	Simultaneous Interpreting
SL -	Source Language
ST -	Source Text
TA -	Target Audience
TC -	Target Culture
TL -	Target Language
TS -	Translation Studies
TSL -	Source Language Text (Holmes 1988)
TT -	Target Text
TTL -	Target Language Text (Holmes 1988)
ZT -	Zieltext (German)

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INTRODUCTION

General Considerations

From 1990s onwards Translation Studies have been enjoying an ever-increasing interest on the part of researchers, scientists and students. Not only in Latvia but also worldwide the study of translation and interpreting, as well as translation and interpreting related topics, have been gaining popularity and assuming an increasingly high profile. Considering the world today with an ever-increasing level of intercultural communication and the globalisation processes at work, the attention paid to Translation Studies is not surprising. The countries and cultures, which once seemed distant and foreign, today are just a computer-mouse click away. Today the expression ‘a small world’ has acquired a true meaning. It is possible to reach almost any destination in the world in a matter of hours, minutes and even seconds by air, land or sea, and with the help of modern communication technologies. With every day cultures are becoming closer and closer to each other, even entangling. To a certain extent this process is also enabled by translation and interpreting. Translation and interpreting are supposed to serve as bridges between cultures and peoples. But is this really always the case? Translation can also become a source of alienation and conflict. Translation and interpreting are very powerful tools, which can be turned into weapons of destruction of understanding between cultures if mishandled or placed in the wrong hands. This is no wonder then that translation and interpreting are gaining prominence and ever-increasing attention on the part of scholars and practitioners alike.

Today the word *translation* is used in varied senses. For example sociologists, culture critics, philosophers, and linguists such as Michael Cronin (2000, 2004)¹ or Mary Snell-Hornby (1999) often speak about translation in connection with globalisation and speak about translation as a tool of globalisation. In recent years translation also figures prominently as a metaphor for globalised lives in fictional and autobiographical narratives such as Eva Hoffman’s (1990) *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New*

¹ Michael Cronin (2000) *Across the Lines: Travel, Language and Translation*; Michael Cronin (2004) *Translation and Globalisation*. Mary Snell-Hornby (1999) *Communicating in the Global Village: on Language, Translation and Cultural Identity*.

Language, Suki Kim's (2003) *The Interpreter* and Suzette Haden Elgin's (2000) *Native Tongue*.

Various facets and aspects of translation and interpreting come under closer scrutiny in various studies. One of the most provocative claims ever made about translation is the statement by Theo Hermans that "from the point of view of the target literature all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose"(1985:11), which has also become known as the manipulation hypothesis. If this statement is taken at face value, it amounts to a scandal for translation as profession in general. Such a claim raises alarming questions about translation. Whether indeed all translation is manipulation? If translation is manipulation, it cannot be trusted, can it? And, if it cannot be trusted, why do we need it? The same applies also to an activity akin to translation, namely, interpreting. By extension, it may likewise be claimed that interpreting is manipulation. Such allegations would endanger the future of the two professions, which are on an increasing demand today both locally and internationally. With the help of this study the author, herself a former translator and present-day conference interpreter and conference interpreter trainer has decided to look behind the surface and to understand what hides underneath this provocative statement.

The present study investigates the allegedly manipulative side of translation and interpreting with the help of selected theoretical and pragmatic resources. It is based on the above mentioned provocative statement by Theo Hermans about the manipulative nature of translation. Special attention is paid to the concept of manipulation both in translation and interpreting concentrating on the types, reasons and results of manipulation. It focuses on three key phenomena: *translation*, *interpreting* and *manipulation*. However, the chosen theme is so vast that it is hardly possible to be adequately covered in a single study, consequently only selected aspects can be dealt with here, sketching in the future research possibilities into this field. The possibilities for further research are described in the concluding part of the thesis.

The current doctoral thesis is devoted to an in-depth analysis of manipulation as a specific phenomenon in translation and interpreting. Translational / interpretational manipulation is

distinguished from manipulation in everyday contexts and understanding. The thesis deals with human translation and does not concern machine translation.

For the purposes of the present research manipulation is considered to be the translator's / interpreter's handling of a text which results in the adaptation of the text for the Target Audience, considering the cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary differences between the cultures in contact, which takes place within a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human agent, with the consequence of a possible influence of individual- or psychology-related factors upon the end product.

In general, translational manipulation has not been a widely discussed topic of late, at least not by scholars writing in English, Latvian and German. Thus the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (1998/2001) makes no mention of manipulation at all; the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (1997) contains a reference on the *Manipulation School*, but provides no definition or explanation of manipulation as a term in Translation Studies nor do they cite any samples of manipulation in translation. Scholars writing on the manipulative aspects of translation concentrate on one particular text type, usually literary texts, or on one particular type of manipulation, usually ideological manipulation or (inter)cultural manipulation, and disregard other types of manipulation.

Although *manipulation* and *translation as manipulation* are relatively familiar and old notions in Translation Studies, it seems that there is a problem with conceptualising them. Translation scholars already started investigating this phenomenon back in the 1970s, but no comprehensive and unequivocal definition, description or conceptualisation of it has been offered as yet.

Various scholars understand and describe this phenomenon differently. What some perceive as manipulation others do not. Thus the classical argument about the manipulative nature of literary translation that it is manipulation because of the factors in place and processes at work on three translation- related stages, the pre-production stage, the production stage and the post-production stage has been doubted especially by the practitioners (e.g. E. Chrisafully (2003)) or only partly supported by scholars who

concentrate only on the negative sides of manipulation (e.g. Sirku Aaltonen (1997), Nitsa Ben-Ari (2002)) as distortion.

The problem with conceptualising manipulation in Translation Studies seems to have arisen from the fact that this phenomenon has never been really defined or explicated by any of the scholars. Each scholar has researched a certain aspect related to the manipulation hypothesis (for example Jiri Levý (1969) has discussed the hybrid nature of translation as product, František Miko and Anton Popovič (1970), and Kitty van Leuven-Zwart (1998/2001) have investigated shifts of translation, Itamar Even-Zohar (1997) has devised the Polysystem theory, André Lefevere (1992) has investigated literary translation from the cultural perspective, Gideon Toury (1980) has worked on the issue of translation norms), but nobody has explicitly conceptualised and defined translational manipulation. The scholars and practitioners speak and write about this phenomenon, but do not provide a concrete definition of manipulation. They seem to rely on a vague common understanding of this phenomenon.

However, if this is not done the argument of the Manipulation School may be misunderstood. Thus, for example, Crisafulli (2003) questions the assumption of the Manipulation School that all translation implies a degree of manipulation, explaining that in the translations he has analysed manipulation had not seemed to account for the translator's choices. It is clear that Crisafulli has not fully understood the argument of the school.

The problem seems to lie in the distinction between habitual and translational manipulation. Manipulation within the context of translation and interpreting differs from habitual manipulation. Conventionally the word *manipulation* refers to conscious and devious strategies used by people to mislead and influence others. In translation and interpreting, just like in other professional spheres such as finances, computing or medicine, manipulation referees not only to distortion, but also to improvement or purely handling. In essence also the translational manipulation, as perceived by the scholars of the Manipulation School, substantially differs from habitual manipulation. This study aims at making this idea of translational manipulation more explicit

displaying the differences between habitual and translational manipulation, although it has never been stated as explicitly as that.

The current doctoral thesis is devoted to an in-depth analysis of manipulation as a specific phenomenon in translation and interpreting. Translational/interpretational manipulation is distinguished from manipulation in everyday contexts and understanding. The thesis deals with human translation and does not concern machine translation.

For the purposes of the present research manipulation is considered to be the translator's/ interpreter's handling of a text which results in the adaptation of the text for the Target Audience, considering the cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary differences between the cultures in contact, which takes place within a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human agent, with the consequence of a possible influence of individual- or psychology-related factors upon the end product. It is argued that by default in professional contexts the term 'manipulation' is neutral. It may acquire positive or negative connotation depending on the type of manipulation within a particular context.

The thesis offers a comprehensive state of the art review on the topic of the study, paying particular attention to the publications of scholars who were the initiators of the present-day discussion on this topic, namely a group of scholars known under various names Manipulation School, Translation Studies and the Low Countries Group. The group includes mostly scholars from Belgium, the Netherlands, the former Czechoslovakia and Israel, among them such prominent scholars as Theo Hermans, James Holmes, Gideon Toury and Kitty van Leuven-Zwart. The group was most active during the 1970s and 1980s. The scholars of this group were interested in the study of translated literature.

Put succinctly, according to the group's views any translation might be characterised as manipulation because of the factors in place and processes at work in three translation-related stages, the pre-production stage, the production stage and the post-production

stage. The first stage relates to the selection of a text to be translated. It goes without saying that texts to be translated are not selected at random. There are certain agents, certain powers at the source or the target pole, who make targeted decisions on which works to translate and how. In the production stage the translator works under various constraints and receives certain guidelines, indications and hints about the way a certain text should be translated. Besides, also various objective (e.g. language-related) and subjective (e.g. ideological and psychological) factors come into play. The post-production stage refers to the way the text is presented and reflected in metatexts and discourse. Its reception at the target pole and its positioning and position in the target literary system largely depends on the presentation aspect. All those activities, which could be termed *manipulation*, for the most part, are due to cultural, political and ideological considerations as explained, for example by Itamar-Even Zohar (1997), Theo Hermans (1985, 1997, 1999), André Lefevere (1985, 1992, 1998).

This study also includes views of scholars not belonging to this school of thought, for example Farazaneh Farahazad, Ieva Zauberga and Sirku Aaltonen. The summary of the state-of-the-art chapter is presented as a table survey listing the key ideas of the scholars on the topic and supplying examples (page 63).

On the basis of the analysis of the existing theories on translational manipulation the phenomenon *translational manipulation* is conceptualised and defined. The present study also offers a fine-grained typology of translational manipulation making a clear distinction between neutral, positive and negative translational/interpretational manipulation.

The paper puts forward the following hypothesis:

The interaction between authors, translators, interpreters, texts and contexts may, but does not necessarily lead to the production of manipulative translation/interpreting in the conventionally negative sense of the word. The acknowledgement of translation/interpreting as being manipulative depends on the assessor's expectations of translation/interpreting and his/her perception of manipulation.

Goal and Objectives of the Research

The goal of the present research is:

- 1) To view the phenomena *translation* and *interpreting* in correlation with *manipulation* from the theoretical perspective in order to conceptualise, define and describe translational and interpretational manipulation, concentrating on the origins, types, reasons and results of this phenomenon.
- 2) To build a corpus of opinions of practitioners and theoreticians on the manipulative aspects of translation and interpreting.
- 3) To view and enlist translation and interpreting strategies that are believed to lead or might lead to manipulation.

To achieve the above stated goal the following **enabling objectives** have been set forth:

- to analyse the selected theoretical sources available on manipulation in general and on manipulation in translation;
- to conceptualise manipulation in the context of Translation Studies, considering the various types of manipulation;
- to gather theoretical and practical insights into the issue of translation and interpreting strategies and their manipulative potential;
- to compile opinions of theoreticians and practitioners on the manipulative aspects of translation and interpreting resulting from the two main practical activities envisaged within the scope of the present research:
 - an analysis of metatexts on translation and interpreting;
 - an analysis of the results of a survey carried out among conference interpreters on the topic of the research;

- to select translation samples from texts of various types to support and illustrate the argumentation of the study;
- to develop a typology of translational manipulation supplied with examples from translations of texts of various types;
- to draw conclusions from the analysis of the theoretical and reference sources on translation;
- to extend the manipulation hypothesis to interpreting and to verify it against the theoretical material compiled and the practitioners' opinions obtained by means of a survey on the topic carried out among practicing conference interpreters;
- to design and administer adequate research tools in order to gather, describe and analyse the research data;
- to draw relevant conclusions from the analysis of the theoretical and pragmatic material selected.

The present study intends to conceptualise translational manipulation and to distinguish it from manipulation as generally understood in everyday contexts. The study does not aim at questioning or disproving the manipulation hypothesis, but rather at explaining and qualifying it through conceptualising and defining translational manipulation as well as distinguishing various types of it. By no means can it be claimed that the manipulation hypothesis is wrong, but it sounds too universal, albeit only partially substantiated, a claim.

Methods of Research

In order to prove the research hypothesis the following research methods have been used:

- An analytical survey of selected theoretical sources on the research topic with a threefold aim:
 - to gain insights into the theoretical thinking on various aspects of the problem under investigation;
 - to gather material for the corpus of opinions of theoreticians and practitioners;
 - to arrange a corpus of relevant samples of manipulative translation.

- A summative analysis of metatexts on translation and interpreting carried out in order to obtain a better understanding of the pragmatic situation in the field of the present research and to gather material for the corpus of opinions of practitioners on the manipulative aspects of translation and interpreting.
- A contrastive analysis of selected originals and their translations performed in order to find examples of various types of manipulation.
- Application of the findings arrived at in relation to translation also to interpreting.
- Particularisation of the information collection tools and mechanisms for the empirical part of the interpreting-related part of the study.
- Opinion poll of both experienced and novice conference interpreters on the manipulative aspects of interpreting.
- A statistic measure and a qualitative descriptive analysis of the results of the opinion poll.

The Novelty of the Research Project

To date the concept of manipulation in translation has been scarcely researched. The research carried out on this topic so far has concentrated mainly on the translations of literary texts. The present study investigates the manipulative aspects of translations of various text types, namely sacred texts, non-literary texts as well as literary texts.

The present study offers an overview of manipulation in the context of translation, featuring a comprehensive review of the existing studies on the topic. The main results of these findings have been presented in the form of a table (page 63). On the basis of the conclusions arrived at as the result of analysis of selected theoretical sources the author proposes a fine-grained typology of translational manipulation (Chapter 4).

Till the present day the concept of manipulation has not been introduced into research on interpreting. This is the first venture into the field of interpreting from this angle. The research explores various possible sources of manipulation in interpreting. The theoretical concept of allegedly manipulative interpreting is further discussed with practitioners, conference interpreters, with the help of a two-stage survey. The empirical survey investigates the opinions of respondents of three categories: conference

interpreting students, novice and experienced conference interpreters, The professional interpreters interviewed are working for the largest interpreting service in the world – *The European Commission's Directorate General for Interpretation*. In the pilot phase the questions were tested also on the graduates of the *Master and Professional Programmes in Translation and Interpreting* of the University of Latvia. The survey is based on a total of 117 responses gathered by means of questionnaires, discussions and interviews.

Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Research Project

The significance of the present research lies in the fact that it looks into an underexplored phenomenon, translational manipulation. As a second step, in line with the common practice in Translation Studies where translation and interpreting often are discussed together assuming a certain link between the two activities (Gile 1995)², translation and interpreting in certain respects³, the manipulation hypothesis is also applied to interpreting.

The theoretical significance of the research:

- Presentation of a systemic view of the theoretical thinking on translational manipulation;
- the conceptualisation of the phenomenon of manipulation within the context of translation and interpreting;
- the development of a typology of translational manipulation.
- this study may serve as a basis for further research on the topic.

The practical significance of the current research:

- the study offers a corpus of opinions of practitioners on manipulation in translation and interpreting.
- the findings of the study having been based on a wide range of practical material may be used for various purposes:

² For a detailed treatment of this issue see Chapter 1.

³ The similarity between the two activities may be observed in such respects as the orientation towards cultural rather than linguistic transfer, the nature of the activity as an act of communication, the functionality aspect of the output and the contextual embedding of the activity.

- as a source of reference on manipulation in translation and interpreting
- as a basis for designing a part of a post-graduate course on interpreting theory with practical implications.

The Structure of the Thesis

The present study concentrates on three concepts, namely, translation, interpreting and manipulation. Accordingly, conceptually, it may be subdivided into three general parts: (1) conceptualisation of translation and interpreting, (2) conceptualisation of manipulation and (3) manipulation in translation and interpreting. The structure of the study reflects the above stated goal and consequently consists of two main blocks, the theoretical and the empirical block.

The theoretical part of the study contains the results of the analysis of selected theoretical sources on the topic of the present research offering insights into the theoretical considerations, the latest developments and findings on the topic. The ideas put forward by the scholars of the Manipulation School form the main theoretical basis of the study. Since their theories were developed in the 1970s and 1980s, it has been necessary to follow up the research of the next decades. On the basis of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of various theoretical sources, the author devises her own manipulation typology. The findings of the research on the manipulative aspects of translation are then used to analyse the manipulative aspects of interpreting. The study of the manipulative aspects of interpreting is also based on a sound theoretical basis provided by contemporary translation theorists and practitioners, such as, Daniel Gile, Roderick Jones and Andrejs Veisbergs.

The practical part contains the reflection of the practical activities carried out in the course of the research. This part consists of two main sections: (1) a section offering concrete textual examples for various types of manipulation and (2) a section on the analysis of the results of the survey of professional conference interpreters on the topic of manipulation in conference interpreting.

Structurally the present dissertation features an introduction, six chapters, conclusions and suggestions for further research. It contains 9 tables and 8 figures and has 4 Annexes.

The various facets of the topic are organised in a systematic order as discussed in the section on the research goals.

Chapter 1 deals with the two fundamental phenomena of the current research, namely translation and interpreting. It offers a brief description, possible ways of classification and definition of these phenomena tailored to the purposes of the paper. The complex nature of translation and the multitude of conceptualisations and definitions of this phenomenon offered by translation theorists, makes it necessary to conceptualise and define this phenomenon in each context separately. In order to be able to test the manipulation hypothesis on interpreting, the phenomenon *interpreting* has been defined and compared with translation.

Chapter 2 offers the description of the state of the art in the relevant field of research concentrating mainly on translation, since no research on manipulation in interpreting has been carried out yet. This chapter reviews the ideas of various scholars on the topic of the study. For the sake of convenience, the opinions of scholars are presented as a table survey.

Chapter 3 invites the reader to follow the author's train of thought in conceptualising manipulation in translation. It offers a new definition and typology of translational manipulation. This chapter builds a solid basis for the following chapters of this study and forms the core of the present study. It represents the main contribution of the present study to the field of investigation. It offers a general typology of translational manipulation with examples from the translations of various types of texts as well as a number of interpreting-related examples.

Chapter 4 offers insights into the approaches and attitudes of translation theoreticians and practitioners mainly towards translational manipulation (since manipulation in

interpreting is an uncharted territory still), the quality of translation and interpreting. This chapter contributes to the development of the corpus of opinions on the topic of the research.

Chapter 5 deals with different types of translation within the three main categories of texts: the translation of sacred texts, the translation of literary texts and the translation of non-literary texts. These various types of translation are viewed from the manipulative perspective. The aim of this chapter is to establish the manipulative nature of translations within the above-enlisted categories.

Chapter 6 offers unique insights into the manipulative side of interpreting through the eyes of interpreting theoreticians and practitioners. It describes a two-stage survey of interpreter opinions on manipulation in interpreting. The survey is an attitudinal study of practitioner views on the topic of research.

Volume and Approbation of the Research Project

The results of the present research are reflected in the thesis under the title *Manipulation as a Specific Phenomenon in Translation and Interpreting* (200 pages). The theoretical and pragmatic aspects of the present research have been reflected in twelve publications in the form of research papers and/or conference proceedings. Ten presentations on the topic of the research have been made (see Annex III).

1 TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

This chapter deals with the two main areas of the study, namely translation and interpreting. It offers a brief description, possible ways of classification and defining these two notions tailored to the purposes of the paper. It also speaks about the similarities and differences between these two phenomena.

1.1 Translation

Translation is a very broad notion, which can be approached from a multitude of angles, and accordingly also interpreted in various ways. In English the word ‘translation’ may be used to denote both the product and the process of translation, as well as the two modes of this activity – written and spoken. Furthermore, two general types of written translation may be distinguished, namely literary translation and non-literary translation. Some scholars classify the translation of sacred text and/or Bible translation as a separate type of translation. Also subtitling and machine translation range under the general notion of translation. The general notion of translation includes other related activities such as diagrammatic translation, inter-semiotic translation, paraphrase, pseudotranslation (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997) and adaptation.

Undeniably, defining translation is no easy task, considering the evasive and multifaceted nature of this phenomenon. Susan Bassnett (1998) suggests that translation be seen as a set of textual practices, which goes beyond the binary opposition of translation and original. She also believes that the term ‘translation’ is ‘vague and unhelpful’ (1998:38), since, according to her it cannot account for a number of text-handling practices, which actually belong to this realm. This drawback, according to her, comes to the foreground when trying to categorize such phenomena as pseudotranslation, self-translation and instances of dialogue translation in early travel writing⁴. She is inclined to agree with André Lefevere, who suggests the use of the term ‘rewriting’ instead of the term ‘translation’. He believes that thus it might be possible to

⁴ For a detailed treatment of these types of text handling see Bassnett 1998.

“raise the status of the translator and get away from the limitations of the term ‘translation’.” (Bassnett 1998:29)

Bearing in mind the complex nature of translation and its various types, the aim of the present section is to conceptualise this phenomenon for the purposes of the current research making no attempt at an all-embracing treatment of the issue.

Although it is difficult not to agree with the above statement by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere that the term ‘translation’ does not reflect all the facets of this phenomenon, still the term ‘translation’ is used throughout the paper to denote the activity as the result of which a text is transferred from one language into another as well as the product of this transfer process. The thesis deals also with interpreting, i.e. the oral transfer of discourse and texts from one language into another, thus, accordingly the term ‘interpreting’ is used throughout the text to refer to this phenomenon.

The beginnings of translation can be traced back to the times when the writing was invented. The oldest known form of writing to date is the Cimmerian writing in Mesopotamia approximately 4 500 years ago. It took some time for the humankind to pass from just translating to developing thinking about translation. In Europe the first to show interest in the description and explication of translation were translators themselves in the ancient Greece and Rome dating back to approximately 240 BC. The first thinkers were mostly interested in the best way of translating and in the development of translation conventions. Scholars turned their attention to translation much later, actually as late as the Fifties of the 20th century when translation studies became an independent discipline. Ever since the beginnings of thinking on translation it was attempted to conceptualise and define it. However, no single, all-embracing definition of translation has been offered as yet, and maybe never will be. Such expectations seem to be utopian, considering the multifaceted and complex nature of translation, and the multiple angles from which it might be approached. In general there are two groups of people who have contributed to defining and conceptualising translation, namely translation scholars or academics on the one hand and another

group, which could be termed non-academics (i.e. writers, poets, translators, philosophers) on the other. The following sections of this chapter offer selected considerations of academics and non-academics on the essence and definition of translation.

One of the most fascinating and revealing aspects of non-academic thinking on translation and its essence is the approach to translation through metaphor. This approach has been used later also by translation scholars in order to conceptualise various facets of the phenomenon translation.

Metaphorical Thinking on Translation

It is common knowledge, that metaphor is a figure of speech, which involves describing one concept or phenomena with attributes of another. One of the most famous definitions of metaphor is the one provided by Aristotle stating that “[m]etaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy[...].” (quoted in Evans 1998: 150). The word ‘metaphor’ originates from the Greek language and carries two meanings: “to transfer” or “to carry across”.

The word ‘translation’ is a dead metaphor, originally meaning ‘carrying across’. And when we come to think of it, this is what translations actually do – they carry the meaning across from one language to another. By extension it may be argued that translation is a metaphor of the original, especially in the light of George Puttenham’s definition of metaphor in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), where he defines it “as ‘a kinde of wresting of a single word from his own right signification, to another not so naturall, but yet of some affinitie or conveniencie with it’...” (Evans 1998: 150). Translations might, indeed, be seen as “*wrested*” elements, which still retain a certain degree of “*affinitie*” with its source:

Gregory Rabassa argues that ‘a word is nothing but a metaphor for an object or...for another word’, and that translation is ‘a form of adaptation, making the new metaphor fit the original metaphor’ (1989: 1-2). For Rabassa, translation is the piecing together of metaphors, in order to construct another entity, which is also a metaphor: metaphor as a metaphor for translation. (Evans 1998: 149)

Indeed, if seen in this light, translation could be perceived as metaphor for the original. Referring back to Aristotle's definition of metaphor according to which metaphor involves 'giving the thing a name that belongs to something else' (Evans 1998:149), it could be claimed that an original is, in essence, an unknown entity for the target culture (like a strange phenomenon, one has a vague awareness of), and only when the original is translated (i.e., the phenomenon is given a name, or termed in a way one can comprehend it), when the text acquires a full meaning for the target culture. The essence of the metaphor can be expressed as "A is B" or "A equals B". Also the essence of translation could be explained along the same lines:

Or in the jargon of translation practice, A is the equivalent of B. This formula of equivalence, A=B, generating an intralingual metaphor from a foreign source, is also what translation is about: A=B means that metaphor is translation. (Barnstone: 1993:16)

Usually we think of translation as an activity that involves rewriting something that was said in one language into another language. This, however, is a very simplified and general view, and if things were so simple, translation theorists would not have been struggling for years, even centuries, to formulate a suitable definition of translation. Before defining *translation*, first it is necessary to comprehend the phenomenon as such. Attempts to understand the phenomenon of translation have resulted in a multitude of metaphors, with the help of which, theoreticians and practitioners have tried to describe the nature of the activity and the end product of it.

Already from the very beginnings of the theory of translation there have been attempts to comprehend and explain this at the same time mysterious and obvious phenomenon. Thus, already in the early writings on translation both practitioners and theorists have resorted to metaphors to understand and describe the process of translation and the translator's role:

Jerome [...] compares the translator's sense-preserving role to that of a conqueror who after a victorious battle brings the defeated enemies as prisoners into his own camp [...].

Rufinus [...] relies on images taken from the world of masonry in describing the process of translating as one of 'con-struction' and 'de-struction', i.e. of "taking apart piece by piece (i.e. *particulatim*) the word structure of the original and rebuilding it on a different site so that every component keeps exact position and function it had in the original structure" (Renner 1989: 29). (Broeck 1991: 105)

Fidelity – one of the central notions in translation theory, is, actually, also a metaphor. It belongs to the group of the gender-related metaphors of the field. Metaphors belonging to this group are very powerful, because they not only characterise the phenomenon of translation itself, but also reveal certain aspects of the politics of translation, for example, the power struggle between the translation and original. The concept of fidelity in Translation Studies is taken over from our daily lives, namely partnership, marriage, relationship between men and women:

Fidelity, thus, is not just an issue of how best to shape the relationship between source and target texts, but also an issue in the ‘contract’ that characterizes marriage. Indeed, the double standard that in many cultures characterizes that contract also captures the traditional way of viewing the relationship between original and translation; just as it is a woman’s, not a man’s fidelity and sexual purity that matter most [...]. (Chamberlain 1998: 94)

Translation, at least in the Western and East European tradition, is usually seen as a woman and the original as a man. This partly explains why it is generally expected that the translation should be faithful to the original:

Historically, the gendering of translation occurs at least as early as the seventeenth century, when the well-known tag *les belles infidèles* was coined by Gilles Ménage around 1654. The tag captures not simply a phonetic similarity between beauty and infidelity in the French language, but a transcultural preoccupation with fidelity in both marriage and translation. (Chamberlain 1998: 94)

In colonialism discourse one speaks of translation as violence towards the original, which is made captive, penetrated or even raped. Thus, it can be claimed that also in contemporary theories of translation metaphors, and in particular, gender metaphors abound, for example, “in George Steiner’s (1975) hermeneutic motion, where the translator penetrates and captures a text in an act explicitly compared to erotic possession” (Chamberlain 1998: 95). Other examples abound:

In an extension of Steiner’s work, Serge Gavronsky (1977) argues that the Oedipal model can explain the translator’s seemingly contradictory obligations both to give the text ‘chaste Instruction’ (as the Earl of Roscommon puts it) [⁵] and to ravish it. In paternalistic models, or what he calls ‘pietistic’ ones, Gavronsky argues that the translator ‘considers himself as the child of the father-creator, his rival, while the text becomes the object of desire, that which has been completely defined by the paternal figure, the phallus-pen’ (ibid.:60) Both models then rely on a fundamentally patriarchal model of authority, where the son-translator either obeys or destroys the father-author. (Chamberlain 1998: 95 (footnote added))

The metaphors devised by translation theorists and practitioners actually reveal what goes on in the world of translation – the power struggle between the source and the target text, between the author and the translator, the claims for the visibility of translator, attitudes towards the existing translation norms, etc.

There is a multitude of other translation-related metaphors, for example, the cannibalist metaphor introduced by the Brazilian translators, depicting translator as cannibal. Who devours the source text in a tribal ritual, and then creates something new, completely different from the thing devoured. Translation has also been compared to a glass or stained glass:

In order to see the original text properly, as it really is, the translation has to be transparent, so that the eye does not rest on the glass itself but looks through it, imagining that what it sees is really the original, with nothing intervening. The translation (and hence the translator who produced it) is therefore literally invisible. If, on the other hand, the translation is like a stained-glass window, the eye rests on the patterned surface and does not look through it. (Chesterman & Wagner 2002: 28)

Barnstone compares translation to a river, which “carries us through time. When it causes earlier moments and old literatures to survive, when it floats some part of a tradition to us live and with re-created originality, then translation is art.” (1993: 107)

Also the Bible has served as a source of metaphors, in particular the tale of the Tower of Babel. According to this tale once all people had the same language. They wanted to build a city with a tower reaching the heavens to make a name for themselves. The God, afraid that this is only the beginning of what they intend to do, came down and confused their language and scattered them across the face of earth, and the people were not able to understand each other any more:

With the fall of Babel, God dispersed the world, gave us tongues and the solitude of difference, and also the impossible but pleasurable duty to repair our separation. After the destruction the deity implicitly challenged us to look up again and rebuild the tower of another Babel. The act of translation is the other Babel, that impossible tower. (Barnstone 1993: 3)

⁵ The Earl of Roscommon (17th century) wrote instructions to translators in verse comparing an original text to an innocent, young girl, explaining that the translator’s duty was to maintain this chastity.

Another, probably more romantic translation-related metaphor from the Bible is that of Adam and Eve, which, by extension, also describes the relationship between the translator and the original text:

It is the Gnostic version of creation as told in *On the Origin of the World*, wherein Eve raises a lifeless and spiritless Adam made entirely of mud (see Barnstone, *Other Bible* 70). Eve, the instructor, discovers the moulded body lying on the earth, pities it, bends down and breathes *pneuma* (breath or soul) into her co-likeness who has been cast down, and with the utterance of her word into his still lips Eve translates Adam into flesh, bringing life and light to the grateful being, who can now speak. (Barnstone 1993: 24)

So also a translator “breathes new life” into the lifeless being – the original text, and awakens the text for the target audience. Were it not for the translator, the text would remain dead and inaccessible for the new reader.

Contemporary approaches to translation

The fifties of the twentieth century mark the beginning of contemporary translation studies. In the course of the years a number of different approaches to translation have emerged. Thus, from a scholarly point of view translation as a phenomenon might be treated, for instance, from the philosophical, linguistic, cultural, psychological, historical, functional, descriptive angles, to name but a few. Each approach concentrates on certain aspects of translation, offering a definition of this phenomenon as seen from the perspective of that particular school, approach or tradition. Hans Vermeer (1998) explains that each definition is restricted in space and time and depends on the situation and individual’s vantage point, which is proposing that particular definition. Theo Hermans (1997) speaks of translation as an activity, which is determined by the culture in which it occurs in the sense that translation “is circumscribed by expectations which have both cognitive and normative elements in them” (1997:5). Expectations are usually enshrined in norms, rules and conventions of translation in a particular society at a certain point in time. Juan C. Catford (1965:20), for example, approaches translation from the linguistic perspective and defines translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:181); Roman Jakobson (1959/1966:233), approaching translation from a semiotic perspective, defines it as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:182).

The prescriptive approaches adopt a normative stance towards translation and consider that only a text which corresponds to certain well-defined criteria is a translation. The functional approaches see translation within its cultural and situational context, which determine the meaning and the interpretation of it in translation. The skopos theory, in particular sees translation as “‘information’ about a source text in another language” (Vermeer 1982:97) (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:182), which is produced bearing in mind the intended function of the text in the Target Culture (skopos of translation). The proponents of the descriptive approach reject any *a priori* definition on the grounds that it restricts research, not permitting a flexible treatment of the object of study, namely, translation which “is characterized by its very variability: *difference* across cultures, *variation* within a culture and *change* over time” (Toury 1995:31). Andrew Chesterman (1998) suggests an approach to conceptualising translation, which does not require an ultimate definition of “translation”. He believes that it suffices to have a preliminary, working definition.

Being aware of the fact that with the evolution of Translation Studies “the contours of *translation* as the object of study, become steadily vaguer and more difficult to survey” (Koller 1995:193), and although in translation theory there exists a view that there is no need for an ultimate preliminary definition of translation and that the demarcation problem may resolve itself in the course of research, for the purposes of the current research it still seems necessary to solve it in advance. The current research concentrates on the manipulative aspects of translation. To be able to speak about manipulative translation it is necessary to clarify what is understood by translation, i.e. prototypical translation at the very outset of the project.

For the scholars belonging to the Descriptive branch of translation studies a particular utterance is translation if “presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds [...] What is addressed, even in the longest run, is not even what translation is *in general*, but what it proves to be *in reality*, and hence what it may be expected to be under various specific conditions” (Toury 1995: 32). Thus, to make this statement less abstract, Toury (1995) explains that translation might be accounted for in terms of three postulates, namely (1) The Source-Text Postulate; (2) The Transfer Postulate; (3) The Relationship Postulate. He states:

If we now proceed to take the three postulates together, an assumed translation would be regarded as any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded – within that culture – as necessary and/or sufficient. (Toury 1995: 35)

The above arguments and definitions, although relatively broad in scope, still offer certain criteria with the help of which it is possible to delimit the field of concern for the present study, thus also helping to establish criteria for identifying instances of manipulation in texts. A text is a translation if

- there has been a text in another language which has served as a source for the particular text under discussion,
- the Target Text has been derived from the Source Text by a certain transfer operation,
- and the Target Text is now in some way tied to the Source Text.

The implications of this definition for the current research are as follows:

- any text is considered to be a translation if it is acknowledged to be such by a particular Target Culture;
- this text has to be derived from a particular ST;
- and has to demonstrate a certain link with its source. Depending on the tightness of that link both the type of translation can be determined and the place of it in the prototypical model of translation.

Juan Sager perceives translation “as a derived document which maintains a certain degree of similarity of content with its source document while being clearly dissimilar in language from its source” (Sager 1995:117). For the purpose of this study the following **preliminary definition of translation** is adopted. Translation is the process of a written transfer of a text from one language into another as well as the result of this process as long as the product of such transfer is considered to be a translation by the Target Culture.

It must be pointed out, though, that the spectrum of this phenomenon is vast. The following sections of the paper reveal the different colours and shades of it.

Some translation typologies

The classification of translation types can be made according to various criteria. Traditionally translation types have been categorised either according to the type of the Source Text or the translation strategy. Some scholars, for instance Michael Schreiber (1993), classify translations according to the type of the potential Target Text, others, for example Juan Sager (1998) combine both criteria, still others by the type of the target text and translation strategy combined, for example Juliane House (1977) distinguishes between overt and covert translation, Christiane Nord (1997) according to the function of the target text distinguishes between documentary and instrumental translation. Andrew Chesterman (1999) uses four types of variables for his translation typology: A-equivalence variables, B-target language variables, C-translator variables, D-special situational variables. He comes up with a rather complex system of variables, i.e. ways in which translations of one and the same text can vary depending on who has done the translation, for what purpose and on the basis of what instructions.

When **classifying translation according to the type of the Source Text** one traditionally distinguishes between literary and non-literary translation, some scholars, for example Sager (1998) see the translation of sacred texts (e.g. the Bible translation) as a separate translation type.

Numerous scholars have dealt with classifying text types. The most common text types are sacred texts, expressive texts (literary texts), legal texts, informative texts, technical texts and vocative texts. The last four text types could be put under one heading informative or even more generally non-literary texts.

Katherina Reiss (1977) on the basis of Bühler's classification of language functions distinguishes three major text types, namely informative texts, vocative texts and expressive texts and adds one additional type audiovisual texts.

Examples of informative texts are operating instructions, reports, accounts, and articles in the press. In translation they are taken to be content-oriented texts, because the main

purpose of these texts is to pass on information, however, the translation of informative texts requires terminological precision. Also readers of this type of texts generally expect to receive information and are less critical as to the language quality of the text. The reader usually expects that the texts of this type will not be translated word-for-word and sound more or less natural in the Target Language.

Vocative texts constitute advertisements, brochures, and electoral and some political speeches. They are reader-oriented texts, whose main function according to Ieva Zauberga (2001) is manipulative because “these texts are created to make the recipient act (e.g. buy, vote)” (Zauberga 2001:24) The translation of this type of texts requires adaptation to the new cultural context, because of the differences between the cultures involved. The recipient usually expects to receive a message addressed at him/her in a natural and easy-flowing language.

Expressive texts are author-oriented works of fiction. One of their major functions is conveying the author’s message and style. It is expected that the original will not be tampered with.

Zauberga (2001) speaks of legal texts as a separate text type. She characterises them as informative and authoritative, because they carry the force of law and pass information to the reader. In translation it is expected that legal texts be rendered above all faithfully and in accordance with strict instructions. Such instructions exist, for example, in the European Union context, where the legal texts need to be translated in all the official languages of the union.

Sacred texts form a particular category of texts with an expressive and informative function. They were one of the first texts to be translated in the world history. The preferred translation strategy for sacred texts seems to be literal translation, (Forrest 2003), because it is arguably considered to be the most faithful translation strategy.

For the purposes of the present paper the following major text types are distinguished: sacred texts (Bible translation in particular), literary texts and non-literary texts.

The notion of text type, as mentioned above, has frequently served as the basis for translation typology. According to the type of the source text Sager (1998) distinguishes three major translation types: literary translation, translation of sacred texts or Bible translation, and non-literary or technical translation. The distinction between them is made both on the basis of the textual characteristics of the documents belonging to the respective class, and the approach adopted when translating a particular document. (For a more detailed treatment of Sager's classification see Chapter 4)

When **classifying translation according to the translation strategy** generally a distinction is made between literal and free translation. Although there exist general expectations in relation to each text type and certain translation strategies might be said to be preferred when dealing with texts of a particular type, the practice shows that in real-life situations translators do not resort to only one strategy of translation. (For a more detailed treatment of translation strategies see Chapter 3). However for the sake of clarity scholars tend to attribute a particular (prevailing) translation strategy to a particular text type, as discussed above.

The most well-known classification is **the binary opposition between the literal and free translation**. On the one hand this seems to be a simple age-old dichotomy, the alternative of translating either word-for-word or sense for sense. Yet, as the thinking on translation has evolved, so have the approaches to this dichotomy. In essence the problem has remained the same, translating word-for-word or sense for sense, but the new approaches to the issue add certain nuances to this basic distinction, which cannot be ignored. Thus, according to Douglas Robinson (1997), this fundamental dichotomy encompasses, nowadays, such notions as Eugene Nida's (1964) dynamic and formal equivalence, Juliane House's (1977) distinction between 'overt' and 'covert' translation, Lawrence Venuti's (1986,1995) distinction between 'foreignizing' and 'domesticating' translation, and Toury's (1980, 1995) 'acceptability' and 'adequacy', to name a few. The quintessence may be summed up as follows: free translation is a type of translation "in which more attention is paid to producing a naturally reading TT than to preserving the ST wording intact." (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:62), while, literal translation pays more attention to the preservation of the original wording.

The free and literal translation are the two poles. There are several translation types which fall between the two extremes. Thus, the sense-for-sense translation or loose rewording (paraphrase) comes between the literal or word-for-word translation (metaphrase) and the free translation (imitation). Robinson (1998/2001) writes that the boundaries between these three types are rather blurred. This is especially true of the free translation.

[...] free translation is a catch-all-category into which everything that is not faithful is dumped, it is almost always vaguely conceived, and always contains vast riches that a hegemonic mainstream tradition has rarely minded –or even recalled to mind. Basically, anything that doesn't fit into narrowly defined norms for acceptable translation gets called free translation[...].(Robinson 1998/2001: 88)

Within the category **the typology of translation according to the Target Text** one usually makes a distinction between translation, version and adaptation. Translation has been defined already above, hence here the attention is focused mainly on adaptation and version.

Adaptation may be understood as a set of translative operations which result in a text that is not accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text of about the same length. As such, the term may embrace numerous vague notions such as imitation, rewriting, and so on. Strictly speaking, the concept of adaptation requires recognition of translation as non-adaptation, as a somehow more constrained mode of transfer. (Bastin 1998/2001: 5)

Scholars hold different, sometimes even opposing, views on translation and adaptation.

Some scholars prefer not to use the term 'adaptation' at all, believing that the concept of translation can be stretched to cover all types of transformation as long as the main function of the activity is preserved. Others view the two concepts as representing essentially different practices. (Bastin 1998/2001:8)

Michael Schreiber draws a useful and clear distinction between translation, adaptation (*Bearbeitung* in German) and adapted variant or version (*Adaption* in German). The central question Schreiber (1993) poses in his book *Übersetzung und Bearbeitung: Zur Differenzierung und Abgrenzung des Übersetzungsbegriffs* is as follows: When is a text transformation too free to still be considered a translation? The answer to this question revolves around the variance and invariance requirements, thus – a text transformation can no longer be perceived as translation when there has been more than one variance requirement. Variance requirement, according to Schreiber, is the requirement to change

certain elements of the text and invariance requirement is the requirement to make no change to the text.

Schreiber defines translation as follows:

Eine Übersetzung ist eine interlinguale Texttransformation, die auf hierarchisierten Invarianzforderungen beruht und immer auch eine Interpretation des AS-Textes darstellt. (Schreiber 1993: 43)⁶

The primary aim of translation, according to Schreiber, is to replace the Source Text (ST) with the Target Text (TT) for somebody, who has no access to it due to insufficient language knowledge. The characteristic features of a typical translation are: interlinguality, invariance requirements (except for one, that for the change of language) and interpretation. Schreiber describes two methods of translation, namely, text translation (Textübersetzung) and context translation (Umfeldübersetzung). He makes this distinction on the basis of a phenomenon he calls the ‘invariance requirement’ (Invarianzforderung) i.e. “dasjenige Element, das in der Hierarchie der Invarianzforderungen die erste Stelle einnimmt”⁷ (Schreiber 1993:66).

The potential invariants fall into two groups, namely, text-internal and text-external invariants. Accordingly Schreiber distinguishes between two types of translation – text translation and context translation.

The subclassification of translation methods is based on the hierarchy of invariance requirements applied in the translation: in a *text translation* (Textübersetzung), internal features of the source text, such as sense or form, are primary, while in a *context translation* (Umfeldübersetzung) external features, such as the effect on the reader (Wirkung), are more important. (Schreiber 2004: 86-7)

In relation to translation it is important to note that the only variance requirement is that of the language change. Other discrepancies between the Source Text and the Target Text arise due to the hierarchy of the textual features. They arise because certain textual elements take precedence over others in the hierarchy of invariance requirements.

Die einzige Varianzforderung, die jeder Übersetzung zugrunde liegt, ist die Forderung nach der Änderung der Sprache. Andere Abweichungen zwischen AS- und ZS-Text sind in der Regel hierarchiebedingt, d.h. sie geben sich aus der Tatsache, daß ein bestimmtes Merkmal zugunsten eines anderen Merkmals, das in

⁶ A translation is an interlingual text transformation based on a hierarchy of invariance requirements and always is also an interpretation of the Source Text. [My translation]

⁷ The element, which ranges first in the hierarchy of invariance requirements. [My translation]

der Hierarchie der Invarianzforderungen eine höhere Position einnimmt, ganz oder teilweise geopfert muß.⁸ (Schreiber 1993:317-8)

Should any additional variance requirements be posed, besides the change of the language, the text can no longer be seen as translation but already as an interlingual adaptation - *Bearbeitung* (adaptation). Adaptation (*Bearbeitung*) according to Schreiber (1993) is a medium-independent⁹ text transformation, whereby at least one complex, individual textual feature is retained unchanged, but which otherwise is based on variance requirements. Examples of adaptation are summary translation and adaptation of a text for children.

Typical features of an adaptation (*Bearbeitung*) are medium-independence and invariance of individual textual features. Invariants must be traceable though. In case of an adaptation certain textual features need to be changed, except for one, which provides the link between the texts.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass man von einer Bearbeitung dann sprechen kann, wenn mindestens ein komplexes, individuelles Textmerkmal (wie Thema, Stoff oder, unverwechselbare formale Merkmale) des Prätextes erhalten bleibt, so dass eine direkte Abhängigkeit des Folgetextes von eben diesem Prätext erkennbar ist.¹⁰ (Schreiber 1993:104)

Furthermore, adaptation (*Bearbeitung*) differs from what could be termed ‘the adapted variant’ or version (*Adaption*). In case of an adapted variant the medium always changes, e.g. staging of prose or film, play into film, play into novel.

Unter Adaption verstehe ich lediglich die Anpassung eines Textes an ein anderes, nicht rein sprachliches Kommunikationsmedium, fuer das er nicht konzipiert war, also den Medientransfer (Terminus nach Harenberg).¹¹ (Schreiber 1993: 99)

A further distinction between translation as product and translation as process can be made. Much of what has been said above refers to translation as product, or in other words the result of the process of translation.

⁸ The only variance requirement which underlies every translation is the requirement to change the language. The other discrepancies between ST and TT are as a rule determined by the hierarchy, i.e. they are due to the fact that one particular feature of the text has to be sacrificed for the sake of another, which ranges higher in the hierarchy of invariance requirements. [My translation]

⁹ A medium is understood here as a communication form or channel for which a particular text may be adapted.

¹⁰ To sum up it can be said that one speaks about adaptation when at least one complex, individual feature of the text (like theme or subject or distinct formal features) of the initial text remain in tact in such a manner that it is obvious that the resulting text is directly dependent on the initial text. [My translation]

¹¹ With version I understand only the accommodation of a text to the requirements of another not purely linguistic communication medium, for which it was not initially intended, thus the media transfer (Harenberg's term). [My translation]

Translation as process. Just like the translation product also the translation process may be approached from various angles and be variously defined. The notion of translation process might be interpreted in two ways, firstly as a term denoting the act of producing a translation, and secondly, referring to the mental processes occurring in the process of producing a translation. The former is more linked with ideologies and philosophies influencing the process and the latter has more to do with the mental processes and their research. Catford (1965:20), for example, defines translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:181); Roman Jakobson (1959/1966:233) defines it as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:182).

Jiri Levý (1967) and James Holmes (1988) suggest the likeness between the translation process and the game of chess, which is played according to **certain rules**. Translation is a complex decision-making process in the course of which an original, the Source Text is transformed into a secondary text. The translator’s task amounts to the reproduction of “a source text for a target-language readership, taking account of its semantic, functional, pragmatic, and stylistic dimensions, in addition to the needs and expectations of the target-text readership.” (Wilss 2001:57-8) Levý (1967) compares the translation process to a game where every new move is conditioned by the previous one. He borrows the concept from the theory introduced by Luce and Raiffa (1957)¹² and applies it to the translation process. Holmes building on Levý’s work, proposes a two-plane model of the translation process.

¹² The foundations of the game theory were laid by John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern in 1944.

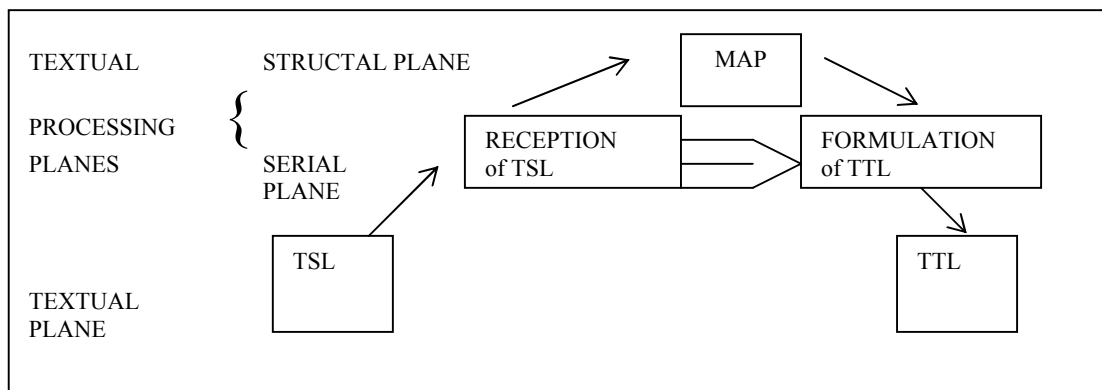


Figure 1. Holmes's "Two-plane text-rank translation model (TSL = source-language text; TTL = target-language text" (Holmes 1988:83)

He introduces three sets of rules – derivation rules, projection rules and correspondence rules, according to which the corresponding phases of the translation process proceed. Derivation rules (DR) regulate the drawing of the source text map based on the source text, projection rules (PR) regulate the way the target text is formulated on the basis of the target text map, and correspondence rules (CR) regulate the drawing of the target text map from the source text map. The source text map contains contextual, intertextual and situational information about the source text. When devising a target text map based on the source text map, the translator is faced with choices among three types of elements: ‘homologues’ (elements corresponding in form, but not in function), ‘analogues’ (elements corresponding in function, but not in form), and, possibly, ‘semasiologues’ or ‘semantologues’ (elements corresponding in meaning, but neither function nor form). Holmes explains that there exists an interdependence among the correspondences whereby the choice of a certain correspondence predetermines and even influences the choice of the next one. Faced with the various correspondences, the translator, consciously or unconsciously establishes a hierarchy of correspondences, the complexity of which depends on the text type of the original. Literary texts, for example, display a highly complex hierarchy of correspondences, which allows for a multitude of interpretations and may result in a variety of translations of one and the same text.

The above described process model can be applied also to interpreting. Also in interpreting there is a Source Text or message, which the interpreter conveys to the Target Audience with the help of a mental map of it under the influence of rules similar to those operating in translation. The basic difference between the two activities,

translation and interpreting, is the mode and speed in which the activity proceeds. In case of translation it is written and usually proceeds at the pace set by the translator him/herself, thus relieving the strain on the translator's memory, but in case of interpreting, the interpreter has to retain a considerable amount of information in the short term memory and the speed is set by the original speaker¹³.

For the purposes of the current research it is important to understand and describe the process of translation and interpreting since thus it is possible to show how the decisions are made in the course of translating / interpreting and how this process may be influenced by the three types of rules and predetermined by the previously taken decisions. At the same time, bearing in mind that translation and interpreting is cross-cultural communication which proceeds in a given context, it is easy to understand how various textual and extra-textual factors can influence the translator's/ interpreter's decision-making.

In the light of the above discussion the preliminary definition of translation may be refined to produce **the working definition of translation** for the purposes of this research. Translation is the process of a written transfer of a text from one language into another based on a hierarchy of invariance requirements depending on the type of text to be translated and the context in which the translation takes place; as well as the result of this process as long as the product of such transfer is considered to be a translation by the Target Culture.

This definition can also be adapted to fit the sister activity of translation – interpreting. Interpreting is the process of an oral transfer of a speech or text from one language into another based on a hierarchy of invariance requirements depending on the type of speech or text to be interpreted and the context in which the interpreting takes place; as well as the result of this process as long as the product of such transfer is considered to be an interpretation by the Target Audience. The next section offers a detailed description of interpreting.

¹³ The process of interpreting is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

1.2 Interpreting

In the introduction to this section it was mentioned that there exists another mode of translation, namely the oral translation or interpreting. Interpreting is a name generally used to denote the oral mode of translation of oral discourse and written texts. As an activity it is akin to translation, but is considered to be older than the latter. Various types and modes of interpreting can be distinguished.

By the context in which interpreting occurs one distinguishes conference interpreting, court interpreting and community interpreting. Conference interpreting is named after the context in which it occurs i.e. in international conferences as well as other high-profile settings such as summit meetings. Court interpreting is a term which designates interpreting in a courtroom and other legal contexts, e.g. a prison or a police station. Community interpreting occurs in community contexts, e.g. schools, hospitals with a purpose to provide access to a particular public service for a member of a community who does not speak the majority language in a certain country.

By the mode in which it is carried out one distinguishes consecutive interpreting, simultaneous interpreting, liaison interpreting and whispered interpreting. Signed-language interpreting is a mode by itself (and lies outside the scope of the present research), but nevertheless belonging to interpreting. Consecutive interpreting proceeds in conference-like setting and involves the interpreter listening to a segment of speech, taking down notes, and reproducing the message in the Target Language after the original speaker has finished speaking. Simultaneous interpreting is the most frequently used mode of interpreting in conference settings and involves the interpreter sitting in the booth and listening through the head-set to what is going on in the meeting room and simultaneously interpreting into a microphone what the delegates are saying in their microphones. The delegates can hear the interpreter with the help of their headsets. Liaison interpreting takes place in the context of for instance business meetings and official visits and involves the interpreter rendering short segments, usually sentences, of the message from one language into another usually without the help of notes.

In essence the three above described modes of interpreting are similar in that they involve listening, understanding, analysing and re-expression of the message with an aim to establish and facilitate communication between the parties involved. However, there are also differences between the two basic modes, namely, simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. Roderick Jones (1998) sees two fundamental differences between these two modes, namely acoustic and intellectual. Firstly, in the consecutive mode the interpreter first listens and analyses the message and only then reexpresses it, however in simultaneous these activities proceed at the same time. Secondly, in the consecutive mode the interpreter starts interpreting only when the speaker has finished speaking, thus, already knows what the speaker wants to say, however in the simultaneous mode the interpreter is much more dependant on the speaker and never knows for sure where the speaker is going. Still the aim remains the same, to provide a faithful, comprehensible, adequate and acceptable output, which would facilitate communication. To cope with these difficulties and achieve the above-described aim, the interpreter, especially simultaneous interpreter, must resort to special techniques or strategies such as reformulation, anticipation, the salami technique (for detailed treatment of the strategies see Chapter 3).

Most conference interpreters have only two or three working languages, although there are exceptions mainly in the European Union institutions. The classification of the working languages for interpreting purposes is as follows:

- A language(s) – the interpreter’s native language(s). Interpreters usually work into and out of their A language(s).
- B language(s) – the interpreter’s non-native language(s), of which the interpreter has a command almost as good as of A language(s). Interpreters work into and out of A languages.
- C language(s) – the interpreter’s passive language(s). The interpreter has a good passive command of this language/these languages. Interpreters work from a C language usually into their A language(s) and sometimes the B language(s).

Conference interpreting usually proceeds in the simultaneous mode, however, it is possible also to offer consecutive interpreting as well.

There is a special kind of conference interpreting, which might be said to combine translation and interpreting that is sight translation or interpreting with text. It is a kind of interpreting conference interpreters do almost every day. Briefly before the meeting the interpreters receive a written speech a delegate is supposed to utter in the meeting, the interpreter's task is then to interpret the speech, while following both the written text and the spoken words. The spoken input takes precedence over the written input, it always says so also on the cover of the written material 'check against delivery'. This is one of the most complicated types of interpreting since, in such cases the speakers tend to speak (read) at a great speed, and the interpreter must manage to take input from two sources - the written and the spoken, at the same time. However the aim for the interpreter remains the same, to provide a clear, comprehensible, faithful, acceptable and adequate output.

Interpreting seems to be a clearer concept than translation, however the opposition between word for word interpreting and sense for sense interpreting is valid also in the case of interpreting. Basically there exist two schools of conference interpreting, the so-called Soviet school as opposed to the Western School. The proponents of the Soviet school insist on literal or word-for word interpreting and the proponents of the Western school stick to the sense-for sense interpreting.

1.3 Translation and Interpreting Compared

Translation and interpreting are activities akin to each other, although, of course, they display certain differences as well. This is a conclusion arrived at by numerous scholars of translation and interpreting. Daniel Gile, one of the most prominent interpreting scholar and practitioner explains that the similarities between the two modes outweigh the differences between them.

Over the years, I have become convinced that the differences between these two activities (translation and interpreting) are essentially associated with the cognitive stress interpreters face under the pressure of time, but that the similarities far outweigh the differences. Moreover I believe that the contrast between interpretation and translation has been somewhat exaggerated in many schools, often by interpreters rather than translators, and often for sociological reasons

rather than for reasons having to do with truly operational parameters. (Gile 1995:xiii-xiv)

The two activities demonstrate similarities in numerous respects, but most of all as regards their orientation towards cultural rather than linguistic transfer, their nature as an act of communication rather than a process of linguistic transcoding, and the functioning of the product within a particular context.

Furthermore, both translation and interpreting involve at least two languages and a message, which is conveyed from one language into another. From the point of view of pragmatics translation and interpreting can be seen as speech acts and interpretive uses of language. As regards translation/interpreting as a speech act Basil Hatim writes that translators/ interpreters in the attempt to achieve the sameness of meaning “constantly attempt to re-perform locutionary and illocutionary acts in the hope that the end-product will have the same perlocutionary force in the target language” (Hatim 1998/2001:180). In this endeavour he sees the similarity between translation/interpreting and a speech act. Ernst August Gutt (1996) approaches translation from the perspective of the relevance theory and claims that it is ‘an interpretive use of language’ since “the translation is intended to restate in one language what someone else said or wrote in another language. In principle, it is therefore, comparable to quoting or speech-reporting in intra-linguistic use”(Gutt 1996:46).

There are also numerous differences between translation and interpreting. The most obvious difference is the mode, namely written in the former case and spoken in the latter. Gile (1998/ 2001) has systematised the differences between these activities. Thus, according to him the main differences lie in the skills necessary to accomplish the task. The interpreters need well-developed oral and translators written skills. Time is a determining factor as well, while translators have relatively unlimited time to work on the text, interpreters have to make split-second decisions, without an opportunity to ‘erase’ what has been said. Also preparation-wise there are differences between these modes. While translators may consult colleagues and dictionaries in the course of translation, interpreters due to the time constraints as a rule have only limited possibilities to do so thus have to do their preparations before the assignment.

Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997) characterise interpreting as ‘non-correctable and non-verifiable’ because of the above mentioned reasons, whereas a text can be translated and re-translated several times.

Thus, to conclude, it can be said that translation and interpreting are in some ways related, although, of course, they display certain differences as well. On the basis of the assumption that these two activities are akin, it has been decided to test the manipulation hypothesis (that all translation is manipulation) also on interpreting. It is of special interest and value because to our knowledge no such study has been carried out as yet.

The distinction ‘literal vs. free’ translation/interpreting is one of the most actively debated eternal issues in translation theory and practice involving both theoreticians and practitioners and occasionally also the representatives of the Target Audience. And rightly so, since the perception of translation and interpreting as manipulation is closely linked to one’s understanding of the limits of literariness and freedom of the translation, its faithfulness (literal or ideational) to the original and the translator’s and interpreter’s loyalty to the Target Audience).

Today translation and interpreting are perceived as cross-cultural communication. Ever since the cultural turn in Translation Studies in the 80s of the twentieth century the translator/interpreter is perceived not as a slave of the text but as the master of it. The cultural turn marks the turning away from the word for word translation towards sense-for-sense translation. The limits of the translator’s freedom are set by the norms, rules and conventions in place in a particular culture and society. It goes without saying that the translator must bear in mind the type of the text s/he is translating and the type of translation s/he has been commissioned to do when choosing his/her translation strategy. The concept of scenes and frames is a useful guide for translators nowadays.

Texts evoke certain pictures in our minds. In translation it is important to retain scenes evoked by the ST, but to do so the ST words sometimes have to be changed. One may say, linguistic frames may need to be altered to attain similarity of sense. (Zauberga 2004:15)

A similar approach is adopted also in professional conference interpreting in the West today, namely Interpretive Theory of Translation or Theory of Sense. This approach is associated with a group of scholars based at ESIT (École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs), who are also known as the Paris School. This approach was first presented by Danica Seleskovitch and Marianne Lederer in the late 1960s as a reaction towards the restrictive linguistic views on interpreting of that day, namely, that the interpreter has to provide a word-for-word translation of the original. The proponents of this theory explain that the interpreters do not work with words alone but also, and primarily, convey meaning. There are other factors that need to be taken into account as well, for example the cognitive context of the speech, the setting in which the interpreting proceeds, as well as the interpreter's experience and world knowledge.

As a consequence of this, one of the theory's principle tenets has been that interpreting should be based on a de-verbalized, intended meaning (the sense or *sens*) derived from the overall context, rather than on the words of ST as such. (Seleskovitch 1976:92 in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:85)

The approach focuses also on the mental and cognitive processes involved in interpreting. Seleskovitch (1977) explains that the interpreting process consists of three phases: listening, de-verbalisation (or visualisation) and reformulation. This theory has also been extended to non-literal translation. (see Lederer 2003).

Summary

Translation and interpreting, although they display certain differences, in essence are activities akin to each other. Both the phenomena, and especially translation can be approached from different angles, thus, resulting in a multitude of definitions, depending on the approach adopted. In English the word 'translation' may be used to denote both the written and the spoken mode of this activity. However, 'interpreting' is the proper and more frequently used term to denote the oral transfer of discourse or text into another language. There exist several types of translation and interpreting distinguished on the basis of certain well-defined criteria. The preferred strategy for professional translation and interpreting today is the sense-for-sense approach within the limits of the rules, norms and conventions in place in a particular cultural setting.

The schematical depiction of the translation / interpreting process (page 39) helps one realise why translation and interpreting may be seen as prone to manipulation. This is due to a number of textual and extratextual factors that exert influence upon the translator / interpreter in the process of text transfer.

The following chapters, offering a detailed treatment of the phenomenon *manipulation*, describe this link between translation, interpreting and manipulation in greater detail.

2 TRANSLATION AND MANIPULATION: THE STATE OF THE ART

The present chapter offers a comprehensive view of the contemporary thinking on translation and manipulation from selected sources. It describes the approaches to translational manipulation of scholars belonging to various schools and backgrounds starting with the founders of this approach, the Low Countries Group, following on to scholars from other countries such as the United Kingdom, Finland and Latvia.

2.1 The Manipulation School of Translation Studies

The approach to translation as manipulation is most often associated with the descriptive branch of Translation Studies or the Manipulation School. Numerous studies have focused on the concept of manipulation in translation, for example those by Theo Hermans; Gideon Toury; André Lefevere, to name but a few.

The Manipulation School represents an approach to translation as manipulation or more precisely as rewriting of texts for a specific target audience in conformity with target language norms and under various constraints. The scholars associated with this school are mainly concerned with literary texts, their translations and culture-related aspect of translation. The scholars of this school view translation studies as a branch of Comparative Literature. The name *Manipulation School* is used to refer to the group of scholars, who propagate this view of translation. Some of its most prominent members are James Holmes, André Lefevere, José Lambert, Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett and, Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury. The beginnings of this new paradigm can be traced back to the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists and to the activities of James Holmes, Jiri Levý, Anton Popovič and František Miko. The Tel Aviv scholar Itamar Even-Zohar (1978 and 1979) and his Polysystem Theory has exerted a particularly strong influence on this group. The group has also been known under various other names: Translation Studies, the Low Countries Group, the Descriptive,

Empirical or Systemic School, the Polysystems Approach, the Tel-Aviv-Lueven Axis¹⁴, each of which describes certain aspects of the group's composition or views.

The name most commonly used to refer to this group of scholars is *The Descriptive Translation Studies* since it most precisely describes the essence of this school of thought, which came about in the 1970s as an opposition to the 'prescriptive' translation studies¹⁵. Another name frequently used to denote this group is *The Manipulation School*, which arose first as a word-play deriving from the collection of essays called *The Manipulation of Literature* edited by Theo Hermans (1985). The word manipulation for the title of the book was suggested by André Lefevere. The term *manipulation group* was coined by Armin Paul Frank and gained popularity after Mary Snell-Hornby used it in her book *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* (1988/1995) to refer to this approach to translation. The label *manipulation group* or *school* certainly does not reflect the full spectrum of the group's views, but rather highlights one of its most provocative statements, namely, that from the target perspective "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose"(Hermans 1985:11).

As regards other beliefs of the group, one of its most prominent scholars Theo Hermans explains that the members of the Manipulation School share

a view of literature as a complex dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target oriented, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures. (Hermans 1985: 10-11)

According to the principles of the scholars of this group translation research should be pure, empirical and scientific. It is pure in Holmes's sense that the research is "pursued for its own sake, quite apart from any direct practical application outside its own terrain" (Holmes 1988:71). It is empirical, because the subjects of research are actual translations. The aim is not to provide guidelines for translating or to evaluate translations, but to describe the translations. It is scientific because it accounts for the

¹⁴ For a detailed treatment of the reasons for the various labels of the group see Hermans 1999.

¹⁵ Prescriptive translation studies is "a term used by Toury (1980, 1985) to refer to approaches to translation which are normative in outlook or in other words which impose criteria stipulating the way translation should be performed in a particular culture" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:130).

observations made in the translations studied in a systematic, objective and scientific manner.

The scholars of this group approach translation as a cultural and historical phenomenon in its cultural setting. For the purposes of the current paper we will concentrate only on the group's claim, that from the perspective of the target pole "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose." (Hermans 1985:11) The questions, answer to which will be sought here are: Does all translation imply a degree of manipulation? And if it does so, then why?

First it has to be stressed that, to our knowledge, the Manipulation School scholars have researched literary translation, and their claim is based on the research of exactly this translation type.

Part of the answer to the question about the manipulative character of translation is provided by the collection of articles *Translation, History and Culture* edited by Bassnett and Lefevere (1995). In the introduction the editors offer a new approach to the study of translation, the "cultural turn" in Translation Studies, namely that translation is studied within a broader political and cultural context. They claim that translation is not innocent and liken it to other modes of 'rewriting', which present the source text in the target culture. The key notions for this approach are power and manipulation. The translation is viewed from a rather radical perspective, for example, the feminist and the postcolonial perspective, paying particular attention to institutional and ideological factors which influence the translation process.

Put succinctly, according to the group's views any translation might be characterised as manipulation because of the factors in place and processes at work on three translation-related stages, which might be termed the pre-production stage, the production stage and the post-production stage. The first stage relates to the selection of a text to be translated. It goes without saying that texts to be translated are not selected at random. There are certain agents, certain powers at the source or the target pole, who decide which works need to be translated for certain purposes and with a certain aim. In the

production stage the translator works under various constraints and receives certain guidelines, indications and hints about the way a certain text should be translated. Besides, also various objective (e.g. language related) and subjective (e.g. ideological and individual) factors come into play. The post-production stage refers to the way the text is presented and reflected in metatexts and discourse. Its reception at the target pole and its positioning and position in the target literary system largely depends on the presentation aspect. All those activities, which could be termed manipulations are due to cultural, political and ideological considerations.

While this scarcely does justice to the complexity of the group's argument, it gives us a starting point for the discussion of the manipulative aspects of translation.

A full account and analysis of the group's activities and ideas is offered by one of the most prominent members of this group – Theo Hermans (1999). In what follows a brief account of the most significant stages, or the turning points, in the manipulation argument will be highlighted.

Levý's (in Hermans 1999:21) claim that translation is "a hybrid product, a conglomerate, part of which refers back to the original text while other parts reveal the translator's input" could be taken as the starting point of this argument. This claim has further implications, which have been later taken up and developed further by other members of the group. The first implication relates to the style, nature and production requirements of translations of certain type and the second implication concerns the place and role of translation in the target literary system. The first implication develops later into the study of norms and the second into the development of the Polysystems theory.

František Miko and Popovič (in Hermans 1999) have contributed further to the development of the manipulative argument at text level. Popovič on the basis of Levý's point about the dual character of translation describes two stylistic norms "the norm of the original and the norm of the translation" (Popovič in Hermans 1999:24) that influence the process of translation, and offers Miko's elaborated 'shifts of expression'

as the basis for “the objective classification of differences between the translation and its original” (1970: 84) Shifts, then, could be seen as the manifestations of manipulation. Popovič (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997) broadens the definition of shifts defining them as “all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected” (Popovič 1970:79). The examples of shifts are various tendencies in translations, for example a tendency towards concretisation, archaism or explication. Shifts are either norm dictated or are due to the translator’s stylistic preferences. Later this phenomenon has been investigated and further elaborated by Van Leuven-Zwart, who studied the nature and distribution of the shifts in translations. Toury develops the notion of shifts even further, distinguishing two varieties of shifts “the obligatory (e.g. linguistically motivated) and the non-obligatory (e.g. motivated by literary or cultural considerations)”(Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 153).

Popovič (1976) in attempts to pinpoint the specific nature of translation puts it in the context of other similar texts or ‘metatexts’ as opposed to ‘prototexts’. The term ‘metatexts’ refers to “all types of processing (manipulation) of the original literary text, whether it is done by other authors, readers, critics, translators, etc.” (Popovič in Hermans 1999:25)

Holmes (1988), whose contribution in the development of the descriptive translation studies, developed Levý’s idea of translation as a decision-making process further and suggested that when discussing translation, one should consider also such factors as language, literary tradition and the socio-cultural situation.

Itamar Even-Zohar (1997) and his Polysystems theory could be seen as the next step. He depicted the literary and cultural life of a particular culture or country as a system where he integrated translation together with other texts as forces in a dynamic system. Translations, just like other texts within the system, struggle for power, or rather are used as instruments in the power struggle. Hermans explains that translation “could now be seen as one of the instruments which individuals and collectives could make use of to consolidate or undermine positions in a given hierarchy” (Hermans 1999:42).

Also Lefevere (1992) was interested in the functioning of the system, but from another perspective. He was interested in the mechanisms that exert control and guide the processes taking place within the system. He singled out three such sources of control, which he termed 'poetics', 'patronage' and 'ideology'. Patronage, according to Lefevere (1992), influences the literary system from the outside and "is the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature." (1992:15). Poetics, according to Lefevere, consists of two components one of which could be said to relate to the style and form of literature and the other to its function in the society.

[O]ne is an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; the other a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole. (Lefevere 1992:26)

The concept of norms is one of the key concepts in descriptive translation studies. They have been studied by many scholars including Mukarovsky in 1930s, Levý in 1960s and Popovič in 1970s. Toury, building on the previous research developed the notion of norms further and devised ways of identifying and classifying them. According to Toury (1995:55) norms are external constraints imposed by the society on the translator. He distinguishes three kinds of norms: preliminary norms, operational norms and textual-linguistic norms. The preliminary norms influence the choice of the text to be translated and the direction of translation (i.e. from which language and through which language (if applicable) into which language the translation will be carried out), the initial norm determines the general translation strategy – target or source orientation i.e. adequacy or acceptability; and operational norms, which guide the decision-making in the process of translation. There are two kinds of operational norms – matricial and text-linguistic norms. Matricial norms guide the decisions concerning the macro-structure of the text, for example, regarding the division into chapters, sections, paragraphs and textual-linguistic norms are responsible for the decisions at the micro-level of the text, for example in relation to the sentence construction or word-choice.

Thus, to sum up and answer the research question of this section whether translation is manipulation, it can be said that translation could be seen as manipulation for several reasons. Firstly, because translation is a 'battlefield', where due to the fact that

translation is bound both to the source and the target culture, both the cultures compete for dominance. Secondly, translation may be perceived as manipulation because translation is a part of a dynamic system, where it competes with other texts. All these processes take place in the cultural context where various agents issue rules and others act in accordance with them in the name of certain ideologies, which again compete among themselves for power. Besides, translation is used as an instrument in this struggle for power. This struggle for power and dominance is reflected in translations and takes the form of various kinds of shifts.

The above description sounds rather abstract and philosophical. From the theoretical perspective translation, indeed, might be seen as manipulation and the descriptivists have provided a multitude of examples to prove their point. From the practical perspective, however, the reaction towards the claim that translation is manipulation is negative. The most likely cause for such reaction is the fact that the notion manipulative translation has not been sufficiently explained. The scholars have discussed various types of manipulation, which to our knowledge have remained at the level of implication. No scholar has so far devised a clear typology of manipulation.

To conclude, it seems useful to point out that Levy's (1992) observation about the hybrid nature of translation has turned out to be the most solid basis on which to construct the manipulative argument. The following section on the shifts of translation reveals why this is the case.

2.1.1 Shifts as Manifestations of Manipulation in Translation

Shifts is a term used to denote the changes which occur in translations if compared to their originals. The present section offers an insight into four 'shift' models, namely, J.P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet's (1958/1995) model, J.C. Catford's (1965) model, Kitty van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990) model and Gideon Toury's (1995) model.

Vinay and Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958/1995) offers an inventory of translation strategies and procedures, which could be labelled shifts. It must be pointed out that they do not use this term in their writings, however.

They distinguish between two types of translation, namely direct translation and oblique translation. Direct translation may be compared to overt translation and oblique translation to covert translation. According to Vinay and Darbelnet there are three main strategies associated with the former type of translation, namely borrowing, calque and literal translation. Borrowing is the direct transfer of the Source Language (SL) words to the Target Language (TL), for example, the transfer of the Russian word *rublj* [*rouble*] or *datcha* to English. Calque is a strategy whereby SL expressions and structures are transferred to the TL, for example French *Complements de la Saison* as *Complements of the Season*. Literal translation is the strategy of translating word-for-word, whereby every word of the Source Text (ST) is substituted with a word in the Target Text (TT). Oblique translation can be achieved with the help of the following procedures: transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Transposition is a structural change whereby a part of speech is translated by another one, without changing the sense of the SL element. Transpositions can be obligatory [*dès son lever – as soon as she got up*] or optional [*as soon as she got up – dès qu'elle s'est levée or dès son lever*]. Modulation is a change affecting semantics of the text. Also modulation can be obligatory [*the time when – le moment où* [lit. the moment where]] or optional [*it is not difficult to show – il est facile de démontrer* [lit. it is easy to show]]. Equivalence is a strategy whereby the same idea is expressed in different words. The translation of idioms serves as a good example here. Adaptation is the change of cultural reference due to cultural considerations. According to Vinay and Darbelnet the above procedures can be applied at three levels of the text, namely the lexicon, syntax and message. Vinay and Darbelnet distinguish between obligatory and optional changes within two categories: servitude and option. They consider obligatory changes as arising due to linguistic differences, and optional changes due to subjective factors.

Vinay and Darbelnet do not use the word 'shifts' to denote the phenomena they are speaking about. The term 'shift' in this context is introduced by Catford (1965) in his *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. Catford was the first scholar to define them as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (1965:73) He explains that they are due to the structural differences between the two languages involved. Catford singles out two major types of shifts, namely shift of level

and shift of category. Shifts of level or level shifts are cases when a certain notion is expressed by grammar in one language and by lexis in another, for example Russian *igrat* -English *to play* and Russian *sigrat* - English *to finish playing*. There are for subtypes of category shifts, namely structural shifts, class shifts, unit or rank shifts and intra-system shifts. A structural shift is a shift in the grammatical structure of the text segment, for example, the word order differences between the languages, i.e. a subject-predicate-object structure in translation is transformed to a predicate-subject-object structure – English *I love you* into French *je t'aime*. Class shift denotes the cases where one part of speech has to be translated by another, for example English *a white house* – French *une maison blanche*. Within the nominal group the adjective which precedes and that which follows the noun are of separate class. Unit or rank shifts denote cases where the translation equivalents are placed at different ranks in the languages concerned. Thus, for example, a word may be translated by a morpheme French *vieillard* – English *old man*. In this case a word is transformed into a word group. Intra-system shifts which take place in the cases of contact of two languages with approximately corresponding systems, but in translation still a non-corresponding element has to be opted for. Between the languages –English and French such instances would be the number and article systems, for example English *advice* - French *des conseils*.

Thus, it is obvious that Catford sees shifts as linguistic phenomena of grammatical or lexical nature. He also believes that normally they are unavoidable in translation, except of course in literal translations.

However, as pointed out by Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997) besides deviations of linguistic character there are also such deviations which cannot be attributed to language. They have often been labelled mistakes or errors in translation. Popovič, on the basis of the observation that almost all translations contain this other type of deviations, assuming that they cannot be mistakes, broadens the notion of shifts. He deals mainly with literary translations, and sees shifts as a stylistic category and labels them 'shifts of expression'. He defines shifts as "all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected." (Popovič 1970:79) Thus, he includes in this notion linguistic phenomena as well as deviations due to

literary, textual and cultural considerations. Popovič explains that these deviations are not really mistakes, because they do not arise due to the translator's ignorance or incompetence. Rather they are the signs of the translator's attempt to produce a translation which would correspond to the target reader expectations, to the norms in place in the target culture. He explains that they are not voluntary deviations and do not arise because the translator wishes to change the work or mislead the reader, but rather because the translator strives to produce a translation which would be as faithful to the original as possible. Popovič distinguishes between constitutive and individual shifts. He sees constitutive shifts as system-bound. They are termed constitutive because they are constitutive **for** the style of the translation. Individual shifts are due to individual considerations of the translator. Popovič distinguishes one more type of shift, the generic shift. This type of shift is used to denote a phenomenon when the literary genre of the original and the translation does not match. As examples of shifts Popovič also mentions also such phenomena as concretisation, a tendency towards archaisms, explicitation, intensification of the meaning.

Toury (1980, 1995) also has worked on the notion of shifts. He distinguishes two types of shifts: the obligatory shifts, which he describes as linguistically motivated and the non-obligatory shifts, which according to him are due to literary or cultural considerations. Similarly to Popovič, Toury relates shifts to norms. Studying the frequency and nature of shifts in the translation, the nature of the governing norm in respect to each translation can be established. Thus, if the translation contains more non-obligatory than obligatory shifts, the initial norm is that of acceptability, if on the other hand the obligatory shifts prevail, then the initial norm is that of adequacy.

Van Leuven-Zwart (1984, 1989) studies the distribution of shifts. She makes a distinction between shifts at the level of text's microstructure and looks at the way these shifts affect the macrostructure of a text. In relation to van Leuven-Zwart's model it is worth noting that she became interested in the ways of how a translation can change the original after reading Don Quixote in Dutch and in Spanish. The Dutch translation by van Dam and Wermeus Buning (1967) had rendered the book "tedious, old-fashioned and pompous" (van Leuven-Zwart (1989), which, as she later discovered, the original

was not. The initial interest turned into a serious scientific study. To be able to pinpoint the changes that had taken place she developed her shift model. Within her system she uses two models: a comparative and a descriptive one. The first involves a detailed comparison of the ST and the TT at the microlevel (sentence, clause, phrase) and classification of the shifts into semantic, stylistic and pragmatic. The second, the descriptive model deals with the effects of those microstructural shifts on the macro structure of the text.

As regards the methodology adopted by van Leuven-Zwart, she first divides a passage into textual units, which she calls ‘transemes’, for example, *she sat up quickly* (English) and *se enderezo* (Spanish). Then she defines what she calls ‘architranseme’ (ATR) i.e. the essence of the transeme – *tertium comparationis*. In this case it is - *to sit up*. Then she compares each transeme with the architranseme in order to establish the relationship between them. This relationship can be synonymic, in which case no shift has taken place; or antonymic, in which case a shift has taken place. There are three main categories of shifts: modulation, modification, mutation.

In the case of modulation the relationship between the two transemes is hyponymic: with respect to the ATR, one transeme displays an aspect of disjunction while the other manifests conjunction. (van Leuven-Zwart 1989:159)

Modulation can take the form of specification, generalisation or stylistic change. An example of generalisation would be the use of go instead of fly.

In the case of modification the relationship between the two transemes is one of contrast. (van Leuven-Zwart 1989:165)

An example of such contrast is the difference between the notions *a lane – a narrow road – a narrow street*. Modification can be semantic, stylistic or syntactic.

Mutation is a category of shifts which “concerns cases in which it is impossible to establish an ATR, due to the lack of any aspect of conjunction” (van Leuven-Zwart 1989:168).

The last step in van Leuven-Zwart's model is the analysis of the shift that has taken place in each particular instance. The effect of the microlevel shift on the macrolevel of the text is measured with the help of the descriptive model, or by means of description. The nature of the shift, namely whether it is optional or obligatory is determined only after the effects of the shift on the macrostructure has been established. The table below offers an overview of the above mentioned shifts with examples or explanations, where applicable.

Author	Perception of shifts	Types of shifts	Explanations and examples ¹⁶	
Catford	Shifts as linguistic phenomena of grammatical or lexical nature	Level shifts [shifts between the various levels of language]	<i>Rus.</i> on sdelal [he has done] – he has achieved	
		Category shift	Structure shifts [change of grammatical structure]	<i>En.</i> I love you – <i>Fr.</i> Je t'aime
			Unit shifts [shifts of ranks]	<i>Fr.</i> Vieillard – <i>En.</i> Old man [word to group]
			Class Shift [shift of word class]	<i>En.</i> A white house - <i>Fr.</i> une maison blanche [within the nominal group the adjective which precedes and that which follows the noun are of separate class]
Intra-system shifts [departures from the formal correspondence]	<i>En.</i> advice - <i>Fr.</i> des conseils [sing. to plur.]			
Popovič	Shifts as a stylistic category – “shifts of expression”	Constitutive shifts	Constitutive of the style of the translation	
		Individual shifts	Due to individual considerations of the translator	
		Generic shifts	The change of the genre in translation	
Toury		Obligatory shifts	linguistically motivated	
		Non-obligatory shifts	Due to cultural considerations	
Van Leuven-Zwart	Mismatches between transemes and the architranseme	modulation	A shift between the ST and TT transemes which either increase or decrease the degree of generality, thus leading either to generalisation or specialisation.	
		Modification	The difference of the shades of meaning between the word of the ST and TT	
		Mutation	Addition or deletion of clauses or phrases or a radical change of meaning	

Table 1. Shifts

¹⁶ The examples and explanations for the shifts have been taken from Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997

2.1.2 Perception of Shifts

Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart (1998/2001) explain that the notion of shifts and invariance need to be considered in conjunction, because shifts can only be explained with reference to what is to remain invariant from the point of view of the evaluator. Two conceptions of invariance are possible: one which could be termed normative and prescriptive and the other descriptive. The basic difference between the two lies in the point in time when the invariant is determined, namely before or after the translation has taken place. In case of invariance in prescriptive terms there can be two ways of expressing the requirement for invariance, positive (do) and negative (do not). In negative formulations shifts are unwelcome, and described as errors or mistranslations. In this case “shifts are shifts with respect to a specific translation ideal and some postulated concept of equivalence” (Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart 1998/2001:227)

In positive formulations shifts are seen as indispensable due to systemic differences, for example Nida’s notion of dynamic equivalence and the shifts associated with it. Shifts from the descriptive point of view are identified retrospectively, i.e. by analysing actual translations. One can distinguish between the process and product shifts, although according to Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart (1998/2001) this distinction is rather blurred.

In relation to shifts the above described Levy’s (1969) observation about the dual bind or the hybrid nature of a translation also plays a crucial role. Because of this characteristics it can always be said that a translation contains a shift. Thus Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart (1998/2001) explain, that even when nothing new appears in the translation if compared to the target text, it can still be claimed that a translation contains a shift in respect to the target culture, since it might then violate the expectation norm, and as a result acquire a different function from the one the source text fulfilled in the source system.

On the one hand, it might be claimed that shifts are the manifestations of manipulation, especially if considered from the point of view of Levy’s observation of the

translation's double bind. However, it seems that not all of the shifts could be regarded as manipulations. For example grammar related shifts could hardly be considered manipulations in the conventional sense of the word. Shifts, which are due to cultural or ideological considerations, could be labelled instances of conventional manipulation. However the labels in this case depend on one's perception and understanding of manipulation.

2.2 Translation and Manipulation in the Writings of Scholars Representing other Schools of Thought in Translation Studies

The present section of the paper builds on the above discussion of manipulation and shifts as manifestations of manipulation in translation. In the previous section it was established that not all kinds of shifts could be considered manipulative. This conclusion brings us a step closer to the conceptualisation of manipulation. However to obtain the full picture of translational manipulation it is necessary to take a look also at what scholars not belonging to the manipulation school have written about manipulation. The present section continues describing the state of the art in translation studies in respect to manipulation.

In what follows we offer an overview of various sources where there is an explicit mention of a particular type(s) of manipulation or a definition(s) of manipulation. These sources bearing equal importance for the current research have been randomly presented.

Farazaneh Farahazad (1999) approaches (translational) manipulation from the perspective of Gestalt psychology. In the article he concentrates on what he terms the unconscious manipulation, and with resort to two major concepts of Gestalt psychology, namely, that of pattern¹⁷ and pattern completion¹⁸, argues that the unconscious

¹⁷ «A configuration or grouping of parts or elements with a coherent structure. In this sense, the connotation is that the separate parts of an array, although distinguishable, form a coherent, integrated whole... (Reber 1985:522)» (Farahazad 1999:154).

¹⁸ «[O]ne of the several Gestalt laws of organization. It assumes an innate tendency to perceive incomplete objects as complete, to close up or fill in gaps in sensory inputs and to view asymmetric and unbalanced stimuli as symmetric and balanced (Reber 1985:127)» (Farahazad 1999:155).

manipulation is “the human tendency to perceive the incomplete as complete” (1999:153), which “urges translators to fill in gaps in the source text by adding new parts to it or assuming new relations between parts, in order to come up with a complete picture of it.” (Farahzad 1999:153) He explains that the unconscious manipulation is a psychological phenomenon, which occurs due to psychological factors. In this article Farahzad concentrates mainly on the unconscious manipulation, and devotes little attention to the conscious manipulation, which in a brief reference he describes as a phenomenon, which results from the conscious processes, and which are not specified further in the article under discussion.

The conscious process leads to conscious manipulation intentionally carried out by the translator because of various social, political and other factors.” (Farahzad 1999:153)

Farahzad does not give any examples of either the unconscious or the conscious manipulation. He only explains that the unconscious manipulation is manifested through “additions and deletions of parts and assuming new relations between them” (1999:157), which are used “to compensate for whatever is vague or implicit, or whatever the translator missed in the source text” in order “to produce a text which conforms with all standards of textuality.” (Farahzad 1999: 157) In the text, according to Farahzad (199) the unconscious manipulation can also appear as over-translations¹⁹, under-translations²⁰ and other manipulative shifts²¹. He does not, however, specify what he understands under the above-mentioned phenomena.

Zauberga (2001) in the text-book for translation students explains manipulation with reference to the Manipulation School and ideology.

A term used to refer to translation, which can be said to reinterpret, alter or manipulate an original text for a certain purpose. According to Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), scholars of the so-called Manipulation School, translation, like all (re)writing is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is

«[T]he subjective ‘closing of gaps’ and the completion of incomplete figures to form wholes.(Eysenck 1975 :176) » (Farahzad 1999 :155).

⁹ Too detailed a translation. In such cases the utterance may lose sense. Often literal translation is regarded as overtranslation (Zauberga 2001:86).

¹⁰ Too generalized a translation. Sometimes free translation is regarded as undertranslation (Zauberga 2001:105).

¹¹ A type of grammatical transformation when changes in the order of language units are introduced in the process of translation. Shifts can be obligatory and optional. Obligatory shifts are rule-governed, i.e. imposed by the rules of the target linguistic and cultural systems. Optional shifts are determined by the translator’s norm who is preoccupied with creating an acceptable TT (Zauberga 2001 :95).

transposed. Reference to the manipulative aspect in translation underscores the ideological dimension present in any translations. (Zauberga 2001:81)

She gives as the example of ideological manipulation the American 1993 version of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy-tale, where the epithet 'white' referring to mermaid's arms has been removed due to racial considerations. In one of her latest publications *Theoretical Tools for Professional Translators* Zauberga (2004) also concentrates on ideological manipulation and distinguishes between deliberate and unconscious manipulation.

On the one hand, the translator may come out with a clearly defined political message, in which case the translator acts visibly and the text qualifies as a politicised translation. On the other hand, translation strategies resulting in a somewhat modified image of the original may evolve naturally from the cultural context of the target text, in which case the translator tends to act in a way that can be described as systematic rather than idiosyncratic. (Zauberga 2004:67)

According to Zauberga (2004) ideological manipulation can take the following forms (exemplified below):

- deletion
- substitution
- addition
- attenuation.

- **Deletion (omissions)**

Deletion used to be a frequently pursued translation strategy during Soviet times . Thus, for example, in the Latvian translation (1980) of Arthur Hailey's *The Airport* omissions have been made due political and moral considerations:

She had come to the United States, not from Hungary as D.O. Guerrero had supposed, but from Glauchau in the Southern portion of East Germany, via the Berlin Wall. Bunnie (who was then Gretchen Vorobioff, the homely, **flat-chested daughter of a minor Communist official and a Young Communist herself**) crossed the wall at night with two male companions. (Hailey 1968:270)

Savienotājās Valstīs viņa bija ieradusies nevis no Ungārijas, kā domāja D.O. Gerero, bet no kādas pilsētiņas Austrumvācijas dienvidos pāri Berlīnes mūrim. Bannija (kas toreiz bija Grēthena Vorobjova, neizskatīga, **sīka** meitene) pārlīda pāri Berlīnes mūrim naktī kopā ar diviem vīriešiem. (Heilijs1980: 246) [both examples quoted from Zauberga 2004:71]

[She had come to the Unites States, not from Hungary as D.O. Gerero had supposed, but from a small town in the Southern part of East Germany, via the

Berlin Wall. Bunnie (who was then Gretchen Vorobioff, a homely, **petite** girl) crossed the wall at night with two male companions.]

- **Substitution**

Substitutions were made both on ideological and moral grounds. Thus in the 1987 Latvian translation of Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Nr.5* the description of Russian soldier's behaviour in the Soviet occupied Germany has been mitigated:

I remember two Russian soldiers who had **looted** a clock factory. They had a horse-drawn wagon full of clocks. They were happy and drunk. (Vonnegut 1983: 17)

Es atcerējos divus krievu karavīrus, kuri bija **uzgājuši** pulksteņu fabriku. Viņi bija piekrāvuši ratus ar pulksteņiem un brauca iedzēruši un laimīgi. (Vonneguts 1987: 18)

[I remember two Russian soldiers who **had found** a clock factory. They had a horse-drawn wagon full of clocks and they were happy and drunk.] [both examples and the translation quoted from Zauberga 2004:71]

This example offers a certain level of softening through the substitution of the pejorative word *looted* by the neutral *had found*.

In the same translation also *homosexuals* have been substituted by *tramps*:

The British had no way of knowing it, but the candles and the soap were made from the fat of rendered Jews and gypsies and **fairies** and communists, and other enemies of the state. (Vonnegut 1983: 67)

Briti jau nevarēja zināt, ka sveces un ziepes izgatavotas no beigtu ebreju, čigānu, **klaidoņu**, komunistu un citu fašistiskās valsts ienaidnieku taukiem. (Vonneguts 1987: 73)

[The British had no way of knowing that the candles and the soap were made from the fat of dead Jews and gypsies and **tramps** and communists, and other enemies of the fascistic state.] [both examples and the translation quoted from Zauberga 2004: 72]

- **Attenuation (softening)**

Attenuation was another widely used strategy applied due to moral considerations to mitigate taboo words or “upgrade” substandard language. Due to the peculiarities (the purist tradition) of the written Latvian language and the literary tradition in Latvia substandard language as well as rude words and swear words have been consistently omitted in literary works and their translations into Latvian. Thus for example the 1973 Latvian translation of Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and into the Trees* contains numerous such instances:

Death is a lot of **shit**. (Hemingway 1970: 219)

Nāve ir **riebīga**. (Hemingvejs 1973: 159)

[Death is **disgusting**.] [the examples and the translation quoted from Zauberga 2004:72]

According to Zauberga (2004) the opposite of deliberate manipulation is unconscious manipulation. Unconscious manipulation according to her is the application of such translation strategies, which result “in a somewhat modified image of the original” and which “may evolve naturally from the cultural context of the target text” (Zauberga 2004: 67). She does not exemplify the unconscious manipulation, though.

Zauberga (2004) believes that overt conscious manipulation is less dangerous than covert and unconscious manipulation, since the latter can often pass unnoticed. Translations done during the soviet rule in the territory of the former Soviet Union and feminist translation are maybe the best examples of open ideological manipulation.

Sirku Aaltonen (1997) discusses manipulation in the translation of foreign drama for the stage and views manipulation as relationship between the source and the target text. She believes that the target text can manipulate the source text in three different ways, which she terms “transformation”, “intersection” and “borrowing”. She has borrowed those terms from Andrew (1984).

According to Andrew (1984:98ff) translation **transforms** its source text when it follows “the letter of the source text” in that it uses the same dramatic structures or the style of presentation. It **intersects** the source text when it foregrounds a particular aspect of it by changing the order of the scenes, some of the characters or the setting. A translation may also use the source text by **borrowing** a central idea, topic or theme in order to weave a new play round it”. (Aaltonen 1997:89) [emphasis added]

As examples of the above described types of manipulations Aaltonen (1997) mentions the following: the second translation of Sean O’Casey’s play *Purple Dust* from German into Finnish in 1974 where some dialogues were turned into songs and the structure was simplified as an example of transformation; Some plays by Shakespeare (not specified which and how) in case of intersection; and the Finnish theatre in the 19th century when “foreign plays were cannibalised into the Finnish polysystem through total

acculturation.” (Aaltonen 1997:91) as well as medieval mystery plays drawing on Bible narratives as examples of borrowing.

Ben-Ari (2002) perceives translation as an efficient tool for ideological manipulation, and admits that Christianity has been “a traditional candidate for such manipulation” (2002:263) in the Jewish culture. The conventional strategies of this type of manipulation, according to Ben-Ari, usually involve “omissions of undesirable material, but often converting the texts into a more acceptable ideological type.” (2002:263) Ben-Ari (2002:263) also explains that both “direct and indirect manipulation of the contents of the translated texts”²² is due to didactic norms, and accordingly dubs the type of manipulation he is describing didactic manipulation.

Didactic manipulation of texts can be exercised for ideological reasons, and can take various forms. It can take the form of conversion of small-scale units (words or phrases), or the form of small-scale omissions. It can also take the form of large-scale omissions, and even influence the preliminary decisions of whether or not to translate “problematic” texts in the first place. (Ben-Ari 2002: 264)

Ben-Ari explains that through norms of the time it was attempted to persuade people not to convert to Christianity or, if they had already done so, to return back to Zionism. The attempts at persuading people were made also through translation. It was typical of the translations of that time to hide the fact that the translation is manipulative. Regardless of the type and scale of manipulations, there was no indication as to the manipulated information in the text. The translation of Hermann Reckendorf’s *Geheimnisse der Juden*, a popular history of the Jews translated in 1893-97 by Avraham Friedberg in Warsaw at the time of the repeated prohibition of Christianity and conversion is given as an example of a manipulated text.

[It] presented a different periodization and a selection of the significant periods or leading figures in Jewish history. Chapters like the one consecrated to Jesus were omitted altogether ... (Ben-Ari 2002:270)

On the example of Lew Wallace (1880) novel *Ben-Hur: A tale of the Christ*, Ben-Ari (2002) describes the major types of large-scale omissions, namely “omissions of generic character pertaining to the historical novel, omissions of normative character,

²² Ben-Ari gives no explicit definition of these types of manipulation.

due to simplification for youth and children; and mainly, omissions (or obliteration) of Christian elements” (Ben-Ari 2002: 281).

Additions and modifications is another type of manipulations which become necessary due to the large-scale omissions. According to Ben-Ari (2002: 294) they can take the form of “active intervention in the text” as well as that of insertion of some material in place of the omitted material.

This material usually is unmarked, however it might also be marked as was the case with the latest translation of *Ben-Hur*.

The addition is announced in a footnote signed by the editor: “Chapter 8 in the translation comes to substitute for Chapter 8 in the original. Y.P.”. (Ben-Ari 2002:294)

The original chapter, where Joseph and Mary are going to Bethlehem, is replaced by a chapter giving detailed historical information on the Jewish nation during the Babylonian exile, and under the Greek empire. The addition seems to be directed towards the young Israelis, who might not know the history of their nation. This is a clear example of didactic manipulation in translation.

Javier Franco Aixelá (1995), a practicing translator, in his research concentrates on the translation of specific cultural items (SCI)²³. He classifies the possible translation strategies for translating SCIs on the basis of the degree of intercultural manipulation resorted to in the process of translation. From his article it follows that intercultural manipulation is resorted to by the translator when dealing with specific cultural items (SCIs). He offers a classification according to the degree of manipulation, where repetition, transcription or transliteration is the lowest degree of manipulation and an autonomous creation is the highest degree of manipulation. It is interesting to note though that according to him any translation strategy for dealing with SCIs is (intercultural) manipulation. Thus he offers the following list of instances of intercultural manipulations ranging from a low to a high degree of manipulation. For the

²³ “SCIs are those textually actualised items whose function and intertextual load in a ST cause a translation problem due to either the non-existence of the referred item in the target system or to its different intertextual and cultural implications” (Aixelá 1995:114).

sake of convenience we have presented the examples offered by Aixelá (1995) in the form of a table (below). The table reflects the manipulation types and examples between English and Spanish, with word for word translation into English as offered by Aixelá.

Degree	Manifestation	Example
A high degree of intercultural manipulation	Autonomous creation	Beautiful volcanoes like the Etna – <i>volcanes hermosos como el Teidi y el Etna</i> [beautiful [volcanoes like the Teide and the Etna]
	Deletion	An Alfa Romeo town car – <i>un Alfa Romeo</i> [an Alfa Romeo]
	Naturalization s	Hundred grand – <i>diez millones de pesetas</i> [ten million pesetas]
	Absolute universalization	Hundred grand – <i>mucho dinero</i> [much money]
	Limited universalization	Hundred grand – <i>cien mil dólares</i> [hundred thousand dollars]
	Intratextual gloss	The Trent – <i>el río Trent</i> [the river Trent]
A low degree of intercultural manipulation	Extratextual gloss	Footnote, endnote, glossary, commentary/translation in brackets, in italics, etc.)
	Linguistic (not cultural) translation	Hundred grand – <i>cien de los grandes</i> [hundred of the grand]
	Repetition, transcription or transliteration	Lancaster - [Lancaster]

Table 2. Typology of intercultural manipulation by Aixelá

The above described manipulation typologies as offered by various scholars could be summarised for the sake of convenience in the form of the table below.

Manipulation Type	Definition	Examples
Conscious vs. Unconscious manipulation (Farahzad 1999)	Unconscious manipulation is the result of ‘the human tendency to perceive the incomplete as complete’ (Farahzad 1999 :153) which ‘urges translators to fill in gaps in the source text by adding new parts to it or assuming new relations between parts, in order to come up with a complete picture of it.’ (Farahzad 1999:153). Conscious manipulation results from the conscious processes (which are not specified further). ‘The conscious process leads to conscious manipulation intentionally carried out by the translator because of various social, political and other factors.’(Farahzad 1999 :153)	(No examples given)
Ideological rewriting (Zauberga 2001)	The presence or the manifestation of the ideological dimension in any translation	In the American version of Hans Christian Andersen’s fairy-tale, where the epithet ‘white’ referring to mermaid’s arms has been removed due to racial considerations.
Transformation Intersection Borrowing (Aaltonen 1997)	Transformation takes place when the target text uses exactly the same structures or the style of presentation as the source text. Intersection takes place when the target text as opposed to the source text foregrounds a particular aspect of the source text, e.g., a changed order of scenes, the modification of certain characters or scenes Borrowing takes place when the target text borrows certain elements of the source text, e.g., the central idea, topic or theme, and uses it as a basis for a new play.	The second translation of Sean O’Casey’s play Purple Dust in 1974 where some dialogues were turned into songs, the structure was simplified. Some plays by Shakespeare (not specified which and how). The Finnish theatre in the 19 th century when “foreign plays were cannibalised into the Finnish polysystem through total acculturation.” (Aaltonen 1997:91) Medieval mystery plays drawing on Bible narratives.
Didactic manipulation (Ben-Ari 2002)	Labelled didactic manipulation because it is due to didactic norms. This type of manipulation can take the form of both ‘direct and indirect manipulation of the contents of translated texts’(Ben-Ari 2002:264), however it is not further specified what is direct and what is indirect manipulation. Ben-Ari shows how Christian material has been handled in Hebrew literature. Didactic manipulation of texts can be exercised for ideological reasons, and can take various forms. It can take the form of conversion of small-scale units (words or phrases), or the form of small-scale omissions. It can also take the form of large-scale omissions, and even influence the preliminary decisions of whether or not to translate “problematic” texts in the first place. (Ben-Ari 2002:264)	The translation of Hermann Reckendorf’s <i>Geheimnisse der Juden</i> , a popular history of the Jews translated in 1893-97 by Avraham Friedberg in Warsaw at the time of the repeated prohibition of Christianity and conversion. [P]resented a different periodization and a selection of the significant periods or leading figures in Jewish history. Chapters like the one consecrated to Jesus were omitted altogether ... (Ben-Ari 2002:270) There might also be a need to compensate for the omitted material. Such compensation usually takes the form of additions and modifications, which sometimes might also be announced in the text (usually in a footnote). The addition is announced in a footnote signed by the editor: “Chapter 8 in the translation comes to substitute for Chapter 8 in the original. Y.P.”. (Ben-Ari 2002:294) The original chapter, where Joseph and Mary are going to Bethlehem, is replaced by a chapter giving detailed historical information on the Jewish nation during the Babylonian exile, and under the Greek rule. The addition seems to be directed towards the young Israelis, who might not know the history of their nation. This is a clear example of didactic manipulation in translation.
Intercultural manipulation (Aixelá 1995)	He offers a classification according to the degree of manipulation , where repetition, transcription or transliteration is the lowest degree of manipulation and an autonomous creation is the highest degree of manipulation. It is interesting to note though that according to him any translation strategy for dealing with SCIs is (intercultural) manipulation. Thus, he offers the following list of instances of intercultural manipulations ranging from a low to a high degree of manipulation.	<u>Repetition, transcription or transliteration</u> : Lancaster - [Lancaster] <u>Linguistic (not cultural) translation</u> : Hundred grand – <i>cien de los grandes</i> [hundred of the grand] <u>Extratextual gloss</u> : Footnote, endnote, glossary, commentary/translation in brackets, in italics, etc.) <u>Intratextual gloss</u> : The Trent – <i>el río Trent</i> [the river Trent] <u>Limited universalization</u> : Hundred grand – <i>cien mil dólares</i> [hundred thousand dollars] <u>Absolute universalization</u> : Hundred grand – <i>mucho dinero</i> [much money] <u>Naturalization</u> : Hundred grand – <i>diez millones de pesetas</i> [ten million pesetas] <u>Deletion</u> : An Alfa Romeo town car – <i>un Alfa Romeo</i> [an Alfa Romeo] <u>Autonomous creation</u> : Beautiful volcanoes like the Etna – <i>volcanes hermosos como el Teide y el Etna</i> [beautiful volcanoes like the Teide and the Etna]

Table 3. Manipulation and translation: state of the arts

From the above discussion it follows that neither of the sources offers either a clear and explicit general definition of manipulation or a proper general typology of it. Farahazad could be said to perceive the unconscious manipulation as **a psychological phenomenon** and the conscious manipulation as **the result of various kinds of external factors**. Zauberga distinguishes between conscious and unconscious manipulation. In her writings she concentrates on the former type more than on the latter though. It could be said that manipulation is presented there as **the manifestations of the underlying ideologies**. Aaltonen concentrates on drama translation and perceives manipulation as **relationship between the Source and the Target Text**. The Target Text is presented as the active agent, which selects and presents parts of the Source Text in a particular manner. It is interesting to note, though, that even when the text is transferred without alterations according to Aaltonen it is still manipulation. Ben-Ari concentrates on one particular type of manipulation, namely **the didactic manipulation**, which according to him is aimed at educating and instructing the reader. According to Aixelá manipulation is **a translation strategy** for dealing with specific cultural items.

A closer look at the theoretical considerations on the topic of manipulation in translation uncovers the following research deficit: a lack of a clear definition, conceptualisation and typology of manipulation.

Summary

In the present section reflects the opinions of various scholars on the manipulative nature of translation. To begin with the opinions of the scholars of the Manipulation School have been presented followed by those of a number of scholars writing on manipulation representing other schools of thought in translation studies. In brief it can be said that scholars writing on the manipulative aspects of translation usually concentrate on one particular text type, usually literary texts, and on one particular type of manipulation, i.e. ideology induced manipulation. The scholars of the Manipulation School are rather categorical in their statements claiming that translation is manipulation. Manipulation, according to the views of this school, is due both to the hybrid nature of translation (or the dual bind of translation with the source and the target culture and language) and to the power struggle within the polysystem or between the

systems of various cultures. Manipulation results in shifts of translation. However not all shifts are signs of manipulation. The scholars referred to in this section representing other schools of thought in Translation Studies also believe that translation is manipulation. They bring out various aspects of this phenomenon. Thus, manipulation is perceived and interpreted in various ways: it is seen as a psychological phenomenon or the result of external pressures like ideology; or as the relationship between the two texts in question; or as a translation strategy for dealing with specific cultural phenomena. The scholars also distinguish several types of manipulation, namely conscious and unconscious manipulation, or didactic manipulation. A closer look at the theoretical considerations on the topic of manipulation in translation uncovers the following research deficit: although the translation scholars have been investigating the issue of manipulation in translation already since the 1970s, there seems to be a lack of a clear definition, conceptualisation and typology of manipulation.

3 CONCEPTUALISATION AND TYPOLOGY OF MANIPULATION IN TRANSLATION

Building on the previous chapter this chapter conceptualises translational manipulation and offers a typology of this phenomenon. To be able to conceptualise translational manipulation first the habitual manipulation is described, followed by a comparison of the two.

3.1 Translational Manipulation vs. Habitual Manipulation

The present section is devoted to the comparison of the traditional everyday concept of the term manipulation and the way it is perceived in Translation Studies. For the sake of convenience manipulation in translation is termed here translational manipulation and manipulation as commonly understood – habitual manipulation.

3.1.1 Manipulation in Habitual and Professional Contexts

To be able to conceptualise translational manipulation first it is necessary to look at manipulation as a phenomenon in general, and the way it has been perceived in other spheres of life and sciences. We may come across the term ‘manipulation’ within a variety of fields. Thus Fairclough (1994:2360) describes manipulation in everyday life as “the strategies that people use to get others to do what they want them to do” which are “partly linguistic, involving manipulative uses of language” (1994:2360). Further he defines *linguistic manipulation* as “the conscious use of language in a devious way to control others”, and explains that ‘using language in a devious way’ is to use language “in a way which hides one’s strategies and objectives” (Fairclough 1994: 2360).

Thus, the main feature of manipulation in everyday contexts is deviousness.

The term *manipulation* is also used in a multitude of specific professional contexts. The on-line version of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, for example, enlists such fields as logics, statistics, computing, mathematics, agriculture, religion, arts and medicine. In

each of the above mentioned fields manipulation, or rather manipulative strategies, are applied in a specific manner, however, they all share a common feature, namely in all instances something is done to change the current state of affairs. However, these actions do not necessarily bear negative consequences and are not necessarily considered devious.

In specific professional contexts there are at least two ways of perceiving manipulation. Firstly, it might be seen as an action, as handling of a certain object or phenomenon. Thus, the online version of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* offers a definition of the word 'lock' in which this meaning of the word 'manipulation' is clearly demonstrated.

Lock- mechanical device for securing a door or receptacle so that it cannot be opened except by a key or by a series of manipulations that can be carried out only by a person knowing the secret code.

In this example the word 'manipulation' is used in a rather neutral way, implying that 'a series of manipulations' is an alternative way of opening the door.

Secondly, manipulation may be seen as the strategies used to make people believe or do certain things. Thus, the online version of the encyclopaedia describes the way manipulation could be used to present statistical information.

One of the chief problems with statistics is the ability to make them say what one desires through the manipulation of numbers or graphics. Graphs are frequently used in newspapers and in the business world to create a quick and dramatic impression. Sometimes the graphs used are misleading.

In this example the devious and negative side of manipulation is stressed.

Websters International Dictionary defines manipulation as follows:

- 1: the act, process, or an instance of manipulating as
 - a) the act or an instance of handling with hands or mechanical means
 - b) manual examination or treatment of body parts; esp: adjustment of faulty structural relationship by manual means
 - c) management or handling directed toward some object
 - d) management with use of unfair, scheming, or underhanded methods esp. for one's own advantage
 - e) activity by an individual or group intended to influence the behaviour of market prices
- 2: the condition of being manipulated.

In this example the various shades of meaning of the term ‘manipulation’ are clearly displayed. Thus, manipulating in specific professional contexts may be either neutral (as in examples a) and c)), positive (as in example b)) or negative (as in example d)). Sometimes it is necessary to evaluate a particular action in its context to be able to label it (as in example e)).

The German magazine *Spiegel Kultur* describes the ways computer manipulations are used to ‘improve’ the pictures of stars on magazine covers.

Die digitale Bildbearbeitung gehört hier längst zum Standardrepertoire. Kaum ein Titelbild in internationalen Lifestyle-Blättern erscheint, ohne dass Falten, Speck und Leberfleck am PC durch ein paar Mausklicks getilgt werden. Auch bei Promis in Hochglanzanzeigen und Werbespots ist so gut wie alles manipuliert.²⁴ (*Spiegel Kultur* 2004:15)

In this instance manipulation is a strategy used to change the object presented. The aim of such changes is to influence the target audience, to make it believe something, which might be true but is not.

To sum up it can be said that habitual manipulation or manipulation in everyday contexts bears a negative connotation and is usually perceived as the use of devious means to achieve certain, usually, mischievous ends. In specific professional contexts, like medicine, finances or statistics, manipulation acquires a wider scope and may be of positive, negative or neutral nature.

3.1.2 Translational Manipulation

Also in Translation Studies one encounters both the above-mentioned meanings of manipulation. For example, David Katan (1999) thinks that manipulation is part and parcel of a translation. He begins the argument by quoting the *Collins English Dictionary* (1991) where the word *to manipulate* is defined as follows:

1. to handle or use especially with some skill.

²⁴ The digital treatment of pictures has become standard practice here a long time ago. Rare is the cover photo in international life-style magazines where wrinkles, fat or birthmark has not been digitally corrected. Also the advertisements featuring celebrities are almost complete manipulations. [My translation]

2. to negotiate, control, or influence (something or someone) cleverly, skilfully, or deviously.

A little further he writes:

Many theorists are clearly concerned about the possibility of deviousness in a translation. However, the very act of translating involves skilful manipulation as in definition one, and most of definition two. Deviousness can occur in any translation. Faithful translations can often be as devious as any conscious manipulation of the text. In fact, it was due to a literal translation that President Nixon was convinced that the Japanese were devious in their negotiations^[25].” (Katan 1999: 140) [footnote added]

Some theorists even go as far as claiming that any translation strategy results in manipulation. Such a claim is made, for example, in respect to the two most often discussed translation strategies, namely domestication and foreignisation. It is generally believed that foreignisation is more just to the original, and consequently devoid of manipulation. However, Lane-Mercier (1997) questions this assumption:

One might also question the extent to which foreignizing strategies are indeed more “respectful” of the source text’s cultural and linguistic specificity. Could it not be said that they simply reinfuse the latter with marginalized “politically correct” target culture values, thus serving a dominated, but nonetheless domestic, political and/or aesthetic discourse? As Françoise Massardier-Kenney remarks, “adapting the radical gesture of the text could very well be another way of making the text ‘culturally fluent’, of making it fit our own contemporary expectations of what constitutes ‘resistant’ writing” (1994:15). (Lane-Mercier 1997: 61)

The arguments about the manipulative nature of translation and those on manipulation in general show how controversial this issue is. In the next section it will be attempted to conceptualise and exemplify manipulation within the context of translation. However, first it is necessary to understand what exactly translational manipulation is.

Didaoui (1995), when describing the Performance Appraisal System used by the United Nations, mentions, among other elements of performance dimensions, also *adaptation*²⁶ *for the target reader* explaining that “[a] target text should read as an original and should be fully adapted for the target reader (**end-user focus**)...” (1995: 524)

²⁵ President Nixon was in Japan to discuss trade matters and the issue of the Okinawan islands with Prime Minister Sato. In the course of negotiations Nixon conceded the islands to Japan and in return wanted Japan to provide some concessions of import quotas to the United States. The interpreter provided a literal rendition of Sato’s reply “[*zensho shimas*]” as “I will deal with the matter in a forward-looking manner”, whereas what the Japanese Prime Minister actually meant was “ We would not wish to spoil your stay here, but...” (qtd. in Katan 1999)

Juliane House (1998) speaks about the **application of ‘a cultural filter’** to overcome the cultural gap.

Catford, Popovič, Toury and van Leuven-Zwart (see Chapter 2) speak about **‘shifts’** in translation as the result of the translator’s attempt to comprehend and faithfully reproduce the source text.

Rewriting is another term applied to this type of text handling. This term is much wider and includes not only the translator’s handling of a text but also text handling performed by critics, historians, journalists and scholars. The term was introduced by Lefevere and “arose from the conviction that Translation Studies needs to deal with the socio-cultural, ideological and literary constraints which lie behind the production of texts” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 147)

Thus, rewriting could be seen as a term encompassing manipulation, and describing rather precisely certain of its aspects.

The above examples show that there is a number of terms which basically denote one and the same phenomenon – translator’s handling of a text as a result of which the text becomes “adapted for the target reader”²⁷ through the application of “cultural filter”²⁸, trying to accommodate and deal with “the socio-cultural, ideological and literary constraints which lie behind the production of texts”²⁹, and the end product might seem like “departures from formal correspondence”³⁰ between the texts and which occur “not because the translator wishes to ‘change’ a work, but because he strives to reproduce it as faithfully as possible.”³¹ Thus this type of text handling could be termed **adaptation, application of cultural filters, use shifts, rewriting** or may be it is **manipulation**. It seems that the term *manipulation* is wider than any of the above mentioned, and at the

²⁶ “Adaptation – a translation procedure where the translator replaces a socio-cultural reality from the source language with a reality specific to the culture of the target language in order to accommodate the expectations of the target audience” (Delisle 1988: 115).

²⁷ Didaoui (1995: 524)

²⁸ House (1998: 199)

²⁹ Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997: 147)

³⁰ Catford (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 152)

same time encompasses all the above-mentioned activities. This is also in line with Herman's definition of manipulation. According to him manipulation is a type of text handling on the part of translator aimed at bringing "the Target Text into line with a particular model and hence a particular correctness notion, and in so doing secure(ing) social acceptance, even acclaim" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:101).

The above definition, compiled for the purposes of this research from a number of sources serves as **a preliminary definition of translational manipulation**. However, it must be noted that it reflects only one side of manipulation, namely the positive side. Strictly speaking this type of positive text handling is not really manipulation, at least not manipulation as commonly understood.

Manipulation as Handling

Technically speaking any text, including a translation can be perceived as manipulation, because of several reasons. Firstly, any text or translation may be perceived as manipulation because it changes the state of affairs, i.e. it brings something new into the Target Culture (TC), thus changing its environment to a larger or smaller extent. Speaking about the change, the fact that the same text is reproduced in another language also could be perceived as a change, because the text is reworded in another language and transferred to another culture, thus handling the source text.

Secondly, metaphorically speaking, it establishes a certain relationship with its reader(s), or handles its reader(s). Thus, Anthony Pym (1992:176) distinguishes three receptive positions of readers of any text, namely excluded, observational and participative reader. The receiver is excluded from communication if the text is written in a language not accessible to him/her. A reader is participative, if s/he can directly respond to a text, for example in case of an advertisement, and a reader is observational when s/he can follow the text but does not intend to respond to it. Translation can change these reader positions. If the text is handled, i.e. translated also the relationship between the text and the reader is changed.

³¹ Popovič (in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:57)

Thirdly, the fact that a certain text has been translated also could be interpreted as an instance of manipulation. Pym (1992:173) speaks of “displaced texts” According to him they are the product of text transfer. This group includes not only transferred foreign texts, but also “the results of textual reproduction and representation through procedures like publication, citation, commentary, elaboration, editing, paraphrase and summary.” (Pym 1992: 174). He sees translation as a product within this range. So translation could be seen as manipulation because it takes a text out of its natural context and places it in a new context, thus manipulating both the source and the target poles.

Manipulation as Distortion

Not everybody would qualify the above described activities as translational manipulation. Manipulation usually is perceived as distortion rather than simple displacement, placement or positioning of an object, in this case a text. In the current section the deviousness of translational manipulation is discussed. Distortion is the changing of the meaning or purpose of something which does not correspond to the truth. In case of translation and interpreting it is the changing of the input information in a way that makes it differ from the original and misrepresents it. This can be done in various ways, for example by adding or omitting parts of the message, changing the tone or meaning of the original. The classical examples of manipulation are the translations done under the Soviet rule, where everything anti-soviet was eliminated from the texts. (for examples see Chapter 2 and 5)

Manipulation as improvement

In general an improvement is a change made to something that makes it better. In case of translation and interpreting it is the improvement of some or more elements of the source text or message. Sara Laviosa-Braithwaite (1998/2001) refers to Vanderauwera (1985) who has gathered a corpus of novels translated from Dutch into English. Vanderauwera (1985 qtd. in Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998/2001) describes extensive evidence of changes made in the translations if compared to the originals, which, according to her improve the text. Among the changes there are shifts of punctuation, lexical choice, change of style, sentence structure and textual organisation. According to

Vanderauwera all these changes or manipulations, as Laviosa-Braithwaite (1998/2001) terms them help to create a text which is better readable and more idiomatic, coherent and organised than the original. It is necessary to add, though, that the evaluation is seems to be made by someone, who is more used to English than Dutch literary conventions. When making such judgements it still is necessary to identify the viewpoint from which it is made.

Shlesinger (1991 qtd. in Laviosa-Braithwaite (1998/2001) has analysed court interpreter output between the languages Hebrew and English and has come to a conclusion that the interpreters have used various forms of normalization, for example, completed unfinished sentences, improved the grammatical structures, deleted false starts and self-corrections as a result producing a more audience-friendly Target Text.

3.2 Manifestations of Manipulation

From the above discussion it follows that manipulation may be manifested in various ways. This section looks into these ways first describing manipulation as a translation and interpreting strategy which in turn is manifested as a shift in the translator's / interpreter's output if compared to the original.

3.2.1 Manipulation as a Translation /Interpreting Strategy

Translation strategy in the widest sense is the overall approach to translation, starting with the selection of the text to be translated. In the narrower sense strategy is the ways or manner of solving a certain problem. In relation to translation one usually speaks of two main translation strategies, namely and foreignisation. Domestication is 'a translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for TL readers' (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 44). Foreignization is a translation strategy whereby a TT is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original. (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:59) Manipulation can also be seen as translation strategy, which might be applied to the whole of the text or only to some parts of it in which case it becomes what might be labelled a partial strategy. The dichotomy of general and partial strategy has been borrowed from Schreiber (1993), who makes a distinction between general (generelle Strategien der Texttransformation) and partial translation strategies (Teilverfahren, Techniken). General translation strategies are applied to the whole of the text and partial only to certain elements or units of the text. In Translation Studies the terms translation/ interpreting strategy, translation/ interpreting technique, method and operation are used interchangeably in the sense of the solutions adopted by a translator/interpreter to bridge the cultural and linguistic gap between the cultures in question.

Manipulation may also be seen as a translation / interpreting strategy or even used a collective noun referring to the application of various translation / interpreting strategies.

Speaking of manipulation as a general translation strategy, one should consider the

translation process as such. Translation is a complex decision-making process in the course of which an original, or using Wils's terminology 'a primary' text is transformed into a secondary text. The translator's task amounts to the reproduction of "a source text for a target-language readership, taking account of its semantic, functional, pragmatic, and stylistic dimension, in addition to the needs and expectations of the target-text readership" (Wilss 1998/ 2001:57-8).

The same definition can also be adjusted to interpreting bearing in mind the similar nature of the two activities. In order to accomplish the above described task both the translator and the interpreter resort to various strategies. The following table offers an illustration of a possible problem and a suggested translation/interpreting strategy to solve it.

Problem	Strategy
Intention to make the translation sound like an original TL text.	Domestication - A term used by Venuti (1995) to describe the translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for TL readers. (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 44).
Intention to make the translation sound like a foreign text to the TC reader.	Foreignization - A term used by Venuti (1995) to designate the type of translation in which a TT is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original. (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:59).
<p>Non-equivalence at word level (from Baker 1992:20-43)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture specific concepts. The SL concept is not lexicalised in the TL. The SL word is semantically complex. The SL and TL make different distinctions in meaning. The TL lacks a superordinate. The TL lacks a specific term (hyponym) Differences in physical or interpersonal perspective. Differences in expressive meaning. 	<p>Generalization -translation by a more general word.</p> <p>Neutralisation – translation by a more neutral / less expressive word.</p> <p>Cultural substitution – a type of transformation when a separate unit is replaced by another one.</p> <p>Translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation.</p> <p>Translation by paraphrase using a related word.</p> <p>Translation by paraphrase using unrelated words.</p> <p>Translation by omission.</p> <p>Translation by illustration</p>
Non-equivalence above word level: collocations, idioms and fixed expressions	<p>Substitution – a type of grammatical transformation when either separate language units or whole constructions are replaced by other forms or constructions (Zauberga 2004:170)</p> <p>Deletion /omission – a type of lexical transformation when some ST units are omitted in the translation for different reasons (Zauberga 2004:136).</p> <p>Compensation – a type of lexical transformation by which ST units lost in translation are passed over by some other means often in some other place of TT (Zauberga 2004:133).</p> <p>Paraphrase /rewording – a type of lexical transformation whereby the same idea is expressed with different words.</p>
<p>Textual equivalence: coping with cohesion and coherence (Baker 1992:119-215).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gender - person - verb tense - restrictions of word order 	<p>Addition – a type of lexical transformation whereby the missing elements are introduced in the text.</p> <p>Deletion (see above)</p> <p>Reordering/restructuring</p> <p>Different lexical chains</p>

Table 4. Some basic translation strategies

Interpreting, as described in Chapter 1 is a difficult and intellectually demanding activity since it requires intense concentration on the part of interpreter. Both modes the consecutive and the simultaneous in essence are similar, insofar as they involve constant listening, understanding, analysing and re-expression. The interpreter's task is to communicate a clear and accurate message under all circumstances (for more information see Chapter 7). Roderick Jones offers a set of 'golden rules' for interpreters that need to be observed for successful communication.

The simultaneous interpreter must:

- remember they are communicating;
- make the best possible use of the technical facilities;
- ensure they can hear both the speaker and themselves clearly;
- never attempt to interpret something they have not heard or acoustically understood;
- maximize concentration;
- not be distracted by focussing attention on individual problematic words;
- cultivate split attention, with active, analytical listening to the speaker and critical monitoring of their own output;
- use where possible, short, simple sentences;
- be grammatical;
- make sense in every single sentence;
- always finish their sentences. (Jones 1998:78)

In order to ensure communication and to convey the speaker's meaning as faithfully as possible the interpreter may resort to various interpreting strategies.

Problem	Strategy
A relatively illogical, long and complicated sentence	Reformulation – one of the most important interpreting strategies, which involves making sense, breaking down long complicated sentences and rearranging the grammatical structure if necessary.
Long complicated and convoluted sentences	Salami technique – 'The technique of 'slicing up' long or complicated sentences into shorter, more comprehensible sentences during the interpreting process' (Jones 1998:146)
Highly technical material (<i>in cases when the interpreter has difficulties following or when the audience is apparently not able to follow</i>)	Simplification – an interpreting strategy whereby only the very essence of the message is extracted. A strategy to be used sparingly.
A list of specific items in a very fast speech, especially if the extended list is not too relevant.	Generalization – the substitution of a list or of more specific information with more general.
Under pressure of a fast speakers if the subject is very technical and the speaker very fast.	Omission – an interpreting strategy whereby certain elements (usually illustrative and accessory) of the original do not find their way in the interpretation.
The audience seems not to have understood the message.	Summarizing and recapitulation – a repetition in a condensed way of the main ideas of the speech after they have been already expressed and interpreted once.
Notions, cultural and institutional references etc., that have no direct equivalent in the TL.	Explanation – an interpreting strategy whereby a foreign notion is described in terms understandable to the TA.
Interpreting from languages of a peculiar sentence structure, e.g. German, where the verb comes at the end of the sentence.	Anticipation – an interpreting strategy whereby lexical and semantic structures of the speech are predicted or foretold by the interpreter.

Table 5. Some basic interpreting strategies as described by Jones (1998)

The choice of the most suitable strategy depends on a given context and source material. The translator/ interpreter does not work in a vacuum. Being a translator or interpreter amounts to playing a social role (Toury 1995) within a cultural environment, hence, when discussing translation such factors as language, literary tradition and socio-cultural situation must not be disregarded. Levý (1967) stresses the pragmatic nature of the real-world translation work.

The translator resolves for that one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect within a minimum of effort. That is to say, he intuitively resolves for the so-called MINIMAX STRATEGY³² (Levy 1967:156).

Translation and interpreting strategies, including the above described ones, usually take the form of partial strategies, i.e. techniques applied in dealing with individual elements in the Source Text, however, it is also possible to apply at least some of them at the level of the whole text, for example, substitution or addition.

Manipulation as a general translation / interpreting strategy can also be applied to readers. Thus as translation / interpreting strategy it can be applied to shift between the various categories of readers as distinguished by Pym (1992). A text, which is transferred from one culture to another, might need to be adjusted to the new cultural situation. According to Pym (1992) this does not need to be a devious change, but rather a natural course of things. Certain adjustments might be necessary because the value systems of both the cultures involved might not tally. When a text is transferred from one culture to another it is necessary to consider how it will be perceived in the Target Culture if compared to the Source Culture. Thus, depending on the desired position of the reader (excluded, observational and participative reader), the translator can decide upon the translation strategy. Translating texts within the same culture might also require certain adjustments if a text which is several centuries old is translated for the contemporary readership.

To translate is thus to struggle against radical value transformation [(...)]. That is, the translator's skills are called upon at certain points where transfer makes certain shifts desirable between excluded, observational and participative receptors. (Pym 1992:181)

³² A principle, according to which, a translator resolves for the solution which promises maximum effect with minimum effort.

Sometimes the segment of the Target Audience in the SC may differ from the respective segment in the TC. It may be a conscious and independent decision to on the part of the translator to address a different audience, however, it is also possible that the decision is made by somebody else, for example, to adapt a literary work originally intended for grownups to the child audience or vice versa.

3.2.2 Manipulation as a Shift

In translation manipulation is manifested in the form of what has become known as shifts (see Chapter 2). This term is used in Translation Studies to denote changes, which might be observed in the target text if compared to the source text. Numerous scholars have concerned themselves with the notion of shifts, for example, Catford, Popovič, van den Broeck, Lefevere, Toury, van Leuven-Zwart, as discussed above. A general distinction between obligatory and optional shifts can be made. Obligatory shifts arise due to the differences between the two linguistic systems involved, and optional shifts are introduced by the translator him/herself due to ideological, cultural or stylistic considerations. (Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart 1998/2001: 228)

In translations shifts might take various forms. They might be manifested as omissions, additions, substitutions, attenuations or replacements as well as the external guidance, as exemplified in the previous sections.

The following manipulation types could manifest themselves as follows:

- ideology- and culture-induced manipulation might result in omissions, additions, substitutions, replacements;
- psychology-induced manipulation might be manifested as explicitation, normalisation (standardisation);
- ignorance-induced manipulation might result in language mistakes, wrong translations, factual mistakes, false, unintentional interpretations (difficult to tell whether the interpretation is intentional or unintentional).

These adjustments, on the one hand, are unjustifiable, but on the other, it might be the only way to introduce the culture to a particular author as was the case, for example, in

the Soviet case.

Ewa Gumul (2006) studies explicitation as a shift in simultaneous interpreting, which is due to specific features of simultaneous interpreting, like time constraints, linearity constraints and (un)shared knowledge Constraints, and may be manifested in the form of added connectives (and, so, thus) paraphrase, filling out elliptical constructions, replacements, additions. She distinguishes between explicitation as a conscious interpreting strategy for problem solving in case of novice or student interpreters and subconscious explicitation as an automatic process in case of experienced conference interpreters.

Summary

Conventionally manipulation, both translational and habitual is perceived as something negative, and at the first sight it seems that there is practically no difference between the two. Usually it is considered that manipulative strategies are resorted to both in everyday situations and in translation to hide one's true intentions. Manipulation is the manifestation of manipulative strategies as well as the result of such strategies resorted to both in everyday situations and in translation for various purposes. It must be stressed, however, that the intentions and purposes need not necessarily be evil. Habitual (or conventional) manipulation is a conscious strategy usually used in order to hide one's true intentions and in order to make somebody do something they would not do on their own accord, or make somebody believe something, which is not true, or not quite true. Translational manipulation, however, is a wider and a more sophisticated phenomenon. Within the context of manipulation one distinguishes several kinds of manipulation, which are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In translation manipulation can be perceived in at least two ways – as something negative, as “the visible signs of translator's ideological intrusion into the text, that is distortion (whether intentional or not) of the source text inspired first and foremost by the as the translator's religious or political outlook” (Chrisafulli 2003:1), or as something positive, as the translator's attempt to bring a particular text closer to the target audience, thus, securing its acceptance at the target pole, i.e. to mediate the cultural gap and facilitate understanding.

Translational manipulation may be perceived as handling, distortion or improvement. In the text manipulation manifests itself in the form of shifts, which may appear as, for example, omission, addition, substitution, attenuation or replacement. Shifts may occur for various reasons, the most common of them being linguistic, cultural, psychological or ideological. Shifts may also result from ignorance. Manipulation can take the form of a general or partial translation strategy; it may be voluntary or mandatory. Voluntary manipulation refers to such cases where the translator/interpreter might have as well not introduced a shift in the output, but nevertheless has done so. Mandatory manipulation usually results from the fact that the translatorship amounts to playing a social role within a cultural context. Certain existing standards of translation usually expressed in the form of rules, norms and conventions must be observed.

As a result of the above comprehensive treatment of translational manipulation it is possible to offer **a new working definition of manipulation**. For the purposes of the present research manipulation is considered to be the translator's / interpreter's handling of a text which results in the adaptation of the text for the Target Audience, considering the cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary differences between the cultures in contact, which takes place within a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human agent, with the consequence of a possible influence of individual- or psychology-related factors upon the end product.

3.3 A General Typology Of Manipulation

The present section offers a general manipulation typology. It is developed on the basis of the writings of numerous scholars on the topic of manipulation as discussed in the previous chapters. The aim of the present section is to structure the information on translational manipulation acquired from various sources as well as to offer some additional types of manipulation. It must be added, however that no division or grid can be absolutely rigid and clear-cut. In the case of manipulation the edges of the various types of manipulation are fuzzy, and sometimes it is difficult to clearly distinguish one type of manipulation from the other. Some types of manipulation also come close to errors or mistakes.

3.4 Translational Manipulation: General Considerations

The present section offers structured information on the issue translational manipulation. To begin with some basic manipulation-related principles are described, which for the sake of convenience have been presented in a form of bullet points.

- There are at least two understandings of translational manipulation: **manipulation as handling and manipulation as change.**

On the one hand it can be claimed that everything one does in respect to a certain text, including translation, is manipulation. With handling one usually understands activities, which do not involve major changes and are neither positive nor negative. In the case of translation it is language change. On the other hand manipulation is the approach (and results of such approach) to translation whereby one processes a certain text so as to fit it to a certain model or belief about the culture, author and intention of the text. Such processing involves major changes and may be either positive, as in the case of localisation, or negative as in the case of distortive ideological translation.

Conventionally the word manipulation has a negative connotation – that of distortion. Indeed, conventionally only manipulation as distortion qualifies as manipulation proper, and only the translations which bare traces of this type of manipulation are considered to be manipulative. However such an approach is superficial. To label ‘manipulation’ only the negative changes disregarding other alterations and modifications is one-sided. The analysis of the theoretical thinking on the subject (see Chapter 2) clearly shows that all changes that have taken place as a result of translation are manipulations. For example, when working with different languages certain changes or shifts are inevitable, for instance in the languages where the personal pronoun for the second person singular coincides with that of the second person plural and in those languages where it does not (*Du (German) you (English), tu (Latvian)*), the change is manipulation, if only as a sign of handling but still a manipulation. Furthermore, the sum total of such minor changes or shifts can result in an impression that the text has been manipulated as pointed out by van Leuven-Zwart (see Chapter 2). However it is necessary to distinguish between the three types of manipulation: manipulation as

improvement, manipulation as handling and manipulation as distortion. The inevitable changes resulting from the linguistic differences between the languages in contact are manipulation as handling, unannounced optional changes, depending on their effect in the text may be labelled improvement or distortion, respectively.

- Manipulation can take the form of a **general or a partial translation strategy**. Manipulation can be seen as translation strategy if one believes, as Venuti (1998/2001:240) that “[s]trategies of translation involve the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it.” Translational manipulation is a strategy, which might be applied in relation to a translation at various points in time (pre-production, production and post-production stages) as well as the results of the application of manipulative translation strategies, i.e. the instances of manipulation in the translated texts. In interpreting strategy may take the form of “a conscious effort on the part of the interpreter to communicate effectively with the target-language audience, and a conscious procedure for coping with high-load inducing input” (Gumul 2006: 178). In other words one can speak about manipulation as a general or a partial translation strategy (see Chapter 3).

Manipulation as a general strategy might be applied to the field of translation as such, when a selection is made, which texts to translate; or to the text as a whole, when it is decided in what manner to translate a particular text. Manipulation as a partial strategy is applied to separate elements or segments of the text.

- A distinction between **manipulation as process and manipulation as product** can also be made.

Manipulation as process are the activities performed in relation to a particular text to be translated before, during and after translation. The manipulative processes are already at work even before the actual process of translation has begun and they continue even after the translation has been completed, hence the distinction between the text-external and text-internal manipulation or text manipulation and context manipulation.

Manipulation as product is the result of the process of manipulation, i.e. the text on the paper and the instances of manipulation in it. More precisely, it is the results of such translation strategies as omission or generalisation (as partial strategies) or localisation (as a general strategy).

- One distinguishes also between **text-internal and text-external manipulation**. Text-internal manipulation is manipulation that takes place within the text including manipulation as handling and manipulation as change – distortion or improvement respectively. Text-external manipulation is manipulation, which takes place outside the text. This type of manipulation can be explained with reference to the polysystem theory, i.e. the external struggle for power of texts and cultures, and the various layers of the literary system. It must be stressed that there is a link between these two types of manipulation, namely that the external level can influence the internal level, i.e. the solutions opted for in the course of translation.

- Manipulation can be performed by **various actors** – parties of the translation process.

Among the various actors involved in the process there is the commissioner, the publisher, the translator and the editor, reviser, critic and even the society at large.

- In the context of manipulation there is an important question that needs to be answered, namely, **who or what is being manipulated**.

Generally speaking it is the translated text that is manipulated. Through the manipulation of a particular text also the respective Source and Target Cultures are being manipulated with the inclusion of the reader of the translation.

- Furthermore, a distinction between **conscious and unconscious manipulation** can be made.

Conscious manipulation is resorted to intentionally and can be of two types, which can be termed ideological and linguo-cultural. In the former case it is carried out in the name of a certain ideology (personal, institutional or collective) and in the latter is the translator's attempt to overcome the linguistic and/or cultural differences. In the former

case it is the agent's attempt to present the Source Text to the Target Audience in a distorted way, in the latter it is the agent's attempt to deal with the linguo-semantic and cultural differences between the respective languages and cultures. This type of manipulation manifests itself in discrepancies between the Source and the Target Texts, which arise due to ideological, linguistic or cultural considerations.

Unconscious manipulation is unintentional and results from the workings of human psyche (as discussed in Chapter 2), which may manifest themselves as normalisation, explicitation or digressions due to the specific source text features in an attempt of finding a suitable target culture version for a source culture phenomenon; and on the other as the result of ignorance, which manifests itself as errors of various kinds.

Manipulation in the form of errors is an example of the fuzziness of the edges of the present typology, since it can only partly be claimed that this type of manipulation is unconscious. It can be argued that the translator / interpreter has to be aware of his/her ability or inability to carry out a particular task. Furthermore, it can be argued that translation error or mistake is not manipulation at all, at least not in the sense of the conventional functionalist 'translation error' definition as explained by Christiane Nord "as a failure to carry out the instructions implied in the translation brief and as an inadequate solution to a translation problem" (Nord 1997:75). She explains that the adequacy or inadequacy of a solution opted for can be judged only in a particular context against the goal that had to be reached by a particular translation.

This means that a particular expression or utterance is not inadequate in itself; it only becomes inadequate with regard to the communicate function it was supposed to achieve. Inadequacy is not a quality inherent in any expression but a quality assigned to the expression from an evaluator's point of view. (Nord 1997:73)

However, it can just as well be argued that a translation error is manipulation. If one considers that any sign of handling is manipulation, then an error is a manifestation of manipulation. An error or several errors can have a cumulative manipulative effect and as a result a text may seem to be factually, linguistically or ideologically manipulated.

Interim Summary

One distinguishes between manipulation as process and manipulation as product, manipulation as a strategy and the manifestations of manipulation in translated texts. In general manipulation arising due to ideological, economic, and cultural considerations usually proceeds consciously, and is labelled conscious manipulation. Manipulation ascribed to the features of human psychology, and manipulation due to ignorance (lack of language or world knowledge) is labelled unconscious manipulation. The table below illustrates this argument.

MANIPULATION TYPES	
CONSCIOUS MANIPULATION	UNCONSCIOUS MANIPULATION
ideology-induced* culture/language-induced	psychology-inducedignorance-induced

(*for the sake of convenience manipulation resulting from social, political and individual factors is termed here ideology-induced manipulation)

Table 6. Manipulation types

As regards culture and language-induced manipulation, it is only partly avoidable. For example, when translating dialects or culture-specific phenomena it is impossible to do without certain changes, which might be seen as manipulation.

However, it must be pointed out that the demarcation line between the above mentioned types of manipulation in some cases might be rather vague, and what one might see as conscious somebody else might perceive as unconscious manipulation.

3.5 Types of Manipulation

The present section describes the various manipulation types following table 7 below (page 85). There are two major types of manipulation: text-external manipulation and text-internal manipulation. Under each of the major two types of manipulation one distinguishes further three types of manipulation: manipulation as improvement, manipulation as handling and manipulation as distortion, which can be either conscious or unconscious.

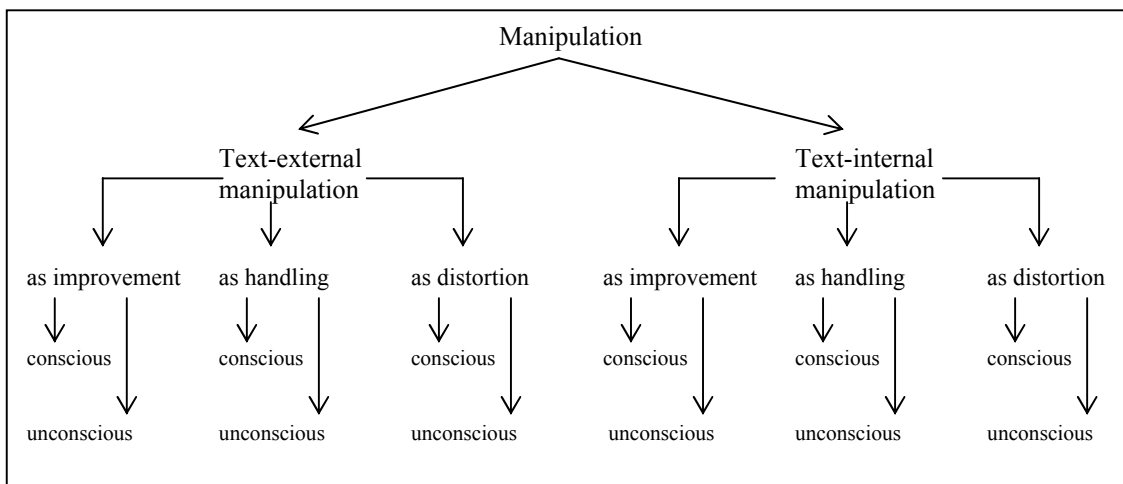


Table 7. A general typology of translational manipulation.

In the following sections of this chapter each type of manipulation is described and exemplified.

3.5.1 Text-external Manipulation

Text external manipulation is a general name given to the manipulation, which proceeds outside the text. This type of manipulation can be explained by reference to the Polysystem theory, i.e. the external struggle for power of texts and cultures, and the various layers of the literary system. The Polysystem theory developed by Itamar Even-Zohar in 1970s sees translation as a system, which is embedded in the polysystem of the Target Culture. According to Evan-Zohar a polysystem is a complex set of several systems within the culture.

[...] a multiple system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent. (Even-Zohar 1990:11)

Each system possesses its internal rules and laws and norms, but at the same time interacts with other systems, which exert influence over each other. The various systems or layers of the polysystem interact constantly in struggle for power and dominance.

The power struggle involves the processes of selection of texts to be translated, the external constraints affecting the translator in the process of translation, and the processes which take place in relation to a particular translation after the translation has

been completed. The power struggle proceeds at various levels and in various stages, for instance, the struggle between cultures (the Source Culture and the Target Culture), the struggle between texts (the translations or originals within a particular cultural context. Within our cultural space we distinguish between the so called minor (such as the Latvian culture) and major (such as the British, German or American culture) cultures, between a translation, which usually is peripheral in a culture and an original writing, which conventionally occupies the central stage, between less translated and more translated texts at different periods of the development of a particular culture. The major cultures usually in a way subdue the minor ones, over flooding them with their culture. It is in the hands of the Target Culture to decide whether to receive or reject the new elements. However, according to the Polysystem theory only cultures, which are strong usually, reject the change. Cultures, like the post-soviet ones, which have lived in isolation usually are weak and receptive to new foreign elements.

Another reason for manipulation certainly is financial considerations. Many works are not translated or translated only partly because of the lack of time or money for carrying out the particular task. On the other hand cultural myths or cults are created with the profit motive in mind, e.g. Harry Potter or Madonna's children's book series. André Lefevere writes:

Institutions enforce or, at least, try to enforce the dominant poetics of a period by using it as a yardstick against which current production is measured. Accordingly, certain works of literature will be elevated to the level of "classics" within a relatively short time after publication, while others are rejected, some to reach the exalted position of a classic later, when the dominant poetics has changed. (Lefevere 1992: 19)

Also ideological considerations play a considerable role in defining translation policy. During certain periods of history some texts are not translated at all or have to be translated according to certain requirements. One of the best examples is the translation policy adopted in the former Soviet Union. As the result many works were not translated at all, and others contained numerous omissions, and alterations. The publishing strategies in East Germany is a case in point. The publishing sector was under absolute state control. The publishers had to apply for print permits for any book they wished to publish.

They had to select those topics or authors that were deemed suitable to the education process. In their statement to the censor, publishers thus had to give reasons for the selection of the book. The main requirements were the educational effect of the book, the way the reader would benefit from it, and its contribution to the construction of a socialist society. (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2006:59)

- **Text-external manipulation as conscious improvement**

This type of manipulation is very controversial. What one may see as improvement others may treat as deterioration. Therefore it is necessary to stress the Target Audience aspect in relation to manipulation as improvement. As regards, examples of conscious text-external manipulation as improvement one can mention the enrichment of culture due to international contacts and the widening of the nation's horizons, for example, Latvia's active engagement in international affairs and culture after regaining independence in 1991. As a result the cultural and political horizons of the population were broadened. People became acquainted with other cultures of the world, literature, theatre, cinema largely due to translation and interpreting. These contacts have influenced, among other things, also our language. We have embraced, for instance, new words of foreign origin, new cultural realia and new types of texts. Some consider it a positive trend and an enrichment of our culture and language, others as degradation and worsening of the situation especially language wise.

In the Latvian context the process of Latvia's joining the European Union could be mentioned as an example of a political contact, which has contributed to numerous changes in the country. Thus, for example, as the result of joining the EU, the Latvian culture has welcomed a new text type, namely Eurotexts, which have changed (or manipulated) the relevant sphere – the sphere of law and politics and the sphere of legal and political text drafting in Latvia. This change can be considered as enrichment of the sphere, consequently as improvement.

Eurotexts are in themselves hybrid in nature and style because they are in a way unnatural for the culture in the language of which they have been drafted and combine both familiar and unfamiliar elements for the Target Culture. Besides, they are also drafted in a language unnatural to the TC and has become known as Europeak. Each of the official languages of the European Union has developed a specific style for the EU

related matters. If the texts themselves are hybrids then also their translations bare the traces of hybridity.

A hybrid text is a text that results from a translation process. It shows features that somehow seem 'out of place'/'strange'/'unusual' for the receiving culture, i.e. the target culture. These features, however, are not the result of a lack of translational competence or examples of 'translationese', but they are evidence of conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator. Although the text is not yet fully established in the target culture (because it does not conform to established norms or conventions), a hybrid text is accepted in its target culture because it fulfils its intended purpose in the communicative situation (at least for a certain time). (Schäffner and Adab 2001:167)

Hybrid texts is one of the examples how a particular kind of text enters a culture and changes or manipulates a particular segment of it. In the Latvian context Eurotexts, for example directives and regulations, as well as the EU style agreements and reports are hybrids. They have entered the culture as completely new phenomena and have found their place in the Latvian cultural context. The way a new text type enters and why that particular culture accepts it as such can be explained also with reference to the Polysystem theory. First and foremost it is the socio-political changes within a particular culture, which facilitate these processes. In the case of Latvia it was the prospective EU membership, which facilitated the creation of this particular hybrid text type, namely, Eurotexts in the Latvian language. Although initially the form and style of this type of texts was new and strange to the Latvian culture, today this form of writing and these texts have been accepted as part of this culture. Thus the EU texts that have been translated into Latvian have become part of the national legislation or political documentation. The authority that deals with the translation of this type of texts in Latvia, namely the Translation and Terminology Centre, has developed special guidelines for translating Eurotexts. Eurotexts contribute to the language change, especially the language, which is used in legislative and political contexts, hence, may be seen as manipulating or in other words changing the target culture.

- **Text-external manipulation as unconscious improvement**

Manipulation as unconscious improvement is, as discussed above, the results from the processes, which take place unconsciously, i.e. without the agent being aware of any manipulations performed. It may be due to the agent's ignorance or due to the fact that

the process has become automatic. An example of such process is cultural enrichment due to extensive contacts between cultures. As the result the Target Culture becomes more familiar with the Source Culture, enriches the language through borrowing, exchanges experience and learns from the other culture. Thus, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Latvia was an isolated small country largely unknown to the rest of the world. Today, owing to extensive contacts of all kind with various countries in the world Latvia has become a full-fledged member of the international community. Many of the processes leading to this were conscious, of course, however others like **language change** (in the sense of enrichment) and **mentality change** proceeded unconsciously. Critics might, of course, claim that the change that has taken place is to the worst. Thus in the sphere of language we now have names for new phenomena, for example 'regula' (regulation) and 'direktīva' (directive).

As regards the mentality change Latvians do not consider themselves an inferior nation any longer, but as equals in the international arena. This has positive influence in the way we present ourselves and our culture. As regards translation previously the dominant strategy in translation and interpreting in Latvia was literal translation, today translation companies such as Tilde (www.tilde.lv) offer a new service for the Latvian market, localisation. Also as regards interpreting, today, the Latvian interpreters, especially those working for the EU institutions, are learning to produce a sense for sense interpreting and to educate their clients, explaining the benefits of this type of interpreting to them.

- **Text-external manipulation as conscious handling**

This type of manipulation can best be explained with reference to Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. Even-Zohar (1990) makes no explicit mention of the agent behind the interaction and change. However, if we speak about conscious handling there must be an agent. It can be the society at large or particular agents, depending on the situation. If we speak about the way a particular text, a translation in this case, enters a particular culture and how it finds its place in the literary system of that culture, we may speak of several agents who take part in the process. Firstly, it is the initiators of a certain process, for example, certain people who bring the two cultures together, for

example the ministry of culture, a theatre, a publishing house. Secondly, it is the agent who carries out the particular activities, namely, a person or persons who chose a particular element of the foreign culture to be carried over to the other culture. Thirdly it is the society at large and each individual in particular, who accepts the final product.

Text-external manipulation as conscious handling can also be explained with reference to Toury's preliminary norms, which influence the process of translation and operate in two areas related to the translation policy in force in a particular society.

The first of these is the question of whether or not a coherent translation "policy" can be identified in a given culture or language at a particular point in time. Such a policy is understood in terms of the individual works, authors, genres, schools or literatures that are the preferred sources for translation into a given language. [...]. (Shullteworth and Cowie 1997:130)

The second area in which preliminary norms operate is the conventions in force regarding the directness of translation.

Considerations concerning directness of translation involve the threshold of tolerance for translating from languages other than the ultimate source language: is indirect translation permitted at all? In translating from what source languages/text-types/ periods (etc.) is it permitted/ prohibited/ tolerated/ preferred? What are the permitted/ prohibited/ tolerated/ preferred mediating languages? Is there a tendency/ obligation to mark a translated work as having been mediated, or is this fact ignored/camouflaged/ denied? If it is mentioned, is the identity of the mediating language supplied as well? (Toury 1995: 58)

The publishing policy adopted in the USSR is a good example for the operation of the preliminary norms. For example in Latvia there was a requirement that only the works, which had been translated into Russian could be translated also into Latvian.

External guidance also is an example of text external manipulation as conscious handling. It is labelled external because, in fact it is comments, which are added to the text, not embedded in it. External guidance can take the form of, for example, an introduction, endnote or footnotes. They can be either neutral or guiding, they can also try to impress a certain ideology on the reader. Distortive external guidance is discussed in the next section. In this section we concentrate only on such types of external guidance, which simply provide the information, which the reader might find useful when reading a particular text. Thus, in the Latvian translation of W. Somerset

Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*, a footnote has been added to explain an expression from a third language in the text.

Meitene piekrita, un mēs noīrējām vairākas istabas (guļamistabu un dzīvojamo istabu) casa de huéspedes *. [parinde: *viesu māja (spāņu val.)] Moems 2004: 286

[The girl agreed, and we rented several rooms (a bedroom and a living room) casa de huéspedes*. (footnote: * guest house (Spanish)) [My translation]

In the cases as the above exemplified, where the foreign word is specially marked in the original (italicised or marked with an asterix) and explained in a footnote thus explicating the need for a clarification, this seems to be an approach characteristic for cultures which consider themselves to be small and/or isolated and under threat (like the Latvian culture during the Soviet rule).

This approach could be termed “segregational translation” or “defensive translation” [...] it can be carried to further extremes when attempts are made not only to keep the target language free from alien intrusion, but also to purify the source language from loanwords – by separating them from other parts of the SL. (Lomholts 2005:106)

Also **metatexts** (texts about texts) may be perceived as external manipulation. Metatexts are the writings about a certain text, for example in the press. Metatexts are generally used to inform the reader about the product, but they are a source of reference to the reader, but also may function of advertisement or counter-advertisement for a certain product.

Hipokratiskie raksti. Izlase. Izdevniecība Liepnieks & Rītups, 2003, 452 lpp.
Kā liecība no laikiem, kad ārsti ne tikai ārstēja vai mēģināja kļūt par politiķiem, bet arī bija pazīstami kā vieni no čaklākajiem rakstītājiem, Agneses Gailēs un Aijas van Hofas tulkojumā no sengrieķu valodas iznākusi sengrieķu ārsta Hipokrata rakstu izlase. Tomēr būtu maldīgi uzskatīt, ka grāmata der vai nu tikai tiem, kas devuši Hipokrata zvērestu, vai tiem kam kaut kas kaiš. (*Diena* 2003:18)

[Hippocratic Writings: Collection. Liepnieks & Rītups, 2003, 452 pages.
The collection of articles by the Ancient Greek writer H as translated from the Ancient Greek by Agnese Gaile and Aija van Hofa stands witness to the times when doctors where not only treating patients or trying to become politicians but also toiled away as most hardworking scribes. However it would be wrong to consider that the book is intended for those who have given the Hippocratic Oath or are sick] [my translation]

Also **comments and opinions printed on the back cover of the book** belong to the category of metatexts. They may also be perceived as external guidance, because they usually praise the book thus motivating the individual to purchase or read the book. The

following example is taken from the back cover of the Latvian translation of Anthony Robbins's (2004) *Unlimited Power*.

Patiešām jauna un unikāla pieeja! Spēja ieprogrammēt pašam savas domas un rīcību – šī grāmata ir nepeiciešama lasāmviela ikvienam, kurš grib atraisīt savas slēptās spējas un attīstīt tās līdz pilnībai.

[Indeed a new and unique approach! The ability to programme one's own thoughts and actions – this book is a must read for everyone, who wishes to unleash their hidden abilities and develop them to perfection.] [My translation]

There are scholars, for example Popovič (1976), who consider that also **translation is a metatext**. Popovič (1976) uses the term 'metatext' to describe a text which has been produced on the basis of another text.

A metatext is thus understood as being a text which results from the development or modification of "the semiotic, meaning-bearing, side of the original text" (1976:226). In this way the notion of metatext includes text-types such as translations, paraphrases or parodies ([1976]:31), but excludes for example transcriptions or new editions of existing works (1976:226). A translation is a type of metatext which serves as a substitute for another text (1976:230), and is the result of "imitative continuity" with the prototext (1976:231-32). (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:105)

- **Text-external manipulation as unconscious handling**

When certain approaches to dealing with the foreign become so conventional that they are not felt any more one may speak of the text-external manipulation as unconscious handling. The translations are made in a particular manner because this has become the norm, or even the second nature. As the result the various agents actually resort to particular translation strategies unconsciously. An example of such unconscious handling is the way translations are done between the languages of smaller and bigger nations.

Translations from English into such languages [of smaller nations] is more likely to be closer to the original, and translators tend to face fewer problems with respect to having to make adjustments, because familiarity with English social and cultural structures can often be assumed on the part of such theatre audience. (Anderman 1998/2001:73)

The literature of smaller nations, on the other hand requires a different approach. Anderman (1998/2001) explains that the translations of the works of literature or other

texts originating from the smaller nations often require a certain degree of adjustment, because of the unfamiliarity of the Target Culture with the Source Culture.

- **Text-external manipulation as conscious distortion**

Also this type of manipulation is best explained by reference to Toury's norms. As stated above manipulation is a phenomenon, which might be seen as affecting the literary system in general already starting with what Toury (1995) defines as preliminary norms.

Preliminary norms have to do with two main sets of considerations, which are often interconnected: those regarding the existence and actual nature of a definite translation policy, and those related to the directness of translation.

Translation policy refers to those factors that govern the choice of text-types, or even of individual texts, to be imported through translation into a particular culture/language at a particular point in time. (Toury 1995:58)

Again the translation policy adopted in the Soviet Union could be used to illustrate the way Toury's preliminary norms work in practice. In the USSR the works to be translated were selected carefully, usually opting for "straight-forward", uncontroversial writings, where it would be difficult to read or translate between the lines and pick up or spread any anti-soviet ideas.

Soviet publishing houses first and foremost emerge as ideological institutions, which base their work on imperturbable, profound party affiliation, nationalism, research and planning. In their everyday activities publishing houses follow the guidelines of the Communist Party. Their ideological banner is the invincible Marxist Leninism, which unerringly points to the only way transforming the world. There is no need for the Soviet publishing houses to hide their political credo, there is no need for them to disguise their ideological bias under the shabby rags of "impartiality" which are so often flaunted by bourgeois publishing houses to cover their true class character. [...] Any Soviet publisher, before he accepts and starts the publishing of a manuscript, must consider its importance in the common Communist construction work and the degree to which it will help people carry out their task." [Zauberga 2001:116]³³

Egīls Zirnīs (2005) describes the special institution The General Literature Board of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (LPSR Galvenā literatūras pārvalde - *Glavlit*) established in 1940. During the 50 years of its existence it destroyed and censored millions of books, pictures, dissertations and articles for the press. The process of

³³ quoted from Zauberga as translated by Zauberga from Nazarov "Book on the Soviet Society".

censorship in the USSR was controlled and managed by the Canvassing and Propaganda Board of the Central Committee of the Soviet Socialist Communist Party. It issued instructions to all censors union-wide. It must be pointed out that the word ‘censor’ was not used. The official name of the post was editor. One of the tasks of censors was to exempt from bookshops and libraries the books which were in the list of banned books drawn up by censors union-wide. Another task of the censor was to edit the already written texts before publication. However, the below described task rather refers to text-internal operations. Each censor-editor had a manual of approximately 100 pages with detailed instructions of what must not be published. Although censorship was a usual practice in the USSR the General Literature Board remained an abstract and mythical phenomenon even for those directly involved with it remembers poet Knuts Skujenieks (in Zirnis 2005:14). The instructions from censors were given by phone to the chief editor of the publishing house or the editor of a particular writing.

Kas licis, kāpēc licis – tādas atbildes autoram neviens nesniedza. Līdz autoram aizliegumus novadīja cenzūras hierarhijas vidējais un zemākais līmenis – radošās savienības, izdevniecības, redakcijas, dažādas komisijas un visbeidzot redaktori, recenzenti un kritiķi. (Zirnis 2005:14)

[Who gave the instructions, why such instructions – the author never received answers to such questions. The author was informed about the prohibitions by the intermediate or lowest level of the censorship hierarchy, i.e. the creative unions, publishing houses, editorial board, various commissions and finally editors, reviewers and critics.] [My translation]

Authors like Jack London, John Galsworthy, Charles Dickens, Archibald Cronin and Theodor Dreiser, for instance, were considered to be “reliable”. However also with these authors the Soviet publishers had to be careful. Both translations and collections of their works were supplied with extensive forewords, which were supposed to help the reader understand the work in the preferred way, i.e. the Soviet-friendly way.

External guidance in the form of prefaces and commentaries was often used with an aim of helping the reader understand the work “correctly”.

Complicated and controversial works by O.Henry – master of the short story were not meant to entertain. O’Henry was a gifted artist, who was concerned with the culture of the thought and feelings of his reader. The Soviet reader, having read his short stories, is sure to ask the following question: for the preposterous and the unjust, for the suffering and pain – who is to blame? (Bobrova 1955:11)[My translation]

The answer to this rhetorical question is of course – capitalism. The reader is as if “programmed” to interpret the work in a certain way, the “correct” way, the Soviet way.

There is, however also a positive side to the external guidance. It could be perceived as a purely ritualistic procedure, and the readers were not obliged to read the prefaces, but such writing helped the publication of otherwise unpublishable material.

- **Text-external manipulation as unconscious distortion**

Text-external manipulation, just like other types of manipulation become unconscious when the action that leads to it becomes so natural that it is not felt any more. The use of footnotes to explain foreign words in translations may serve as a good example of this type of manipulation.

In some translated works of fiction [...] footnotes are also used as a purist device applied to the source language. Here it is not only an effort to keep foreign words apart from the target language, but to mark out loanwords used in the original text. These loanwords may have been an integral part of the source language for centuries [...], in some cases the source language may not even have any synonyms of local extraction e.g. *chargé d'affaires*, *Schadenfreude*, still the translation appears to hold these words out in arm's length and underline to the reader that they should not be considered part of the English text, but alien intruders. (Lomholts 2005:106)

This may be due to unconscious processes, where the translator blindly follows the rule, that a word of foreign origin must always be singled out and explained. In some situations the translator might not have thought about the change in the cultural environment and the fact that the foreign word has been in use so often that it does not need an explanation any more. This is manipulation in the sense that it sends a wrong message about a culture, that the culture is minor and isolated.

Certain errors due to carelessness or lack of language and subject knowledge on the part of text handler may also lead to unconscious distortion of the message. Thus the notion “non-established taxable person” is an element, which the text-handlers (translators, reviewers and lawyer-linguists) involved in translating the EU documentation into Latvian have mistranslated in numerous documents in spite of its clear definition.

This Directive shall apply to any **non-established taxable person**, who meets the following conditions: [...]

Šo direktīvu piemēro visiem **nodokļu maksātājiem, kas neveic uzņēmējdarbību** attiecīgajā valstī un kas atbilst šādiem nosacījumiem: [...]

[This directive shall apply to any **taxable person, who is not involved in entrepreneurial activities in the respective country**, and who meets the following conditions: [...]

This translation is plainly wrong and misleading. In English this notion is used to denote a taxable person, who is not registered as such and does not have a seat in the country where it provides certain services.

3.5.2 Text-internal Manipulation

Text-internal manipulation is an all-embracing term, which denotes all kinds of manipulation contained in the text including manipulation as improvement, manipulation as the signs of handling and manipulation as distortion. Text-internal manipulation can be further subdivided into two types: **conscious** and **unconscious manipulation**. As with other types of manipulation also text-internal manipulation can be avoidable and unavoidable.

The reasons why text-internal manipulation, and especially unconscious manipulation occurs may also be explained by reference to Toury's (1995) translation laws. Thus the law of growing standardisation states that "in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire" (Toury 1995:268). Toury explains that the translator's behaviour is influenced by a multitude of variables "such as biological and bilingual age, or previous experience in translation of different kinds and for different purposes" (Toury 1995:270). Another influential factor, according to Toury, is the position of translation within a particular culture. Thus, "the more peripheral this status, the more translation will accommodate itself to established models and repertoires." (Toury 1995: 270-271)

The second Toury's translation law – the law of interference, which states that "in translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text" (1995:275), also might be used to explain why

manipulation occurs. Thus Toury explains, that the constant tension between the desire to produce a translation as close as possible to the original and the desire to comply with the dominant requirement for fluent, native-sounding texts often results in manipulation, or in other words positioning the translation between acceptability and adequacy:

the more the make-up of a text is taken as a factor in the formulation of its translation, the more the target text can be expected to show traces of interference, [...] (Toury 1995: 276)

To a great extent this is due to the power relations and the reciprocal prestige of the cultures and languages in question. Thus the more prestigious the Source Culture from the vantage point of the Target Culture, the higher the likelihood of interferences, and vice versa.

- **Text-internal manipulation as conscious improvement**

Conventionally, a text, which corresponds to the evaluator's expectations in comparison to another, which does not, is considered to be an improved text. Thus, it is always necessary to specify who is the evaluator of the text. However, not to overcomplicate the issue a traditional west-European approach has been selected. Traditionally, elements that make the Target Text more comprehensible and easier to read for the Target Audience have been considered improvements.

Explicitation is an element that usually improves the comprehensibility of the text without distorting it and thus can be considered an improvement. Explicitation, according to Kinga Klaudy (1998/2001:80) "is the technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text." It is a phenomenon, which "frequently leads to TT stating ST information in a more explicit form than the original." (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:55) It is considered to be one of the most typical feature of translation. Toury (1980:60) labels it a universal of translation.

17. Draws attention to the need to step up research into and the prevention of work-related illnesses, giving **illnesses of a psycho-social nature** the importance they deserve but without confining such efforts to them exclusively;(European Parliament: Report on promoting health and safety at the workplace A6-0029/2005:6)

17. Pievērš uzmanību nepieciešamībai pastiprināt pētījumus par darba izraisītajām slimībām un to novēršanu, pievēršot **psiholoģisku un sociālu faktoru izraisītām slimībām** pienācīgu uzmanību, bet neaprobežojoties tikai ar tām; (Eiropas

Parlaments: Ziņojums par drošības un veselības aizsardzības veicināšanu darba vietās A6-0029/2005:7)

[17. Draws attention to the need to step up research into and the prevention of work-related illnesses, giving **illnesses triggered by psychological and social factors** the importance they deserve but without confining such efforts to them exclusively]

The example offers a typical case of explicitation where the translator has explained the phenomenon by adding additional elements to the text, which were not found in the Source Text.

Expilcitation is also a common feature in simultaneous interpreting (see Chapter 4), where due to the peculiarities of the SI the interpreter frequently resorts to explicitation subconsciously.

The results of Gumul's previous research (2006b) into explicitation in SI indicate that explicitation in this mode of interpreting is mainly cohesion related. The six most common changes found in that study include: adding connectives, shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion, replacing nominalization with verb phrases, reiterating lexical items, filling out elliptical constructions, and shifts from reiteration in the form of phrase to reiteration in the form of identical or partial repetition. (Gumul 2006:179)

In her paper Gumul (2006) succeeds to prove that explicitation is a subconscious activity, especially in case of experienced conference interpreters, where the processes have become automatic.

This kind of explicitation arises from the fact that the interpreter, in order to convey a clear message, restructures and clarifies it for him/herself, and then reexpresses the processed message in a form, which often is more explicit and more clear than the original. From the point of view of Target Audience the fact that the message is clearer than the original usually is perceived as improvement.

- **Text-internal manipulation as unconscious improvement**

This type of manipulation can be explained with reference to Toury's (1995) law of growing standardisation, of which **normalisation** is a good example. As the name suggests it is a general tendency towards standardisation and correspondence to the norms. This tendency is also considered to be one of the universals of translation. It can be applied to the various levels of the text or discourse starting with the punctuation and

reaching into ideological normalisation. This phenomenon has been researched and identified by various scholars. Thus Vanderauwera (1985 in Baker 1998/20001) has studied a number of novels translated from Dutch into English, Shlesinger (1991 in Baker 1998/20001) has analysed courtroom interpreting between the Hebrew and English. Both scientists come to the conclusion that translators and interpreters tend to normalise the texts they are dealing with. In cases where such normalisation does not distort the original, but makes it more comprehensible and clear for the Target Audience, it may be labelled improvement. Normalisation usually proceeds unconsciously in case of professional translators and interpreters.

- **Text-internal manipulation as conscious handling**

This type of manipulation, as the name suggests, describes the signs of conscious handling of a particular text. It goes without saying that a translated text differs from its original if only because of the language. Besides the differences in language the two texts may display also other differences. They are **unavoidable changes introduced due to the linguistic and/or cultural peculiarities**. A classical example is the gender of the sun in various cultures. In English, for example the *sun* is of masculine gender, however, in Latvian the noun *sun* is of feminine gender; also the associations in relation to the sun in the Latvian culture are those of sun as The Mother as opposed to the English culture, where the sun is The Father. This creates considerable problems especially for the translators of literary texts and fairytales

Certain culture-specific phenomena as well might create difficulties for the translator. As examples of such culture-specific phenomena Lefevere (1992) mentions a special kind of Islamic poetry – *quasidah*, which is hardly known to the rest of the world. He mentions several reasons for this, among them “the incompatibility of the poetics of the European and the Islamic systems” (Lefevere 1992: 74-5), and the fact that due to the low prestige of Islamic culture in Europe and Americas “no rewriter has, as yet, found a “slot” in Euro-American poetics to fit the *quasidah*” (Lefevere 1992:75). Also the Latvian folk songs face the same problems and present similar difficulties. Cultural realia and the poetic form and meter of the folk songs (trochee and dactyl, which is due to the stress on the first syllable in Latvian) present particular difficulties for the

translator. Jānis Sīlis (2003) refers to a collection of essays on Latvian folksongs by Jānis Peters (1984), which includes also the translations of some of the folk songs.

Pele brauc, vāģi čīkst,
Ar to miega vezumiņu;
Brauc, pelīte, šai sētā,
Te ir pulka mazu bērnu.

The mouse rides in a rattling cart
Heaped with a cargo of sleep;
Please make a stop, mouse, at our house,
We've got a flock of little children. (Sīlis 2003:166)

The translation as opposed to the original is written in unrhymed verse, rendering rather literally the words of the original, losing the style and the mood of the original. The elements that have presented difficulties to the translator are the form and meter of the folk songs as well as the style of the original, and the linguistic peculiarities of the Latvian language, for example the diminutive *vezumiņš* [a little cart], *pelīte* [a little mouse, a dear mouse]. In other words it is what Lefevere (1992:83) terms “The Universe of Discourse” that creates the most difficulties for the translators and the combination of linguistic and poetic requirements. As a result no translator has succeeded in rendering the Latvian folk songs as poetry as yet.

Language-induced conscious manipulation is also exemplified in the following excerpt from Kurt Vonnegut's (1983) novel *Slaughterhouse Nr.5*.

The British had no way of knowing it, but the candles and the soap were made from the fat of **rendered** Jews and gypsies and fairies and communists, and other enemies of the state. (1983: 67)

“Briti jau nevarēja zināt, ka sveces un ziepes izgatavotas no **beigtu** ebreju, čigānu, klaidoņu, komunistu un citu fašistiskās valsts ienaidnieku taukiem. (1987: 73)

[The British had no way of knowing that the candles and the soap were made from the fat of **dead** Jews and gypsies and tramps and communists, and other enemies of the fascistic state.]

In this instance the translator obviously has been aware of the semantic differences between the words *rendered* and *dead*, but has had no other choice, because the Latvian language does not offer a word which would be closer in meaning to the English *rendered* than the already opted for *dead*. The Latvian *beigts* is not as euphemistic as the English *rendered*, of course, it expresses the notion in a more blunt and direct

manner, thus changing the mood of the utterance if compared to the original. Accordingly, this change of the mood allows one to label it manipulation.

The above described types of manipulation could be termed language and culture induced manipulation respectively.

The next example is an instance of culture-induced conscious avoidable manipulation.

Death is a lot of **shit**. (Vonnegut 1970: 219)
Nāve ir **riebīga**. (Voneguts 1973: 159)
[Death is disgusting] [quoted from Zauberga 2004:72]

This example demonstrates the traces of the purist tradition characteristic to the Latvian literary language up to the second half of the 20th century, according to which the colloquial language and the literary language had to be kept apart, not allowing substandard forms of expression in literary texts. Although there is of course a word in Latvian for *shit* in the translation a more neutral word *disgusting* is opted for.

- **Text-internal manipulation as unconscious handling**

Unconscious manipulation is the reflection of the working of human psyche and individual intelligence or the lack thereof. Unconscious manipulation may be manifested in various ways among them as obvious errors of various kinds, e.g. linguistic or factual mistakes They are **errors usually due to carelessness**.

In the proposal of the Commission, some linguistic versions mentioned the word “require” and others mentioned the word “invite”. Five delegations preferred the word “require” and **several others** preferred “invite” (Proposal for a directive 11523/05 2005:5).

Komisijas priekšlikumā dažās valodās minēja vārdu “pieprasīt” un citās – “aicināt”. Piecas delegācijas deva priekšroku vārdam “pieprasīt” un vairākās **pārējās** – “aicināt” (Direktīvas priekšlikums 11523/05 2005:5).

[In the proposal of the Commission, some linguistic versions mentioned the word “require” and others mentioned the word “invite”. Five delegations preferred the word “require” and **in several others** preferred “invite.”]

This is an example of a minor stylistic slip, where the translator has used an awkward expression merely substituting the English words with Latvian words, but not communicating the sense of the expression. This type of mistake is not likely to have

serious consequences. The reader might just find the expression funny or regard it as a print error. However it is a clear sign of text-internal manipulation as unconscious handling. Here the translator has presumably been not aware of the standard expression in Latvian “vairākas citas” usually used to translate this phrase. Had the translator been conscious of his/her lack of knowledge of the Latvian language or carelessness s/he would not have made such a mistake.

The Latvian newspaper Diena cites an example of translator’s carelessness which has resulted in a serious error.

“Jeruzāleme –tādas pilsētas nav!” sauklis jaunā tūrisma brošūrā angļu valodā. Izrādās, ka tulks kļūdījies, jo pareizi bija jābūt: “Jeruzāleme – tai nav līdzīgu!”.
(Sestdiena 05.10.2006: 10)
[“Jerusalem – there is no such city!” a slogan in the new tourism brochure in English. It turns out that it has been the translator’s mistake, the original said: “Jerusalem – a unique city!” (my translation)]

- **Text-internal manipulation as conscious distortion**

Ideological or ideology-induced manipulation is the best example of this type of manipulation. **Ideology-induced manipulation** can take the form of deletion, addition, substitution and attenuation.

The following excerpt from Vonnegut’s (1983) novel *Slaughterhouse Nr.5* exemplifies manipulation in the form of addition.

The British had no way of knowing it, but the candles and the soap were made from the fat of rendered Jews and gypsies and fairies and communists, and other enemies of the state. (1983: 67)

“Briti jau nevarēja zināt, ka sveces un ziepes izgatavotas no beigtu ebreju, čigānu, klaidoņu, komunistu un citu **fašistiskās** valsts ienaidnieku taukiem. (1987: 73)
[The British had no way of knowing that the candles and the soap were made from the fat of dead Jews and gypsies and tramps and communists, and other enemies of the **fascistic** state.] [my translation]

The following excerpt from an on-line article is an example of substitution.

But what has **all this rhetoric** really produced? (The Washington Post: Rumer 2004:1)

Однако каких конкретных результатов добилаь Россия **со всеми ее имперскими замашками**? (Куклина 2004:1)

[But what concrete results has Russia achieved with her imperialistic escapades]
[my translation]

With the help of ideological manipulation it is attempted the change the message of the text.

- **Text-internal manipulation as unconscious distortion**

Unconscious manipulation is a phenomenon, which, as the label indicates, proceeds unconsciously either due to the workings of human psyche or due to the lack of knowledge. This type of manipulation can be described as unconscious because the translator does not introduce these changes consciously. Errors are the best example of this type of manipulation. They can be of various kinds and are mostly due to the lack of language or world knowledge of the translator. However as the result of such handling the Target Text becomes so misleading that it seems that the text has been deviously changed. An example of such change is an excerpt from the Russian translation of Martin Amis's novel *Success*.

‘Where are you going? **That queer’s place?**
‘It’s not a queer place. There are lots of girls there too.’
‘That bisexual’s place then.’ (Amis 1985:13)

- Куда это ты собрался ? **В то чудное место?** [That **funny** place?]
- Ничего в нем чудного нет. Там и девиц много.
- Ну, и чудное - тогда бисексуальное. (Amis 2004:13)

It seems that for some reason it has been attempted here to avoid using the word ‘homosexual’. Undeniably the Russian translation is misleading.

The reason for such errors usually is the translator’s lack of knowledge of either the source or the target language and/or culture. These errors can be seen as unconscious because the translator presumably is unaware of them.

Another type example of this type of manipulation is changes, which in themselves do not really seem to make a major difference, but taken together result in an overall manipulation of the text. With the help of the following examples from the 1995 Latvian translation of Jackie Collin’s (1985) *Lucky* it is attempted to demonstrate how random blunders on the translator’s part, which strictly speaking might not be regarded as instances of manipulation, taken together result in manipulation.

“Vegas is **full of hookers**, “Jess remarked (1985: 26)
- Vegasa ir **pieslānīta ar slampām!** - sacīja Džesa (1995: 27)
[*Vegas is piled with slatterns*] (obsolete language)

The groceries came to sixty-three dollars. Lennie insisted on paying, but Jess **fought him all the way.** (1985: 26)

Džesa **savāca grozā pārtiku** par sešdesmit trim dolāriem. Lenijs gribēja maksāt, bet Džesa **uz to neielaidās.** (1995: 27)

[Jess **amassed into the basket** groceries for sixty-three dollars. Lennie wanted to pay, but Jess **did not let herself in for that.**]

A six-foot redhead in **pink Spandex pants** and a crocheted **boob tube** smiled at him. (1985: 26)

Gandrīz sešas pēdas gara rudmate **rožainās biksēs** un tamborētā **krekliņā** viņam uzsmaidīja. (1995: 27)

[A six-foot redhead in **roseate trousers** and crocheted **shirt** smiled at him.]

As illustrated by the above given examples the language of the translation does not resemble the style of the original. The style of the translation is unnatural and presents a distorted picture of the original. Due to the translator's ignorance the novel has lost its original lively and zesty style and consequently the attraction for the target reader. This is an example of the shifts as described by van Leuven-Zwart, when on the surface the translation seems faithful to the original, however the sum total of the microstructural shifts results in the distortion of the original. Thus, it might be claimed that the Source Text has been manipulated as the result of the translator's ignorance and lack of feeling for language. The translator seems to have ignored the fact that the Source Text is a literary text, and the role of the implicit information, in this case the implications of the style and form of expression or in other words the denotational and connotational meaning of words. This might be one of the reasons why this novel has not gained such popularity in Latvia as elsewhere in the world. The translator has hampered the success of the novel creating a wrong impression of the original on the target audience. The text is not reliable, since the translation represents only the surface qualities of the original, i.e. only words are translated, divorced from their contextual meaning. Words and expressions that do not fit in the context contribute to the unnaturalness of the language used in the translation.

Final remarks

Based on the prototypical model which Michael Schreiber (2004) it is possible to construct a prototypical model of manipulation types. Schreiber offers a “3-zone-

model”, distinguishing between the centre (zone C), the periphery (zone P) and the neighbourhood (zone N). Zone “C” contains phenomena which display “all the necessary and typical features of the category”(Schreiber 2004:84); zone “P” contains phenomena which display the necessary but not the typical features of the category; and zone “N” contains phenomena which share the (proto)typical features, but lack the necessary ones. Thus, it is also possible to sort the above described manipulation types according to the way manipulation is commonly perceived. The traditional (the more common) type of manipulation (distortion) is placed in the centre (C) and the less traditional type (improvement) is placed in the periphery (P).

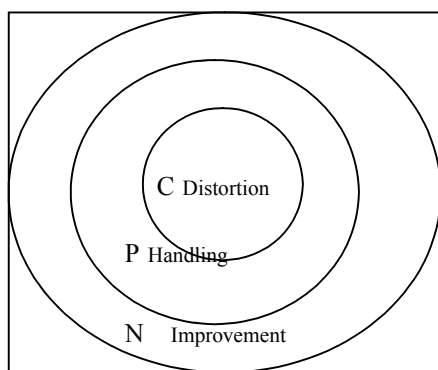


Figure 2. Prototypical model of manipulation types according to common perception

It must be pointed out, however, that if the manipulation types were sorted by the frequency with which they occur in texts or around them, the order would have to be reverted. Manipulation as conscious distortion would be less frequent than unconscious handling, especially as regards professional translation.

Furthermore, each of the above-described types of manipulation can take several forms. Thus, one can speak about **overt and covert manipulation**. Overt manipulation, as the name suggests, is manipulation, which is announced, for instance, in the preface, or in the text itself indicating the parts of the text, which have been manipulated. Covert manipulation is manipulation, which is not announced.

Manipulation can be **avoidable or unavoidable**. In case of avoidable manipulation the translator (or text handler) is intentionally and consciously introducing something new in the text, although the change introduced could have been avoided. In case of

unavoidable manipulation the translator (or text handler) has had no other choice but to opt for the solution chosen usually due to linguistic peculiarities of the Target Language. Thus, it can be assumed that conscious manipulation is avoidable (at least partly) whereas unconscious is not, since the translator is not aware of it.

With reference to the above discussion of shifts yet another two types of manipulation might be distinguished: **mandatory** and **optional manipulation**. The obligatory (mandatory) manipulation occurs due to linguistic differences and optional manipulation – due to cultural or ideological considerations. To a certain extent the mandatory and optional manipulation overlaps with conscious and unconscious manipulation, but there are also certain differences to be traced. The mandatory manipulation or obligatory shifts might be perceived as the legitimate translation strategies, as discussed above, and optional manipulation or optional shifts as manipulation proper, i.e. or handling and devious change respectively.

When speaking about the above made distinction between manipulation as handling, manipulation as improvement and manipulation as a distortion, it can be said that manipulation in the two latter senses is optional. However, if one considers the external pressures exerted on the text handler, these types of manipulation can also be seen as obligatory/ mandatory. Manipulation as handling is in so far optional as the text handler may decide not to handle the particular text at all.

As regards mandatory and optional manipulation also the purpose of the translation has to be considered. Thus, when translating vocative texts manipulation of some kind would be the standard practice since vocative texts are manipulative by design.

Vocative texts constitute promotional writing – advertisements, electoral speeches, tourist brochures etc. The main function of vocative texts is manipulative function: these texts are created to make the recipient act (e.g. buy, vote). (Zauberga 2001:24)

One can speak also about the scale of manipulation. Manipulation can obviously be of various scales. The text-external manipulation, where a decision about whether to translate a particular text or not is taken, obviously is manipulation of the largest scale

and text-internal manipulation applied to particular segments of the text is manipulation of the smallest scale.

Summary

Thus to sum up, manipulation is an illusive concept. It can be claimed that everything anybody does or does not do is manipulation. From the above discussion it follows that everything depends on what one understands by manipulation. Usually, when speaking about manipulation one thinks first of all about manipulation as distortion due to ideological considerations. The present chapter argues that a more fine-grained typology of manipulation is necessary to be able to answer the question whether translation is manipulation.

There are two major types of manipulation: text-external and text-internal manipulation. Under each of these categories one distinguishes three further types of manipulation, namely, manipulation as improvement, manipulation as handling and manipulation as distortion, which can be either conscious or unconscious.

The labels attached to manipulation, i.e. '**manipulation as distortion**' or '**manipulation as improvement**', depend on the person who evaluates the instances of manipulation. What some may see as improvement, others might perceive as a drawback. This is especially true in case of translations between the so-called minor and major cultures. Due to the fact that a minor culture is less known to a major one, the translation strategy chosen for translating for example a literary work written in the language of the former into that of the latter is domestication. However, if a literary work is translated from the language of a major culture into that of a minor, foreignisation is the conventional strategy. In the former case the readers of the TC might perceive the domesticated translation as an improvement of the original, because now it has become understandable for them, but the Source Culture readers of the TT would see the domesticated translation as a distortion of the original.

In general **improvement** is a change made that makes the state or quality of something better. **Manipulation as handling** is used here in the sense of a change, which cannot

be labelled 'improvement' or 'distortion'. Distortion is the conventional connotation for the word manipulation. Traditionally only manipulation as distortion qualifies as manipulation proper. **Distortive manipulation** are changes which misrepresent the reality and are unacceptable to the Target Culture. The analysis of numerous theoretical sources on the subject of manipulation have proved that to label 'manipulation' only negative changes disregarding other alterations and modifications would be one-sided. Actually all changes that have taken place as a result of translation are instances of manipulation.

Text-external manipulation is a general name given to the manipulation, which proceeds outside the text. It can best be explained by reference to the polysystem theory, which describes the external struggle for power of texts and cultures as well as texts in various layers of the literary system. This power struggle involves the processes of selection of texts to be translated, the external constraints affecting the translator in the process of translation as well as the processes which take place in relation to a particular translation after the translation has been completed.

Text-external manipulation as conscious improvement is enrichment due to contacts between cultures.

Text-external manipulation as unconscious improvement is the process and the result of a process, which proceeds unconsciously and leads to improvement such as language and mentality change in the sense of enrichment.

Text-external manipulation as conscious handling are such translation related text-external processes as translation policy and conventions, which frequently manifest themselves through external guidance and metatexts.

Text-external manipulation as unconscious handling are such unconscious approaches to translation which have been practiced for such a long time that they seem already natural, for example the conventional ways of translating between the languages of smaller and bigger nations.

Text-external manipulation as conscious distortion is distortive translation policy leading to the translation of carefully selected authors and texts only, thus

misrepresenting the Source Culture. The translated texts may also be accompanied by guidelines in the form of external guidance on how to perceive a particular text.

Text-external manipulation as unconscious distortion are automatic processes and results of such processes leading to a distorted perception of the culture(s) involved or the consequences of the lack of knowledge on the part of the text handler.

Text-internal manipulation is an all-embracing term, which denotes all kinds of manipulation, which may occur within the text. Text external manipulation may best be explained with reference to Toury's (1995) translation laws: the law of growing standardisation, which describes the tendency in translation to opt for acceptability (for the TC) rather than adequacy (to the ST) especially in cultures where the status of translation is peripheral; and the law of interference whereby the ST elements interfere with the TT thus making the text sound unnatural.

Text-internal manipulation as conscious improvement are elements that make the text clearer and more comprehensible and acceptable to the Target Audience, for example through explicitation.

Text-internal manipulation as unconscious improvement is a type of manipulation, which can be explained with reference to Toury's (1995) law of growing standardisation and may be manifested through normalisation.

Text-internal manipulation as conscious handling are unavoidable changes introduced due to linguistic and/or cultural peculiarities.

Text-internal manipulation as unconscious handling is a type of manipulation, which is due to the working of human psyche and may be manifested as errors usually due to carelessness with no serious consequences and where it is obvious that they are unintentional.

Text-internal manipulation as conscious distortion is a type of manipulation, which usually is due to the dominant political ideology, and may take the form of omissions, additions, substitutions and attenuations.

Text-internal manipulation as unconscious distortion is manipulation due to the translator's lack of professionalism, and is manifested as errors, which seriously mislead the reader and distort the original text.

No typology can be absolute, also the edges of the typology offered here are fuzzy with overlapping and interacting categories. It also is by no means complete and can be developed further.

4 TRANSLATIONAL MANIPULATION: OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

The aim of the present chapter is to reflect the attitudes and opinions of scholars on the issue of ‘translation as manipulation’, as well as to look into the possible ways of perceiving this phenomenon. In the course of the present argument additional aspects of the evasive nature of manipulation are revealed, seeking answers to two questions, first, whether translation is manipulation, and, second, why it is so difficult to conceptualise this phenomenon.

4.1 Translation is Manipulation: For and Against

It has already been established that in translation there is no strict definition of manipulation, and there are various understandings of this phenomenon. Various scholars have attempted to describe it, discussing both its positive and negative aspects. What some consider to be manipulation others do not. Thus, for example, Crisafulli (2003:1), having analysed H.F. Cary’s rendering of the *Divine Comedy*, questions the epistemological assumption of the Manipulation School that all translation is inherently manipulative. He explains that in this translation manipulation or any other similar concept did not seem to account for the translator’s choices. The fact that translational manipulation has not been properly conceptualised could be seen as one of the main reasons for the present confusion as regards the manipulative nature of translation.

The claim that translation is manipulation can also be questioned if one adopts the post-structuralist stance, namely that it is possible to have multiple readings of one and the same text. Thus a question arises – who is in the position to claim that s/he has understood the text “correctly”, and that the translator has got it wrong. And why would a translator misunderstand and distort the text, which is so clear to a scholar?

However, if seen, for example, from the perspective of the Target Culture norms any translation might be considered manipulation, if only purely technically, because the translator has to technically manipulate ‘with’ or ‘around’ them, observing some norms, breaching the others according to the translation brief. The translator, striving to

produce a text acceptable for the target community, has to ‘manipulate’ between the various constraints under the influence of the political and literary power structures in a given society. According to André Lefevere there are two general constraints that translators have to deal with when translating – the translator’s own (conscious or unconscious) ideology and ‘the poetics’ dominant in the target culture, i.e. the combination of “literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols” (Lefevere 1992: 26) and “the concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole.” (Lefevere 1992:26)

It can also be claimed that translation is manipulation because no **translation** can ever be the same as the **original**. Rabassa (1984) speaks about the impossibility of translation, if one expects that there might be a perfect equivalence between the Source and the Target Texts, because even phonemes, not to mention words, used to denote certain phenomena or concepts, differ in various languages. Even if the corresponding words in the two languages were found, the connotations these words carry would be different. This is especially true of culture specific items, such as cultural realia and dialects, as discussed above.

If seen from the postcolonial perspective translation definitely is manipulation in that it serves as a tool to achieve the aims of those in power.

Translation plays three sequential but overlapping roles in postcolonial studies:

- as a channel of colonization, parallel to and connected with education and the overt and covert control of markets and institutions;
- as a lightning-rod for cultural inequalities continuing after the collapse of colonialism; and
- as a channel of decolonisation. (Robinson 1997:31)

Translation can also be perceived as manipulation because of the involvement of another person who mediates between the author and the reader, namely the translator.

It seems that the view adopted on translation as manipulation depends on the way one understands manipulation and what expectations s/he has of translation. It may be too

bold a statement to claim that everything a translator does to translation is manipulation, but certain strategies under certain constraints and due to various factors result in manipulation.

4.2 Reactions to manipulation

If one assumes that translation is manipulation, the question arises whether it really is unavoidable and how to qualify it – as something positive or negative. The answer seems to depend on the reference angle adopted, and on one’s understanding of manipulation in translation. For example, if one believes that explicitation³⁴ is a manifestation of manipulation and that it is present in every translation, then any translation can be perceived as manipulation. Consequently it can be claimed that manipulation is unavoidable.

Also the consideration of **the (in)visibility of the translator** can help clarify the issue of the unavoidability of manipulation. The ethical questions that manipulative translation raises have to do with the translator’s invisibility. Basil Hatim (2001: 45) explains that in general the term *invisibility* is used in Translation Studies in the sense of “the extent to which certain translation traditions tolerate the presence (i.e. intrusion, intervention) of the translator in the translation”. Lawrence Venuti (1995) uses this term “to describe the translator’s role in preparing a TT likely to be acceptable in a culture where domesticating translation is standard.” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 44) Through invisibility the translator masks the fact that the given text is a translation by adopting a fluent, natural-sounding TL style as a result of which the translation produced reads as if it were originally written in the Target Language. Thus, it can be seen as encompassing the following notions: the translator’s presence and role, the style of the translation and recipient expectations, as well as the correlation between those notions.

³⁴ ... a phenomenon which frequently leads to TT [Target Text] stating ST [Source Text] information in a more explicit form than the original. (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 55)

The translator becomes visible, according to Venuti, when s/he uses resistant translation strategies, thus displaying his/her presence in the translated text.

In the discourse on translation translator has often been compared to the pane of glass or a window. Several scholars (Theo Hermans (1996), Cecilia Wadensjö (1998)) have stressed the fact that in the western society it is traditionally expected that the translator acts as impartial intermediary or an invisible servant. Thus, Wadensjö (1998: 66) speaks of the “‘non-person’ role” the translator is supposed to play. She explains that this is the role traditionally associated with servants.

Hermans (1996:24) considers the situation, when one prefers not to see the translator, to ‘blot out’ or ‘erase’ the translator’s presence paradoxical. He explains that although the invisibility of the translator is only an illusion. “It is part and parcel of what we, in our culture, have come to understand by ‘translation’.” (Hermans 1996:24) According to Hermans it is our ‘ideology of translation’ that does not allow us to see the translator’s presence. However, it cannot be denied that the translator is always present, and sometimes his/her presence is clearly manifested through ‘paratextual translator’s notes” (Hermans 1996: 27) in instances when it is necessary “to cater for the needs of the Target Text reader (as a consequence of the cultural and pragmatic embedding of texts and the displacement resulting from translation), or in cases where the discourse short-circuits itself through linguistic self-referentiality or contextual overdetermination.” (Hermans 1996:42)³⁵

It seems that here we are treading on slippery grounds, especially regarding Herman’s first point, namely ‘the catering for the needs of the reader’. This catering might actually imply a certain degree of manipulation, or at least allow a plenty of room for it. Since if the reader prefers to ignore the translator’s presence, presuming that s/he is communicating directly with the Source Text author, the translator is free to take whatever liberties s/he pleases, or at least to give the text the desired slant. Through this aspect the power of translator becomes most obvious, as does the nature of translation

³⁵ By ‘self-reflexiveness’ and ‘self-referentiality’ Hermans (1996) here means instances when a text displays certain elements of untranslatability, e.g. when the author has used wordplay, polysemy or similar devices.

as a powerful tool. This tool can be used both for the good and for the evil, and as history has shown has already been used for various purposes. Venuti (1995) believes that “translation wields enormous power in the construction of national identities for foreign cultures, and hence it potentially figures in ethnic discrimination, geopolitical confrontation, colonialism, terrorism, war.” (1995: 19)

Also Hermans stresses the potential power of translation. He explains that although we understand that translation’s ‘transparency’ is an illusion, we are not prepared to let go, or may be we are not able to, because of the ‘cultural and ideological constructs’ (Hermans 1996) which are “ingrained in our culture and in our mental habits and projections. To abandon them, and to abandon the control mechanisms which they keep in place, would be to upset established hierarchies, to deny primacy and inviolability of the original, to stress the intertextual transformative streak in all writing, to assert the plurivocality of discourse.” (Hermans 1996: 44) However by trying to control one aspect of translation’s power, we are disregarding others – may be less obvious but more powerful ones. One of those aspects certainly is the manipulative potential of translation. By entertaining the illusion of the translation’s transparency we are only deceiving ourselves, we are making ourselves believe that translation is the same as the original. Through this illusion we open the door to manipulation.

A number of scholars have already pointed out that no translation strategy can claim to be objective, since each strategy serves certain interests. Foreignising strategies are, thus, not more legitimate or objective than domesticating translation strategies (Lane-Mercier 1997: 63), since “all translations are manipulative rewritings based on interpretive procedures”; the presumably transparent translation strategies are also biased, since they also reveal “a certain conception of what the text is about and a theoretical, ideological perspective of what should be done in order to make it available in another language and culture.” (Arrojo 1997: 29) The manipulative nature of translation is unmasked also by Venuti (1995: 287), who labels ‘transparency’ an “illusionistic effect”, which “depends on the translator’s work with language”, which “hides this work, even the very presence of language, by suggesting that the author can be seen in the translation, that in it the author speaks in his or her own voice.” Thus it

might be claimed that the expected transparency of translation is conducive of manipulation.

In the light of the above discussion it seems necessary to reconsider the validity of the dichotomy visibility vs. invisibility, since translator is always present in the text and invisibility is “simply and occulted visibility” (Lane-Mercier 1997:60). Also in this context the translator’s personal ethics must be brought to the fore. Lane-Mercier (1997:64), presuming, that all translations are “manipulative rewritings” of the source text, regardless of the translation strategy adopted, redefines the notion of invisibility “in ethical terms”.

The “invisible” translator is no longer the one who resorts to fluent strategies, but the one who refuses to take responsibility for his/her manipulations, who “believes” s/he is merely conveying the information contained in the source text [...]. (Lane-Mercier 1997:64)

Venuti, Gillian Lane-Mercier, Bassnett and Cassel Boase-Beier explain that the translator will always be present in a text s/he has translated “Like the original author, the translator, too, will have hierarchies of aims and agendas, some conscious, other less so, and in different ways these will all constrain and colour the re-created SL text.” (Boase-Beier 1999: 9)

In *Contemporary Translation Theories*, which might be characterised as a concise history of Translation Studies, Edwin Gentzler explains that according to the findings of the Göttingen group³⁶, “the translation of literature means the translation of a literary work’s interpretation, one which is subject to the literary traditions in the target culture” (Gentzler 1993:184). Since literary translation can only be an interpretation of the original, it can never fully replicate it and, besides, it must blend in with the literary tradition of the target culture, and as such has to be manipulative. Accordingly, in literary translation manipulation cannot be avoided. This view is also in line with the contemporary thinking on translation, namely that literary translation is and always will reflect a certain ideology of the time.

³⁶ *Göttingen group* was a researcher task force at the University of Göttingen, active between 1983-1996, researching literary translations into German from the philological and cultural perspective. The results of their research are published by the Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, in the series *Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung*.

The next question that needs to be answered concerns the perception of manipulation. How to perceive it – as something good or something bad? It seems useful here to adopt Katan's (1999) approach. Although he refers only to distortion, the idea seems worth considering. Besides, distortion could be perceived as a type of manipulation, especially in the light of Katan's own description of this phenomenon, namely that "[d]istortion can occur through a faithful, literal translation and by making explicit what was originally implicit" (Katan 1999: 138).

[d]istortion in itself is neither good nor bad. It is a way of directing the addressee to what the speaker or writer considers is important. Distortion does not give us an objective picture of reality, but functions like a zoom lens allowing the reader to focus on certain aspects, leaving other aspects in the background. (Katan 1999: 138)

Thus, also in relation to manipulation, it might be claimed that, in general, it is neither good nor bad. It simply exists, especially in the case of unavoidable manipulation. Also if one assumes that in literary translation manipulation is always unavoidable it cannot be considered within the categories of good and bad. As regards conscious manipulation and manipulation due to ignorance it can be argued that they are bad and undesirable. Whether it can be avoided at all and how, depends on the cultural context, on the literal, political and economic power structures as well as on the translator's professionalism and experience.

Today, considering the effects of globalisation it would not be wrong to claim that we are living in a translated world where the majority prefers cinema, television and internet to reading in the classical understanding. Only a small group of readers, which Lefevere calls "professional readers" or "the charmed circle", i.e. scholars, students, and the academic staff, actually still read extensively. Lefevere explains that "[p]aradoxically, the only work produced within the charmed circle that still reaches the reader is precisely the type of rewriting most professional readers would tend to treat with a certain disdain." (1992:4), i.e. translations, reviews, biographies, or in other words rewritings. Thus, through rewriting the survival of literary work is ensured. So it might be suggested that translation be perceived as a necessary evil, so to speak, bearing in mind its manipulatory potential, but at the same time remembering that only due to that particular rewriting one has access to a particular work. This might also be

considered one of the attractions of translation. Barnstone, for example, compares translation to a river, which “carries us through time. When it causes earlier moments and old literatures to survive, when it floats some part of a tradition to us live and with re-created originality, then translation is art” (1993: 107).

It might seem paradoxical that most readers are biased towards translations already at the very outset, thus, robbing themselves of the pleasure of enjoying a literary work. However, when one is not aware, or forgets, that what one is reading is a translation, one might start enjoying the work and forget about finding faults with it. It is no secret that in the Western tradition translations have always been considered inferior to their originals. Lefevere (1998) traces the development of translation tradition back to the beginnings of Western civilisation, and explains how this attitude has come about. Barnstone, among others, argues that it would be more beneficial for readers to free themselves from those stereotypes and enjoy the work they are offered:

To allow an obtrusive intertextuality – the fact of its translation – to subvert the reading experience is to surrender to frivolous ignorance and to obey a feudal principle of originality; it cheapens the reality of the literary object in our possession. In doing so, we substitute a dream of the unknown subtext (of what is indecipherable or inaccessible, yet acclaimed real) for the actual page before our eyes and end up unjustly deprived. (Barnstone 1993: 12-13)

He suggests that translation be perceived as a collaboration of the writer and the author, or a “double art”, and explains that “[t]o produce a translation the normal triad of author-text-receiver is doubled. So technically, we may discover that we are reading the writing of an author who is reader-translator of another author’s writing.” (Barnstone 1993:13)

It can even be argued, as Hermans (1999) does, that translation as an object of study is so interesting in part exactly due to manipulation as a manifestation of the underlying ideology, power structures and power struggle.

4.3 Manipulation and the Quality of Translation and Interpreting

What are the results of manipulation? On the one hand it can be claimed that manipulation, or rather the awareness of translation as manipulation, has disastrous effects. The thought that translation is manipulation is alarming. It raises questions about the quality of translation, the usefulness of translation as product and service, and the translator ethics. If one believes that translation is manipulation, it follows that it cannot be trusted, and if so, who needs it?

[...] when words become the tools, not of clarity and precision but of confusion and obfuscation in order to promote a particular ideology or social program or some very intimate personal or private agenda, genuine communication between opposing parties becomes impossible. (Stockert 1996: 1)

At the same time, it can also be claimed that everything is manipulation, political speeches, sermons, and everyday conversations, not to mention advertisements. But it is translation that is in an unfortunate position, since it can always be compared with the original.

Bassnett and Lefevere, when speaking about the results of manipulation, claim, that manipulation “in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain” (Bassnett and Lefevere 1992: vii). It follows that there is no unanimous answer to the question of how to perceive manipulation, because too many variables come into play.

How does manipulation influence the quality of translation and interpreting? It seems that it is impossible to give one straightforward answer to this question, because there are various types and degrees of manipulation as well as various reasons for it. To be able to answer this question first it is necessary to take a closer look at the issue of translation quality as such. Translation and interpreting may be treated as a service rendered to a particular customer or customers. In this case the discussion of quality might begin with the consideration of quality expectations of translation / interpreting users. However this might be problematic to establish definite, universal quality criteria

because of the elusiveness of the concept 'quality' and its essence: quality for whom, assessed in what manner. Frequently the translators and translation commissioners do not even know what exactly the readers expect. The same holds true also for interpreters. Reader and listener expectations are at the level of speculations. In cases where there are several Target Audiences for one and the same text/speech the situation becomes even more difficult.

On the basis of relevance theory of communication developed by Sperber and Wilson, Ernst August Gutt (1997) offers an explicit basis for assessing quality of translated texts. He explains that "the quality of a text is determined with regard to the degree to which it enables the audience to recognize the communicator's informative intention. In general terms, it means that the Target Text should resemble the original in such aspects that the resulting contextual effects will be felt to be adequate for the interpretation effort involved" (Gutt 1997:539) on the part of the reader. However, to be able to evaluate a particular translation, each translation must be viewed in a particular context, since different audiences have different expectations.

Sue Ellen Wright (1999:1) believes that "consistency in using terms is the single most significant controllable factor in controlling text and translation quality", thus admitting that there is a whole host of other factors, which are difficult or impossible to control.

Control is actually the key word in relation to translation and interpreting quality and quality assessment. Control in the sense of quality control and control in the sense of control over the process. Sylvia Kalina (2005:2) suggests, that "users may not trust interpreters as they are unable to control their rendering". This may be the reason why "conference organizers are tempted to resort to the services of conference interpreters only when the topics are of a general nature and to prefer the use of English by all when the topics are very complex or technical" (Vuorikoski 2004:15).

To ensure and control quality in interpreting is even more complicated than in translation because of the ephemeral nature of the service and complicated process.

In the context of written translation, translators have meanwhile developed certain standards according to which they can work and assess translations; these standards

refer to the translation product as well as to the process by which translations are produced (ISO 9002, DIN 2345, European Code of Best Practice). Interpreting, however, takes place under extreme time constraint, and interpreters have to solve as many problems as possible before they actually interpret by anticipating potential solutions to such problems. For this reason, QA [quality assurance] must also cover what happens before and after the interpreting act as such, as these phases may have a significant impact on interpreter output (Kalina 2005:3)

Numerous scholars dealing with interpreter quality today stress different elements of it, for instance Daniel Gile (1988) speaks about interpreter's limited mental capability (for more details see Chapter 6), Sylvia Kalina (1998) refers to 'appropriate strategic processing', F. Pöchhacker (1994) puts forward an idea of conference setting as 'hypertext', Barbara Moser-Mercer (1996) speaks about the various stakeholders in the process and their expectations, A. Kopczynski (1994) stresses the relevance of situation and context for assessment. Pöchhacker stresses that the common feature of all types of interpreting is the main function of interpreting, namely, to supply "...a textual product which provides access to the original speaker's message in such a way as to make it meaningful and effective within the socio-cultural space of the addressee" (Pöchhacker 2001:421) Also Kurz (2001: 407) speaks of conference interpreting quality defined as user satisfaction. However, the problem here lies in the fact that the audience is heterogeneous, what is good for one listener is bad for another. Thus the only common point made by all authors is that quality may mean very different things for different people.

Quality of interpreting is not an absolute standard that can be reached at any time in any circumstances. Rather it is a balancing act between the aspirations, expectations and requirements of different and even heterogeneous groups. Interpreters often have to choose between one of two (or several) objectives: faithfulness to the original or comprehensibility for their listeners, correct language or accurateness, elegant style or completeness. (Kalina 2005:6)

Besides there is a whole host of factors that are outside the control of the interpreter, but are likely to affect the quality of interpreting, like the additional effort necessary to understand a non-native accent, or the need to cope with speaker individual features like monotony of speech, speed of speech, hesitations and pauses. The features of the original, like the denseness of the speech, the speed of reading a written text, which is not at the disposal of the interpreter, speaker errors, slips of tongue, incoherence, vagueness, microphone discipline of the speakers. All these elements inevitably turn interpreting into manipulation and influence the quality of rendition and quality

assessment. In the specialist literature the task of the translator and interpreter, for that matter, has been aptly compared to a tightrope walker with tied legs, who is supposed to perform an elegant dance in impossible circumstances.

Of course it is not only unreasonable client expectations that need to be considered. There is a number of interpreter or interpreter-employer related factors as well. Thus, Kalina (2005) refers to such factors as (1) quality assurance measures as inhouse training, specialisation, language-enhancement courses. These possibilities are offered to staff interpreters in the EU and UN, but freelance interpreters have to take care of it themselves; (2) large conference halls, where interpreter booths are too far away from the speakers or even remote interpreting, which without adequate technical solutions (like screens in the booths) is an element which might lead to the deterioration of interpreting quality; (3) the number of languages from which the interpreter is expected to work, the more languages an interpreter has to cover the less thoroughly can s/he know the linguistic and cultural nuances of each.

The possibility to specialize in a limited number of fields would also be a major benefit to interpreters working for large employers like the EU or UN, because a single interpreter cannot be expected to be an expert of all fields discussed.

Bearing in mind the above arguments it can be claimed that indeed it is difficult to give one straightforward answer to the question of how manipulation influences translation and interpreting quality, because different stakeholders are bound to perceive it differently.

It seems that only, the type of manipulation which could be termed the positive or the unavoidable manipulation (or manipulation as handling) is permissible and ensures the quality of translation, in the sense that it would reduce the reader's interpretation effort involved. However sometimes especially in interpreting manipulation as improvement becomes necessary or even unavoidable for the sake of the comprehensibility of the message. But who will be that authority to define exactly what is positive and what is negative manipulation in each particular case and what is the permissible extent of manipulation? It could be the ethical standards and professionalism of each particular

translator/ interpreter. However, it must be remembered that translators/interpreters abide in a particular cultural space and absorb the rules, norms and conventions in force in the society. They produce translations and interpret reflecting the dominant norms, thus strengthening them still further. And if distortive manipulation is the norm in a particular society it gets more and more established with each translation. According to Toury (1995) translatorship amounts to playing a social role within a particular society, which in turn means conformance to general reader expectations and certain standards.

What is in question is not the translator's obvious talent as a writer, but his assumption of a totally ignorant reader, confronted with a totally new world, unable to come to grips with it unless he is guided step by step by the steady and authoritative hand of the omniscient Orientalist-translator, trained to decipher the otherwise unfathomable mysteries of the Orient. (Jacquemond 1992:150)

Richard Jacquemond's opinion is confirmed by an Orientalist translator into Latvian Jeljēna Staburova.

Jau pērn (Karogs 6/2005), dalīdamās pārdomās par senķīniešu tekstu zinātniskās tulkošanas problēmām, viņa [Jeljēna Staburova] atzinusi, ka "teksti pastāv tikai kopā ar kultūras kontekstu un īsti pamatoti skan tikai oriģinālvalodās un ka ir tikai divas iespējas: melot, izliekoties, ka tieši šis ir tas gudrības avots, kuru tik sen gaidījusi mūsu intelektuālā publika, vai arī radīt absolūti nebaudāmu tekstu, kuram visas saiknes palikušas tur, citā valodā un citā realitātē."³⁷(Kolmane 2006:7)

What any professional translator seems to be doing most of the time is to serve the interests of the Target Audience thus ensuring the production of translation, which would correspond to the expectations and be labelled 'qualitative' translation.

The majority of practicing translators, at least the translators of non-fiction have accepted this role. For example Emma Wagner (2002:28) in discussion with Andrew Chesterman (2002) explains, that "most translators are shy and retiring creatures. Our job is to be invisible and neutral, not to distort the original text by imposing our own personality on it. Don't you think it's our duty to stay out of sight?" (Wagner 2002:28).

³⁷ Already last year (in Karogs 6/2005), discussing the problems of scientific translation of Ancient Chinese writings she [Jeljēna Staburova] admitted that "texts exist only within the cultural context and sound authentic only in the original language and that there are only two possibilities for the translator: to lie, pretending that this is The source of wisdom, which our intellectual reader has been waiting for, or to create an unnatural and unenjoyable text with all the clues left back there in the other language and other reality. (My translation)

Jānis (1996) has carried out a survey among eighteen practicing translators for theatre on the subject of subservience. The majority of the translators surveyed saw themselves as serving the playwright, four – as serving the producers of the performance, and only one saw himself as an “acting playwright”.

The idea of a translator whose work should preferably be forgotten but who is responsible to the playwright for correctly rendering the play into another language seems to prevail as the ideal of a good translator. (Jānis 1996:325)

The Translator’s subservience nowadays seems to be accepted as a given fact. Simeoni describes the situation as follows:

To become a translator in the West today is to agree to become nearly fully subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense. [...] The translator has become the quintessential servant: efficient, punctual, hardworking, silent and yes, invisible. (Simeoni 1998: 12)

The majority of the arguments given above clearly show that manipulative translation is bad translation. In the contemporary society a translation/interpretation, which corresponds to the Target Audience expectations is qualitative translation. However, the juxtaposition manipulative translation is bad translation vs. translation, which corresponds to the expectations of the Target Audience is good is not as watertight after all. This is especially true in the light of Lane-Mercier’s (1997) argument that no translation strategy can be claimed to be absolutely objective, the argument that manipulative translation might be exactly what is expected, and the argument put forward in the current research, that there are three main types of manipulation (positive, neutral and negative manipulation). In case of both translation and interpreting in each particular case the translator/interpreter takes a decision guided by the professional ethical standards and depending on circumstances.

Summary

The present section concentrates on the topic of translation/interpreting and manipulation, seeking to explain the causes for manipulation and looking into the consequences of the application of manipulative translation / interpreting strategies. Also the possible ways of perceiving manipulation in translation and interpreting and translation and interpreting as manipulation are discussed. It has been attempted to

answer two questions, first, whether translation/interpreting is manipulation, and second, why it is so difficult to conceptualise manipulation in translation and interpreting. In attempts to find answers to these questions opinions and attitudes of scholars and translators on the issue *translational interpreting as manipulation* have been reviewed. As regards the first question, namely: whether translation/interpreting is manipulation, it is suggested that the answer depends on the evaluator's vantage point and his/her understanding of manipulation and expectations of translation and interpreting. The answer to the second question, namely: why it is so difficult to conceptualise manipulation, lies in the very nature of this evasive phenomenon. Thus, the second question poses more problems and opens new perspectives for further research.

How does manipulation affect the quality of translation and interpreting is just as controversial an issue. It can be reiterated that translation/interpreting quality is relative and depends on each particular situation and assessor. But in general terms a qualitative translation has to correspond to the requirements of the translation brief received, it has to be accurate, faithful and reliable, delivered on time and in the required form. When necessary it has to consider both the source text author and always the target reader. Also in interpreting the measure of quality is the satisfaction of customer, however, the customer has to become more aware of the service and working conditions of the interpreter and be encouraged to contribute to the quality of interpretation. "Talk to your interpreters" is a recommendation made by the major employers of interpreters and interpreter associations, like EU DG for Interpretation and AIIC because only together it is possible to ensure high-quality interpretation.

5 TRANSLATION TYPES FROM THE MANIPULATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter translations of texts belonging to the three basic text types are subjected to closer scrutiny, with a view of establishing which of them is more prone to manipulation. The translations falling in the categories literary translation, translation of sacred texts and non-literary translation have been selected for the present analysis since these categories seem to encompass all the texts that are translated nowadays. Bearing in mind the limited scope of the present chapter and the wide scope of the topic under discussion it is not possible to offer an all-embracing analysis of all the texts falling within each of the above-mentioned categories. However, it has been attempted to provide an insight into the general characteristic features common to all translations in each of the categories selected.

5.1 Manipulation, Text Type and Translation: General Considerations

In the light of the above discussion and the statements by the scholars of the Manipulation School of Translation Studies about the manipulative nature of translation, especially literary translation, the present section focuses on the three main translation types, namely literary translation, the translation of sacred texts and non-literary translation. The aim of the present section is to establish whether also the other two translation types, namely the translation of sacred and non-literary texts, could be considered manipulative.

The section draws on Juan Sager's (1998) classification and characteristics of the main translation types and Michael Schreiber's (2004) prototypical model of translation types to explore the variety of target documents that can be produced within each category and to ponder the manipulative potential of translations produced. It is our contention here that the claim that translation is manipulation depends on the way one perceives manipulation and what s/he expects of translation in general.

Sager (1998) distinguishes three major translation types: literary translation, translation of sacred texts or Bible translation, and non-literary or technical translation. The distinction between them is made both on the basis of the textual characteristics of the documents belonging to the respective class, and the approach adopted when translating a particular document. One of the central elements in Sager's typology is the parameters, which determine the appropriate translation strategies for each translation type. The parameters, as worded by Sager (1998: 72) are as follows: the situational antecedents for the translation in the target culture; the availability of suitable document types in the target culture; the purpose of the target document, especially when seen from the point of view of the source document; the relative status of the target document in relation to the source document; the degree of awareness the target readership should be given of the fact that they are reading a translation; the availability of textual models in the target language and the appropriateness and extent of their use. Sager's (1998) description of the major translation types has for convenience's sake been presented in the form of the table below. For a detailed description and arguments see Sager (1998). It still remains to be added that Sager discusses only Bible translation, but for the purposes of the present research this category has been widened to refer to the translation of sacred texts in general.

Translation Types Parameters	Literary translation	Bible translation		Non-literary translation
		1 st time	re-translation	
Situational antecedents	YES	NO	YES	YES (except in cases of wide cultural distances)
TL document type	YES	NO ³⁸	YES	YES
Purpose (change of document type)	Normally the same ³⁹ , no change of document type	For missionary purposes the same; For scholarly purposes might be seen as changed		Changes of document type common
Relative status of ST in relation to TT (the degree of their functional interdependence) ⁴⁰	Changes of status rare	Changes of status limited		Changes of status frequent
Awareness of translation	Normally assumed for serious literature, less so for pulp fiction	Normally unavoidable		Irrelevant for technical documents Undesirable for text books Important for legal documents
Translation text models	YES (Common practice to follow the existing models)	NO	Possible	YES (technical communication is patterned, stereotyped and predictable)

Table 8. Sager's Translation types

According to Sager (1998) it is possible to produce a certain number of documents within the boundaries of each translation type, against the parameter “the relative status of the target document in relation to the source document” (Table 8).

³⁸ First-time translations of the Bible are translation -specific documents [a translated document for which there exists no precedent in the TC] due to the unique nature of the text, however certain segments of the Bible used for other purposes literature, songs etc.

³⁹ In literary translation it is very rare that the document type might be changed, however , exceptions are made in case of for example subtitles, or if a historical novel ceases to be perceived as a novel, but is seen as a historical document.

⁴⁰ Five types of relation are possible: equal documents, parallel documents, dependent documents, derived documents, autonomous documents, for a detailed treatment of the issues see Table 6.

Translation type Target document type	Literary translation	Bible translation	Non-literary translation
Equal document ⁴¹	Self-translation	NONE	Bilingual legislation
Parallel document ⁴²	Interlinear translation (cribs and parallel texts of poetry and plays)	NONE	Contracts
Dependent document ⁴³	A culture-preserving translation of literature appreciated for author's style (Frawley's third code) ⁴⁴	Bible as a source for retranslation	Text books, brochures, manuals
Derived documents ⁴⁵	Translations of pulp-fiction (easy-reading). Literature in translation, which is aimed at being read as if it were originally written in the TL.	NONE	Abstracts and synopsis
Autonomous documents ⁴⁶	Second language film scripts [adaptation] (Unauthorised creation is plagiarism)	For religious use	A report on the basis of somebody else's notes (e.g. within the team of scientists)

Table 9. Sager's document types within the translation type

Tables 5 and 6 clearly show the impossibility of producing only one target text type from a source text. The needs and requirements of different users differ, that is why one and the same text can be translated in a number of different ways depending on the target audience, the received instructions for translation and the function the translated text is bound to perform in the target culture. This textual variety shows that translation is a flexible notion, which encompasses both more and less translation typical text handling activities. Schreiber's (2004) *Prototypical model of translation types* allows us to schematically depict this variety and classify the varied translation products. Schreiber offers a "3-zone-model", distinguishing between the centre (zone C), the

⁴¹ *Equal documents* are characterized by a high degree of reciprocal dependence between the text in the source and target language, to the extent that each document fulfils exactly the same function in its culture and, from the point of view of its function, it is no longer possible to qualify one document as a translation of the other. (Sager 1998:77)

⁴² *Parallel documents* are meant to be used separately or jointly, allowing the reader to compare alternative language versions. While no claim is made for full equality on a legal basis, the functional scope of parallel texts is usually identical. (Sager 1998: 77)

⁴³ *Dependent documents* retain the document type of the source text but offer varying degrees of deviation from the structure, the expression and the content of the original. The vast majority of translations fall into this category. (Sager 1998:77)

⁴⁴ A code located between two cultures and two languages. As an example of such a text Sager (1998) gives the English translation of Don Quixote, which "has ceased to be Don Quijote, a work of Spanish Literature, but without having become part of the English literary canon or tradition. (Sager 1998:79)

⁴⁵ Derived documents recast the content of the original in another document type, more appropriate to the new readership. This type of translation is often excluded from consideration by theorists, although abstracts and précis, for example, are widely used forms in the non-literary field of translation. (Sager 1998:77)

⁴⁶ Autonomous documents represent the extreme borderline of 'free' translation and are produced when the original only serves the role of a draft for a target-language document and has no independent function as final document. Autonomous translations are therefore more or less loosely based on an original text which has only been produced for the purposes of being translated or which the commissioner designates as such. (Sager 1998: 77-78)

periphery (zone P) and the neighbourhood (zone N). Zone “C” contains phenomena (or elements) of a certain kind which display “all the necessary and typical features of the category” (Schreiber 2004:84); zone “P” contains phenomena which display the necessary but not the typical features of the category; and zone “N” contains phenomena which share the (proto)typical features, but lack the necessary features.

Schreiber (as discussed in Chapter 1) distinguishes the following types of translation-related text handling activities: translation (text translation, context translation); adaptation (e.g. an interlingual summary or abstract of the ST); metatexts – texts about a source text in the same or a different language, which do not function as substitutes for the source text. (e.g. a commentary on a legal or religious text) Thus, schematically Schreiber’s model could be depicted as in Figure 3.

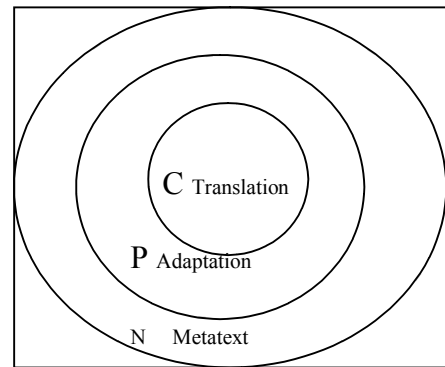


Figure 3. Schreiber’s prototypical model of translation types

To reiterate the key terms for Schreiber’s classification are variance and invariance requirements. A variance requirement according to him is the requirement to change certain elements of the text in translation and an invariance requirement, respectively, is a requirement not to change the original text. Schreiber distinguishes two groups of such invariance requirements or invariants, namely – text internal and text external invariants. If the element that needs to be retained invariant above others is text internal, for example an element pertaining to the form or sense of the text, he speaks of text translation; if the element, that needs to be retained invariant is text external (e.g. effect on the reader), he speaks of context translation. Schreiber regards text translation as translation in the strict sense, and context translation as a translation in a wider sense (Schreiber 2004: 86-87). Adaptation, according to Schreiber, is controlled by variance requirements, such as summarising or simplifying and as such does not qualify as translation proper.

If combined, Schreiber’s and Sager’s models offer a useful classification of text and translation types. The following graphs combine Schreiber’s prototypical model of

translation types and Sager's description of translation and target document types. Each of the graphs relates to one particular translation type and places the most common possible target document types within each translation type in the centre and the less common ones respectively in the periphery and the neighbourhood zone.

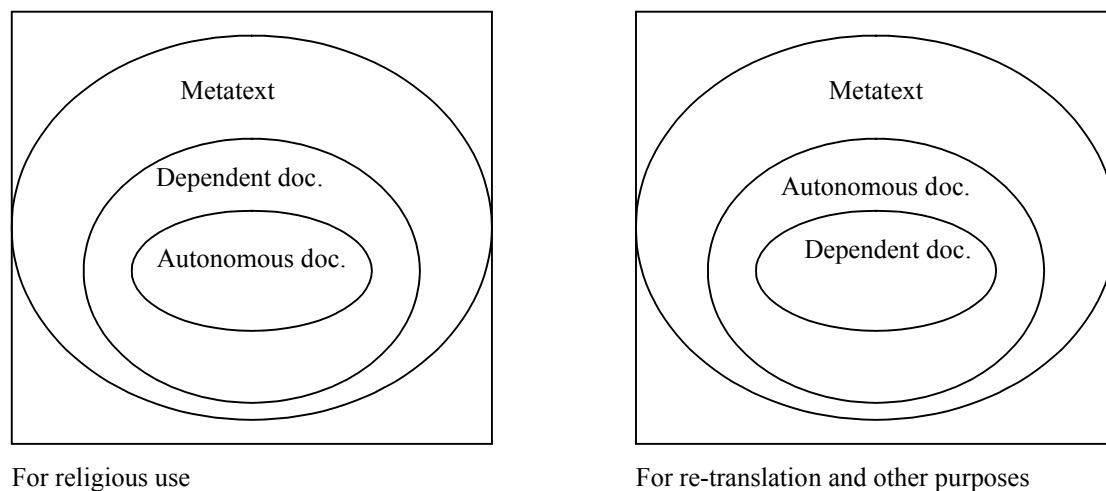


Figure 4. Document types within the category Bible translation

In case of Bible translation it is difficult to rank the document types offered by Sager, since in this case it is difficult to say which type of translation is produced more frequently. In the past there was a requirement that the Bible be translated literally; this requirement is also valid today, although, of course, not in such a categorical form (Forrest 2003). Furthermore the Bible is a unique case in translation because the readers of it do not perceive it as translation, but rather as an original document. Since it is difficult to decide which translation type would be more frequent in this case, the possible options have been sorted by the purpose of the text. Thus, for the purposes of religious use it is considered that autonomous texts are produced more often, for other purposes dependent documents (documents dependant on their originals) i.e. more literal translations are more typical. Metatexts being less typical translational activity in both cases are placed in the periphery zone (Figure 4).

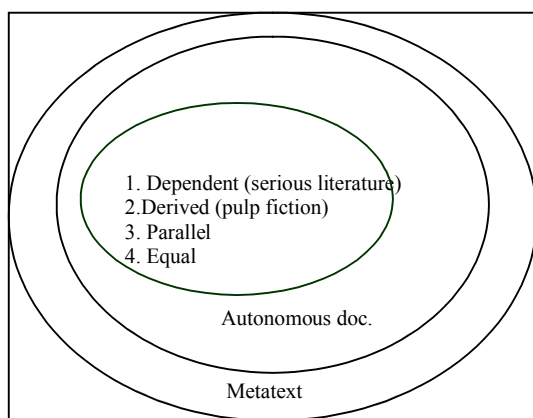


Figure 5. Document types within the category literary translation

nowadays, the derived document can be considered the most typical in this category. Equal and parallel documents rank next in this category since they are not so frequently produced. Autonomous documents are placed in the neighbourhood zone and metatexts in the periphery. (Figure 5)

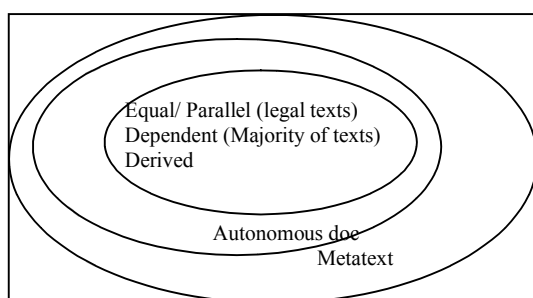


Figure 6. Document types within the category non-literary translation

produced in the real life, is not considered to be the most typical document type in this category. Since translators are frequently asked to do abstracts and synopsis of texts, derived documents have still been included in the central zone, however they are on the margin here and could be seen as belonging also to the neighbourhood zone. Autonomous documents have been placed in the neighbourhood zone, because they are more than ‘just translations’; but, at the same time, are not absolutely autonomous as metatexts. Derived documents or autonomous documents are the translation types generally associated with vocative texts.

In case of literary translation dependant document is the most typical translation type, especially of the serious literature. Derived documents is the second most typical target document type within this category, especially pulp-fiction. It can be argued that since pulp-fiction is the most frequently translated type of literature

In case of non-literary texts the most typical target document types are the equal and parallel documents (for legal texts). The dependent document is the most typical translation type for the vast majority of non-literary texts, e.g. text books, brochures and manuals. Derived documents, although often

The ranking of the possible target document types within translation type reveals the flexible nature of the notion translation. It shows that within one translation type it is possible to produce a number of target documents, displaying varying degrees of deviation from the Source Text depending on the instructions received and the expectations of the Target Audience.

Literary translation, as already stated above, is considered to be manipulative, because the cultural context, cultural and linguistic differences between the cultures, the translator's individuality as well as the ideological considerations play a crucial role in the process. As regards other translation types, namely Bible and non-literary translation, it can also be claimed that they are manipulative on the basis of the same power and competition-related arguments. At present it can be concluded that the interaction between authors, translators, texts and contexts may, but does not necessarily, lead to the production of manipulative translations in the sense of distortion. The answer to the question whether translation is manipulation depends on the way one perceives manipulation.

5.2 Manipulation, Text Type and Translation

The ensuing analysis of the various translation types as indicated in the above section is based on the concept of text type and translation type, thus combining the above described Schreiber's and Sager's models. The reason for this choice is the fact that text type is one of the aspects on the basis of which translators choose the strategy of translation and readers base their expectations and resort to when evaluating any translation. Sager considers that text types are useful orientation points for translators because they "have evolved as patterns of messages for specific communicative situations" (Sager 1997:30) and are "unambiguous means of identifying intention and equally important, means of expressing it." (Sager 1997:30)

According to the (usually implicit) culture-bound concept of what a translation is or should be, people (i.e. initiators, readers, authors of originals) in fact expect particular relationships to hold between ST and TT, which often vary according to the text type in question. They might expect, for example, that the TT gives exactly the author's opinion or that it is a "faithful" reproduction of the formal ST features or that it is precisely not a faithful reproduction but a comprehensible, readable

text. These expectations must be taken into account by the translator (Nord 1997:48)

It seems that the degree of tolerated (expected, permitted) manipulation depends on the text type. Sager (1997) explains that the text type conditions the reader's response to the message. Different cultures may have differing text-type conventions due to which translators might be compelled to make certain adjustments. Thus, considering the various text types and the general reader expectations it is possible to establish whether certain translations of a certain type are manipulative or are considered to be manipulative. It is important to consider also the reader expectations because translations, as indicated by a number of scholars, must be viewed within the cultural context. The present section offers a brief insight into general reader expectations in relation to each major text type as well as a discussion of certain translation and manipulation related aspects in relation to each major text and translation type.

5.2.1 Sacred Texts

Sacred texts is a particular category of texts with an expressive and informative function. They were one of the first texts to be translated in the world history. The preferred translation strategy for sacred texts is literal translation because it is believed that it is the most faithful translation strategy.

The Bible is one of the oldest and most often translated texts in the history of the humankind. Nida (1998/2001:23) explains that the history of Bible translation falls into three main periods: "the Greco-Roman (200BC to AD 700), the Reformation (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and the modern period which covers primarily the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." In the course of time the Bible has been translated into many languages and even dialects. Bible translation raises many issues, e.g. linguistic and sociolinguistic, the issues of canon and textual reliability. The translation strategy i.e. free vs. literal translation is one of the most controversial issues in Bible translation. The advocates of the free translation believe that the sense takes precedence over form, the advocates of literal translation argue that the more literal the translation is, the closer it is to the original, i.e. the God's words. Nida (1998/2001) explains that

the translation is often accompanied by prefaces where the translator's approach is accounted for; the readers may find also an index and maps attached to the translation or even a dictionary explaining words not in common use.

Such additions to the text seem to rob it of its self-sufficiency and appear to suggest that the Holy Spirit did not know best what people should receive. (Nida 1998/2001:27)

The additional material, which could also be labelled external guidance can be seen as a sign of manipulation [in the sense of handling]. Nida (1998/2001) adds that for people representing other cultures such additional material is helpful and even crucial for correct understanding of the textual material. Indeed, such strategies even help to avoid manipulation.

To avoid misunderstandings all Bible translators follow the general translation principles “governing matters of text, exegesis, figurative language, direct vs. indirect discourse, paragraphing, sentence length...” (Nida 1998/2001:27). Below is the list of principles that need to be observed when translating the Bible:

- (a) the use of scholarly Greek and Hebrew texts
- (b) interpretations based on the best scholarly judgement
- (c) rendering that will be aurally intelligible and acceptable for the intended audience and the presumed uses of the text
- (d) the incorporation of background information into notes, introductions, and word lists rather than leaving out such information or putting it into the text. (Nida 1998/2001: 27-8)

The practical translation process, where the translation is done by teams of specially trained translators and editors, does not allow much room for malicious manipulations.

Speaking about the context manipulation, or the changes that Bible translation and the translated Bible brings into the Target Culture one must again speak of language change.

One can refer to the Bible translations, their contribution to any language and to Latvian in particular. Apart from setting the norms of the language and introducing new concepts, ideas, metaphors and names the Bible translation(s) also provided numerous new words used to express these notions as well as new word-combinations – about 250 loan translation idioms. (Veisbergs 1999:67)

Qur'ān (Koran) – the holy book of Islam is another sacred text to be viewed in the context of translation and manipulation. In the belief that no translation can sufficiently

faithfully reproduce the original it has traditionally been considered illegitimate to translate the Qur'ān.

Many believe that, if it is to be translated at all, the Qur'ān can only be translated by a Muslim. So much so that in the context of the Qur'ān the term 'translation' and all its derivatives should be placed between quotation marks or some such graphic marker to point out that the term is used in a uniquely context-sensitive sense.[...] If and when used, translation would function merely as a commentary, explaining or paraphrasing the source text but not replacing it. (Mustapha 1998/2001: 201)

All this precaution seems to be aimed at avoiding the possible manipulation, which according to the Muslim understanding is inevitable in translation, hence also the preference given to Muslim translators.

5.2.2 Non-literary Texts

Non-literary or pragmatic texts have been variously named by various scholars, who also have distinguished a number of subtypes of this category. Thus, non-literary texts include also such texts as informative, vocative and legal texts.

Examples of informative texts are operating instructions, reports, accounts, articles in the press. In translation they are taken to be content oriented texts, because the main purpose of those texts is to pass information, however the translation of informative texts requires terminological precision. Also readers of this type of texts generally expect to receive information and are not so critical as to the language quality of the text. The reader usually expects that the texts of this type will not be translated word-for-word and would sound natural in the Target Language.

Vocative texts constitute advertisements, brochures, electoral and some political speeches. They are reader-oriented texts. Their main function according to Zauberga (2001) is manipulative because "these texts are created to make the recipient act (e.g. buy, vote)" (Zauberga 2001: 24). The translation of this type of texts requires adaptation to the new cultural context, because of the differences between the cultures involved. The recipient usually expects to receive a message addressed at him/her. It can be achieved only if the text is culturally and linguistically adapted to the requirements and

expectations of the receiver. This text type is inherently manipulative, that is way the manipulative aspects of advertisement translation is not a topical issue in translation studies.

Legal texts may be viewed as a distinct text type, however, for the purposes of the present paper legal texts will be viewed as a sub-type of non-literary texts. Zauberga (2001) characterises legal texts as authoritative as well as informative: authoritative - because they carry the force of law; and informative - because they provide information to their readers. In translation it is expected that legal texts will be rendered above all faithfully and in accordance with strict instructions [for example the full stop rule, fidelity and clarity]. Such instructions exist, for example, in the European Union context, where the legal texts need to be translated in all the official languages of the Union. Besides the translated texts are also discussed by the experts of each particular field and later checked by lawyers-linguists to ensure the clarity of thought and accuracy of expression in all languages.

Non-literary texts, as indicated above are a special category of texts which require a strategy which is different from that applied to the translation of literary and sacred texts.

From the preceding discussion it follows that the translations of legal texts are the least distorted ones if compared to the translations of other text types, because of the strict requirements for the translation of legal texts. The translation of legal texts cannot be characterised as manipulative, however, manipulation as such is not alien to this type of texts. The development of legal terminology is a sphere, which makes room for manipulation, this is especially true of the languages and cultures, which are still working on the development and standardisation of terminology. Thus, for example, in Latvia, the work on the development of standardised terminology has just started. Some of the terms in use in the legal sphere have been approved and standardised by the relevant institutions, others have not. There is no single database, which contains all the approved and consequently correct terms. However, the legal texts (e.g. EU legislation, international court rulings etc.) need to be translated, and the translators have to cope

with the situation somehow. As a result a situation arises, where one and the same English term can and sometimes is translated in various ways. One of the best examples in this connection is what might be termed politically or historically sensitive terms and notions. *Deportation* is one of such sensitive notions. It has become sensitive because during the Soviet rule numerous Latvians, which were considered to be the enemies of the Soviet Union were deported from Latvia to Siberia. This term has conventionally been translated into Latvian as *deportācija*. Thus the *English-Latvian Dictionary* (1997) offers the following meanings of the noun *deportation* – *deportācija, izsūtīšana*. The same entry offers the translation of the *phrase to be sentenced to deportation* – *sodīt ar izraidīšanu*. The *New Latvian-English Dictionary* (2001) offers the following solutions: *deportēt* – *to deport; deportācija pol. deportation*. The entry *izraidīšana* contains the following variants 1. eviction, expulsion, ostracism; excommunication; 2. [trimdā] deporting, banishment, exile; 3. vēst., rel. [no baznīcas] excommunication. The on-line dictionary of the Latvian Translation and Terminology Centre offers only one variant for the term, namely *izraidīšana* (no valsts). In legal contexts the situation becomes more sensitive. Thus the documents of the case *SLIVENKO vs. LATVIA* which was tried by the European Court of Human Rights in 2003(politika.lv)⁴⁷ contains this sensitive term, which appears there in two combinations – in the collocation *deportation order* and as *deportation* and is rendered as *izbraukšanas rīkojums* and *izraidīšana* respectively.

20. On 20 August 1996 the immigration authorities issued a **deportation order** in respect of the applicants. They were presented with that order on 22 August 1996.

In such cases the police have the right to detain a person for not more than 72 hours, or, where a prosecutor has been notified, for not more than 10 days. The police shall immediately inform the immigration authorities about the arrest, with a view to issuing an order for the **deportation** of the person by the use of force. The person concerned can appeal against that deportation order in accordance with the provisions of Article 40 of the Act. (politka.lv)

20. 1996.gada 20.augustā imigrācijas iestādes izsniedza iesniedzējiem **izbraukšanas rīkojumu**. Viņi tika iepazīstināti ar šo rīkojumu 1996.gada 22.augustā.

Šādos gadījumos policijai ir tiesības aizturēt personu uz laiku līdz 72 stundām, vai, ja par to ir paziņots prokuroram – līdz 10 dienām. Policijai nekavējoties jāinformē

⁴⁷ The applicants are two family members of an ex-USSR Russian military officer. According to the Latvian-Russian Treaty on the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the territory of Latvia the family had to leave the country after the collapse of the USSR. However the applicants have not done so and claim their rights to stay in Latvia.

imigrācijas iestādes par aizturēšanu, lai pieņemtu lēmumu par personas piespiedu **izraidīšanu**. Persona ir tiesīga pārsūdzēt lēmumu par piespiedu izraidīšanu saskaņā ar šī likuma 40.pantu.(politka.lv)

Thus the translation reveals several problems, firstly it contains inconsistent terminology, which is not our concern here, and secondly it shows a tendency towards softening or neutralisation, which could be seen as manipulative.

All translations bring something new into the Target Culture, however this innovative character is more pronounced in relation to phenomena, e.g. texts of certain type, which are new to a particular culture. Thus, for Latvia, for example European Union legal documents are a relatively new phenomenon. They have emerged as a new type of document in the Latvian cultural space in connection with Latvia's entry into the EU (as discussed in Chapter 4).

EU texts can be called highly conventionalised supranational hybrid texts: they are drafted, often even by non-native speakers, in one of the EU working languages (most often English or French) deliberately using reduced vocabulary, meanings that tend to be universal, specific inventory of grammatical forms, displaying features which are a reflection of specific conventions in two (or more cultures). (Zauberga 2004:26)

These texts enter the Latvian culture via translations and actually change i.e. manipulate the Latvian legal drafting tradition and facilitate the language change in general. Hybrid texts, according to Schäffner and Adab (2001) are a typical feature of intercultural communication. Hybrids may occur due to various reasons, but most frequently as a result of socio-political changes through language contacts.

5.2.3 Expressive Texts

The current section of the paper focuses on the translation of literary texts or literary translation. Its aim is firstly to describe literary translation as a translation type distinct from other translation types, and secondly, bearing in mind the general view⁴⁸ that literary translation is more prone to manipulation than other types of translation, to find justification for such claims.

⁴⁸If, on the other hand, the text has little, or acceptably little, to do with either the beliefs of members of a culture, or their bank accounts, as is the case with most literary texts, translators are likely to be given much more leeway. (Lefevre and Bassnett 1990:7)

Expressive or literary texts are author-oriented works of fiction. One of their major functions is conveying the author's message and style. It is generally expected that the original will not be tampered with. Still, it has been proved that literary texts is the most manipulated text type.

Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power. (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990: Preface)

From the above discussion it follows that, although reader expectations might differ as regards the details of translation, they tally in relation to the basic principles of translation.

Da eine *literarische* Übersetzung m.e. immer eine gewisse Bereicherungs Funktion im Hinblick auf die Zielkultur bzw. – Literatur erfüllen sollte, halte ich die Verschiedenen Formen der Textübersetzung (also eine 'texttreue' Übersetzung im weitesten Sinne) für den Normalfall der literarischen Übersetzung – auch wenn es in der Geschichte der literarischen Übersetzung zahlreiche gegenbeispiele hierzu gibt. Ein Übersetzer '*pragmatischer*' Texte muß hingegen mitunter mehr tun, als zu übersetzen, 'was im Original steht', z.B. indem, er [...] in bestimmten Fällen (sicherlich nicht immer) 'Defekte' des AS-Textes korrigiert oder den AS-Text an die Bedürfnisse der Zielkultur anpaßt. (Schreiber 1993:320)

There seems to be a general agreement among translation scholars that literary texts differ from other text types namely non-literary and sacred texts. According to Sager, for example, the main distinguishing features of literary texts are "(a) the individuality of the author and (b) the creative nature of literary texts." (1998:81).

Popovič (in Hermans 1999) points out the dual character of literary translation, in that translation is a meeting point of two cultures and two literary traditions. Barnstone (1993) describes literary translation as "a double art" where the translator is the second author. Thus, **the relationship between the translator and author** could be seen as the first distinguishing feature of literary translation. The individuality of the author, his/her existence and style cannot be disregarded in translation. However, given the fact that now the text is re-created for another audience by the translator also the expectations of the new audience and the translator's individuality come into play. Thus, as suggested by Sager (1998) the translator needs to define his/her role in the communication process in relation to both sides – the source and the target side and in relation to the text.

Bearing in mind the fact, which has already been pointed out by a number of scholars (e.g. Holmes, Sager, Barnstone), namely, that a text which has originally been produced for a certain culture (i.e. the Source Culture) now is being re-produced for another culture (i.e. Target Culture) by another person (i.e. the translator) certain changes or adaptations might be necessary, which might be seen as manipulation, or might make room for manipulation.

In literary texts as opposed to other text types the original author has a prominent status, consequently his/her individuality and style need to find reflection in the translation. Here the second peculiarity of literary texts, namely **the creative nature of the text** comes into play. Gutt (1996) explains that literary texts are characterised by their richness and density of expression.

The art of the author often shows itself in the ability to communicate a richness of ideas, feelings and impressions that are not necessarily expressed in words, but communicated implicitly. (Gutt 1996:240)

It follows that the creative nature of literary texts is partly due to the information that is imparted implicitly. Gutt (1996:248) explains that the implicit information has three characteristic features, namely – the level of implicitness or degree of strength of the implication (information might be more or less implicit), the open-ended range of thoughts (an implication can trigger off a number of ideas, which theoretically could be linked to a certain statement), and the varying degrees at which the responsibility for the implicit information is shared by the communicator and his audience. Gutt (1996) explains that the artistic effect and the richness of a literary text is due to those features of implications. By making explicit what is implicit and vice versa the translator might even involuntarily manipulate the source text.

It could be added that very often the author's style in general might carry and often does carry certain implicit information. Thus for example Franz Kafka is regarded a comic novelist by Czech readers, although neither his language nor the narrative technique bear any traces of joke. On the contrary he writes about humiliation, depression and torture, and there seems to be nothing comic about it.

His prose style reflects the legalistic language of his profession and also shows affinities with the rarefied and bloodless German dialect spoken in Prague and employed in its ruling bureaucratic circles. No matter how emotionally charged Kafka's nightmarish visions of guilt, torture, or endless frustration may be, his language remains sober, crystal clear, and detached. There is never a trace of rhetoric, sentimentality, or surprise. (Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature 1980: 417)

Mann (1974: xxiv) explains that the humorous effect is "the natural consequence of his sober honesty." He even compares Kafka's style to Gothic statues in which one can recognise "that horrified laughter characteristic of Kafka's sinister wit. What inconceivable tribulation must have frozen his tears, numbed the outcry of his despair, and left him that lurid jocularity as his only solace!" (1974: xxiv). However, other cultures, for example the English or Latvian, do not perceive Kafka as a comic novelist. This might be due to the way he has been translated into these languages.

The same applies to Jack London's writings, although it has seldom been recognised. Tavernier-Courbin (1989) explains that at least London himself thought of himself as a humorous writer, and that "one might well apply to London himself his description of one of his protagonists. 'He had the touch of humour, [...] could see the humour of tragedy, the pathos of comedy [...]' (Tavernier-Courbin 1989:63).

This humour shines through not only in the situations he describes, but also in the language of his characters, their dialects. All these elements contribute to the humorous, painfully humorous, even sarcastic, effect of the writings of these two novelists.

Thus, the third reasons why literary translation might be seen as manipulation has to do with **the implicit information**. Making explicit what was originally implicit as well as the inability to recognise an implication might change the mood of an utterance or even that of the whole work. Such changes might be regarded as manipulative interventions on the translator's part. Since literary texts are rich in implicatures, they are more prone to be manipulated, hence, the belief that literary translation is manipulative.

In the light of the above characteristics of literary texts, especially the role of implicatures in this type of texts, it seems only logical why one and the same source text

might have several translations, several versions. The **co-existence of a number of versions of one and the same text** is regarded as another distinguishing feature of literary texts. According to Sager (1998) this is due to the fact that just as there is the respect for the individual voice of the author there is one for that of the translator as well. The translator as the second author or as a reader - interpreter is entitled to interpret a work.

Lamping (1992) explains that the norms governing literary translation are looser than those governing other types of translation. On the example of self-translation he proves that literary translation is 'a decentralized construct', and that there is no one single universal norm for literary translation. He explains that there are and have always been numerous at times contradictory translation norms.

Besides, with resort to self-translation he also reveals the limits and possibilities of literary translation, namely that there is no one correct way how to translate a literary text, various approaches and strategies are allowed and possible. Lamping comes to a conclusion that in literary translation there are no strict borders between translation, rendering, reproduction and adaptation (Übersetzung, Nachdichtung, Umdichtung, Bearbeitung).

The **licence to seemingly free interpretation given the translator** creates an impression of unlimited freedom for translators of literary texts. Also due to this feature literary translation might be seen as manipulative.

Bearing in mind the fact that the translator's individuality and voice are irreducibly inscribed in the translation s/he produces and the fact that the translation is produced for another audience within a certain cultural context, which almost always is different from the context of the Source Culture, it is inevitable that the interaction of such elements, as the original text, author, translation, audience and context leave certain traces in the translation, which might be perceived as instances of manipulation.

Summary

This chapter concentrates on the three classical text types – literal , sacred and non-literal and especially on the wide range of documents which can be produced within each of these categories depending on the translation brief and Target Audience expectations. Inspired by the findings of numerous scholars about the manipulative nature of literary translation it was decided to explore also the other two major text types and their translations. The detailed treatment of the three text types and translations within each of these categories has revealed that all translations irrespective of the text type produced and the translation strategy adopted may be considered manipulative in some way. This is due to the nature of translation as a hybrid text anchored in the two relevant cultures – the Source Culture and the Target Culture.

6 INTERPRETING AND MANIPULATION FROM THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVE

The present chapter tests the manipulation hypothesis of the Manipulation School of Translation Studies about the inevitably manipulative nature of translation on its sister activity – interpreting. It is largely based on the argumentation and considerations contained in the previous chapters on the nature of translation and its manipulative aspects, especially on the conclusion arrived at in chapter 1 that translation and interpreting are related activities and the new definition of manipulation as formulated in chapter 3. It is argued that interpreting may be seen as manipulation if a proper distinction between manipulation in everyday contexts and manipulation within the context of translation and interpreting is made. It is explained that manipulation in interpreting may be due to various interpreting-related macro- and micro-elements.

In the second part of the chapter the analysis of the results of the practitioner survey on interpreting and manipulation are offered.

In what follows we offer insights into various interpreting-related elements conducive to manipulation, which for the sake of an overview may be grouped into micro- and macro elements. Such elements as the type of speech, the difficulty of the speech, the technicality of the speech and the original speaker's manner of speaking are examples of micro elements; the interpreting tradition, client and colleague expectations, the nature of interpreting as an activity and the interpreter's processing capacity are examples of macro elements.

6.1 Interpreting-related Macro Elements Conducive to Manipulation

Stakeholder (colleague and client) expectations and differences between the schools and styles of interpreting is one of the reasons why interpreting might be perceived as manipulation. This factor may, for example, be explained with reference to the interpreting environment in the EU context for the SCIC⁴⁹. With the accession of the new Central and East European Countries (CEEC) to the EU the interpreting scene has

⁴⁹ The Joint Interpreting and Conference Service, the SCIC (from the French acronym).

changed there (for more details see Zauberga (2000)). The main differences can be mentioned, though, namely *relay* and *retour* interpreting. Relay interpreting is “a term used to refer to the practice of interpreting between two [...] languages via a third, mediating language” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:142) For example Latvian-English-German, where English is the *retour* language interpreted into by a Latvian interpreter. Zauberga (2000) describes the present system as follows.

The so-called **matrix system** where all interpretation is provided by native speakers into their A language has been diversified by the “**retour on relay**” mode for CEEC interpreters. It means that CEEC interpreters interpret from A into B serving as “pivots” for interpreters working into the EU official languages. (Zauberga 2000:72)

The EU enlargement has also brought together two different approaches or schools of interpreting, i.e. the Eastern vs. Western approach.

CEEC interpreters seem to be used to their receivers being mainly concerned with fidelity to the source text in the rendition. In practice it means insistence on adherence to words. The established style of interpreting is that of high speed and density. [...]

The house-style of EU institutions, on the contrary, focuses on clarity. The interpreter is expected to process the input before delivery as her/his overall objective is to facilitate communication. The output is usually condensed, fluent, coherent and cohesive, as a rule unhurried, creating the impression of ease and elegance. (Zauberga 2000:72-3)

The interpreter has to meet the expectations of all the parties involved, which can be perceived as manipulation.

The very nature of translation/interpreting as an activity is also an element conducive to manipulation. Theoretically translation and interpreting may be seen as speech acts, which take place within a certain context. Austin (1962) explains that when using language people do not just talk or write, but they use language to express their thoughts and perform actions.

In pragmatics-oriented models of the translation process, the assumption generally entertained has been that the act of translation itself can be viewed as an attempt at the successful performance of speech acts. In their quest to achieve ‘sameness of meaning’, it has been argued, translators constantly attempt to re-perform locutionary and illocutionary acts in the hope that the end product will have the same perlocutionary force in the target language (Blum-Kulka 1981). (qtd. In Hatim 1998/2001:180)

Combining linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, knowledge, beliefs and assumptions of all concerned the context, in which the translation takes place is crucial since it determines what is said and how it is said as well as what and how is understood. Very often it is the case that more is said than understood and vice versa even in direct communication let alone situations where the communication proceeds through one or several other persons (translators). By analogy it can be said that also interpreting is a speech act, or sometimes even a double speech act, because first of all the interpreter is trying to convey to the listener the message received from the speaker, and sometimes also performing his/her own speech act at that. For example, trying to liven up a boring meeting by adopting a more lively and zesty style of expression than the original speaker or preferring the meeting to end sooner the interpreter might lay a particular stress on the chairperson's request to send in the delegations' comments in writing rather than expressing them at the given meeting prolonging it by several hours.

Manipulation can also be due to the **general features of human mental perception**. This can be best explained with reference to the implied meaning and the cooperative principle and Grice's (1975) theory of implicature in human communication. According to this theory there is a social obligation to observe certain principles in communication, which Grice names **the maxims of conversation**. They aim at facilitating communication and are based on **the co-operative principle**. The maxims are as follows: Quality (make your contribution true), Quantity (make your contribution as informative as required), Relevance (make your contribution relevant), Manner (be perspicuous). In such cases manipulation may be due to not noticing when a person flouts these maxims. The problem lies in the fact that even if the maxims have been floated, there is a general tendency to assume that at least some of the maxims have been observed. Thus, the interpreter might make false inferences and try to make sense where there is none, especially so considering the main purpose of interpreting, i.e. to facilitate the communication between the parties.

Another possible trap related to the cooperative Maxims is the notion of implicature.

In purely receptive terms, appreciation of implied meaning facilitates comprehension which would otherwise be blurred. In terms of re-producing the message in the target language, on the other hand, the meanings which are implied and not stated could be the last court of appeal in assessing adequate equivalence.

This last point is particularly relevant in working with languages which are both culturally and linguistically remote from each other, where different pragmatic means have to be opted for to achieve a given ultimate effect. (Hatim 1998/2001:181).

The interpreter, thus, might explicate an implication or implicate an explication, which might be seen as an error or an attempt at manipulation.

The interpreter's limited processing capacity is a further element conducive to manipulation in that the interpreter's attempts to save effort to avoid exceeding its limits might lead to manipulation or might create an impression that interpreting is manipulation. This can best be explained with reference to Gile's (1998/2001) 'effort models'. He classifies simultaneous interpreting into three sets of efforts:

- (a) the Listening and Analysis Effort, which aims at comprehension of the SL speech
- (b) the Production Effort, which aims at production of the TL speech
- (c) a Short-term Memory Effort, which handles information between perception and production in the TL. (Gile 1998/2001:44)

Similarly also the process of consecutive interpreting can be divided into a listening phase with the Listening and Analysis Effort, the Note Production Effort and the Short-term Memory Effort and a reformulation phase with the Note-reading Effort, the Long-term Memory Effort and the Speech Production Effort.

For interpreting to proceed smoothly, two conditions have to be met in simultaneous and in the (critical) listening phase in consecutive mode: first, the sum of the individual Efforts' processing capacity requirements should not exceed the total available capacity; second, at each point in time, the capacity available for each Effort should cover the requirements associated with the task the Effort is engaged in. If either condition fails to be met, the quality of interpreting deteriorates, resulting in errors, omissions, clumsy reformulation of the speech, and so on. (Gile 1998/2001:44)

Gile (1998/2001) classifies the triggerers of interpreting difficulties in two categories which could be termed as *poor-quality input* and insufficient-length input. Dense or fast speeches and enumerations, heavily accented speeches, speeches with unusual grammar or logic, noisy physical environment and inadequate acoustic equipment belong to the first category; numbers, short words and names belong to the second category.

6.2 Interpreting-related Micro Elements Conducive to Manipulation

In order to facilitate the interpreting process and limit the effort required the interpreters resort to **different strategies**, for example anticipation, simplification, avoidance of repetition, explicitation, normalisation, compression and compensation. Shlesinger (1991) (qtd. in Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998/2001) speaks of the evidence of normalization in interpreter's output, such as "the tendency to complete unfinished sentences, replace ungrammatical source utterances with grammatical renderings, and delete false starts and self-corrections" (qtd. in Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998/2001:290).

If the limits of the processing capacity are exceeded the interpreter might be compelled to resort to such strategies as generalisation or omission.

Are these strategies manipulative in themselves? The answer to this question depends on the definition of manipulation and one's understanding of this phenomenon. If manipulation is defined to mean any voluntary or involuntary handling then of course these strategies can be considered manipulative, if, however, only voluntary, distortive change of textual meaning is manipulation then these strategies become manipulative only if the original message gets distorted as the result of the application of these strategies.

Insufficient knowledge of either the subject matter or that of the respective culture(s) can serve as another source of potential error and manipulation. This aspect may be best explained with reference to the speech act theory. Thus, interpreting might seem like manipulation also in cases where the speech act has been wrongly interpreted especially when force (illocution) seemingly departs from the sense (locution) or when the sense and force seem to suggest a different effect (perlocution). Hatim (1998/2001) gives the following example of communication breakdown due to a wrong interpretation of the speech act.

[I]n response to the question *What were the contents of the letter you handed to King Fahad?*, a Tunisian minister is reported to have replied rather curtly what should have been interpreted as 'This is a matter solely for the Saudis to consider.' Not aware of the pragmatic meaning involved, the interpreter rendered the original Arabic sentence literally as *This matter concerns the Saudis*. The statement was obviously intended to carry the pragmatic gloss 'Do not pursue this line of

questioning any further', a meaning which the English journalist would have no doubt appreciated. However, lured by the kind of inviting answer he received through the interpreter, the journalist did pursue the initial line of questioning, only to be rebuked the second time around. (Hatim 1998/2001:180)

To cover up for the knowledge gaps the interpreter may opt for a strategy of face-saving. The interpreter's **attempts at face-saving** can also be seen as manipulation, be it personal face-saving or the speaker's face-saving. A good example of this type of manipulation is featured in the *Anecdotes* section of the documentary on interpreters by David Bernet and Christian Beetz *The Whisperers*, 2005. Patricia Vander Elst remembers that in one of the press conferences the original Japanese speaker, who spoke English, had an incomprehensible accent. The only solution she could find under the circumstances was to read out the press release given to the interpreters by the Japanese delegation beforehand.

Patricia Vander Elst 'The Japanese Conference'

It was some kind of press conference and there were Japanese people talking. We had no information (sic). Nothing. The only thing we could get was a press text. Half a page long. I don't even know what it was about. And we didn't know the Japanese would speak English or something else. The Japanese started. There was also a German booth. I believe there were four booths. And... we listened... and understood nothing. And since I had the press text I said to myself: "Well, I'll read this. You never know." And I read the text. When I got to the end of the text, the Japanese kept talking. And then I started again from the beginning and drew it out: "what I mean is" and "perhaps one could say such and such" etc. I did that about three or four times, then it was over. What I didn't know was that the other booths, which also hadn't understood anything, saw that I had read something and switched over to my channel... and simply translated what I said...

Of course: the audience didn't understand anything. But the important thing was that the Japanese didn't lose their face. That was important. For the Japanese listened, switched through the channels. And they saw that the booths were working. You couldn't tell them that you had no idea what they were talking about. (Bernet2005)

Cultural realia is a potential source of manipulation in interpreting. To convey the message in a form that is acceptable to the listener, which entails conveying a complete and comprehensible message within the limited time (several seconds) available for the interpreter on the basis of an input containing cultural realia peculiar to the Source Culture and unknown or vaguely known to the Target Culture is a tall order. The interpreter has to be very resourceful to do the job well. In order to convey a message as completely and clearly as possible the interpreter may resort to, for example, description, i.e. repeating the name of that particular phenomenon in the Source

Language and adding an explanation in the Target Language. A classical example is the names given to national parliaments in different countries, for instance Saeima, the parliament of the Republic of Latvia. The use of German *Länder* requires a qualifier e.g. the federal states or German states. Such an addition might also be seen as manipulation since it is an element, which has been introduced only in the Target Text as opposed to the Source Text. Very often such explanations and additions improve communication and increase understanding.

Certain **presentation aspects** may also be perceived as manipulation, for example the lack of empathy with the speaker, the intonation and the tone of voice. If the speaker is very emotional as opposed to the interpreter or vice versa, then it is possible to claim that the interpreter is manipulating the original by not conveying it in the same vein. Also the fact that a male voice interprets a female speaker or vice versa could be perceived as manipulation.

There is another type of manipulation, namely, **manipulation in the traditional sense** of the word. This type of manipulation manifests itself as distortion and usually is due to ideological considerations of various kinds, individual or collective, and may be performed on the interpreter's own accord or because the interpreter has been instructed to do so. As examples, one might mention here selective interpreting, where the interpreter intentionally and consciously omits parts of the original message or distorts the original message. However, it is doubted, that this type of manipulation is of any relevance in connection with professional interpreting, since the professional ethics of interpreters prohibits this type of conduct.

Summary

At first the claim that interpreting is manipulation or that interpreting is potentially manipulative might sound like an insult to the profession. However, upon more detailed consideration of the topic it seems that it is possible to find some substantiation for this claim. Thus, it can be claimed that interpreting may be perceived as manipulation because of the existence or influence of the following factors:

- **the transfer of information from one language into another** (change of the present state of affairs);

- **the limited processing capacity and the mental effort of the interpreter** (listening, analysis, short term memory, production);
- **the input factor** (the quality of the source text)
- **the presentation aspect** (intonation, voice and gender);
- **stakeholder expectations** (interpreter-colleague interpreter-audience);
- **the interpreter's attempts at producing an audience-friendly message;**
- **personal factors**
 - limitations of human knowledge
 - insufficient knowledge of language, culture or subject matter
 - individual interpreter agenda(s)
 - professionalism/ observation or ignorance of high professional standards
 - emotional factors (stress, fatigue, aversion etc.);
- **instructions or guidelines received.**

Interpreting may be seen as manipulation in the light of the definition of manipulation as handling in context. Manipulation may be due to various interpreting-related micro- and macro-elements and may be of two types, i.e. **the positive and the negative manipulation**. **Positive manipulation** or manipulation as improvement is resorted to when the interpreter seeks to improve the text making it more coherent, acceptable and adequate to the Target Audience, without unnecessary additions or omissions or any distortion of the original message. **Negative manipulation** or manipulation as distortion may be resorted to when the interpreter has received certain instructions or is following his/her own agenda and accordingly seeks to distort the original message. Mistakes can also be perceived as manipulation and may compel the interpreter to resort to manipulation in the sense that manipulation is sometimes used as a cover-up for the interpreter's lack of knowledge and professionalism.

Furthermore, there are many problems that might arise in the process of interpreting as discussed above. The interpreter, when faced with some or all of the above mentioned problems has to solve it/them in the course of interpreting in a matter of a few seconds. Professional interpreters usually manage to overcome them, however not without a price. The price usually is the mental effort, which is limited and might compel the

interpreter to make up for the lost time, information and effort. On a more philosophical note, a question arises whether the fact that the interpreter has to juggle with all or some of the above mentioned factors and produce an adequate and acceptable target language text in a matter of a few seconds not make interpreting into manipulation in certain respects?

Considering the similarities and differences between translation and interpreting it can even be claimed that interpreting is potentially even more manipulative than translation; especially so, because of the time restrictions and processing capacity limitations. In the interest of face-saving as well as due to other objective and subjective factors the interpreter might intentionally or unintentionally, by personal preference or because s/he is compelled to do so, resort to manipulative interpreting strategies.

It must be stressed, however, that just as with translation, the answer to the question whether interpreting is manipulation, depends on the way one perceives and defines manipulation.

6.3 Survey of the Opinions of Conference Interpreters on Manipulation in Conference Interpreting

General Description of the Survey

Taking as the basis the claim of the scholars belonging to the Manipulation School of Translation Studies that “[f]rom the point of view of the target literature all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose.” (Hermans 1985:11) the survey aims at investigating whether also interpreting – activity akin to translating, can be claimed to be manipulation. The stress is laid here on the opinions of practicing conference interpreters, both novice and experienced, who are asked a set of questions about the allegedly manipulative nature of interpreting.

The essential question to be answered is whether conference interpreting is to be perceived as manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting. If manipulation in interpreting is taken to mean manipulation as generally understood, namely, that manipulation is the use of “the strategies that people use to get others to do what they want them to do” (Fairclough 1994:2360), then in case it is recognised as such, it raises some alarming questions about the nature of the service and the future of the profession as a whole. Is all interpreting manipulative? Do all interpreters manipulate? What parts of the message have been manipulated? Are the interpreters really professional? Can I (as a listener) rely on the information provided to me by the interpreter? If I (as a listener) cannot trust the interpreter why do I need interpretation at all? After all, who needs interpreting if it cannot be trusted?

Using the methods of empirical social sciences research, the present survey analyses the opinions provided by respondents of three categories: conference interpreting students, novice and experienced conference interpreters, working for the largest interpreting service in the world – *The European Commission’s Interpreting Service and Conference Organiser, The Directorate General for Interpretation* (DG Interpretation- formerly known as SCIC). DG Interpretation provides interpreters for roughly 50 to 60 meetings per day in Brussels and elsewhere. It has 500 staff interpreters and 2.700 accredited freelance interpreters (data of 2006). In the pilot phase the questions were tested also on

the graduates of the *Master and Professional Programmes in Translation and Interpreting* of the University of Latvia. The survey is based on a total of 117 responses.

The hypothesis of the survey is that manipulation in conference interpreting is perceived differently by the respondents depending on their interpretation of the term *manipulation*.

The survey has been carried out in two phases: the pilot phase and the main phase. In the pilot phase the validity of the questions to be included in the main part of the survey was tested.

The present survey takes as its basis the most scandalous statement of the Manipulation School of Translation that from the target perspective “all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (Hermans 1985:11) and by extension applies it to interpreting. The basic questions addressed by the study are the following:

1. Can it be claimed that interpreting is manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting?
2. What might lead to manipulative interpreting?
3. Has the respondent him/herself ever produced a manipulative interpretation and if so, why?

These general questions were worked into the various questionnaire, interview and discussion questions. The replies set out in the following sections of this chapter have been analysed with these three basic questions in mind.

6.4 Analysis of the Results of the Pilot Questionnaire

The main purpose of the pilot questionnaire was to gauge the responsiveness and reactions of interpreters to a questionnaire on such a controversial topic, namely interpreting and manipulation, as well as to test the validity and effectiveness of the questions asked and gather ideas for the main questionnaire.

The questionnaire was prepared in both English and Latvian since its addressees were Latvian interpreters with various working languages including English, French, German, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.

As regards the representativeness of the pilot questionnaire it must be pointed out that the scale of it is rather limited because of the relatively small number of the returned responses. Thus out of twenty questionnaire forms sent out to each category - novice and professional interpreters only seven forms were returned in both cases.

The respondents were not given any definitions or explanations on what manipulation is or on how it is understood by theoreticians. This was a conscious strategy, because the aim of the questionnaire was to obtain information from ‘uncontaminated minds.’

6.4.1 Replies of novice interpreters

Twenty novice interpreters have been sent the questionnaire form. For various unknown reasons only seven out of twenty returned the forms. The novice interpreters were mainly graduates of the Professional Programme *Interpreter* and the Master Programme *Translation and Interpreting* of the University of Latvia, Faculty of Modern Languages. Among the respondents there were also several people who occasionally work as interpreters although they have not received any formal interpreting training.

The respondents were asked to answer four questions. The first question was generally asking the respondents to describe their experience as interpreters. The following three questions were specific ones on the topic of the present research.

- 1. In your opinion what is understood by manipulation in interpreting? [if possible give examples]*
- 2. In your opinion have you ever performed manipulations when interpreting? If, yes, how? [If possible give examples]*
- 3. Would you agree to the statement that from the target perspective interpreting implies a degree of manipulation of the source material for a certain purpose?*

The fourth and the last question was an invitation to express any additional comments one might have on the topic of the questionnaire.

Since the number of the responses has been limited it is possible and seems worthwhile to reflect the answers of the respondents in full, because they are very intelligent and truly interesting.

Thus, in response to the question on **what, in the respondents opinion, is understood by manipulation in interpreting**, the following responses have been obtained:

- *Any deviation from the original.*
- *Interpreting in such a way as to influence the opinion of the target audience or in such a way that the interpreter gains some advantage.*
- *I don't know*
- *If one changes certain elements of the original for the needs of the audience.*
- *Adding personal ideas, using personal charm to please the audience.*
- *Deliberate significant changes in favour of some stakeholder [An example- a few years ago Vladimir Putin made unfavourable remarks about Yeltsin in an international press-conference (or similar event), but the interpreter (Russian-English) did not provide an exact interpretation (according to the information received afterwards) in order to 'save' Putin.*
- *Unauthorised influencing of the events and distortion of information for selfish, ideological, didactic, communicative (etc.) reasons. [Unter Manipulation versteht man die unautorisierte Einflussnahme auf Personen, Dinge oder Informationen ohne Kenntnis der Betroffenen. Es wird eine gezielte Änderung angestrebt. Bei der Informationsverarbeitung wird in den regelrechten Ablauf eingegriffen und eine Manipulation vorgenommen. Sicherheit.i3g.fh-heilbronn.de/dv_glossar.html.] [Examples: censorship, handling of children's stories, mistakes due to poor language (Source Language, Target Language) knowledge or due to the lack of the knowledge of the specific field, wrong terminology].*

It can be concluded that almost all (six out of seven) the respondents have a certain idea of what manipulation is. In general it can be said, that all the respondents agree that manipulation is changing, distorting or misinterpreting the information due to certain considerations or for a certain purpose among them to gain some personal advantage; to adapt the output to the need of the audience, to 'save' the speaker. Manipulation can be deliberate or due to insufficient language or cultural knowledge. The fact or possibility of manipulation, by definition, is not communicated to the audience.

The responses to the question, **whether the respondents ever have performed any kind of manipulation of the source material, and why**, the respondents have replied as follows.

- *Yes, due to time pressure*
- *Yes, at the end of a hard days interpreting introducing some hints in the output so that the customer hopefully finishes the negotiations sooner.*
- *No*
- *Yes, on my own accord. When carrying out community interpreting I mitigated the negative statements of the representatives of the organisation I was working for because it was clear that they were wrong.*
- *Yes, on my own accord, but not in the context of interpreting. I adjusted the training material to the needs and interests of my students. I made adjustments for political reasons)*
- *Two respondents were not sure whether they have performed any manipulations*

The answers to this question show that the respondents are aware of the way they as interpreters can influence the events, and offer some interesting examples of the instances of manipulation in real-life situations.

In response to the question on the respondents' perception of **the claim that all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text** 4 respondents have agreed to the statement, 2 were not sure whether it was true, and 1 respondent did not agree to the statement.

Only three respondents out of the seven, who returned the form have given some **extra comments** on the topic.

- *Is there a manipulation-free way of interpreting?*
- *I think that manipulations performed by interpreters occur when they [the interpreters] belong to the very same organisation they are working for and have their own agendas. The person providing the interpretation may have a different view on the topic, and consequently can try to influence the views of the other representatives of the group s/he belongs to.*
- *Depending on the aims and tasks of the translation/interpretation, manipulation, both conscious and unconscious), can be dangerous. For example the translations of the information on pharmacology products, operating instructions of complicated mechanisms, the transmission of imprecise information.*

From the comments it follows that respondents have a good understanding of manipulation and the possible consequences of it. One of the respondents even mentions

the two main types of manipulation – conscious and unconscious manipulation. One of them stresses the inherently manipulative nature of interpretation.

6.4.2 Replies of professional interpreters

The professional interpreters, who took part in the questionnaire, were professionals, who have been working in this field for a considerable period of time (from 2 – 20 years). They were mainly interpreters who have been working as conference interpreters both in Latvia and in the international market, including the institutions of the European Union.

Out of the twenty interpreters targeted seven have returned the questionnaires. The professional interpreters have been asked the same questions as the novice interpreters above. The only difference was the language of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was in Latvian, because it was targeted towards interpreters working from various languages into Latvian, and their language combination might not have included English.

The responses to the question **what is manipulation in interpreting** can be summarised as follows:

- *Attempts to make the audience understand the text in a certain way.*
- *The distortion of facts to influence the audience. The distortions can take the following forms - misrepresented facts, changed intonation, atmosphere and the attitude of the speaker. It can be both conscious and unconscious. The interpreter can resort to conscious manipulation if s/he has received certain instructions, or if there is a need to mitigate the statements made, or to stress certain things in the text for certain reasons, or to produce a coherent message out of a faulty one, if the source text is ungrammatical and difficult to understand. The interpreter might perform unconscious manipulation due to the lack of knowledge of the particular field, the languages involved, or due to the lack of experience.*
- *The attempts of the interpreter to put the message across on the basis of the source material, which sometimes can be faulty. The manipulation may result from the fact that the source material has not been of sufficient quality or the interpreter might have missed something, but nevertheless is expected to produce a coherent message.*

- *Manipulation can also be the attempts of the interpreter to 'save' the speaker, who according to the interpreter might be in trouble, because the speaker is incoherent or mistaken.*
- *One respondent suggests that the term 'manipulation' should not be used in relation to interpretation. Instead it is suggested that such terms as 'alterations', 'changes' or 'modification' be used. The respondent explains that manipulation is a concept that can be interpreted in many ways.*
- *Attempts on the interpreter's part to appear in a more favourable light in the eyes of the audience.*

In response to the question **whether the respondent has ever performed any manipulation of the text and why** the answers are as follows:

- *Four responded in the negative.*
- *Three persons admitted to performing manipulations. Because they have either received certain instructions (however this was not in relation to interpreting, tried to make their output more lively and interesting and appealing for the audience not to lose them.*
- *It was stressed also that the meaning of the term manipulation is not equivocal, and that it should not only always be perceived as something negative.*
- *As an example of an arguably manipulative request for manipulation was a request to provide interpretation for the sake of gaining time to consider the response.*
- *As an example of manipulation one of the respondents mentioned the use of the word or sentence stress, for example stressing words which were not stressed in the original in order to make the text more interesting and appealing for the audience not to lose their interest.*

In response to the request to respond to **the statement that from the perspective of the Target Language translation/interpretation is manipulation** the respondents' responses can be summarised as follows.

- *Three respondents disagreed. One of them suggesting that interpreting is a bridge with the help of which a better understanding between the parties is established.*
- *Two respondents agreed to the statement, but point out that manipulation is not always negative.*
- *One respondent neither agreed nor disagreed to the statement, explaining that this is mere philosophy and that it can always be claimed that all and everything is manipulation.*
- *One respondent agreed to the statement if the fact that the text is rendered in another language can be considered manipulation*

Six respondents have **added their comments**, which can be summarised as follows.

- *The interpreter has unlimited possibilities to manipulate with the text if s/he so wishes or is requested to do so, however, there are certain standards of professional ethics as well as one's own conscience.*

- *Some suggested that manipulation (but not in the negative sense) seemed to be unavoidable, because of the polysemy of many of the words for example in the English language.*
- *Some expressed willingness to discuss this issue further, but already on the basis of a concrete definition of manipulation*
- *One respondent explained manipulation with reference to phraseological stylistics and the stylistic changes in texts. She added that owing to the developments in the cognitive sciences such changes are not viewed as something negative any more, but rather as the signs of the workings of the human mind.*
- *Another respondent added that the term manipulation has a very negative connotation and suggested that this term not be used in relation to interpreting, instead offering 'adaptation of the text to the needs of the target audience'. Adaptation, in its turn is a desirable trend. She questioned whether the substitution of a proverb in the original with an equivalent but not identical proverb (because it does not exist in the Target Language) is manipulation. And whether a lively intonation of the interpreter as opposed to the speaker's is manipulation. By analogy it could be claimed that also a female voice, which interprets a male speaker is manipulation.*
- *One respondent admitted that at first glance it seems that manipulation is something negative, but upon further reflection everything might be perceived as manipulation, and that it might be necessary to find out more about this phenomenon.*

From the responses of the professionals it follows that they have a good understanding of the phenomenon manipulation, however the negative associations of the concept predominate. Some respondents have even suggested that the word *manipulation* not be used in relation to interpreting.

Summative Analysis and Conclusions

In general theoretically there are at least two understandings of manipulation. On the one hand it can be claimed that everything one does in respect to a certain text, including translation/interpreting, is manipulation. On the other hand manipulation is the approach (and results of such approach) to translation/interpreting whereby one processes a certain text so as to fit it to a certain model or belief about the culture, author and intention of the text. Manipulation can be perceived as handling and/or as a devious change - hence, also the view that all translation/interpreting is manipulation. Strictly speaking only manipulation as a devious change qualifies as manipulation [proper], and only the translations/interpreting, which bear traces of this type of manipulation are truly manipulative, in the conventional sense of the word.

From the comments of the novice interpreters it follows that respondents have a good understanding of manipulation and the possible consequences of it. One of the respondents even mentions the two main types of manipulation – conscious and unconscious manipulation. One of them stresses the inherently manipulative nature of interpretation. The comments of the professional interpreters show their awareness of the potentially manipulative character of interpreting, the crucial role of the interpreter in any interpreting event, especially in cases where the audience is entirely dependant on the interpreter. They also stress the professional ethics of interpreters, which is kept in high regard by the professionals.

Thus, to sum up, manipulation is an elusive concept. It can be claimed that everything anybody does or does not do is manipulation. From the above discussion it follows that everything depends on what one understands by manipulation. Usually, when speaking about manipulation one thinks first of all about ideological and distortive manipulation. The responses also prove that a more fine-grained typology of manipulation is necessary to be able to answer the question whether translation/interpretation is manipulation.

The general conceptual conclusion of the pilot questionnaire is that bearing in mind the fact that interpreter's individuality and voice are irreducibly inscribed in the

interpretation s/he produces and that the interpretation is produced for a certain audience within a certain context, it could be claimed that the interaction of these elements, namely the original, its author, the interpreter, the audience and the context leave certain traces in the interpretation, which might be perceived as instances of manipulation. However, the answer to the question whether interpreting is manipulation depends on the way one perceives manipulation.

The analyses of the preliminary questionnaire were published under the title *Interpreting and Manipulation from the Point of View of the Practitioner* (Kramina 2006). The analysis of the results of the questionnaire were also sent to the respondents of the questionnaire who had expressed the wish to familiarise themselves with them.

The main operational conclusions arrived at as the result of the pilot questionnaire for the main part of the survey are as follows:

- interpreters, both novice and experienced, are a good source of usually practical and sometimes also theoretical knowledge on the subject of the research;
- the questionnaire return level was rather low for reasons that may only be guessed (for example lack of background information, lack of the definition of manipulation adopted for the purposes of the research, no invitation to contact the author of the questionnaire in case of additional questions, lack of personal contact with the author, the questions were not clear/specific enough);
- the respondents need more background information on how manipulation in interpreting is defined and understood;
- the respondents need more information on the research in the framework in which the survey is carried out;
- the questions asked need to be more specific in order to elicit more concrete responses;
- some interpreters prefer to discuss the issue with the author of the survey before replying to the written questions, others rather give their opinion or explanations orally than in a written form;

- the respondents need personal contact with the author of the survey and a possibility to contact her in case of additional questions.

Accordingly, when devising the main part of the survey it was decided to gather information both in the written and the spoken form and to ask the respondents more specific questions on the topic of interest.

6.5 Analysis of the Results of the Main Part of the Survey

Between Autumn 2005 and spring 2006 an opinion poll as well as interviews and discussions among conference interpreters working for DG Interpretation of the European Commission were carried out. In the second part of the survey we concentrated on the same three central questions, however, it was decided to give the respondents more additional information about the research carried, to formulate more specific questions, and to invite the respondents to contact the author of the survey in case of additional questions.

6.5.1 Analysis of the Results of the Interviews and Discussions

Between Autumn 2005 and Spring 2006 fifteen interviews and 4 discussions were conducted by the author of the research. The interviews and discussions involved 47 interpreters out of them 7 gave their opinions on the topic by e-mail. The interviewees were conference interpreters of various levels of experience in conference interpreting, with the average experience of 10 years in the field. They were interpreters of both sexes and in the age group between 25 to 55⁵⁰. (This is only an estimate, since the interviewees and participants in the discussion were not asked to indicate their age).

The interviews and discussions were carried out by the author of the paper herself, who is an interpreter working for the DG Interpretation. The fact that the interviews were carried out by a colleague interpreter in a friendly atmosphere helped to obtain truthful

⁵⁰ This is only an estimate, since the interviewees and participants in the discussions were not asked to indicate their age

answers to the questions asked. The interviews were usually held during the breaks announced in the meetings or during lunch-breaks after the morning sessions of work in a form of a conversation. Some interviews were conducted per e-mail in a form of a conversation. The interviewees and the participants of the discussions were aware though that their responses might be reflected in the analysis of the results of the survey. (It was even suggested by one of the respondents that the results of the analysis upon the completion of the research might be published in the DG Interpretation newsletter *SCIC News*). The questions asked during the interviews did not relate to a particular meeting and concentrated mainly on the three central questions of the survey, namely, the understanding of the concept manipulative interpreting, reasons for such interpreting and instances of such interpreting in their experience. The strategy adopted for all oral interviews and discussions was similar. First the interviewees and participants of the discussion were informed about the topic of the conversation, namely, translation, manipulation and interpreting. They then could decide whether they wanted to discuss this topic. None of the interpreters approached decline the offer, however at first they seemed to be rather surprised if not shocked about such a topic. As their initial reaction the majority of interpreters declined the presumption that interpreting was or might be perceived as manipulation. Only after it was explained that for the purposes of the current research manipulation is approached and viewed from two angles, namely positive (neutral) manipulation vs. negative (distortive) manipulation the interviewees seemed to relax and were ready to discuss the issue. The reaction of the interpreters is not surprising at all, because the statement that interpreting is manipulation is alarming and in case it is proved that it is it undermines the reliability and necessity of such a service and as a consequence might prove crucial for the future of the profession.

The answers of the interviewees can be grouped around the three core questions of the survey with an additional category *spontaneous issues*, which contains comments and suggestions made by the interviewees that fall outside the scope of the three core questions.

Is it possible to claim that interpreting is manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting?

4 interviewees believed that interpreting was manipulation if only because of the language change which inevitably takes place when interpreting because there is no one to one correspondence between the language units. This is especially true if we look at the interpreting conventions valid in the EU interpreting context according to which it is not the interpreter's task to find such correspondence, but to communicate a coherent message to the target audience. This is one of the features that distinguishes interpreting from translation. It was suggested to refer to the homepage of the DG Interpretation of the European Commission (<http://scic.cec.eu.int>) where the essence of conference interpreting is explained.

Conference interpreting deals exclusively with oral communication: rendering a message from one language into another, naturally and fluently, adopting the delivery, tone and convictions of the speaker and speaking in the first person. [...] International conferences are attended by people from different backgrounds and cultures, and speaking different languages. It is the job of an interpreter to enable them to communicate with each other, not by translating every word they utter, but by conveying the ideas which they express. (<http://scic.cec.eu.int>)

20 interpreters reacted negatively to this claim at first because they had always perceived 'manipulation' as deliberate distortion of the original in an attempt to achieve one's own ends. They believed that interpreting was manipulation only when the interpreter deliberately and consciously set about to distort the message.

23 interpreters admitted that it was possible to perceive interpreting as manipulation according to the premise of the current research (that it could be claimed that there exist two types of manipulation: the change or transfer or text handling without distortion or even with improvement, and the change or transfer or handling of the text resulting in distortion of the original message).

What leads or might lead to manipulative interpreting?

The answers of the interviewees can be summarised as follows:

- the fact that the language is changed, that there is a transfer of the message from one language into another;
- deliberate attempts to distort the message;
- misunderstandings on the part of the interpreter;

- inexperience of the interpreter, which might lead to finding well-intended but poorly weighed out solutions which might cause problems as a result. In this connection it was suggested to look up November 2002 issue of SCIC News (<http://scic.cec.eu.int/scicnews/2002/021121/news06.htm>).

SCIC Quality

Siberia?

SCIC interpreters were not involved in *Putin incident* at the Press Conference after the EU-Russia Summit on 11 November. Vladimir Putin offered circumcision in Moscow to Le Monde's Brussels correspondent.

Only the journalist did not understand the offer until the next day when reports from Moscow provided the full sense of what Putin has said. The Russian President's interpreters had been silent on this point.

The Summit was held at the Council's premises and organised by the Danish Presidency and the Council Secretariat General. SCIC was asked to provide interpretation, as is standard practice. Under strong pressure from the Russian side, Council SG agreed that Russian delegation interpreters would provide interpretation from Russian into English.

It was left to SCIC to provide interpretation from English into Russian, which is contrary to current practice of employing complete teams of SCIC interpreters in order to guarantee quality. SCIC has only rarely accepted such arrangements in the past, in response to exceptional political sensitivities, e.g., EU-ASEM Summit, EU-China Summit and President Putin's press conference at the European Council in Stockholm.

During the press conference, President Putin's answer to a question was incompletely interpreted into English by the Russian delegation interpreters. The Brussels press had its first opportunity to respond to the incident at the Commission Midday Press Briefing the next day, when the Commission Spokesman was challenged on the matter.

What Putin said:

"If you want to become a complete Islamic radical and are ready to undergo circumcision, then I invite you to Moscow. We are a multidominational country. We have specialists in this question as well. I will recommend that he carry out the operation in such a way that after it nothing else will grow."

What the interpreter said:

"If you want to become an Islamic radical and if you'd like to get your circumcision, please come to Moscow. We are a multiconfessional, multiethnic nation. Please come. You are welcome and everything and everyone is tolerated in Moscow."

After weighing the testimony from colleagues, including Brian Gentle (A-5 EN) who has listened to the tapes of Putin and his interpreter, SCICNEWS concludes that the interpreter, the youngest member of the Russian team, was overwhelmed by the sudden outburst and his colleague stepped in and wrapped the hanging sentence as best as he could before carrying on.

(<http://scic.cec.eu.int/scicnews/2002/021121/news06.htm>)

The example cited above proves what has been stated in Chapter 7 that interpreting might be perceived as even more manipulative than translation exactly because of the speed aspect. In the example above the interpreter has obviously not had enough time to consider all the pros and cons to the softening of the message that he has opted for.

Have you in your professional carrier performed manipulation and if so, why?

None of the respondents had performed deliberate distortive manipulation in the course of their professional carriers. As regards other types of manipulation they agreed that the answer to the above question depends on the way one understands the term *manipulation*. The interpreters have certainly used such strategies as for example the salami technique⁵¹, performed changes determined by the differences in languages or cultures, reformulation, generalisation, explicitation and compensation. If these strategies be considered manipulation then they have performed manipulation.

Spontaneous Issues

One of the most thought-provoking spontaneous issues that emerged in the course of the discussions was that with the help of the current research it was possible to investigate THE core question of interpreting, namely the limits of literal faithfulness of interpreting to the original.

In the course of the discussion also such issues were mentioned as the professionalism of interpreter and interpreter professional ethics, which sets the limits of interpreter freedom and clarifies what qualifies as professional conference interpreting.

There was also a discussion on conscious vs. unconscious or subconscious manipulation.

⁵¹ “The technique of ‘slicing up’ a long or complicated sentence into shorter, more comprehensible sentences during the interpreting process.” (Jones 1998:146)

6.5.2 Summative Analysis and Conclusions

The results of the interview and discussion section of the main part of the survey show that the personal involvement of the author of the survey have paid off. None of the interpreters approached declined the interview. The interpreters were assured by the fact that the interview was conducted by a colleague with a genuine interest in their opinion with no intention to provoke a scandal or distort their responses. Also the fact that their replies were not recorded was relaxing.

As regards the substance of the interviews and discussions it was possible to find satisfactory answers to the three key questions of the survey. The answers received proved the hypothesis of the survey that the answer to the question whether interpreting is manipulation depends on the way the term manipulation is interpreted.

Operationally, the results of the interviews and discussions helped to formulate the questions for the main questionnaire, the results of which are described in the next section of this chapter.

6.6 Analysis of the Results of the Main Questionnaire of the Survey

The main questionnaire of the survey was prepared on the basis of the above-described preliminary activities, namely the pilot questionnaire and interviews and discussions. Also the main questionnaire concentrates around the three above mentioned core questions of the survey.

In the course of the preparation of the questionnaire it was discussed among others with one of the author's advisers for the project prof. Veisbergs as well as with competent colleagues and friends who all gave valuable advice as regards the formulation of the questionnaire.

According to the standard practice of carrying out opinion polls within an organisation upon completion of the questionnaire form the Head of Unit of the Latvian Interpretation Unit in the Interpretation Directorate General of the European Commission Ms Freudenstein-Weijer was asked permission to carry out an opinion poll on the topic of interpreting and manipulation. Ms Freudenstein-Weijer not only gave the permission to carry out the opinion poll but also agreed to help disseminate the questionnaires to the interpreters working for the service. The questionnaire form was sent to all staff interpreters with a cover letter by Ms Freudenstein-Weijer inviting the interpreters to respond to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was accompanied by a note by the author of the present survey, briefly describing the current project, the basic theoretical postulates on the topic, and inviting the respondents to contact the author for additional information or questions.

The respondents were invited to return the questionnaires in a form most convenient for them, i.e. by e-mail, by post, by dropping the form in the author's pigeonhole in the office or by returning it personally to the author. However, it was explicitly stated that the respondents might remain anonymous if they so wish. The respondents used all the options offered, quite a number of respondents sent in requests for additional information, which was provided accordingly.

From those surveyed 53 responses were returned. It is a good result, though, considering the number of questionnaires that are circulating in the service and the workload of the staff interpreters.

6.6.1 Description of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire as mentioned above focuses on the three core survey questions; some of the questions, however, have been deliberately formulated differently from the pilot questionnaire.

The questionnaire is brief and contains only 8 questions. It is entitled *Manipulative aspects of interpreting*. It is a deliberate strategy to announce the topic of the top of the questionnaire form in order not to annoy the respondent who otherwise might be

compelled to read all the 8 questions in order to establish the topic of the questionnaire and not to run the risk that a busy respondent would simply delete the message and not reply to the questionnaire.

At the top of the page we offer a brief explanation of how manipulation is understood in the present research. The respondent is then explicitly allowed to disagree with this approach.

Next the respondent is asked to answer 8 questions, 6 out of them are multiple choice questions in 2 of them the respondent is requested to specify the answer if possible. The remaining two are open-ended questions. The questions are as follows:

- 1. Describe your experience as interpreter.**
- 2. In your opinion what is understood by manipulation in interpreting?**
- 3. In your opinion can interpreting be considered manipulation if the interpreter uses the following strategies: anticipation, simplification, explicitation, normalisation (e.g. completes unfinished sentences, makes grammatical improvements, deletes false starts)?**
- 4. Do you think that any of the below strategies or their application can be seen as manipulation? [simplification, explicitation, normalisation, anticipation, generalisation, omission, additions, other]**
- 5. In your opinion have you ever performed manipulations when interpreting? If ,yes, how? [If possible give examples]**
- 6. Would you agree to the statement that (from the target perspective) interpreting implies a degree of manipulation of the source material for a certain purpose?**
- 7. Would you agree to the statement that there are two types of manipulation – positive manipulation (textual improvement) and negative manipulation (distortion of the message)?**
- 8. Maybe there is anything else you would like to add on this topic...**

Questions 3,5,6 and 7 offer to choose between the answer: *yes, no, I am not sure*. The respondents are invited to add their own comments if they so wish. Questions 2, 4 and 8 require more input from the respondent.

In general the interpreters who responded to the questionnaire were very helpful and friendly, only one respondent out of 53 stated that s/he could not accept the premise of the research and hence would not answer the rest of the questions, however chose to submit the form to display his/her disagreement with the current approach. Still this response is also very valuable for the purposes of the current survey.

Professional experience

Out of all 53 respondents only one interpreter is a novice interpreter. 52 are professional interpreters of professional experience ranging from 4 to 30 years of conference interpreter job experience.

What is understood by manipulation in interpreting?

10 respondents believe that manipulation in interpreting is deliberate and dishonest distortion of a text with a view of achieving objectives which are not those of the original speaker. The respondents give the following examples of such manipulation:

- *changing the contents of the message;*
- *changing the meaning of the message (liberation of Iraq- invasion of Iraq; imprisoned terrorists – political prisoners; anti-abortion-pro-life; alienated youth-street criminals);*
- *making additions to the text;*
- *attempts at bluffing and one's own face-saving;*

10 respondents considered that one cannot really speak about a deliberate change of meaning in professional interpreting. A change of meaning or serious distortion would be possible only by mistake (e.g. misunderstanding, misjudgement). Besides, serious distortion would not get the conference interpreter very far considering the actual conference situation, where the listener can immediately react to what has been heard

and more often than not the delegates of a particular country have a colleague with them in the meeting who checks on the interpreters.

14 interpreters admitted that it is possible, though, to manipulate the message in other ways such as with the help of the tone of voice (e.g. sounding bored/disinterested or sarcastic as well as by making the speech more lively, adding colour, choosing to use richer language than the original speaker), exaggerating the original message by stressing certain parts of the message. (At the end of the meeting when the chairperson briefly mentions that it is getting late, the interpreter may lay a particular stress on exactly this phrase.)

4 interpreters believed that manipulation is **any attempt on the interpreter's part to influence the listener**. It includes both positive and negative attempts of this kind.

6 interpreters considered that manipulation is **any deviation of the TT from the ST** of both positive or negative nature, including departure from a word for word translation and following the sense and the spirit of the original making the text sound natural and fluent. However this is what is expected of conference interpreting and is legitimate. Here one should also speak about **conscious and unconscious manipulation**. Conscious manipulation may take the form of digression, omission, and addition with an aim of achieving a certain purpose (e.g. boycotting a certain speaker or speech, making the speaker be perceived in a biased way by the audience), distorting the message for face-saving purposes, consciously changing the invariable elements of the message (tone and contents). Conscious manipulation may be performed with or without the consent of the client (listener or speaker). Unconscious manipulation is more common in conference interpreting than conscious manipulation. Unconscious manipulation may be the result of temperament-clash, i.e. when the temperaments of the speaker and the interpreter do not tally, when the interpreter misjudges the intention of the speaker

6 interpreters suggested that **the term *manipulation* should not be used** in this context, since manipulation is a word with a negative connotation only. It is suggested that the term *processing* or *adaptation* of the Source Material to the specifics of the Target

Language. If the term manipulation is used in this context then it is necessary to always add a qualifier, either *positive or negative manipulation*. This is because certain changes are inevitable in the course of interpreting and are introduced not as distortions but improvements of the original where appropriate. Some changes might be inevitable because of the linguistic and cultural differences between the languages. However if this is considered manipulation then everything, including every-day conversation, is manipulation. Besides interpreting might be perceived as manipulation by default because the communication between parties proceeds through the third party, i.e., the interpreter.

1 respondent suggested that it might be useful to determine who or what is being manipulated (text or audience).

Can interpreting be considered manipulation if the interpreter uses the following strategies: anticipation, simplification, explicitation, normalisation (e.g. completes unfinished sentences, makes grammatical improvements, deletes false starts)?

21 respondents believed that the use of these strategies **does not turn interpreting into manipulation** unless the use of these strategies leads to the distortion of the message.

9 respondents believed that these strategies **might make interpretation manipulative**, but this is unconscious manipulation then.

18 respondents opted for answer '4' stating that only some of these strategies might qualify as manipulation, and only in specific circumstances. They have added also their comments to this answer. Thus, these strategies might qualify as manipulation in the following instances:

- *if it SIGNIFICANTLY alters the listener's perception of the speech;*
- *when these strategies are used in order to mislead the audience;*
- *they are unavoidable strategies in interpreting the use of which is predetermined by linguistic and cultural differences, as well as Target Audience expectations and may in specific circumstances be seen as manipulation by certain parties.*

9 respondents opted for answer '5' and have added their comments which may be summarised as follows:

- *everything depends on one's understanding of the term manipulation and the perception of these strategies;*
- *usually the original is improved in the interests of the speaker (according to the principle 'interpret not what I said but what I wanted to say', however it might lead to seemingly unintended manipulation if the interpreter overdoes a little since there is a fine very line between facilitating communication and distorting the reality;*
- *technically these strategies might qualify as manipulation but in principle they are legitimate interpreting strategies.*

5 respondents were not sure whether these strategies make interpreting into manipulation.

Do you think that any of the below strategies or their application can be seen as manipulation? [simplification, explicitation, normalisation, anticipation, generalisation, omission, additions, other], why?

In this question the respondents were asked to evaluate the manipulative potential of the most commonly used interpreting strategies. As anticipated *addition* ranked first (27 points), followed by *omission* (25 points) and *generalisation* (25 points) which scored an equal number of points. *Simplification* ranked fourth (10 points), *explicitation*, *normalisation* and *anticipation* scored relatively few points (7,5,5 respectively) and were considered legitimate interpreting strategies. Normalisation seemed to be a term not known or understood by 2 respondents. 6 respondents chose option 'I do not know' in relation to explicitation, simplification and anticipation.

Some respondents added comments to their replies which can be summed up as follows : none of these strategies are manipulative unless deliberately adopted with an aim of distorting the original message. Likewise it can be said that everything one does in life is manipulation. These strategies might lead to unintended manipulation in case the interpreter makes a mistake, for example wrong anticipation.

2 interpreters have not answered the question.

Have you ever performed manipulations when interpreting? If, yes, how?

38 respondents believe that they have manipulated when interpreting.

9 respondents have never manipulated when interpreting.

6 respondents did not answer the question.

Those interpreters who answered this question in the affirmative gave the following explanations:

- *on my own accord :*
 - *trying to explain what the speaker meant, which in principle is dangerous to be explaining instead of the speaker ;*
 - *slightly changing the message, which resulted in client misunderstanding the message because of interpretation.*
- *according to the instructions received (for example, to make the text shorter, to summarize the message) ;*
- *because of other reasons :*
 - *compelled by circumstances (e.g. when the speaker is unclear and chaotic, when the speaker is too fast, when coping with a fast read-out speech) (this type of manipulation has been resorted to involuntarily, because the situation leaves the interpreter no choice);*
 - *in order to get the key message across ;*
 - *trying to tailor the original to the audience's needs (known or presumed) using simplification, explicitation, addition, softening in case of aggressive speakers.*

Would you agree to the statement that (from the target perspective) interpreting implies a degree of manipulation of the source material for a certain purpose?

21 respondents agree to this statement but have added their comments which can be summarised as follows:

- *8 respondents out of the above 21 believed that interpreting implies a degree of manipulation only if as the result of the interpreting the message is distorted;*
- *10 believed that the answer to this question depends on how one understands 'manipulation, and how one perceives interpreting and the tasks of the interpreter:*

- *if one believes that interpreting entails a word for word transfer of the original then interpreting is manipulation;*
 - *if, however, it is believed that the interpreter's task is to get a clear and coherent message across the language barrier then interpreting is not manipulation;*
- *3 respondents believed that interpreting is potentially manipulative because of the human factor, i.e. the interpreter is only a human being.*

18 interpreters believe that interpreting is not by default manipulation.

8 interpreters did not reply to this question.

5 interpreters were not sure whether interpreting is or is not manipulation.

1 interpreter suggested not to use this term in this statement and suggested using 'processing' instead.

Would you agree to the statement that there are two types of manipulation – positive manipulation (textual improvement) and negative manipulation (distortion of the message)?

34 respondents agreed to this statement

10 respondents did not agree to it.

6 respondents were not sure, one of them explained that everything depends on how one understands manipulation.

3 respondents did not answer the question, two of them believed that this is the misuse of the term because people not texts or messages can be manipulated.

In the question the respondents were asked to give additional comments if they so wished.

43 interpreters responded to this invitation and gave truly valuable and interesting comments. They may be summarised as follows:

- Several respondents seemed to have a problem with the use of the word manipulation in this context. In the context of professional conference interpreting one might speak about modification or adaptation to the needs or expectations of the client or the audience depending on a particular context or particular

circumstances. If any modification is performed then only in good faith. A professional interpreter is always guided by high professional standards, common sense and the principles of professional ethics.

- If it is claimed that interpreting is manipulation then it could just as well be claimed that everything is manipulation that human life and human interaction is all manipulation.
- A distinction must be made between a good and professional interpreter and a bad and unprofessional interpreter. No truly professional interpreter would deliberately mislead his/her audience. The strategies and techniques used by the interpreter are used with no manipulation in mind.
- It is very dangerous to claim that interpreting is manipulation since it endangers the future of the profession
- Positive manipulation in the sense of textual improvement is what is expected of professional conference interpreters. However 'positive manipulation' is a very weird semantic concept like "the fight for peace".
- The name interpreting / interpretation itself implies manipulation.
- It is very difficult to draw the line between manipulation and interpreting, everything depends on how one understands these concepts.
- There might be cases where the interpreter is not to blame, the message is misunderstood by the listener him/herself and sometimes even distorted to blame the interpreter.
- The job of the interpreter is very difficult, creative and challenging. The main challenge lies in the fact that the interpreter's task is to bring a message across a language barrier without distortion in a form as clear and coherent as possible without distorting the original message. The ability or inability to do so is the real test of the interpreter's professionalism.
- One needs to consider the aspect of visibility and invisibility here. Women and gay men seem to be able to put up with the invisible role of the interpreter better.
- Numerous respondents admit that this is a challenging and truly interesting topic of research and wished every success to the author of the survey.
- Several interpreters invite the author to contact them in case of additional questions or for further debate.

6.6.2 Summative Analysis of the Survey Results

The essential question the answer to which is sought through the survey is whether conference interpreting may be perceived as manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting. Using the methods of empirical social sciences research the present survey views the opinions of respondents of three categories: conference interpreting students, novice and experienced interpreters. The survey is based on the total of 117 respondents.

The hypothesis of the survey was that manipulation in conference interpreting would be perceived differently by the respondents depending on the understanding of the term manipulation.

The survey concentrated around three key questions.

1. Can it be claimed that interpreting is manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting?
2. What leads/might lead to manipulative interpreting?
3. Has the respondent him/herself ever performed manipulation when interpreting when and why?

The survey was carried out in two phases. In the pilot phase the respondents were requested to respond to the questionnaire on the topic of the research. The main phase of the survey consisted of interviews and discussions as well as a questionnaire of professional conference interpreters.

The received answers were mostly both quantifiable and qualifyable. However the quantifiable answers needed to be qualified since the issue of manipulation in interpreting is not unequivocal.

Can it be claimed that interpreting is manipulation and what constitutes manipulation in interpreting?

The answers to this question were the instance were the quantifiable answer needed to be qualified. 65 (55%) respondents believed that it cannot be claimed that interpreting is manipulation, 35 (30%) respondents believed that such a claim could be made. 9 (8%) respondents admitted that they do not know the answer to this question, 8 (7%) respondents did not answer this question.

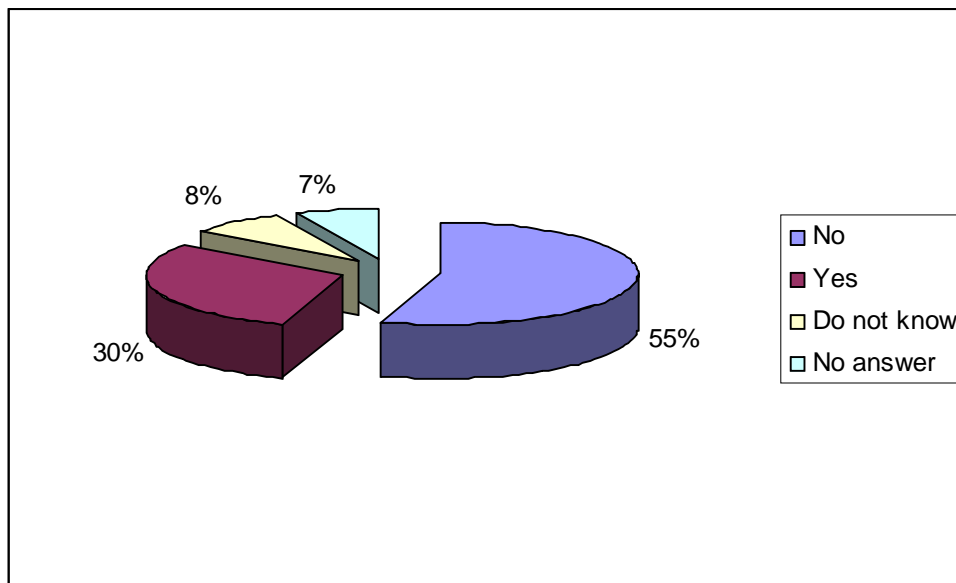


Figure 7. Interpreting is manipulation: interpreter responses

The majority of the interpreters commented their answers. The comments of the interpreters may be summarised as follows:

- One has to specify what is understood by manipulation (deliberate distortion or textual improvement)
- One has to distinguish between professional and unprofessional conference interpreter / interpreting.
- One has to specify the type of manipulation:
 - Deliberate distortion of the contents of the original message is not common in conference interpreting and is almost impossible considering the conference setting.
 - Manipulation of the form of the message is possible (change of tone (livening up the speech or making the speaker sound boring))
- The use of such strategies as for example the salami technique, omission, addition, simplification can lead to manipulation only if it distorts the original.

- Some respondents considered that interpreting is manipulative by default since it entails the transfer of message from one language into another by a third party who is also only a human being, able to misjudge things or make mistakes

Manipulation in conference interpreting can be both conscious and unconscious, deliberate distortion or harmless improvements of the original text by the interpreter in good faith.

8 respondents objected to the use of the term *manipulation* in conjunction with interpreting and suggest the use of for example *alteration, change, modification* instead. They object to the use of the term manipulation since this term has a bad connotation and as such is not clear enough.

What leads/might lead to manipulative interpreting?

Manipulation can result from the following factors:

- the fact that the language is changed, that there is a transfer of the message from one language into another;
- deliberate attempts to distort the message;
- misunderstandings on the part of the interpreter;
- inexperience of the interpreter, which might lead to finding well-intended but poorly weighed out solutions which might cause problems as a result.
- own agenda of the interpreter ;
- instructions received ;
- faulty original ;
- client expectations ;
- the interpreter's attempts at face-saving (his/her own or the speaker's)
- fatigue.

Has the respondent him/herself ever performed manipulation when interpreting when and why?

45 (39%) respondents admitted that they have performed manipulation when interpreting.

64 (55%) respondents had never performed manipulation when interpreting.

6 (5.12%) respondents did not answered this question.

2 (1%) respondents were not sure whether they have or have not performed manipulation when interpreting.

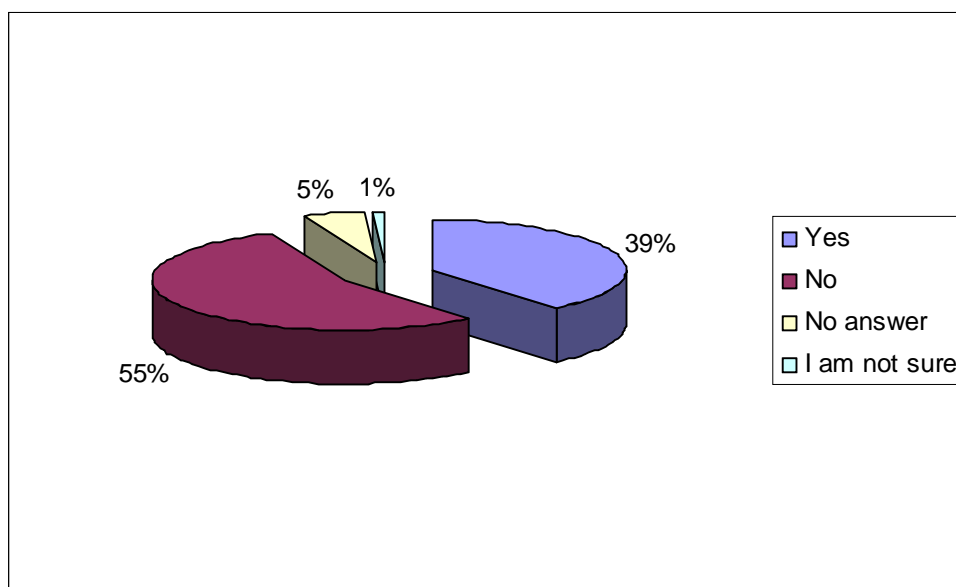


Figure 8. Interpreters on manipulation in their performance

The answers to this question again require qualification. Professional conference interpreters have generally never manipulated in bad faith. However if one considers everything that is done to the message, including the transfer of the message from one language to another, to be manipulation, then some of the respondents admit that they have performed manipulation.

The interpreters who admit that they have manipulated have done so because of various reasons:

- on their own accord;
- in response to the instructions received;
- by mistake;
- by misjudgement;
- due to the faults in the input (fast speaker, unclear speaker, read-out speech)

The results of the survey prove the hypothesis that there is no single unequivocal answer to the question whether interpreting is manipulation. As discussed in the previous chapters it is necessary to qualify what one means by manipulation in conference interpreting.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study has proved the topicality of the theme of the research *translation, interpreting and manipulation*. In the theoretical part of the thesis particular stress has been laid on manipulation within the context of translation. However, most of the novelty of the research rests in the field of manipulation in interpreting. The interest in manipulation and interpreting was conditioned by the below enlisted factors:

- The author herself is a conference interpreter.
- Interpreting is a profession on an increasing demand today, and is gaining more and more prominence in our globalised world lately.
- Interpreting has never been investigated from the perspective of manipulation. Theoreticians have so far investigated only translation as manipulation, arriving at the conclusion that any translation, especially the translation of literary texts, involves a certain degree of manipulation of the source text.

In the course of the theoretical and empirical research carried out the goals (page 6) of the research have been reached and the research hypothesis (page 6) has been proved.

The main results of the research are enlisted below:

1. It has been established that translation and interpreting, which in essence is the transfer of text or discourse (respectively) from one language into another in a written or oral form (respectively), as well as the results of such process, although display certain differences, still are activities akin to each other. The analysis of the process of translation and interpreting, with consideration of the mental processes involved and the influence of various factors, textual and extratextual, upon the translator / interpreter and the process of the text transfer as such, has revealed that translation and interpreting may be looked upon as manipulation.
2. It has been established and reconfirmed that translation is a hybrid product due to its double bind with the Source Culture on the one hand and the

Target Culture on the other. This feature of translation is conducive to manipulation.

3. A systemic and comprehensive overview of the phenomenon manipulation within the context of translation and interpreting has been presented. Manipulation and the manipulative aspects of translation and interpreting have been examined in detail leading to a conclusion that the concept of manipulation within the above mentioned context is not unequivocal. Thus, manipulation can be either a positive or negative phenomenon, at times it is even difficult to qualify it in this way, since a certain degree of manipulation in translation and interpreting is unavoidable. In such cases manipulation becomes handling and as such is neutral.
4. The notion of translational manipulation has been conceptualised and defined. Manipulation is the translator's handling of a text which results in the adaptation of the text for the Target Audience, considering the cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary differences between the cultures in contact, which takes place within a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human translator / interpreter, with the consequence of a possible influence of individual- or psychology-related factors upon the end product. It differs from the habitual manipulation.
5. The main aim of the study to conceptualise translational manipulation and to distinguish it from manipulation as generally understood in everyday contexts has been achieved. Conventionally habitual manipulation or manipulation in everyday contexts bears a negative connotation and is usually perceived as the use of devious means to achieve certain, usually, mischievous ends. In specific professional contexts, like medicine, finances or statistics, manipulation acquires a wider scope and may be of positive, negative and neutral nature. It has been established that also in the professional fields of translation and interpreting, just like in other professional spheres, manipulation can take the above mentioned forms.

Thus, one speaks of manipulation as manipulation as improvement, manipulation as handling and manipulation as distortion. Furthermore in translation and interpreting one distinguishes between conscious and unconscious manipulation.

6. A fine-grained typology of translational manipulation has been developed. There are two general types of manipulation, text-external manipulation (or context manipulation) and text-internal manipulation (or text manipulation). Under each of these categories one distinguishes three further types of manipulation, namely, manipulation as handling, manipulation as improvement and manipulation as distortion. Furthermore, manipulation can be either conscious or unconscious, overt or covert, mandatory or optional.
7. Manipulation is a controversial and evasive phenomenon. The answer to the question whether translation is manipulation depends on the evaluator's vantage point, his/her understanding of manipulation as well as the expectations s/he has of the product, translation or manipulation, respectively.
8. Bearing in mind the fact that the translator's / interpreter's individuality and voice are irreducibly inscribed in the product s/he produces and the fact that translation / interpretation is produced for an audience other than the Source Audience within a certain cultural context, which almost always is different from the context of the Source Culture, it is inevitable that the interaction of such elements as the original text, author, translation, audience and context leave certain traces in the translation, which might be perceived as instances of manipulation.
9. The detailed treatment of the three main text types (sacred texts, literary texts and non-literary texts) and the possible translations within each of these categories. has revealed that all translations irrespective of the text and

translation type produced and the translation strategy adopted may be considered manipulative in some way. This is due to the nature of translation as a hybrid text anchored in the two relevant cultures – the Source Culture and the Target Culture.

10. In the course of the research the main translation and interpreting strategies (domestication and foreignisation) as well as the partial-strategies or techniques derived from them, have been reviewed with an aim of establishing which strategies have the strongest manipulative potential. The results of the investigation prove that each and every strategy may be looked upon as a manifestation of manipulation of one or another type. Some strategies may lead to manipulation as improvement, others to manipulation as handling and still other to manipulation as distortion.
11. The evidence of the empirical part of the study proves the initial hypothesis that the presence or absence and the nature of manipulation in translation and interpreting depends on the text or discourse in context and the assessor's expectations of translation/interpretation as well as on his/her understanding and perception of manipulation.
12. The presupposition formulated on the basis of the theoretical research has been confirmed by the results of the opinion poll carried out among novice and experienced conference interpreters lending additional support to the hypothesis of the research. The results of the survey show that the answer to the question whether interpreting is manipulation depends on the way the assessor understands manipulation.
13. To offer a comprehensive summative overview over the various problems discussed in the course of the present research a set of figures and tables has been offered where practicable. The paper contains 9 tables and 6 figures.

Suggestions for Further Research

The present research forms a solid basis for further research in that it offers a summative analysis of investigations on translation and manipulation performed so far. On the basis of the material collected in the present paper it is possible in future to investigate still other facets of the problem at hand. Thus, future research could look into the aspects of the problem, which have only been mentioned but not further investigated in the current research due to the limitations of the present dissertation and the vastness of the field of research. For example, as regards the argument of the Manipulation School of Translation Studies about the manipulative aspects of translation on several planes, the present research has concentrated more on the production stage of the translation and interpreting process, leaving the pre-production and post-production stages for further research. Also the production stage of the process, although relatively substantially researched both by researchers in the past (especially as regards literary translation) and in the course of the present research, still deserves a more thorough study, concentrating more on translations of texts of other types than literary.

The present study may be characterised as pioneering in the field of manipulation within the context of interpreting since no other research on the manipulative aspects of interpreting has been carried out so far. However, already these initial steps in the investigation of this topic have shown that the field for further research is vast. Thus, **it would be advisable to investigate interpretational manipulation from the point of view of a client, i.e. the delegate in the meeting with the help of similar research tools as applied to the investigation of the interpreter-side of the manipulative interpreting argument.**

The data collected and included in the theoretician and practitioner opinion corpus, although rich and varied could still be supplemented by opinions of other theoreticians and practitioners, especially so, when considering the fact that partly due to language barriers and partly due to the limited volume of the paper the present research has been

limited to the publications in English, Latvian and German. Besides, the opinions of interpreters from markets and organisations other than the Latvian market and the European Union institutions could also be included in the corpus.

A more detailed research, for example, in the form of experiments on potentially manipulative translation and interpreting strategies could still be carried out.

The present research has been generally descriptive in nature, however, in future the investigation of this topic may take a more didactic line where a detailed, possibly contrastive analysis of various translation and interpreting strategies could be carried out with suggestions on how and when to use these strategies in practice. Such a study would be most beneficial for trainee and novice translators and interpreters.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The theoretical and empirical research conducted over a five-year period focused on the study of two main areas: manipulation in translation and manipulation in interpreting. The study was inspired by the manipulation hypothesis of the Manipulation School of Translation Studies concerning the manipulative nature of literary translation if seen from the perspective of the Target Culture. A profound study of a large body of literature on the topic of research was carried out paying particular interest to such topics as translation, its essence and perception; manipulative aspects of translation; the shifts of translation; translation and interpreting compared; translation and interpreting strategies; decision-making in translation and interpreting; manipulation in every-day and specialised contexts; translational manipulation; power structures and power struggle within a cultural context; manipulative aspects of interpreting. The study provided a sound theoretical basis for the present research. The study explored the manipulative aspects of translation and interpreting resting on the prior research carried out on the topic of translational manipulation

In the course of the study numerous sources were analysed to examine the various aspects of manipulation in translation and interpreting. It enabled the author of this study to come forward with innovative ideas in the field of manipulation. Thus a new definition and typology of translational manipulation has been offered. Furthermore, the findings of the research on translational manipulation have been used to explore the manipulative aspects of interpreting, a sphere, which had never been approached from this angle.

The study is descriptive by nature and was approached mainly from the qualitative perspective with some elements of quantitative perspective. The practical part of this research relied chiefly on the methodology designed to explore the manipulative aspects of interpreting and the reasons for manipulation in interpreting from the point of view of practising conference interpreters as well as to collect, systematise, describe, interpret and analyse the data to prove the hypothesis of the research.

As the result of the research carried out and the research conclusions arrived at, the author of this study asserts:

Due to the fact that interpreter's individuality and voice are irreducibly inscribed in the interpretation s/he produces and that the interpretation is produced for a particular audience within a given context, it can be claimed that the interaction of these elements, namely the original, its author, the interpreter, the audience and the context leave definite traces in the translation /interpretation, which are perceived as instances of manipulation, but not necessarily negative manipulation, since manipulation can be also positive and neutral.

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ANNEX I SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE I

Manipulative Aspects of Interpreting

Dear respondent, we would be very obliged if you answered the following questions.

1. Describe your experience as interpreter

- a professional experienced interpreter
- a novice interpreter
- a trainee interpreter
- other _____

2. In your opinion what is understood by manipulation in interpreting [If possible give examples]

3. In your opinion can interpreting be considered manipulation if the interpreter uses the following strategies: anticipation, simplification, explicitation, normalisation (e.g. completes unfinished sentences, makes grammatical improvements, deletes false starts)

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure
- Only some of these strategies might qualify as manipulation, and only in specific circumstances. [If possible please specify]
- Other [please specify]

4. In your opinion have you ever performed manipulations when interpreting? If, yes, how? [If possible give examples]

- Yes
 - on your own accord
 - because of the instructions received
 - because of other reasons [please specify]
- No
- I am not sure

5. Would you agree to the statement that from the target perspective interpreting implies a degree of manipulation of the source material for a certain purpose?

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure

6. May be there is anything else you would like to add on this topic...

Thank you!

ANNEX II SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE II

Manipulative Aspects of Interpreting

Dear respondent, we would be very obliged if you answered the following questions!

*For the purpose of the current study it is assumed that in general **theoretically there are at least two understandings of manipulation**. On the one hand it can be claimed that **everything one does in respect to a certain text, including translation/interpreting, is manipulation** in the other words- any handling, any activity is manipulation of the status quo. On the other hand **manipulation is the approach** (and results of such an approach) **to translation/interpreting whereby one processes a certain text so as to fit it to a certain model or belief about the culture, author and intention of the text, and this new presentation differs from the reality and the original message**. Manipulation can be perceived as handling and/or distortion of the source – hence, also the view that all translation/interpreting is manipulation. **Strictly speaking, only manipulation as distortion qualifies as manipulation [proper], and only translations/interpreting which bare traces of this type of manipulation are truly manipulative, in the conventional sense of the word. [You may, of course, disagree].***

1. Describe your experience as interpreter.

- a professional, experienced interpreter
- a novice interpreter
- a trainee interpreter
- other _____

2. In your opinion what is understood by manipulation in interpreting? [If possible give examples].

3. In your opinion can interpreting be considered manipulation if the interpreter uses the following strategies: anticipation, simplification, explicitation,⁵² normalisation (e.g.completion of unfinished sentences, making grammatical improvements, deleting false starts)?

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure
- Only some of these strategies might qualify as manipulation, and only in specific circumstances. [If possible please specify].
- Other [Please specify].

4. Do you think that any of the below strategies or their application can be seen as manipulation?

	Yes	No	I don't know	Why?
Simplification				
Explicitation				
Normalisation				
Anticipation				
Generalisation				
Omission				
Addition				
Other				

5. In your opinion have you ever performed manipulation when interpreting? If, yes, how? [If possible give examples].

6. Would you agree to the statement that (from the target perspective) interpreting implies a degree of manipulation of the source material for a certain purpose?

- Yes

⁵² “Explicitation is a technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text.”(Klaudy 2001:80)

- No
- I am not sure

7. Would you agree to the statement that there are two types of manipulation – positive manipulation (textual improvement) and negative manipulation (distortion of the message)?

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure

8. Maybe there is anything else you would like to add on this topic....

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ANNEX IV GLOSSARY

Active language	A language into which an interpreter interpreters and a translator translates.
Acceptability	Adherence to the linguistic and textual norms of the target system in translation.
Accuracy	A term used in translation evaluation to refer to the extent to which a translation matches its original (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:3).
Adaptation (<i>Bearbeitung</i> <i>DE</i>)	A set of translative operations, which result in a text, that is not accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text of about the same length (Bastin 2001:5). Man von einer Bearbeitung dann sprechen kann, wenn mindestens ein komplexes, individuelles Textmerkmal (wie Thema, Stoff oder, unverwechselbare formale Merkmale) des Prätextes erhalten bleibt, so dass eine direkte Abhängigkeit des Folgetextes von eben diesem Prätext erkennbar ist (Schreiber 1993:104).
Addition	A type of lexical transformation whereby the missing elements are introduced in the text.
Adequacy	Adherence to the linguistic and textual norms of the source system in translation.
Anticipation	Anticipation is a translation strategy with the help of which the interpreter can predict the speaker's words or thoughts based on the context and background knowledge.
Anticipation	An interpreting strategy whereby lexical and semantic structures of the speech are predicted or foretold by the interpreter.
Borrowing	A direct transfer of the SL words to the TL
Calque	The SL expressions and structures transferred to the TL
Community interpreting	Community interpreting occurs in community contexts, e.g. schools, hospitals with a purpose to provide access to a particular public service for a member of a community who does not speak the majority language in a certain country.
Compensation	A type of lexical transformation by which ST units lost in translation are passed over by some other means often in some other place of TT (Zauberga 2004:133).
Conference interpreting	A type of interpreting which occurs in international conferences.
Consecutive interpreting	Consecutive interpreting proceeds in conference-like setting and involves the interpreter listening to a segment of speech, taking down notes, and reproducing the message in the Target Language after the original speaker has finished speaking.
Court interpreting	The term most typically designates interpreting which takes place in a courtroom but also the interpreter's activity in other legal settings.
Covert translation	A term introduced by House (1977) to refer to one a translation, which enjoys the status of an original ST in TC. It is an attempt to conceal the translated nature of TT by producing a text which is functionally equivalent to ST. (e.g. the translations of commercial and scientific

	texts).
Deletion	A type of lexical transformation when some ST units are omitted in the translation for various reasons.
Deletion /omission	A type of lexical transformation when some ST units are omitted in the translation for different reasons (Zauberga 2004:136).
Domesticating translation	A term used by Venuti (1995) to describe the translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for TL readers (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 44).
Explanation	An interpreting strategy whereby a foreign notion is described in terms understandable to the TA.
Explicitation	A technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text (Klaudy 1998:80).
Expressive texts	One of the three main text types, according to Rice (1977/1989), the function of which is to entertain the reader and to convey the author's message. Expressive texts is a synonym for literary texts such as novels and stories.
Faithfulness / Fidelity	General terms used to describe the extent to which a TT can be considered a fair representation of ST according to some criterion (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:37)
Feminist translation	A postcolonial approach to translation, which got established in 1990s bringing gender-related issues into translation studies. The translator often intervenes in the text on ideological grounds, e.g. feminist translators consider it important to make what is implicit in SL explicit in TL to highlight the social injustice (Zauberga 2004:141).
Fidelity / Faithfulness	General terms used to describe the extent to which a TT can be considered a fair representation of ST according to certain criteria.
Foreign culture words/ realia	Words of a national language which denote objects, concepts and phenomena characteristic of a particular culture and/or historical period, and which thus convey national, local or historical colouring (Zauberga 2004:142).
Foreignizing translation	A term used by Venuti (1995) to designate the type of translation in which a TT is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:59).
Free translation	A translation, which aims at recreation of the general spirit of the original rather than ST wording (Zauberga 2004:143).
Free translation	A translation, which aims at recreation of the general spirit of the original rather than ST wording (Zauberga 2004:143).
Full-stop rule	A requirement for an equal number of full-stops in the ST and the TT in translation of EU documents (Zauberga 2004:144).
Generalization	The substitution of a list or of more specific information with more general.
Gist translation /summary translation/ summarizing	A method of translation when TT expresses a condensed version of the contents of ST. It provides the summary of the original (Zauberga 2004:146).

translation	
Hybrid text	A hybrid text is a text that results from a translation process. It shows features that somehow seem ‘out of place’/’strange’/’unusual’ for the receiving culture, i.e. the target culture. These features, however, are not the result of a lack of translational competence or examples of ‘translationese’, but they are evidence of conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator. Although the text is not yet fully established in the target culture (because it does not conform to established norms or conventions), a hybrid text is accepted in its target culture because it fulfils its intended purpose in the communicative situation (at least for a certain time) (Schäffner and Adab 2001:167).
Informative texts	One of the three main text types, according to Rice (1977/1989), the function of which is to convey information to the Target Audience. Operating instructions, reports, accounts and articles in the press belong to this category.
Interpreting	The oral transfer of discourse and/or texts from one language into another.
Liaison interpreting	A genre of interpreting where the interpreting is performed in two language directions by the same person (Zauberga 2004:152).
Literal translation	A translation made on a level lower than is sufficient to convey ST content unchanged. In a traditional sense it is a word-for word translation (Zauberga 2004:153).
Literary translation	Translation of literary texts
Localization	A method of cross-cultural transfer when the ST culture or the whole of the text are converted into a TC specific unit. Localization is adaptation to the degree that the recipient may perceive the TT as having originated in the SC (Zauberga 2004: 154).
Loyalty	A concept promoted by Nord (1991), which reflects the idea that the translator is committed bilaterally to ST as well as to TT situation and is responsible to both –ST author or initiator and TT recipient (Zauberga 2004:154).
Manipulation	Manipulation is the translator’s handling of a text which results in the adaptation of the text for the Target Audience, considering the cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary differences between the cultures in contact, which takes place within a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human translator, with the consequence of a possible influence of individual- or psychology-related factors upon the end product.
Manipulative translation/ manipulation	A term used to refer to translation, which can be said to reinterpret, alter or manipulate an original text for a certain purpose (Zauberga 2004:155).
Mistake / error	A wrong action or statement due to faulty judgement, inadequate knowledge or inattention resulting in deviation from truth or accuracy.
Metatext	A text about a text.
Non-literary	Translation of non-literary texts.

translation	
Normalisation	A tendency towards standardisation and alignment with the prevailing norms.
Omission	An interpreting strategy whereby certain elements (usually illustrative and accessory) of the original do not find their way in the interpretation.
Paraphrase /rewording	A type of lexical transformation whereby the same idea is expressed with different words.
Passive language	A language out of which but not into which an interpreter is capable of interpreting (Zauberga 2004:160).
Polysystem theory	A theory proposed by Even-Zohar (1978) to account for the behaviour and evolution of literary systems. The term polysystem denotes a stratified conglomerate of interconnected elements, which changes and mutates as these elements interact with each other (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1998:127).
Prescriptive translation studies	A term used by Toury (1980, 1985) to refer to approaches to translation which are normative in outlook or in other words which impose criteria stipulating the way translation should be performed in a particular culture” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:130).
Reformulation	One of the most important interpreting strategies, which involves making sense, breaking down long complicated sentences and rearranging the grammatical structure if necessary.
Salami technique	The technique of ‘slicing up’ long or complicated sentences into shorter, more comprehensible sentences during the interpreting process (Jones 1998:146).
Shifts	The term shifts is used in the literature to refer to changes, which occur or may occur in the process of translating (Bakker, Koster, van Leuven-Zwart 1998:226).
Sight translation	Oral translation of a written text.
Signed-language interpreting	A type of interpreting in which the interpreter works between a spoken language and a visual-gestural language used by Deaf people (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 154).
Simplification	<p>In translation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lexical simplification – the process and/or result of making do with less words. (Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1983:119) - syntactic simplification – instances where complex syntax is simplified, e.g. by replacing non-finite clauses with finite ones and by suppressing suspended periods. (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998:288) - stylistic simplification – the tendency to break up long sequences and sentences, replacing elaborate phraseology with shorter collocations, reducing or omitting repetitions and redundant information, shortening overlong circumlocutions and leaving out modifying phrases and words (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998:288-9). <p>In interpreting</p> <p>A technique employed by the interpreter to cope with very technical speeches by eliciting and retaining the essence of the message in a</p>

	simplified form.
Simplification	An interpreting strategy whereby only the very essence of the message is extracted. A strategy to be used sparingly.
Specific cultural items (SCI)	Textually actualised items whose function and intertextual load in a ST cause a translation problem due to either the non-existence of the referred item in the target system or to its different intertextual and cultural implications (Aixelá 1995:114).
Strategy /method /technique/ operation	Terms used interchangeably in Translation Studies referring to the dealing with specific source elements in translation and interpreting.
Substitution	A type of grammatical transformation when either separate language units or whole constructions are replaced by other forms or constructions (Zauberga 2004:170).
Summarizing and recapitulation	A repetition in a condensed way of the main ideas of the speech after they have been already expressed and interpreted once.
Target language	Language into which a translation / interpreting is made.
Translation (<i>Übersetzung</i> DE)	In the English language this term is used to denote both the product and the process of translation, i.e. the activity as the result of which a text is transferred from one language into another. Sometimes this term is also used to denote both the written and the spoken mode of this activity. Eine Übersetzung ist eine interlinguale Texttransformation, die auf hierarchisierten Invarianzforderungen beruht und immer auch eine Interpretation des AS-Textes darstellt (Schreiber 1993: 43).
Translation strategy	Strategies of translation involve the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it (Venuti 1998:240).
Translational manipulation	Rewriting of texts for a specific audience in conformity with the Target Language and Culture norms under various constraints
Universals of translation	Linguistic features, which typically occur in, translated rather than original texts and are thought to be independent of the influence of the specific language pairs involved in the process of translation (Baker 1993:243).
Variance requirement	The requirement to change certain elements of the text in translation.
Version / the adapted variant/ (<i>Adaption</i> DE)	Unter Adaption verstehe ich lediglich die Anpassung eines Textes an ein anderes, nicht rein sprachliches Kommunikationsmedium, fuer das er nicht konzipiert war, also den Medientransfer (Terminus nach Harenberg) (Schreiber 1993: 99).
Vocative texts	One of the three main text types, according to Rice (1977/1989), the function of which is to stimulate the Target Audience to action. Examples of vocative texts are advertisements, brochures, electoral and political speeches.

Working
languages

The languages from and/or into which an interpreter interprets.