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# **The Emergence of Sociology in Translation Studies**

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:



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## Abstract

Disciplinary awareness and understanding of various patterns and factors of emergence for ideas, consolidation and the diffusion of ideas and knowledge are as crucial in modern academic fields as in the wider context of a highly globalised and digitalised world. They ensure academic rigour and sustainable and effective development of scholarship. As a field that has at its very core the communication and procurement of ideas across linguistic and cultural boundaries, the discipline of Translation Studies is situated at a nexus of decoding, encoding, and facilitating the spread of ideas, thereby introducing new ideas to other disciplinary, linguistic or cultural contexts.

The sociology of translation and of the translator, as the figure at the heart of this transmission process for ideas, have become prominent focal points for recent research in Translation Studies with scholarly activities largely focusing on linguistic, cultural, textual, or professional challenges related to the work of translators, scribes and language mediators. The aspect and role of epistemic structures, patterns for the emergence of ideas, and the differentiated positions of scholarly communities in the manifold process of the emergence and diffusion of ideas in the discipline of Translation Studies have so far received less attention though.

This thesis investigates how ideas emerge and are transmitted into and across the discipline of Translation Studies. It considers different pathways and points of entry for new ideas that are transported across not just linguistic or cultural but also disciplinary boundaries, explores epistemic structures and processes, characteristics such as citation chains, and the rise and development of ideas in the field. Particular emphasis has been given to the topic of sociology as an area of interest for a number of pathways of recent research in Translation Studies, including for instance the concepts of agency, habitus, or narratology. The thesis explores a kaleidoscope of linguistic, publication, theoretical, and ideational factors contributing and influencing the emergence of ideas in general, in translation and Translation Studies especially, and investigates the field of sociology as an emerging idea in Translation Studies over the course of the last approximately 50 years.

By contextualising this study within a wider framework of the history of ideas and by drawing on perspectives from different approaches to the emergence of innovative or new ideas and the growth of knowledge theories, the inclusion of aspects such as publication language and platform, issues of language hegemony, geographical bearings and ideational correlations further contribute to the complex picture.

In order to examine the emergence of sociologically inspired and influenced approaches in Translation Studies research output, this study draws on the collation and analysis of a corpus of annotated academic publication data, including monographs and edited volumes, from the TSB database. Furthermore, this study also considers bibliographic data on monographs, as well as a survey of a number of handbooks and encyclopaedia on the field of Translation Studies. It proposes a bibliometric approach for the analysis of keywords in the collated data in order to identify indicators of a conscious employment of or engagement with ideas, theories, or methods from the field of sociology as well as their respective emergence patterns and points of entry.

The evaluation of the collated bibliographic data and complementary strands of analysis indicates that the emergence of sociology in Translation Studies over the course of the last approximately 50 years examined presents as overall strongly exponential, with a high tendency for diversification, and generally de-centralised, although the discourse appears to be shaped by limited geographical and linguistic areas of input for sociological theories in TS. Going forward, the investigation thus suggests an exigency to continue engagement with ideational entry points and features of the emergence of interdisciplinary ideas, and to continue investigations into epistemic structures on a discipline wide level in Translation Studies as a useful tool to reflect on disciplinary habits and to further consolidate cross- disciplinary approaches in theory and practice.

## Lay Summary

At the core of this thesis lies the question of how interdisciplinary ideas emerge in disciplines and what their respective points of entry are. For academic disciplines, it is vital to understand how ideas and new knowledge are transported into a field and what factors facilitate the emergence and spread of an idea, in order to ensure academic rigour and sustainable development of scholarship. Factors such as citation habits or publication structures can help to understand how specific ideas emerge and eventually become canonised in a discipline and are therefore considered carefully and critically. Translation facilitates the exchange and diffusion of ideas and knowledge across language and cultural boundaries. Especially in a globalised world, the discipline of Translation Studies is situated at a particularly interesting nexus for investigating the emergence of new ideas and concepts and intellectual change. Indeed, Translation Studies has started to employ a range of sociological approaches and outlooks, resulting for instance in a focus on the sociology of translation and the person, role, and constraints of the translator. However, research on the process of emerging ideas and their specific points of entry into the field has received comparatively less attention.

This thesis investigates emerging ideas and their entry points in the discipline of Translation Studies, with the example of ideas, theories and approaches from the field of sociology taken exemplary. It considers different pathways and points of entry for new ideas that are transported across not just linguistic or cultural but also disciplinary boundaries, explores epistemic structures and processes and characteristics such as citation chains. It explores linguistic, publication, theoretical, and ideational factors which influence the emergence of ideas in general, in translation and Translation Studies especially, and investigates the field of sociology as an emerging idea in Translation Studies over the course of the last approximately 50 years.

In order to examine the emergence of sociology-based approaches in Translation Studies research output, this study draws on the collation and analysis of a corpus of academic publication data. It also considers bibliographic data on monographs, as well as a survey of a number of noted handbooks and encyclopaedia on the field of Translation Studies. Through a keyword search-

based analysis on the collated data it aims to identify ideas, theories, or methods from the field of sociology as well as their respective emergence patterns and points of entry.

The evaluation of data and of the complementary strands of analysis suggests that the emergence of sociology in Translation Studies over the course of the last approximately 50 years examined presents as overall highly exponential, very diversified, and generally de-centralised, although the discourse seems to be shaped by input from a limited number of countries and languages. For future research avenues, this study suggests that critical engagement with epistemic structures, entry points and emergence patterns for interdisciplinary ideas needs to continue on a discipline-wide level, to help facilitate a reflection process on disciplinary habits and to better consolidate cross-disciplinary approaches to theoretical scholarship.

## Introduction

“Creating a song is one thing. Getting it played is another.”

*(The Heart of Country: How Nashville Became Music City USA, BBC Production, 2014)*

How do we know what we know? Where do ideas come from? How does new knowledge come to us, become accessible, be questioned, tested, canonized, and utilised? Why do we work with and lean on certain ideas and theories, and not others? Is it a question of “right place, right time”? Where does a modern academic discipline get new ideas from? How do new ideas enter and emerge into a disciplinary discourse? What are the factors influencing the process of emerging ideas? What elements facilitate, enable or potentially restrict entry points for ideas? What other components can be observed in ideas emerging into an academic or general knowledge canon, from the initial point of entry, to early adopters, to wider dissemination?

Donald A. Schon writes that “[p]eople have been trying to explain the emergence of new concepts for over two thousand years” (Schon 1963: 3), and adds that engagement and attempts for understanding has come from all types of fields and academic approaches: “philosophers, theologians, psychologists, physical scientists, poets” (ibid.), they have all tried to find answers to this question. Despite the sheer number of different approaches and perspectives taken by different scholars and in different times, Schon reminds us also that answers often tend to fall into one of two categories: on the one hand, there are explanations for the emergence of new ideas and concepts that declare the object of its inquiry as something mystical or mysterious, and thereby making it inaccessible for rational analysis, and rendering it inexplicable. This would be in line with, for example, the notion of a divine inspiration or intervention as shared by Plato or Socrates. On the other hand, there are the theories of reduction that perceive the notion of

'newness', originality, or novelty as an illusion which therefore does not require further explanation about the emergence of new ideas either.

For any academic discipline, it is vital to have an understanding of how knowledge is communicated, and of the structures within that field which facilitate the spread of ideas. We can only ensure academic rigour and sustainable development of scholarship if such an understanding is achieved. Within this context, Translation Studies (TS) is of particular interest, as its still recent emergence and its highly interdisciplinary nature mean that a considerable proportion of its theoretical and methodological tools has been borrowed and imported from other disciplines. Moreover, translators also play a crucial role in mediating intellectual exchange across languages and disciplines, and while the discipline of TS has been enriched from other disciplines, ideas and paradigms that originated in TS can also increasingly be found exported to other fields and are impacting other disciplines (cf. e.g. Gambier and van Doorslaer 2017). Despite its importance, comparatively less research has been conducted specifically into entry points and the emergence of ideas per se within TS. This thesis aims to address the overarching question of how certain ideas emerge, are incorporated, established and diffused more widely in scholarly communities, and by examining snapshots of the discipline of TS at certain points of arrival for specific sets of ideas, gain a better understanding of facilitating factors involved in the process for emerging ideas. While traditionally the discourse on research and knowledge used to distinguish rather sharply between the humanities and the sciences, for instance with regard to scholastic methods, publication mechanisms, or structures and processes of knowledge growth, this distinction is increasingly contested. Since TS has furthermore been frequently characterised as an 'inter-discipline' (cf. e.g. Snell-Hornby et al 1992), and differences between the sciences and humanities are not a significant factor within the field, this distinction was considered of no specific relevance and will not be discussed in much further detail in this thesis.

In order to shed light on this process, the approach of this thesis includes three main strands. Firstly, it looks at how ideas have emerged and

become established within TS. To this end, it focuses on the case of sociology in TS, which has attracted a considerable amount of attention in recent years. Secondly, it discusses the role of translators and translations in the process of emerging, introducing and transferring ideas across TS and other disciplines. Lastly, it considers a range of further text-external factors and aspects such as regionality, issues of linguistic hegemony, or mechanics of the diffusion of emerging ideas. For this part, the thesis will also acknowledge insights from research on the diffusion of ideas in scholarly and scientific communities.

Emerging, new, and original ideas represent a complex subject area that lends itself well to a multi-focal route of enquiry. Similarly to groundbreaking innovative ideas that have gone on to profoundly change their respective field, new ideas that have not caught on can likewise be found in every field of human endeavour, not just in academic research. This includes the visual arts, music, literature, or architecture. Emerging ideas seem to underlie a kaleidoscope of influences that can range from temporal to contextual to geographical. In order to illustrate some of the complexities that can influence emerging ideas' success or failure, as well as that of its creator, and significant entry points for their respective fields or disciplines, the following will give an example of ideas in the state of emergence from the field of evolutionary biology. Charles Darwin is a well-known figure, but far less people have heard of Alfred Russel Wallace (1823 – 1913) and his contribution to the development of the theory of evolution. The fact that Wallace's name and ideas are so much less well-known than Darwin's, despite the fact that he made virtually the same points and findings, is a very apt illustration of the kaleidoscope of factors involved in the process of emerging ideas and their entry points. The case also illustrates some of the difficulties in attempting to identify and trace emerging ideas and determine the factors involved in the process.

Alfred Russel Wallace was a nineteenth century explorer and naturalist, and co-discoverer with Charles Darwin of the theory of evolution by natural selection, yet his ideas and discoveries did not receive comparable

attention as Darwin's, and his name, together with his findings, had vanished for a long time from history books. In 1858, when Darwin had yet to publicise his theory on natural selection, Wallace was working in the Dutch East Indies, and while there he composed the essay "On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type". In fact, Wallace's conclusions were so similar to Darwin's findings that "Wallace's terminology could have served as chapter headings for Darwin's book" (Slotten 2006: 2). This pushed Darwin to forego the multi-volume text he had originally planned, and instead he chose to summarise his theory in *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, which was published in late 1859. Wallace, on the other hand, never published his own findings.

Scholars have suggested an array of "complex factors" (Slotten 2006: 9) that underlie the processes that determined the lack of appreciation for Wallace's work. At the time, Wallace was regarded "as one who departed from the norms of professionalised science" (Fichman 2004: 4) as it was perceived during his lifetime. Wallace's choice to combine scientific pursuit with social and ethical considerations was not favoured by the leading group of scientific naturalists of the time, a group that included Thomas Henry Huxley, and who advocated the pursuit of value neutral, objective science. Consequently, Wallace ran the risk of "marginalization of certain aspects of his maturing evolutionary cosmology by some influential voices in the scientific community – most notably the natural scientists" (Fichman 2004: 5). As for the issue of who should be credited with authorship for the theory after Wallace had sent his concise outline of the theory of evolution by natural selection, the decision was left to Darwin's friends Hooker and Lyell, who read from Darwin's notes and Wallace's essay during a meeting of the Linnean Society of London in July 1858 (Slotten 2006: 2). Slotten argues that the way and order in which the two works were presented at that meeting hugely influenced the perception of who was to be credited with the new theory:

By reading Darwin's notes and Wallace's essay in the order in which they dated, Lyell and Hooker established Darwin's priority for the historical record; Wallace's essay was essentially presented as bolstering Darwin's conclusions. (Ibid.: 2)

Another factor in the process of recognition or rather non-recognition at the time for Wallace is considered to be his status as an outsider and the fact that he "was viewed as an interloper by the majority of men who controlled English science" (ibid.: 5) at the time.

This example illustrates some of the complexities that can influence the emergence of an idea or of the scholar promoting it. The reason why Wallace's theory on natural selection did not receive adequate attention and recognition at the time, and consequently did not become established in the field, cannot be attributed solely to the inherent values of his ideas and writings alone, but has to be seen in the wider context of his position and outlook as a scholar, his geographical position, facilitation of and access to publication, as well as the role of professional networks and societies of the time, and attitudes and norms within his contemporary scientific community. To summarise and connect this case to the overall motivation of this project: the emergence of ideas into an academic field or discourse appears to be inherently complex and multi-factorial, and is best suited to a kaleidoscopic approach that considers entry points for emerging ideas from different perspectives. The issue of hegemony and power structures in scientific and scholarly communities, such as in the case of Wallace and Darwin, is only one of many to be taken into consideration for an analysis of the emergence of ideas as well as knowledge transfer and transmission, since they potentially account for asymmetries in distribution and access. However, more emphasis will be given in this thesis to the identification and discussion of entry points for emerging ideas in the stages of knowledge diffusion processes, with later stages and intricacies of knowledge diffusion processes and the related factors considered a further investigation in its own right.

While this research project aims to provide a general insight into how, when, and where certain ideas successfully emerge and enter into scholarly disciplines and discourses, the focus lies on the context of the case of

sociology in TS and how sociological issues appeared in and entered into the field, a discipline “which is in constant flux” (Angelelli 2012b: 125). Sociology and sociological methodologies, terminology and theory became increasingly topical in TS over the course of the later 1990s, and the first decade of the new millennium in particular saw a further rise in engagement with sociological perspectives among translation and interpreting scholars. A number of symposiums and publications dedicated to defining and developing *Sociology of Translation* generated more focus and research interest, and demonstrate the growing impact of sociology on the discipline of TS. A collection of papers from a symposium held in 2005 at the University of Graz in Austria under the theme “translation and interpreting as a social practice” resulted in the publication of *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, edited by Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Wolf and Fukari 2007). The phrase of the “social turn” of TS was coined (Wolf 2007: 5), which makes the sociology of translation the discipline’s most recent ‘turn’, after the ‘cultural turn’ of the early 1990s (cf. e.g. Bassnett and Lefevere 1990). A possible future turn towards the neuroscience of translation has been suggested by some TS scholars including Maria Tymoczko (2012), but has yet to find comparable attention. In 2008, a symposium dedicated to the issue of agency was held at the University of Tampere in Finland, and inspired a book project on *Translator’s Agency* (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010). The 5<sup>th</sup> biennial conference of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association in 2010 opened with a keynote address entitled *The Sociology of Translation and Its “Pivotal Status” in Translation Studies: Doubts and Certainties*, given by Michaela Wolf, and the three-day programme “brought together scholars from around the world to address the sociological turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies” (Angelelli 2012b: 125). Among the themes featured in the conference programme were sessions on Habitus, Translator’s Agency, Translation and Conflict, Sociological Approaches, and New Directions in Interpreting Studies, all of which had contributions that explicitly engaged with sociological perspectives or approaches.

The present thesis took these developments in the modern discipline of TS as a focal point to begin the investigation into entry points for emerging ideas, and interdisciplinary ideas in particular. It was further motivated by the question of how TS as a discipline might display patterns of or facilitate the emergence and entry points of ideas. By undertaking an **introspection** into both discipline-internal factors as well as allowing for a wider survey and taking inspiration from insights into epistemology, the history of ideas, and the emergence of paradigms, this project aims at a better understanding of the discipline of TS and of disciplinary processes related to the emergence and establishment of new ideas, particularly those related to the transfer and acceptance of interdisciplinary ideas.

As a now widely established academic discipline, TS can no longer be said to suffer from what James S. Holmes referred to in his paper on "The name and nature of Translation Studies" as "little meta-reflection on the nature of translation studies as such" (Holmes: 1988: 71) for the case of emerging academic disciplines.<sup>1</sup> With *The Metalanguage of Translation*, an entire special issue of the journal *Target* was dedicated to a variety of meta-issues (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2007). For their introduction, the editors of this special issue referred back to Holmes' closing lines in his paper, where he concludes that "Translation Studies has reached a state where it is time to examine the subject itself. Let the meta-discussion begin" (Holmes 1988: xx). With a view to the often interdisciplinary nature of much of translation and TS research, Gambier and van Doorslaer rightly point out that in particular "[t]he multi- or sometimes interdisciplinary roots of Translation Studies have given rise to diverse and multiple influences in metalingual metaphors (re)produced and (re)used as its terminology" (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2007: 1). However, a meta-discussion is not just limited to the discussion of meta- language that scholars use to talk about their subject, but

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<sup>1</sup> The origins of Holmes' paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" lie significantly further back than this publication date. It originated as a paper presented in the Translation Section of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics held in 1972.

reaches further, and can for instance also include discussions of historical developments of the discipline itself, analysis of formation or development of different fields of research, or investigations into a variety of characteristics or processes that are immanent to a specific field or branch of research. Particularly for relatively young academic disciplines that are still undergoing rapid developments, an introspective gaze can be an important contribution to further understanding of discipline-immanent processes and characteristics. By offering an introspective approach to a specific set of processes within the discipline of TS by focusing on entry points for and the emergence of sociological ideas, this thesis considers itself as a contribution to the wider area of metadiscussions about the field of TS and the community of TS scholars.

While language, and likewise the transportation of ideas across linguistic barriers through translation is considered a significant factor, unlike other approaches to investigating emerging and migrating ideas and theories into and within translation studies (cf. e.g. Susam-Sarajeva 2006), the focus of this project is not primarily on the process or the product of translation. Susam-Sarajeva's approach in *Theories on the Move* (2006) for instance has at its core a case study concerned with the examination and comparison of translations of theoretical writings by Roland Barthes and Hélène Cixous, and by extension an exploration of translation's capacity to inform receiving systems and to contribute to the migration and diffusion of theories across boundaries. To an extent, this thesis continues the notion of migrating theories and ideas, but in contrast the primary aim of the project is to focus not on translations as such, but to take a wider look at the state of the discipline of TS with regard to its points of emergence for sociological approaches and ideas that have inspired, become utilised, or were drawn upon by TS scholars.

While there is a significant body of scholarship on the tradition of investigating the emergence and spread of knowledge and academic developments especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, studies on entry points for ideas, their diffusion and growth of knowledge are often written from the

viewpoint of science. In the preface to the first English edition of Karl Popper's *Logik der Forschung*, which appeared under the title *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, Popper states that "[t]he central problem of epistemology has always been and still is the problem of the growth of knowledge. *And the growth of knowledge can be studied best by studying the growth of scientific knowledge*" (Popper 1959: xix, original emphasis). Model descriptions of the growth of knowledge tend to view it either as a logical, cumulative progression, or as a non-linear development that does not necessarily build on the previous idea, but instead can form more randomly from any previous developments. The first view is typically associated with the sciences, while the latter is more often associated with non-scientific fields. Derek J. de Solla Price, for instance, suggests that unstructured growth is characteristic for the humanities (Price 1970). This means that ideas in the humanities do not necessarily develop systematically and can lie dormant for a long time before being picked up again by other scholars and developed further. While the linking of 'systematic' developments with the sciences and 'random' developments with the humanities can be viewed critically, the point is that there might be possible fundamental differences between science and humanities regarding the way knowledge evolves within a discipline. In the past, scholars' perspectives on the development of science and the growth of knowledge have been strongly indebted to Thomas Kuhn's distinction between evolutionary models of science (Kuhn 1962). The two most significant models are the 'growth' model, which postulates scientific progress by accumulation of knowledge, and on the other hand the notion of 'paradigm shifts'. Translation studies in its comparatively recent history as a modern discipline has featured aspects of both models, and noticeably has seen a number of distinct successive 'turns'. As a consequence, Lieven D'hulst suggests that TS scholars might be more readily inclined than scholars from other disciplines to archive older ideas, theoretical models and methodologies, which in turn is strongly contributing to a notion of "two distinct phases, i.e. a pre-scientific and a scientific one" (D'hulst and Gambier 2018: 3). D'hulst argues that this

perception of two distinct phases or models for the evolution of TS, in what is essentially a binary view of how disciplines process knowledge,

“goes against the grain of a more comprehensive history of translation studies, one that would be comparable to histories of language disciplines, i.e. a history in which many elements of translation communication find a place and are interconnected: scholars, theories, methods, institutions, schools, areas, periods, etc.” (ibid.).

This thesis attempts to reflect the multitude of factors involved in the process of creating, accumulating, exchanging and growing disciplinary knowledge, and as such can be seen as supportive of D’hulst’s call to overcome a binary perception of disciplinary knowledge which allows only for limited insight into the processes of knowledge growth and ideational shifts within the field of TS.

For translation studies as a highly inter-disciplinary field, an investigation to address issues of the emergence or descent, diffusion or non-diffusion of ideas, in particular with regard to ideas that are 'imported' from other disciplines, should not just cast light on processes related to the adoption and emergence of new ideas, but also contribute to understanding of the field’s permeability for new ideas from external fields of research, and where exactly these points of permeability can be located. With Susam-Sarajeva's work (2006) a significant exception, the specific process of emergence and dissemination of interdisciplinary ideas between academic disciplines has otherwise not received much specific attention from TS perspectives. Translation as the tool for facilitating the spread of theories seems to be taken for granted at times, and consequently, critical analysis of the influence of translation in the process of knowledge exchange in and across networks is often neglected. Susam- Sarajeva has addressed this contrariety between the perception of theory in translation and the frequent lack of awareness that the theory in question is in fact a translation, and has in addition pointed out that ideas and theories do not move per se and independently; rather, they *get* moved – attached to researchers, writers, and of course translators. Susam-Sarajeva concisely sums this up by suggesting

that “[t]heories do not travel on their own, but often under the name of well-known writers” (2006: 1).

Apart from addressing this gap by contributing to a critical discussion of the role of translation for the spread of ideas in scholarly networks, the interest of this thesis lies particularly in questions about the emergence and entry points of new ideas and the factors that can influence this process. An investigation into disciplinary developments within the field of translation studies, with the example of the case of sociology in TS, aims to contribute to a better general understanding of when and how certain ideas are appearing in the field and becoming a major focus of research. Rather than discussing the respective content, design or validity of sociological approaches in TS, the focus of this thesis is primarily on investigating the pathways and structures that facilitate (or suppress) the spread of ideas and intellectual change in the discipline.

The central argument to this project was inspired by an interest in all kinds of travelling and re-emerging ideas. Forgotten tales, music by composers that no-one knows anymore, historical knowledge that was only recently re-discovered. The processes of how new knowledge and ideas get transferred between centuries, across languages and beyond their own discipline of origin are highly complex. Based on the case study of sociology in TS, this thesis will investigate the process of emergence and entry points for sociological ideas, approaches and theories in translation studies.

Diffusion and non-diffusion, or emergence and disappearance of ideas depends to a large extent on various factors that are ‘external’ to the ideas themselves, such as language, geographical location, or access to publication. These and further accompanying factors will also be included in the discussion. By investigating the emergence and entry points of a particular set of ideas, and taking a closer look at the case of sociological developments in TS across the past 45 years, this thesis gives insight into different aspects of emerging ideas. It thereby contributes to an understanding of the emergence and diffusion of ideas, firstly in a TS context, but also for a broader humanities context in general.

In order to address the overarching line of enquiry outlined above, this thesis will discuss a number of questions by drawing on the data that was collected for this project. The corpus of data consists of bibliographic data from academic publications, which was compiled utilising the Benjamins Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) and consequently further filtered, exported, ordered, and annotated with additional bibliographic information. The bibliographic data from TSB is complemented by consultation of a number of key translation studies reference works, including the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997, 2014), the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker and Saldanha eds. 1998, 2009/2011), *Introducing Translation Studies* (Munday 2001, 2008, 2012, 2016), and *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* (Malmkjaer and Windle eds. 2011).

The use of the TSB online database ensured access to a very broad range of data and spanning a large timeframe. Availability of the data in electronic form was also important to allow statistical bibliometric analysis.

The motivating research questions underlying this project centre firmly around the issues of emerging ideas, how ideas arrive in and spread across a 'loan' discipline, and the question of bibliometric data analysis. The core question that motivated this research is "What entry points and emergence patterns are identifiable through quantitative bibliographic data for ideas from sociology in the discipline of TS?" and consequent sub-questions unfolded as "What entry points and patterns are identifiable over time, in specific geographical locations, languages, or mediums and forms of publications with regards to the process of emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies?" and in extension "What influence(s) and directionalities regarding entry points and emergence patterns for sociology in translation studies can be identified from the analysis of bibliographic data?" A secondary question was identified as "What can this contribute to our understanding of how interdisciplinary knowledge is perceived (and incorporated) in TS from various vantage points?" Finally, the third major question underlying this research project focuses on investigating the potential usefulness and

aptitude of quantitative bibliometric research approaches within translation studies and the advantages as well as potential drawbacks: “What can a quantitative bibliometric approach contribute to analysing emerging (interdisciplinary) ideas in translation studies in particular, and in the humanities and social sciences in general?”

The analyses of the underlying set of questions will result in an insightful picture of entry points and emergence of interdisciplinary ideas through bibliographic data in contemporary TS. This in turn will provide a platform to gain insight into TS as a loan discipline and will allow scrutiny of one of the more recent ‘turns’ in translation through quantitative data analysis. These insights will not only be beneficial for the discipline of TS and its understanding of patterns for the emergence, spread and adoption of ‘loan’ theories and concepts, but will hopefully also be of interest to other disciplines in the humanities, because the overarching question, line of enquiry, and design of methodology can be applied to other disciplines and fields of study in modern humanities as well. The bibliometric analysis also provides further understanding of how, when and through which types of publications and authors the topic of sociology has entered and has become established in TS. A more detailed insight in the theoretical approaches from sociology that have become prominent in TS has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of how TS views and utilises the topic of sociology in TS, which sources, texts and authors it particularly relies on, and which type of sources are not incorporated into the canon. Through the multifocal approach of this thesis, drawing on areas of research and theories that have so far not received much or any attention within TS, this research also contributes significantly to the existing knowledge horizon in TS by engaging with theoretical approaches from e.g. the Diffusion of Innovation, or the sociological Weak Tie theory. By bringing in new theoretical approaches and ideas into the TS discourse, providing explanations and applying them to the case in hand, this thesis also enables further future engagement from TS researchers with these subject areas. In turn, however, it equally highlights contributions, insights and expertise from TS that will respectively be of value

to these disciplines and theories employed in this project, thereby foregrounding the importance and applicability of TS research to other fields.

This thesis will open the enquiry by discussing aspects of the history of ideas and approaches to thinking about ideas and knowledge in the context of academic disciplines. The history of ideas discussion is at times polarised between either the 'hard' sciences on the one hand and pure philosophy on the other. I will discuss insights from history of ideas discourses and how these can inform an investigation into intellectual change in modern academic disciplines, with a focus on the humanities. History of ideas approaches are often rooted firmly in philosophy, but are less often complemented or evidenced with quantitative data. This thesis suggests a combinatory approach, that considers and draws on the history of ideas for an ideational framework and for nuanced deliberation of a range of factors and issues affecting ideas and knowledge through its respective history, but that also offers an additional level of analysis and substantiation with the incorporation of large-scale bibliometric data. For the study of the history of ideas, this methodology has the potential to further open up new areas of research, especially in collaboration with scholars from other fields. While this thesis draws on examples and historic cases from a wide range of fields and disciplines, I am conscious that there might be fundamental differences in the way the sciences and humanities handle the growth and exchange of knowledge and ideas, and will therefore focus on the latter.

For discussion of the data collected for this project in light of the questions asked and the argument put forward, this thesis will make use of two main frameworks. The first part of the discussion will be framed by Everett M. Rogers' findings on diffusion networks as presented in the *Diffusion of Innovation* (Rogers 1995). The frame of Rogers' conclusions on diffusion networks will be used to address and discuss questions of emergence and diffusion of innovation, and further aspects of innovation, since this research project aims to focus on a set of ideas that provided new horizons of knowledge through innovative approaches in translation studies.

With evidence from the bibliographic data collated for this thesis, the issue of critical mass, as discussed by Rogers, will be addressed in the context of TS.

The bibliographic data analysis in conjunction with a selection of TS reference works was chosen in light of the broader question that initially motivated this project: How do some ideas 'travel' successfully very far, and are transmitted, established and diffused widely in scholarly communities? The two main pillars of a bibliometric approach for quantitative data analysis and a theoretical perspective that is informed by the history of ideas and by diffusion of innovation theory in combination allow for reflection on these and other aspects by offering a means to examine emerging ideas, patterns of entry points for 'loan' ideas, and the spread and adoption of new interdisciplinary ideas. This perspective promises to shed light on the initial questions.

While the scope of this investigation will primarily give insight into the process of emerging ideas within the discipline of TS, the findings should also be of interest to other disciplines of the humanities, not least because this project applies aspects from research into the spread and growth of knowledge in the sciences to an academic community in the humanities. This thesis also sets out to contribute further to recent research efforts in TS into the aptitude of bibliometric research approaches (cf. e.g. Zanettin et al. 2015). For this research project, the data corpus had a temporal scope of 45 years and was sourced with support from the Benjamins Translation Studies Bibliography database. With the data collected and evaluated in light of the contextual discussions, this project can serve exemplarily as a starting point for other researchers in the humanities to examine the cognitive culture and spread of ideas within their respective field. The expanded application of bibliometric research methodologies in a large-scale database is seen as a significant contribution of this thesis to the existing canon of research in TS. There are some previous approaches in TS engaging with bibliometric research, but the majority of enquiries so far undertaken has utilised a smaller scale dataset. This thesis contributes to testing the applicability of bibliometric research in TS on a larger scale.

As a means of opening this investigation on a wider note regarding ideas, knowledge, spread and change, the first chapter will offer an outline of aspects of the history of ideas and discuss how these connect to translation and TS. It will then introduce further aspects of ideas and innovation diffusion and dynamics of change in order to illustrate further the multi-causal nature of the spread of ideas and scholarly knowledge. Chapter 2 discusses the more specific case of translators and translation and their roles in the diffusion of ideas. This includes the role of linguistic translation, translation as an interpretative 'filter', and historic cases of translators and translation as crucial hubs for the transmission and spread of ideas. Highlighting the role of translators as facilitators but also potential manipulators of the dissemination of ideas, chapter 2 will elaborate on the complexities and 'external' factors involved in the emergence process of ideas. Since the field of sociology forms the core focus point of this research project, chapter 3 will present a brief overview and introduction to sociology and sociological theory, to allow for better understanding of the scope of this project. Chapter 4 then will propose a bibliometric approach for investigating, locating, and tracking emerging ideas. It will furthermore introduce and explain the data that was collated and analysed for this project and give an overview of bibliometric analysis of quantitative publication data. Rogers' findings on diffusion of innovations will be examined in the context of the data. The analysis is developed further by a discussion of data points such as language, thematic patterns or geography, and by inclusion of aspects such as the canonisation of knowledge. Building on this analysis, chapter 5 will continue to analyse and give insight into the data in bibliometric analysis, complemented by TS reference works. Finally, chapter 6 will provide a conclusive and critical discussion of the study undertaken and the insights into patterns of emerging ideas in TS and applicability of bibliometric analysis in translation studies. It will also point out potential future applications and usefulness of this thesis for similar research projects in the humanities.

# 1 Translation and Travelling Ideas

“If I could find a higher tree  
Farther and farther I should see,  
To where the grown-up river slips  
Into the sea among the ships”

(Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Child's Garden of Verses*)

In order to think about and discuss the genesis of abstract ideas, including their emergence and spread into new fields, we often employ the help of metaphors. In fact, it seems difficult to discuss the journey of ideas without resorting to imagery and associations. A common metaphor is indeed the notion of travel or of a voyage, popularised by Edward Said, in search of a description for the exchange of theories in the humanities and social sciences. He stated that “[l]ike people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel – from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another” (1983: 226). The imagery and the phrase of ‘travelling theories’ has since been taken up and borrowed widely, and Michael C. Frank points out that “the very concept of ‘travelling concepts’ is itself a travelling one” (2009: 61). Mieke Bal echoed Said’s words in her introduction to *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*, where she wrote about concepts and their “travel – between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods, and between geographically dispersed academic communities” (2002: 24). She even goes as far as to use the word ‘trip’ (ibid.).<sup>2</sup>

Engagement with and reflections on the translation and translatability of metaphors, as well as the study of metaphors themselves, especially across linguistic boundaries, has long been widely discussed in TS research (cf. e.g. Schäffner 2004, Shuttleworth 2014). Translation and metaphor both

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<sup>2</sup> Another, more recent, common metaphor for example comes from the fields of virology and epidemiology, and employs the image of contagion. C.f. e.g. Mitchell, P (2012) *Contagious Metaphor*, London: Bloomsbury.

concern a transfer of meaning, and as such the two fields are often concerned with overlapping questions. Scholars from both disciplines have engaged with the translation of metaphors, metaphors in translation, metaphors of translation, translation and its metaphors, or translation as a metaphor. A closer collaboration between cognitive linguistics, under which the study of metaphor falls, and TS has been suggested as a fruitful way forward for researchers from both sides for instance by Mark Shuttleworth, who states that while “[i]n the past, cross-disciplinary influence tended to be from metaphor studies to translation studies”, he argues that TS “also has much to offer to the former” (Shuttleworth 2014: 9).

If we stick with the metaphor of travel for a moment, one of the biggest issues facing travellers on their journeys is arguably language, particularly the traveller's inability to communicate if she does not speak a language she encounters. If ideas travel by being passed from ‘person to person’, then a successful ‘handover’ of the idea can only happen if communication is working, and if need be facilitated by translation. So, the metaphor of travel, just like real-life travel, includes the notion of having to overcome language barriers. This is where the role of translation and translators in the spread of ideas has to be considered, whether this may be an exchange between different historical periods, between scholars, or between different academic disciplines. Theories, for instance, are often read and used in a translated form without sufficient reflection on this very fact and its possible implications, as pointed out by Susam-Sarajeva, who stated that “the translation of theory is an under-researched area within translation studies” (2006: 211) and that “[a]lthough the phrase ‘theories of translation’ is everywhere, ‘translation of theories’ is a rare sight” (ibid.: 9). Her book *Ideas on the Move* examines in depth the importation of Roland Barthes’s works into Turkish, and of Hélène Cixous’s works into English, to explore “the role translation plays in the migration of certain literary and cultural theories across linguistic-cultural boundaries and power differentials” (ibid.: 1). By calling for the consideration of a wide variety of factors that influence the spread of theories across linguistic and cultural boundaries, and by arguing that we need to “recognise

the human element and the language element involved in the travels of theories” (2006: 206), Susam-Sarajeva makes an important point by reminding us that “[t]heory does not travel by itself. It travels through people: not only the writers who come to ‘embody’ them, but also the proponents, mediators – including the translators and editors – critics and opponents.

These people form what is called ‘the receiving system’” (ibid.). Ideas that emerge in a receiving system therefore do not appear on their own, but are surrounded by various mechanisms of transport – to keep with the metaphors of moving and travel for now – their emergence is governed by a multitude of factors, and they may enter the receiving system or field via a number of different pathways and entry points. This thesis wants to think and talk about ideas and their emergence and respective entry points into and within the discipline of TS. For all their usefulness and ability to open new horizons for thought and analysis, imagery and metaphors about ideas, or the genesis, journey, or spread of ideas, can at times become a double-edged sword: on the one hand, they can provide a much welcome opportunity to visualise and de-clutter overly abstract thoughts, and to gain a better understanding or overview. On the other hand, once the connection with a particular metaphor or image is made, it can be more difficult to imagine an alternative scenario. It is therefore vital to remember that metaphors are just that, and not representations of realities.

This chapter will peel back the first layer of this investigation by outlining aspects of the history of ideas and discussing how these connect to translation and TS. The chapter will also introduce further aspects of ideas, knowledge transfer, innovation diffusion and dynamics of intellectual change related to emerging ideas.

## **1.1 Historiography of Ideas: Ideas Have a Lineage**

The present research project is concerned with ideas and how they emerge in new fields. The overall focus is predominantly on the broader process of emerging ideas in a field and intellectual change (to and within the field), and

less concerned with the ideas themselves, i.e. what theories mean and/or how they can and cannot be applied. As a modern academic field, “translation studies has formed itself into a fully-fledged discipline complete with theoretical paradigms and a non-prescriptive approach to the investigation of translation as both process and product, and of its function in a particular social, cultural or political context” (Shuttleworth 2014: 2). In particular for a discipline that is highly interdisciplinary, it is important to acknowledge that a number of these paradigms and approaches have their origin in different fields, and that insights, theories, methodologies, and outlooks from other fields are often usefully employed by TS scholars to build, establish and broaden theoretical frameworks for translation research. Having a better understanding of the origins and lineage of ideas, especially those that were adopted into TS from other disciplines, can arguably contribute to a more nuanced approach and engagement with the ideas and theories in question. For instance, any further knowledge about the genesis and journey of a certain idea in use has the potential to enable researchers to better assess its appropriateness in a given research setting or for a specific research question, to be sensitised for potential caveats or inapplicability, and allows them to consider the original context in which the idea in question was developed and employed.

Insight into the genesis (including points of transfer and routes of travel) of specific ideas in the context of disciplinary knowledge, and in particular a focus on points of emergence for new ideas that have originated outside its current field, is furthermore beneficial for academic disciplines as it also involves an exploration of the field’s habits and processes of knowledge production, including publications and conferences as vehicles for new knowledge. An understanding of how ideas travel into and between disciplines also has the potential to highlight trends and imbalances in disciplinary knowledge currently produced, for instance an overreliance on a particular paradigm or theory.

In the case of TS, which encompasses theoretical approaches and ‘loan ideas’ from disciplines often outside the humanities, further insights into

the paths of travel and points of transfer for loan ideas (including the agents facilitating transport) contribute to increased critical awareness for the knowledge canon TS is currently engaging with. This has the potential to sensitise and enable researchers to reflect on the tools they employ, and may encourage scholars and student to review not just the methods in use but in addition the history behind that method, in order to understand better why and how certain approaches are applied in TS. Furthermore, sensitisation for the genesis of ideas including their respective path of origin is also beneficial for broadening TS research further and discovering new subject areas and theories from which promising ideas and concepts can be incorporated into TS. Further understanding of how ideas travel and get transferred, which involves an enquiry into the history and surrounding field of the idea in question, therefore can also help academic disciplines to gain a better understanding of surrounding and more distant subject areas alike, which is of particular relevance for TS as a strongly interdisciplinary field.

### **1.1.1 Discussion of Terms for 'Ideas'**

Before continuing the discussion, it is necessary to clarify and elaborate on the terms used here. This thesis focuses on the rise of sociology in TS, how theoretical approaches and terminology from sociology have found their way into TS, and how they have become established within the field. Inspiration and new ideas can come in many different shapes and forms. A challenge for this thesis was to find a suitable term for 'that which travelled' which encompasses multiple aspects: from the application of complex theories, to borrowed terminology, to inspiration by singular facts, peoples' biographies, or quotes. In order to discuss 'the things that travelled into TS', it was necessary to find an umbrella term that would allow for space to include all these and more different contents. The largest common denominator that would allow a discussion of the variety of inputs and ideas from sociology that led to the changes in TS was considered, while keeping in mind the fact that the larger the common denominator for a term of description, the larger the danger of the discussion becoming fuzzy. On the other hand, a smaller

common denominator would lead to the danger of having to exclude a number of aspects. For example, 'theories' was ruled out as a common denominator because it is not just complete theories that travel and find their way into TS scholars' minds. For an initial spark of inspiration in particular, it is not necessarily the complete theory that inspires, but can be just one sentence or a quote picked up from somewhere. If the discussion would be limited to 'theories', that would arguably not account for e.g. some informal, oral, or situational inputs. The terms 'concept' and 'notion' were considered also as denominators, alongside the related term 'ideas'. All three of these terms have the problem of having a strong abstract connotation. While the three terms have a similar value on a denotational level, their connotations and usage are different. For the term 'idea', Collins Dictionary suggests among other definitions "any content of the mind, especially the conscious mind", "an individual's conception of something" and "a vague notion or indication; inkling".

The fact that all terms are used in the definition entries shows how closely related they are purely in terms of denomination. With regard to connotation, however, 'concept', for example, seems to be closer to abstract constructs, which was seen as problematic for the discussion of more concrete information or even physical objects. While an 'idea' can come to expression in a physical object, it is more difficult to use the term 'notion' to describe concrete information or items. 'Notion' also carries the connotation of an inclination, which was not considered adequate for this discussion. The term of 'knowledge' seemed again to be on a level that was both too broad and too narrow: too broad in the sense that there is a lack of consensus among scholars regarding what constitutes 'knowledge' (cf. e.g. Sutton Lutz and Neis 2008), and too narrow in the sense that singular sparks of inspiration from a given environment, from a person or even from a single statement or quote, seem in danger of drowning within a larger denominator like this.

Given all these considerations, a compromise had to be made for a term that encapsulates and describes the object of discussion in this thesis in

the most appropriate yet accessible way. In light of the reflections outlined above, and also considering the overall focus, question and motivation of this thesis, it was decided to use the term 'ideas' in order to describe and discuss the new developments in TS. 'Ideas' is a large enough term to include theoretical approaches, but it can also apply to a smaller level of intellectual inspiration and transfer. Scholars who have written on the history of ideas often tend to use the term 'idea' to encapsulate a very wide a range of objects of discussion. In the introduction to his *Ideengeschichte* (2010), the philosopher Andreas Dorschel reflects on the nature of ideas and what an idea is. Overcoming the notion that ideas were quintessentially of linguistic nature, he also reminds the reader that "[w]ords are just one medium among others for ideas; musicians think about their work in notes, architects in spaces, painters in forms and colours, mathematicians in numbers, or, on a more abstract level, in mathematical functions" (Dorschel 2010: 43, my translation).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, ideas can encompass a range of perceptions, reflections and inspirations that reach beyond written words, allowing for flexibility in the discourse about them. The term is also suitable for the focus on the appearance of sociology in TS as a particular set of ideas. Furthermore, it fits in well with the discussion of the history of ideas as a backdrop to this project. Therefore, the term 'ideas' will be taken forward for the following discussions in this thesis.

### **1.1.2 A Brief History of Ideas Background**

Translators have been the nodes of transfer and exchange of ideas between cultures and languages throughout history, and arguably occupy central positions in networks of knowledge exchange. As a discipline, it could be argued, translation studies assumes a similarly central position, providing a hub for inter-cultural and inter-lingual analysis and exchange. An analysis of how knowledge passes through history and across disciplines, in

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<sup>3</sup> "Worte sind nur ein Medium von Ideen unter anderen; Musiker denken in Tönen, Architekten in Räumen, Maler in Formen und Farben, Mathematiker in Zahlen oder, abstrakter, in Funktionen."

combination with a history of ideas perspective on translation studies, will enhance understanding of ideational progress within disciplines in general and translation studies in particular. While there is a significant body of research into the history of translation and translators across and into all historical periods from the Bible to Goethe to modern history (cf. e.g. Vermeer 1992, Ellis 1989, Robinson 1997, Lefevere 1977, Pound 1954, Delisle and Woodsworth 1996), there is a gap when it comes to writing about the broader historiography of a certain idea and the analysis of emergence pattern of ideas within the discipline. The focus on locating and tracing the emergence patterns and entry points of ideas, rather than having the idea itself as the object of analysis, places this chapter in an interdisciplinary realm, including also aspects of the history of ideas and of the sociology of knowledge. The notion that ideas have a lineage and that their emergence into new fields can be tracked is at the very core of this research project, which seeks to identify and analyse the emergence of a specific idea (namely the development and diffusion of ideas from sociology within TS). For this reason, an insight into the field of the history of ideas, and some of its strategies, goals, and tropes seems useful here. Secondly, translations and translators can be seen as important connectors in the process of emerging ideas. The history of the spread of the Christian Bible for instance could be seen as a history of translators unlocking these texts and ideas for wider diffusion. Some famous works of translation involved in this diffusion process were, for example, provided by Jerome (c. 347 – 419/420) with the Vulgate Latin translation, Martin Luther (1483 – 1546) and his German Bible, and William Tyndale (c. 1490/94 – 1536) and his contributions to an English translation of the Bible (cf. e.g. Robinson 1997). TS and the history of ideas appear to be connected at the interface of the act of translation, which could be seen as an interpretative and facilitating act in the process of intellectual exchange and making knowledge accessible. However, an in-depth interdisciplinary investigation of this interrelatedness has not yet been undertaken, although it would arguably be a worthwhile and profitable future project for both fields because it would establish a deeper understanding of the capacity of

translation and translation scholars to influence and facilitate the development of ideas per se throughout history. Part of the rationale of this current project is also to highlight and open up future potential areas for further research, and an investigation into the interconnectedness of the fields of history of ideas and TS is considered a promising one. The following sections will outline and discuss aspects of the history of ideas relevant to this project in some more detail.

The decision to include a history of ideas background in this research project was based on a number of factors. Pursuits into the history of ideas have often been undertaken from scientific perspectives. The history of ideas, especially in science, can also be seen as the history of scientific progress and the growth of knowledge, which used to be perceived as a progressive narrative, in which theories were continually tested and replaced with more accurate ones over time. In contrast to this view of progression, an alternative argument was formulated in the 1960s. With the introduction of what came to be known as the paradigm shift by Thomas S. Kuhn in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), this notion of logical and more or less linear progression in scientific developments was challenged by a more dynamic view of how progress of knowledge develops within, and is at the same time influenced by, a scientific community. Kuhn's view of scientific progress proposed that developments in science do not occur in a linear, cumulative form of new knowledge. Instead, he suggested periodic cycles of abrupt changes in a respective field. While this is an interesting thought to consider in light of the more or less periodic changes of focal points in TS over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in particular (from linguistic meaning and equivalence, to functionalism, to system theory, to descriptivism, to the cultural turn, and eventually the social turn), the characteristics of sudden and eradivative changes that Kuhn's theory proposes does not seem to fully reflect in the way recent TS approaches have developed. Lieven D'hulst and Yves Gambier add distinction to this point in their introduction to *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge* by arguing that

views on past thinking, theories included, are strongly indebted to Thomas Kuhn's distinction between evolutionary models of science, two of which have become topical: the "growth" model (science progresses by accumulation) and the model of "paradigm shifts". The history of translation studies features both models. (2018: 2)

For the case of TS, Kuhn's argument about the incommensurability of different competing developments seems untenable. Kuhn argues that "the transition between competing paradigms cannot be made a step at a time [...]. Like the gestalt switch, it must occur all at once (though not necessarily in an instant) or not at all" (1962: 150). This does not necessarily have to be the case in the development and emergence process of ideas, in particular in the humanities where scope for comparative or alternative approaches and different viewpoints can at times even be more productive for advancing knowledge and understanding of a problem. It does not always have to be a strict case of 'either-or', and neither are the transitions between development stages made "all at once". In light of the case of sociology in TS, it can be argued on the contrary that 'paradigms' seem to coexist next to each other for an extended time, while the newer one gradually finds its way into the mainstream of the discipline.

While the connotation of 'logical' with the sciences and 'random' with the humanities can be challenged, Price's system seems overall to be more appropriate as a starting point for tracing ideas from sociology on their way into and within TS, with the underlying notions of linear and random developments, and of the possibility of 'dormant' ideas. Price (1970) suggests that ideational growth in the humanities may take a generally more unstructured form than in the sciences. Instead of following 'classic' scientific methods of testing theories and replacing the ones that are found to be faulty or insufficient with improved hypotheses, ideas in the humanities can develop from virtually anything that has come before, and there can be a considerable temporal delay between two points of cross-fertilisation. The further these are apart, the more difficult it can sometimes become for historians of ideas to pinpoint the lineage of a given idea and the influences that act upon it. In this respect, the challenges placed by oral transmission and exchange of ideas

have to be considered as well. In cases of non-written documentation of idea exchange or transfer, it becomes almost impossible for scholars to determine where a given idea has come from, or what influenced its diffusion process. Bearing this in mind for discussions in the following chapters, the possibility of ideational transfer via informal oral exchanges always has to be considered. However, this thesis has tried to largely circumnavigate the intricacies and vagueness of non-written informal transmission by mainly drawing from a data corpus of academic written publications for the analysis.

Taking into account the multi-faceted nature of the present research project, the outlook on the history of ideas, which has a longstanding tradition of complex and interdisciplinary enquiry and which indeed intends to “cross the boundaries of existing disciplines, to deal with them from the outside, and to re-interpret them” (Foucault 1972: 153), seemed a useful general starting point. Furthermore, the history of ideas is interested in developments and relations between concepts and scholars, and how these developments and relations came to be, and this also influences the motivation of this research project.

Another term that deserves a little more detailed reflection is ‘history’. As a concept, it is equally problematic as ‘ideas’, due to divergent opinions about what it is and how it should be constructed. What ‘history’ is and how it is constructed depends to a large extent on the historian’s approach to it. A traditional form of historical analysis is to construct continuities and cohesive narratives from the accounts studied, from an underlying assumption of logical progress and from linking separate events to make an evolution visible. We *want* to find coherence in what we see and study, and this also holds true for historical analysis. Foucault points towards this when he states that “[t]he history of ideas usually credits the discourse that it analyses with coherence” (1969: 166), and if there is a lack of coherence, we strive to find a way of rectifying it.

Traditionally, historical analysis is concerned with the reading and interpretation of artefacts, texts, images etc. in order to construct a meaningful narrative and insight into the historical period in question. There

are however alternative ways of reading, constructing and presenting 'history'. The notion of history as an evolution of the past that leads gradually into the present is challenged for instance by the historian of ideas, sociologist and philosopher Michel Foucault, who questioned the traditionally assumed role of the historian. Historian Mark Poster, who worked on French critical theory, describes him as "not an historian of continuity but of discontinuity", and points out Foucault's efforts "to distance the past from the present, to disrupt the easy, cozy intimacy that historians have traditionally enjoyed in the relationship of the past to the present" (1982: 117). Poster specialised on French theorists such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Henri Lefebvre, Baudrillard, and Derrida. Foucault, along with other poststructuralists of the time, takes up a line of thought that was laid out by Friedrich Nietzsche in *The Use and Abuse of History* (1874), where he criticised traditional ways of discussing the epistemology of history. 'History' can therefore be viewed not as something that is objective or neutral, but as something that is *done* by people, who have different motives and perspectives, and the historian exerts a certain influence *on* the history she is trying to describe. To understand history, we have to understand the people who write about history. Foucault suggests that all discourse might be "perpetually undermined from within by the contradiction of [our] desires, the influences that [we] have been subjected to, or the conditions in which [we] live" (1969: 166). In the context of this thesis, which tries to identify and trace the emergence of sociological ideas in TS, this would mean that rather than attempting to look for a coherent narrative within that development (the idea of sociology in TS), the emphasis would shift also towards a) the scholars who wrote about and framed this idea within the discipline, and b) challenging internal as well as discipline-wide attitudes, perspectives and opinions about how to construct a 'history' and an idea, which is outwith the scope of this research project. However, heading into this discourse, it will be useful to think of history as 'one' possible history of many. Rather than writing 'the' history of something, it is always someone's version of that history, 'a' history. For now, I find it important to remember that 'history' can be viewed as subjective rather than

neutral, and which is subject to the characteristics and perspectives of whoever writes it. Secondly, the assumption that historical developments possess a sort of natural coherence and logical progress which just needs to be 'unearthed' by the historian is questionable. For the context of this thesis, it is a reminder to perhaps be cautious with the construction of a narrative or developments, and to be critical about my own expectations of a coherent narrative about the history of sociological ideas in TS.

Foucault further elaborates on the issue of continuity and focus of the history of ideas, when he describes the field as a "discipline of beginnings and ends, the description of the obscure continuities and returns, the reconstitution of developments in the linear form of history" (1972: 154). He also points out the field's focus on linearity and ability to describe interrelated exchanges and networks of intermediaries, before concluding that the history of ideas "shows how scientific knowledge is diffused" (ibid.), which corresponds directly to the underlying core question that motivates this research project. 'History' and the role of historians, however, are not fixed concepts, and can be viewed critically with very different perspectives and purposes. 'Histories' are researched, written and presented by scholars who not only have their own subjective motives and perspectives, but also belong to and are shaped by the time and field of which they are part. The archaeological method raised the possibility of constructing history which would not rely primarily on the consciousness and subjective perspectives of individual scholars. Different time periods and different social groups also have different horizons of knowledge which would determine the discourse (about history) they would create. Foucault points to this by arguing that "historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by the present state of knowledge" (1969: 5). Changing knowledge horizons would result in a different description of history, and therefore historical 'realities' as we construct and discuss them are always subject to change.

The field of the history of ideas also has a number of limitations and inherent difficulties.<sup>4</sup> For instance, the field of studying the history of ideas, as it is conducted today, “still appears to remain largely the history of Western ideas” (Clarke 1986: 34). There is, naturally, a history of thought in other cultural and geographical areas as well, although the largest part of writing on the history of ideas has been conducted from a Western perspective on philosophical thought. While other cultural and geographical areas are not excluded per se, the thesis leans largely on ideas derived from a Western tradition of philosophy for setting the backdrop for the starting point for discussion. Of course there were and still are crucial points of knowledge exchange and reciprocal stimulation of thought between the various traditions of research. In fact, a number of discoveries which distinctively shaped European and Western philosophical history were brought ‘back’ from travellers and explorers who were travelling the Middle Eastern and Asian regions. However, for this to be explored appropriately would require a comparative focus that has a contrastive analysis of different histories of ideas at its core and as its primary aim, and would therefore fall more under the remit of historians and epistemologists. For the remit of this thesis, further distinction within the field of history of ideas is not lending additional value at this point.

The field of history of ideas has evolved from an activity which “was for many years the province of the scientist, probably retired”, as David Knight points out (1986: 22), to a more recognized field of study with its own agenda and curriculum. There is nowadays a vast body of literature on the subject which has almost reached “epic proportions” (Schön 1963: 3), and a considerable amount of overlap can be found between the questions that inspired this current research and issues that are debated by historians of ideas, which, for example, inquire into the generation, distribution, and appropriation of knowledge by people and communities. The study of the

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<sup>4</sup> Foucault described it once as “an uncertain object, with badly drawn frontiers, methods borrowed from here and there, and an approach lacking in rigour and stability.” (1969: 153)

history of ideas can also stretch to discussions about the divergence between what “people ‘in the know’ *know* and what the public and people in power *know*” (Sutton, Lutz and Neis 2008:4) or the fact that “research does not directly translate into knowledge” (ibid.). With regard to outlook and purpose of the field of epistemology and the history of ideas, Anthony Grafton (2006) comments with great insight on developments of and within this field, and particularly on the role of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. He sees the *Journal* as being located firmly in an “interdisciplinary space that [it] has always occupied” (Grafton 2006: 6), and he stresses the collaborative nature and genuine interest in gaining insight to very different fields that has characterised the field since Arthur O. Lovejoy’s time:

[...] Lovejoy regularly invited representatives of the other humanistic disciplines to collaborate in the plotting of the larger story – even though he must have suspected that they would bring their own priorities and practices with them, and find his wanting in certain respects at least. From the start, in other words, Lovejoy envisioned the history of ideas as a field in which scholars with varied disciplinary trainings and loyalties would meet. The *Journal* was to play a social as well as an intellectual role. (Grafton 2006: 8)

With regard to academic practice and collaboration across disciplinary boundaries, Grafton draws attention to the fact that academic structures have changed significantly over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many universities, colleges or schools nowadays consciously and purposefully create meeting points for students and researchers from different fields, and there are now numerous publications and institutions dedicated to interdisciplinary exchanges and research.<sup>5</sup> Grafton reflects on the changed structures in academia with his suggestion that

the history of ideas, and the *Journal*, flourished in part because they provided something of what campus humanities centers do now – spaces between disciplines, where scholars can come together,

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies* (ISSN 2348 – 0343), *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies* (ISSN 2327-008X), *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social and Community Studies* (ISSN 2324-7576), *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* (ISSN 1524-8429).

master one another's tools, and apply them to their own objects.  
(Grafton 2006: 9-10)

Scholars have been trying to explain the emergence of new concepts for more than two thousand years (Schön 1963: 3), but, as already briefly mentioned above, the intricacy of following ideas lies partly in the fallacies of individual memory, since it can be incredibly hard for an individual to pinpoint from where she got a specific idea. Daniel Kahneman writes that “[m]ost impressions and thoughts arise in your conscious experience without your knowing how they got there” (2011: 4). This corresponds closely to Andreas Dorschel's assessment that people have ideas long before they begin to think about what it means to have ideas (Dorschel 2010: 11). A multitude of factors and influences are at work on our mind and consciousness all the time, and arguably not all intake of information or adoption of new knowledge happens in a reflective and conscious way. Nevertheless, “what people do has a history” (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 24), and equally, what people *know* also has a history. In many ways, this issue also touches upon a core aspect of this research project: ideas in people's heads are intangible and difficult to trace. Individual memory is fraught with inaccuracies. Even a focus on published material through bibliographic analysis instead of memory and personal account still has to consider the possibility that ideas are absorbed sub-consciously as well, without the person in question taking active note of the input at the time it took place. This thesis acknowledges that the sub-conscious absorption of ideas needs to be recognized and considers that this might also play an intriguing role in the emergence and establishment of ideas. However, the present endeavours will not extend to a more detailed discussion of further aspects of conscious or sub-conscious thought, because it is considered to belong to a different type of research project with a different approach and scope. Instead, it aims to focus on emerging ideas that *can* be located and made visible at certain places and points in time, for example through publications and bibliographic data analysis.

Knowledge exists on an individual scale, but also forms 'collective pools' within disciplines. Academic disciplines each possess a pool of canonised knowledge that forms the basis of teaching and research for that discipline. From time to time, new knowledge gets added to this pool, undergoes a testing and verification period, and might eventually form part of the canonised knowledge pool. Equally, knowledge that has become or has been shown to be obsolete might filter out from the knowledge pool. The study of the history of ideas targets these kinds of movements within established pools of knowledge, and, by trying to reconstruct in retrospect the pathways of certain ideas, attempts to gain a clearer understanding of how the idea itself has shaped and evolved. This also includes any "ramifications" along the way, as the preface to the *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* puts it. The understanding of the genesis of a certain idea or set of ideas can therefore be regarded as an equally, if not more, crucial contribution to the understanding of disciplinary knowledge, discipline formation, and even whole periods of history, than the in-depth analysis of a singular particular idea or theory.

An early attempt at a systematic study of the history of ideas as well as the term 'history of ideas' is attributed to Lovejoy's publication of *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* in 1936, which went on to influence debate and works for many scholars, including Thomas S. Kuhn (Kuhn 1962/1970: vi). Lovejoy distinguishes the history of philosophy from the history of ideas, by which he "mean[s] something at once more specific and less restricted than the history of philosophy. It is differentiated primarily by the character of the units with which it concerns itself" (Lovejoy [1936]/1960: 3). Correspondingly, this research aims to follow "component elements", which Lovejoy terms "unit-ideas" (ibid.), thereby shifting the focus to the patterns of certain strands of ideas, and not the inherent meaning or value of the idea itself. While aspects of Lovejoy's work seem to chime with part of my research and underlying questions, other aspects seem problematic, and have indeed been criticised by other scholars (cf. e.g. Hintikka 1980, Dorschel 2010, Mandelbaum 1965). Linked to this thesis'

inquiry into emerging ideas and intellectual change is what Lovejoy notes as one of the *raison d'être* of the study of history of ideas, and likewise one of the core questions that underlie the present study, is concerned with the central inquiry into how change comes about:

Finally, it is a part of the eventual task of the history of ideas to apply its own distinctive analytic method in the attempt to understand how new beliefs and intellectual fashions are introduced and diffused, to help to elucidate the psychological character of the processes by which changes in the vogue and influence of ideas have come about; to make clear, if possible, how conceptions dominant, or extensively prevalent, in one generation lose their hold upon men's minds and give place to others. (Lovejoy [1936]/1960: 20)

Two things become evident from this quote: firstly, the study of the history of ideas reaches far into the sociological realm, covering topics such as development and diffusion of new ideas, and their pathways within and through epistemic communities. Epistemic communities, however, are ultimately also social communities. The *Wissensträger*, the carriers of knowledge, are people. Secondly, the study of the history of ideas includes the attempt to understand not just ideas throughout history, but primarily the change in ideas and idea systems, thereby also seeking to provide explanations for dormant, vanishing or obsolete ideas.

Another essential characteristic of the study of the history of ideas which Lovejoy identifies is its concern "with the manifestation of specific unit-ideas in the collective thought of large groups of persons, not merely in the doctrines or opinions of a small number of profound thinkers or eminent writers" ([1936]/1960:19). While the notion of collective thought is arguably more difficult to uphold in an investigation on a disciplinary level such as the present one, the basic distinction remains valid: it is the spread and emergence of ideas in a considerably large circle of people which is also the main focus of this present project, and not the works of a few select individuals. Lovejoy also pinpoints the interest of the study of the history of ideas to "ideas which attain a wide diffusion, which become a part of the stock of many minds" (*ibid.*). Diffusion is therefore perceived as a central part within the study of the history of ideas, and the present research will take this

aspect into account as well. Lovejoy further suggests that 'minor' writers may be as important as, or maybe even more important than, the authors of works "that are now regarded as the masterpieces" (ibid.19/20). While this appears to neglect influences on the diffusion of ideas that are beyond the respective idea itself, in whatever form it has been put forward, it does support the chosen point of outset for this thesis's investigation of, in the first instance, bibliographic data regardless of external factors, while not disregarding them either at the same time as potential informants to help understanding and evaluation at a later stage. Such factors of influence, as outlined earlier, can include a scholar's access to language or means of publication, which can be vital for the circulation, distribution, and eventual emergence of an idea in or into others' fields of research, status and connections, membership of beneficial networks, or norms held by a community at a given time. A similar line of thought shines through in Maurice Mandelbaum's discussion on "The History of Ideas, Intellectual History, and the History of Philosophy", where he concludes with the suggestion to pursue a more "pluralistic view of the relations among human institutions" in order to understand "both the continuity of philosophy and its changing features" (1965: 66). Mandelbaum further discusses Lovejoy's assumption of unit-ideas and finds a lack of consideration for surrounding influences. Mandelbaum states that "[t]he possible determinative influence of problems and issues which are larger than single unit-ideas was not denied by Lovejoy. However, a consideration of them was not included [...]" (1965: 37). With regard to the different possible routes and channels of idea transmission and inspiration that can be involved in the diffusion process of ideas between scholars, he argues that

the method of tracing unit-ideas stands in danger of underestimating or of misconstruing the influence of the philosopher on subsequent thought, for that influence may stem directly from the pattern of his thought, no less than from the specific unit-ideas which were embedded within it. (1965: 37-38)

This has to be recognised as an overall, inherent danger of any attempt to study and trace a specific set of ideas, or unit-ideas, within the history of ideas. While the inclusion of idea-external factors in epistemological studies

can arguably bring to light details that will further deepen understanding of the subject, it does not invalidate studies whose scope does not include a full qualitative investigation, and instead aims to open up research by providing an initial analysis that is focused primarily on quantitative data, such as the present one. Mandelbaum's accentuation of the role of the scholars involved in the diffusion and development of ideas, rather than giving prominence to the idea itself, is a reminder that research efforts in the history of ideas are a complex amalgamate of facets, and that they by their very nature often constitute fragments that form part of a bigger whole.

The issue of language is one of these facets that is of interest and relevance to this research project, and that has been commented on by the German philosopher Andreas Dorschel in his book *Ideengeschichte* (2010).<sup>6</sup> The breadth and motivation of Dorschel's perspective is as elegantly as concisely summarised in his statement "We want to know, why and how certain ideas have been promoted, rejected or substituted at certain times" (2010: 12, my translation).<sup>7</sup> Trained in music and linguistics as well as philosophy, Dorschel's view on ideas, their constitution and history, includes other possible mediums for transporting ideas. He stresses that ideas can also be transmitted via non-linguistic channels, such as music or physical places and forms. With regard to the discussion of the role of translators and translation, including linguistic translation, in the spread of ideas, this suggestion by Dorschel will be continued and further elaborated on in chapter 2.

### 1.1.3 Tracing (Emerging) Ideas

Already, the select examples from discussions in the history of ideas presented above have shown consideration for external complexities and a certain fuzziness around the spread of ideas. For all scholars who are trying to trace ideas, the issue of underlying ambiguities must be shared as a

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<sup>6</sup> *History of Ideas*, no English translation available.

<sup>7</sup> "Wir wollen wissen, wie und warum man bestimmte Ideen zu bestimmten Zeiten vertreten, zurückgewiesen oder ersetzt hat."

highest common denominator and ever-present companion. Marian Hobson (2011), for instance, has argued that the history of ideas, and in particular the inquiry into the genesis of a certain idea, is ultimately inconclusive, because points of transmission are hard to find, difficult to show, and near impossible to prove. Hobson writes in an article on “Kant, Rousseau and music” that she has “long thought that Kant must have known Rousseau’s writings on music” (2011: 261). The intricate difficulties of proving pathways of knowledge transmission become evident in the following paragraph where she continues to argue:

Is it even believable that someone who had read so many other books on aesthetics would have left aside the thinker he admired so much when working on the Critique? The definitive destruction of the theory of agreeable sensation (Critique of judgement, section 3), the reliance on illusion to prove that our sensations affect us above all by virtue of their moral content (section 22, section 42): these features are common to both philosophers, and surely therefore this commonality indicates that Kant had in fact read Rousseau’s works on music. (Hobson 2011: 261)

The key words in these two quotations are “thought”, “must have known”, “believable”, “would have left aside”, and “indicates”. Hobson cites passages in which common thoughts from both philosophers become evident. However, they are indicative, not conclusive for the assumption that one was likely to be inspired by the other. Hobson is fully aware of this disparity, and then goes on herself to concede that “[t]his cannot be more than a hypothesis, given how many other possible intermediaries (journals, reviews) there are” (Hobson 2011: 262).

Hobson’s conclusion on research of this kind of nature, which she deems as “inconclusive”, and therefore “potentially also pointless [...]” (ibid.) is not fully convincing. Research which aims to trace knowledge transfer and emerging ideas can help to shed light on the construction process of an idea, and thereby contribute to our understanding of it as well as contribute to further understanding of processes within an academic discipline. In allusion to the fragmented and multi-faceted nature of this type of research as mentioned above, the study of the history and transmission of ideas could be

viewed as a very large puzzle that gets solved only in small sections at a time, and which will gradually form a picture when viewed together. With regard to Hobson's scepticism, this current project complements the speculative aspects of tracing emerging ideas and the resulting intellectual change by drawing on bibliographic research through academic publications, and identifying and tracking specific strands of ideas. Hobson's assessment of unavoidable ambiguities resulting from how or by whom certain documents or data are being read still has validity, and will be kept in mind for this study and analysis. Nonetheless, research of such nature also has the potential of discovering wider implications of a certain strand of idea, and can be rather crucial to the entire process of reading, judging, applying, and working with an idea, a work, a theory or an author. Therefore, the research into the genesis of an idea, a work, or a theory has to be deemed worth the effort, despite the tendency to produce ambiguous results.

The close relations and intersectionalities between the field of the study of the history of ideas and the issue of disciplinarity are shown by Julia V. Douthwaite and Mary Vidal. They remind of the Aristotelian "hierarchy of theoretical, practical and productive subjects" (Douthwaite and Vidal 2005: xii) and that a division of knowledge fields into disciplines has existed since the ancient Greeks. On the purposefulness of disciplinary divisions and changes in and to the existing disciplines, they argue that

[i]individual disciplines throughout the ages have come into being , flourished or dominated, and in turn declined in importance or even faded away, shaping and re-shaping our grasp of the world and the questions we ask about it. Disciplines, like all categories, allow us to get up in the morning and go about our business, gather together, focus on, and manage a few objects of inquiry at a time, and finally communicate something which can be grasped to others who share our interests and accept the relationships of which we make use. (Douthwaite and Vidal 2005: xii)

Another telling example of the interrelatedness of history of ideas and interdisciplinary aspects is given by David Rosenberg in "We have never been interdisciplinary: encyclopedism and etymology in the eighteenth century and since", where he presents the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and

D'Alembert both as an early example of interdisciplinary collaboration and as a work which “embodies the Enlightenment notion that knowledge should be accessible to all” (Rosenberg 2005: 3). He goes on to explain that “Diderot and D'Alembert considered contemporary boundaries between fields, by and large, to be irrational” (ibid.), and that “they envisioned their encyclopaedia as a tool to crossing them” (ibid). In addition to changing the vantage point of perceiving knowledge by breaking away from the traditional mode of encyclopaedic structuring and presentation, thereby challenging both the perception and the boundaries of the various disciplines included, they also took “pains to insist that they are not the authors of the work as a whole. The *Encyclopédie*, they explain, is collaborative [...]” (Rosenberg 2005: 6). This effectively means that a network of scholars wrote on the *Encyclopédie*, and that a central role of Diderot and D'Alembert consisted in bringing together experts from different fields.

The study of the history of ideas is often seen as a primarily philosophical exercise, which is illustrated by Alfred North Whitehead's remark that “[t]he safest general characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists in a series of footnotes to Plato” (Whitehead 1929: 53). However, every subject area and in fact every area of life can be argued to have its own history of ideas. Andreas Dorschel illustrates this succinctly by stating:

We need a history of ideas for table manners and for cooking, for habitation and for interior design, for hospitality and for passion, but also a history of ideas for illness, for insanity, for death and for mourning. For all of these are – at the least – ideas, and as such they have a history, or histories. (Dorschel 2010: 14, my translation)<sup>8</sup>

Among the most thoroughly investigated fields are indeed philosophy, but also the natural sciences. While it is not uncommon to write a history of a certain subject or discipline, it is still less common to isolate a “unit-idea”, to

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<sup>8</sup> “Wir brauchen eine Ideengeschichte der Essmanieren und der Kochkunst, des Wohnens und der Gestaltung von Interieurs, der Gastfreundschaft und der Lust, aber auch eine Ideengeschichte der Krankheit, des Wahnsinns, des Sterbens und der Trauer. Denn all das sind – mindestens auch – Ideen. Als solche haben sie eine Geschichte, oder Geschichten.”

use Lovejoy's term, and trace the genesis of that particular idea, including all its ramifications along the way. It is arguably a difficult and ambitious enterprise, and one that can hardly be undertaken in all its completeness by one scholar alone. This is due to the multi-faceted analysis which a "wholesome" analysis of an idea requires and which this research project pursues. The "sociological turn" in TS as the case of focus involves a number of different approaches, foci, vantage points and objects. While it cannot be broken down into one single, definite idea, it can still be grouped into one distinct strand of ideas, belonging to a common source, i.e. the discipline of sociology.

Certain strands of thought or topics tend to appear, disappear, and reappear in slightly varied form in all disciplines. In TS, the notion of a basic dichotomy of translations (e.g. foreign or domestic, dynamic or static, etc.) reaches quite far back, and has been taken up at various points in the history of TS in modified form. It could be argued that it is possible to study the history of this notion itself, rather than its various forms of application, functionality and meaning for the translator and TS scholar. This process would require an investigation into how scholars working with and on this dichotomy have been influenced by those before them as well as by their contemporary networks, where they took their inspiration from, with whom they have collaborated in their research work, whom they cited, and what they read. Gradually, a network of knowledge would be mapped out which extends not only geographically and intellectually, but also temporal and through which the idea moves. One of the most interesting features about an investigation into networks on knowledge and the points of transmission are the relationships between the various points that are brought to light. Fritz Ringer (2000) expands the history of knowledge by connecting knowledge transmission with the intellectual field. He takes the definition of intellectual fields from Pierre Bourdieu, and highlights that "the field is not an aggregate of isolated elements", rather "a configuration or network of relationships" (Ringer 2000: 4). Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that distribution of knowledge moves evenly because "each [element of the field] has a specific

weight or authority, so that the field is a distribution of power as well” (ibid.). As already mentioned in the introduction, power arguably plays a significant role in the diffusion of knowledge and for intellectual change, and therefore power structures will be considered as part of this process.

A further approach to study ideas and their history embedded in an interdisciplinary context is given by Ringer, as he breaks with ‘traditional’ practices of the historian of ideas. For Ringer, “[i]deas are never totally separable from their grounding in institutions, practices, and social relations. Their influence, moreover, is always selected or mediated by the intellectual field involved” (2000: 11). This means that we have to consider not just the idea, and the path it took, but parallel to that we also have to consider what it meant for the respective intellectual fields involved at the time. Contrary to the widely-held belief that “[t]o study the thought of a given society and time [...] one must begin by investigating an individual thinker or a small group” (ibid.), he suggests “that biographies are more difficult to write than surveys of intellectual fields, and that they are likely to fail, unless they can draw upon prior investigations of their fields” (ibid.). In summary, “[t]o understand them [scholars] at all, one has to grasp their peculiar relationship to that world” (ibid.). This highlights the variety of approaches that are available to study the history of ideas or to probe into epistemological enquiries. Some foci, especially in the tradition of network studies with an emphasis on hubs, prioritise scholars’ communications with each other, to gain understanding of some aspects of the manifold connections between ideas, individuals, academic communities, society, disciplines, epochal characteristics, beliefs and even geographical features such as the ability to travel, urbanism, and access to institutions. It is also another reminder that research into the genesis of ideas is only capable of contributing a few puzzle pieces at a time, since the multifactorial nature of the history of ideas extends beyond the scope of individual research projects. The following section aims to further explore aspects of the history of ideas in connection with TS, and discuss possible useful or inspiring interfaces between the two fields in light of the

overarching inquiry into the spread of ideas in the academic community of TS.

## 1.2 Historiography of Ideas in Translation and TS

This section will seek to view translation and the discipline of translation studies in connection with a history of ideas perspective. The focus will be on conceptual ideas, theories and professional habits that have been and/or still are considered of importance within the discipline of TS. It is intended as an example for a brief history of 'big' ideas in TS, in order to show how scholars could approach a historiography of some of the ideas that were traditionally at the core of the discipline, such as for instance the dichotomy of free vs. literal, or the issue of what constitutes a 'good' translation. It will also address forms of external factors and filters that exert a significant influence on emerging ideas and intellectual change within a given discipline. In this case, publishing, access to publishing, languages of publication, and processes and rituals of canonisation constitute some of the more significant filters.

While the study of the history of ideas focused for a long time largely on philosophy, literature, and the history of science, it is of course theoretically possible to write the history of virtually any idea in any field.<sup>9</sup> The multi-volume *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* features contributions on a vast range of the most diverse and to some extent random subjects, from 'Agnosticism' to 'Zeitgeist'.<sup>10</sup> Within the discipline of translation studies, there

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Reed 2011.

<sup>10</sup> The subtitle of the work is "Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas", which highlights the necessary subjective selectiveness of any work of reference (at least, those that eventually are

finished and do go into print). It rejects any notion of completeness or universality, and indeed makes it very apparent that the contents of the work are very much the result of what the authors and editors at the time deemed "pivotal" and worth selecting, not because some sort of 'universal' delineation and perception of the discipline demanded so. It is also very telling about its time of conception and creation, as it is extremely dated, in the sense that it is rather easy to tell when the Dictionary was made. Nowadays, values as to what is considered important for our society and world knowledge have shifted, and a new edition

have been a number of attempts to write a comprehensive account of the history of translation. A noteworthy recent attempt was made by Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth in *Translators through History*, of which the first edition was published in 1995, with a second revised edition following in 2012.

### 1.2.1 History versus Historiography

The history of translators and interpreters has to be distinguished from a historiography of ideas within translation studies. Andrew Chesterman's *Memes of Translation* (2000) can be seen as a foray into this type of enquiry. While providing critical and qualitative assessments of the range of ideas in focus as well, the book's subtitle highlights his engagement with "the *spread* of ideas in translation theory" (my emphasis). Chesterman borrows the metaphor of memes from the field of sociobiology, as coined by Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene* (1976), as a focal point for his analysis and as "a helpful way to look at translation" (2000: 3). He explains memes simply as "an idea that spreads" (ibid.: 2) and stresses the parallels of propagation and mutation he sees between translation and translators' activities and biological evolution. Memetics and the notion of memes seem to offer a tempting perspective for studying replicating, emerging, and spreading ideas because it offers a highly intuitive functionality: that of reproduction and replication through imitation, leading to a meme-pool of ideas that exist at a given point in time in a given society, culture, or situation. The concept's derivation from biology and biological evolution is also offering an enticing analogy to understanding which ideas gain dominance or irrelevance, because in the context of memetics it is possible to argue that "ideas that turn out to be *good* ideas survive; i.e. those that are conducive to the survival of their carriers: people" (Chesterman 2000: 6). The field of memetics has attracted criticism, often for its overly metaphorical nature, but Chesterman mentions an important aspect that has relevance for this current research project: "In

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would contain different entries, again reflecting what is considered valuable and significant knowledge in our society today.

science, for instance, the spread of an idea-meme can be plotted via the Science Citation Index: we can see how a given meme starts to spread slowly, reaches a peak of reference-frequency, and perhaps thereafter fades again" (2000:6). The notion that emergence and progress of a given idea can be plotted and traced through references in bibliographies is at the core of this thesis. While the framework of memetics will not be drawn upon in further detail for this investigation, as its largely metaphorical outlook is not considered a significant added value, the notion of replication and imitation can add further awareness for progressing and emerging ideas, and can as such be helpful for analysis in the context of this project.

The history of translation has undoubtedly arrived as a significant part of the discipline. For example the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (first edition 1998, second edition 2009) also includes a considerable overview "of national histories of translation and interpreting" (Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha 2009: xv). With its broad spectrum of topics and issues (from 'Adaptation' to 'Universals'), it is debatable whether the *Encyclopedia* could also be considered as a historiography of ideas within translation studies. However, by the division of the *Encyclopedia* in Part I (alphabetical entries) and Part II (historical overview), the volume is creating a distinct separation of the ideas and their histories. Admittedly, it was not intended as a history of ideas, despite some of the entries occasionally picking up the historicity of a certain concept or idea. From a history of ideas point of view, this would be considered very inconsistent. Therefore, it cannot be considered an attempt to write a history of ideas within translation studies. Also, while the volume does contain a number of entries on what could be seen as an identifiable and isolatable notion or idea-set (e.g. adaptation, equivalence, localization), a large number of the entries is concerned with larger movements or processes, which could not be described as 'ideas' but which would feature as socially, culturally and historically embedded 'knowledge', and would therefore require a different treatment.

Indeed, a particular outlook with a focus on epistemological developments and the evolution of specific ideas in and throughout the

history of translation and translation studies as a discipline seems still somewhat short of detailed analysis and attention. This is highlighted by a comment that helpfully distinguishes between historical studies of translation and studies of the epistemological evolution, addressing “the scarcity of historical studies that precisely address the *evolutionary logic* of variation, expansion and interdisciplinary during the past centuries and up to the last decades” (D’hulst and Gambier 2018: 2, my emphasis).

An encyclopaedia, as any dictionary or work of reference, is arguably intended to have a canonising function. This shines through in Mona Baker’s introductions to the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia*. As an editor, she has “tried to keep an open mind on what constitutes a viable perspective on the study of translation and what might legitimately be seen as a relevant area of concern or method of research in translation studies” (Baker and Saldanha 2009: xiv). While the intricacy of editorial objectivity belongs to a different discussion, it nonetheless raises the issue of perception and knowledge canonisation. Especially given that the *Encyclopedia* was published by a major and highly regarded publishing house, and that the editorial team was made up of widely-read and well-known scholars in prominent key positions, the *Encyclopedia* undoubtedly had and still has a canonising function. An agenda to raise awareness in a specific area can also play a part when Baker gives the rationale for the volume’s section on national histories of translation as “to stimulate interest in what I then felt was a seriously neglected area of translation studies” (Baker and Saldanha 2009: xv, my emphasis).

The intricate relationship between publishing houses, booksellers, emerging ideas and access to information is not however a new phenomenon. Robert Darnton writes on knowledge and eighteenth-century publishing, and describes a similar situation, which was complicated further by the lack of copyright law in the eighteenth-century, with the exception of England (Darnton 2003: 4). According to Darnton, booksellers were very much involved in the decision-making process regarding what would be printed, and they would be judging what to print and what not to print

according to estimated sales. Booksellers, as the interface with the customers, therefore determined strongly what knowledge became available in printed form. As literacy and access to public education gradually began to increase in the Western world throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the roles of libraries, universities as well as the book market changed. In the UK, nineteenth-century reforms in education are seen to have “led to a notable increase in the demand for books. More people began to read more books on more subjects” (Norrington 1983: 12-13). Booksellers, as well as publishers, often saw themselves as essential hubs in the production and dissemination process of knowledge and academic research. However, trade practices changed dramatically during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and a crucial factor of influence would be the Net Book Agreement, which fixed book prices between publishing houses and book sellers. In the UK it originally came into effect in 1900 as a reaction to a market that suffered from the “self-inflicted wound[...] of underselling” (Norrington 1983: 14). The Net Book Agreement was however challenged in 1962, and after an initial adjustment, it was abolished in 1997. This had consequences on the way academic publishers were able to conduct their business, for example the scope for book selling companies to maintain academic publishing imprints. Publishing companies had to be increasingly mindful of their selection of print titles, because trade margins were narrower. With a view to the role and significance of publishers and book sellers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the available mediums of circulating information have today changed, and there is now a plurality of possible available channels: the internet offers the possibility of circulating information also via blogs, private websites, video blogs (‘vlogs’) and many other portals. Knowledge that wants to enter into the mainstream is no longer exclusive, but still heavily reliant on more ‘conventional’ mass media (such as television, print books from publishers who can afford a good and far-reaching marketing campaign, magazines, radio etc.). Similarly, scholarly publications also seem to be still reliant on established institutions for publishing and circulating their ideas in order to reach a large audience, enter into the

mainstream consciousness of their discipline, and to eventually become part of the discipline's canon.

So far, the examples given have outlined diverse factors that can influence the emergence process of ideas, and play a role in intellectual changes within academic disciplines. In view of the inter-relations and complexities that present themselves in an investigation into the ideational history of a discipline, Robinson (1997) finds that

the history of translation theory is at once far more complex and diverse and far more dialogically intertwined than is commonly thought. Translation theory does change significantly over the centuries, at once shaped by and helping shape specific historical contingencies and local ideological needs; but translation theorists are also all reading each other, arguing with each other, misreading each other in their attempts to make sense of what they're doing. (Robinson 1997: xx)<sup>11</sup>

This alludes to the difficulties in attempting to outline a historiography of ideas, and illustrates the process of trying to disentangle an idea cluster and identify a transmission, progression and diffusion process. For the line of enquiry brought forward by this research project, Robinson's evaluation that it is not just the ideas about translation theory that influence each other and develop sequentially, but that intellectual change also relies on matters of time and place, ideological needs or community norms, and communication between scholars, comes as a further reminder of the complexities involved in studying the history of ideas and further supports the broad and multifocal backdrop for analysis presented as the framework for this thesis.

Another important factor in the distribution and emergence process of new knowledge and ideas is mentioned by Peter Hallberg (2003), who points out the triangle of diffusion of knowledge, literacy and book-ownership. Nowadays, literacy in Western Europe is much less of an issue than in the mid-eighteenth century (although it remains a concern). However, it is more

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<sup>11</sup> In his attempt to follow developments in Western translation theory, Robinson's work could actually be viewed as a history of ideas, namely the idea of translation theory and its mutations. The understanding of translation, or the idea of translation, has changed over the centuries, and similar to a historian of ideas, Robinson sets out to follow its paths to see how the idea has developed.

about *access to information*, and this issue still very much remains topical, on a general as well as on a disciplinary level. A similar debate is conducted in translation studies as well. The focus of the problem has shifted from the ability to *read*, to the necessity to read (and speak) *a certain language* (namely one of the “big ones”: English, French, German, Spanish) in order to benefit from and participate in the diffusion of knowledge. Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva has pointed out that there is still a disparity of access and opportunity between western and non-western scholars and their respective languages, and that scholars wishing to have their ideas heard have to preferably publish in one of the above mentioned languages (2002:194). One of the biggest forums for scholars working in translation or interpreting, the triannual IATIS conferences have previously been largely monolingual, with English as the main language of communication (occasional talks and papers have been given in other languages, for example in Spanish, but generally remain the exception).<sup>12</sup> For the 5<sup>th</sup> IATIS conference in 2015, held in Brazil, efforts were made to hold a trilingual conference, with presentations given in either English, Portuguese or Spanish, allowing for a significant shift of access and expression, and consequently a shift away from the hegemony of English as the still dominant language for the circulation of knowledge within the discipline. For the 6<sup>th</sup> IATIS conference, held at the Hong Kong Baptist University in 2018, the complete collection of abstracts was translated into Chinese and made available in English as well as in Chinese on the IATIS webpages in advance of the conference.<sup>13</sup> These efforts represent significant progress in TS as a discipline that is inherently multilingual and multinational, but which still overwhelmingly relies on the small number of 'main' languages for publication and official academic discourse mentioned above by Susam-

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<sup>12</sup> This might also to some extent depend on conventions in different countries: continental European countries often tend to show a different attitude to multi-lingualism than Great Britain. For instance, bilingual events are often considered the norm in France or Canada, and in some parts of the border region of Denmark and Germany, large parts of public life are bilingual.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.iatis.org/index.php/6th-conference-hong-kong-2018/item/1742-bookabstracts> (last accessed 04/05/2019).

Sarajeva. A hegemony of one major language can be problematized when it is a key factor in participating in the process of making ideas visible, e.g. via publication or attending conferences and giving talks. The fact that there are still a number of academic journals dedicated to TS research which accept submissions in English only shows that language hegemony can be considered an influential factor for the process of intellectual change in academic disciplines.<sup>14</sup>

The examples presented so far have highlighted that the inscription of certain ideas as canonical knowledge into a discipline also depends on factors such as language hegemony and access to publishing opportunities. The following paragraphs will briefly outline the notion of some 'core' ideas that have been progressing throughout the history of TS as a discipline.

### **1.2.2 Ideas of 'Translation'**

A number of intersections between interest in the history of ideas and work in translation studies become apparent. There are some issues in translation studies that are recurrent, to varying degrees, throughout the history of the field, such as for example the question 'What is a good translation?', or the dichotomy of 'literal' versus 'free' translation. Andrew Chesterman devoted attention to this issue of 'recurring' tropes in translation studies and in approaches to and understanding of translation in his book *Memes of Translation* (2000). He builds on the metaphor of memes to identify and discuss ideas that have been predominant in translation and translation studies for an extended period of time, and which form part of the very core of the self-understanding of the discipline of TS. He focuses on what he terms "five 'supermemes' of translation theory: the source-target metaphor, the equivalence idea, the myth of untranslatability, the free-vs-literal argument, and the idea that all writing is a kind of translating" (Chesterman 2000: 3).

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<sup>14</sup> Examples of journals currently with an English-only publication policy are *The Translator*, *Target*, *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, *Translation Studies*, *Across Languages and Cultures*, *Language and Culture*, and *New Voices in Translation Studies*.

The notion of evolutionary developments of and within a certain idea is a strong component of Chesterman's book, and stages of knowledge, or perceived knowledge, within the field about a given approach at any given time is seen as cumulative, which contrasts with a Kuhnian view of development of disciplinary knowledge (cf. Kuhn 1962). However, as D'hulst and Gambier have pointed out (2018), the discipline of translation studies actually has incorporated both cumulative and paradigm shift models of the evolution of knowledge. Chesterman's approach to categorising and scrutinising the 'supermemes' of translation can and should therefore be read as a history of accumulation and gradual shifts in the field.

While there are a number of overviews of developments and orientations of the discipline alongside of Chesterman's account of theoretical developments in the form of what could be termed the Top 5 of ideas on translation,<sup>15</sup> a systematic attempt to break down, isolate, and trace specific core ideas with full intent and focus on the *historicity* of a particular idea has not yet been undertaken. This section will first discuss the example of the dichotomy issue, which has long been part of the discourse on translation, and for which the description may have changed a few times and the theories' outlines become refined and more nuanced, and therefore applicable to a broader range of linguistic cases and phenomena, although the same underlying thinking remains. It will then consider the example of the question of what should be considered a 'good' translation.

Lawrence Venuti addresses this issue of continual engagement with certain topoi in the introduction to *The Translation Studies Reader* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), when he says of historical developments in the field that "it is possible to locate recurrent themes and celebrated topoi" (Venuti 2004:4), before going on to give some examples of notions within translation studies that are 'well-travelled'. One of the issues that arguably still constitutes a significant concern among translators and translation scholars, and which has been debated at least since Cicero's *De optimum genere oratum* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, is the question of what constitutes a translation, and consequently

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. Robinson (2006) and Delisle and Woodsworth (2012).

what constitutes a 'good' translation: in other words, how to translate? Horace himself asserted in *Ars Poetica* that the practice of translating poetry word-for-word should be avoided.

This dichotomy of "word-for-word literalism" (Venuti 2004: 5) versus 'sense-for-sense' translation has been part of the discourse among translators and TS scholars almost incessantly ever since. St Jerome favoured the more narrative translation method, and used the authority of Cicero's words to substantiate his translation of the Bible. The same underlying dichotomy was addressed many centuries later in 1813 by Friedrich Schleiermacher, who captured the two sides of the translation spectrum in his famous dictum "Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" (Schleiermacher in Venuti 2004: 49). Equally, it has been addressed by many TS scholars throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hans Vermeer also describes the continuity of this notion in his *Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translatologie* ("Sketches for a History of Translation"), and mentions the "word-for-word" approach as a translation practice that has been in discussion since the very beginnings of translation (Vermeer 1992: 28). He further identifies the literal translation approach as a sort of thread running through the centuries:

[With the presentation of the history] it will, as I said, turn out that the postulation for a translation which is as literal as possible forms a central theme connecting the centuries, so that this postulation has constituted, with only very few exceptions, the principal definition of "translation" from the beginnings to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Vermeer 1992: 32, my translation)<sup>16</sup>

The basic notion has spawned a number of approaches which seek to approximate the perceived problem in an equally diverse number of ways. For instance, Eugene Nida's notion of formal versus dynamic equivalence

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<sup>16</sup> "[Bei der Darstellung der Geschichte] wird sich, wie gesagt, erweisen, daß sich die Forderung nach möglichst wörtlicher Übersetzung wie ein roter Faden durch die Jahrhunderte zieht, so daß diese Forderung mit relativ wenigen Ausnahmen das vorrangige Definiens für "Übersetzen" von den Anfängen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert abgegeben hat."

(Nida 1964) is ultimately continued in Peter Newmark's concepts of semantic versus communicative translation. While the centrality of the concept of equivalence is widely accepted by TS scholars, it is the *continuity* of the underlying idea, the notion of a dichotomous way of thinking about translation that somehow seems to still transcend the discipline of TS even after two millennia, that is of interest to this research. It shows the historicity of ideas that shape the history of thought within a discipline, which in turn influences new approaches and solutions by contemporary scholars.

The issue of what constitutes a (good) translation can also be found underlying most of the theoretical approaches developed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It can, for example, be seen shining through the notion of equivalence, which itself "has been understood as "accuracy", "adequacy", "correctness", "correspondence", "fidelity", or "identity", as Venuti points out (2004: 5). He goes on to conclude on the variability of terminology itself when he adds that "[equivalence] is a variable notion of how the translation is connected to the foreign text" (ibid.). Once again, we see the tendency of disciplines to alter terminology and approaches, while the underlying idea seems to remain.

These accounts have shown so far that there are a number of insights and justification in looking at theoretical developments within the discipline of TS from a history of idea point of view. They highlight that there are continuities within the discipline that would be a valid point of investigation for historians of ideas, especially where the interface between development of ideas in research and the overall progress of a discipline is concerned. Historians of ideas are divided on the issue of originality or 'newness'. There is an important distinction between denying the possibility of "new" ideas to develop, and the notion of the historicity of ideas. Philosopher Donald Schön puts this distinction in a nutshell by pointing out that "writers tend to join either one of two sides: they either treat novelty as a creation ex nihilo and therefore a mystery, or they treat it as illusory and maintain that things remain essentially the same" (Schön 1963:12). Nonetheless, this might serve as a useful reminder to 'double-check' celebrated or newly introduced academic

theories and works for transgressing or reappearing ideas. This is not in order to measure their level of 'actual newness', but because an awareness of 'ideational constants', i.e. underlying notions that are being turned into resurfacing ideas, can arguably contribute to our understanding of the internal workings of a discipline and the interconnectedness of its scholars and knowledge flows, as well as having a positive effect on the overall level of criticism, creativity and innovative output of a discipline.

This section has firstly outlined a history of ideas perspective for TS for the purpose of tracing an idea and its history within TS. Despite extensive research on the history of translation and of individual translations, and efforts such as Robinson's (1997) that could be described as trying to trace the idea of translation theory, a history of ideas perspective has not yet been consciously and effectively employed to study translation history and developments within TS. It would be interesting to see that convergence investigated more specifically in further studies. Secondly, the study of the history of ideas shows a strong tendency for interdisciplinary perspectives and multi-level analysis. The history of ideas is both a relatively old and well established field of study, reaching back into the history of philosophy, as well as a comparatively recent emergence as a 'proper' discipline. This is another feature which the discipline of the history of ideas shares with translation studies. It partly suffers from terminological issues, for example a lack of agreement to some extent of what exactly constitutes the focus of analysis (e.g. what is an 'idea', what is 'history', and how do we construct and read it?). Thirdly, this section has given an overview to aspects of the historicity, continuity and canonisation of ideas within the discipline of translation studies, and outlined a point of departure for the remaining investigation, which focuses on the migration of ideas between the disciplines of TS and sociology. Finally, it has embedded the notion of tracing ideas in TS into the interdisciplinary context of the history of ideas, an undertaking that is at the same time sociological and epistemological in nature.

### **1.3 Dynamics of Change and Diffusion**

Since the spread and emergence of ideas seems multi-causal, and the diffusion of new ideas and innovation seems often dependent on reasons beyond the network structure, this following section will describe some further intricacies of ideational change and knowledge distribution. As previously stated, this thesis draws its overall focus largely from Western conceptual history of ideas, and will accordingly largely lean on knowledge from these sources, and thus a further comparative analysis of different cultures, in which translation, knowledge, and innovation might be perceived differently, is neither the goal of this research, nor is it seen as achievable within the limits of this work. It will instead focus on insights that are considered relevant for the specific framework of this research project, leaving alternative routes for further research open to scholars with an interest in a similar investigation that utilises a different, contrastive outlook and framework.

#### **1.3.1 Spreading Ideas**

The transfer and spread of knowledge and the emergence of new ideas is such an intrinsic part of our society that it is of deep fascination, and yet, arguably because of the topic's immense complexity, can seem mysteriously inexplicable sometimes. Where do ideas come from? How do new concepts develop? It is not just children who are obsessed with questions like these. Generations of philosophers, inventors, and scientists have devoted themselves and their work to unravelling the mysteries of invention and evolution of ideas. The tales of discoverers, adventurers, seafarers and researchers who went off into unknown worlds continue to intrigue many people, scholars and non-academics alike. The curiosity of discovery as a contribution to common knowledge does not only stretch to present day researchers, but even discoveries and inventions of the past still capture people's imagination. A book on the German mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauss (1777 – 1855), and the scientist, adventurer and discoverer Alexander von Humboldt (1769 – 1859), became one of the most commercially

successful German fiction books ever: *Die Vermessung der Welt* (English: Measuring the World) was published in 2005, has sold more than 1.4 million copies in Germany alone, and held its position on the bestselling list both in Germany as well as on the New York Times bestselling list. The enormous success of a fictitious biography of two inventive and adventurous researchers cannot be explained with nostalgia alone. It rather suggests that even almost 200 years onwards, curious cases of inventions, discoveries, understanding and distributing knowledge is still of interest to people of all backgrounds and ages.

While throughout history, and to some extent today, translation was often regarded as a somewhat derivative, imitative activity, and in some cases has been likened to an import-export activity, the notion of translation as imitation is arguably as old as the Aristotelian notion of *ars imitatur naturam*. The derivative nature was not however stigmatised as something essentially negative by the ancients: on the contrary, translations as “imitations of imitations” (Hermans 2007: 133) were perceived as even being capable of surpassing and improving upon the original. In fact, as Hermans points out, it is not until the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in Western history that the notion of originality as the superior form came to challenge the nature and position of translation and translators (ibid.). However, imitation and innovation are neither on opposite ends of a scale, nor mutually exclusive, as Shenkar suggests. Instead, imitation can be regarded as a vital aspect of innovative force in social life (Shenkar 2010: 24). While translators are arguably not only contributing to discourse, they are themselves being influenced by new discourses and newly emerging ideas at all times. An understanding of discourse formation and entry points for new ideas, especially in the case of a multilingual, multicultural, and multidisciplinary learning community like translation studies, can arguably play an important role for coherence in research and academic thought.

The interdisciplinarity and multifaceted nature of the field of knowledge diffusion and emerging and spreading ideas is also highlighted by the breadth of the disciplinary affiliations of those scholars who have approached

and commented on this issue. Craig S. Galbraith, for instance, has examined details of the processes of knowledge transfer and transferability of ideas within the technological and manufacturing sector (Galbraith 1990), while other important contributions to understanding the spread of ideas and knowledge transfer draw on the field of organisational sciences. Management and organisational behaviour scholar Aimee Kane contributed a social psychological angle to the understanding of organisational learning (e.g. Argote and Kane, 2009; Kane, Argote, Levine, 2005; Kane, 2010).

It has been pointed out (cf. Galbraith 1990; Kane, Argote and Levine 2005) that knowledge transfer can in fact be very difficult to achieve, especially under planned conditions. A study found that 10 of 32 attempts to transfer knowledge from one manufacturing unit to another within the same organization failed and were terminated (Galbraith 1990). Even though this particular study was conducted with a more economic-operational outlook, it shows that ideas do not always “simply” jump from one brain to the other.

Kane, Argote and Levine further attempted to specify the conditions of knowledge transfer, and found that “[a]n important factor likely to affect the transfer of knowledge between groups is the degree to which the groups share a superordinate social identity.” (2005: 57). They define social identity as “as a sense of belonging to a social aggregate” (ibid). An individual’s social identity therefore derives from the group or groups which an individual belongs to. If a shared superordinate social identity between groups would encourage the transfer of knowledge, this would mean simply that we are more likely to accept new knowledge from other groups or individuals who are similar to us or to our group. Their study established furthermore that “[k]nowledge was more likely to transfer from a rotating member to a recipient group when both shared a superordinate social identity” (Kane, Argote and Levine 2005: 66). This suggests that for knowledge transfer, the affiliation to a network, or respectively the identification with a social identity, i.e. a social group, is of equal, perhaps of larger, importance than the actual value of the information transferred. The role of groups or scientific communities for the development and spread of ideas has been discussed by a number of

scholars, as well as with regard to the growth of knowledge. The philosopher of science, physicist and historian Thomas S. Kuhn made a number of notable contributions to the study of scientific progress, and introduced the argument that science and scholarship do not progress in a linear way, gradually leading to an accumulation of new knowledge, but instead undergo periodic revolutions, a process that became known as 'paradigm shift'. Kuhn for instance argues that

[t]o discover how scientific revolutions are effected, we shall therefore have to examine not only the impact of nature and of logic, but also the techniques of persuasive argumentation effective within the quite special groups that constitute the community of scientists. (Kuhn [1962]/1970: 94)

The internal workings, connections and communication norms within a discipline are therefore important factors in the development of ideas. Scholars such as Derek J. de Solla Price, Diana Crane, or Everett M. Rogers also elaborated early on the significance of connections and interactions between researchers for intellectual change and the development of knowledge in academic fields. Price was a historian of science, physicist and information scientist who studied the growth of science and the half-life of scientific literature, i.e. the point when scientific information becomes obsolete, and discovered a relationship between academic literature on a given subject and the respective number of scholars in the given subject area. He also worked on quantitative studies of networks of citation between authors of scientific papers and revived the metaphor of the 'invisible college' as a way of also describing the informal connections between members of research communities, which have an important function for exchanging ideas and advancing research. The 'invisible colleges' metaphor was further elaborated on from a sociology of science angle by the sociologist Diana Crane in her book *Invisible Colleges: Diffusion of Knowledge in Scientific Communities* (1972) which aims at understanding problems, delays and structures of scientific communications, and informs the discussion with regard to academic communities and the emergence, development and spread of ideas in research. The broad range of disciplines and affiliations of

these aforementioned scholars, and the interactions and overlaps between their respective research endeavours in understanding some of the details of knowledge transfer and the spread of new ideas highlight the interdisciplinary and complementary nature of studies in the diffusion of ideas and knowledge transfer. For an investigation into emerging ideas and the diffusion of knowledge, these studies show that a single discipline outlook onto the issue might be neither desirable nor practical. Only a combinatory approach that takes into account insights from a variety of fields seems adequate for an investigation of the spread of ideas and diffusion of knowledge.

Consequently, this thesis will follow a combinatory approach for setting up its framework for discussion and for analysis of data.

### **1.3.2 Knowledge Exchange, Networks and Barriers**

Considering the arguments put forward for the influence of social groups and their norms and communication behaviour on the development and diffusion of ideas in research, the affiliation with a network corresponds to an affiliation with a social identity, which in some way predetermines what type of ideas are going to be transferred. With the chosen affiliation to a network, and respectively a social identity, we have also made a choice for the kind of knowledge and information we are going to receive and send out. This also relates to the observations David Singh Grewal makes on choosing and switching networks, and adapting practices and knowledge accordingly. A professor of law with research interests that also stretch to intellectual history, political theory, economic governance theory and international trade law, Grewal has contributed to the discourse of intellectual change, the exchange and growth of knowledge and emerging ideas on a global level and from a variety of perspectives. Emphasising the role of interconnectedness in intellectual networks, he has pointed out coordinating standards that can structure relations between different networks, for instance language or regulation-setting organisations. Taking the example of international business trade, he suggests that “there's no law that says you have to learn English, but the global networks are structured so that you'd better” (Grewal 2008a).

He also stresses the aspect of beneficial cooperation in networks when he defines networks as

an interconnected group of people linked to one another in a way that makes them capable to beneficial cooperation, which can take various forms, including the exchange of goods and ideas. (Grewal 2008: 20)

This aspect of beneficial cooperation is also emphasised by the sociologists Arnout van de Rijt and Marcel van Assen, who looked at aspects of knowledge exchange from the perspective of social networks. They defined an exchange situation as “a situation involving people who have the opportunity to collaborate for the benefits of everyone involved” (van de Rijl and van Assen 2008: 259).

According to Grewal, switching networks includes the two aspects of *incentive* and *access*. Switching a network or adopting new perspectives, methodologies or theories involve a considerable effort, and therefore the incentive to do so has to be promising. Access to the desired network has to be given, as some networks have restricted access (cf. McDonald 2011).

Also, van de Rijt and van Assen (2008) comment on network barriers, and identify above all 1) not knowing each other and 2) not being able to contact each other. This is an interesting conversion point with translation studies, since the second point of van de Rijt and van Assen also includes linguistic barriers. They do not elaborate further on this aspect in their article, even though this is arguably a significant point for any discussion of network exchange. In fact, the word ‘language’ does not appear in their paper at all. It is almost like communication across different languages is taken for granted. With reference to David Willer (1999), they state that their research is based on the notion

that social behaviour is shaped by the social relations in which it occurs, which are in return conditioned by the structure or ‘exchange network’ within which they are embedded. The exchange network represents opportunities and restrictions to exchange. (Van de Rijt and van Assen 2008: 259)

Any opportunities and/or restrictions arguably include the network’s members’ ability to contact and communicate with each other, and this would

require either the absence of linguistic barriers, or the assumption that there will be a solution (e.g. in form of an interpreter present, a translator, or a translation provided) for all situations. Arguably neither scenario is realistic, and this could be considered a neglected aspect in the discussion of network exchange. It also further highlights the importance of interdisciplinary research efforts in the field of knowledge exchange and diffusion of ideas due to its multifaceted nature. Understanding does not just 'happen' (not even necessarily between people who do speak a shared language), but instead needs to be *made* happen in many situations. This facilitation of understanding is often taken for granted, and can be observed in many different fields. For instance, there is often a lack of consciousness for theories in translation: the fact that a theory might have been originally formulated in a different language, and that it therefore went through at least two level of filters during the translation stage (one linguistic filter, and one interpretative filter) is rarely critically discussed. However, especially when certain theoretical texts become key texts in a given field and consequently influence large parts and long periods of research, the role of translation should be assessed critically, particularly if *the translated form* of the text in question is widely used. Susam-Sarajeva addresses this frequent lack of awareness for theories in translation by raising a number of telling questions:

Theories are translated... Yet, to what extent has this last feature of literary and cultural theories been subject to scrutiny? In the lengthy discussions on various theoretical texts in languages other than that of their origin, is the 'translatedness' of these theories recognised and accounted for? How many critics, poets, scholars, writers, activists, or artists who use, refer to, discuss, and elaborate on these theories have access to them directly in the languages in which they were first written? (2006: 7)

An observation from Grafton (2006) on the dynamics of the rise of American Studies hints to the responsibilities a translation of theory can come to assume:

Nowadays, it is customary to look back with anger – or sometimes with pity – at the rise of American Studies. Scholars nourished on Said, Foucault, and Bourdieu can all too easily detect the blindness that always accompanied insight, and sometimes overcame it, in

founding historians of American thought like Perry Muller and F.O. Matthiessen. These men all too often took the text as a key to the whole society – and a few texts, chosen sometimes in advance of large-scale research, as keys to the whole universe. (Grafton 2006: 15)

Disregarding Grafton's assessment of the field of American Studies or its approaches, the last part of his quote is a reminder that some theory and texts can develop a very large circulation and reach, and at times can be taken almost as gospel by some students and researchers. What is rarely discussed in these instances, however, is the fact that some of these ideas and theories might be made available to many readers only in translated form. It would be naïve to assume that translators are thoroughly neutral 'transmitters', without an agenda, or individual preferences or ways of understanding. They are also not infallible. But even small choices on word level can have an effect on how a text or theory is perceived and understood, and sometimes, it is not even down to the translator herself to make these decisions.<sup>17</sup> The contribution and role of translations and translators in the exchange, emergence and spread of ideas and theory will be taken up again and discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In summary, van de Rijt and van Assen describe natural barriers and non-matching preferences as the most common causes for the absence of an exchange relation, but if we assume a higher ability to overcome linguistic, cultural, or other barriers for the discipline of TS, this might indicate that TS could potentially be higher in exchange relations than other disciplines. The points brought forward by Grewal, as well as by McDonald and by van de Rijt and van Assen, are also suitable reminders that knowledge diffusion in and across networks is ultimately determined by the participants of the network.

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<sup>17</sup> The Publisher's Note to the 1971 English translation of Foucault's *Les Mots et les choses* (1966) explains the change in the book's title: "A literal translation of the title of the French edition of this work (*Les Mots et les choses*) would have given rise to confusion with two other books that have already appeared under the title Words and things. The publisher therefore agreed with the author on the alternative title *The Order of Things*, which was, in fact, M. Foucault's original preference" (Foucault 1971: vii).

While considering innovation as an aspect of the spread of ideas and knowledge diffusion, a basic notion first has to be brought to attention: no matter how good or necessary a new idea is, there is no guarantee that it will be adopted, spread, and established. Even advantageous innovations do not sell and spread themselves: in fact, the sociologist and communication theorist Everett M. Rogers points out that the majority of innovations diffuse at a disappointingly slow rate, and are not imitated even when proven successful (1995: 7). A counter argument here is brought forward by Shenkar (2010), who suggests that since the onset of globalization the process of imitation of advantageous knowledge has accelerated. It has to be noted, though, that Shenkar is writing from a more economic perspective, where companies compete with each other about access to the latest technologies and expertise in order to outsell their competitors. A famous example for a delayed process of emerging ideas and knowledge adaptation is the search for a cure for scurvy in the British Navy (see e.g. Rogers 1995: 7-8; Abrahamson and Rosenkopf 1997: 290).

In 1601, it was already discovered that lime juice was highly effective for curing scurvy. However, the new practice of supplying sailors with lime fruit or juice during a sea passage was not adopted on other journeys by the British Navy, despite the fact that many sailors died during ship journeys in these days, and that a cure was being urgently sought. The imitation of this clearly advantageous practice could have saved many lives. About 150 years later, a British Navy physician, James Lind, conducted the same experiment with the same clear results, and yet the practice was still virtually ignored.

In 1795, almost another 50 years later, the British Navy eventually adopted this innovation. The case demonstrates that there are instances where ideas that are clearly proven to be advantageous are not always adopted and diffused readily, and where the progression of ideas and knowledge is not linear. Abrahamson and Rosenkopf comment on this phenomenon as well, stating that “[...] the introduction of innovations into new segments of social networks does not guarantee these innovations’

diffusion in these segments” (1997: 290). This is an exact correspondence with Rogers’ (1995) findings.

There is no clear explanation for this kind of delay in the spread of clearly advantageous innovations, but Rogers (*ibid.*) suggests that because the physicians involved in the initial studies were not prominent figures in the British Navy, their views may have not been given much attention, and their means of publication were limited (*ibid.*: 8). This corresponds also with Miller and Dollard’s comments on imitation of high-profile figures versus lower-profile sources. Abrahamson and Rosenkopf also suggest the status of the respective participants involved as possible agents for diffusion promotion. This highlights the relation between advances in the sciences, technologies or humanities on the one hand, and social groups and their attitudes and norms on the other. Bruno Latour comments on this aspect of progress by stating that it should not be the strength or significance of ideas that should be the concern of an explanation, “but rather the ability of some groups to slow [the ideas of progress] down – those that are said to be ‘closed’ to progress – or to accelerate them – those that are ‘open’ to progress” (Latour 1986: 266). Society is seen as a medium through which ideas are transmitted and which can have different degrees of resistance for new ideas. If we view communities in the humanities in the same light, the notion of a group’s varying resistance or openness to new ideas becomes relevant for this current project and argument as well, and will be elaborated on in the following chapters.

Another interesting case of apparent non-diffusion within TS is the case of Sergey Tyulenev’s utilisation of Niklas Luhmann’s theories, in particular Luhmann’s social systems theory, which are, with few exceptions (cf. e.g. Hermans 1997, 1999, 2007), almost non-used within the discipline of TS. There is the possibility that Luhmann’s concepts are less straightforward to apply and relate to for researchers, especially in comparison to some of the frequently used concepts that draw from Pierre Bourdieu’s works (e.g. ‘habitus’), as these seem to be more applicable in investigations focusing on the person of the translator, whereas Luhmann’s writing was often perceived

as excluding human beings in his attempt to theorize society (Tyulenev 2012: 200). Tyulenev elaborates on further possible reasons as to why Luhmannian approaches are not yet quite welcomed in TS, and suggests that “[m]ostly Luhmann is considered either too difficult to understand, let alone apply, or, being only half-understood, he is caricatured as a sociologist whose theory has only one distinct feature – there are no people in it” (Tyulenev 2012: 201). In a different article on the applicability of social systems theory to TS, Tyulenev regretted the fact that acceptance of and openness for Luhmann’s theory was still limited in the TS community, and suggested that “[o]ne of the reasons is the difficulty of his texts, resulting not infrequently in their not being read in their contextual entirety, and some of his statements being misunderstood” (2009: 161). This suggestion highlights another aspect of the diffusion or non-diffusion of ideas. If an emerging idea is not more widely adopted and spread within a community, it may also be for reasons of perception and accessibility of the respective form, and not because the idea would be inherently inept for the field or of lesser quality, which adds another facet to the question of emerging ideas.

Throughout this chapter, the overarching argument and question has been viewed in light of diverse cases and examples from different fields, from history to the sciences. A conscious choice was made for this diverse selection of examples because it underlines several main points of this thesis: the study of emerging ideas and the spread of knowledge is inherently multifaceted and interdisciplinary in nature, and therefore is best suited by a framework that incorporates a broad spectrum of perspectives from different fields, forming a combinatory approach. Furthermore, similar mechanisms with regard to the spread or non-spread of ideas can be observed in very different circumstances and areas of life and in different historical periods. If a similar phenomenon seems to be present in these many different fields and situations, there is no reason to assume that academic disciplines would behave any differently, and we should expect the same mechanisms at work in academia as well. Reviewing the different points suggested in this chapter with regard to what influences the emergence and spread of ideas, and

coming back to the example made with the case of Alfred Wallace at the beginning of this chapter, a number of facets in his case have been further emphasised by the discussion so far. Among them, we find for instance the role of publication, the influence of communications and connections in a community, or the aspects of language and interconnectedness. The fact that Wallace (despite a gradually growing scholarly interest) remains much less well known for his contribution than Darwin, suggests that the influence of various surrounding factors for the emergence, promotion and diffusion of an idea is in fact considerable and manifold and is best approached from a multidisciplinary outlook.

#### **1.4 Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined that the history of ideas constitutes an intricate and multi-faceted field of enquiry, which seems to overlap at multiple points with the field of translation studies. Points of interrelation between geographical location, translation and knowledge diffusion have been shown, and a number of historical examples illustrate the process of transfer as well as cases of non-transfer. The issue of non-diffusion of knowledge is important because it seems to relate primarily to the transfer paths between scholars or carriers of knowledge within a network, and therefore seems promising for further findings on the functionality and disfunctionality of nodes and connections between nodes. This aspect will also be taken into account in the present research. Furthermore, delineating 'knowledge' from 'ideas' is a core problem for historians of ideas, as well as for the present research, and an attempt for a preliminary terminological clarification has been made.

The diffusion of new knowledge and the emergence of new ideas is facilitated when it fits in with the narratives and realities people are already used to and familiar with, although enough room for creativity, imagination and adaptation also seems to play a role. These seem to be recurrent features of ideas that are popular and have a wide range of diffusion. This is also a reminder that ideas do not have to be factually correct, nor coherent or applicable in order to spread and reach high diffusion levels, and calls for

attention to the possible disparity between the inherent value of an idea and its popularity at the stages of evaluation.

Another problematic aspect of the emergence and spread of ideas and knowledge transfer is the difficulty to conclusively trace oral transmission. Throughout history as well as in modern academic disciplines, there are many instances where there is evidence that scholars met and exchanged ideas orally. This is a reminder that information transfer does not always happen exclusively in writing, and despite the fact that oral transfer is much harder to trace, it still is an important factor in the diffusion process of ideas. Part of the rationale for this thesis to rely primarily on bibliographic data for its research was partially to avoid as much as possible some of the inevitable ambiguities of non-traceable transfer and entry points, and instead focus on quantifiable entry points in order to provide a more robust starting point for discussion as well as for further research in the future, since this project considers itself an opening to further interdisciplinary arguments and investigations.

Nowadays, knowledge networks are faster and closer connected than ever. Electronic communication has enabled the communication of huge data packages and information around the world almost in real time. Geographical travel is no longer one of the main premises of advancing knowledge. Instead, digitally formed and managed networks and digital ways of communicating, exchanging and spreading ideas are increasingly significant. This has also changed the work and perception of translators and translation. The following chapter will pick up on this as well.

A critical reflection on metaphors for the spread of ideas, and on the terms of 'ideas' and 'history' revealed that there are divergent definitions and understandings available, and serves as a reminder to proceed with caution regarding the use of terminology and perspectives. The literature discussed suggests basically two options for the growth and spread of knowledge in academic disciplines. One puts forward a notion of more or less cumulative intellectual change progressing either in linear or random form in disciplines (cf. Price), while the other argues for more sudden and drastic paradigmatic

shifts (cf. Kuhn). From a discussion of aspects of the history of ideas, the collaborative and interdisciplinary outlook and connective function of the field (cf. Grafton) emerged as promising for further discussion. Connected to this, it emerged that there are as of yet no efforts in TS that consciously set out to apply a history of ideas perspective to specific issues in TS, even though some attempts could potentially be read that way (cf. Robinson). In all discussions of literature from the various fields, the role of translation and translators shone through at multiple points. However, this was not elaborated or reflected on any further in any of the fields outside of translation studies. Having reviewed a number of perspectives that engage with epistemological developments, the history of ideas and knowledge transfer, this seems to constitute a glaring lack of urgently needed differentiated interdisciplinary research. Susam-Sarajeva's attempt (2006) to investigate more closely "the travels of theories through translation and other rewritings" (ibid.: 211) emphatically underlines the need for further 'bridging' research between the fields that aims to close this gap in the study of the genesis of theory. This current thesis considers itself a further part in the puzzle by bringing together a TS perspective and insights from the history of ideas, diffusion studies, and other fields concerned with knowledge exchange and epistemology. While the focus of this current project is not on qualitative details to the same extent as Susam-Sarajeva's study, and instead aims overall to provide a more quantitative picture of entry points for theoretical ideas across disciplinary boundaries, it is undoubtedly indebted to *Theories on the Move* and sees its remit as one of many possible ways to continue the conversation started by the travelling theory notion.

From the different perspectives discussed so far, the main factors in the diffusion process of ideas seem to include the self-understanding and outlook of a discipline, including overarching research agendas, motivation for exchange and contact points for scholars, which is related to their social position in the respective community, language, and linguistic understanding and translation as a basis for the ability to communicate. All these points can be discussed in a TS context, and one of the most immediately relevant

points for a TS perspective seems the issue of language and translation. The influence of translators and translation on the spread and development of ideas, especially in the context of intellectual change within and across disciplines, needs to be acknowledged and a reflection of the role of translation in the spread of ideas is the groundwork on which the following analyses and discussions rests. Consequently, chapter 2 will take this issue in particular forward, and discuss the more specific case of translators and translation and their role in the diffusion of ideas. This will include the role of linguistic translation, translation as an interpretative 'filter', and historic cases of translators and translation as crucial hubs for the transmission and spread of ideas. Highlighting the role of translators as facilitators but also potential manipulators of dissemination of ideas, chapter 2 will elaborate on the complexities and 'external' factors involved in the diffusion or non-diffusion of ideas.

## 2 Translators and Translation in the Dissemination of Ideas and in Knowledge Networks

“Books are not meant to be believed, but to be subjected to inquiry.  
When we consider a book, we mustn't ask ourselves  
what it says but what it means...”

(Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*)

The previous chapter introduced the main strands running through this thesis. Firstly, there is the overarching frame of travelling ideas and the dissemination of knowledge. Secondly, there is the role of translators and translation in this transmission process of knowledge within and across networks. Connected to this is a more applied look at the dissemination and evolution of ideas in TS by means of a case study, which looks at the case of how ideas from the discipline of sociology travelled to the discipline of TS.

Having outlined aspects of the history and spread of ideas in the previous chapter, and continuing the argument of how the emergence of ideas depends on a multitude of factors that are external to the idea itself, this chapter will consider the role of translators and translation in the dissemination of knowledge. While features of linguistic translations are in themselves a complex and intriguing object of study, they are not part of the main focus here, and therefore the chapter will not go into much detail regarding this aspect. It will instead concentrate more on the conceptual role of translators and translation and their role in the spread and exchange of ideas.

This chapter will firstly discuss different historic examples of translations and translators as ‘facilitation hubs’, focusing roughly on three main historic periods: Antiquity, medieval times, particularly the high Middle Ages, and lastly the Renaissance period. Subsequently, for bridging the gap to translation and the spread of ideas in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it will examine cases of translations of Adorno and Derrida, and the role of translation in the reception of their work. As a key text regarding the role of translation in the

spread and diffusion of ideas and theories in translation, this section will also acknowledge Susam-Sarajeva's work on travelling theories (2006).

Furthermore, this chapter will look at translators located in different forms of networks, and will discuss translators as facilitators of knowledge and of emerging ideas. From this, the following chapter will develop the themes of translators and networks, particularly with a view to the emergence and spread of ideas and knowledge diffusion in and across networks, and highlight some approaches in TS that utilise networks and network theory.

As the previous chapter has outlined, a successful 'handover' of travelling ideas across language barriers is only possible if the handover is facilitated by functioning communication. It argued that a critical assessment of the role of translation should be critical in particular for cases where the translated versions of theories have gained widespread influence. The reflection on translations for Adorno and Derrida will extend and further substantiate this argument. Furthermore, the overview of selected historical examples of translation activity and its changing roles, together with considerations about the correlations between ideas, language and translation, will further problematise the role of translation for the transmission and spread of ideas. In continuation of the argument on the multifaceted nature of studies into emerging ideas and knowledge diffusion, this will show the consequences of translation on the emergence and dissemination process of ideas as another factor that can either facilitate or hinder the success of emerging ideas and the scholars who develop them.

## **2.1 Translation and the Transmission of Ideas Through History**

As powerful facilitators of knowledge, translators throughout history were not only passing knowledge on to a target audience, but they would also often be heavily involved in adding to it through research of their own, benefitting from the information flows that they had access to. The multifaceted aspect of the flow and development of knowledge and ideas and the varied role of translators involved in the process is also addressed by Lieven D'hulst and Yves Gambier when they state that "[k]nowledge is produced, channelled,

analysed, stored, classified, reproduced or interpreted by numerous *agents*: scholars, critics, translators, publishers, librarians, readers, trainers” (2018: 8). The facilitating role of translators and their integration in knowledge diffusion and discoveries is continuous throughout the centuries. The interface between the development of ideas, knowledge diffusion, and translators and their networks has always been equally intricate and capacitating. “People have translated since time immemorial. Long before FIT [Fédération internationale des traducteurs], translators served as vital links in the vast chain through which knowledge was transmitted among groups of people separated by language barriers”, Jean-François Joly writes in the preface to “Translators through History” (Joly in Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: xix). He is drawing on the intrinsically challenging and double-edged task of translators as “import-export workers”, transporting ideas and knowledge across linguistic, spatial, and cultural boundaries (ibid: xxi). However, the tasks and roles of translators have changed continuously throughout history, as has their influence on the transmission, presentation and reception of knowledge. The changing roles and understanding of translation, and the resulting shifts in the transmission and reception of knowledge, show that the emergence and spread of an idea is dependent on translation as one of numerous factors that are external to the idea itself. This develops the argument outlined in the previous chapter by analysing translation as another of many layers of the emergence and dissemination process for ideas.

Especially since the 1990s, research devoted to exploring the history of translation has steadily grown, and the impressive breadth and variety of research in this field is laid out in two special issues of *META*, which deal exclusively with the history of translation.<sup>18</sup> D'hulst and Gambier describe translation studies history as “a history in which many elements of translational communication find a place and are interconnected: scholars,

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, Volume 49, numéro 3, 2004; *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, Volume 50, numéro 3, 2005.

theories, methods, institutions, schools, areas, periods, etc.” (2018: 3) and rate the study of history as “an efficient mode of developing scholarly self-reflection, which is a general sign of disciplinary maturity” (ibid.). In line with D'hulst's and Gambier's assessment of history as a mode of reflection, this present thesis sees itself very much as a contribution to an ongoing metadiscussion in and on the discipline of TS, which includes a process of self-reflection on the field's state of being, as well as introspection on parts of its genesis.

A couple of main trends are detectable in the main body of ongoing engagement with the history of translation. A large proportion of research into the history of translation has focused on literary texts or religious writings, and there is ongoing debate about how research into the history of translation should be framed. For instance, the question of what should count as a translation, or what types of translation activity conducted by people whose main profession is not translation, should or should not be included, still feature in the discourse on the history of translation.<sup>19</sup> The latter point is of relevance here, because many translators, throughout ancient and medieval times in particular, were often fulfilling other duties beside their translation work. The boundaries of the definition of what is a ‘translator’ and a ‘translation’ are at times hard to make out, with translation practices often going beyond the passive reproduction of a text. For example, at times “the translated text served as a basis for further research” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 100), and once carried out, results from this continued research would be added to the earlier translated parts of the text. In this case, the translator could be seen as having the function of a co-writer.

Anthony Pym adds a further layer to research perspectives into translation history, which is distinctively different from approaches with a focus on the translation of texts. Pym argues that investigations of translation history require an additional dimension beyond “[t]he traditional accumulation of facts [...] Hispanic translation studies” (2009: 27) and states that “human translators find remarkably little place” (ibid.). He concludes that we should

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. St André 2011.

“go beyond the narrow focus on language in texts” (ibid.: 37) when it comes to studying translation history. Pym argues from an institutional context that is

framed by two movements: traditional filología, and a particularly scientific mode of Descriptive Translation Studies. The former produces much data on translators; the latter is more interested in data on texts; both see progress in terms of accumulating even more data. (2009: 30)

Scientific progress is indeed often heavily reliant and therefore often conveniently seen as an increase in data available on a given subject (cf. e.g. Kuhn 1962). In many scientific and scholarly settings and projects, new (and thus additional) data will serve as the first step to gaining additional insight into the question at hand. However, the “intellectual impasse” Pym is referring to as a consequence of data reliance cannot be taken as a general representation of the reality of researchers concerned with quantitative data. The collation and analysis of data and facts is a step towards gaining insight into a research question, not necessarily nor in fact as a rule *the* step, and it can serve to answer some questions, while of course not all. However, Pym makes an important point when he suggests that for the field of translation history an additional humanistic, or indeed sociological, dimension will yield very different results that have previously been established through a data, facts, and text-centric approach. His approach highlights the need for multi-layered investigations into translation history that also include a sociological component in order to produce a more complete picture of the case in question:

[I]f the ethical task of Translation Studies is to ultimately improve relations between cultures, and the task of translation history is to make narrative sense of those same relations between cultures, we require more than just raw data about texts, dates, places, and names. We must also be able to portray active people in the picture, and some kind of human interaction at work, particularly the kind of interaction that can string the isolated data into meaningful progressions. (Pym 2009: 23-24)

This further underlines the necessity for a broader perspective for investigating the history of translation, to broaden the horizon and framework within which we look at and study historical translation and translation history,

and to ultimately open up new dimensions of investigation. This is also crystallised in Pym's statement that “[a] humanizing project should add positive dimensions to the critique of scientific objectivity. In particular, it should create awareness of subjectivity in both its object and its approach” (2009: 24).

Regarding the continuation of scholarly traditions, lines of enquiry and ongoing versus newly emerging ideas circulating in the field, he states that “[t]raditions in translation theory might be the exception rather than the rule; the fundamental problems are perhaps never resolved, they merely lose importance for a while. They come and go, with the interculturalities themselves” (2009: 42). This current research project is interested in the points where ideas and theories are coming, or entering a given field. Individual examples or case studies lend themselves well to be expanded by further research into a qualitative humanistic dimension, as Pym outlines. This would add a further dimension of understanding for individual cases of entry points. However, the entry points themselves need to be at least rudimentarily identified and mapped on a larger scale in order to give an overview of the whole picture. A humanistic approach as Pym suggests would then serve as a secondary step to complement the picture with further detail. The aim of the current thesis is however to sketch a larger picture of the discipline by mapping entry points for a certain idea. Additional research that focuses on qualitative, humanistic or sociological components is considered a potential avenue for future research.

For this thesis, the distinction between different types of translation and translators, and the practices they adopted, does not constitute a factor for further analysis, since the focus of this research is not on actual features of translations. A useful and insightful differentiation between historical knowledge of or about translation on the one hand, and knowledge that is transmitted through translation on the other, falling into the realm of the history of ideas, is brought forward by D'hulst and Gambier:

Translation knowledge as we understand it here is knowledge with regard to translation, i.e about or on translation, to some extent also of translation, when it relates to issues such as the know-how to

translate, the awareness or understanding of translation taking place, of the potential of translation, etc. it encompasses embrained knowledge (dependent on conceptual skills and cognitive abilities) and embodied knowledge (acquired by doing, sited in translation practice) but it does not coincide or confuse with knowledge transmitted by translation, which is studied by general, cultural, or social histories of knowledge [...]. Such histories highly consider the transnational circulation of knowledge, and take into account modes of circulation such as translation, which they understand as a verbal tool to convey knowledge across linguistic or geopolitical border. (2018: 7)

In the majority of instances where scholars have looked at the history of translation, the focus is on what happened to the text(s) in question, or how the approaches to do something with a text in order to shift it from source language into target language and culture have changed and developed. This approach is valid for investigations into the actual linguistic features and characteristics of historical translations. However, the main focus of this thesis is not on what happened to the text or how specific translation strategies developed.

While there are impressive studies which could be read as a celebration of the contributions of translators to the cultural, social, political and economic history of the world,<sup>20</sup> James St André justly cautions that “[t]his type of history may be perceived as a sort of ‘lobbying’ by a professional organization to show the world that translation matters” (St André 2011: 136). While the aim to recognise the importance of translation and translators certainly is still to some extent relevant in some settings and situations, St André’s caveat about the dangers of turning the history of translation into hagiography is acknowledged.

The following sections will present examples of translation at different points in history, focusing primarily on the periods of Antiquity, the high Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. These examples are by no means meant to be a comprehensive account of translation activity in those periods. This would be a much too diverse and extensive task in the frame of this project. The examples given are merely intended as illustrations for and insights into

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Delisle and Woodsworth 2012.

how translators' roles and influences in the dissemination process and the spread of ideas changed. It can also be seen as a reminder that these processes are still in a state of flux, and that roles and responsibilities of translators keep being renegotiated today.

### **2.1.1 Antiquity**

In order to understand the earliest contributions of translators to the dissemination of knowledge, we have to slightly rethink the role of earliest translators in the ancient civilisations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, or China. As for China as an important hub for translations, especially with regard to their circulation, Delisle and Woodsworth mention the Chinese invention of paper in the first century which “was critical for the circulation of translations” (2012: 96). They go on to argue that for centuries China was importing knowledge through translation, and that while the subject or focus of translation gradually changed from religious texts such as Buddhist texts in Sanskrit sutras in the first and second centuries, to astronomy, arithmetic, medicine and science texts, the status of translation remained high throughout the centuries. Translators were not just transmitting knowledge, but often they were generating knowledge on their own through personal research undertaken by the translators (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 100). It was a dual process, because “[j]ust as translators helped open China to Western knowledge, they brought China to the attention of the West by reproducing classical Chinese works in foreign languages” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 101).

Scribes had multiple roles in these ancient civilisations. Aside from often fulfilling administrative duties, they “were the masters of writing, teaching and translation” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 3). The invention of writing and the practice of translation can be seen as born at the same time. With the practice of writing, there is crucially the invention of the alphabet, with which translators cum scribes cum teachers were often involved. An alphabet as a facilitator of learning a language, thereby gaining access to knowledge and communication options, is arguably a crucial factor in the

process of the dissemination of knowledge. Recorded contributions to this were made, for example, by the Armenian monk Mesrop Mashtots or Cyril of Constantinople. For his creation of the Armenian alphabet, “Mesrop followed the Greek rules for forming syllables, introducing vowels and writing from left to right” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 7). It could therefore be argued that Mesrop’s role as a translator was located at an interface between Greek linguistic knowledge and alphabetic scholarship, as well as Armenian spoken and literary culture, and that by introducing Greek knowledge to Armenian culture and using specific knowledge (which was accessible to Mesrop because of his multilingualism) to create an Armenian alphabet, he acted as a facilitator of knowledge transmission/dissemination at a node point in the knowledge network. The contribution of translators who were engaging in the invention of alphabets cannot be valued too highly, because they “extended the boundaries within which knowledge could be disseminated” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 16). This is a direct effect of their role as translators in the process of knowledge dissemination.

It has been suggested that “the ancient Greeks were rather like the English of some years ago: they did not learn foreign languages but expected others to learn theirs” (Connolly and Bacopoulou-Halis 2009: 419). In the Hellenistic period, Greek could indeed be considered the lingua franca of the then Western world, although a more technical translation role and understanding began to develop when it became necessary to translate legal terminology from Latin into Greek during the early Byzantine period. The translators of these documents would often have a threefold role, functioning as translators, translation teachers, and as professors of law.<sup>2122</sup> The purpose of the translations was often seen as more analytical and explanatory, rather than a literal translation. Since many of the new legal and political concepts were transmitted beyond the Byzantine area and into Slavic areas and languages as well, the early Greek translators of law terminology could be seen as an interface or distribution hub for these ideas. Translation of terminology also became an important topic in Rome, particularly as

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Connolly and Bacopoulou-Halis 2009: 420.

medical knowledge and teaching developed. Translation was considered important throughout the existence of the Roman Empire, and “an increasing amount of medical and pharmacological translation began to appear, particularly after the fourth century” (Kelly 2009: 478). Considering that Emperor Augustus established a translation office, and additional district offices in different provinces, these translations could be seen as influential for carrying specific information and knowledge over larger geographical distances.

The close interrelation between geographical knowledge, the acquisition and passing on of knowledge, and translation is also extensively presented in J.R.S. Phillips’ (1998) work *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*. It is possible, in fact, to read most of his book as a history of knowledge transfer versus containment and knowledge adoption versus non-adoption. Phillips also highlights the importance of military operations and negotiations of borders and territories with geographical learning. For instance, he identifies the military and administrative collapse in the former western provinces of the Roman Empire as just one factor which would cause difficulties for scholars willing to travel and learn something new. Other, “more subtle factors” (Phillips 1998: 6) include a decline in understanding of the Greek language, “which had been the vehicle of most earlier scholarship” (ibid.). Phillips goes on to argue that “[t]ranslations of Greek works into Latin were common but not sufficient to make up for the loss of the original language” (1998: 7). This he holds as the main reason why the works of Ptolemy “did not form part of the mainstream of late antique learning, and were not passed on to western European scholars of the early medieval period” (ibid.).

While there is arguably translation activity detectable from earliest times, Hans J. Vermeer justly cautions that our knowledge of translations in these early (pre-Greek, Greek and Roman) times should be regarded as somewhat precarious, because we possess relatively little understanding of the true extent of texts and translation in those times. Vermeer acknowledges that

[i]n the case of the ancient Greek writers, we only know more extensively about their 'source texts' from a relatively late point in time onwards (in fact only since Alexander of Macedonia), therefore, for earlier times we also cannot know in how far these were even translations, or part-translation (adaptations). We can assume that the ancient Greeks [...] adopted some knowledge from pre-Greek cultures. But which knowledge, how much, and in which way? (Vermeer 1992: 188-89, my translation)<sup>22</sup>

Nonetheless, there is considerable engagement with early scholars who figure as translators, a prominent example being Cicero. Despite the fact that a significant proportion of Cicero's translations have been lost, making it difficult to gain a precise picture (Vermeer 1992: 210), they allow for some insights into translation activities and tendencies. One example of translators and translation scholars as facilitators, or at least as an encouraging figure for a specific idea of translation, is the idea of approaching translation on a word basis, as pointed out by Vermeer:

Why is it that Cicero champions a form of translation that is as 'literal' as possible? As I have attempted to show, there seems to be present an ancient tendency, already to be observed in Mesopotamia with its tradition of word lists, to start out from the individual word and to build up a text in a 'bottom up' approach towards larger units. This approach is then firmly positioned in occidental thought (and not just here) by Plato [...] (Vermeer 1992: 213-14, my translation)<sup>23</sup>

By adopting and continuing the techniques of working, for instance, with word lists, or the focus on the individual word, translators had become advocates for a particular way of reading and translating texts. It was also a benchmark

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<sup>22</sup> "Bei griechischen Autoren kennen wir also erst spät (eigentlich erst nach Alexander von Makedonien, wie gesagt) in grösserem Umfang ihre 'Ausgangstexte', wissen für frühere Zeiten also weithin auch nicht, inwieweit es sich überhaupt um Translate oder Teiltranslate (z.B. Bearbeitungen) handelt. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Griechen, [wie oben schon angedeutet,] manches Wissen aus vorgriechischen Kulturen übernahmen. Doch welches und wieviel und in welcher Weise?"

<sup>23</sup> "Warum eigentlich tritt Cicero für das möglichst 'wörtliche' Übersetzen ein? Wie ich aufzuzeigen versucht habe, scheint es hier eine uralte, schon im Zweistromland mit seiner Wortlistentradition zu beobachtende Tendenz zu geben, vom Einzelwort auszugehen und 'bottom up' zu grösseren Einheiten fortschreitend allmählich einen Text aufzubauen. Dieses Vorgehen wird dann durch Platon zutiefst im abendländischen Denken (und nicht nur hier) verankert [...]"

for understanding and constructing texts in general, not just for the preparation of translations. We can see here the role of translators as part of a transmission line of thought, championing a specific idea (about translation), and introducing and reaffirming practices which are disseminated widely, and proving to be influential to the way that knowledge is transmitted and presented for centuries to come. Continuing the focus on translators' and translations' share in the spread of ideas, particularly at important hub nodes, the next section looks at some examples from medieval times, in particular from the high Middle Ages.

### **2.1.2 Medieval Times**

Firstly, it is worth remembering that many translators and translation throughout history went uncredited, unrecorded, or were simply lost. The invisibility of translators and translation is not something that only concerns modernity. Robert Mills reminds us of this by pointing out that “[a]lthough [Lawrence] Venuti’s account of [invisible translations] trend begins in the 17th century, after which it becomes increasingly yoked to the demands of corporate capital, invisible translation is also of course a premodern phenomenon” (Mills, in Campbell 2012: 125). While it is arguably more difficult to trace the translator or the genesis of a particular translation one millennium ago than it is for contemporary translations, Mills continues that “[t]he story of medieval Europe is a story of languages in contact, yet the precise mechanisms through which exchanges across linguistic frontiers were effected only come into focus intermittently in literature of the period” (ibid.). This might be partly to do with a lack of documentation or availability of records, uncredited translations, or interpretations, but it is arguably important to remember that at all times translators were involved in the transmission of ideas and knowledge without always being credited nor necessarily fully aware of the implications of their work themselves.

Medieval translation, and therefore the role of translators, has to be understood in a more encompassing way than just language mediation. Translation and translators were also commonly politicised, and the

respective wielders of power frequently used “the ability of translation to reinforce or unsettle linguistic or political hegemony; and translation’s capacity for establishing cultural contact or participating in cultural appropriation or effacement” (Campbell and Mills 2012: 2). In her essay “Medieval Fixers. Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography” Zrinka Stahuljak argues for the differentiated understanding and approach of the concept of translation in the Middle Ages:

Translation in the Middle Ages was a crossroads of multilingual and multicultural contacts and encounters; in fact, it was understood in much broader terms than our modern linguistic translation. The medieval Latin term *translatio* stands for transfers of power (*translatio imperii*), knowledge (*translatio studii*), physical objects (such as relics in *translatio reliquiarum*) and linguistic translation. Medieval translation was thus a nexus of a will to knowledge and technologies of power [...] (Stahuljak, in Campbell 2012: 148)

Rather than being limited to transcribing manuscripts from one language into another, the role of medieval translators could at times be seen as more open, for example for adding additional notes, knowledge or research by themselves. Delisle and Woodsworth pick up on this aspect as well. Under the topic of “Translators and the dissemination of knowledge”, they describe that indeed translators “have often sought to further research itself” (2012: 95), and go on to argue that we should imagine translators of history as conscious agents in the knowledge production process, rather than being restricted to the passive role of transcribing: “Acting as educators, and not simply as the educated, translators have used the knowledge gained from their work to contribute to the advancement of science in general” (ibid.). We therefore can imagine a number of historical translators as scholars who would in many cases independently continue the research they had been translating. In an article entitled “Translation, the Great Pollinator of Science”, Henry Fischbach calls translation “the key to scientific progress” (1992: 194).<sup>24</sup> However, the variety of roles and functions of translators through

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<sup>24</sup> The title of Fischbach’s article is a powerful metaphor, since pollination carries connotations of fertilization, reproduction and transfer. As a biological process, it is essential for the survival of a species. No new generation of plants

history needs to be thought of as highly diverse and cannot be generalised. Historical translators' agendas and affiliations should indeed be imagined as equally diverse as in the modern translation profession.

Another aspect in the influence of translation and translators for the spread of ideas is reflected in the fact that translators were not only expected to make new ideas and knowledge available, but also to *organize* it. The Toledo school of translators was not only a centre of translation in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>25</sup> but it also played a role in an attempt to organize and catalogue the knowledge available at the time (cf. e.g. Phillips 1998: 182, Delisle and Woodsworth 2012). A translator at the Toledo school was consequently in the important position of being an active transmitter of knowledge and methods, categorising and evaluating practices.

In later medieval times, the focus on knowledge demand (and therefore translation demand) shifted, and saw the rise of significant interest in and engagement with geographical information, especially maps. Geographical knowledge had direct effects on commercial enterprises, since knowledge of trade routes, via land or via sea, was crucial to a successful trade.

From the 12th century onwards, there had been a significant influx of new geographical information to Christian Europe. One of the earliest arrived via "the medium of translations into Latin from Arabic of scientific works which were either of Arabic origin, or were themselves Arabic translations of classical Greek writings" (Phillips 1998: 182). Particularly crucial in producing translations as a way of making knowledge accessible, and encouraging the spread of ideas, was the city of Toledo in Spain. After the conquest of the city and the establishment of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, "scholars from Western Europe flocked to these former centres of Moslem learning [...] to search for and translate works on mathematics, medicine, and astronomy"

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would be possible without the existence of bees and the pollination task they carry out.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. Phillips 1998, Delisle and Woodsworth 2012, Baker and Saldanha 2009.

(Phillips 1998: 182). A couple of translations from that period can be pinpointed as particularly significant, in that they conveyed ideas that would represent great advances for knowledge of the times. In 1126, the scholar and translator Adelard of Bath provided a translation of the *Khorazmian Tables* from the 9th century. Fourteen years later in 1140, a translation of the *Toledo Tables* was provided. Both works were translations from the Greek, and facilitated access to knowledge about latitude and longitude together with classical theories, calculations, and astronomical observations (cf. Phillips 1998: 182). This can be seen as another instance where translators were situated at a key node in the knowledge network for the transmission and dissemination of knowledge, ultimately facilitating the emergence of and access to previously unknown ideas. Against the background of ever growing knowledge and more information becoming available, the next section discusses some aspects of translation and translators during the Renaissance period.

### **2.1.3 Renaissance Times**

In the Renaissance period, the attitude, purpose, and self-image of translators again changed significantly. Coinciding with the increase of vernacular language use and an increasing level of readership thanks to higher levels of literacy, access to knowledge became more democratic. In the course of this development, the role and position of the translator within the knowledge network shifted towards a more didactic and explanatory role (cf. Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 97). This was also the time of Bible translations into vernacular language (e.g. William Tyndale, Martin Luther). Translators as “popularisers [...] acted very much like teachers in that they introduced and explained the works they translated to a less enlightened readership” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 97). The role of the translator involved the task of spreading knowledge further, in the sense of making it available (and appealing) to a larger number of people, as well as by increasing the use of vernacular language. With the Renaissance having witnessed a period of lexicography and dictionary production, as well as a

growth in printed translations and printed works in general, translators were to a larger extent involved in the direct transmission of knowledge for the general learning and teaching canon. One example of direct transmission of knowledge by translation is the case of Ephraim Chambers *Cyclopaedia* from 1728, which was in part translated by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert in France, and consequently published (also featuring original material that was not included in the English version) in France as the *Encyclopédie*. This can be seen as a case of a knowledge network consisting of translators that contributed to the dissemination of ideas by sharing similar goals (the production of encyclopaedias), as well as by sharing access to each other's languages and therefore, access to each other's ideas and knowledge.

According to Neil Rhodes, Renaissance understanding of translation, the establishment and general acceptance of “the principle of translating sense for sense rather than word for word” (Rhodes 2013: 2) was helped by Cicero's *De Optimum genere oratorum*. The role, image and self-understanding of translators and translations were debated critically regarding style and expression, as well as the notion of fidelity. Yehudi Lindeman suggests that translation was thought by many to be an uncertain tool (1981: 204):

it is only a substitute garment, says Thomas Wilson (1570) [...]. Any translation, says Roger Ascham, in *The Schoolmaster* (1570) is only ‘a heavy stump leg of wood to go withal’. It is a hazardous enterprise, says Michel de Montaigne about literary translation. (Lindeman 1981: 204)

However, Lindeman also points out that there were at least two positions on translation, with the first seeing translation activity merely as a kind of crutch, with inevitable loss in the transmission process between source text to target text. The second position considered the person of the translator more in the light of “successful conqueror, the daredevil who, in spite of the odds against him, manages to safeguard much – not all – of the spoils and bring them home” (Lindeman 1981: 205). This illustrates a change in the role and self-understanding of translators in the process of transmitting and making ideas

accessible. The individual responsibility of the translator regarding skills and stylistic choices has become more prominent, but to an extent so has the aspect of freedom and artistic expression. In addition to the translator's world knowledge and linguistic knowledge, personal imagination and skills in expression begin to matter for the reception of an idea. While this is particularly relevant for literary texts, the way translation and translators were thought of and saw themselves arguably also influenced other areas of translation activity, publication and knowledge transfer.

An interesting example for the intersection between history, knowledge transfer, and the role of translators is given by John Clarke (1986), himself a historian of ideas by trade, who elaborates on the dialogue between East and West from the 16th century onwards in his essay "The Transmigration of Ideas: Oriental Thought and the History of Ideas Curriculum". Following his discussion of what is essentially a Hegelian notion of a dialectical process, namely his perception of all knowledge as a dialogue, in which initial strangeness (of the object of knowledge) has to be mediated and overcome (Clarke 1986: 35), he gives an account of the 16th-century intellectual relations between Western Europe and China. Even though this thesis focuses overall on developments in what can be roughly described as Western Europe, this example is being included even though it stretches a long way beyond to China, because it illustrates the immense importance of geographical travel of scholars and translators. It furthermore illustrates very well the import-export relation that translation workers and their translations often fulfilled as a significant catalyst for development. The interest in China followed Jesuit missions, which eventually led to all things 'Chinese' becoming fashionable in the West.<sup>26</sup> Among those writers and thinkers of the time who were influenced and fascinated, Clarke counts

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<sup>26</sup> Incidentally, translation would be responsible as well for a decline in interest for China and introduced a new fashion in the west: "Interest in China declined rapidly at the end of the 18th century and was replaced by the rising star of India. Clearly the more mystical, or at any rate metaphysical, thought of India appealed to the Romantic sensibility, and was stimulated by *translations* into German, French, and English [...]" (Clarke 1986: 36, my emphasis).

Voltaire, Leibniz, Wolff, Boyle, Montesquieu, Grimm, Goldsmith, “and possibly Hume” (Clark 1986: 36), although direct evidence is not available.<sup>27</sup>

J.R.S. Phillips (1998) also describes the impact that travellers had on the spread of Chinese fashions, knowledge and techniques in his chapter on Scholarship and the Imagination in Medieval Expansion of Europe. His account also hints at the diversity of the knowledge forms that were brought back to the West by travellers and suggests that

[...] westerners in China were deeply impressed by what they saw. Marco Polo and John of Marignolli, for example, described the great cities and places they visited. Chinese technical mastery was also witnessed, from Marco Polo’s account of the quality and cheapness of Chinese porcelain, to the great seagoing junks, complete with watertight bulkheads [...]. (Phillips 1998: 183)

This highlights not only the importance of geographical travel for the spread and diffusion of knowledge, but equally the role of inter-lingual communication that must have taken place in order to ensure safe travel and access to the places visited and the crafts described. Chinese translation history holds a large number of examples for knowledge diffusion through translations and translators that were extremely influential and even went beyond the mere transcription of knowledge. It is also a reminder that ideas do not only travel in the form of theories or thoughts in people's heads, but are often contained in or connected to objects or practices. Dorschel describes the relation between ideas and objects with the image of archaeology: “No archaeologist has ever found an idea during a dig. And yet it is possible for an archaeologist to unearth ideas, inasmuch as she can

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<sup>27</sup> This non-existence of direct evidence is an interesting facet of the story itself, giving rise to the question of the validity of evidence for other cases. This touches on the question of what kind of evidence we ‘allow’ and which kind we dismiss, what we will consider as proof and what counts as coincidence. For this present research, this may become a methodological issue which may have to be more clearly delineated for the intended process of reconstructing transfer points.

unearth things in which ideas are embodied: tools, art works, documents” (Dorschel 2010: 19, my translation).<sup>28</sup>

Ideas on the move can be connected to physical objects, as suggested by Dorschel, they can be contained in a book or publication, or they can be spoken out loud in conversations. For bridging the gap to translation and the spread of ideas in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the question how translation can influence theories, the following sections will outline correlations between ideas, language and translation, and then discuss aspects of translations for works by Theodor W. Adorno and Jacques Derrida. Correspondingly, the dependence of ideas on external factors by discussing in some more detail specific consequences of these translations on the reception and therefore spread of their authors’ ideas will be further elaborated on. Translation as a crucial factor for the understanding, reception, and dissemination of ideas, in particular in the case of theory, is not very often critically assessed. While neither of the examples in the following section can be discussed exhaustively here, the focus on selected works of these two authors sufficiently illustrates the potential influence of translation in the dissemination of ideas and theories.

Having outlined a number of points in the development of translators and translation through history from Antiquity to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we have seen that the role (and self-understanding) of translators and translations changed significantly over the course of time. This will be complemented further with exemplary discussions of translations of texts by Adorno and Derrida in the following sections. To briefly sum up the previous reflections and arguments, it is apparent that the changing roles and understanding of translation also reflect resulting shifts in the transmission and reception of knowledge and ideas through texts in translation. Translators in Antiquity were regarded, and indeed often saw themselves, as crucial hubs for the deciphering, accumulation, criticism, and further dissemination of knowledge.

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<sup>28</sup> “Kein Archäologe ist beim Ausgraben je auf eine Idee gestossen. Und doch: ein Archäologe kann Ideen ausgraben, insofern er Dinge ausgraben kann, in denen Ideen verkörpert sind: Werkzeuge, Kunstwerke, Schriftstücke.”

In addition to translation tasks, translators were often involved in generating further research, and their role might overlap with a scribe's tasks, or with teaching.

In the Hellenistic period, the translation of legal terminology and trade documentation became a necessity. Thus, the role of the translator diversified further, and frequently saw them functioning as translators, translation teachers, and as experts in law. Translation and translators were considered of vital importance throughout the existence of the Roman Empire, and the translation of terminology, especially of medical and pharmacological knowledge, remained a focal point. With the formation of a translation office by Emperor Augustus, translation had become an essential part of the empire's administration, and translators were responsible for distributing and exchanging information across large geographical distances.

Medieval translation, as it has been discussed here, can be understood as a much broader and manifold activity than just linguistic transfer. The role of medieval translators could often not be limited to merely transcribing manuscripts from one language into another, but could include, for example, contributing additional notes, knowledge or further research of their own. This very active type of role and self-understanding of translators and their work can be seen as being editorial, critical, and as intending to actively enhance the spectrum of their respective field of science or scholarship. Organising and cataloguing existing knowledge and literature would also often form part of translators' work. This aspect of organising and categorising an ever-expanding canon of knowledge became increasingly important in Renaissance period as well.

Again, the attitude, purpose and self-image of translators changed significantly with the onset of the Renaissance, and increased vernacular language use and a growing readership. Access to knowledge and information became more democratic, and consequently the role of translators and translations shifted to include explanations and didactics. This coincided also with the time of Bible translations into vernacular language, and translators' roles began to also include the provision of introductions and

commentary for explanation. This development in translators' agency can also be seen as a beginning emancipation from earlier notions of translation as essentially a transcription task, and towards an understanding of translation as a process that reflects the respective purpose, recipient, and translator's individual knowledge and agenda.

## 2.2 Ideas, Language, and Translation

The previous chapter discussed the fact that some studies about knowledge exchange seem to neglect the role of language in that process, and that communication across linguistic barriers seems at times to be taken for granted (cf. van de Rijt and van Assen 2008). At the same time, there is often a lack of critical analysis and consciousness for the role of translation in the spread of theories. The ideas that form the basis of a theory are expressed in words which make up the work (e.g. in form of a book or publication): idea – word – work. Translators are located at the intersection between the invisible layer of ideas and the visible layer of the work (in whatever form) that expresses these ideas. The reception of ideas, and consequently the theories they result in, is therefore closely connected to translator and translation, and there is arguably also a strong correlation between a translation of a book, article, paper, scroll, etc, and the availability of the knowledge and ideas contained within it. If a translation is not available, then a particular idea or theory could be seen as de facto not available to audiences who are not able to access the original form. Sometimes, translations become available only after a considerable delay: for instance, it took eleven years until Niklas Luhmann's *Social Systems* was available in English. Of course, there are a number of cases for translations that took even longer, or that were never finished. This can also depend on changing publishing practices and conventions.<sup>29</sup> In some cases, the linguistic

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<sup>29</sup> Ross Thomas' crime novel *The Money Harvest* was published in 1975 in Germany. However, only the first half of the novel was translated and published. The reason for this were simply publishing conventions at the time in German crime fiction: this genre was considered as 'fast food' for simple entertainment, had to be translated, produced and sold cheap, and therefore was not supposed to span more

translation is undertaken or produced almost simultaneously with the original, while in other instances the translation process and the writing process can be intertwined and influence each other. At times, the process of writing and translation was informed by a translator's self-understanding that they would be equally as involved in the process of producing knowledge as the writer, if not more so.

In some contemporary cases, translations are produced as soon as possible after the publication of the original. In a number of cases from contemporary literature, for example, it could be argued that economic reasons are a main factor influencing translation practices: the popularity and reach, and therefore the economic success of a writer or work at a given moment, can be increased by translations, which is a strong incentive for publishers to make translations of popular authors and their works available as soon as possible. In some cases, a considerable number of amateur translators spring up to collaboratively tackle the task of providing a fan translation for those who cannot read the original language of publication.<sup>30</sup> The motivation in the second case is arguably less economically driven. Since the translator volunteers were not paid, they were therefore not working for money, but for the sake of making the original text available to other fans around the world as quickly as possible.

In other cases, the linguistic translation of a text can be delayed for years, decades, or even centuries. Providers of linguistic translations are crucial facilitators of access to and dissemination of knowledge, and language itself is the primary tool of access of knowledge. JRS Phillips (1998) poignantly discusses the importance of language and linguistic understanding and schooling in the emergence and dissemination process of

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than 128 pages. It was only translated and published in completion for the German market 40 years later.

<sup>30</sup> Examples that reflect this phenomenon of collective amateur translation efforts include e.g. <http://www.sarahdillon.com/harry-potter-in-translation/> (last accessed 17/07/2018); <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/jan/27/featuresreviews.guardianreview17> (last accessed 17/07/2018).

knowledge in his examination of the relationship between Classical discoveries and the Greek language. Having been a “vehicle for most earlier scholarship” (Phillips 1998: 6), the decline of the Greek language in the fourth and fifth centuries throughout the western world had drastic consequences for the pool of knowledge available to and accessible by scholars of the time. Phillips argues that “[t]ranslations of Greek works into Latin were common but not sufficient enough to make up for the loss of the original language” (Phillips 1998: 7), and therefore awareness of works by classical scholars such as Ptolemy ceased to “form part of the mainstream of late antique learning, and were not passed on to western European scholars of the early medieval period” (Phillips 1998: 7).

Drawing on arguments from linguistics in his investigation of the history of ideas, Andreas Dorschel points out the relevance of recognising language not as abstract sentences, but as speech acts (cf. Austin 1955). At the same time, he argues that the reception, and therefore emergence or non-emergence, of an idea can also depend to a large extent both on the respective time period as well as on the person who expresses it. When someone expresses the end of the world in speech acts, it depends on conditions that are not, or at least not entirely, in his control, whether he is taken seriously as an alerter, or whether he is detained as a mentally ill person (Dorschel 2010: 32, my translation).<sup>31</sup> This can be seen as a continuation of the perspectives introduced in chapter 1, for instance regarding Alfred Russel and the lack of recognition for his ideas. The social position of a scholar, the language spoken (or not spoken), the personal background and many more factors can influence the recognition or non-recognition of ideas, and thereby their emergence and dissemination. The same holds true for translators as mediators of ideas across different languages. Whether or not ideas receive attention, are taken seriously, and are transmitted can also be seen as a question of the authority of the people

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<sup>31</sup> “Ob jemand, der die Idee des Weltunterganges in Sprechakten elaboriert, als Warner ernstgenommen oder als Irrer interniert wird, hängt von Bedingungen ab, die nicht oder jedenfalls nicht vollständig in seiner Hand stehen.“

involved in the process, and, as such, so are translators. These aspects could be read in continuation of the expanded horizon for historical translation studies as brought forward by Pym by introducing a humanistic perspective, and suggest that the field of emerging ideas and dissemination of knowledge against a backdrop of humanistic or sociological investigations in translation history might be a highly suitable area for conducting case studies in future research efforts.

The role of language for the history of ideas seems ambivalent, and is seldom discussed. On the one hand, language and languages are indispensable for writing the history of anything, and indeed a number of different languages are often required for the study of an idea. For instance, Dorschel suggests that whoever might want to investigate the history of the ideas of colonialism would need to speak not only Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English, but would also need knowledge of all these languages as they were spoken in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the other hand, language change can also mean a change in ideas: Language holds on to ideas by means of the identity of the word, but at the same time language continuously changes ideas with ever changing contexts (Dorschel 2010: 37, my translation).<sup>32</sup> An example from music reminds us that words are not always needed or used to express or develop an idea, and that a word can contain many different meanings and change over time:

Neither Haydn nor Mozart nor Beethoven have ever used words to describe the idea of the classical sonata. They developed it in their string quartets, piano sonatas and symphonies, in short: they were thinking with notes about notes, not with speech acts. Of course 'sonata' is a word, but it has little relevance, because sonata can mean a variety of things and has had many different meanings over the course of history. (Dorschel 2010: 36-37, my translation)<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Durch die Identität des Wortes halt Sprache Ideen fest; zugleich verändert sie Ideen durch stets wechselnde Zusammenhänge."

<sup>33</sup> "Die klassische Idee der Sonate ist weder von Haydn noch von Mozart oder Beethoven in Worte gefasst worden. Sie entfalteteten sie in ihren Streichquartetten, Klaviersonaten und Sinfonien; kurz: Sie dachten in Tönen, nicht in 'Sprechakten' über Töne. Selbstverständlich ist 'Sonate' ein Wort; doch auf dieses

The words that are used to denote or describe an idea can influence the perception of the idea again, and this is another concern that is often shared between the historian of ideas and the translator. An example of this is given by Dorschel and his use of the word 'still life'. The idea for this kind of painting is described in Dutch, English and German in the same way.<sup>3435</sup> In French, on the other hand, it is 'nature morte', describing the same kind of painting, but expressing a different nuance of the idea.

These few examples show the intricate relations between ideas, language, words, and ultimately translation, and it is an important further piece of the puzzle for the current investigation of ideas and their spread and emergence into and within TS. The ways and means of expressing an idea, and consequently the figure and character of the translator as part of the process of expression, can significantly influence the reception of the idea.

The same would apply to the translation of theory. Ideas are not always seamlessly transmitted to another language or culture, and the mediators involved (from translators to copy editors to publishers) often appropriate the form of the idea (and thereby the idea itself) to a larger or lesser degree. This is particularly consequential when it comes to the translation of theories, since the appropriation of a theory in translation can potentially influence and indeed alter its reception, and the way it is understood and applied. The two examples illustrate how the reception of ideas by two theorists was influenced by the transmission, interpretation and publishing process. The chosen examples represent very different, almost diametrical outcomes regarding their translations' effects on reception and spread. The first example looks into the case of Theodor W. Adorno and his *Aesthetic Theory* in the English translation, the second into the case of Jacques Derrida's works and translations.

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Wort kommt es wenig an, denn [...] Sonate [kann] alles mögliche bedeuten und hat im Lauf der Geschichte vieles mögliche bedeutet [...]."

<sup>34</sup> The German word is 'Stilleben', the Dutch word is 'stilleven'.

### 2.2.1 Translation and Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*

Adorno's *Ästhetische Theorie* is not a finished work, as the author died before reaching a final version of the text: "Adorno completed *Aesthetic Theory*, but he did not finish it: every section that he intended to write for the book was written; the main body of the text was for the most part complete and composed at the highest level that Adorno achieved in any of his work" (Hullot-Kentor, in Adorno 1997: xviii). It can therefore be seen as a work in progress, and a fragmented one. Only a few days before his death, Adorno wrote in a letter that a desperate effort was still needed for the final version of the text.<sup>35</sup> The fragmented form can be seen as one of its characteristics. The translator of the 1997 version, Robert Hullot-Kentor, opens the extensive Translator's Introduction by stating that "[e]very translation must fit one world inside another, but not every work to be translated has been shaped by emphatic opposition to the world into which it must be fitted" (in Adorno 1997: xi). This statement alludes to the fact that Adorno "was able to write [the *Aesthetic Theory*] only by leaving the United States" (ibid.), and Hullot-Kentor goes on to point out the antagonistic nature of the book with regard to the expectations of scholarship and writing that were held in the United States at the time. This, in fact, is also an example of how place can facilitate (or hinder) the development and emergence of ideas. This connects with the earlier example of Alfred Russel Wallace and the reception and dissemination regarding his ideas. In Wallace's case, the remote locations he was working and writing from arguably further influenced the way his findings were received. The example of Adorno underlines the point that the emergence and dissemination of ideas depends also on external factors, and that *place* is one of them. Translation (and publishing) decisions are another factor that can have significant influence on the reception and spread of an idea. In the case of Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*, Hullot-Kentor argues that the original text is in fact "oriented not to its readers but to the thing-in-itself" (ibid.: xi). However, when the first English translation of *Aesthetic Theory* was

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<sup>35</sup> Theodor W. Adorno (1970) *Ästhetische Theorie*. Edited by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann. "Editorisches Nachwort", p. 537.

published in 1984, a much more linear argumentative structure was “imposed on the text by the translation”, which “thus dismissed the text’s middle point as a detour and severed its nexus” (ibid.: xv). While the original text as drafted by Adorno was consciously not divided into chapters,

the 1984 translation arrived on bookstore shelves divided into numbered chapters with main headings and subheadings inserted in the text. Paragraph indentations were distributed arbitrarily throughout, completing the image of a monodirectional sequence of topic sentences that could be followed stepwise from chapter 1 through chapter 12. This subordinated the text’s paratactical order to a semblance of progressive argumentation that offered to present the book’s content conveniently. This device provided a steady external grip on the book while causing it to collapse internally. (ibid.: xiv)

These changes were made by both the publisher and the translator, although “partially against the will of the translator” (ibid.: xiv). For the new translation, Hullot-Kentor maintained the same spatial organization of the text as contained in the original, and divided sections only where the German text divides them as well. He also points out that “sentence structure and phrasing of the original were maintained wherever possible” (ibid.: xv). In contrast, the first English translation of the *Aesthetic Theory*, published in 1984,<sup>36</sup> favoured a number of changes that were seen as making the text easier to understand. In his review of the 1984 translation of *Aesthetic Theory*, Lambert Zuidervaart writes that “Adorno’s highly wrought, idiosyncratic prose has been turned into idiomatic English that captures the gist without missing nuances” (1985: 195). It could be argued that, apart from any considerations about the meaning of the form of *Aesthetic Theory*, Adorno did not write *Aesthetic Theory* in idiomatic German at all, and that the translator’s choice to undertake an ‘ironing out’ of his idiosyncrasies may have created the illusion of easier understanding and less obstruction, but ultimately could be seen as the biggest obstruction to accessing Adorno’s ideas of all. As the translator, Lenhardt also made the decision to break up

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<sup>36</sup> Translated by Christian Lenhardt. Edited by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

the original text into smaller paragraphs.<sup>37</sup> Zuidervaart comments that “[t]his move makes the book less formidable” (195), by which I believe he means ‘less intimidating’ or ‘less demanding’, rather than ‘less impressive’, because he praises Lenhardt’s translation overall as being excellent. Clearly, the translation strategy of making the text more accessible for readers was seen as positive. This illustrates how important the aspect of translation is with regard to the reception and spread of theory and ideas, precisely because translation is not just a neutral process of transmission from one language into another. It still seems a frequent assumption that a translation of theory can be taken as the same value as the original, whereas the differences, and ergo the consequence for reception and spread of a theory, can be significant. Similarly, a range of related phenomena has been examined and problematised by Susam-Sarajeva (2006) by means of her multiple-case study on translation of theory by Roland Barthes’ works into Turkish and Hélène Cixous’ works into English. Her work shines further light on the fact that the dissemination of ideas, theories and knowledge can not be viewed independently of the protagonists, systemic structures and agendas that are involved in the transmission process, including translators, translational and editorial choices. With regard to which theories and ideas are translated and in what particular ways and stylistics translations of theory is undertaken and consequently presented to the receiving system and its readers, Susam-Sarajeva finds that the

translation patterns, i.e. the choice of texts (not) to be translated and when (not) to translate them, reflect the needs, expectations, and self-perception of the receiving systems. As perceived representatives of structuralism and semiotics and of French feminism, respectively, both Barthes and Cixous were welcomed against the background of the [respective] debates [...]. Their texts were chosen for translation according to the local interests and agendas. (2006: 132)

This evidences the fact that translations, and hence ideas and theories that are transferred across disciplinary, linguistic, or cultural boundaries, do not

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<sup>37</sup> Lenhardt did not provide a translator’s introduction, so his translation rationale is not explained.

enter a system independently or 'neutral', but are indispensably attached to an agenda that serves a particular purpose, supports a particular discourse, or is intended for a particular readership. Similar repercussions for the reception of critical theory in translation can be observed in the example of the translation of Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*. The 1997 translation is very conscious of the fragile nature and intensity of the paratactic nature of the text, and the fact that the text's coherence "survives only by a density of insight, not by external structure" (Hullot-Kentor, in Adorno 1997: xvi) is significant. This goes beyond a linguistic understanding of the text, and shows the necessity for a retracing of Adorno's ways of thinking. Translations can make thoughts and ideas in works accessible, but equally they can make them inaccessible, or actually obstruct them. Translations can make authors popular in a new market, or can even prompt new avenues of research. For instance, it is an unwritten rule for the Nobel Prize for literature that it takes an outstanding English translation (if the original language is not Swedish or English) in order to win it, and the pressure for author and publisher to find a suitable translator can be immense.<sup>38</sup>

Translation, language, ideas and places can be seen as having reciprocal effect on each other, and the way in which ideas are understood depends not just on the idea itself, but also on the form it takes, how it is positioned (e.g. by translation) or at whom it is aimed, where it is developed and presented, what the particular conventions there are, and who is in a position of authority in that place and time. In the case of Adorno, his writings were often not received well by American publishers, and indeed he saw the publishing conventions and the *Zeitgeist* as a hindrance to the further development and expression of his ideas and theories. Hullot-Kentor also gives a longer example of how place (and the respective conventions and

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<sup>38</sup> Vladimir Nabokov was famously dismissive of many of his translators, and held such high standards that he warned his French publisher that "none of his previous French translators was up to the challenge" (Boyd 1991: 573) when it came to the translation of the novel *Invitation to a Beheading*.

expectations) can have direct consequences for the development of ideas and theories:

Throughout his years in the United States, Adorno on many occasions met with the rejection of his work by publishers who saw his writings simply as disorganized. It was obvious to Adorno that what he was pursuing required his return to Germany if only because in the 1950s publishing was still less commercially unified than in the United States and permitted writers greater control over their work than here. One event did, however, finally prompt him to leave. When the editorial board at the Psychoanalytic Society of San Francisco finished with his essay 'Psychoanalysis Revised,' he found that 'the entire text was disfigured beyond recognition, the basic intention could not be discerned.' As Adorno recounted, the head editor explained that the standards to which the essay had been adjusted, which made it look like every other essay in the journal, were those of the profession: 'I would only be standing in my own way' – Adorno was told – 'if I passed up its advantages. I passed them up nevertheless.' Adorno moved back to Europe. (In Adorno 1997: xiv)

Drawing further on Susam-Sarajeva's (2006) findings on shifts in translations of theory, be it a certain degree of 'deproblematization' or a shift in how authors and their perspective are perceived through semantic effects, it is clear that in this case Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* in translation suffered from similar transmission effects. In conclusion, the example of Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* and its different English translations shows how ideas and theories and their reception (and thereby diffusion) can be altered, promoted, or hindered depending on the translator's decisions and understanding of the text. The respective expectations and conventions in the receiving culture also play a role in the spread and development of ideas. The next section discusses aspects of the case of Jacques Derrida's works and their translations.

### **2.2.2 Translation and Derrida**

Emmanuelle Ertel (2011) attests that "[s]ince 1966 and his talk 'Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of Human Sciences', [...] Derrida's thought has been affecting an ever growing number of disciplines in the United States" (2001: 1). In fact, Derrida's writing is arguably of significant influence to scholars from a number of disciplines and fields, including Translation

Studies, and well beyond the United States. For Translation Studies, part of the significance lies in Derrida's consideration of the "power of the word" (Kruger 2004: 50). As both Kruger and Ertel emphasise, Derrida himself was often concerned with the issue of translation in his own thinking and writing, "writing on translation directly or indirectly for most of the latter part of the twentieth century" (Kruger 2004: 50), and with "the question of translation [being] undeniably central to Derrida's thought" (Ertel 2011:1). This makes the case of translations of his work into English a relevant one to briefly illustrate the role of linguistic translation in the process of knowledge dissemination.

Ertel examines two texts by Derrida, and analyses the implications and intricacies of the translation process in both cases. Although her primary focus is on linguistic features of the translations, and on the interrelation of original and translation, her research suggests that the way these texts have been translated has considerably influenced the way they and the thoughts outlined within them have been perceived and consequently applied. She argues that "the American 'disciplinary resistance' to Derrida's literalist approach to translation [...] may also be due in part to an oversimplification or misreading of Derrida's writing on translation" (2011: 3). Her first text examination is "Living On" (1979), which is one of the earlier Derrida texts to have been published in the United States. Even though the text was written in French, it was first published in English. Ertel characterises the essay as "written to be immediately translated" and "haunted by the question of translation" (2011: 4). It turned out to be so influential that Ertel considers it to be "a landmark later seen as the official birth of deconstruction in America" (2011: 4). It could be argued, therefore, that the idea of deconstruction in this context can be traced to this text, or more exactly to the translation of this text. Consequently, the translator James Hulbert<sup>39</sup> could be seen as the decisive link in the chain of knowledge dissemination, responsible for the crucial stage of introducing a new idea. The text "Living On" was originally

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<sup>39</sup> Jacques Derrida, "Living On. Borderlines," (trans. James Hulbert), in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, New York, NY: Continuum, 1979.

written by Derrida in French, but was from the outset to be translated for publication in English.

However, the 'migration' of the idea of deconstructionism and its emergence and spread in America might not be all that straightforward. Michael Thomas suggests that there is a "profound discrepancy between the early essays of the American deconstructionists" (Thomas 2006: 23) on the one hand, and Derrida's own readings and works from that time. Deconstruction, as it was understood, for instance in France at the time, was a different phenomenon to what was understood as deconstruction in America. Similarly, Susam-Sarajeva points out that theoretical texts underlie perceptions of the systems of thought in question which they are seen to be located in, or are being connected to. On the issue of how a particular context of theory is understood, interpreted or perceived by the importing system, she gives the insightful example of "material which was *presented* as 'French' and as 'feminist' in Anglo-America" (2006: 33). The emphasis on 'presented' is of significance, because it is a reminder that any translation of theory was the subject of expectations and was accordingly framed in a certain way.

Susam-Sarajeva's analysis shows that there were divergences in perceptions and understandings of what 'feminism' was supposed to be and how 'feminist' writings in translation were anticipated, received, understood and met with different expectations. When she comments on the "ambivalent attitude towards translation" (Susam-Sarajeva 2006: 34) with regard to this example of import of literary and cultural theories into the Anglo-American hemisphere of perception, and having pointed out that

[t]he Anglo-American perception of French feminism was often referred to as a 'misconception', 'misunderstanding' or 'dis-connection' by those who claimed to have a more first-hand experience of the feminisms originating from France (ibid.: 33),

it becomes clear that these theories in translation are subject to a process of transformation and arguably appropriation. A further reminder that the dissemination and spread of ideas and theories and the respective attitudes towards ideas that newly entered into another field or discipline are highly

dependent on their translators and translation and editorial decisions, and therefore enter not 'as they are', but 'as they are made to be for a particular receiving system at a particular time' is Susam-Sarajeva's assessment that "[t]he individuals and institutions involved as mediators or opponents, with their own interests and agendas, also have a say in determining the stance taken" (2006: 106-7).

Thomas respectively argues that there was an "appropriation and transformation of a number of key Derridean concepts" (2006: 27) during the process of developing the idea of deconstruction in the United States in the 1970s. How the idea developed arguably depends on which writings were available in translation, and at what time. A delay, a lack of availability, or a particular translation strategy can therefore influence the development of a theory far beyond its (or its author's) actual intention or meaning. Again, this is an example of external factors influencing the diffusion, emergence and reception of an idea to significant extent beyond its inherent qualities or values for the receptive field in question.

Ertel further suggests that an attempt to domesticate Derrida's thought for an American audience, which was the prevailing method of translating Derrida for a long time, could also be seen in the case of Derrida's text "Speech and Phenomena" (1973). The preface to the text points out that the translation aims to "provide the American reader with a translation of Derrida in a sort of neutral, universal language" (Garver 1973: ix).<sup>40</sup> From this, it becomes apparent that the linguistic translation not only made Derrida's ideas available in the United States (and to other English speaking audiences), but that it made them available in a very specific setting, with a preconceived point of view offered to the English reader. This alignment of the text, facilitated by the translator through linguistic translation, is arguably consequential for the reception of Derrida's writings in the target language

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<sup>40</sup> Newton Garver in Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (trans. David B. Allison), Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973, p. ix.

audience, and furthermore influences English-speaking readers and scholars and their engagement with his ideas.

A further contribution to this argument is made by Lawrence Venuti's text *Translating Derrida on Translation*.<sup>41</sup> Venuti comments on his linguistic translation of a lecture given by Derrida in 1998 for ATLAS, entitled *Qu'est-ce qu'une traduction 'relevante'?*, or in Venuti's English version, *What Is a 'Relevant' Translation?* Venuti goes on to state that he chose to translate Derrida's lecture in order "to demonstrate the power of translation in shaping concepts" (2003: 252), allowing this to influence his choice of translation strategies. For instance, he explains that he kept "many of Derrida's telegraphic, sometimes elliptical syntactical constructions in English" (2003: 253). However, we find out that the copyeditor in charge of Venuti's translation often suggested that he fills the syntactical gaps in order to achieve a more approachable version. While the copyeditor's choices may certainly have been informed by economic considerations, Venuti seems to have assessed the power of an idea as being closely connected to the form the idea comes delivered in, and clearly attributes linguistic translation the power to influence the very concepts and ideas it talks about.

Interestingly, with the case of Venuti's translation of Derrida's lecture from 1998, we can furthermore see an interface with aspects of publishing power as well. Venuti points out that

Derrida's work has accrued such cultural and economic capital that academic presses tend to purchase exclusive word rights from the publisher of the French text and from the author himself. This means that a translator must not only receive Derrida's permission to translate his work, but must negotiate with presses to avoid copyright infringement. (2003: 238)

It would be of interest and relevance for further research to examine in more detail the correlation between the reception of a work, or an idea in translated form, and the spread and dissemination of the idea carried by the translation.

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<sup>41</sup> *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2003): 237-262. Yale University and The John Hopkins University Press.

Another aspect would be to examine the reception of a work in translation in correlation with the linguistic features employed.

Another instance where the choices of translation made a significant impact on the spread of a certain idea (that can be actually pinpointed) can be found in a translation choice by Derrida himself. This is the case of his adaptation and translation attempt of the concept of 'Aufhebung' from Hegel's dialectics from German into French. Derrida chose to render 'Aufhebung' with 'relève'. Ertel points out that "since this translation was first suggested by Derrida in a lecture, [his] translation of Hegel's concept had such an impact on philosophy the word 'relève' is now used even in other languages than French" (2011: 13).

With these examples, it has been shown that translation plays a considerable role in the dissemination, production and reception process of ideas and knowledge. Publishing decisions also have a considerable impact on the form, availability and development of ideas by either enabling and encouraging authors and their works, or by dejecting and altering them. The translations of Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory* exemplify two very different translation strategies. One version is leaning towards the object of thought, keeps many of the idiosyncrasies of the German original, and is conscious of the fact that this might potentially obstruct understanding. The other translation takes more liberties to appropriate and thereby simplify the text for an anticipated readership. These were two examples from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and they are influenced by the structures and struggles of modern academia as well as economic considerations (for instance from a publisher's point of view). The following section connects translation and translators to different forms of knowledge exchange and modern knowledge networks, and discuss influences of modern technologies in process.

### **2.3 Translation and Knowledge Networks**

With the onset of modern electronic technology, the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century have seen a massive shift in the way knowledge is accessed and shared, and even accumulated, among scholars and

scientists as well as among non-academics and private individuals. Before that, however, networked structures of scholars were formed mostly at a local to regional level, often with faculties and universities at their heart. A certain university would have a cluster of experts in a given field, and their knowledge would largely be shared through the publication of books and articles in print journals. In order to access archives and libraries of other universities, scholars would often have to physically travel there, or attend a conference where members of that knowledge network would also be present. Specialist networked structures were therefore significantly more localised.

In the case of translation studies, for instance, famous “traditional” geographically localised knowledge clusters included the Leipzig school, where Otto Kade, Albrecht Neubert and Gerd Jäger were undertaking what is often considered “a great deal of pioneer work” (Mary Snell-Hornby 2006: 26), or the intellectual exchange that took place between the TS scholars based in the cities of Heidelberg and Germersheim during the 1970s and 80s, which was initiated by Hans J. Vermeer’s ideas for and work on the ‘Skopos theory’, and continued by the Germersheim colleagues Hönig and Kussmaul in their work *Strategie der Übersetzung. Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch* (“Strategy of Translation. A Coursebook”, 1982). With the two translation departments in relatively close geographical proximity (only 30 kilometres apart as the crow flies, the train journey nowadays takes only about an hour, or 45 minutes by car), Hönig and Kussmaul were able to physically attend Vermeer’s lecture series in Heidelberg, in which new ideas about the “purpose” and function of a translation were discussed, before taking their ideas back with them across the Rhine to the Germersheim institute. This can be regarded as a relatively localised case of knowledge exchange across a network of scholars, and geographical proximity arguably facilitated the exchange of specific ideas.

The development of modern technologies for private usage on a large scale, and in particular digital communication technology, made the process of sharing contributions and accessing resources from scholars based at

distant locations infinitely easier, as well as more frequent. Frank Leistner writes that anthropologists from University College London have “created mathematical models that indicate that a series of ‘creative explosions’ in human ingenuity during the Stone Age could well be due to larger and more diverse communities coming together” (2010: 155). He goes on to argue that the increase in size of communities brought on a veritable leap in human development, both in Stone Age times, where community sizes would increase from “20 to those of 200 or 2,000” (2010: 155), as well as in the present day, where “it is the move from a few thousands to millions, as what is happening on the Internet at the moment” (ibid.). While the applicability and sense of attempting to create mathematical models to trace human creativity might seem questionable, it is nonetheless interesting to note the potential change in dynamics and knowledge creation and dissemination when the number of nodes increases in a network. Electronic technologies arguably have the capacity to increase contact points with relative ease and speed, and a similar developmental leap due to the existence of new technologies can be observed in scientific and scholarly practices and discourse.

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new information and representational technologies played a significant role for the way scholars were engaging not only with their object of study, but also with the respective medium through and in which their studies were embedded. The cultural and social impact of new technologies became an object of study in itself, with one of the most significant early contributions to the discourse made by Walter Benjamin in his influential essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*.<sup>42</sup> Benjamin’s work helped the scholarly and critical community “to begin to understand the role any representation technology has in the

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<sup>42</sup> First published in French in 1936 (“L’œuvre d’art à l’époque de sa reproduction mécanisée,” (translated by Pierre Klossowski) in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, Jahrgang V, Félix Alcan, Paris), first published in German in 1955, first published in English in 1968 (“The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction,” (trans. Harry Zohn), in: *Illuminations*, ed. Hanna Arendt, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968).

production of the knowledge prized by humanities scholars” (Restivo 2005: 209). Knowledge production and dissemination, network connections and the way scholars work and collaborate are arguably affected by the respective technologies involved. Michael Cronin argues that “[t]he effects of digital technology and the internet on translation are continuous, widespread, and profound” (2013: 10). In considering the effects of new technologies and new forms of social and professional networks on the work of translators and translations scholars, it seems only logical to include digital networks and digital ways of knowledge exchange in the analysis as well.

Many modern professional networks are established and maintained almost exclusively online, and can therefore have a potential global reach. Professional social networks for translators and interpreters include, for example, the virtual community platform Proz.com, which was founded in 1999, and which has almost 1 million members.<sup>43</sup> The platform is geared more towards translation business rather than research, but it provides some interesting insights into organisational practices and networking habits of translation practitioners worldwide. The networking platform effectively renders geographical distances between its members irrelevant, since information (e.g. resources, job offers, support and advice) is shared online. Networked translational activity can be found in many online communities, for example in the social networking website Facebook’s crowd-sourcing approach to translating and localizing its site, or in the localization industry in general, which caters to the increasingly complex and multiple needs of a digital society.

Within the discipline of translation studies, there have been some approaches to look at the interface between translation, knowledge, and networks (digital as well as non-digital networks) (cf. e.g. Jiménez-Crespo 2011, Folaron and Buzelin 2007, Tahir-Gürçağlar 2007, V. Dam, Engberg and Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2005). However, the attempts undertaken so far tend to focus either on a specific interpersonal network of translators, such as an analysis of a specific literary translation and publishing network (Tahir-

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<sup>43</sup> <http://www.proz.com/about/> (last accessed 04/05/2019)

Gürçağlar), offer a wider investigation of general phenomena of digital translation (cf. e.g. Cronin 2013), or analyse volunteer networks of translators (Olohan 2014), but without explicating neither the aspect of networks nor the potential significance of social networks dynamics.

While the potential applications of networks, social and digital networks in the discipline of translation studies seem manifold (cf. *Meta*, vol. 52, No 4, 2007), a targeted investigation of the dynamics of knowledge flow and knowledge management within a network of TS scholars, and an attempt to contribute to the understanding of how scholarly network dynamics influence the facilitation of knowledge across disciplines, has not to my knowledge been undertaken so far.

Before this line of thought will be continued with a brief discussion of advances from translation scholar H el ene Buzelin on possible applications of network theory and knowledge dissemination in TS, the following section first gives a short overview over relevant theoretical approaches to networks in general.

### **2.3.1 They Come in All Shapes and Sizes: Networks and Their Parts**

Networks as a field of study promise an opportunity for findings on relations between people who are connected in some way, be it directly or indirectly. A simple example to illustrate this for TS could be for example a study that looks into a group, or groups of translators, who are connected among each other, and investigate if and how the relations between the translators influence their translation practices, or how much professional advantage they gain from their connections. Rather than focusing on the product, the translation, this approach would be interested in how practice develops within and along relations in a given group.

There are many different ways of studying and analysing social networks and structures, and there are also different views among network scholars as to what constitutes social network analysis or what can be gained from it. The field of network science ranges from the study of computer networks, to semantic networks, to biological and social networks.

Consequently, it employs methods, concepts and theories from an equally broad range, including mathematical graph theories, methods and tools from informatics, or sociological theories on social structures. The different methods and theories used depend on the different fields and kinds of networks. Mathematicians have a different understanding of networks to biologists. The differences in approaches and understandings also transfer to perspectives and efforts to engage with networks in other fields. For instance, in their “Introduction: Connecting Translation and Network Studies” to the special issue of *Meta* in 2007, Deborah Folaron and H el ene Buzelin explain about the ten papers contributing to the issue that “they are informed by different theoretical perspectives where ‘networks’ have neither the same referent nor exactly the same semantic value” (2007: 607-8).

The analysis of social networks can be seen as the study of relationship patterns and connections between the individuals in a given group. To exemplify for a TS context, one could take the translators and interpreters who work at the European Commission in Brussels, to make up a network. Then, one could look at the relationship patterns between the translators and interpreters involved, for instance to see how individuals are connected with each other and how these connections affect their work, how knowledge is communicated within that network, or to discover distinctions in different parts of the network, e.g. are some individuals better connected than others? Rather than focusing on the actual translation or interpreting work, the properties of the network and what they mean for its members becomes a focal point.

There are different approaches to, and different descriptions and definitions for networks and the study of networks. There are three particular examples of descriptions that show the diversity and range of the field and how it can be understood and seen. Firstly, according to Centola and Macy, “social networks are the pathways along which [...] ‘social contagions’ propagate” (2007: 702). “Studies of diffusion dynamics have demonstrated that the structure (or topology) of a social network can have important consequences for the patterns of collective behaviour that will emerge” (ibid.:

702-3). Secondly, Newman, Barabási and Watts define a network as “a set of discrete elements (the vertices) and a set of connections (the edges) that link the elements, typically in a pairwise fashion” (2006: 2). In contrast to their technical and challenging definition, however, the scholar Jan van Dijk comes from a different background, bringing a view point of sociology and communication science. In his book *The Network Society*, he proposes to view networks as “a mode of organization of complex systems in nature and society” (2006: 24), and defines a network as “*a collection of links between elements of a unit*. The elements are called nodes. Units are often called systems” (ibid., original emphasis). Taking up again the earlier example of translators in Brussels for illustrating this in a TS context, van Dijk’s definition would simply mean that all the translators and interpreters of the European Commission are the elements or nodes, the relationships between them are the links (also sometimes called ‘bridges’), and the entire collection of EC translators and interpreters is the unit, or system.

It is important to remember, though, that networks are abstractions that originate in people's minds. Networks, like systems, are not things that naturally exist, but have existence only in the consciousness of people, and in the abstractions of theories. While connections do of course exist between all living things, the rationalisation of these connections for theoretical explanations and studies can sometimes result in an idealised version of the network. The agents, of which a network is made up, may not always behave rationally, or they may be motivated by a number of reasons which are entangled. From a diffusion of knowledge point of view, networks certainly seem to have a significant impact, especially when electronic forms of communication and digital connectivity are considered. The exchange of, as well as access to, information seems to be facilitated by networks and by digital technology, especially by the internet as a means of transporting information globally, of making connections to people who are distant in location, and with regard to the network of which they are part. On the other hand, connectivity alone can arguably not account for cases of diffusion, and

more interestingly cases of non-diffusion: rather, there must be other factors considered at work as well.

The following section discusses approaches from a TS perspective to the topics of networks and knowledge dissemination in some more detail. These approaches have been selected because they could be read as a progression of thought in the scholar's perspective that shows developments within network studies itself, and, it could therefore be argued, reflect a progression of thought within the discipline of TS as well.

### **2.3.2 Translation, Translation Studies and Network Studies**

In the special issue of *The Translator* in 2005,<sup>44</sup> H el ene Buzelin explored Bruno Latour's actor-network theory with regard to its applicability in TS in the paper *Unexpected Allies. How Latour's Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analyses in Translation Studies*. Her analysis explores a shift from Bourdieusian focus on practices towards an analysis of interactions, and position the concept of agency against the notion of structure. An interesting aspect of actor-network theory is the definition attributed to the term 'translation', as "the way in which the various actors engaged in production/innovation processes [...] interpret their own objectives into each other's language so as to ensure everyone's proper participation [...] and the continuation of the project until fulfilment" (Buzelin 2005: 197). Consequently, the process of translation would involve several filter layers of interpretation and influences, caused by the actors engaged in the process, until ideas are established as facts. She goes on to elaborate that the concept suggests that ideas or facts do not simply spread (by themselves), but "have to create their own space by a concomitant process of network formations" (ibid.).

While the attempt to broaden analysis of network processes in TS by incorporating ANT provides interesting thoughts and opportunities, the biggest issue with this approach, as far as this current thesis is concerned, is

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<sup>44</sup> *The Translator*, Special Issue: Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting, vol. 11, issue 2, 2005.

that actor networks are not automatically or in all cases equivalent with social networks, since actor-networks in Latour's definition can consist of human as well as of non-human elements. In the context of TS, an example of non-human or part-human networks would be machine translation or machine-aided translation. Professional translators also commonly use various electronic tools to gather, manage and exchange information, often in specialised online networks. This might include terminological issues, expert knowledge, or even practical business advice regarding fees, billing and invoicing. The exchange of ideas within such networks and the analysis of non-human or part-human network structures and their implications is not however part of the primary focus of this thesis. However, looking at points of knowledge transmission within and across TS from a social network point of view can throw new light on the process of the dissemination and emergence of ideas within TS and via TS scholars and translators.

From a perspective of mapping knowledge transfer and production, it is possible to read H  l  ne Buzelin's engagement with networks and network studies as being partly influenced by her research into ethnographical perspectives, for instance when she "explored the ties between translation studies and ethnography from the point of view of the production of knowledge" (Buzelin in St-Pierre and Kar 2007: 54).<sup>45</sup> Two years after her paper on Latour's ANT and the complementation of Bourdieusian analysis in TS, Buzelin, together with Deborah Folaron, published an introductory paper to the *Meta* journal's issue on *Translation and Network Studies*.<sup>46</sup> The authors aim to open up the perspective of TS in light of new technologies and challenges, and give a comprehensive overview of the field of network studies. They follow the development of network studies in the social sciences, and introduce important items of terminology from network studies.

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<sup>45</sup> In *Translation – Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*. Paul St-Pierre and Prafulla C. Kar (eds), Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007.

<sup>46</sup> Deborah Folaron and H  l  ne Buzelin (2007): "Introduction: Connecting Translation and Network Studies" in *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol. 52, no. 4, Dec 2007, p. 605-642.

For Folaron and Buzelin, the two disciplines have a number of issues in common, for example the fact that both could be classified as a “research field whose institutionalization is only quite recent” (2007: 608), and that there is a consistent amount of borrowing of methods, applications, methodologies etc from other disciplines going on. They emphasise that “[...] both translation and network studies have needed to import concepts and analytical tools from interfacing disciplines” (2007: 632), which arguably positions them well for some forms of interdisciplinary collaboration.

The authors stress that network studies as a now wide-ranging discipline touches upon numerous different research fields, and as such, a number of aspects of network studies could be applicable to TS, one outstanding example being networks in computer science. TS and translation have long incorporated (and by now largely embraced) digital technologies and practices. A significant amount of research in TS is based on electronic and digital technology (e.g. large scale corpus analysis, CAT tool research, interpreting technologies). On this issue, the authors conclude that

[...] if we consider that the principal agent for [...] technology-induced transformations in society is the Internet (and World Wide Web), in essence the network of networks, then there is reason to believe that studies on human interfacing with machine and technologies will need to devote serious methodological and analytical attention to the notion of network as paradigm, both as a concept and in practice. (Folaron and Buzelin 2007: 623)

This statement could apply to many areas of research in TS and translation production as well, and points towards ongoing struggles, in both disciplines, to balance metaphorical and practical descriptions and approaches.

Essentially, this touches on a core interest of the Digital Humanities, an area located at and concerned with the intersection between the humanities and computing and digital technologies, and postulates that new approaches in humanities scholarship can not only be made available with the help of computation and digital tools, but that in addition a key aspect is an active reflection on these exact tools and applications used in the research in question. If we increasingly rely on digital technologies and tools to conduct our research, it could be argued, as by Folaron and Buzelin, that we might

need to spend an increasing amount of time and effort with the critical analysis and reflection of these tools. This thesis does not follow the consideration that a technological network is the principal agent for change in the emergence process for ideas, since it has already pointed out a number of factors involved in this type of knowledge diffusion process. However, chapter 3 will give due consideration to a number of aspects, facilities, and limitations of the digital technology that supported the main data for this current project, thereby providing critical reflection on the technology engaged in this project.

Another notable question raised by Folaron and Buzelin concerns the issue of translation activity and actors in a network society. If translation is increasingly important and increasingly visible in our network society, should we as a consequence rethink networks and translation from a more epistemological, rather than from a metaphorical perspective? (Cf. Folaron and Buzelin 2007: 632) A wider introduction of network studies in the field of translation and TS might foster a dialogue that would be helpful in establishing roles and relationships in an ever-changing environment.

A wider application and incorporation of network studies in Translation Studies would not only have implications on the production of research, but could also challenge the curriculum of and the way in which translation and translation studies are currently taught. The impact of network studies in TS might also concern the revision of existing, or the conceptualisation of new theories, models, or frameworks, which translation and translation studies are currently informed by. Folaron and Buzelin note this potential far-reaching impact as well when they argue that “translation models such as those by Holz-Mänttäri, Reiss and Vermeer are now being challenged by a new structure that takes the shape of a self-organizing, scale-free, real-world network” (2007: 635). Further, more widespread and diverse attempts to incorporate network studies in TS research will show whether existing models and theories will be revised, but so far the opportunities offered by a network studies framework and perspective seem promising for a number of fields in TS.

The authors conclude that understanding translation also implies an observation and analysis of “the relation between translators and their work environment” (Folaron and Buzelin 2007: 632). This activity of watching and analysing the environment of translators and TS scholars, and its effects on translations and translators could be embedded constructively within the scope of network studies, and potentially facilitate new approaches to research of translators’ networked worlds and the effects thereof. The following sections elaborate on the notion of networks as facilitation hubs for knowledge diffusion and the spread of ideas, and discuss as a prominent example Mark Granovetter’s study on “The Strength of Weak Ties,” which considers the role of connections (or ‘ties’) between individuals in the contribution of information exchange, including a critical evaluation of this theory with regard to the role of language and translation, as these aspects do not seem to be adequately taken into account.

## **2.4 Networks and the Spread of Ideas**

Networks, intellectual exchange and the spread of ideas are firmly intertwined. In his book on “Network Power”, David Singh Grewal (2008) points out the long history of intellectual exchange in European circles of writers and researchers. While this phenomenon arguably applies to other cultures as well, it may be especially noticeable in contexts that are situated in closer geographical spaces while at the same time operating across multiple language and cultural barriers, as is the case in a European context. According to Grewal, “[w]riters in Western Europe [...] have been commenting since at least the sixteenth century on the increasing internationalisation of their commercial, intellectual, and cultural affairs” (2008: 18). It is the aspect of an international outlook and exchange of ideas across geographical borders that constitutes a central focal point for Grewal in the investigation of networks and network participation and exchange. This notion of networks is of particular interest from a translation studies perspective, since translators and interpreters devote their knowledge to reducing distances between members from networks that operate in different

communicative systems, and providing bridges for linguistic and cultural understanding. In referencing Anthony Giddens' definition of the globalisation process, Grewal characterises the role that globalisation plays for networks by stressing that it constitutes an "intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process" (Giddens in Grewal 2008: 19). The dialectical process starts with deciphering and understanding information and knowledge, a task in which translators and interpreters are indispensable as soon as the network in question stretches across one or more linguistic boundaries. In fact, it is surprising to what little extent current research in different areas of network studies acknowledges aspects of interlingual and intercultural communication in and across networks. It is often assumed that information transfer will work seamlessly, and while power relations and social hierarchy dynamics are frequently figured into studies on networks and knowledge exchange, translation activity and interlingual and intercultural barriers are seldom adequately taken into account. An example of this necessary scepticism and caution in any communication setting, and even more so when translation is relied upon, is given by Jan P. Stronk (2011). He comments on the ambivalence of the transfer of conveyed knowledge in his article "Herodotus and Ctesias. Translators of the Oriental Past", where he writes

[...] visiting these countries did not necessarily mean that he [Herodotus] had an unmediated access to the 'truth'. At one point Herodotus himself acknowledges this fact by commenting on his reliance upon interpreters: 'I am bound to tell what I have been told, but I am not at all obliged to believe it.' (Stronk in McElduff and Sciarrino 2011: 123)

He goes on to argue: "[...] Herodotus' work is clearly constructed through layers of information translated and conveyed at different stages[...]" (ibid. 124). We see here the close interdependence between information and knowledge diffusion across networks on the one hand, and translational activity on the other hand. A study on network phenomena and issues of knowledge diffusion in a network that includes one or more linguistic or

cultural barriers would be arguably incomplete without adequate consideration of the role of translators and interpreters in the respective network(s). While this is an important reminder for my own research in this project, it should also become an implicit and crucial aspect of more research conducted on networks.

Even though we often speak of the present as the age of information, knowledge and information exchange has always taken place. As Edward Said argued, the history of all cultures can be seen as the history of cultural borrowing (Said, 1994). From the viewpoint of the centre of a familiar network and looking out, it might seem tempting to perceive and gather information and cultural knowledge from a centrist point of view, and by extension consider knowledge from other networks or cultures as “peripheral”.

However, As Lipphardt and Ludwig continue to argue, this “distinction between epistemic centre and periphery also provides the basis for another cliché: the ‘civilizing mission’ of the European sciences” (2001: 12) which crosses from viewpoint-related ignorance into cultural hegemony. We can observe this phenomenon not only in religious feuds and missionary obsession, but in all fields of scholarly and scientific activity. Not even the discipline of TS, possibly by its very nature more pluralistic in outlook and enquiry, is free from this dualism: Susam-Sarajeva (2002) points out the Western vs. non-Western attitude that often used to prevail in the field of TS, and brings to attention the problematic relation between a perceived “centre” from which ideas and attitudes in practice and research are “exported” into the more peripheral regions of the field. However, the dichotomy between Western and non-Western approaches has increasingly been challenged in favour of a more universal and internationalised outlook (cf. e.g. Tymoczko 2005, Chesterman 2014). Even as there is increasing research at play to reconcile binary perceptions of translation and translation history, for this project and the further evaluation and analysis of data from publications it can still serve as a useful reminder to take a careful look at e.g. the places of origin for certain ideas, the locations of contributing scholars, or the place of publication, in order to see whether there are tendencies for specific “export

or import directions” that might be in relation to power differences between cultures or countries, language status, or other place-related dynamics.

An example for how much language can influence the perception, understanding and use of concepts via cultural exports is described by Ethan Watters in his book *Crazy Like US – The Globalization of the Western Mind* (2010). Watters attempts to trace the spread of mental disorders that were originally typical for the Western world, more particularly for North America, into countries across the world. In his case studies, he finds that many countries have not had a history of the disorder in question, but tend to ‘import’ ideas just as America has been “industriously exporting their ideas about mental illness. Our definitions and treatments have become the international standard” (Watters 2010: 2). He finds in particular that the *perception* of a certain disorder or illness is adopted from the American context. Watters’ focus is on the adaptation and assimilation of disorder behaviour in different cultural contexts, and because his book considers a variety of different cases (from the sudden rise of anorexia in Hong Kong to the impact of Western trauma counsellors that came to Sri Lanka after the tsunami in 2004), he identifies multiple reasons for the “Americanized versions” (ibid) of the disorders in question. He points out, for example, that medical decisions for diagnosis and treatment are predominantly based on the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, which has become a global standard in the field. Additionally, he suggests, “American researchers and organizations run the premier scholarly journals and host top conferences in the fields of psychology, and psychiatry” (ibid: 4). Also, professional training at Western universities and powerful pharmaceutical companies are other major influences in the Westernization of the way mental disorders are recognized and treated around the world.

These facts may all be influential for the spread of certain ideas about illnesses, and they illustrate the phenomenon of migrating ideas. However, the influences on cultural and sociological changes can be so manifold, from TV programmes, news and newspapers, literature and scholarly publications,

to advertising, fashion, music, and anything on the internet as a universal source of ideas and trends, that it is very difficult to determine possible causal transmission points in Watters' narration. The transmission points in epistemic networks, which are ultimately responsible for the transfer, are often invisible, untraceable or in oblivion, and are also subject to constant change, since networks are not static entities but processes in flux.

Apart from the network members, transmission points, languages, or access criteria, there are further properties of a network that can be influential to facilitating or hindering the spread of ideas. The sociologist and communication scholar Everett M. Rogers analyses properties of networks and network members with regard to their abilities and aptitude to transfer and spread new knowledge. Some of Rogers' findings on the diffusion of innovation will be discussed at a later point in much greater detail. From a knowledge diffusion point of view, it struck Rogers' attention that the importance and strength of more distant connections between network members ('weak ties') lies in their power to convey new information, "[b]ecause an individual's close friends seldom know much that the individual does not also know" (1995: 309). He also notes the importance of such weak ties as bridging links in many cases. A bridging link is used to describe a connection or "line in a network which provides the only path between two points" (Harary, Norman and Cartwright 1965: 198). Rogers also observes on the informative quality of an immediate network cluster, and gives a clear summary on the innovative power of weak ties by stating that

an ingrown system is an extremely poor net in which to catch new information from one's environment. Much more useful as a channel for gaining such information are an individual's more distant (weaker) acquaintances; they are more likely to possess information that the individual does not already possess, such as about a new job or an innovation. Weak ties connect an individual's small clique of intimate friends with another, distant clique; as such, weak ties are often bridging links, connecting two or more cliques. (Rogers 1995: 309-10)

Rogers however notes another factor in the relationships between ties, namely the aspect of communication proximity, which he defines as "the degree to which two individuals in a network have overlapping personal

communication networks” (ibid. 310). He further characterises weak ties with regard to communicative aspects, and posits that weak ties are low in communication proximity, and that they are often heterophilous, which makes them very important for a diffusion process. Heterophily refers to the diversity of communities and the tendency to form diverse groups, which is advantageous for innovation and its diffusion. We can learn more new things when we are in the company of something that we are not yet familiar with, and diversity can be enriching. In contrast, scholars have likewise commented on the principle of homophily, which refers to communities with members who share multiple similarities. Again, the concept is familiar, even from the saying “Birds of a feather flock together” and because “similarity breeds connection” (McPherson et al. 2001: 415). According to Rogers, a certain degree of heterophily must be present in network links so that diffusion of innovations can occur (1995: 310). The chances of learning about new information and ideas is significantly lower when we are only in the company of people who are very similar to us, who perhaps live in the same town, have the same profession, speak the same language, and read the same books and newspapers. The same is true for learning and teaching new theories, methods or practices. Encountering and engaging with differences is more likely to spark innovation, and a higher degree of diversity is beneficial for the spread of ideas through social and epistemic networks.<sup>47</sup>

This section discussed how a network perspective might be beneficial in analysing and understanding various aspects of the spread of ideas, knowledge and innovation in a community of scholars. The following paragraphs consider aspects of learning and innovation as integral parts of the process of information and knowledge flows in networks and epistemic communities.

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<sup>47</sup> The idea of diversity being a necessary ingredient for innovation was already established in medieval times, when young craftsmen were sent away from their hometown for a year or two of travels, in order to learn new techniques from others. Nowadays this practice is still being exerted in traditional German crafts.

### 2.4.1 Learning and Innovation in Epistemic Communities

The import-export of ideas through translators and scholars was long regarded as a somewhat derivative, imitative activity in the context of Western conceptual history.<sup>48</sup> The notion of translation as imitation is arguably as old as the Aristotelian notion of *ars imitatur naturam*. The derivative nature was not, however, always stigmatised as something essentially negative: in Antiquity, for example, translations as “imitations of imitations” (Hermans 2007: 133) were perceived as even being capable of surpassing and improving upon the original. In fact, as Hermans points out, it is not until the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in Western Europe that the notion of originality as the superior form came to challenge the nature and position of translation and translators (ibid.) However, imitation and innovation are neither on opposite ends of a scale, nor are they mutually exclusive, as Shenkar suggests. Instead, imitation can be regarded as a vital aspect of innovative force in social life (Shenkar 2010: 24). However, translators are arguably not only contributing to discourse and the development of ideas, but are themselves being influenced by new information and ideas.

In the analysis of knowledge flows across networks, Roth and Bourguine argue that “it is important to understand the structure, activity and dynamic of the epistemic community one is part of” (Roth and Bourguine 2005: 108). They describe an epistemic community simply as a community of knowledge, and see the scope of epistemological enquiries in the collaboration of agents within the same epistemic framework and towards a given knowledge-related goal, namely knowledge creation or validation (ibid 108-9). Other researchers define an epistemic community as “a network of knowledge-based experts” (Haas 1992), thereby shifting the focus towards expertise, rather than general knowledge. Cowas, David and Foray (2000) suggest that an epistemic community “must share a subset of concepts: [...] a group of agents working on a commonly acknowledged subset of

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<sup>48</sup> I am aware that translation has been considered very differently through various historical periods and in different cultures. My focus here is on Western conceptualisations.

knowledge issues and who at the very least accept a commonly understood procedural authority as essential to the success of their knowledge activities.” (Covas, David and Foray 2000). For a TS context for instance, in order for an epistemic community can collaborate successfully, the members will at least need an agreement on basic values, concepts and procedures (such as e.g. the shared understanding that translation on a word-for-word basis is counterproductive) in order to communicate and develop their knowledge further.

The point of values is an interesting one, and I will briefly expand on it. Teaching and learning new information and developing new ideas is arguably more productive in an environment where fundamental values are left intact. When new information clashes with fundamental values that we hold, we are often more hesitant and slower to engage with those ideas, and to reconcile the new ideas with the rest of our knowledge and understanding of the world. As individuals can hold values, so can businesses, societies, universities, branches of study, or disciplines. If new ideas clash with a discipline’s existing values, it is likely that engagement with and implementation of those ideas will be impeded or slowed down. With a view to adding another layer to the issue of emerging ideas, this constitutes yet another factor in the diffusion and emergence process which is external to the idea itself, but which is arguably important to its respective acceptance or rejection within a given field or institution, and which should therefore be kept in mind.

Miller and Dollard also comment critically on collective behaviour and diffusion mechanism. They firstly point out that “by the word ‘diffusion’ anthropologists identify the process by which cultural traits pass from group to group and filter over wide areas from a common point of origin” (Miller and Dollard 1945: 211). They define diffusion as “the transfer of habit from one individual to another within a group or from one group to another” and argue that “[s]uch transfer must accordingly involve the laws of habit formation, and in particular that special complication of the principles of learning which we call copying.” (ibid.). ‘Copying’ has been labelled different terms by anthropologists, which include ‘borrowing’, or ‘taking over a trait’, although

Miller and Dollard suggest that they “all seem equivalents of the word ‘imitation’” (ibid.: 212). They identify several variables that influence this copying mechanism, including social conditions. “The most obvious of the social conditions affecting copying have to do with *degrees of contact*” (ibid.: 220, my emphasis), and exemplify this by stating that a shared language facilitates the copying mechanism significantly (ibid.). As discussed above, access to all information and knowledge within a network is not always given for everyone, because there might be restricted access to some networks for any number of reasons. Degrees of contact are therefore also reliant on factors such as, for example, class, power, education, hierarchies, languages spoken, or socio-economic factors.

It becomes evident that networks as epistemic communities, and as learning communities, arguably possess a number of intersections with the field of interlingual and cross-cultural communication, for instance where the perception and understanding of concepts is concerned. These often require translation, be it from one language to another or from jargon to common language. Also, it has been shown that access to networks is also often dependent on linguistic access, which a number of approaches do not seem to take into account adequately. As such, the discipline of translation studies might have considerable potential to complement the study of networks with regard to knowledge diffusion. To elaborate on this point, the following section will discuss an approach by sociologist Mark S. Granovetter with regard to the role of language and translation, which in my opinion are not sufficiently accounted for. Arguably, membership in a particular knowledge network does not automatically guarantee access to the information circulating in this network. The ability to decode the information which is circulated is equally important if the connections made through the network are supposed to be beneficial. Therefore, linguistic access is an integral part of the functionality of knowledge networks, and thus should form an integral part of network analysis. However, so far there is a considerable gap in research on networks and network analysis with regard to the aspects of language and translation. This current thesis alone cannot provide a

comprehensive discussion and analysis of the complexities of this missing link between translation and language studies on the one hand, and network and diffusion studies on the other hand. However, this project contributes by addressing the gap in the first place, and by providing example discussions on how the gap could be approached by future research. The following section demonstrates this by first introducing Granovetter's study in some more detail, and subsequently evaluating it with a view towards language and translation issues, before suggesting what is seen as the theory's shortcomings in this regard.

#### **2.4.2 The Strength of Weak Ties Study**

A widely noted contribution to research on network concepts and the spread of knowledge between network members was given by the sociologist Mark S. Granovetter (1973), who worked on social network theory and on economic sociology, and who formulated the strength of weak ties theory. The terms of 'ties' and 'nodes' come from the field of mathematical sociology. 'Ties' are defined as information-carrying connections between 'nodes' (individuals), and Granovetter's research found that "[m]ore novel information flows to individuals through weak than through strong ties" (2005: 34). His article on "The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcome" further clarifies this phenomenon:

Because our close friends tend to move in the same circles that we do, the information they receive overlaps considerably with what we already know. Acquaintances, by contrast, know people that we do not and, thus, receive more novel information. This outcome arises in part because our acquaintances are typically less similar to us than close friends, and in part because they spend less time with us. Moving in different circles from ours, they connect us to a wider world. They may therefore be better sources when we need to go beyond what our own group knows, as in finding a new job or obtaining a scarce service. This is so even though close friends may be more interested than acquaintances in helping us; social structure can dominate motivation. This is one aspect of what I have called 'the strength of weak ties'. (Granovetter 2005: 34)

By gathering and evaluating data taken in "a random sample of recent professional, technical, and managerial job changers living in a Boston

suburb” (Granovetter 1973: 1371) for his original research project that led to his formulation of the Weak Tie Theory, Granovetter suggested that close contacts between individuals actually do not tend to have a high relevance when it comes to passing on new information. On the contrary, he argued that, as close contacts tend to know each other, parts of the information that is flowing between the individuals in the given group or network is actually redundant. From this he inferred that the weaker links between more distant acquaintances turned out to be more efficient for transporting relevant new information across networks and introducing new knowledge to other networks. This theoretical approach of “connectedness” has become the idea of social capital, which is also of interest for researchers in business, management and marketing.

Granovetter’s theory offers some interesting starting points from which to view emerging ideas and knowledge transfer into and across TS against, for instance, the notion of some connections having more influence and more information-carrying power than others. I believe that one aspect of the importance of discussing Granovetter’s approach here is the development of an increased awareness of communication patterns regarding the spread of ideas and analytical tools for observing exchanges of information between different positions or members of a network. This would include, for instance, who are we giving which kind of information to, and from whom we get which kind of information. However, some aspects of his study and conclusions have also been criticised for several methodological shortcomings, and consequently some of the points of criticism will be taken up for discussion.

The notion that networks can and indeed are consciously utilised by its members for personal gain is a practice that long predates modern academic networks.<sup>49</sup> Previously in this thesis it has been argued, for instance, that during Darwin’s lifetime, it was his membership of the Royal Society that was a decisive factor in getting his ideas acknowledged and distributed more

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<sup>49</sup> The book title *Networks. Who we know and how we use them* (Heald 1983) succinctly describes this aspect of personal gain by utilising members of a network.

widely. Granovetter's study, "Getting a Job", was the original empirical basis for the formulation of his strong weak tie theory, in which he looked at a cohort of 282 men who changed jobs in a small town between 1968 and 1969. The first thing to suggest considering about that context is that the mechanisms of getting a job are arguably considerably different in a small town compared to a larger city. Secondly, the mechanics of getting a job are arguably different in the present day compared to the 1960s. While informal connections are still undoubtedly helpful in getting jobs, back in that time (and still today, to some extent, particularly in rural areas) it was possible to get a job within minutes of talking to someone, and start on the job half an hour later. It is not ultimately convincing that these settings are particularly significant for the strength of weak ties, and they potentially tell us more about the socio-culture of semi-rural or suburban regions or small towns, and the relations of the people living there, than about the mechanisms of information exchange through ties.

Another criticism that has been highlighted (e.g. Per Otnes 2009) is that the people sampled by Granovetter's original study *all* found jobs. There is not really a strong control group of people who *did not* change jobs, and their respective ties and place in the network. Instances where people might have had a significant number of weak tie connections, but nonetheless did not succeed in finding a new job utilising these, are not discussed. This of course points to the inherent difficulty of tracing 'failing weak ties', as we cannot trace what we cannot see (cf. Otnes 2009: 125).

With regard to the directionality of information flow, Otnes suggests that information is less likely to be given 'upwards' the more important or valuable it is for the person holding it, and that information considered important or valuable is more likely to be passed on either on the same level or 'downwards'. For the present study examining the emergence of specific ideas in an academic field, this could be taken into consideration as a further layer to the multi-faceted nature of epistemic change. Modern academia is perhaps more than ever a highly competitive field, with limited amounts of funding and positions available to an increasing number of competitors.

Therefore, possible directionalities of knowledge exchange influencing emerging ideas could be of significance.

One of the most interesting things about Granovetter's study is the dynamic that it developed by itself, and the way in which other scientists have reacted to it. The "Strength of Weak Ties" paper became something of a 'citation star', with almost 50,000 citations to date. This is an interesting effect on its own, especially with regard to the dynamic emerging ideas can develop and of their allure. Granovetter himself reviewed his hypothesis against later empirical evidence and suggested that "[t]he results of these studies are very encouraging, but not conclusive" (1983: 228). However, the popularity of his strong weak tie theory was unbroken and further increased. Otnes gives the example of researchers who subsequently to Granovetter's study kept citing his theory "as if it were an established proven theory" (2009: 127). He suggests there might be some kind of academic peer pressure involved, in conjunction with a possible case of researchers seeing what they want to see. It is of course the case that if we are only looking for certain functions or phenomena, we are likely to only discover that too. The lack of a control group in Granovetter's original cohort, for instance, does not account for what happens in cases where weak ties are not utilised. After dissecting the statistics involved in the original study, Otnes concludes that one figure that has often been quoted, but which Granovetter himself never stated, namely the fact that 84% of the people seeking a job were able to find a new position by utilising weak ties, is actually based on a the addition of two categories: firstly the figure of 27.8% of people who heard about new jobs through weak tie contacts, and secondly 55.6% who did belong to the category of 'in between', meaning they neither heard about their job through weak or strong ties. Adding the two categories together makes 83.3%. That would make the strong weak tie theory a 'sometimes true' statement, rather than a fact, as it has often been seen. This is insofar noteworthy because it seems to be a case of researchers seeing what they want to see, and looking for confirmation rather than for shortcomings. Is this the lure of a theory that seems so promising that critical reason is cast aside in some cases in favour

of the benefits of the bandwagon? Naturally, trends in research areas occur, some attract strong interest at times, and many decline again at some point. The dynamics of following a research trend potentially also play a role for the current case examined by project at hand, and will be elaborated on in later chapters of this thesis.

Another issue to be considered is the fact that not all ties can be treated as supportive, or as a conductor for information, and equally that not all information can be regarded as available or appropriate for sharing. Not all ties (academia being no exception) will be necessarily supportive to each other; on the contrary, there is often increasing pressure to publish and attract funding for new research avenues, and the likelihood is that ideas with a high potential for development are not widely disseminated initially: and if they are shared, then that tends to be in collaboration where all participants involved will benefit. It would be naïve to assume that all ideas are at all times diffused altruistically, and indeed issues of hierarchy may also influence flows of information (cf. Otnes: 137).

I would argue that the basic assumption that weak ties would be better suited to provide more relevant information than strong ones, and therefore that the more influential connections are those involving weak ties, can be called into question, in particular for a case in an academic setting as opposed to the cohort of workers and job changers that made up Granovetter's initial study. The situation of academic researchers in their everyday work and study, their collaborations, affiliations, research interests and projects is arguably highly complex and not directly comparable with a cohort of workers as drawn upon by Granovetter's study. While researchers are arguably influenced to an extent by their immediate surroundings, their supervisors and colleagues for current information, guidance, ideas for collaboration etc., a wide range of other information and communication channels is typically available. International conferences, for instance, can serve as a point of contact and exchange, while mailing lists can establish crucial insights and awareness for new research endeavours and ideas.

Academia is in many parts strongly conventionalised, but at the same time often allows for a significant amount of mobility and flexibility for its participants. Every field, whether it is business or academia, has its own conventions, which might have additional effects and influence on our lives and work. In order to determine what role specific aspects of Granovetter's approach with regard to strong and weak ties might play for the case of TS, a data set about the details of relations and personal contacts between TS researchers would ideally be available. Since the data set for this research project in hand focuses primarily on data from publication and citation, the following section will instead emphasise aspects in Granovetter's study that to my knowledge have so far been neglected, and to which TS could contribute significantly to further revisions of his work as well as other work on strong weak tie theory. The issue of language and translation as facilitator of and access to knowledge is a major factor influencing the travel of ideas and information, and yet this has not received much attention so far. These initial observations might serve to initiate further discussion, not just from TS scholars, but also from other disciplines, to start bridging the gap and re-visiting the Weak Tie Theory with more awareness for linguistic issues. The inclusion of e.g. linguistic features in analyses of communication settings will allow for more nuanced insight and increased understanding of inter-personal connections and how language affects the exchange of information. The following section includes for instance an expansion of the analysis criteria that was used by Granovetter in his original study. It suggests to take into account, in addition to the category 'frequency of contact' between participants in the network, whether these communication instances were taking place between two native speakers, between native speaker and non-native speaker, or between two non-native speakers who may or may not be sharing the same native language. The Weak Tie theory and related model for communication between points in the network would be significantly strengthened by an understanding of whether information flows equally well between native speakers and non-native speakers.

As this thesis sets out to offer insight into some of the complexities of ideational shifts within and knowledge transfer between disciplines including a consideration for issues of language and translation, this work should provide a valuable contribution to the Weak Tie theory by expanding the horizon of enquiry into communication flow in networks with the notion of communication across linguistic barriers. In particular the aspects of language and theoretical works in translation, as discussed earlier in this chapter with the examples of texts by Adorno and Derrida, can serve as an ideal starting point to re-examine aspects in the transfer and adoption of new knowledge and information from one language system (or network) into another. The Weak Tie theory would also benefit from increased awareness, further insights and engagement from the field of translation studies as well as interpreting studies in general, since considerations of linguistic access to information as part of Granovetter's model of information exchange between nodes in a network have so far been neglected.

#### **2.4.3 Weak Ties and the Role of Language and Translation**

In order to consider and discuss in more detail the implications of language and translation issues (or the absence thereof) on Granovetter's study, this section firstly considers the make-up of a sample group that formed the basis for his study on the role of weak ties in a labour market setting. The original group was a "random sample of recent professional, technical, and managerial job changers living in a Boston suburb" (Granovetter 1973: 1371). The total sample comprised 282 people, while the subsample of people who were interviewed personally comprised only 100 people. Those people who had found a new job through contacts were then asked "how often they saw the contacts around the time that he passed on job information to them" (ibid.). The frequency of contact was then used to determine the respective ties as weak or strong. While aspects of segregation, different ethnic groups, and ethnic control over certain labour market niches are discussed in the original monograph, "Getting a Job", the specific aspects of potential language barriers or hurdles between members of the job seeker group,

issues regarding possible prejudices towards sociolects or dialects, or issues of non-native speakers of English, are not analysed in more detail. The description and subsequent discussion of the sample group in “The Strength of Weak Ties” suggests a high level of linguistic homogeneity in the sample group, since the members of the sample group are not further differentiated in terms of languages, dialects or sociolects spoken. Given the range of labour fields that were included in the sample group (professional, managerial, but also technical jobs), and the history of Boston as an immigration area, it would be reasonable to assume that there were different local dialects and sociolects present in the sample group, and that at least some members of the sample group were not native speakers of English. Differences in languages, dialects, or even sociolects can however not just alter the amount and accuracy on information that is accessible to an individual from other contacts, but arguably it might also influence how individuals will *feel* about their contacts, and respectively, how they *classify and describe* these connections. In Granovetter’s case, there was a large proportion of his sample group who, when asked if they had heard of their new jobs through weak ties (contacts who they saw rarely) or through strong ties (contacts who they saw often), responded “occasionally” (1371), while 27.8% of those people who found a job through contacts had done so with information transmitted through contacts that they saw only “rarely” (ibid.). On this basis, Granovetter concludes that “[t]he skew is clearly to the weak end of the continuum, suggesting the primacy of structure over motivation” (ibid.). It is the aspect of motivation however, that is arguably more complex than just the frequency of contact. Motivation to pass on information depends on many different factors, but some important ones to mention here I believe are the relative ease of communication, the subjective sense of sharing values, and the mutual feeling of belonging and trust. All these aspects are to a strong degree influenced by language. A shared language, dialect or sociolect is a powerful connector between people, and can motivate individuals to share information respectively, independently of the motivation of frequent contact or close friendship bonds. From a linguistic and translation studies

perspective, it could therefore be beneficial to review and broaden the original categories used by Granovetter. The three original categories for frequency of contact (“often = at least twice a week; occasionally = more than once a year but less than twice a week; rarely = once a year or less” (ibid.)) could, for instance, be refined by adding communication and language-sensitive sub-categories, so that one would end up with categories that convey more information about the *nature* of communication across those ties:

Frequency of contact:	Communication between two native speakers	Communication between native speaker and non-native speaker	Communication between two non-native speakers
Often			
Occasionally			
Rarely			

Fig. 1, Suggestion for expansion of Granovetter’s categories by language-sensitive subcategories

The addition of communication-focused categories, in combination with Granovetter’s categories for the frequency of contact as a basis of determining the nature of the connection, could, for example, indicate not only whether job-related information is passed on via strong or weak ties, but also further differentiate and indicate whether such information tends to reach the job changer, *and through which types of language channels or barriers*. This could bring to light further insights about the balance of structure vs. motivation.

Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote “Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt” (The limits of my language are the limits of my world).<sup>50</sup> Languages and our ability to transcend those limits determine greatly to what extent we can participate in the information exchange and diffusion process when the respective information network operates across

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<sup>50</sup> “Tractatus 5.6”, in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus (Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung)*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1922 (first published 1921).

linguistic and cultural boundaries. However, accents, dialects, and sociolects can furthermore influence how individuals are perceived, and respectively how we perceive and judge the value of information and ideas they can bring to us, as well as our assessment on what information and ideas we will convey to them. Different dialects are often received very differently in terms of perceived level of education, friendliness, etc. Therefore, I believe it would be of great value for a future research project to re-examine Granovetter's original study from a linguistic and translation studies point of view, with emphasis on the dialects, accents, and sociolects present in the sample group, and the respective connotations and consequences for the transmission or non-transmission of relevant information for the job seekers. Prejudices towards different languages and dialects should be taken into greater account for a better understanding of information diffusion patterns, and whether structure really does take primacy over motivation, as Granovetter's findings suggest.

With regard to the relevance of a translation point of view in this context, there is another aspect to consider. If we assume that there is a general truth in the fact that the weaker the link, the more relevant the information and the more likely the information is used by or of use to the recipient, then that would mean the biggest value could be found in those links that are furthest apart. This would mean, though, that links across different languages would possibly hold an even higher value. This is because the link is more likely to be weak, since a different language often points to a different cultural and social setting, which tends to be either geographically distant, and/or has access to different resources and different sets of information and ideas, resulting in a larger value in terms on 'newness'. While this would imply that information diffused through 'translator ties' has an inherently large value, this aspect also comes with its own considerable range of problems, since one could also argue that information disseminated through the 'filter layer' of translation is likely to have at least some deviations or perhaps even distortions compared to the 'original' information. This point was made earlier in this chapter with the discussion of

the cases of translations of Adorno and Derrida for an English audience. The high 'newness' factor that comes with information and ideas translated from a different language and culture is therefore one side of the medallion, while the level of accuracy or deviation from the original information represents the other. In order to assess what appears to be a form of co-dependency between ties, language and language perception, and translation more conclusively, an interdisciplinary collaboration between researchers from the different fields could yield differentiated and insightful results. The points of criticism expressed and the expanded model categories for assessment suggested here initially intend to merely outline a starting point as well as to highlight complexities regarding the role of language, linguistic barriers, and translation in processes of knowledge exchange and the spread of ideas.

## **2.5 Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed various aspects of and changes in the manifold roles and significances of translators and translations, from the lack of attention given by most network analysis to linguistic access, to the significance of translation in the process of the dissemination of ideas, as has been exemplified by cases of translations of Adorno and Derrida. In discussing two exemplary cases of the significance of respective translations for both authors' works, the potential influence of translation on the reception of the authors' ideas and theories in the target language has become visible. Translation choices can be responsible for the understanding or misunderstanding of a theory, thereby influencing its reception and consequently its success and dissemination. Translation can therefore be seen as a factor in the spread and emergence of ideas that influences this process, while the original ideas and author sometimes have little influence on this particular part of the process. This further complements the multi-faceted line of enquiry taken by the project at hand, by showing the layer of interpretation and filtering by translation as an additional factor in the process of the spread of ideas that also determines whether an idea is successfully emerging and is being established or not. The idea itself can be seen as

secondary in this process: a good translation which is tailored to and fulfils the expectations and conventions of the receiving market can enable a scholar's idea to emerge onto a field, be well received and spread, and lead to commercial and academic success. A translation that is badly received, even if the original idea and text are outstanding, could cause an author or scholar and his ideas to become side-lined and disregarded.

This chapter has furthermore outlined examples of translation activity from different historical periods in order to illustrate the translators' changing responsibilities, expectations, as well as the changing power relations and positions within the respective knowledge networks. We have seen translators as contact point between cultures, establishing relations and engaging in the import and export of knowledge (e.g. in the case of travellers like Marco Polo), or as researchers and thereby generators of knowledge (e.g. in the case of 'enriched' translations by commentaries, or cases where translators would undertake research of their own as an addition to the work they were translating). In many of the cases discussed, the role of the translator stretched beyond mere transcription of a manuscript. Often, it also involved personal travel, independent research, collaboration, or teaching, all in their capacity as a translator. The contact points of translators with the society and culture around them were therefore much more manifold, and not limited to the production of a text. Finally, various roles and options of translators and translations as part of networks have been outlined, and selected approaches to connect translation studies and network studies have been discussed, in order to highlight the challenges and opportunities of applying the frame of and strategies from network studies to translation studies research. This chapter sought to accentuate the significance of translation and translators as parts of knowledge networks, and their role as facilitators of knowledge diffusion in these developments. It has shown that networks, their structures, network membership, as well as the languages that are spoken in a particular knowledge network, can impact significantly on the diffusion or non-diffusion of ideas and knowledge, and the success or failure of an emerging idea or theory, since all these factors are

interconnected. This also further underlines the importance of 'external' factors in influencing the development of successful ideas. This chapter has shown additional dimensions and contributing factors to the process of 'making' or 'breaking' of emerging ideas (and by extension, scholars). Before further layers of analysis are added to this discussion, the following section will give a brief overview of the field of sociology as the exemplary focus for analysis of an emerging idea into the field of translation studies. Subsequently, the methodology used for collecting and analysing data, and the data itself will be presented and explained.



### 3 Sociology

“No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe; every man  
is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine”

*John Donne*

#### 3.1 Introduction to Sociology and Sociological Theory

This thesis is concerned with the question of how sociology came into the discipline of translation studies, how it became a part of translation studies' research corpus, and what were the points of entry for sociological theories, ideas and approaches as they are being employed in the field of TS. This project aims to look at the emergence of sociological theories and ideas and examines factors and entry systems and pathways that appear to facilitate the dissemination of sociological ideas within and across the discipline. As Lieven D'hulst and Yves Gambier state in their introduction to *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge*, “[t]ranslation studies as we commonly view it today is a wide, open and dynamic field of research that covers an impressive spectrum of topics approachable by means of a no less impressive set of tools or methods” (2018: 1). In reflection of this broadening scope of TS as a modern academic discipline, they concede that

the implications [...] are quite far-reaching. It has indeed become puzzling to design research projects when life cycles of theories and methods are short-term, while their applicability is unsystematically tested out or when debates on the very fundamentals of translation (such as the concept of translation itself) remain without a clear or workable outcome. (Ibid.)

As any academic field or discipline expands its boundaries of enquiry and its scope of horizon, it is an intrinsic consequence that “the expansion of the field goes hand in hand with the latter's compartmentalization” (D'hulst and Gambier 2018: 2). This effect of compartmentalisation, or, as it could also be called, diversification, can arguably also be observed in the modern academic discipline of translation studies. Having undergone a number of

'turns' – from linguistic to text-linguistic to cultural to social – TS has recently experienced an orientation that increasingly featured implications, insights, theories, and other loan elements from the field of sociology (cf. e.g. Wolf and Fukari 2007). As this research project aims to trace and track some of the sociological elements and their respective emergence and entry points in translation studies, this section will give a brief overview of sociology, try to sketch out what sociology wants and what it looks at, provide a concise overview of its evolution, its main writers and constituting theoretical contributions, and thus give a representation of what the field is concerned with and why it matters, to translation studies as well as to scholars from sociology and other fields.

This chapter is organised in two main sections. The first section will outline a brief introduction to the field of sociology and to significant sociological notions and concepts in order to allow for a more critical analysis of respective and related ideas in the analysis of emerging ideas from sociology into TS. It will highlight origins of social thinking and the status, role and perception of the discipline of sociology. Furthermore, it will present various attempts to define sociology and introduce different sociological concepts that bear relevance to recent developments in TS. The second section is concerned with sociological notions, concepts and terms from a TS perspective. Special emphasis will be given to the notion of translation as a social activity, to the application of the concept of *habitus* to the translator, and the relationship between translation and systems.

Sociology is without doubt one of the Social Sciences (by now in clear distinction to the classical *Geisteswissenschaften*, the “sciences of the mind”, accounting for the often empirical nature of social research), that can be particularly elusive to the grasp for the researcher who wants to engage with it. Multiple explanations of what Sociology is or should be, can do or should do, and cannot do or should not do, are available. The *raison d'être*, the tasks and boundaries of the discipline, are subject to debate even within it.

This section aims to provide a brief discussion of the origins and selected perceived roles, main contributors and writers, tasks and

responsibilities of the discipline of sociology, which will be significant for an understanding of social notions relevant for TS, as well as for the tasks identifying and tracing the emergence of related ideas and theories from sociology into TS.

### **3.1.1 Origins and Status**

What do scholars study when they study sociology, and what questions are “sociological” questions? What does the discipline of sociology want to know? The fourth volume of the *Frankfurt Contributions to Sociology*, “Aspects of Sociology”, reminds us right on page one that “Sociology is nothing new as far as its subject matter is concerned” (*Aspects of Sociology*, 1974:1). The examination and discussion of society dates back to Plato’s *Republic*, which already raised questions about what constitutes a good and just society, and which is closely linked to Plato’s concept of the ideal state and his critique of the society. Some historians of sociology have suggested that it is possible to read Plato (427-347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) as “pre-sociological theories – those of classical Greek and the Social Contract –” as they both “defined society in holistic terms as an organism in which the constituent parts were necessarily related to the whole” (Swingewood 1984: 8).

While sociology can be broadly in concision summed up as the scientific study of social relations, institutions and societies, its methods, approaches and perceived functions and objectives differ widely. Scholars are and always have been divided on the question as to what the function and purpose of the study of sociology is supposed to be. On the one hand, there are sociologists who see their primary remit in producing and analysing data, with the ultimate goal of providing support for decisions to be made about how certain aspects of society should or could be governed. On the other hand, there are sociologists who overall see themselves as investigating and identifying shortcomings, defects, hindrances or injustices of society, and thus assuming a role of the critical voice. Finally, a third type of sociology scholars tends to assume an explanatory role, in an attempt to

understand and explain certain social phenomena. Within each of these three broad categories, a wide range of methodological approaches and theoretical positions exist. It is therefore not hard to understand why sometimes sociology can be

perceived as a discipline with a weak identity, not only because of the existence of its three basically different goals, but also because those sociologists who consider the main goal of their discipline to be the production of valid new knowledge on social phenomena endorse a variety of methodological and theoretical orientations. (Duneier 2015: 997)

This very breadth in what sociology is looking for, wants to answer, and is trying to examine, and which can at times be perceived as vagueness, is also captured in some of the opening statements from Angus Bancroft and Ralph Fevre in their book *Dead White Men* (2016: 1) when they start to outline some of sociology's basic disciplinary, functional and methodological remits. They suggest that “[s]ociology aims to explain the actions of human beings in society, to describe social problems, and look for ways of solving them” and go on to state that “[s]ociology is about how we imagine the world” (2016: 1). As broad a statement as this is, it is highly insightful with regard to processes of critical reflection and observation that are key to the field of sociology.

With its manifold areas of interest and subjects of study, sociology has developed a large number of differentiated branches and theories, that make it both able to address and answer an incredible broad range of issues, but which likewise makes a concise description of the field challenging. Jonathan H. Turner states that “sociological theorizing is a very broad enterprise” and that “[s]ince theory in sociology must examine all of social reality, from its micro- through to meso- to macrolevels of reality, it inevitably must be a very broad subject area” (2001: 962).

The price of this heterogeneity lies in the difficulty of pinpointing the identity of sociology, while its benefit lies in sociology's ability to fill the gaps that other social sciences more devoted to a single paradigm [...] are unable to fill. (Duneier 2015: 1000)

At the core of any social theory, however, is the notion that it constitutes “a framework for interpreting the context of human behaviour” (Bancroft and

Fevre 2016: 3). Equally central to sociological research efforts and enquiries [is] the question of 'why'. "Why is it done that way? Who said that is the way it has to be? Has it always been like that? Can it be different? [...] When these questions are asked it becomes apparent that 'the way things are' is not 'the way things need to be'" (ibid.: 1).

This section aims to give a brief overview of significant theoretical approaches and developments in the field of sociology and introduce influential writers and theorists in order to complement the discussion at the core of this thesis: the emergence of sociology in translation studies.

There are diverging perspectives among sociological theorists on whether sociology can or should fall into the realm of natural empirical science, or whether "the notion of value-free science" should be rejected for the field of sociology and "[s]ociologists and its theories should address problems of social organisation" (Turner 2001: 954). The notion of studying societies in order to contribute to improvements for their respective individuals is one of the longstanding core ideas that has been running through sociology. The American sociologist Lester F. Ward wrote his book with the telling title *Applied Sociology: A Treatise on the Conscious Improvement of Society by Society* in 1906, and thought that "social knowledge should be used for social improvement and reform" (Rodabough and Embry 1906: 237). However, it is not necessarily a case of strict diametric opposites between 'pure' and 'applied' sociology, as both aspects often tend to go hand in hand: "Many contemporary scientific [social] theorists view the development of scientific theory as a necessary step in creating more just societies" (Turner 2001: 954).

The field of sociology as it is understood, taught and practised by researchers today, has developed comparatively recently in contrast to other 'classic' disciplines that have been established and pursued for a much longer time.

Sociology is a relatively young discipline. Although its roots go back to about three or four centuries, it was only in the nineteenth century that it stated assuming its present role of the science of society in the

sense of the systematic study of all societies in space and time. (M. N. Srinivas and M. N. Panini 1973: 179)

Before its emergence as an independent field of study with methods and objectives of its own, sociology was considered as and largely fell under either social philosophy or philosophy of history.

Despite its relatively recent genesis as a modern discipline, as the previous section has shown, sociology was able to develop a remarkable breadth of approaches and theories. Sociological thought is understood as “an awareness of society as a distinctive object of study, as a system or structure objectively determined by laws and processes” (Swingewood 1984: 1). The origins of sociology as a field that has as its object the study of phenomena in societies with the goal of explaining and contributing to positive change lie in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, during a time of industrial revolutions and drastic changes in people's lives, work places and social circumstances.

Society was industrial society and the broad themes of the early sociologists were those of social conflict, alienation, community, social cohesion and the possibilities of evolution and development. The task of social science was to identify the forces promoting historical change. (Ibid.)

This interrelation between historical and industrial circumstances and the study of society as a way of finding answers to the behaviours and problems of individuals and groups, drawing on a large number of different tools and approaches, is also reflected in Swingewood's assessment on 18<sup>th</sup> century social theory as “a peculiarly invigorating mixture of political philosophy, history, political economy and sociology” (1984: 7).

### **3.1.2 Development – Theory and Theorists**

Through some of sociology's most influential writers and theorists, this section will give a brief overview of how from this ‘mixture’ of tools and methods to study humans, their structures and behaviours, sociology began to develop in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a more systematic field of study in order to establish a science of society. Even though initial usage of the term

'sociology' can be traced to the French essayist Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (cf. Fadul and Estoque 2011: 3), as a term for this new science of society, it is now attributed to the French writer and philosopher Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857), who developed the tradition of positivism, and who first published it in the fourth volume of his *Cours de philosophie positive* in 1838.

Positivism as a philosophical theory is based on the notion of empiricism, and can be characterised as “a logical system that bases knowledge on direct, systematic observation” (Plummer 2008: 54). One of Comte’s main points of focus was the observation of social order, connected to his belief that sociological studies should aim to contribute to social reform and improvement of society. With an emphasis on scientific methods of investigation and quantitative and statistical analysis, Comte also established what is still a key part of modern positivism.

Similarly to Comte, later the English philosopher, polymath and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903) took significant inspirations from observing and studying social order. Spencer’s theories gained outstanding reception and significance towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and while he contributed to an extraordinary range of subjects, one of his commonly best-remembered contributions – even though the phrase may not necessarily be connected to him – is the expression “survival of the fittest”, which appeared as a comment on Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in Spencer’s book *Principles of Biology* (Spencer 1864: 444). The notion of a society where individuals with different levels of capabilities, or levels of ‘fitness’, struggle against each other for the best chances, is a reflection of what became known as social Darwinism.

The French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858 – 1917) further developed sociology as an independent discipline and science, in particular the concept of functionalism which maintains cultural and social unity through interactions (cf. Ferrante 2008: 118), and is generally recognised as one of the main founding fathers of modern sociology (Calhoun 2002: 107). With the conviction that sociology was the study of social facts,

Durkheim believed that the sociologist's task is to analyse and explain the mechanisms that shape solidarity. Just as Marx defined the means of production as central to sociologists, Durkheim regarded *solidarity* as an essential concern. (Ferrante 2008: 15, my emphasis)

In contrast, the German philosopher, political theorist and sociologist Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) argued that social change was driven by conflict and that social order is essentially shaped by the means of production (cf. e.g. Ritzer: 2011), resulting in an exploited and an exploiting class of people. It can be seen that an overall “[i]nterest in the issue of social order was one of the major concerns of classical sociological theorists” (Ritzer 2011: 5), including in particular Comte, Durkheim and Marx. Marx's contributions to develop a science of society (cf. Calhoun 2002: 19) thus need to be also read as a response to the technological changes and societal upheavals that occurred as a repercussions of the Industrial Revolution.

Max Weber (1864 – 1920) is another German sociologist and philosopher, who is frequently quoted alongside Durkheim and Marx as a founder of modern sociology, but whose views are starkly different to Comte's or Spencer's positivism or Durkheim's tendency for monocausality. It could be argued that with a focus on rationalisation and secularisation of society, Weber's work brought on a sociology of modernity fitted for the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bridging the economics of religion and economics: “[Weber] described as ‘rational’ the process of disenchantment which led in Europe to a disintegration of religious world views that issued in a secular culture” (Habermas 1987: 2).

In conclusion,

the classical theorists Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber are, doubtless, the most important internal intellectual influences on contemporary social theorizing. The so-called ‘holy trinity’ set out the major problems for social theory that continue to occupy contemporary thinkers. Marx provided a rationale for integrating social theory, empirical historical inquiry, and normative critique. Durkheim gave sociology the social fact, as a justification for studying society and as a powerful analytical tool. Weber's ideas are founding principles in the sociology of religion, organizations, development, and politics, among many other fields (Stillman 2007: 4).

While all modern theories are to a varying extent informed by the classics, Todd Stillman argues that there are two basic types of modern sociological theorists and thinkers: “Scientific thinkers like Merton rummage the classics in search of testable hypotheses. Critical thinkers like Habermas engage the classics as an interpretive exercise” (ibid.).

Modernity for sociological theorists and theories in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also brought about an increasing trend for a stronger scientific emphasis in investigations and observations. The work of American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1910 – 2003) is a good example for a strongly scientific approach to sociological issues and methods – one of the first ever sociologists to be elected to the National Academy of Science, his theories and concepts also contributed significantly to the development of the sociology of science (cf. e.g. Merton 1979). Merton’s work was characterised by thought on social groups and the social roles within these groups, and he developed a number of memorable concepts, some of which have found their way into everyday language, for instance the terms ‘role model’ or ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ (cf. Merton 1948).

In stark contrast to Robert Merton, the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas “takes social theory to be a critical rather than a scientific enterprise, that is, the aim of theory is to write a pathology report of modern society in order to find a cure for its ills” (Stillman 2007: 5). Habermas’ background of research tradition and thought is the Frankfurt School. Sociological theorists whose work is associated with the Frankfurt School include Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, and Max Horkheimer.

Habermas’ theories drew significantly on ideas from other disciplines and fields of thought outside of the boundaries of sociology at the time, including, for instance, pragmatist philosophy for his ideas about discourse ethics and moral norms (cf. Stillman 2007: 5). The French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984), who is closely associated with postmodernist theory, further continued this tendency to incorporate extra-disciplinary resources. This was particularly relevant for Foucault’s studies

and conceptualisation of power issues, since he saw the mechanism of influence as central to understanding power. Up until then, power in sociological discourse had been a “macro-sociological issue, a means that states and other powerful actors used to exert influence” (Stillman 2007: 6), but with a lack of existing scholarship on the influences exerted and felt by individual actors within the structures in question, Foucault consequently turned towards a micro-theory approach for understanding how certain issues could influence individual actors and their actions.

A classmate of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida at the École Normale Supérieure, the French anthropologist, sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002)

developed his theory of cultural capital in the context of his work on the French educational system. Although conceived in the French context, Bourdieu’s has been an influential theory of social reproduction, a useful analytic in a variety of empirical contexts (Stillman 2007: 2).

Bourdieu was initially inspired to study structures of power and social inequality, and much of his work is concerned with the dynamics of power in society and social mobility, and he is known for the development of key terms such as *habitus*, *field*, and the expansion of categories for the idea of *capital*.

In the 1980s, many sociological theorists, particularly outside of France, increasingly emphasised issues like “globalisation, communication, and reflexivity in terms of a ‘second’ phase of modernity, rather than a distinct new era *per se*” (Fadul and Estoque 2011: 8). Questions of modernity in an increasingly globalised and networked social world order remained a significant field of study within sociology, with British sociologist Anthony Giddens going on to develop further theories on modernity in the 1990s that were highly influential for policy makers in government, both in the UK under New Labour and in the US under the Clinton administration (cf. Fadul and Estoque 2011).

Postmodernist sociological theorists consequently further diversified in their methods and objects of inquiry. Sociologists like Niklas Luhmann (1927 – 1998) represent functional systems theory, which remained influential until

the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Luhmann's systems theory has at its core the problem of meaning, since it considers all social systems as systems of communication.

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the field of sociology has undergone a number of profound theoretical, philosophical, practical, and likewise methodological shifts. Quantitative methods employed by sociologists have developed, together with technological advancements and innovations in electronic data storage and management systems, into highly sophisticated and powerful tools, leading, for instance, to the "development of longitudinal studies that follow the same population over the course of years or decades" (Fadul and Estoque: 9). This made the study of long-term phenomena possible and gave new insights into causalities. Equally, the technological advancements in turn led to the development of a number of new sociological methodologies, for instance for data collation and statistical analysis. This parallel development of technologies in society, and utilisation of technologies in order to study society, can ultimately be seen as a reflection of the concerns and inspirations of the early classic theorists in sociology, in that they aimed to find responses to the changing realities that people faced at times of upheaval and renewal.

This section briefly outlined developments in modern sociology, beginning with five of its most influential classical theorists, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber, and concluded with formative sociological writers and theorists of modernity, such as Robert K. Merton, Jürgen Habermas, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, or Niklas Luhmann, who span significant developments in sociological theory throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The following is an attempt to further illustrate the name and content of sociology from a multi-faceted perspective.

### **3.1.3 Definitions and Perceptions**

It has been mentioned above that it is not easy to find a commonly accepted, concise definition for discipline of sociology, and the far-ranging scope of sociological scholars' works exemplified in the previous section reflects this.

It is also evidenced by the large number as well as diversity of results for the overall keyword search for 'sociology' in the TSB database, which returned almost 470 hits. A database search in all fields, not just for the tag under the keyword category, even returns 600 results. Even a quick glance at the search results reveals an extraordinary breadth of different topics and approaches, all under the keyword of 'sociology'. The number and variety of search results also suggests a very high adaptability for TS scholars with regard to adopting new theories from other disciplines and engaging with theoretical frameworks and methodology to enable new research perspectives. The emergence of 'sociology' as a keyword in the TSB database presents as an approximately exponential curve, with a stark drop-off after the highpoint in 2010. The earliest appearance of the term occurs in 1972, but the following 20 years see very low to now further engagement. Significant evidence for publications that are tagged with the keyword 'sociology' only occurs from the mid-1990s onwards. Another interesting feature of the overall distribution for the emergence of 'sociology' as a keyword is that it can also be read as an approximation of the adoption curve model as developed by the Diffusion of Innovation theorist Everett M Rogers. Further substantiation with additional data and different keyword terms would be required to confirm further to what degree innovation adoption behavior in the discipline of TS follows these models, but the large dataset that was used for this research project, the long timescale over which data was included, and the fact that the distribution curves for other keywords searched for almost all bear a resemblance to this one, suggest that the emergence and adoption of sociological ideas and theories in TS appears to follow Rogers' model. If further research would further support this assumption, this would be a highly valuable insight into the way academic disciplines handle emerging new knowledge, and it would furthermore allow indicative predictions about future developments in TS.

When it comes to classifying and defining different strands of thought and research within sociology itself, perceptions can vary drastically according to which school of thought a particular author is rooted in. In

Weber's view (1962), the discipline and term of "sociology" present itself with fuzzy edges and is "open to many different interpretations" (Weber 1962: 29). He nevertheless adds the definition of sociology in which sense he is proposing to use it as "that science which aims at the interpretative understanding of social behaviour in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its course, and its effects" (ibid.). In difference to later approaches by Luhmann (see 1984/1995), Weber suggests that "social behaviour" may comprise mental and/or external elements.

One aspect of this problematic perception of sociology seems the discipline's close connection with what Bauman labels "common sense" (Bauman in Giddens, 2001: 10-2), which plays a central role in sociological thinking. As he continues to elaborate, the raw material of sociological research derives from "experiences of ordinary people in ordinary daily life; an experience accessible in principle, though not always in practice, to everybody" (ibid.). Common sense is what makes us able to live in multiple connections with other human beings, and it is furthermore a vital aspect of sociological research. He concludes that sociology may be regarded primarily as a "*way of thinking about the human world*" (ibid., his emphasis), which relates to Luhmann's thoughts on the role and perspective of the discipline and its researchers, whose position he locates as that "of an observer who can *perceive* knowledge and ignorance, manifest and latent 'contents' at once, [...]" (Luhmann, 1995: 335, my emphasis).

In his lecture series during the summer of 1968 on *Einleitung in die Soziologie*, Theodor W. Adorno emphasised the dual character of the discipline: to observe and to understand on the one hand; but on the other hand to also turn the conclusions from observations and "making sense" into actions that would have a beneficial influence on the society they have been constructed from (Adorno, 2003:12-4). He also makes a point in admitting to the students that "the society in which we live is very much within itself constitutively contradictory" (Adorno 2003: 18, my translation).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> "Die Gesellschaft, in der wir leben [...] selber in sich wesentlich konstitutiv widerspruchsvoll ist [...]"

Anthony Giddens is attempting to give a definition of the discipline of sociology while also outlining its scope, and he carefully approaches a tentative definition, starting out from the banality (which he immediately points out to the reader) that “sociology is concerned with the study of human societies” (Giddens, 2001: 5). However, he continues to break down this definition by adding the multifaceted reality of what a society constitutes. He understands societies as systems “of institutionalized modes of conduct” and reminds us of the reproductory and temporal aspects of these modes of conduct, until finally offering a more modern definition of sociology as “a social science, having as its main focus the study of the social institutions brought into being by the industrial transformations of the past two or three centuries” (ibid.).

Beginning with Plato’s contemplations on a just society, it is still one of the main aims of sociology to not only describe and observe, but also to “make sense of human reality” (Bauman 2001: 13), to derive meaning from our observations. Meaning, however, as Luhmann points out, is in a constant state of flux, it is essentially unstable (Luhmann, 1995: 64, 65-7), and at the same time, he reminds us, it “ensures the complex of properties necessary for the formation of system elements” (Luhmann, 1995: 68). To Luhmann, meaning is a pre-requisite in order to determine both individual elements and components of the system we observe as well as their relations to other elements of that system. One of the manifold challenges of this process is of course, as both Giddens and Luhmann, among others, point out, that meaning has the inherent quality to change, or, as Luhmann calls it, an “auto-agility” (1995: 66).

Sociology concerns itself with human realities, and has a mainly observing rather than an acting role, but when meaning is induced from sociological observations, the reproductory and temporal factors that determine human behaviour and the systems they occur within have to be taken into account.

The following sections discuss some established core terms within the modern sociological discourse that have gained particular attention from the

field of TS, translation scholars and theorists. Arguably, terminological clarity is vital to a fruitful discussion and analysis of emerging terms from the discipline of sociology in TS. Also of interest, thereby, is whether any terminological change occurred and whether conceptual change is accompanying possible terminological changes – that is to say, whether certain concepts, or indeed partial concepts, might have been adopted into TS with an altered meaning and content.

### **3.1.4 Habitus**

The term and concept of *habitus* was most prominently introduced to the social discourse by Pierre Bourdieu. This concept is of particular interest here, since it has been widely taken up by TS scholars and is by now mentioned frequently in TS discourses on sociological aspects of translation or interpreting, often in connection with the concept of agents. Therefore it requires closer analysis and definition here. The term *habitus* is also one the central keywords that the TSB database was searched for during this research. While it frequently co-occurs with the concept of *agency*, the respective keyword search results indicate a distinct and quite diverse emergence pattern. While the keyword 'habitus' first occurs earlier in the data and is present over a longer period of time, the overall number of direct keyword search results for the term 'agency' were higher (74 versus 96). The main interest in and engagement with 'agency' tagged as a keyword in publications was concentrated over three years (taken as the years with a distinctively high number of results for the keyword), while the distribution of 'habitus' shows a distinct spike in just one year. While the two terms are adjacent and co-occur in Bourdieu's theories, their emergence patterns are quite different, and potentially suggest trends in the adoption of certain aspects of theories that seem more favourable or suitable to research interests or trends at the time. A detailed distribution curve by year for each keyword is provided in chapter 4.

Bourdieu proposes an early definition of the term *habitus* in a paper published in 1971 and entitled “Intellectual field and creative project” to the social discourse by stipulating “habitus” as

a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems. (Bourdieu 1971: 90)

Visible here are the temporal aspect, the reproductive aspect, the transferable nature and the problem-solving orientation of *habitus* in this definition. The repetitive element of human behaviour is also mentioned by Adorno (2003/1951: 176), when he states that it is in fact the very habit of repetition and replication that constitutes human nature.

A later definition by Bourdieu still includes the temporal and transferable aspect, and also stresses the generative nature of *habitus* in his definition of the concept in *The Logic of Practice*, published in 1990: “a system of durable, transposable dispositions, [...] principles which generate and organize practices” (Bourdieu 1990: 53). Especially in the earlier definition, it becomes evident that *habitus* is closely linked to our individual experiences as well as our socialization by and according to normative external structures and derives, in the understanding of Bourdieu, “from the class-specific experiences of socialization in family and peer groups” (Swartz 1997: 102). The intrinsic nature as well as the dualistic effectiveness of *habitus* is highlighted already as well in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* when he explains that “[t]he habitus is precisely this immanent law, *lex insita*, laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination [...]” (Bourdieu 1977: 81).<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> This dual nature of habitus might constitute a potential key to the concept’s relevance in the discipline of TS, since this dual nature caters for individual qualities of the translator while embedding his translational activity in a context of a specific socialization process which in turn exerts considerable influence on his actions.

That there is a grey area between social and psychological constraints on translators, and that a collective basis and an individual-cognitive influence may often be difficult to distinguish, is also suggested by Bourdieu in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*:

In order to define the relations between class, habitus and the organic individuality which can never entirely be removed from sociological discourse, [...], the habitus could be considered as a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class [...]. (Bourdieu 1977: 86)

The concept of *habitus* evidently comprises a number of different facets and viewpoints, which make it an appealing notion for adoption into other disciplines. Not always are all originally postulated facets taken into account when the concept is 'borrowed'. However, especially when concepts, terms and ideas are borrowed across disciplines, it is arguably important to regularly check the respective conceptual 'tools' in order to uphold methodological, theoretical and terminological rigour and to see if any readjustments might be required.

### **3.1.5 Systems and Norms**

The notion of norms as a governing structure of human behaviour has become a much relied-upon concept not only within sociological debate, but also within the discipline of TS (cf. e.g. Toury 1995). However, especially within sociological literature, there is no commonly agreed-upon generic definition of what exactly norms are or how different types of norms should be distinguishable (cf. Gibbs 1965), which also offers some insight into the intricate construct of human realities, since it is only in the deviation from norms that these become apparent - besides an overall agreement on that there *are* norms, numerous definitions of 'norms' are available.

Because of the significance of the concept of norms in TS, though, and because of the frequency with which this concept is borrowed and employed by TS, this section will attempt an outline of what is agreed upon regarding norms, and thus try to get closer to an understanding and a

working definition of norms from a purely sociological point of view. This might hopefully contribute to a sharper focus when examining terms and concepts that are borrowed from other disciplines.

Given their importance, it seems surprising that there should be so little consensus among sociologists and researchers all across the social sciences about what norms are, what makes them emerge and who enforces adherence to them. Basic disagreement regarding norms among sociologists begins already with the question as to whether norms are given, and thereby merely “obeyed”, or whether they are constructed, which would make them negotiable (cf. Hechter and Opp 2001). Alan Fine (2001) states that all norms are ultimately, namely in their application, negotiable, but does not specify to what extent, by whom or under what circumstances. Since norms are performed by individuals within a social system, they emerge through socialisation. However, the process of socialisation itself is not labelled with universal properties or boundaries. Christine Horne draws our attention to the multitude of terms that are being used to describe similar or even sometimes overlapping concepts: “custom, convention, role, identity, institution, culture, and so forth” (Horne 2001: 3). Alan Fine attempts to distinguish norms by relating them more directly to a social decision making process. In his perception, norms “constitute a ‘frame’ within which individuals interpret a given situation and from which they take direction for their responsibilities as actors in that domain” (Fine 2001:140).

A widely accepted, but very general, definition postulates norms as statements that regulate behaviour. There is little agreement, on the other hand, on what makes norms effective. Durkheim (1915), for example, proposes that norms must be internalised in order to be effective. This aspect of internalised consensus regarding norms also shines through in Gideon Toury’s definition of norms as “the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situation” (Toury 1995: 55).

Having outlined in brief the field of sociology, some of its core aims and motivations, key theorists and some relevant concepts, Toury's definition of norms brings us to the next section which will summarise the topic of sociology in translation studies.

### **3.2 Sociology, Translation and Translation Studies**

Just as there are different approaches to and understandings of the nature and role of the field itself within the discipline of sociology, there are also different approaches to a social perspective in TS. It has been shown above that the understanding of what role sociology has, or should have, differs among scholars in the field and reflects the vast range of the discipline. This flexibility and extended range of sociological approaches is also observed by Moira Inghilleri when she comments on the "diverse array of actual and potential sites and activities" (2009: 279) that the new research field of sociological perspectives has and can provide for translation studies, including various "sets of analytical concepts and explanatory procedures to theorize the social nature of translation practices" (ibid.). "Recently, the study of *translators*, rather than the texts and cultures, has become centre-stage in translation studies research" (Munday 2008: 157). With this development of sociological approaches to translation and translation studies, "the role of the translator as active agent" (ibid.) became a main new focus.

It has been shown that the range of sociological theories and sociologists that TS research has so far adopted is varied and spans a significant range of frameworks, methodologies and terminologies. Interestingly, the sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher Bruno Latour has received comparably less attention from TS scholars to date. H  l  ne Buzelin remarks that "contrary to Bourdieu's work, Latour's remains largely unknown in translation studies" (Buzelin in Wolf and Fukari 2007: 138). Considering that there is increasing interest in and engagement with the topic of translation as a social practice, Latour's Actor-Network Theory has been suggested as a helpful methodological framework for a process-oriented view of translation (cf. e.g. Buzelin in Wolf and Fukari 2007), while the area of

ethnographic research in translation and TS also appears to be a suitable field for implementing Latour's theories (cf. e.g. Buzelin in St-Pierre and Kar 2007).

In the context of Actor-Network theory, Latour understands translation as a process in which the actors involved interact in order to construct common meanings and which needs continuous negotiations in order to achieve meaningful outcomes. Buzelin states that Latour's model would highlight the various stages of the translation process, and shine further light on negotiations or correspondence between the different agents involved in the translation process. However, in correlation with Buzelin's statement about Latour's work remaining largely unknown, a keyword search in TSB database returned zero results, while an additional 'person as subject' search returned three results, and an open search in the database for 'Latour' in all fields resulted in just 13 hits. In comparison, an open search in all category fields for 'Bourdieu' resulted in 164 hits. This appears to be at odds with an entry on sociological approaches in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, which states that "[t]he French social theorists Pierre Bourdieu and Bruno Latour, along with Niklas Luhmann from Germany, have so far been the most influential in approaches that originate in the social sciences" (Inghilleri in Baker and Saldanha 2009: 279-280). The contrasts between the Encyclopedia entry, Buzelin's assessment of Latour's theories in use within TS, and the low number of search results in the TSB database further highlight the relevance of data-driven research into the emergence and distribution of ideas in TS, which will be presented in more detail in the following chapter.

In his essay *The Name and Nature of Translation Studies*, written in 1972, Holmes already mentions the establishment of a possible field of translation sociology, and even proposes "socio-translation studies" (Holmes 1972/2000: 185). Holmes locates the sociological aspect of translation within the branch of function-oriented DTS, which takes an interest in the function of translation, or translations, viewed against the backdrop of their recipient socio-cultural situation, since "it is a study of *contexts* rather than texts" (ibid.,

my emphasis). The suggested term of “socio-translation studies” seems to include not only a naturally interdisciplinary approach, but also the notion of a need for methodological “follow-through”, which, for a “mixed” discipline, might have to be appropriately adapted. Holmes’ term seems promising in terms of opening up new avenues of thought, especially with regard to a more coherent methodology for a “sociology of translation”.

Sociological notions, terms and concepts increasingly found their way into the discipline of TS in the mid-1990s, after the “Cultural Turn” of the early 1990s (cf. Bassnett and Lefevere 1998) had opened up the field for stronger consideration of the individualistic, psychological aspects of the translation process. As Prunč suggests, because of the origins of the discipline of TS as “a sub-discipline of contrastive linguistics” (2007: 40), focusing on a more or less purely text-based approach, the gradual turn away from the notion of the “ideal text” and the “ideal translation”, which neglected individual psychological aspects, took a while to fully sink in. However, as of today, the discipline of translation studies has now borrowed, adapted and adopted a number of concepts, terms, methods and theories from sociology. So much so that the term “social turn” for these new perspectives in TS, in analogy to Bassnett’s “cultural turn”, has become widely established. However, as Wolf (2007: 6) points out, the distinction between the social and the cultural can also be seen as of limited relevance, since the two “cannot be regarded as detached from each other” (ibid.). She sees translation and translators as a firm part of social realities, and also draws on the dualistic notion of translation as both constructing and constructed within society.

Inghilleri distinguishes between “research which identifies itself as sociocultural and applies a more eclectic set of observational and explanatory frameworks to specific translation activity” on the one hand, and “research which relies on theoretical and methodological frameworks that originate in the social sciences” on the other (2009: 279). In the subsequent section, different aspects and implications of sociological approaches to translation and translation studies research are presented in more detail.

### 3.2.1 Translation and Translation Research as Social Activity

Interdisciplinary approaches are, in general, to be welcomed in any discipline. The inclusion of sociological concepts in translation research arguably widens the theoretical and methodological scope of the discipline of TS considerably and opens up an abundance of new research areas. The socio-political positions and functions of translation and translators have shifted considerably in the last decade since Chesterman (2007) justly pointed out that research in TS often used to lack social relevance. However, there is now not only a firmly established social perspective in TS, but the field of translation studies has become increasingly politicised and has seen expanded research activity into and engagement with for instance translator activism (cf. e.g. Tymoczko 2010, Carcelén-Estrada in Fernández and Evans 2018), a renewed debate on translator and interpreter visibility in regions of conflict and war (cf. e.g. Salama-Carr 2007, Baker 2010, Inghilleri and Harding 2010, or ethical questions in public or political engagement of translators and interpreters worldwide. Even these selected examples from the spectrum of research into politicised translation studies and translation activity show clearly the increasing relevance of translation as a social activity. Having elaborated the renewed political relevance of translation as a social activity, this should be regarded as an excellent opportunity to continue addressing the importance and applicability of TS to the needs of society, and to revisit the interface between theorists and practitioners. Chesterman and Wagner (2002) addressed similar concerns, especially from the practitioner's side. The question of to what extent, or even whether at all, theory can help translators - that is, how can the TS scholar, the theorist, make a meaningful contribution to the lives of those working at the "wordface" (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 1) - is still valid and important. Moreover, it is also a highly sociological question, since the demand for help arises from the wish for an improvement in working conditions and in professional recognition:

How can we translators lay claim to professional status, and assert ourselves as professionals rather than charlatans [...] There seem to

be no clear guidelines on how to select people for translator training, how to assess a translation, how to specify the purpose of a translation, how to measure and thus ensure reader satisfaction. (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 5)

The social dimension of the practitioner's demand for assistance in the "real world" from the TS researcher becomes particularly evident in the following question:

So what about the other problems plaguing translators – lack of confidence (arising from a poor self-image and uncertain professional status) and demotivation (caused by their invisibility and isolation, and the absence of feedback). (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 12)

Evidently, not only does translation constitute a social activity as well as *contributing* to social realities, but so does TS research. This leads to another issue in recent development in TS research. Due to an increasing interdisciplinarity, the discipline is also becoming increasingly fragmented, as Chesterman rightly observes, and there is clearly much need for "some kind of coherence in the field, we need to look for ways of connecting different approaches" (2007: 172). He suggests bridge concepts such as the sociology of translation, or, in the wording of Holmes, socio-translation studies, as he characterises the very rise of the social notion in TS as a response to problematic current research paradigms, which appear to be unable to sufficiently address the various issues and expectations that the discipline of TS recently has to cater for.

The social constraints of translation, as well as the constraints of their respective social system, can be illustrated with the example of legal translation and interpreting activity. In German courts, the translator or interpreter is in general routinely sworn in; he has to take a similar oath as witnesses have to regarding the truthfulness of all their statements. The translator/interpreter is therefore not only reliable for an accurate rendering of the hearing or case, but a failure to do so (a *Meineid*, or perjury) would have consequences not only for the people involved in the case, but also directly for the translator himself. His actions have an immediate impact on the social realities of everyone involved in the case, but also on the translator's own social position. Furthermore, the dual nature of translation as a social activity

becomes evident here as well, particularly when we consider that the field of legal translation is heavily influenced and regulated, and is in fact based on the respective society it serves.

Another example for the social dimension of translation and translational behaviour is given by Hervey, Loughridge and Higgins (2006) in their introductory outline of processes of translation. They state that the “processes of translation are not different from familiar things that everyone does every day” (ibid.: 7), and go on to identify comprehension and interpretation as two processes that are both part of everyone’s lives as well as sub-processes in a translation process. Comprehension and interpretation are essential for successful communication, in whichever form.

Comprehension and interpretation are, however, socio-cognitive processes that require a degree of socialisation. Socialisation has an influence on social cohesion, while social cohesive structures also exert an influence on the individual’s socialisation. Translation can therefore be understood as a process that is both influenced by degrees of socialisation, and also contributes to degrees of social cohesion. The already above-mentioned dual nature of translation as a social activity becomes evident here, too.

Kenan (2002) firmly establishes a link between translation and concrete social practices. He gives evidence of social change brought on by translation as well as changes in the social sciences in China via translated texts, and also suggests a considerate potential of translation to significantly influence ideological perceptions, when he states that a “translation movement ideologically paved the way for the 1911 revolution that eventually overthrew the last feudal dynasty of China” (Kenan 2002: 164). By examining the work of a prominent Chinese translator, Lin Shu, and the narrative patterns in Chinese writing that were inspired by his body of work, Kenan finds that the predominant Chinese tradition of beginning each chapter with a couplet which would tell the reader about the contents of the respective chapter was in fact challenged by Shu’s introduction of the “foreign” tradition of simple chapter headings, and concludes that “[t]rough his translations Lin also changed the patterns of narrative writing in Chinese”, since nowadays

“most Chinese novels begin a chapter simply with a number, just as their foreign counterparts do” (Kenan 2002: 165).

Hatim links the sociology of translation to the concept of ideology, when he explains that “[t]ranslator mediation can be ideological itself” (2001: 127). Translator mediation can be understood either in a social sense or in a translational sense. For the former, Hatim gives the example of a translator who mediated to include and/or “to express her own feminism or racism” (ibid.) and for the latter, he suggests a translator who mediates to uphold certain ethical values he has *about* translation. Hatim thus suggests a social influence of translation via the ideology of its agents, the translators.

### **3.2.2 The Translator’s *Habitus***

The concept of *habitus* was most prominently introduced to sociological debates by Pierre Bourdieu, and by now has become a fairly widespread term. This calls all the more for close reading of what the term has been used to designate in TS, and what conceptual and structuring potential it has for translation and translators. An additional aspect to consider in discussing the works of Bourdieu is the fact that his theories are often read in translation, not in the original. As I discussed in chapter 2 with the examples of works by Adorno and Derrida in translation, a translation can have a significant impact on the reception of a respective theory in the target language. Reception, understanding and interpretation of theories, or any work, in their respective source language versus the reception of a translation in the target language cannot be taken as equivalent. The assumption that a theory in translation can be taken as the same value as the original has also been challenged e.g. by Susam-Sarajeva (2006). Beyond linguistic, cultural or grammatical issues involved in the translation process, systemic structures such as editorial choices can also play a significant part in affecting the reception of theory in translation. Perceptions of language and style can also play an important part in the reception of theory in translation. In the case of Bourdieu, the perception of his style was distinctively different between France and for instance the United Kingdom: “[Bourdieu’s] style is dense in English

translation, but he was considered an elegant and incisive writer both in France and in neighboring European countries other than England".<sup>53</sup> TS scholars in different countries and with different levels of access to the original French text will inevitably perceive his theories and elaborations with different nuances, as the previously discussed cases of Adorno and Derrida in translation highlight as well. For the overall quantitative data and focus at the core of this thesis, this is not considered further problematic, however for a potential qualitative analysis of a smaller scale sample of data that enquires into e.g. shifts in perception between different translations of Bourdieu's work in multiple languages and countries, this issue would have to be at the forefront.

Prunč (2007) considers the translator's *habitus* as a range of roles that spans from ancient Mesopotamia to contemporary organisations like the EU and its institutions. He postulates as the two extremes ends of the spectrum of possible *habitus* for translators firstly the *habitus* of the ancient concept of the translator-priest, on the other end he determines the *habitus* of the pariah as a servant figure who works from a subordinate position regarding the original text and author. According to Prunč, it depends on the respective time and society of the translator, where he will locate himself. Simeoni's arguments (1998) evidently influenced Prunč's view of the translator's *habitus*. He also suggested that history's traditionally predominant role for translators as mere servants to a higher textual or authorial cause has contributed to an internalisation of low value for their own work and role, and ultimately to a submissive behaviour.

Chesterman's notion of the translator's *habitus* presents itself rather different. He locates the *habitus*, which he defines in Bourdieu's sense of "a term for the totality of professional dispositions and attitudes of agents within a given fields or practice" (Chesterman 2007: 171), between the social and the cognitive, and thus functions as a mediator "between personal experience and the social world" (ibid.). Whereas Prunč grants the translator

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<sup>53</sup> [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Pierre\\_Bourdieu](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Pierre_Bourdieu), last accessed 4 May 2019

a limited influence over the location of his *habitus* on the range of possible roles, Chesterman's notion seems to cater more for an influence-oriented view.

### 3.2.3 Translation and Social Systems

One of the most notable and comprehensive attempts to establish the systemic nature of sociology and its components has been undertaken by Niklas Luhmann (1995), who published his book *Soziale Systeme* in German, originally in 1984. However, it would take another eleven years until an English translation of the book became available and widened Luhmann's international reception significantly. This delay between the 'production' or formulation (in print) of an idea and its reception in another recipient system can also be viewed in relation to the notion of migration of theories through translation itself. It reflects the sometimes delayed process of transmission and dissemination through translation.

On the relation of systems, society and their observer, Luhmann remarks that

[i]n many ways modern society has opened up possibilities for observing and describing how its systems operate and under what conditions they observe their environment. The only drawback is that this observing of observing is not disciplined enough by self-observation. It appears as better knowledge. But in reality it is only a particular kind of observing of its own environment. (Luhmann 1989/1995: 26-7)

For the observer of social systems this serves as a reminder that despite more possibilities for analysis and insights than ever, the method of observing itself must not be compromised by ease of access or multitude of factors to be considered.

Theo Hermans argues that the whole point of introducing system theory to the discipline of TS is so that they can "help us understand translation in its social dimension" (2007: 112). System theory can therefore also be regarded as a tool to sharpen our own vision and perception for our research undertakings, and thus gain a better understanding of the object of our research.

Understanding of systems and the translator's position in them within TS differs. Hermans, for example (cf. 2002, 2007), bases his analysis of systems and the translator's position within them on Luhmann's outline in *Social Systems* (cf. Luhmann 1995): Luhmann establishes a social system as instances of communication, and separates the individual *person* including internalised mental processes from the communicative occurrences that constitute "the social". Hermans sums this perception of "the social" up as "what happens not within but between persons" (2007a: 62). In a very lucid description of Luhmann's system parameters, Hermans excludes the translator from the proposed system of translation. In a social systems theory as based on Luhmann, as Hermans elaborates, "translators are not part of any social system because, like other human beings, they are composed of minds and bodies, and *neither minds nor bodies are social*" (Hermans 2007a: 62, my emphasis). A social system like Luhmann described it consists of *Kommunikationen*, or events of communications, which in turn is pointing to a view of "*the social*" as "what happens not within but between persons" (ibid.).

When we talk about systems, we have to remember that systems are not existent in the world *per se*, but are a human construct of the mind. Hermans (2007a) reminds us of this when he limits the validity of systems by emphasising that system theory cannot answer for any objective existence of systems outside of themselves.

### **3.3 Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter aimed to give an introduction to and overview of the discipline of sociology and some of its developments from classical theory to modernity, with special emphasis on a number of concepts, terms and notions that have received particular interest from the discipline of TS. Developments and perceptions of the field of sociology have been discussed and the founders and key writers of social theory were introduced. The interconnectivity between sociology, some of the most prominent sociological concepts in TS, and the world and activity of translation has also been outlined.

The perception of the discipline of sociology itself has been discussed, and the wide remit of the field and its consequent variety of methods, approaches and terminology has been shown. Resulting from the broad range of topics, methods and means that sociology applies and applies itself to, it has also become evident that there can be a partial lack of terminological and conceptual coherence within the field itself, for example regarding the frequently borrowed concept of *norms*. Given the huge prominence of this concept in TS, but considering the lack of general agreement among even sociologists regarding what constitutes, generates and effectively enforces norms, it is a reminder that applications of the concept in TS should operate with increased attention to terminological and conceptual clarity.

This chapter also discussed that there is divergence even among sociological scholars themselves on agreement on fundamental notions and self-understanding of their discipline, such as for instance whether sociological foci and approaches should have a more science-based grounding, or whether it should follow a more dialectical pathway of discussion and criticism of theory. It was discussed that scholars are and always have been divided on the question as to what the function and purpose of the study of sociology is supposed to be, and with this regard three main categories of scholarly approaches and conceptions can be identified: firstly, the category of sociologists who consider their work strongly science-based and themselves as social *scientists*, and who see their primary remit in producing and analysing data, with the ultimate goal of providing concrete support for policy decisions to be made about how certain aspects of society should or could be governed. Secondly, there are sociologists who overall consider their role as investigatory in order to identify shortcomings, defects, hindrances or injustices of society, and thus assuming a role of the critical voice. A third type of sociology scholars tends to assume an explanatory role, providing commentary and critical discussion on social theory and phenomena.

The overview of influential theorists in sociology will be of interest for the discussion of details in the process of the emergence of sociology into translation studies, since it will give insight into theories, ideas or authors that appear preferentially in usage by TS scholars, and will further inform significant entry points for sociology in TS.

From the overview to the field of sociology provided here, the following chapter will build further on the identification, emergence and discussion of sociological theory and ideas in translation studies by means of bibliometric analysis. To this end, the following chapter will discuss the notion of bibliometric research and a number of recent relevant efforts that employed bibliometric approaches in TS. Furthermore, the next chapter will provide details of methodological steps taken for the data collation and keyword survey for the case of sociology in TS.

## 4 A Bibliometric Approach for Emerging Ideas

“For the scholar, it is quite often the perspective adopted, rather than the text chosen, which makes his efforts worthwhile.”

(Uri Margolin, *The Invisible College: A Study of the Three Original Rosicrucian Texts*)

### 4.1 Emerging Ideas (in Bibliographic Data)

The first chapters of this thesis discussed the metaphor of travel, and that if ideas travel by being passed between people, then one of the biggest challenges for a successful ‘handover’ of the idea is successful communication. In particular when communication occurs across linguistic boundaries, the ability to communicate successfully across these boundaries is arguably a significant factor in the spread, emergence and manifestation of the respective idea in the receptive system. It was shown that ideas do not spread across different fields and times of intellectual history on their own, and that a complex amalgamate of other external factors needs to be considered for the dissemination, emergence and adoption of ideas. Language is an important aspect of this amalgamate, which influences the successful diffusion of ideas. Another factor is arguably the contacts that are available for receiving or passing on an idea. The example of Alfred Russel Wallace also described how a scholar’s physical location can have a significant impact on the perception and consequent diffusion of ideas, but the discussion of Wallace’s case also shed more light on the multiple factors that are involved in the formation of an idea’s status in a given disciplinary context.

After having discussed some of the interrelations and reciprocal influences between the emergence and dissemination of ideas and translation as part of the equation, as well as giving an overview of the field of sociological ideas and theories on which this research focuses as its exemplary case study for emerging ideas in the discipline of TS, this chapter will outline the methodology that was developed for this investigation, and

provide an explanation of the underlying research questions, motivations, and the bibliometric methods used to collate the data itself.

In its issue from the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2015, the German broadsheet newspaper *Die Zeit* published a feuilleton on “Verkannte Genies”, forgotten geniuses, which converged many of the complexities and correlations involved in processes of dissemination (or non-dissemination) of ideas: the interdependences of Zeitgeist, originality, canonical choices, market powers, personality, publishing powers or visibility, network powers, or ‘being connected’. With the help of twelve selected biographies of writers, scholars, composers, filmmakers, artists, and poets, the feuilleton offers an insight into ideas, theories and contributions that turned out to be an important addition to their respective field, but whose creators and authors have been nonetheless either neglected by history, or who have been overshadowed by contemporaries, and whose ideas therefore suffered from a certain degree of invisibility in their respective knowledge canon. The author of the introduction to the feuilleton, Jens Jessen, also mentions the role of canonisation and says that “the canon is not always right. At times, the followers did not perfect an idea, but instead were imitators, bringing ruin by inflating the production” (Jessen 2015: 41, my translation).<sup>54</sup>

On the selective nature of canonised knowledge, Jessen argues that a variety of factors such as forces of the market and the ‘economy of attention’ play a significant role too:

This is the inherent problem of each and every canon: it is not so much that the Great Classics would be listed there undeservedly, but rather that the admission of those who are chosen is also dependent on the forces of the market, and on the economy of attention; every admission requires a suppression of others. (Jessen, 2015: 41, my translation)<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> “[u]nd nicht immer hat der Kanon recht. Manchmal waren die Späteren nicht die Vollender, sondern die Nachahmer, die durch inflationäre Produktion [...] ruinierten”.

<sup>55</sup> Das ist das Problem jeden Kanons: nicht dass die Klassiker darin zu Unrecht stünden, sondern dass ihre Aufnahme auch von den Gesetzen des Markts

This reflection on potential inherent limitations and selectivity of any given canon of disciplinary knowledge is significant for this chapter because it examines what is essentially a canon of research in translation, in the form of academic publications, journals, handbooks, monographs, or encyclopaedias. The previous chapters opened up this investigation by outlining aspects from the history of ideas, knowledge transfer and dissemination and spread of ideas throughout the centuries, and by introducing the idea of bringing together different viewpoints for a multi-focal case like the present one. This chapter introduces the methodological approach and steps taken in order to investigate the case of sociology in TS further. It will give a detailed account of the bibliometric approach to the collection, mapping and analysis of data and of the keyword search that was conducted.

Trying to trace ideas in the process of dissemination and emergence can perhaps be thought of as trying to trace a whale's migration: it can only be spotted whenever it comes up for air. This informed the rationale of this thesis and methodology to draw on bibliographic data in publications to see where and how certain ideas have emerged and manifested themselves. The appearance of an idea in a publication means it is possible to locate ideas when they have come to the surface, so to speak. The decision to employ bibliometric strategies and to focus mainly on data from publications means however that other aspects have received less attention, and therefore presents some limitations as well, which will be further detailed and discussed. For instance, this approach as it is informed strongly by quantitative data, can shed little light on what happens with ideas in transit, or, to keep with the whale analogy, while they are under water. It does not seek to provide insight into the researchers' minds and the 'gestation' period between encountering a new idea and using it, or applying it. This would require a different approach that is informed by qualitative research methods and corresponding data. However, qualitative studies can benefit immensely

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und der Aufmerksamkeitsökonomie abhängt – also die Verdrängung anderer voraussetzt.”

from a quantitative basis that has been previously laid and that can inform the selection and scope of data, the horizon of enquiry, and the means for assessment and analysis for such further studies probing into qualitative aspects of a given problem. As such, this thesis considers itself an opening argument and possible starting point for future research. The approach taken in the current research project is explained in more detail in the following section.

## 4.2 Bibliometric Research

Bibliometrics is a collective term for a range of quantitative measures that assess the impact and reach of research outputs, i.e. academic publications such as books and articles. They can be used to provide quantitative analysis of certain sections of academic literature, and are in complementation to qualitative indicators of research impact, such as funding received, number of patents, awards granted and peer review. As a strictly quantitative measure, bibliometrics “provide just one part of the picture. Ideally they should be used in conjunction with other data such as funding received, number of patents, awards granted and peer review”.<sup>56</sup>

An early proposition for citation analysis, or bibliometrics, was put forward in Eugene Garfield’s article “Citation Indexes for Science: A New Dimension in Documentation through Association of Ideas” in 1955. Garfield is nowadays acknowledged as a main contributor to and developer of the Science Citation Index. In his 1955 article, he suggested “bibliographic system for science literature that can eliminate the uncritical citation of fraudulent, incomplete, or obsolete data by making it possible for the conscientious scholar to be aware of criticisms of earlier papers” (Garfield 1955: 108). This contribution in *Science* can be seen as the founding moment of bibliometric studies, and indeed the academic practice of

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[https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/1406/researcher\\_support/17/measuring\\_research\\_impact/2](https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/1406/researcher_support/17/measuring_research_impact/2) (last accessed 14/07/2018).

systematically indexing and consulting citation data for research evaluation. Locke J. Morrisey also comments on the significance and influence of bibliometrics and citation indexing, including a number of purposes that in modern academia have long been taken for granted:

Academic science and engineering librarians have long seen the rush to perform a Science Citation Index (now Web of Science) search when faculty are preparing promotion and tenure packets, thinking that numerous references to their publications may somehow tip the scale in their favor. Librarians have also used some of these data to make informed choices when it comes to reanalyzing journal subscriptions. (Locke J. Morrisey 2002: 150)

With their unambiguously quantitative focus, bibliometric tools, methods and approaches are strongly connected to and usually located in the sciences. The scientific background of bibliometrics, its function to analyse, quantify and measure certain phenomena, and its application to data largely in the sciences is also pointed out by Aída Martínez-Gómez in her contribution “Bibliometrics as a tool to map uncharted territory: A study on non-professional interpreting”:

Making science out of science – or more precisely, meta-science out of scholarly output – is the main goal of bibliometrics. [...] Using bibliographic information as input data (including citations), bibliometric studies allow for the depiction of the current state and the evolution of research in different disciplines at different levels of aggregation – micro (individual researchers), meso (institutions, research groups), and macro (regions, countries or even the global scholarly system) (Martínez-Gómez 2015: 206).

Yet, it is not only of crucial importance for individual researchers to be able to gain an understanding of the scope and status quo of their discipline, but this is also vital for disciplines and areas of research as a whole. The self-understanding and ability for self-reflection of an academic discipline, thereby developing and fine-tuning new theories or revising older ones, depends arguably largely on the extent to which it is possible to have an overview of currents, topics, and emerging themes in the respective field.

Equally, it can be argued that these needs for introspection, reflection, comprehensive overview, and critical analysis and engagement with current developments are not restricted to the sciences alone, but extend to the

humanities as well. In extension of this argument, Yan, Pan and Wang have pointed out in the introduction to their book *Research on Translator and Interpreter Training: a collective volume of bibliometric reviews and empirical studies on learners* that “[w]ithout a clear overview of the discipline, the students of TS feel as if they are walking in a dark forest, not knowing the direction for a safe way out” (2018: 1). This applies not just to students of TS, but to all researchers, teachers, and scholars across the field. Yan et al. decided to provide a new “map” for part of the discipline and stated that

[t]he purpose [of this book] was to present a more current overview of the studies in the field. Journal articles were chosen for the review because firstly they are "timely", they feature the latest studies, lead the trend of research with the most representative types and cover a wide range of articles. (Ibid.)

Since this thesis aims to investigate points of entry for sociological ideas in translation studies by means of publication data, bibliometrics is a highly appropriate and useful field to draw on. There have been recent attempts from TS scholars to engage with and utilise bibliometric methods and approaches, and the following section will give a brief overview of some of the scopes, questions, methods, and insights that can be drawn from these endeavours.

#### **4.2.1 Utilising Bibliometric Research in Translation Studies**

“Bibliometric studies are descriptive in nature, the findings of which can be used to present knowledge about the discipline from different perspectives” (Yan, Pan and Wang 2018: 2). This is, in a nutshell, what is at the core of this thesis: to describe, depict and present developments regarding entry points and the emergence of sociological ideas in the field of TS and thereby contributing to an increased understanding of knowledge about the state and certain dynamics of knowledge dissemination of the discipline. Therefore, the frame of bibliometrics was deemed to be highly appropriate for the current research project. This section will briefly give further insights into what bibliometrics can offer to TS scholars wishing to employ it, and it will

highlight some recent contributions and efforts from a translation studies perspective.

One of the earlier appearances of bibliometrics within TS featured in a contribution by van Doorslaer in the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2012) as part of the entry for bibliographies of translation studies. Since then, a number of TS scholars have picked up on the potential and significance of bibliometric research in TS (cf. e.g. Gile 2000, Grbic and Pollabauer 2008, Li 2014, or Yan et al 2013), and a notable contribution to the area of bibliometric research in translation studies was made by Sara Rovira-Esteva, Pilar Orero and Javier Franco Aixelá (eds.) in the *Perspectives* issue on “Bibliometric and Bibliographical Research in Translation Studies” in 2015. They comment on the importance of publications for any researcher and remind us that “[i]ndexed journal articles are the new research currency, giving indicators for a myriad of purposes, from securing tenure to supervising PhD students to fund raising for departments” (Rovira-Esteva, Orero and Aixelá 2015: 159). They go on to emphasise just how vast the field of translation studies has grown with

over 110 living specialized journals in Translation Studies (TS) throughout the world, be they online or in paper format. There are quite a few dictionaries and encyclopaedias dealing only with our discipline. The number of scientific publications (books, chapters in edited books, journal articles, PhDs...) in our field exceeds 60,000 items, with over 40,000 in the last 20 years. (Ibid.)

The importance and potential of bibliometric research for TS is seen by Rovira-Esteva, Orero and Aixelá as a highly suitable and timely means

to start to make quantitative observations gauging what the TS community has been doing in these last 20–30 years, and to establish an informed state (or states) of the art. TS, similar to any other established academic discipline, now has enough critical mass to lend itself to analysis from a bibliometric perspective. And it is high time to do so, after the dramatic boom in specialized research starting in the 1990s [...]. (Ibid.: 159 – 160)

This reflects the core aim of this current research project in that, through quantitative observations of bibliographic data, it aims overall to contribute to an understanding of entry points for sociological ideas in TS and thereby to

an increased understanding of and potential reflection on its own developments and status quo. Martínez-Gómez echoes this and suggests that “bibliometrics seems to emerge as a useful tool to paint a data-driven picture of such evolution, its main actors, and the most relevant features of scholarly contributions” (2015: 205). How aptly the field of bibliometrics lends itself for investigations into the state of being, and the tracking of developments and emerging themes and topics has also been shown by Meifang Zhang, Hanting Pan, Xi Chen and Tian Luo in their article “Mapping Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies via bibliometrics: A survey of journal publications” (2015). They investigated the “the state-of-the-art merging area of [discourse and translation]” (ibid.: 223) and to this end they surveyed academic articles published in selected TS journals over a dedicated period of time. Their methodology follows the collation of publications within a set timeframe and the analysis of the resulting corpus of data through selected keywords as they “searched the online archives of these eight journals for the keywords ‘discourse’ and ‘translation’ and extracted the relevant articles to build [their] database” (Zhang et al 2015: 225). This approach to establishing a methodology for bibliometric research in TS publications bears close resemblance to the methodology developed for this present thesis, and confirms the validity of a bibliometric approach for the identification and tracking of changes and emerging ideas in disciplinary practice. Further encouragement for the chosen methodology in this current research project comes from Federico Zanettin, Gabriela Saldanha and Sue-Ann Harding (2015), who investigated “how subfields within translation studies have been defined, and how research interests and foci have shifted over the years, using data from the Translation Studies Abstracts (TSA) online database” (2015: 161).<sup>57</sup> Their research was concerned with changes and developments in the disciplinary landscape of TS, and how certain tropes and trends in TS research have shifted over time, shown through the tracking of keywords in the online database. As such, both the scope as well

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<sup>57</sup> The Translation Studies Abstracts (TSA) database and its contents have been merged with the Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) database in 2015.

as the motivation and also the basic mechanisms of their methodology reflect the objectives, the methodological steps, the means for data collation and the motivation of this thesis. The objective of this project, to identify and track emerging ideas in translations studies with the example of sociology, required a tool kit that was able to capture scholars' work across a larger frame of time, stretching into the past. At the same time, the tool kit had to allow for analysis of the data focusing on a specific set of ideas in question, which could most easily be captured through keyword analysis. Zanettin et al. identify correctly the immense value and capacity of bibliographies in their attempt to devise a suitable methodology and state that “[b]ibliographies are tools that help us plan our research by enabling scholars to trace what has been done previously with regards to topics, texts and contexts, and thus helping us expand our horizons” (Zanettin et al. 2015: 165). At the same time, they are wary of the inherent limitations of a bibliographic database that has been composed not automatically, and therefore arguably free from bias, but manually by human scholars: “Bibliographies provide a way of surveying the past; we must, however, be aware of possible distortions created by the fact that the concepts and categories we use have been shaped by the same history that we want to trace” (ibid.). Potential drawbacks and limitations of this type of bibliometric research and keyword analysis in databases will be discussed in more detail in following sections.

Quintessentially, this thesis aims to survey part of the recent history of ideas in and of translation studies, by means of surveying the (recent) history of academic publications via an online database, in order to make visible entry points for and the process of the emergence of sociological ideas in TS. The methodological approach that Zanettin et al (2015) have taken as the core of their investigation, which represents a type of inquiry closely related to the one that is at the basis of this current thesis, exemplifies and confirms the aptitude and validity of the methodological steps followed for this study into tracking the emergence of sociology in TS along entry points identified, with the help of robust bibliographic data in an online database and via relevant keyword searches.

This thesis relies heavily on data in electronic form, electronic and web based search engines, online databases, software for data analysis, and is generally characterised by a pervasive utilisation of digital technologies. Since this is an issue not just at the core of this thesis, but of general importance for a discipline in the humanities that has come to not just work with but to rely to a large extent on digital technologies in all areas, the next section will discuss some of the intricacies that the interaction between humanities and digital technologies can entail.

#### **4.2.2 Digital Humanities and Translation Studies**

Without digital technology, numerous developments in TS would not have been possible, from Machine Translation, to large-scale corpus studies, CAT tools, and changing practices in the everyday work of translators and interpreters. The reliance on digital technology has become ubiquitous. The use of social media to source and share information or knowledge about translation practices, crowdsourcing models, and online translation (e.g. on the social media website Facebook) are just some of the areas where digital technology has developed a significant impact on the role of translation, translators, and translation studies. That includes this research project, which would not have been possible without digital technology, as it rests strongly on the ability to collect, store, and analyse large quantities of text. In fact, it is deeply immersed in digital texts in the first place, and electronic search devices have also played a huge role. The aspect of online publishing and electronic databases alone constituted a vital part of this approach. Digital technology plays and continues to play a huge role in the availability of information, and arguably also the exchange of information. The ease with which information (in textual or other forms) can today be sighted, stored, accessed, and exchanged is unparalleled, and has created new opportunities and challenges in all fields of research. Minako O'Hagan addresses the issue of developments in digital humanities and suggests that "we may now be able to justify indentifying 'a technological turn' whereby translation theories begin to incorporate the increasingly evident impact of technology" (O'Hagan

2013: 512). Digital (work) spaces have also changed ways of collaboration between practitioners and researchers.

Digital technology has developed from an aid to particular aspects of human productivity, to a fundamental means of our productivity. As much as it has become a fundamental part of our realities, studies in digital humanities, or humanities computing, have seen a corresponding increase (cf. Matthew K. Gold 2012). Its concerns go far beyond handling data or building archives, but also touch upon pedagogy and “the larger academic ecosystem” (Gold 2012: ix). Commenting on the wide range of changes in academia that digital humanities are concerned with, Gold argues that

[w]ether one looks at the status of peer review, the evolving nature of authorship and collaboration, the fundamental interpretative methodologies of humanities disciplines, or the controversies over tenure and casualized academic labour that have increasingly rent the fabric of university life, it is easy to see the academy is shifting in significant ways. (Ibid.)

Part of the ongoing debate within digital humanities, however, is the question of what does it mean to be a digital humanist. This self-reflection and introspection can be turned onto translators and translation studies scholars as well, especially in light of changed ways of working with technology: what does it mean to be translator or translation scholar working with digital technology, all day every day? Or the other way around: what do digital humanities mean (or can/should mean) for us translators and translation scholars? The use of computers is nothing new of course, having been an integral part of our professional and private lives for probably well over two decades now. Digital humanities studies show how different electronic media can influence or affect the disciplines in which they are used.

The technological availabilities and possibilities have arguably changed not just our methods, but also our ways of thinking, and of knowing people. It is not uncommon anymore for two researchers (or anyone else) to collaborate on a project, regularly exchange information and progress, and consult with each other, without ever having met in person. Digital technology can easily connect people who are quite literally an ocean apart, and it can

facilitate the formation of professional or friendship networks over very distant geographical spaces. Matthew Kirschenbaum rightly points out that “digital humanities is also a social undertaking” (in Gold 2012: 5). The changes that digital technology has had on aspects of publishing and disseminating knowledge are also drastic, and can lead to shifts in entire branches of economy. With regard to this, Kirschenbaum goes on to suggest that network effects from developments such as blogs or news services such as Twitter “have led to the construction of ‘digital humanities’ as a free-floating signifier, one that increasingly serves to focus the anxiety and even outrage of individual scholars over their own lack of agency amid the turmoil in their institutions and profession” (ibid.: 9). Recent developments in open-access publishing, for instance, have created their own debates around ownership of intellectual works and the possibilities of dissemination beyond the reach of traditional academic publishing. Scholars can make use of their own blogs, for example, communicating their research while it is still ongoing, and drawing on comments and input from colleagues while they are still shaping their work. This used to be largely the realm of academic conferences and symposiums, but nowadays there are other and more ways to present ongoing research to anyone who is interested, and it is no longer exclusively an exchange with other scholars either. In this light, we have to think about ways in which our thinking develops and is shaped by digital technologies and communication as well.

In theory, scholars can reach a much wider audience for input on their work, and they have the means to communicate their work much more independently from traditional publication structures. Publication and communication have become not only become easier, but also significantly cheaper. With regard to plurality of opinion in an academic debate, this should be considered a good thing, since it could mean that access to debates is less restricted for scholars at the periphery (not just geographically), e.g. scholars for whom travel to major conferences or meetings is difficult, be it for reasons of distance or for lack of funds. Kirschenbaum concludes that “the digital humanities today is about a

scholarship (and a pedagogy) that is publicly visible in ways to which we are generally unaccustomed” (ibid.: 9) and digital technology has certainly increased the chances for ideas to be made visible in a public domain as well as in academic debate. Therefore, digital developments in the humanities can be seen to have a significant transformative power. With regard to their potential to bring about intellectual change and emerging ideas in a discipline, and their potential to influence researchers’ practices and habits, technological developments seem to be outgrowing our current capacity to critically analyse them. However, older questions remain. Archive scholars, for example, are often concerned with the question of how reliable digital texts are, and in particular, digital archives.

Digital technology has of course also very practical significance for translators and interpreters, not least because translation and interpreting not only requires an extremely high level of ‘world knowledge’ (*Weltwissen*), but also detailed and accurate knowledge about the specialised subject of the translation or interpretation in question. Knowledge acquisition is also facilitated greatly by access to digital databases, online encyclopaedias, professional forums or webpages. This diversity and ubiquity of available digital resources for knowledge acquisition and dissemination, and furthermore the implicitness with which they are being utilised has also contributed to the decision to draw on data from online databases for this research project. It has been pointed out earlier in this section that bibliometric tools and methods can only provide one part of the picture when it comes to investigating the change, spread and emergence of ideas, and that ideally bibliometric research should be complemented by and used in conjunction with other data. This is accounted for by the additional consultation of entries in TS handbooks and encyclopaedias, which will augment the insights from bibliographic data in publications and offer further pieces to the puzzle of the emergence of sociology in translation studies.

### 4.3 Tracing Emerging Ideas in TS Publications

Translators and interpreters always have to ‘look both ways’, so to speak, as they have to not only be competent in their translation and interpretation skills, but they also have to *know* the subjects they are working on. It is necessary for them to acquire knowledge from other fields. The discipline of TS as a whole behaves similarly, often incorporating knowledge and taking inspiration from other disciplines, from cultural studies to neuroscience. Within TS research, there seem to be different phases of fashion for borrowing from particular fields. What are the factors that lead to ideas from a certain field or discipline entering translation studies research and outlook at a given point in time? More specifically, what are the points of entry for the ideas in question?

In order to find out more about the emergence of ideas crossing over or being borrowed from other disciplines in TS, how, when and from where they entered the field, as well as potential factors of influence and facilitation for their dissemination and ultimate manifestation, this thesis looks at the exemplary case of concepts and approaches from sociology which have found their way into TS. Given the status of translation studies as a highly interdisciplinary field, at times even denoted an “interdiscipline” (cf. e.g. Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker and Kaindl 1994), this investigation will shine more light on the points of interface where extra-disciplinary ideas actually emerge in TS.

The field of sociology was chosen as an exemplary case for investigation based on a number of considerations. Firstly, it shares a number of characteristics with TS that make it an interesting case for discussing the nature of disciplinary knowledge, the self-understanding of a discipline, or the diversity of approaches and outlooks within it. Similarly to translation studies, sociology features an extremely broad range of theoretical approaches, methods, motivations, and topics of investigation. This makes it a gratifying subject area to look for and trace, since the search for points of emergence for the respective ideas can and in fact needs to be extended beyond singular markers. In other words, the range of borrowed,

migrated and adopted ideas from sociology in translation studies is highly engaging, diversified, and provides a favourable ground for research into the history of the overall idea of sociological notions in TS.

Secondly, the field of sociology lends itself well for this current research because of its relative disciplinary maturity and disciplinary delineation and distinction. It draws on an extensive body of research and as a long-established global discipline, it features contributions that span a very large temporal, spatial, and ideological range. Loan concepts and ideas are effectively identifiable in the receiving discipline and thus facilitate the tracking and locating of 'immigrating' ideas, which supports the aim of this thesis to show details in the process of the emergence of sociology in translation studies and to locate and detail points of entry for the respective ideas.

The chosen case of sociology in translation studies is exemplary. The main focus of this research is not to evaluate the relative use or appropriateness of certain sociological theories, ideas, or scholars for the discipline of translation studies, but to ascertain a better understanding of entry points and the emergence of sociological ideas in TS.

There seem to be a number of sociology scholars and authors who are largely not favoured and adopted by TS researchers, while others seem to have reached a dominant position. This project is interested in substantiating this with quantitative analysis and aiming to ascertain some of the entry points for these ideas and theories. I am aware that the data collected from publications in academic journals is only a snapshot of a complex and multi-causal case like the spread of knowledge. Furthermore, if different journals, a different time scale, or different keywords to search for had been chosen, the results could have been very different. While bibliometric and cross-citation analysis has the potential to bring to light interesting relations, and can point towards processes of changing relevance and emergence of certain ideas and authors, it needs to be treated more as circumstantial evidence than as conclusive. Again, this is an instance where this project sees itself as offering an opening argument to further

investigations and discussions, rather than a conclusion. Therefore, the analysis of publication data is considered one puzzle piece among others that feed into a multi-focal perspective. The following section will detail further questions that I believe can be addressed with the data that was collected and analysed, and that are of interest for this study.

#### **4.3.1 Investigating the Emergence of Ideas: Sociology in TS**

The data consulted for this research project has been collated from the Translation Studies Bibliography as well as from selected TS handbooks, introductions, and encyclopaedias. This research project is interested in entry points and gaining insight into the process of emergence for sociological ideas in methodology and theory within Translation Studies, which requires access to a very significant amount of bibliographic data over a longer-term temporal scope. TS research with a strong engagement and application of sociological approaches, and which plays a noticeable part in the discipline's canon as of this point in time, appeared from the late 1990s, spearheaded by, for example, Moira Inghilleri (cf. e.g. 2003, 2005, 2007), Daniel Simeoni (1998) and Marc Gouanvic (1997). By the mid-2000s, sociological approaches had established themselves as a broad focus of interest in TS research, as evidenced by much-cited works such as Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari's *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (2007), the 2005 special issue of *The Translator* on "Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting", or various symposia on the topic. Larger-scale interest in and research on sociological issues in TS intensified significantly after the turn of the millennium. However, this thesis aims to investigate the history of the idea of sociology in TS from a quantitative data perspective as a vantage point over a longer period of time in order to allow for points in the process of emergence to become apparent, from their earliest appearances to their accumulation at the later stages during the 'sociological turn'. Therefore, it was deliberately decided to not set a cut-off point in the past in order to not artificially delineate the process of emergence for sociological ideas, but to allow for as complete a picture as possible to track relevant ideas and their

point of entrance to TS. A forward cut-off point was set at 2017 to account for database updates up to the end of that calendar year.

The Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) database is continuously updated and now contains over 29,000 annotated records.<sup>58</sup> The incredible rate at which this database expanded (which consequently reflects the significant influx of research activity in translation studies) is also evidenced by the fact that just three years ago, the predecessor database Translation Studies Abstracts Online (TSAO), which has since been merged with the Translation Studies Bibliography and is now hosted by John Benjamins, was only counted to have 16,000 entries (Zanettin et al.: 2015). Admittedly, a significant addition of data would have come from the merger with Translation Studies Abstracts Online, when the current database of Translation Studies Bibliography was complemented with content from TSAO. However, an increase of almost 100% in terms of data volume within just three years is a strong indicator of a highly active research and publishing community, and could be seen as a sign of the further diversification of TS as a modern discipline. Further points on the characteristics, set up and facilities of the TSB database will be discussed in the subsequent section in this chapter.

In complementation to the bibliographic data from the TSB database, a number of translation studies handbooks, introductory textbooks and encyclopaedias were consulted for this project. Knowledge canonisation is arguably a significant and highly insightful aspect of the process of the emergence of new ideas, and encyclopaedic knowledge, which can be considered very much part of the established canon of knowledge for a discipline, is considered an appropriate means to track the emergence and manifestation of new ideas and theoretical developments in an academic field. The resources consulted for this part of the present study include:

- *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, Mark Shuttleworth and Moira Cowie: (1997, 2014)
- *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, Carmen Millán

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<sup>58</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/tsb/> (last accessed 29/07/2018).

and Francesca Bartrina eds. (2013)

- *Handbook of Translation Studies*, Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer eds. (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)
- *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha eds. (1998, 2009/2011)
- *Introducing Translation Studies*, Jeremy Munday (2001, 2008, 2012, 2016)
- *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, Kirsten Malmkjaer and Kevin Windle eds. (2011)

With this complementary approach to bibliographic data and canonised presentations of the state of knowledge at given times in TS, the following research questions were projected to be addressed:

- 1) What are the entry points identifiable through quantitative bibliographic data for ideas from sociology in the discipline of TS?
  - 1a) What entry points and patterns are identifiable over time, in specific geographical locations, languages, or mediums and forms of publications with regards to the process of emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies?
  - 1b) What influence(s) and directionalities regarding entry points and emergence patterns for sociology in translation studies can be identified from the analysis of bibliographic data?
2. What can this contribute to our understanding of how interdisciplinary knowledge is perceived (and incorporated) in TS from various vantage points?
3. What can a quantitative bibliometric approach contribute to analysing emerging (interdisciplinary) ideas in translation studies in particular, and in the humanities and social sciences in general?

These questions were developed with a view to offering an opening argument with this current research project, leading on to inspire further research on a number of additional facets that form the complex case of tracing the history, development and emergence of a specific (set of) idea(s). The above set of questions is also compliant and consistent with the methodological approach that underlies this thesis and the body of data on which it draws. Finally, these questions were also designed in order to probe and investigate further applicabilities, capabilities and advantages of

bibliometric research in TS, as well as to sound out potential limitations or drawbacks. These considerations, as part of the analysis and discussion presented in this thesis, hope to also contribute to further informed choices of future researchers in the field who are looking to engage with either the history of (an) idea(s), or to utilise bibliometric approaches. For a better insight into how the data for the current bibliometric-based project was accessed, searched, and evaluated, the following section will first give a brief overview of the database used.

#### **4.3.2 Translation Studies Bibliography**

Since the arrival of corpus-based studies in TS and the rise of electronic corpora, a number of considerable efforts have been made in the discipline to establish corpora and electronic databases. For researchers, these databases and corpora offer invaluable sources of data, which can be used for a variety of purposes, including linguistic, translational, and meta-analysis. This research project is concerned with a meta-analysis of bibliographic data. The collection, search and analysis of data for the present thesis has some parallels to corpus-based studies, but also differs in significant aspects. Large-scale electronic collections of texts allowed research into typicalities and properties of texts and comparisons between different languages, as well as analyses of translational characteristics. While corpora in TS are generally described as “collections of texts held in machine-readable form and capable of being analysed automatically or semi-automatically in a variety of ways” (Baker 1995: 225), many different forms of corpora exist. Some views of corpora “allow for more serendipitous collections of texts, even the entire World Wide Web” (Kenny 2009: 59). Corpora can differ drastically in design and content, depending on their intended use.

While the material collected for this study would fit a general description of a corpus, the data itself and also the specific approach to it differ from most corpus-based practices. For instance, the current enquiry is less interested in properties of texts, collocutors, or language patterns. The investigation of the corpus had nothing to do with text characteristics or

translation characteristics, but with detecting certain ideas that appear in scholars' publications. The practice of KWIC (keyword in context) concordance lists in corpus-based research is to some extent comparable with my approach, except that the focus was not on discovering recurring patterns or collocates of keywords. In summary, the approach to collating the corpus of data for this project was merely inspired by knowledge of corpus-based approaches and techniques. For other inquiries into different aspects, e.g. into the textual properties of article abstracts or into characteristics of translated abstracts, the material forming the basic corpus may be of further use with, for example, a concordance programme or software such as Wordsmith.

For a comprehensive and valid analysis that is capable of incorporating a large period of time and a high number of data points, an electronic database of publications was chosen as the basis for data collation. Arguably, a comparable format of all data collated is a significant factor when it comes to analysing and evaluating the data coherently. Therefore, with the selection of the Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) the focus is on one comprehensive database that has become a highly established and trusted tool for bibliographic research in translation studies and for framing and locating research.

The Translation Studies Bibliography is a curated online database that is continuously updated, and to date contains over 29,000 annotated records, forming an annotated bibliography of the research field of Translation and Interpreting Studies.<sup>59</sup> The organisational aim was to establish “a structuring principle in the inherent conceptual complexity of the keywords system of the bibliography” (van Doorslaer 2007: 219), and thus create a new tool for a systematic classification and structuring of the discipline of TS, following the Holmes/Toury Translation Studies map as a conceptual model regarding the labelling and organisation of keywords. The database's formation resulted from a cooperation between the European Society for Translation Studies,

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<sup>59</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/tsb/home.html> (last accessed 30/07/2018).

the Centre for Translation Studies (CETRA), the University of Leuven, and the John Benjamins Publishing Company, and its first version was launched in 2004. Since then the database has expanded significantly. A significant contribution and complementation to the TSB database's content also resulted from its merger in 2015 with Translation Studies Abstracts Online, which was originally launched by St. Jerome Publishing in 1998 and which was acquired by John Benjamins from Routledge/Taylor&Francis. Just within the last three years, between its predecessor version from 2015 and the current version in 2018, the number of entries almost doubled from 16,000 to its current size of over 29,000 entries.

The database is curated and manually expanded with further material as opposed to generated automatically, and has as its current editors Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer. There are a number of critical points regarding manually built and curated databases, which are valid for both TSB as well as for other manually created databases in general, and Zanettin et al. (2015) provide a number of valuable critical insights concerning, for instance, the issue of subjectivity or potential limitations and problems with the assignment of keywords and categories. In their discussion on TSB's predecessor database, they point out that “a manually updated database (as opposed to automatic internet-based searches such as Google Scholar) TSA is both targeted to capture abstracts particular to the field of translation studies but also fraught with inconsistencies and fluctuations of human behaviour” (Zanettin et al. 2015: 165). This alludes to the inherent degree of selectiveness and subjectivity that any manually curated database of any subject and any material brings with it. The curators of a corpus, regardless of its topic, scope or field, are inevitably influencing both the material they select for addition, as well as the way that material is being handled, categorised, labelled, and classified. This is an important aspect with regards to the database of TSB, since categories and keywords are determined and assigned by the editorial staff. Likewise, the selection criteria for material to be included is subject to decisions by the editorial board, and this becomes especially significant in TSB's definition of criteria for inclusion:

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of T/I studies, we consider publications from other disciplines (such as semiotic studies, communication studies, linguistics, sociology, psychology, etc.) but only to the extent in which they are relevant and of interest to T/I studies.

The Content Manager decides on inclusion or exclusion in the database, where necessary after consultation with the Editorial Board.<sup>60</sup>

This evidences the inevitable degree of subjectivity with regard to material selection in any effort to compile a curated database. The criteria for selection in the case of TSB are comparatively clearly outlined, and since the database contents directly inform the data drawn on for this current project, some more details about inclusion criteria and format of the database entries will be briefly detailed below.

The TSB database contains material from journal articles, monographs, articles from collective volumes, reviews, reference materials, dissertations and unpublished manuscripts. It excludes index translations or dictionaries, unless these are deemed by the editorial board to be directly relevant to TS research. The TSB database is open for contributions from any language, as there are no restrictions in principle. However, the editorial board concedes that “some languages and geographical areas are more difficult to cover than others. We welcome more contacts to cover for instance Eastern European, South American and Asian literature within the scope of the bibliography”.<sup>61</sup>

Crucially, the TSB database's temporal scope expands in both directions: not only are new contributions added from current research output, but it is also working backwards through older and historical publications. Again, this is a potential limitation for this thesis to be aware of and to bear in mind for discussion. The degree to which publication data from a number of decades ago can be considered accurate when past data is only

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<sup>60</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/tsb/criteria.html> (last accessed 14/07/2018).

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/tsb/criteria.html> (last accessed 14/07/2018).

gradually and retrospectively fed manually into the database by curators needs to be weighed out carefully and consciously. That does not make the bibliographic data which date back further invalid, nor does it hinder a researcher's ability to gain important insights, develop a more complete picture and understanding, and draw conclusions from a bibliometric analysis that spans a temporal scope during which the data record may not be 100% accurate. However, it is important to be aware of the implications of a (by nature) partially incomplete historical record of publication data. Or, to put it in a nutshell, “[b]ibliographies provide a way of surveying the past; we must, however, be aware of possible distortions created by the fact that the concepts and categories we use have been shaped by the same history that we want to trace” (Zanettin et al. 2015: 165).

These reminders of the nature of the TSB database bring to the fore the added value gained from additional materials for the investigation of the emergence process of sociology in TS. In the case of this current project, a choice was made to include a number of established TS handbooks and encyclopaedias to complement the scope of enquiry. The following section will briefly present the chosen works.

#### **4.3.3 Handbooks and Encyclopaedia as Indicators for Knowledge Development**

Due to a) some of the TSB database's limitations outlined above, and b) in order to complement, round off, and add further value to insights from the bibliographic data of the database, a selection of translation studies handbooks, introductory textbooks and encyclopaedias were consulted for this project. Encyclopaedias and dictionaries in particular not only lend themselves well as a mapping tool of the state of being of a given discipline, but arguably can also actively contribute and affirm the process of canonisation for knowledge and ideas in a field. Encyclopaedias and dictionaries are subject to a similar degree of selectiveness as discussed above, and for much the same reasons: they are compiled and curated manually by human beings, whose own horizon of knowledge and agenda

can influence not just the inclusion or exclusion of materials, but also the way in which contributions are presented and discussed.

Encyclopaedias, handbooks and dictionaries can be seen as gradulators, or indicators of a given state of being or knowledge horizon within a given field at a given point in time. They can flag and discuss new developments and areas of focus, and a comparative look between different editions of work can shed light on progress and new turns in the road for a discipline. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha write in their introduction to the second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* that “[n]ew and developing themes in the discipline are also reflected in a wide range of new entries” (2009: xxii). This highlights the *reflective* function under which handbooks, encyclopaedias and dictionaries will be considered for this research project, as it assumed that the updating of reference works would normally happen after new developments have begun to manifest and show in a discipline. This echoes Baker’s and Saldanha’s introductory lines to the renewed and updated 2009 edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, where they state that

[m]uch has changed since [the first edition], however, and the first edition was certainly beginning to ‘show its age’. By 2005 it was necessary to begin planning for a new, extensively revised and extended edition to reflect the concerns and priorities of a much enlarged and better established community of scholars. (Baker and Saldanha 2009: xx)

They likewise refer to the reflective nature of the encyclopaedia as a reference work when they point that “[t]he growth of interest in interpreting is similarly reflected in additional entries” (Baker and Saldanha 2009: xxii). Despite Baker’s and Saldanha’s somewhat laconic warning that “[a]ll encyclopedias, this one included, are inevitably out of date before they hit the press – such is the nature and speed of intellectual progress in any field of study” (2009: xiv), it becomes evident that reference works such as encyclopaedias, handbooks and dictionaries can be considered highly suitable additions to a bibliographic investigation in the process of emerging ideas in a field over time. Furthermore, reference works can also be seen to

fulfil a testimonial role with regard to the development and self-image of a given discipline itself.

### ***Dictionary of Translation Studies* – by Mark Shuttleworth and Moira Cowie**

The first edition of Shuttleworth's and Cowie's *Dictionary of Translation Studies* was published in 1997 and has been frequently reprinted since then. A second revised edition was made available in 2017.<sup>62</sup> The first edition was published at a time when the discipline of translation studies was undergoing a rapid diversification and expansion. Its aim was to “to provide an overview of some of the issues, insights and debates in Translation Studies, inasmuch as these are reflected in the discipline’s terminology” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997/2014: ix). Intended as a reference tool to better navigate the scope of the discipline, the *Dictionary* presents each term embedded in the context it first occurred in, which helps the user to develop a sense of historicity and disciplinary developments in TS. The authors also identified and discuss a couple of problems regarding the contents of the *Dictionary* in their introduction. A main concern, as outlined above for the case of the TSB database, was the issue of selection. They admit and explain that

[i]t is clear that no reference work can hope to be completely exhaustive; in the case of the present *Dictionary*, there were certainly a large number of terms which were considered for inclusion, but were eventually rejected, at least as separate entries. Thus for example, many minor terms have either been omitted entirely, or explained briefly in the context of a more important term. (Ibid.: xi)

The general design and approach of the *Dictionary* was to “follow a basically uncritical, ‘hands-off’ approach. In line with this, it seeks to document the accumulation of knowledge and insights which has occurred over the last few decades, rather than introduce large numbers of new terminological distinctions” (ibid.: x).

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<sup>62</sup> <https://www.worldcat.org/title/dictionary-of-translation-studies/oclc/1050678871?referer=di&ht=edition>

***The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* – edited by Carmen Miltán and Francesca Bartrina**

The *Handbook* was first published in 2013, and unlike the Shuttleworth's and Cowie's *Dictionary*, it features contributions from numerous different scholars, providing insights and overview for “key areas of the discipline, highlighting not only what is available but also how it is done” (2013: 1). The *Handbook* was also a response to a period of further expansion of the discipline of TS, and aims to address “everyone interested in both research and translation studies” (ibid.) by offering

an historical and a synchronic narrative route into the key areas and practices. Written by 41 of the world’s leading scholars, it revisits the institutional trajectory of translation studies, reviews main theoretical frameworks and methodologies and specialized practices, as well as considering the challenges that may lie ahead. (ibid.)

The *Handbook’s* contents are grouped into five distinct parts which reflect ways of approaching, accessing and studying the discipline of TS, from the first part that examines TS as an academic discipline, what characterises the field, and “who we are, where we have been, where we are, and where we are heading” (2013: 2), to covering a range of theoretical frameworks and methodologies for research, to closing with an attempt to look into the future and identify future challenges for translation studies scholars and students.

***Handbook of Translation Studies* – edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer**

The first volume of Gambier's and van Doorslaer's *Handbook* was published in 2010, with Volume 2 and 3 following in 2011 and 2012 respectively, and in 2013 the fourth volume concluded the series. From September 2010, the *Handbook* was also made available online and has been undergoing annual revisions.<sup>63</sup> It aimed at “disseminating knowledge about translation and interpreting and providing easy access to a large range of topics, traditions, and methods to a relatively broad audience”.<sup>64</sup> In its scope, objective and set

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<sup>63</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/hts/> (last accessed 14/07/2018).

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.benjamins.com/online/hts/> (last accessed 14/07/2018).

up, Gambier's and van Doorslaer's *Handbook* mirrors similar attempts to categorise, catalogue and map existing horizons of knowledge in TS, such as the *Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* (Malmkjaer and Windle 2011), or the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker and Saldanha 2009/2011), both of which are also included here. One of the main differences of this *Handbook of Translation Studies*, apart from the fact that it was conceptualised and planned out as a multi-volume publication, is that it also comprises an extensive online research bibliography, which is further enhanced by a thesaurus and offers CrossRef DOIs wherever available.

### ***Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* – edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha**

The *Encyclopedia's* first edition in 1998 came into being during a time of, and partly as a response to, the drastic changes in and expansion of the field of translation studies during the 1990s. It was also a period of overall professionalisation of the discipline and of “the academization of translator and interpreter training” (Baker and Saldanha 2011: xiv), and the *Encyclopedia* was also developed to help address the fact that “[t]ranslation studies is at a stage of its development when the plurality of approaches that inform it or are capable of informing it can be overwhelming” (ibid.). The scope of the *Encyclopedia* was ambitious, with contributions from over 100 different TS researchers and scholars on a range of distinct topics for whom they are respectively specialists. Structured and listed alphabetically, it also includes cross-references to related relevant entries and offers further reading suggestions on each topic. The second edition in 2009 (hardback) and 2011 (paperback) expanded the scope further and included a number of additional entries on recent areas of development.

### ***Introducing Translation Studies* – by Jeremy Munday**

Jeremy Munday's overview to studying and studies in TS has been highly successful, and is currently available already in the fourth revised edition (2016). It was first published in 2001, with a second revised edition following

in 2008, and a third revised one in 2012. As a guide to key theories and concepts that make up the field of translation studies, it follows a strongly pedagogical agenda and is distinctly aimed at students of translation studies, featuring case studies and explanations of all key concepts and terms, and offering questions prompting further study and reflection. It aims to give a concise account of significant areas of research in TS, including overviews of theoretical developments of TS through its past. It constitutes as much a reference work as a study tool, which is further enhanced by the availability of a complementary website with further reading and study materials online.<sup>65</sup>

***The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* – edited by Kirsten Malmkjaer and Kevin Windle**

The *Oxford Handbook* was published in 2011 and aims to offer an account of the history of theory as well as practice of translation, spanning a temporal scope from the time of Cicero all the way through to today's age of digital technologies. It aims at covering all major concepts, processes and theoretical angles within translation studies, from the history of translation theory to modern translator training. Unlike the *Routledge Encyclopedia*, the *Oxford Handbook* is organised in thematic parts, rather than offering a lexicon-style list of entries in alphabetical order. This format lends the book slightly more of a tone of critical commentary, and the overall perspective seems to be a bit more on the bigger picture of what translation (and the study and research of translation) means for and contributes to human civilisation and our culture in general:

The central place occupied by translation and interpreting in human culture has long been recognized, and can hardly be overstated. In a globalized world, it is all too easy to take it for granted, and forget that, without these activities, linguistic communities would be condemned to a degree of cultural isolation which is nowadays difficult to imagine. (Malmkjaer and Windle 2011: 1)

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<sup>65</sup> <http://www.routledgetextbooks.com/textbooks/9781138912557/> (last accessed 30/07/2018).

It becomes apparent from these overviews, aims and core objectives of the reference works presented above that there is a significant amount of overlap between them. Their editors in the introductions frequently refer to the fact that publications of handbooks, encyclopaedias or dictionaries reflect a growing institutionalisation and professionalization of the discipline of TS, which is also echoed in an increase in translator and interpreting training courses, academic research and graduate programmes, as well as the development of new academic department and research clusters like Summer Schools. If the publication of one handbook of TS as a comprehensive reference work constitutes a signifier for a professionalised stage of TS, then surely the publication of half a dozen (and more titles which do not feature in the selection above) such works, not counting revised editions and reprints, might suggest that translation studies has now reached a saturated stage in its disciplinary history and might increase its engagement with meta-discussions.

This thesis also considers part of its rationale and contribution as a small input towards ongoing meta-discussions in and about translation studies and TS research. The investigation of less established research approaches for suitability, outcomes and limitations, in conjunction with a discussion on the state of the field and the horizon and history of knowledge within a discipline, could also be seen as a supplement to discipline-internal discussions along the lines of 'Quo vadis TS?' For the bibliometric part of this attempt, the following section will give further details about the methodological steps taken and keyword searches employed, and outline how the data was collated and consequently filtered and analysed further.

#### **4.3.4 Analysis of Data**

The basis for data collation and analysis for this research project was formed by the Translation Studies Bibliography online database of bibliographic data. As a first step for building my corpus of data, the database's various search options and categories were examined for range, results, and suitability. TSB

in its current format offers a variety of search functions of which several were used:

- **Advanced search function**

This search function offers search fields on: Author/Editor, Title, Keyword, Abstract, Publisher, Language of Publication, Source Language, Pivot Language, Target Language, Person as Subject, Title as Subject, Series, Journal, Date before, Date after, and Date equals.

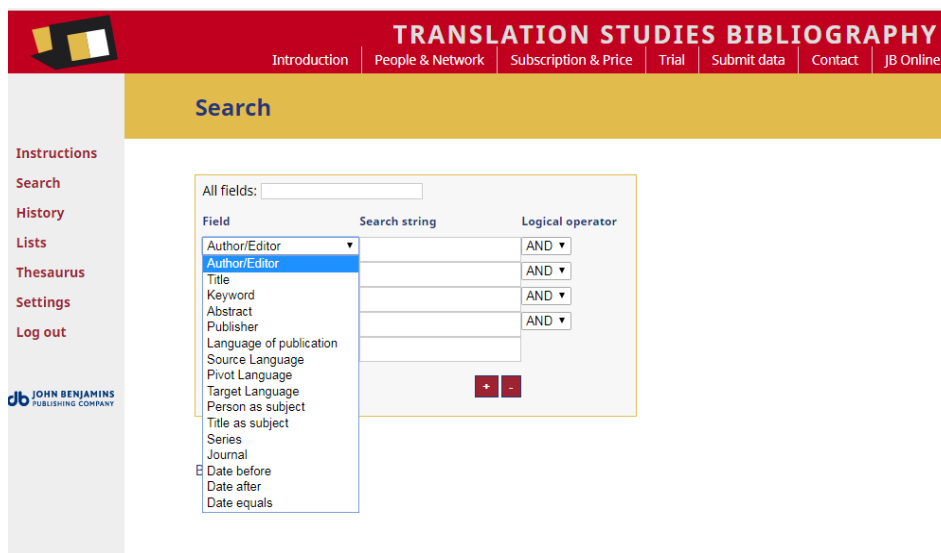


Fig. 2 TSB Advanced search options

- **List Search' function**

This search function generates topical lists of references that have the same categorisation or topic labelling. It also offers 'List' searches under the following headings: Authors, Journals, Keywords, Language as Subject, Person as subject, Series, and Title as subject.



Fig. 3 TSB List Search function

The 'List Search' function allows a further selection of the keywords that the resulting list should be treating. Available keyword options to select are sorted alphabetically.

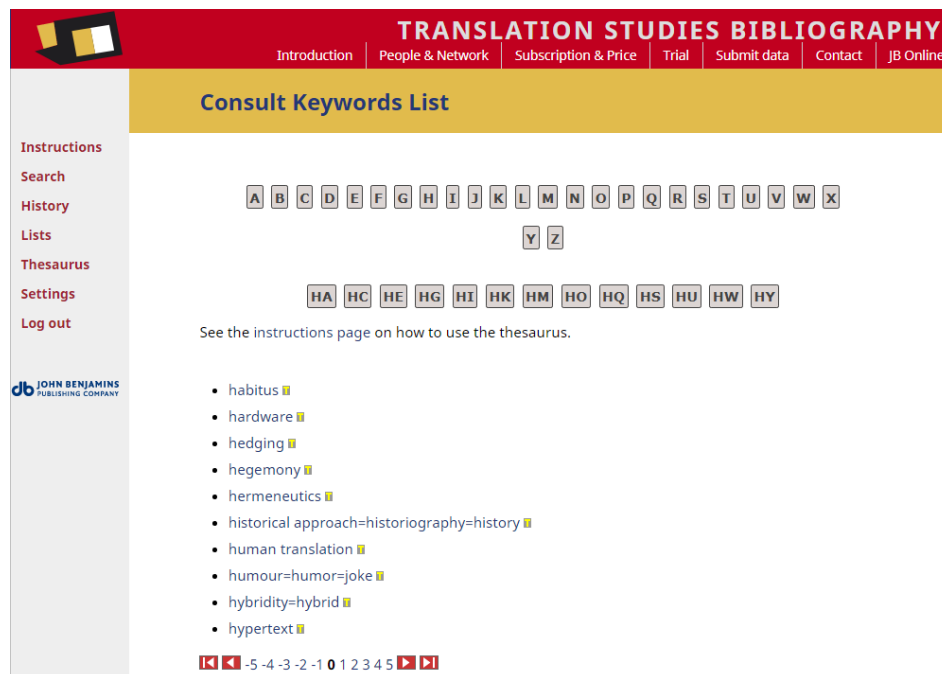


Fig. 4 TSB keyword in list search function

Once the chosen keyword has been found, a click on the keyword will prompt the database to generate a chronologically ordered list of bibliographic references that are cross-linked to their respective contributions' publication entries with full bibliographic information. An initial cross check showed that the number of results resulting from the 'List Search' function for specific terms was exactly equal to the number of results from a direct keyword search under the 'Advanced Search' function.

The screenshot shows the TSB website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the title "TRANSLATION STUDIES BIBLIOGRAPHY" and several menu items: Introduction, People & Network, Subscription & Price, Trial, Submit data, Contact, and JB Online. Below the navigation bar is a yellow header with the word "Results". On the left side, there is a vertical sidebar with navigation options: Instructions, Search, History, Lists, Thesaurus, Settings, and Log out. The main content area displays the search results for the keyword "human translation", indicating 63 hits. A list of five search results is shown, each with a numbered link icon. The first result is highlighted.

Back to search | e-mail result

Your query on KEYWORD: "human translation" has 63 hits.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1. Carl, Michael , Moritz Schaeffer & Srinivas Bangalore (2016) **"The CRITT Translation Process Research Database"** In: Michael Carl, Srinivas Bangalore, Moritz Schaeffer, *New Directions in Empirical Translation Process Research: exploring the CRITT TPR-DB* pp. 13-54.
2. Laubli, Samuel & Ulrich Germann (2016) **"Statistical Modelling and Automatic Tagging of Human Translation Processes"** In: Michael Carl, Srinivas Bangalore, Moritz Schaeffer, *New Directions in Empirical Translation Process Research: exploring the CRITT TPR-DB* pp. 155-181.
3. Giammarresi, Salvatore & Guy Lapalme (2016) **"Computer science and translation: natural languages and machine translation"** In: Yves Gambier, Luc van Doorslaer, *Border Crossings: Translation Studies and other disciplines* pp. 205-224.
4. Bundgaard, Kristine, Tina Paulsen Christensen & Anne Schjoldager (2016) **"Translator-computer interaction in action - an observational process study of computer-aided translation"** In: Helle Vronning Dam, Kaisa Koskinen, *The translation profession: centres and peripheries* 25. pp. 106-130.
5. Zapata, Julián (2016) **"Investigating Translator-Information Interaction: a case study on the use of the prototype biconcordancer tool integrated in CSMACAT"** In: Michael Carl, Srinivas Bangalore, Moritz Schaeffer, *New Directions in Empirical Translation Process Research: exploring the CRITT TPR-DB* pp. 135-157.

Fig. 5 TSB chronological list of search results for keyword "human translation"

The screenshot shows the TSB website interface, similar to Fig. 5. The navigation bar and sidebar are the same. The main content area displays the full bibliographic details for the first search result. The details are organized into a table-like structure with labels and values.

Back to result list | Back to search | e-mail result

Publication details

Authors/Editors:	Carl, Michael , Moritz Schaeffer & Srinivas Bangalore
Title:	<b>"The CRITT Translation Process Research Database"</b>
Year:	2016
Series:	[no series]
Pages:	pp. 13-54
Publication type:	Chapter in bk
In:	Michael Carl, Srinivas Bangalore, Moritz Schaeffer, <i>New Directions in Empirical Translation Process Research: exploring the CRITT TPR-DB</i>
Language:	English
Keyword(s):	database=databank ; empirical research=experimental research=survey ; human translation ; machine-aided translation=computer-aided translation=CAT ; process=translation process
Abstract:	This chapter describes the features and visualization options of the Translation Process Research Database (TPR-DB) of the Center for Research and Innovation in Translation and Translation Technology at the Copenhagen Business School. This database contains recorded logging data, as well as derived and annotated information assembled in seven kinds of simple and compound process- and product units which are suited to investigate human and computer-assisted translation processes and advanced user modelling. [Based on abstract in book]

Fig. 6 TSB example of entry with full bibliographic details

For this research and its objectives, the main search functions used were the 'Advanced Search' option leading to the 'Keyword Search' function, and the 'List Search' function with a further keyword filter. The search methods and steps therein were repeated for the different keywords that were identified as relevant for investigation of the notion of sociological ideas in TS, and this was used to compile the main base data for further analysis. The process of running a keyword search in order to generate bibliographic lists of publication details was repeated for each keyword, and the resulting lists

have been saved separately in Word 2016 formats to keep a record of the raw data extracted.

Keyword searches were conducted on:

- ‘sociology’
- ‘agency’
- ‘Bourdieu’
- ‘habitus’
- ‘narratology’
- ‘Latour’ (no list search > KW function available, via advanced search: “keyword” no hits; “person as subject” 3 results)
- ‘Luhmann’ (no list search > KW function available, via advanced search: “keyword” no hits; “person as subject” 2 results, both Tyulenev)

The topic of 'narrative theory' has been covered under the keyword of 'narratology'. The TSB database advanced search function returns just under 150 hits for 'narratology', but zero hits for 'narrative theory' or 'narrative'. A wild card search for 'narrat\*' returns exactly the same number of search results than 'narratology', and has therefore been considered included in the results for 'narratology'. The list of publication results and bibliographic data resulting from the list and keyword search for 'sociology' comprised a total of 476 entries, spanning a temporal scope from 1972 until 2017 (which was taken as a cut-off point).

In a second step for the bibliometric analysis, all publication entries found as results from the main list of overall results from the 'sociology' keyword search were further researched individually. For this purpose, each result was looked up in the bibliographic database for its full original publication details. For each entry, the following further metadata points were extracted, entered into distinct Excel spread sheets, and bibliometric details were listed according to:

- Year of publication
- Country of Affiliation (at the time of publication, as far as determinable)

- Language of Publication
- Title
- Author(s)
- Publication type (e.g. Article in journal/book, monograph, edited volume etc)
- Keywords (as listed in TSB)

An example of the metadata points after they were extracted and entered into Excel spread sheets with the respective distinct and clear bibliometric details can be seen in Appendix 1. This facilitated cross referencing the different data points in a large variety of ways, and enabled the asking of a multitude of questions of the data. 'Country of publication' as a data point was considered but rejected, since publications in more recent years, especially in the age of online publications, have significantly less meaning with regards to locality.

The following overviews of the bibliographic results, in terms of total number of results found through the list and keyword search function and their distribution over time, only aim to serve as an initial synopsis of the material found, collated and analysed. A further detailed discussion and critical evaluation of the comprehensive data points and relations will be presented separately in the subsequent chapter.

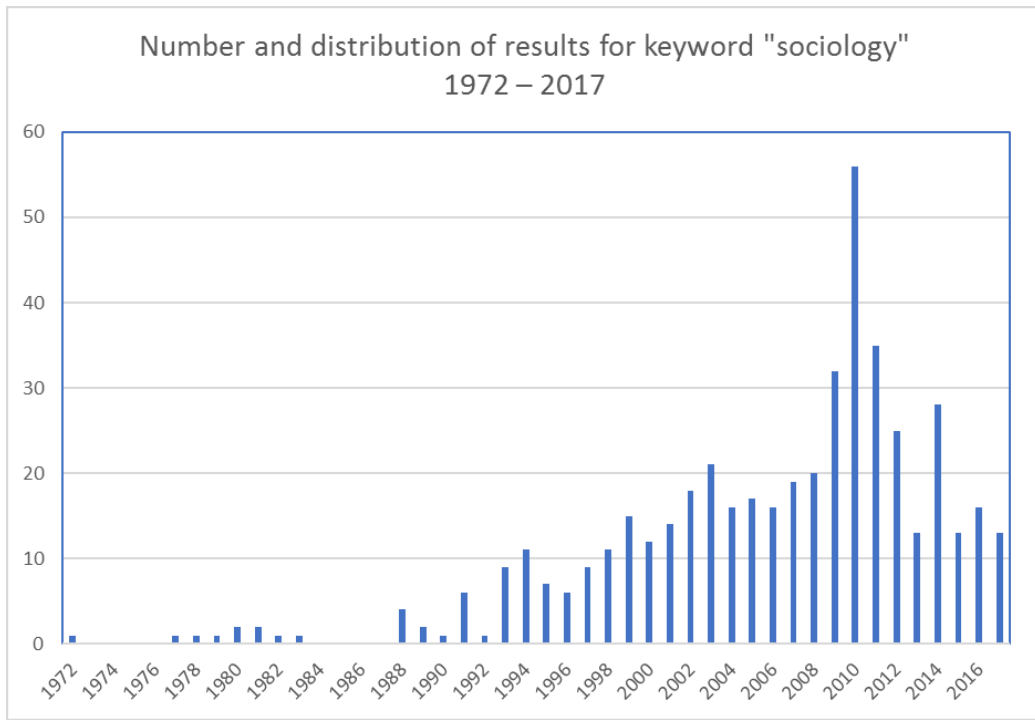


Fig. 7 Number and distribution of results for keyword “sociology” 1972 – 2017

In order to gain further comparative insight into the distribution and appearance of the selected keyword terms in relation to other terms from the field of sociology, a number of further specific keyword terms were run through the database for their overall distribution across time. For instance, the list of publication results and bibliographic data resulting from the list and keyword search for 'agency' in comparison comprised a total of only 76 entries, ranging from 2006 for the earliest entry identified in the database until 2017 for the most recent one.

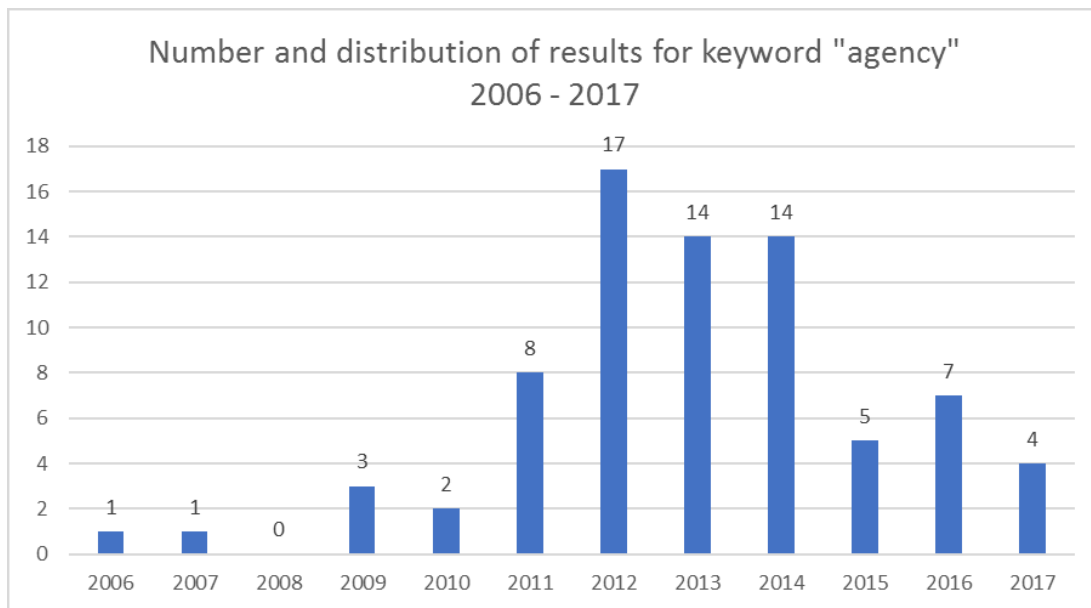


Fig. 8 Number and distribution of results for keyword “agency” 2006 – 2017

The distribution results for the keyword search for ‘narratology’ look very different in contrast:

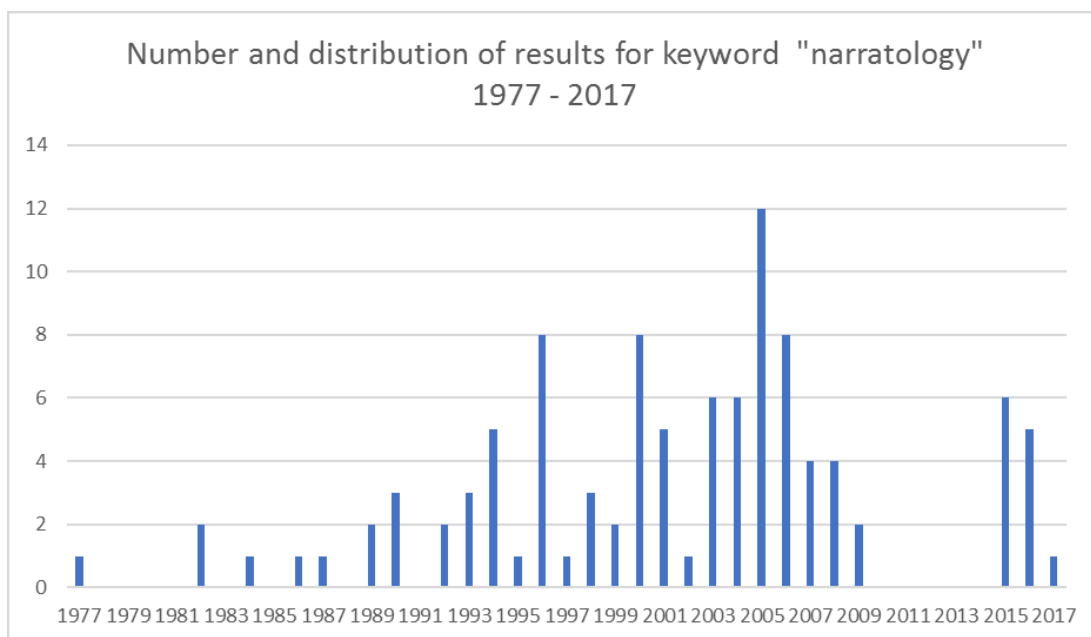


Fig. 9 Number and distribution of results for keyword “narratology” 1977 – 2017

An interesting divergence and development can be seen when contrasting the initial results from the keyword search for ‘Bourdieu’ and the initial results from the keyword search for ‘habitus’. While entries that are found under the keyword ‘Bourdieu’ date back four years earlier than entries that are labeled

with the keyword “habitus”, the spike in results for ‘Bourdieu’ in 2010 does not correspond with a similar spike for ‘habitus’, however the spike in 2014 for ‘habitus’ has overtaken the number of results that are found for ‘Bourdieu’ for that year. This will be further scrutinised and elaborated on together with other insights from the bibliographic data in the following chapter, but it does give a good initial idea of what the volume and diversity of data collated through the TSB database is capable of generating.

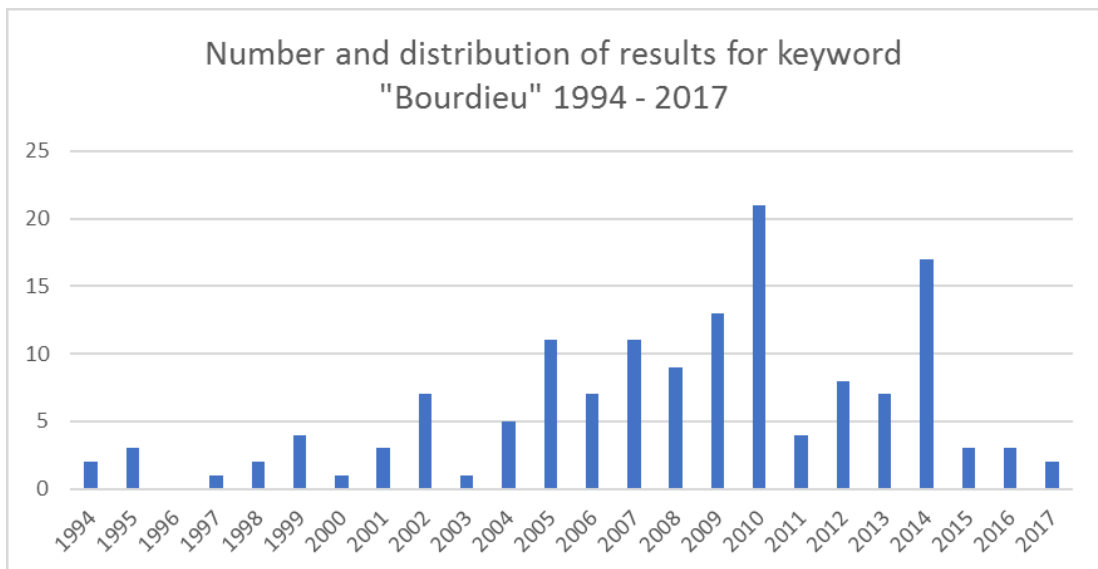


Fig. 10 Number and distribution of results for keyword “Bourdieu” 1994 – 2017

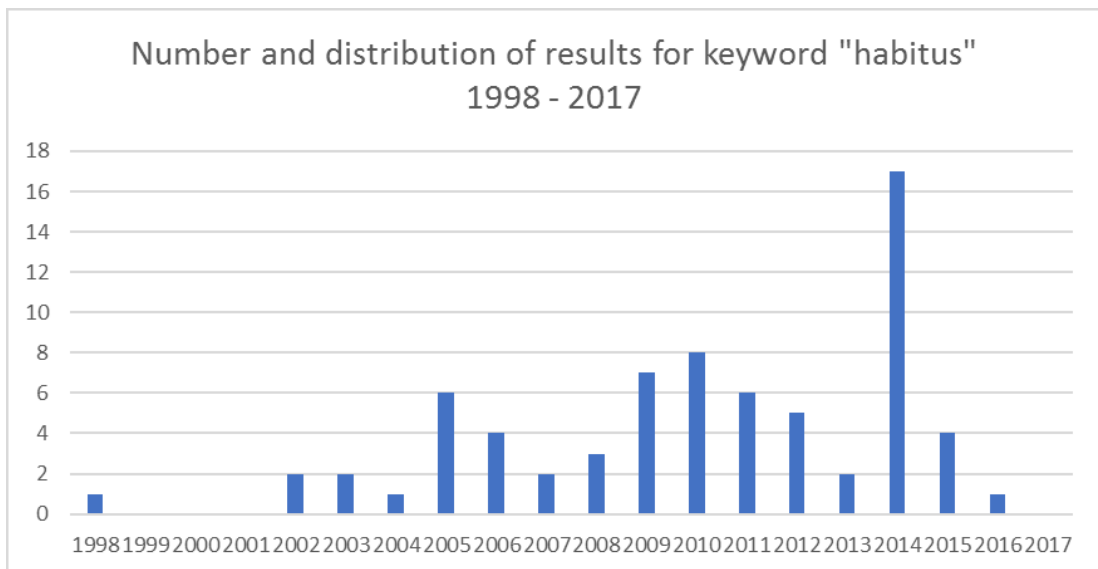


Fig. 11 Number and distribution of results for keyword “habitus” 1998 – 2017

The TSB database also allows for keyword searches that can then be further refined and filtered in a second step. This was done for instance for the keyword 'sociology' in comparison for French, English, Spanish and German. Again, a more detailed analysis and graphical presentation will be presented in the following chapter.

The focus on these four languages of publication is primarily due to the fact that results for other languages were consistently so low that they would not have yielded any meaningful comparable data and can be deemed neglectable. All results across all languages of publication are of course included in the overall search for results over time. However, this step of further filtering search results for the keyword of 'sociology' by language of publication did not create any additional leads or insights into distribution patterns due to the very low or non-existent results for this keyword in other languages. Only 17 languages have been identified in total in all results from the data consulted, making the four languages exemplified here almost a quarter of languages identified overall. A full break down on languages identified and linguistic distribution is given in chapter 5.2.2.2.

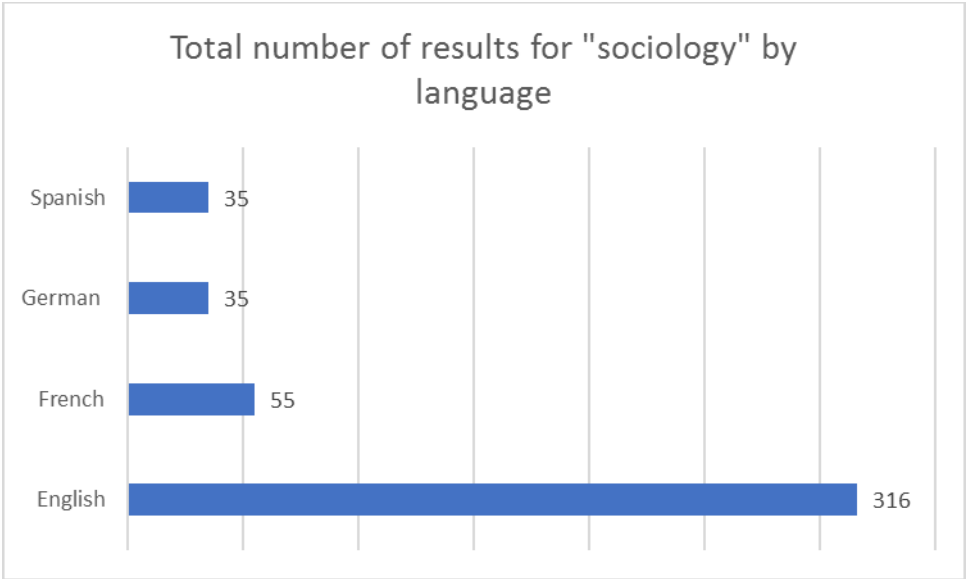


Fig. 12 Number of results for “sociology” by language

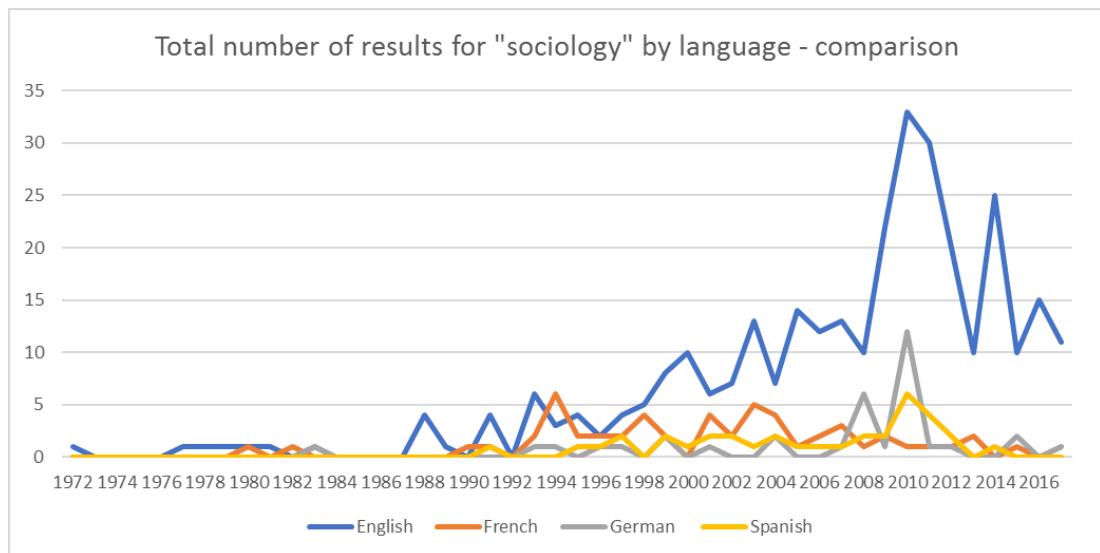


Fig. 13 Total number of results for “sociology” by language - comparison

This initial overview of the bibliometric measures, data points and methods employed for the collation, search, and analysis of the data identified from the TSB database has shown the capacity of bibliometric research with regard to connecting different variables and correlating a range of aspects of the data available for comparison and insight.

#### 4.4 Chapter Conclusion

The primary purpose of this chapter was to introduce the data that was collected and analysed for this project, the methodological steps taken for analysis and evaluation of the corpus of data, and to highlight some potential limitations and drawbacks with regard to the chosen approach. This chapter has presented the field of bibliometric research as an opportune approach for the current research project and its motivations and objectives. It discussed the scope, definition, applications and potential limitations of bibliometric approaches, and drew on recent bibliometric-based research efforts that were undertaken by translation studies scholars.

The motivation and justifications for choosing this methodology were outlined, and the selection of the TSB database and additional reference works was explained and justified. The TSB online database was introduced

and discussed as a main source of data for this thesis, and in complementation to the bibliographic data from TSB, a selection of reference works in translation studies in the form of handbooks, dictionaries and encyclopaedias was included and introduced.

The compilation of the distinct data corpus from the keyword search results from the TSB database for further evaluation and analysis was largely guided by practical concerns of using and handling the data in the most straightforward way, for example being able to view it easily in different formats, to create tables and charts in order to allow for multiple variations of very large amounts of data including their graphic representation, and to order and sort the data easily and quickly according to different criteria, such as sort by year of publication, sort by affiliation, sort by author, sort by country, etc. For all intents and purposes, the functionalities of MS Excel 2016 proved to be a sufficiently sophisticated and reliable analytical tool, and did not distract from the main focus of the investigation.

One of the main caveats of the overall focus on quantifiable data is the fact that this approach cannot account in much detail for anything that goes on inside a scholar's head, nor for the gestation periods of emerging ideas, as they take shape in a scholar's mind, before she is ready to implement or share these ideas. The scope and possibilities of this project did not permit the inclusion of more in depth qualitative data, for instance gathered in face-to-face interviews with different scholars, and furthermore the focus of this thesis is foremost on a quantitative perspective. However, additional investigations that draw on the qualitative side of this topic could be seen as a logical next step following on from this project, and hopefully this thesis might inspire future research in TS with regard to expanding this angle further.

The following chapter will continue to present and discuss insights from the bibliometric data analysis, as well as from the selected reference works, and will aim to add further dimensions to the understanding and tracking of the emergence of sociology in translation studies, help identify points of entry for sociological ideas in TS, and overall to contribute to a more

informed perception of bibliometric study as a research tool with significant potential in translation studies.



## 5 Emerging Ideas and Diffusion of Innovation – A Bibliometric Analysis

“Ideas are infectious, and they shape us.  
But how do we end up choosing among them?”

(Siri Hustvedt, *The Shaking Woman or A History of My Nerves*)

### 5.1 Emergence and Diffusion of Innovative Ideas

“[D]iffusion is inherently messy and unpredictable”, Michael Schrage wrote in one of his columns for *Technology Review* (2004). He was alluding to the difficulties in spotting and tracking ideas, and the challenges of trying to follow, organize, and predict something that seems to behave in arbitrary ways. Initially, this seems understandable: we often find ourselves wondering “where does this idea come from, how did it get here, who had this idea first?”, and there does not seem to be a convincing explanation. The world and ways of diffusion of ideas and knowledge seem at times elusive and beyond scientific explanation. It is nonetheless of great value to try and understand some of the underlying patterns, and thereby possibly be able to improve or optimise the flows of ideas and innovative practices, or at least become more aware of certain aspects of the intricate process of emerging knowledge and ideas and what role we play in the course. If an industry sector does not pick up on innovations that all their competitors have started to use, and there is demand for it from the customers, the business is likely to lose a significant amount of money. Likewise, financial advantages can be gained if innovations that increase productivity, reduce waste or costs, or are received favourably by customers, can be spread and implemented on a large scale as quickly as possible. But it is not just in modern economical terms that the diffusion of ideas and innovations can be worth literally everything: at all times, military success, for instance, depended to a large extent on how advanced their technology was as compared to their rival armies’ equipment. Intellectual advances and a *Wissensvorsprung*

(competitive knowledge advantage) in the sciences as well as the humanities can determine the development, wealth and wellbeing of a society to a large extent. It is a truism that “[i]t is hardly news that the diffusion of innovation is one of the major mechanisms of social and technical change” (Katz, Levin and Hamilton 1963: 237).

These points are arguably valid for academic disciplines as well: funding, grants, tenure positions, publications, and promotions all depend on picking up, utilising, and developing new ideas to the best advantage of the individual in question. But some of the old questions remain here too: Where do these ideas come from? How did they enter into the field? How did they emerge? The sense of elusiveness seems to continue. Therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at some aspects of diffusion theories in order to help understand better how emerging ideas and innovations have been overserved to behave and which factors could influence this. This chapter will open the discussion of the data collected for this study from a diffusion of innovation (DOI) point of view. This will not only expand the discussion to relevant areas of interest that could be helpful in gaining insights into the particular case of this study, but can also be seen as a way of trying to further broaden the scope of meta-discussions in TS in general. Understanding the extent to which theories and ideas from DOI could potentially be helpful or inspiring for research into the spread of (disciplinary) knowledge within and across TS could be an opportunity for further research between or across these two areas.

This chapter will then present an overview of DOI theories, most notably the contributions by Rogers, including the notions of emerging ideas and innovativeness, and other key elements from Rogers’ DOI theory. It will give a brief overview of the developments and range of DOI theories, and will also include some points of criticism or possible limitations. Again, this has potential relevance for future research undertaken in TS which includes a DOI perspective, as one aim is to establish a preliminary understanding of which aspects from DOI theory could be used for analysis in a translation studies context.

### **5.1.1 Diffusion of Innovation Theory**

The research tradition of diffusion of innovation has become a widely spread practice in many different fields and branches of social sciences, and beyond. The modern paradigm of diffusion of innovation has its roots in rather practical fields, most notably the fields of agriculture and rural sociology in the United States of America in the late 1930s and 40s. After the Second World War, a significant focus was on the increase and optimisation of agricultural products and production techniques. Furthermore, the “U.S. agriculture was characterized by a rapid rate of technological innovation” (Valente and Rogers 1995: 245), and diffusion research was a promising match for these developments and the overall dogma of increasing productivity and spreading innovative practices to farmers across the country. Agricultural production techniques needed to become more efficient, as the number of people who relied on food and clothing produced per farmer was rising significantly in the decades following the Second World War. As a result, it was not just new technologies and practices to increase the productivity of a farm or of cultivated land that were required, but equally it became important to understand how new technologies and practices were spread and adopted, and how these adoption processes could be made more efficient and speedier.

Earlier studies on the diffusion of innovation in this field up until the 1930s were mainly concerned with “the role of certain communication channels in the diffusion of agricultural innovations to farmers”, as Valente and Rogers point out (1995: 247), and did not investigate in more detail the different aspects or dynamics of adoption or diffusion processes. The focus was on practicality, and therefore the majority of research was evaluation research, with little concern for theoretical frameworks. Even the study that would become the basis for the modern diffusion paradigm, which can be applied to a wide range of fields and disciplines, was rooted in agricultural production. This study was conducted by Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross, who attempted to track and understand how the use of a specific hybrid corn seed spread among farmers in Iowa. They found out that the farmers in their

sample mostly chose to adopt the innovations of the new corn seed because of interpersonal communication with other farmers who were already sowing the new seed type. Their study is often simply referred to as “The Ryan and Gross hybrid corn study” or “The Iowa Hybrid Seed Corn Study”, and it “established diffusion as essentially a social process” (Valente and Rogers 1995: 248). Ryan and Gross also looked into aspects which would become important elements for subsequent studies and theoretical accounts for diffusion of innovation. These aspects included the different stages of an innovation decision process for the individual person, the role different channels or sources of information, the standardised s-shaped distribution curve for an adoption process, and categories for the different types of adopter (e.g. early adopter, early majority, late adopter, and so forth). These basic elements, as established by Ryan and Gross, formed the basis for the modern diffusion paradigm, as it is used widely by diffusion scholars and in different fields.

The processes involved in the adoption and diffusion processes for innovation have now been studied for the best part of half a century, and one of the most popular and most widely read and cited accounts of these processes is Everett M. Rogers’ contribution “Diffusion of Innovations”, which was first published in 1962 when Rogers was assistant professor of rural sociology. Rogers’ language, though highly focused and technical, is for the most part very clear and highly readable, which arguably contributed to its wide appeal. Since its first publication, the book made it through five editions. The second edition was published with the title “Communication of Innovations” (1971), but the third revised edition returned to the original title (1983). Rogers’ impressive study was found highly inspiring for this research project and it could easily be imagined to be of inspiration and value to other researchers in TS as well, particularly for those who wish to engage with projects that are related to or involve the development, epistemology or reach of certain ideas within or through translation studies. In particular, the range of examples and case studies from the most diverse fields proved useful for

widening the perspective of this present study itself and further informed its understanding of knowledge and innovation transfer patterns.

### 5.1.2 On Innovation

The notion of innovation can seem problematic at times. What is considered as innovation or a new idea? Innovation and new ideas are inevitably related to a particular point in time, and/or a particular place or field. A definition offered by Rogers states that an innovation is “an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or another unit of adoption. An innovation presents an individual or an organization with a *new alternative or alternatives, with new means of solving problems.*” (Rogers 1995: xvii, my emphasis). According to this, the social turn and sociology in TS is certainly an innovation, in that a) ideas and approaches from sociology are perceived as new by members of TS, and b) it offers TS researchers, students, and practitioners a choice of new alternatives and new approaches to existing problems or inquiries. However, what is innovative for one group of people might not be any new insight for another group. Or, as Ismail Sahin puts it in his review of Rogers’ theory: “An innovation may have been invented a long time ago, but if individuals perceive it as new, then it may still be an innovation for them” (2006: 14). The same goes for academic disciplines, and even fields or schools within a discipline: what is considered an innovative approach in one discipline might be already gone out of style again in another discipline. However, Rogers elaborates on this point by stating that:

[t]he perceived newness of the idea for the individual determines his or her reaction to it. If the idea seems new to the individual, it is an innovation. Newness in an innovation need not just involve new knowledge. Someone may have known about an innovation for some time but not yet developed a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward it, or have adopted or rejected it. (1995: 11)

Information, knowledge and ideas that ‘cross over’, whether between whole disciplines or between individuals, are all sensitive to time and subject to change. The paradoxical nature of knowledge is that the more there is of it, the more of it is also no longer true. Ever since scholars began studying the

growth and spread of knowledge systematically, and Derek J. de Solla Price noticed an exponential growth rate in publications, which seemed to suggest that scientific knowledge would follow this exponential growth as well, researchers have been engaging in trying to measure knowledge, progress, and study the 'science of science'. Scientific facts are subject to ongoing scrutiny and re-investigation, and a theory is only valid until it is falsified.

Medicine seems to be one of the disciplines where the half-life of facts is especially short: "two Australian surgeons found that half of the published 'facts' relating to surgical medicine become false every 45 years" (Roger M. Stein, 2014: 2). The difficulty about the half-life of facts is of course that we know half of our information and knowledge will become obsolete, but we don't know *which* half. What are the mechanisms in academia that tell us when an idea is relevant or no longer relevant? In the sciences, this is arguably a little more clear cut and scientific developments in the emergence of new ideas and theories often features an exponential growth curve (cf. e.g Rogers 1995). In a scientific field, theories are falsified or confirmed by experimentation and testing. In the humanities, however, the nature of the growth of knowledge and the process for new ideas to become established is often behaving in a less linear way, and it is hoped that this thesis might contribute some details to the understanding of the emergence and spread of new knowledge and ideas in translation studies as part of the humanities. To this end, this chapter will evaluate and discuss in more detail the data and resources that were collated for this research, and from this basis offer some further insights into how, where and when sociological ideas in TS have entered the field, developed and spread.

## **5.2 Emergence of Sociology in TS: Tracking Points of Entry and Developments**

The basis for data collation and analysis for this research project was formed by the Translation Studies Bibliography online database of bibliographic data. The database was searched a number of times for different keyword terms and utilising other search functions of TSB, such as the 'List Search' function,

which allows the compilation of data that is labelled under a common topic entry. Different keyword searches were also run for further differentiation of the data and in order to ask more questions of the data. Therefore, keyword searches also included the keywords 'Bourdieu', 'agency', or 'narratology'. Since TSB is a curated database and categories, labels, keywords and search terms are assigned by the editorial staff, there is a certain degree of subjectivity regarding these categories and labels that has to be acknowledged. For instance, regarding potential divergences between the entries that get assigned a certain topic or subject label for list search compatibility on the one hand, and entries resulting from a keyword search on the other. The question of whether a keyword search function for the main keyword 'sociology' will result in the same entries as a 'List Search' function search was tested and answered. This has been tested before the data collation and filtering stage, and the two methods do deliver the same number of results. Therefore, the two methods were assumed to be of equal validity with regard to the results they returned.

While this study primarily analyses and builds on replicable quantitative data points, and the following sections will evaluate and discuss this data in detail, the collation and evaluation process also included extensive engagement with qualitative aspects that came to light in the bibliographic data. Before I continue with a detailed description and account of the quantitative aspects of the data used for this study, I want to offer some further insights into some aspects of the qualitative side of the data and the subsequent analysis, as well as further qualitative aspects of this research project that reach beyond the bibliographic data.

A significant qualitative aspect of the TSB database to be considered is the fact that the bibliometrics are collated and curated by human editors, not by an automated algorithm. The bibliographic entries are presented in form of a hyperlink that leads to full bibliographic metadata including the publication's abstract. Where an electronic access is available, the full metadata entry includes a link to the publication under the 'Publication url' field.

In order to understand what the TSB database is capable of telling us and where its limitations are, it is worthwhile noting that the database is being added to both with current materials but also in retrospect, going back in time an adding older publications, thus the database grows in both directions. This means that the data offers an increasingly faceted view into the development of the field, e.g. with regard to changes in attitudes within the field, shifts in research trends, and even changes in the language used in publications. The database would for instance also facilitate a focused qualitative study e.g. on phraseology, shifting linguistic valuations or definitions, variants in connotations over time, etc.

Since TSB is a curated database, this has a twofold implication for qualitative assessments of the data: firstly, it ensures a clean and meaningful import and subsequent classification of bibliographic data, including full metadata. Secondly, the non-automated import and classification of data also means that qualitative approaches to the TSB data have to be made with full awareness that the data as presented and classified in the database is the result of human assessment, with all its implications. This means that we have to some extent allow for an editorial influence. An interesting point where this aspect comes to the fore is the classification of keywords that the bibliographic entries are tagged with. Keywords are selected and curated by the database's editors, and the way a large number of keywords are grouped and tagged reveals for instance a certain degree of steering through the curation process, meaning the metadata (including keywords) should not be viewed as neutral. A closer look at the way the individual keywords are inter-linked with phrases that are considered synonymous also allows further insight into the qualitative side of the TSB data. For example, the keywords "ethics" and "ethical constraints" are attached as synonymous to bibliographic entries and lead to the same search results. Likewise, the keywords "community interpreting" and "public service interpreting" lead to the same search results, as do "sociological approach" and "sociology", and the keywords "professionalism" and "non-professionalism" are equally attached to the same bibliographic entries. While professionalism and non-

professionalism are arguably two sides of the same coin, there are other instances of keyword pairs that are perhaps less easily conflated, or may even be counterproductive for specific in depth searches of the database, and the way that these keyword pairs have been decided on and attached to the bibliographic entries by the curators of the database clearly shows a process of assessment and individual judgement. This is not to be regarded as a disadvantage or fault per se in the data, but it is a reminder for qualitative analysis that the data in the TSB bibliography, including search functions and searchable keywords available, are curated and qualitative analysis needs to account for potential editorial influences and consider reflections of the respective editors' outlook.

Because of the way that the TSB database is conceptualised, structured and curated, and since contains a very large number of entries, it caters strongly for an analysis that goes 'broad but shallow', as opposed to 'narrow and deep', i.e. it is very well suited to research that looks at a significant range of data for analysis, but is not necessarily ideally suited for in-depth analysis of selected data points.

Further qualitative aspects that were involved in the exploration of data for this thesis include for instance the issue of publication language, and the consideration of aspects around place of publication and geographical distribution in general, or the observation of characteristics such as re-occurring citation chains. While all these qualitative aspects can be observed in the bibliometric data, they need to be viewed in a broader context of knowledge transfer, history of ideas and corresponding influences of factors involved in the process. Beyond the engagement with the bibliographic data that is at the core of this research project, qualitative considerations that were also significant for this thesis include observations and reflections on the meaning and definitions of certain keywords, for instance a reflection on the field of sociology and what sociology means for and within translation studies research. This reflection was considered particularly relevant as it is an integral aspect of the qualitative analysis of the data collated through keyword searches, with the keyword of 'sociology' a prominent search

criterion. Reflections on aspects of place and geographical distributions of emerging data points further informed the evaluation of data and subsequent discussion of the emergence of ideas in a geographical context, as further elaborated on in follow sections in this chapter.

Taken together, all the results from the above-mentioned keyword search (or the 'List Search') function that was conducted returned a total of 476 entries on the TSB database, with the earliest entry appearing in 1972 and the cut-off point going forward at 2017. After deleting duplicate entries from the list, a total of 468 entries for publications remained. This was used as the basis for further enquiry and analysis into various data points and relations. The complete results list of entries were collated in electronic form in an Excel spread sheet, and included information about the author, year of publication, title, the authors country of affiliation (at the time of the respective publication as far as discernible), the type of publication (i.e. monograph, article in a book, dissertation, or edited volume) and keyword section. The TSB database contains bibliographic annotations for entries on authors or editors, year of publication, language of publication, title, publication type, keywords and subject. However, it does not contain further information on the authors or editors. This information on geographical distribution was researched and added manually for each of the entries in the complete results list. In 15 cases it was not possible to discern an affiliation for the author(s) at the given time of the publication. This number of 'blank' affiliations accounts for just 3% of the total results, and was therefore deemed to be non-significant for the overall analysis.

The following sections look at various data points from these bibliographic entries in more detail with regard to entry points for sociological ideas and approaches over time, and also present information regarding contributions in different languages and in different formats, i.e. contributions in form of journal articles, monographs or edited volumes.

### 5.2.1 Temporal Progression

Temporal aspects play a significant role when we consider processes of change, distribution of knowledge, and the diffusion of innovations. It is also a good reminder to recall that scholarship will always be in a state of flux, and that science is a process, just like networks, connections, and relations are processes, in that they come in and out of existence. We therefore have to consider change over time. In TS, for instance, just as in other disciplines, certain beliefs that were held firmly by a majority of researchers 50 years ago are no longer considered relevant or indeed even true by today. I mentioned earlier the half-life of facts, which is essentially a decaying process of knowledge over time, and which could be viewed almost like a mirror image of the adoption process for a new idea. Instead of ideas becoming more obsolete over time, for an innovation process it can be viewed the other way around: the more time that passes, the more relevant a certain idea becomes for more individuals, or respectively the more aspects of a certain idea become relevant for a larger number of individuals.

Rogers identifies distinct aspects to the time element of the diffusion of innovation. The temporal dimension is involved “in the innovation-decision process by which an individual passes from first knowledge of an innovation through its adoption or rejection” (1995: 20). This describes how long it would take a given person to implement a new idea, from the time she came into contact with the idea, i.e. learned about it, either through reading, or being told about it by another person, to the point of actively using the new idea herself. Since the methodology and data for the current study were geared towards delivering a quantitative basis for the case of emerging ideas in a given discipline, and not set up for this kind of qualitative analysis about individual experiences, this point has less relevance at this stage. It will, however, be kept in mind throughout the analysis.

The earliest publications in the TSB database that were captured with the keyword search method described above date to the early 1970s, the first one appearing in 1972 and the three others in 1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively. The entire span of the 1970s finds only four contributions that

contain the label and category of 'sociological approach=sociology'. For context, the TSB database lists a total number of 193 publications overall for the period between 1970 and 1979. The results for contributions during this time that are catalogued in the database and which make use of or mention sociological ideas, approaches or theories is therefore just over 2%.

A closer look at these early publications and the keywords and abstracts they come with shows an overall focus on issues of translation practice, scientific discourse, competence and skills, historiography and impact measurement. From these focal points of the early contributions by TS scholars that appear in the database, it is possible to see a degree of alignment with or reflections of sociological theories of the time, influenced by perspectives of practicality regarding social impacts or influence, or a stronger focus on scientific-ness. This also echoes some of the core issues within the field of sociology that were addressed in part 3 of this thesis, in particular regarding the longstanding question of what its positioning should be on the spectrum between scientifically measurable research and social commentary.

James S. Holmes' article on "The name and nature of Translation Studies" (1972), in which he mentions the possibility of a "development of a field of translation sociology for [...] socio-translation studies" (Holmes in Venuti 2000: 185) does not feature in the publications results. Considering that this contribution by Holmes is often referred to as an example of one of the earliest considerations of sociology's potential for translation studies, this might initially seem conflicting. Analysis of the labels and keyword tags of Holmes' article in the TSB catalogue however reveals that it is only tagged with three general keywords: 'theory=translation', 'theory=interpreting theory', and 'Translation Studies'. Given that sociology or sociology in TS was not a main focus point for his paper and is only mentioned in brief in one sentence, categorising Holmes' paper under sociology could be seen as a misrepresentation.

#### Publication details

Authors/Editors:	Holmes, James S.
Title:	<b>"The name and nature of Translation Studies"</b>
Year:	1972
Series:	[no series]
Pages:	pp. 88-88
Publication type:	Article in jnl/bk
In:	Jacques Qvistgaard, <i>Third international congress of applied linguistics (Copenhagen, 21-26 August 1972): congress abstracts</i>
Language:	English
Keyword(s):	theory=translation theory=interpreting theory ; Translation Studies
Abstract:	This article is an abstract of the paper the author presented at the <i>Third international congress of applied linguistics</i> in Copenhagen in 1972. The author deals with the name of Translation Studies and discusses if this is a suitable name for the discipline. [Source: W. Tesseur]

Fig. 14 TSB database entry for James S. Holmes' paper "The name and nature of Translation Studies"

Indeed, Holmes' paper was intended as a more general reflection on TS and translation theory at the time, and was not specifically concerned with sociological aspects of translation. It could be argued that the importance of Holmes' paper especially with regard to the idea of sociology in TS, seems to have been attributed largely in retrospect by successive scholars, not by Holmes himself at the time, which is not an uncommon pattern for the processes of emergence, adoption and spread of new ideas in disciplines.

Holmes' 'missing' paper in the search results for this project highlights the often elusive and arbitrary nature of emerging ideas in transmission, and the difficulty in unambiguously tracing entry points for ideas. Researchers may receive inspiration for the employment of new approaches from a multitude of sources, and apart from citations, which are definite points of reference for borrowing ideas and building further on existing knowledge, transfer points for ideational change are notoriously difficult to trace and define. This serves as a reminder to take into account a broader variety of factors and influences when considering ideational change and emerging ideas.

This thesis recognises the methodological limitations of a bibliometric approach, in that there is the difficulty of accounting for sources that are not captured by the search criteria defined for the scope of this project. The current methodology as set out for this project may for instance not capture and account for entry points for ideas that were not seen by their authors as directly related or relevant to aspects of sociology, and were therefore not

categorised as such. This research therefore acknowledges that other entry points for ideas may exist, including potential further paths of emergence for sociologically-inspired approaches in TS, which may have entered the discipline along different ways. This includes the possibility of emerging sociological ideas that may have travelled into the discipline of TS via other subject fields, or interdisciplinary subject fields, and not just directly from sociology and its respective authors and keywords into TS.

The decade of the 1980s returned 12 results for the keyword search in the database. Early contributors in this period include Jean Delisle with two publication entries, in 1980 and 1982. Three of the four results for 1988 were all published in the same journal volume, *Languages at crossroads*, which contained proceedings of the 29th Annual Conference of the American Translators Association, held on October 12-16 in 1988 in Seattle, Washington. For context, the TSB database lists a total number of 932 publications overall for the period between 1980 and 1989. The results for contributions during this time that are catalogued in the database and which make use of or mention sociological ideas, approaches or theories is therefore just over 1%.

The 1990s saw a rapid expansion of publications listed in the STB database that were captured by the keyword search methods for this project. From two publications in 1989 and one in the following year 1990, the year 1991 shows already six publications that were identified with a 'sociology' label, and in total the decade of the 1990s counts 77 publication entries that were captured. At this stage, we also see a significant increase in diversification of the languages of publication, as well as the different type of publication. Both points will be taken up again in the following sections. For context, the TSB database contains a total number of 5,834 publication entries overall for the period between 1990 and 1999. Compared to the scope of the database's contents for the previous decade of the 1980s, this corresponds to over five times the amount of publication data available. While the number of publication results for 'sociology' increased drastically to 77 for the period of the 1990s, the expansion of the overall data corpus of the

TSB database means that the results for contributions during this time that are catalogued in the database and which engage with or mention sociological ideas, approaches or theories is therefore still just over 1% in relation to the overall publications catalogued.

The period of the 2000s sees a further acceleration and increase in the number of publications captured in the database that engage with ideas from the field of sociology. For context, the TSB database lists a total number of 14,049 publications available overall for the period between 2000 and 2009. The proportion for contributions during this time that are catalogued in the database and which make use of or mention sociological ideas, approaches or theories is therefore still at just over 1%.

The final temporal period between 2010 and the forward cut off point 2017 shows the largest (both in total as well as relative per year) count of publication results from the keyword search in the database. A total of 194 publications were found that discuss, engage with or apply sociological ideas, methods and theories. For comparison to the overall number of publication entries available for this period of time on the database, TSB lists a total number of 8,047 publications overall for the years between 2010 and 2017. The percentage for contributions during this time that are catalogued in the database and which employ or mention sociological ideas, approaches or theories has increased to almost 2.5% in the first seven years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The overall emergence of sociological ideas in translation over the period of time covered in this study therefore presents as an exponential growth for overall number of publications available and catalogues on the database.

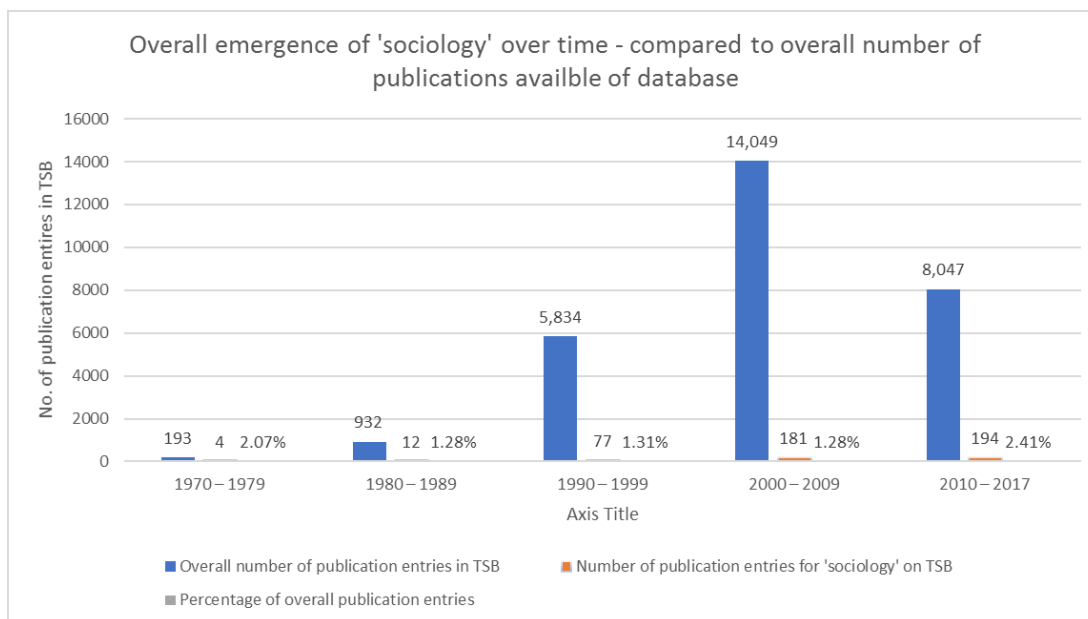


Fig. 15 Overall emergence of 'sociology' over time

Period of time	Overall number of publication entries in TSB	Number of publication entries for 'sociology' on TSB	Percentage of overall publication entries
1970 – 1979	193	4	2.07%
1980 – 1989	932	12	1.28%
1990 – 1999	5,834	77	1.31%
2000 – 2009	14,049	181	1.28%
2010 – 2017	8,047	194	2.41%

Fig. 16 Overall emergence of 'sociology' overtime versus overall publication entries

Because the numbers for publications entries that were identified as engaging with, discussing, or applying sociological ideas and theories are so small in comparison to the large number of overall publication entries, this emergence process was charted again without the overall data against it. This shows that in fact the emergence of 'sociology' in the set of publications identified in the database through the described keyword search methods mirrors the exponential development of the overall growth of the scholarship as reflected on the database's scope.

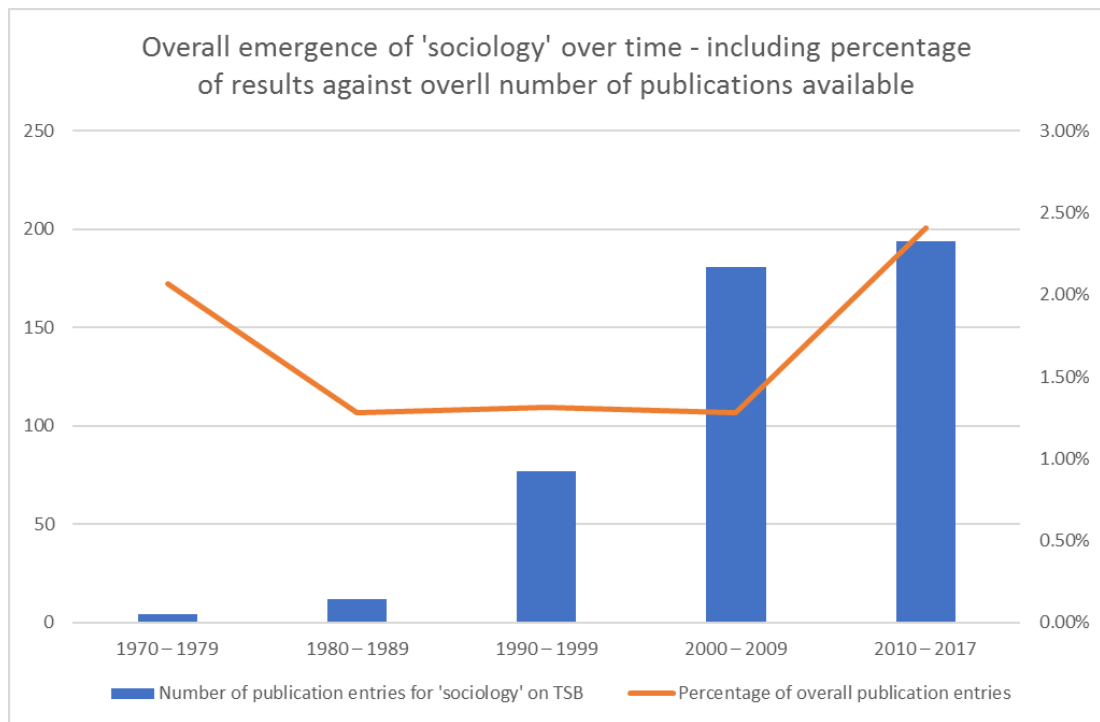


Fig. 17 Overall emergence of 'sociology' against overall number of publications

After initially outlining the general picture of the gradual emergence of sociological ideas in TS over time, the following section will discuss further insights from the data with regards to geographical distribution and linguistic distribution of the results.

### 5.2.2 Emergence of Ideas and Geography

The very beginning of this thesis opened its narrative with the example of Alfred Russell Wallace, an explorer and naturalist who was working in the Dutch East Indies during the mid-nineteenth century. Wallace's discoveries were very similar to the conclusions that Charles Darwin reached at roughly the same time. In fact, Wallace's findings caused Darwin to bring forward his planned publication *On the Origin of Species*. While Darwin was at the time very well connected to the knowledge hub that was the Linnean Society of London, Wallace had to rely on written correspondence, which was not only notoriously slow, causing delays in the arrival of his findings within the scientific circles of London and Britain at the time, but also rendered him devoid of any influence as to whether, when, where, and in what context his

work would be presented. While one factor in the reception of Wallace's ideas was certainly his reputation, having positioned himself outside of "the norms of professionalised science" (Fichman 2004: 4), his very remote geographical location at the time arguably played a significant role as well. The role of place seems a manifest factor in the process of emerging ideas, as both a facilitator and a hindrance, and this section sets out to examine aspects of geographical locations with regard to emerging ideas from sociology as shown in the publication contributions in more detail.

To open the discussion on remote places and aspects of geographical locations in the process for transmission and emergence of ideas, the case of the fisherman and crofter Thomas James Fraser will be presented as an example as well as reminder for the following analysis of how ideas can travel along extended and often arbitrary lines, and how it is not always possible to track their points of entry and transmission with certainty, since a number of elusive factors can be involved in the process.

Fraser was born in Outterabracke, Burra Isle, in the Shetland Islands, in 1927. He joined the fishing fraternity at the age of 16, and later bought and worked on his own lobster boat. As was common at the time, he supplemented his income by machine-knitting jumpers. Fraser had a passion for music, and taught himself to play the guitar and other instruments. With the exception of a hospital visit to Aberdeen after an accident at sea had left him seriously injured, he spent all his life on the Shetland Islands. When he died in 1978, he left an extraordinary legacy behind: thousands of recordings that he had made himself using a simple reel-to-reel recorder, after electricity had reached the Shetlands. What is so extraordinary is that this is not, as one could imagine, music traditionally associated with the Shetland Islands, or even Scottish folk music: Fraser played and recorded American Blues songs, Country, and Western music. His style of playing shows uncanny similarities to the recordings and musical trends of the likes of Jimmie Rodgers, Hank Williams, and other Nashville artists of the time, yet he is considered completely unique in his approach. In the article "The Tale of Thomas Fraser", Peter Culshaw describes the peculiar story of how a

fisherman from the Shetlands ended up playing what used to be called “hillbilly” music:

Every artist will tell their own strange story - full of narrative twists - of how they reached their public. But Thomas Fraser's ascent is hard to credit. He was a lobster fisherman on the island of Burra in the Shetlands who as a young man heard American country music on Forces Radio broadcasts from Germany, and fell in love with it - particularly the songs of the Mississippi singer Jimmie Rodgers, a key figure in country. [...] Fraser would take the boat into Lerwick, Shetland's main town, and order all the Rodgers albums that were available. (Culshaw 2006)

After Fraser died, the tapes he had recorded had been gathering dust for quarter of a century until his grandson Karl Simpson discovered them. With the help of a BBC sound engineer, he transferred them from the reels and digitalised them, eventually publishing a selection of 25 tracks on a CD in 2002. The album titled “Long Gone Lonesome Blues” gained critical acclaim, and was followed up with further albums featuring tracks from Fraser’s extensive collection of recordings. Almost forty years after his death, the legacy of Thomas Fraser’s music and recordings continues to grow, and has now reached audiences worldwide – including the United States of America, where it is also appreciated by contemporary artists and audiences of Nashville, Tennessee.

So how did country music emerge on the Shetlands? Culshaw points out that “throughout the Shetland Isles, country has been popular since the Fifties, and remains so” (Culshaw 2006). He also adds a quote from Fraser’s grandson Simpson, who suggested that “country music was heavily influenced by Irish and Scots music in the first place” and that “[i]t’s something to do with the tight-knit communities and tough life the early country singers were singing about” (Culshaw 2006).

Fraser’s playing was popular on the island during his lifetime, but hardly anyone outside of the Shetlands had ever heard of him until Simpson restored and published the tracks for “Long Gone Lonesome Blues”. The remoteness of the Shetlands is arguably a factor, as is the absence of commercial opportunities to make music or the existence of a supporting and

facilitating network, as existed for instance in Nashville. The remoteness of the location is impressively told by Culshaw's account of his journey north:

It was only when I flew into the Shetland Isles from London via Edinburgh that I realised quite how remote they are. It took me an hour to reach Edinburgh, and two more to get to Shetland. [...] Look on maps of Britain and the Islands have their own box, which is unsurprising as they are closer to the Arctic Circle than London, on the same latitude as Greenland. (Culshaw 2006)

Places can be considerable sources of influence, both in a positive, facilitating way, but also in a negative, limiting way. In the case of writer George Mackay Brown and the Orkney Islands, the writer and his work are inextricably connected, and the histories, narratives, land- and seascapes of the Orkneys are absolutely determinative for Brown's works. To put it simply, Brown's writing could only have happened in this form because he was living on the Orkney Islands. Places and their influence on ideas, research, and people are not random, and that even in the age of digital technologies, which make communication over long distances ever easier, the power of place should not be underestimated as a facilitating factor in the development and dissemination of ideas. As such, place can be considered an important factor in the emergence process of an idea. A closer look at place(s) and global scope follows here in a discussion of geographical distribution as seen in the data from the case of sociology in TS.

### **5.2.2.1 Emergence by Place**

First, an overview will be given of the general emergence and distribution of articles with sociological reference in TSB according to the keyword search criteria employed here.

The first observation regarding the geographical distribution of the publication entries identified and collated via the keyword search was that the contributions covered a very broad range of countries of affiliation. A total number of 45 different countries of affiliation were identified through analysis of the data complemented by further research on the respective authors. The graphic below includes only countries with more than two publication entries,

in order to make it readable. A full list of countries of affiliations is also given for completeness.

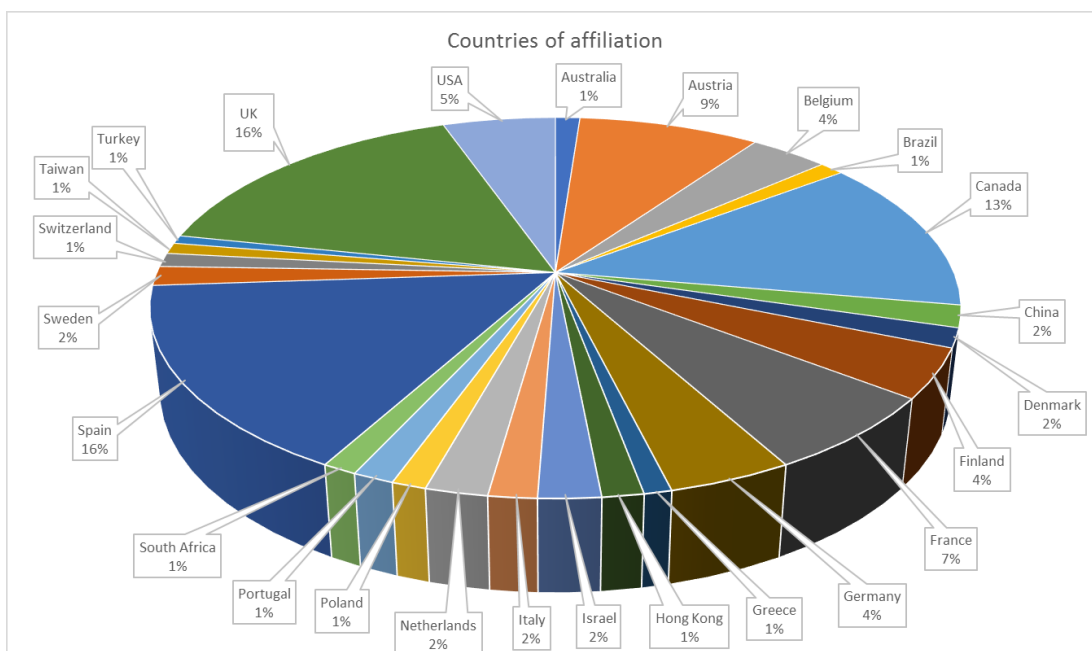


Fig. 18 Countries of affiliation in the publication data 1972 – 2017

Country of Affiliation	No. of publication entries	Country of Affiliation	No. of publication entries	Country of Affiliation	No. of publication entries
Australia	5	Greece	4	Poland	5
<b>Austria</b>	<b>37</b>	Hong Kong	5	Portugal	6
<b>Belgium</b>	<b>16</b>	India	1	Qatar	1
Bosnia	1	Indonesia	1	Romania	1
Brasil	1	Ireland	2	Slovakia	1
Brazil	5	Israel	9	Slovenia	2
Bulgaria	1	Italy	7	South Africa	5
<b>Canada</b>	<b>56</b>	Japan	1	<b>Spain</b>	<b>67</b>
China	8	Kong Kong	1	Sweden	7
Czech Republic	1	Latvia	2	Switzerland	5
Denmark	7	Netherlands	8	Taiwan	4
EU Parliament	1	New Zealand	1	Turkey	3
<b>Finland</b>	<b>17</b>	Nigeria	1	UAE	2
<b>France</b>	<b>28</b>	Norway	1	<b>UK</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>18</b>	Oman	1	<b>USA</b>	<b>23</b>

Fig. 19 Overall distribution of publication entries by country of affiliation

Some of the earliest contributions and references that were found in the corpus of data for this study originated from Canada, the USA, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, or Finland. However, as can be seen in the table Fig. 19 above, the largest overall proportion of publication entries that could be located were contributed by scholars with an affiliation (at the time of publication) within the UK, closely followed by Spain, and by Canada as the third largest overall place for contributions. The remaining countries are significantly less relevant regarding the number of publications that engage with issues of sociology in TS. This notable discrepancy in distribution can be seen as a first indicator of the importance of geographical place and affiliation, especially considering the fact that the Canadian-based journal *Meta* is, in terms of publishing output, easily the largest of the investigated journals in this study, and taking into account that important contributions to sociological engagement in TS have been made by Canadian-based scholars.

For insight into differences in the development of contributions in some of the main countries of affiliation, the data points for each respective country were taken, analysed according to emergence over time, and finally combined to allow a side by side comparison. The three largest contributing countries of affiliation identified from this project's data for scholars engaging with, discussing or applying sociological theories to a TS context or case are the United Kingdom, Spain and Canada. A side by side comparison of the emergence of sociological ideas in publication data over time gives insight into how developments in these countries differ respectively. The earliest contributions that engage with ideas from sociology can be traced to appear in Canada and Spain. Early contributions to ideas in sociology in TS from these two countries emerge singular and non-regular, leaving gaps of up to five years between them. There is no engagement that is visible in publication data within the scope of this research project's data that engages with sociological issue in a TS context that originates from authors with UK affiliations. The first publication entry for 'sociology' with a UK affiliation appears in 1993 and remains relatively low until 2003, by which time already

a significant number of publications had emerged from Canada and Spain. After a very significant spike in publication entries from Spain affiliations in the year 2010, the numbers drop down again, whereas the number of UK contributions remains higher.

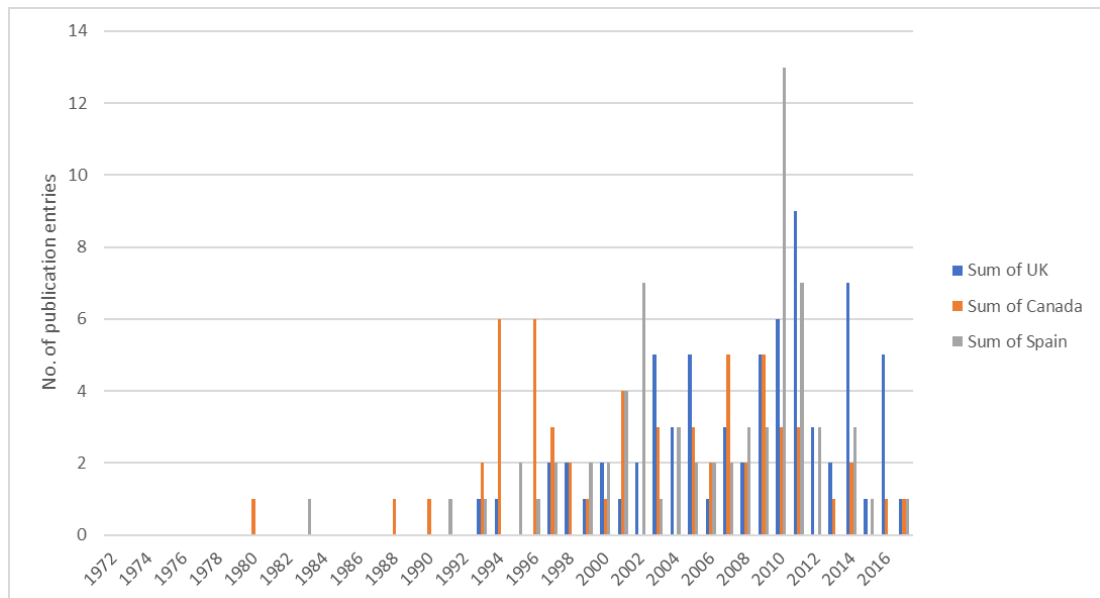


Fig. 20 Number of publication entries by country

In general, a picture of staggered emergence appears from these data points on geographical distribution of results in the selected publication data. Contributions from scholars with Canadian affiliations can be seen in the data as emerging on a significant, non-singular scale ahead of Spain, and significantly ahead of the United Kingdom. While it needs to be kept in mind that affiliations of scholars are not absolute, and that scholars also often change their affiliation over the course of their careers, this can nonetheless be an insight into some aspects of the development of sociological ideas in the discipline of translation. This geographical distribution may also serve as a starting point for further qualitative studies in future research. It is furthermore a reminder that ideas and theories spread and emerge in connection with the language they are written in or about. Therefore, the following section will briefly consider data points in relation to language of publication.

### 5.2.2.2 Emergence by Linguistic Distribution

The complex and often disregarded issue of theories and ideas that are travelling, spreading and emerging through works in translation has been extensively discussed by Susam-Sarajeva (2006), who in particular highlighted shifts and adaptations in theoretical work depending on its intended purpose or expectations in the recipient audience. Not only can shifts occur when a theory, or a piece of theoretical writing, is being interpreted for a different target audience, but further shifts, distortions or misrepresentations can occur when theories and ideas are handed over across linguistic barriers. Yet, this aspect has often received little attention in the past and still suffers from a lack of general awareness in the present as well. Dava Sobel recounts in *Longitude* (1996) a story of the third astronomer royal James Bradley who was working on solving the problem of discovering a method to accurately measure the degree of longitude in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. For some of his calculations and measurements, Bradley utilised astronomical tables that were compiled by the German astronomer, mathematician and map maker Tobias Meyer. The handover of complex knowledge across linguistic boundaries is presented as a matter of course as if there could be no implications from transferring theoretical ideas from one language system into the other. Even if we discount the example of the astronomical tables to some extent, assuming their contents were largely mathematical, it is still a striking example of the matter of fact-ness with which the transfer of ideas and knowledge across language barriers can still sometimes be taken for granted and consequently not accounted for sufficiently.

A total number of 17 different languages was identified in the publication entries as collated through the keyword search method for this data corpus. This, in comparison with the overall number of countries as presented in the previous section, is a stark reminder that a high proportion of researchers do not work and write in their native language: 45 different countries have been found for scholars' affiliations, but only 17 different languages of publication. While this is a normal reflection of academic

publishing and to be expected (in fact, in the case of translation studies, there likely is a higher diversity of publication languages as compared to other disciplines that rely much stricter on a lingua franca for publication and academic discourse), it is a worthwhile reminder of transmission, translation, and adaptation processes that often apply to works of theory when they get employed and applied by scholars who do not speak or read the original language a respective idea is presented in.

A full list of all languages of publications that were identified, as well as a proportional overview in terms of percentage, is given below.

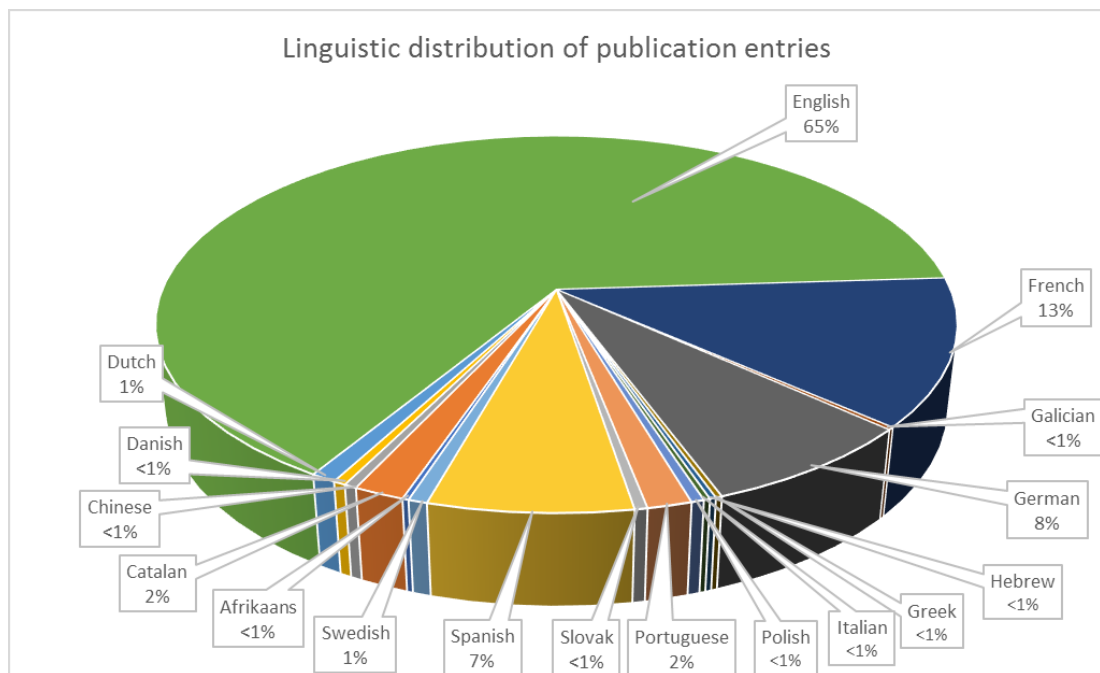


Fig. 21 Linguistic distribution of publications

Afrikaans	1	Greek	1
Catalan	8	Hebrew	1
Chinese	2	Italian	1
Danish	2	Polish	2
Dutch	4	Portuguese	7
English	301	Slovak	2
French	58	Spanish	32
Galician	1	Swedish	3
German	35		

Fig. 22 Linguistic distribution of publications overview

For comparison, the ratio of the main publication languages as found in the data for this case and presented above has been calculated as it appears in the overall database as well. For English as a language of publication, the TSB database shows 19,117 publication entries, which constitutes for 65% of the total database contents. Exactly the same percentage was shown in the data of publication entries for 'sociology'. For French, the TSB database overall shows a share of 9% while Spanish publication entries account for 11% of the TSB bibliography. In comparison, the data collated from the keyword search for 'sociology' shows a percentage of 13% for publication contributions in French and 7% in Spanish. The ratio of French-language contributions in the case for sociological ideas and approaches in TS is arguably influenced by the high proportion of publications from Canada. This can also be seen in connection with the aspect of geographical emergence as discussed in the previous section. French accounts for the second highest number for language of publication contributions overall, but the ratio of the bibliographic entries' languages of publication has undergone changes as well over time.

A diversification process with regard to the languages of publications is recognisable, as evidenced by the linguistic variety in the overall results from this data. At the same time, it can be observed in this data that the hegemony of English has increased over time, and accounts now for a significantly larger proportion of the publications. The data collated for this research project shows for the period of the 1990s a percentage of English-language publications of 68%, whereas this proportion in the time period between 2010 and 2017 has increased to 84%. Of 24 English-language publications that appeared in the selected data for 2016 and 2017, only seven were from an English-speaking country of affiliation. While the nature of researchers and research is of course often highly flexible, multi lingual and international, and therefore publishing in a foreign language is by no means unusual, it is nonetheless an important reminder that there a number ideas and theories from sociology originally in languages other than English (cf. e.g. Luhmann in

German, Bourdieu in French) have emerged in a field that seems to propagate them largely in publications in English.

### **5.2.2.3 Thematic Emergence**

The data that was collated for this research project from the TSB database with the methods of keyword searches and further filters was also searched for further thematic data points that could help give insights into the emergence process and entry points for sociological ideas and theories in translation studies. The works of Pierre Bourdieu have become a popular approach for TS scholars, and therefore the data was filtered and searched for publication entries that are labelled with 'Bourdieu' as a 'Person as subject' entry in the TSB catalogue. The search returned 67 results in total, which is just over 14% of the total number of results for publication entries in this data corpus for TS contributions to or engagement with sociological issues. The earliest contribution that features engagement with Bourdieu has been located in the year 1995, which is almost two decades after the first publication entry with relevance to sociology overall has been identified, and for a further seven years contributions that relate to or rely on Bourdieu remain sparse, with only three in total between the years 1995 and 2001. From 2002 onwards however, a steep increase in contributions is noticeable, reaching a peak of engagement in 2005 with nine relevant publication entries in total. The distribution of publications that contain bibliometric data that identifies Bourdieu as their subject is visualised below in Fig. 22.

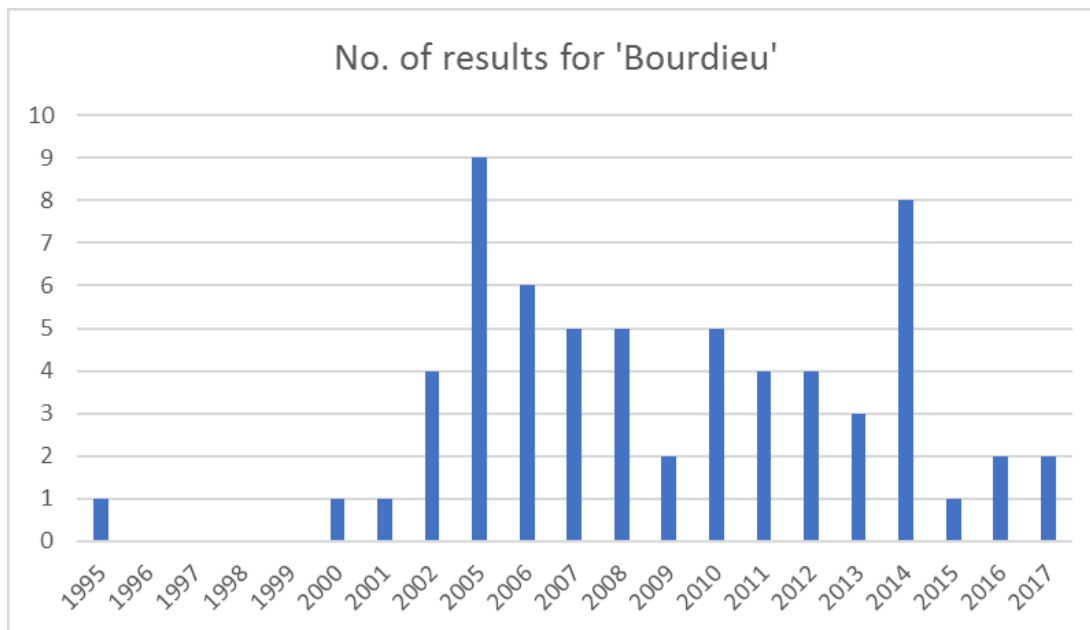


Fig. 23 Number of results for publication entries for 'Bourdieu'.

A further step of filtering and search in the collated data was undertaken for the keyword of 'agency'. Closely related to Bourdieu's work, it is a noticeable feature in recent TS research, and the TSB database entries reflect this: a total number of 81 publication entries featuring the keyword of 'agency' was identified. This data provides the quantitative scope to recognise the emergence of this concept in translation studies publications within the data examined. The first publication entry that is categorised explicitly for its use of the notion of 'agency' was located in the year 2006. This presents a significant delay between the emergence of sociological theories in general, and Bourdieu's work in particular, in translation studies and the arrival of a specifically designated concept, even though the notion of 'agency' is a core concept in contemporary sociological theory. A visual representation of the quantitative data on how the notion of 'agency' emerged in TS is provided below in Fig. 23.

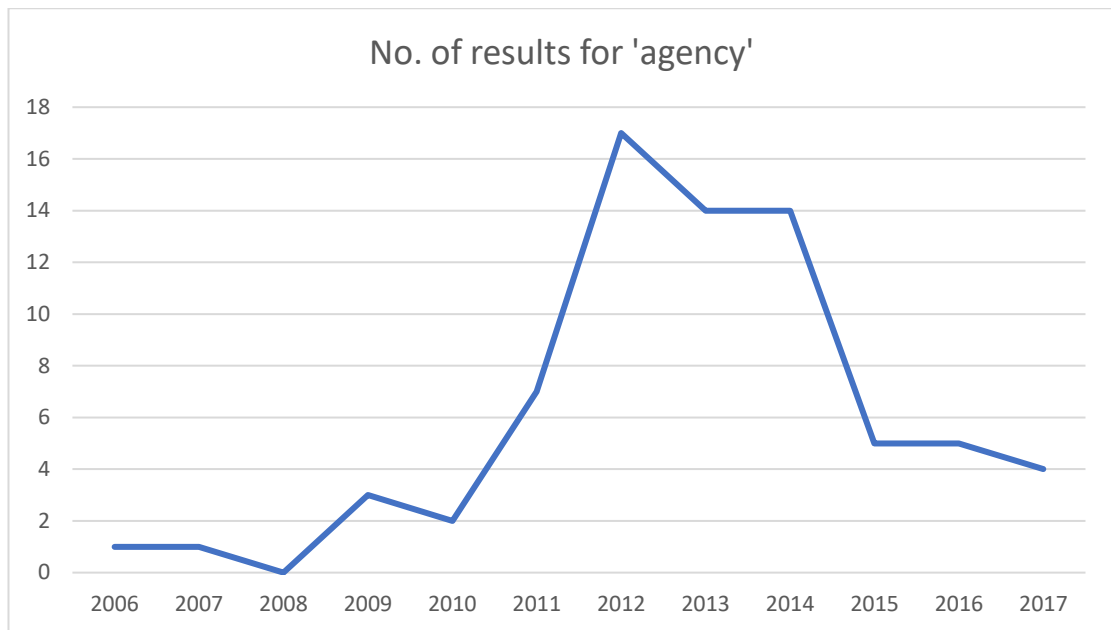


Fig. 24 Number of results for publication entries for 'agency'

A similar picture emerges from the further analysis of the presence of publications entries connected to the concept of 'habitus'. Another theoretical concept that is closely linked to Pierre Bourdieu's work, the earliest emergence for a publication entry in the data that was examined here was located in the year 1998, put forward by Daniel Simeoni in his article "The pivotal status of the translator's habitus". For the next four years between 1998 and 2002, no significant developments with this concept in TS are identifiable, and a meaningful number of relevant publication entries does not appear until 2005. It is very noticeable though that there is a significant spike in publication entries that are labelled with 'habitus' as a keyword in the year 2014, when a total number of 17 contributions was found. A number of these contributions featured in a single edited volume, *Remapping habitus in Translation Studies* edited by Gisela Vorderobermeier. Another edited volume in the same year, *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Claudia V. Angelelli (ed.) 2014) contributed further results to the 'habitus' spike in that year.

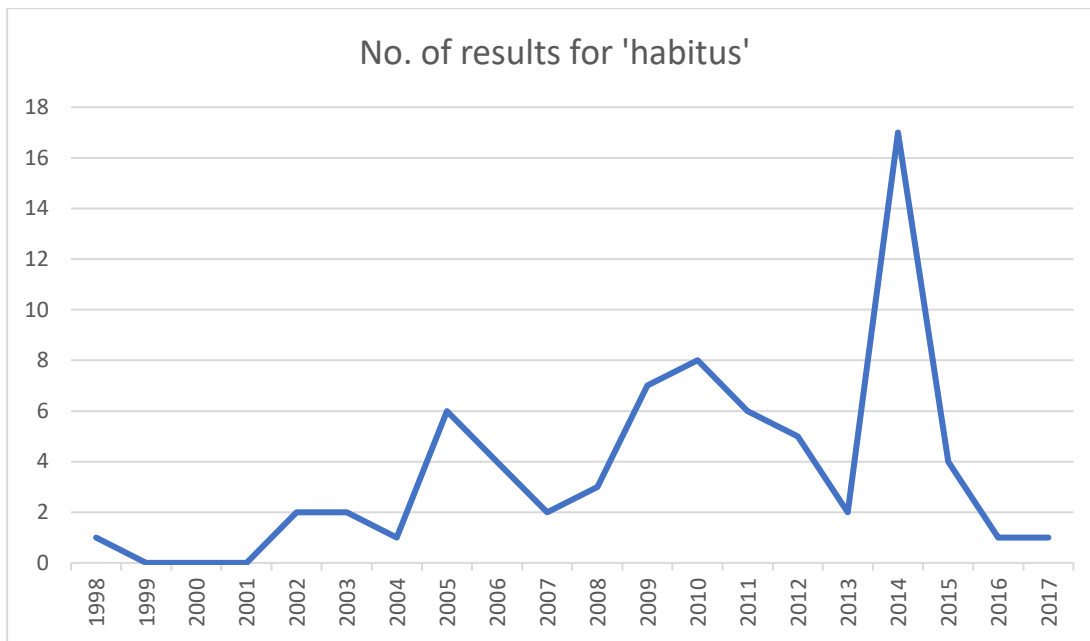


Fig. 25 Number of results for publication entries for 'habitus'

For the analysis of the data chosen and collated for this research project, a number of data points were tracked, including type of publication, i.e. whether a given publication entry was in the form of a dissertation, a monograph, or an article in a journal or edited volume. In general, the most significant format for the emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies in terms of quantity was identified as articles in journals or edited volumes, as this contributed the majority of the bibliographic data identified for this project. Other formats of monographs or dissertations taken together accounted only for about 10% of the publication data. However, as has been suggested on the basis of the examples of the two edited volumes above, in the case of the emerging concept of 'habitus' in the year 2014, edited volumes appear to have a significant part in facilitating the emergence of specific concepts or topics, and their capacity for providing entry points for new ideas in the discipline of TS may be more significant compared to other forms of published scholarship.

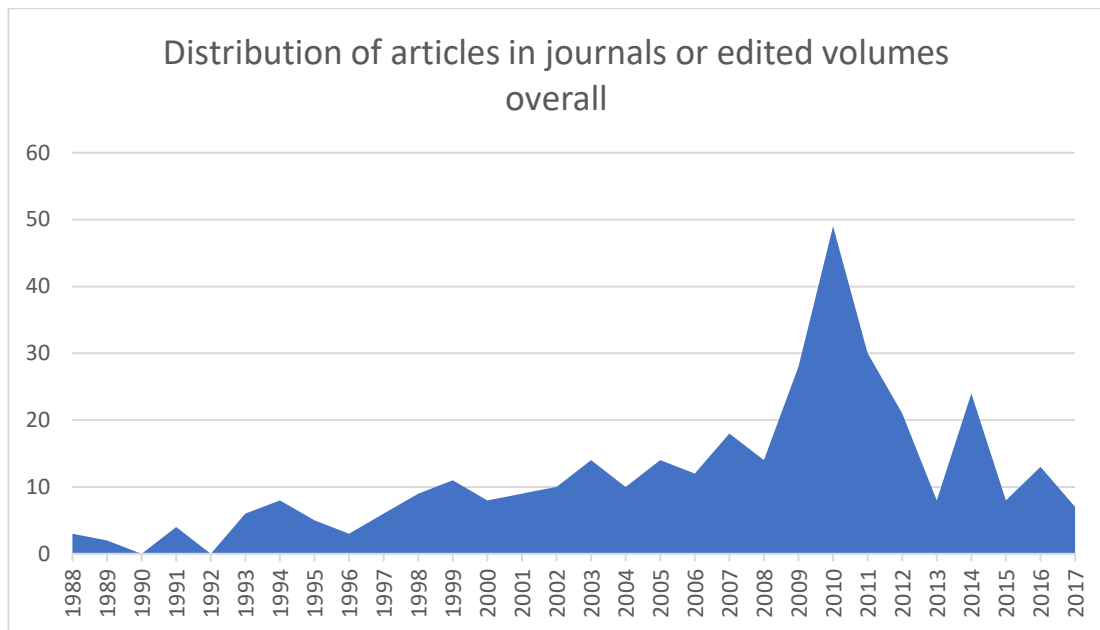


Fig. 26 Distribution of articles in journals or edited volumes overall

Edited volumes and books also seem to serve both as indicators for a canonisation process that can be viewed as a signal that a certain critical mass point regarding an innovative approach or new idea is reached within a discipline from where on a certain idea or knowledge is considered more or less canonised by the field. On the other hand, it could also be suggested that structured compilations of new knowledge and ideas play a part in the canonisation process themselves. In summary, does canonisation occur *after* a certain threshold level of interest and attention is reached, or does the canon help reach a critical mass? In this context it could be argued that both sides of the story are true. This is echoed also in Mona Baker's comment with regard on the editing process of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* when she says that "[a]n encyclopedia of a scholarly subject has a duty to open up rather than unduly restrict the scope of the discipline it sets out to describe" (Baker 1998: xiii).

To further inform and complement the analysis and discussion of bibliographic data, the following section will consult a selection of translation studies reference works, including handbooks and encyclopaedias, and address the point of canonisation again.

### 5.3 Emergence in Reference Works: The Stage of Canonisation?

As a final point, this section considers perspectives on the emergence of new ideas and areas of research in translation studies in general, and gives special attention to the emergence and distribution of sociological approaches in TS as seen in the data in conjunction with the concept of canonisation and critical mass in the form of reference works such as handbooks, encyclopaedias etc. Critical mass, according to Rogers, is the “point in the [diffusion] process when diffusion becomes self-sustaining” (1995: 313). There is a difference between the rates of adoption for interactive innovations and usual innovations. Interactive innovations require a critical mass of individuals who adopt a certain innovation before that innovation develops a general high level of “utility for the average individual in the system” (ibid.: 313). A good example for an interactive innovation is the telephone: as an innovation, it is useless if only one person has a phone. The more people have a phone, the more useful, and the more relevant, both for the system as a whole as well as for the individual, the phone becomes.

The difference between the adoption rate for an interactive innovation as opposed to a usual innovation is a slower rise in adopters initially, but after a critical mass is reached, the adoption rate rises faster than for a usual innovation. Even though Rogers focuses more on technology with regard to critical mass in the adoption of interactive innovations, an analogy could be drawn to an academic context and the case in hand of TS. The development of research paradigm can be viewed as a highly social activity. The most innovative and apt idea is of little worth if there is no one else around who this can be communicated to or discussed with, and if no one else from the community of scholars is interested in it. If no one else can see, or agrees on, the relevance of a given innovative approach, the chances are also not good for getting the new idea published anywhere, since submissions to journals are being passed from editors to reviewers for assessment, and both have to be convinced of the merit and relevance of an idea in order to allocate it a place in their publication. The more researchers that start working with a new emerging idea, the more *raison d'être* it will acquire within a field. In that

regard, emerging approaches or new ideas in academia, just like in other areas of life, can almost be seen as some kind of self-fulfilling prophecy: once enough people are convinced that something *is* relevant, it then effectively *becomes* relevant, because of the research and knowledge exchange activities that have developed around it. It is in this context of critical mass and emerging ideas that additional reference works will be drawn on for further insight. Handbooks, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and other reference works can arguably be counted as evidence for canonisation of given ideas or a delineation of a knowledge horizon at a given time. In similarity to the case of subjectivity regarding the TSB database bibliography, due to its nature as a manually curated and updated database, reference works that present a certain selection of texts, ideas and approaches are by their very nature equally subjective. Furthermore, no encyclopaedia, regardless of how comprehensively it is planned, compiled and executed, can succeed in presenting a complete overview of its given field. As Mona Baker points out in the introduction to the first edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, a “work of reference which sets out to chart a territory that has hitherto not been chartered, to capture the core concerns of a discipline in a state of flux, cannot hope to be totally comprehensive” (Baker 1998: xiii).

The reference works that were selected for this part of the discussion span a time period of almost 20 years: from the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* by Mark Shuttleworth and Moira Cowie first published in 1997, to the 4th edition of Jeremy Munday’s *Introducing Translation Studies* in 2016. In order to see how the disciplinary outlook and self-understanding of TS has developed, in particular with regard to incorporating new emerging ideas and approaches, attention will be overall on developments approximately, but not exclusively, chronologically.

Baker, and likewise Shuttleworth and Cowie at around a similar time, compiled their respective *Encyclopedia* and *Dictionary* at a time when the discipline of translation studies was transitioning from a previously relatively niche field into an established academic discipline with international

conferences, new teaching programmes, and an influx in teaching and research. Shuttleworth and Cowie wrote that the 1990s were an exciting time for translation studies in their introduction, only they wrote the sentence in present tense. They point out the interdisciplinary nature of TS which facilitates “considerable exchange of knowledge, insights and methodologies between Translation Studies and fields as diverse as literary studies, philosophy, anthropology and linguistics” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 2004: v). However, they see this very richness as a source for problems looming on the horizon, in particular regarding conceptual and terminological clarity, and suggest that t

his very nature has meant that there is still considerable lack of agreement on the irreducible minimum of concepts which should form the foundation on which to build; added to this is the fact that Translation Studies is a relatively new discipline which is in many ways still ‘finding its feet’. The result of such a situation has often been that different branches of the discipline have at times experimented with widely differing methodologies. (Ibid.: vi)

Mona Baker in the first edition the *Routledge Encyclopedia* starts out from similar sense of increasing diversification, fragmentation and complexity of the discipline:

Translation studies is at a stage of its development when the plurality of approaches that inform it or are capable of informing it can be overwhelming, and the temptation for many has been to promote one approach with which they feel particularly comfortable and dismiss the rest. (Baker 1998: xiii)

It is especially the second part of this quote from Baker that reflects a growing sense of fragmentation of the discipline due to its inherently diverse nature. Jeremy Munday also comments on this feature of TS's diversity in the introduction to the first edition of *Introducing Translation Studies* in 2001. He writes about translation studies, “the new academic discipline related to the study of the theory and phenomena of translation” (Munday 2001: 1) as he refers to it in the opening paragraph, that “[b]ecause of this diversity, one of the biggest problems in teaching and learning about translation studies is that much of it is dispersed across such a wide range of books and journals” (ibid.). As a consequence, Munday intended his book as a coursebook and

practical introduction for surveying the field of translation studies. In the second edition of his book seven years later, the word “new” has already disappeared from the introduction, and it furthermore includes a range of new topics. While Munday's first edition does not index, for instance, ‘Latour’, ‘Bourdieu’, or ‘habitus’, the second edition's index contains them all. Munday emphasises in the introduction to the second edition that recently emerged ideas, including approaches that are informed by theories from other disciplines, have been included, since they are considered “important new material” (Munday 2008: 1). Through the way Munday presents the range of new topics that his second edition incorporated, these newly emerged ideas are framed as part of the knowledge canon of TS. This touches on the questions of canonisation regarding new and emerging ideas that was raised in the previous section. By way of framing emerging ideas as part of the existing canon, the handbook's role in opening up disciplines to new ideas becomes apparent (cf. also Baker 1998: xiii).

It is not just the process of emerging ideas, though, that handbooks and encyclopaedias offer a way of tracking and following disciplinary developments for. Reference works in multiple editions over time can also offer a way of showing how disciplinary knowledge updates itself the other way around, by re-arranging or taking out knowledge that is no longer considered relevant or (especially in the case of sciences) recognised as factually correct. The related notion of the half-life of facts was mentioned earlier in this chapter. In the case of the *Routledge Encyclopedia*, this two-way process of updating knowledge becomes visible in the example of the two entries for ‘Sociological approaches’ and ‘*Skopos*’. The second edition features a distinct new entry for ‘Sociological approaches’, but while the first edition contained a distinct entry on ‘*Skopos* theory’, this has disappeared from the second edition. (It is still listed in the index, but no longer features in its own section.) This reflects the disciplinary changes not only with regard to emerging ideas, but also regarding ideas that are considered less relevant for current research.

In contrast to the introductory words in Munday's and Baker's first editions about the relative newness of the discipline of translation, and its state of flux and situation of profound changes from a relatively young and compact field to a ramified academic discipline, Kirsten Malmkjaer and Kevin Wilde refer to TS as a well-established field of scholarly activity in the introduction to *The Oxford Handbook and Translation Studies* (2011). Their aim is less to contribute to a sorting and clarifying effort in order to make the field of translation studies more accessible and increase conceptual and terminological clarity, and more focused on exploring the history of translation theory and practice. The *Oxford Handbook's* index contains listings for 'Bourdieu', 'habitus' and a number of entries on topics in relation to sociology and sociological theory, for instance 'social constructivism', 'social hierarchies', or 'social networking' informing the related texts. This stage in the process of entry points for ideas could be considered as a kind of a first meta-stage: after the application of sociological ideas and approaches to concrete problems and questions in translation studies, this could be seen as sociologically informed knowledge *about* the discipline of translation studies. This would be a stage where emerging ideas are typically no longer considered 'new' or emerging, and they may be fully integrated into and form part of the core of the discipline.

The following section will briefly recap findings and other discussion points from the current chapter before this thesis will move on to a conclusion section where further points on stages of knowledge and our knowledge horizon of translation studies can be taken up again.

#### **5.4 Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced and discussed aspects of emerging ideas and diffusion of innovation theories, including the development of the modern DOI paradigm from the origins of rural sociology. Diffusion or non-diffusion of innovations can be motivated by many different factors, e.g. financial gains (or respectively losses) in a business context, when competitors are quicker to adopt innovations. Analogous to this in an academic setting, early

adopters of innovative approaches or new paradigms can use innovative practices to differentiate themselves from peers, to develop new solutions to ongoing problems or open questions in the field, thereby gaining professional advantages and furthering the overall knowledge horizon of the discipline. The emergence of new ideas and the diffusion of innovation and knowledge are significant factors when it comes to social and disciplinary change, and this arguably applies to academic disciplines as well. This section has also highlighted a number of further external factors which can have significant influence on the emergence process of ideas, as well as on the overall process of intellectual change within a discipline. The points discussed in this chapter include the meaning and role of place and geographical location, as demonstrated with the example of the musician Thomas Fraser, and its parallels with the case of Alfred Russel Wallace, with which this thesis opened, and expanded it by reflections on linguistic distribution with regard to the data examined here. Geographical locations and places can arguably be considerable sources of influence for the access to and adoption of ideas, both in a facilitating as well as in a limiting way. The example of Alfred Russell Wallace highlighted the fact geographical location can be a decisive factor for facilitating or hindering ideas entering new fields, for instance with regard to proximity and access to networks, exposure to emerging ideas, or availability of network partners to exchange and develop ideas with. For Wallace, his remote geographical location at a crucial time for emerging ideas in his field was arguably an influential factor in the process of Drawing publishing his theory first.

Geographical location can also be a factor in the way ideas get transmitted due to delays in the spread of ideas as a result of lack of network access, e.g. in the case of remote locations. Geography also plays a role in the transmission and emergence of ideas into new fields since geography is still closely connected to language and consequent linguistic access to information. The effect of this may arguably be to a lesser extent nowadays than at the time of Wallace and Darwin, since access to language learning has become more readily available in general education, and in particular in

the field of TS as a by nature multilingual discipline may play a lesser role. However, geography still determines to a significant extent the native language of scholars and researchers, and consequently their ability to access information that is published or available in different languages. In the case of sociology in TS, a number of significant theories originated in France and Germany, thereby making access to these theories easier (and often sooner) for speakers of these languages.

The data evaluation for emergence by place suggests a geographical influence as well, in showing that a) the first cases of emergence and adoption of sociological ideas and theories can be traced mostly to researchers with affiliations in countries like Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, France and Belgium where speakers can be assumed to generally be more likely to have access to theories in publications in French or German, and b) while the data shows a large number of different countries of affiliation for the emerging idea of sociology in translation, the majority of contributions came from less than ten countries, suggesting a geographical imbalance in the adoption of and engagement with sociological ideas in TS.

This chapter has provided a more detailed analysis of the data that was collected for this project, and summarised a number of observable trends and impressions from the data evaluation, before continuing with a further complementing layer of insight from TS reference works.

Consideration and analysis has been provided of a range of themes, including temporal progression, geographical distribution and emergence by place (country of affiliation), and linguistic distribution of the bibliographic data collated for this study. Considering the aspects of place and location, it can be easy to forget nowadays, in an age where access to the internet is constant, where the instant uploading and publishing of information on the web is commonplace, and where the possibility of instantly sending messages within mere seconds to a receiver on the other side of the globe, or the ability to transfer large quantities of data in digital format between individuals with no, or hardly any cost, is taken for granted, that it is not that long ago that the only way of sending a manuscript of a paper from one side

of the Atlantic ocean to the other was to type it on a typewriter (or handwrite it), and then mail this hardcopy on whatever route was fastest. The dramatic changes in communication technology have arguably influenced many aspects of, for instance, publishing and the access to, and the emergence and distribution of, new ideas. The following concluding section will continue to elaborate and discuss the issues raised throughout this thesis, the insights gained from a bibliometric approach to emerging ideas and entry points for new knowledge in a discipline, and the overall meta-discussion on the horizon of knowledge of translation studies.



## 6 Conclusion

“I've looked at clouds from both sides now  
From up and down, and still somehow  
It's cloud illusions I recall  
I really don't know clouds at all”

(Joni Mitchell, *Both Sides, Now*)

A colleague once said that a good study raises more questions than it answers. This thesis set out to answer a set of questions regarding the emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies, to locate and track points of entry for sociological ideas in TS over time, and to identify patterns along the entrance routes and during the course of their adoption into the discipline of TS. It also intended to explore the status quo of the ‘social turn’ in translation studies from a quantitative point of view and provide statistical analysis for various key terms that have been accompanying the field of sociology in TS. The approach of this thesis was informed by incorporating a range of background frameworks and theories for further insight for a comprehensive understanding of issues surrounding the history of ideas, the spread and development of knowledge and the role of translation and translators in the transmission of knowledge and ideas, the diffusion of innovative ideas, and developments and changes in canons of disciplinary knowledge. To this end, the thesis borrowed extensively from other subject areas and disciplines, some of which have been engaged with and employed in TS before (e.g. the examination of the travel and spread of theoretical ideas in translation by Susam-Sarajeva), while ideas from other fields were previously not a part of the main discourse in TS (such as the notion of Diffusion of Innovation studies as outlined by Rogers). By including historical perspectives, insights from the history of ideas, history of critical theory in translation (again building on Susam-Sarajeva’s investigation on travelling theories), and a wide range of examples from very different contexts within as well as outside academia and scholarly communities, this thesis aimed to

broaden the scope and to analyse the complex amalgamation of factors and angles included in the investigation.

Utilising a multi-focus approach, the thesis built upon a kaleidoscope of perspectives, through which the underlying research questions were approached. Firstly, the thesis outlined the general context of the historicity and historiography of ideas, in order to frame the case in hand, which concerns the use of sociological concepts and approaches in TS. It established links to traditions in the investigation of scientific development and discovery and focused on the emergence and establishment of new ideas within different disciplinary contexts. The overarching frame of travelling ideas and the dissemination of knowledge, and the role of translators and translation in this transmission process of knowledge within and across networks, were outlined.

The present research project considered different model descriptions of the knowledge growth, most of which tend to view the growth of knowledge or intellectual change within a field either as a logical, cumulative progression, or as a non-linear development that does not necessarily build on the previous idea, but can instead form more randomly from any previous developments. The diversity of perspectives and outlooks complemented the manifold layers and interests of the main line of enquiry here. However, having found neither model nor framework to be entirely compatible with the main aim of this thesis, a multi-focal and flexible approach for the analysis of the data was instead adopted.

This thesis went on to take a more in-depth look at the role of translators and translation in the dissemination of knowledge and the spread and emergence of new ideas, including a consideration of different historic examples of translations and translators as 'facilitation hubs'. The thesis then moved on to a discussion of various aspects of and changes in the manifold roles of translators and translations, which ranged from the lack of attention given by most network analysis to linguistic access, to the significance of translation in the process of the dissemination of ideas. This has been exemplified by cases of translations of Adorno and Derrida.

The thesis then offered an overview and introduction to the field of sociology and sociological theory, beginning with an outline of the field's origin, perception, rationale and changing discourses of self-understanding within it, and introducing influential theorists, writers and philosophers of Classical sociological theories. The dual character of the discipline was highlighted by showing that there are conflicting views and definitions on a number of core issues within the field of sociology itself, such as contrasting positions between a more strongly scientific, observatory approach and self-understanding of the field on the other hand, and the notion of a social science role that aims to translate knowledge about society into action in order to promote positive change on the other.

Having sketched an outline of the subject field at the core of this thesis, the next step in the present project consisted of formulating a methodology for a bibliometric approach to investigate emerging ideas in publication data, by selecting and collating the data, and subsequent analysis and evaluation. The thesis described the methodological approach taken for the investigation of the case of sociology in TS, before going on to describe the steps that were taken for the collection of data, the Benjamins Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) online database as the respective source of the bibliographic data, and of the keyword searches that were conducted. It also included a discussion of issues originating from the field of digital humanities, since this study was to a large extent dependent on digital texts in the first place. Consequently, electronic search devices also played a significant role in this research project.

The bibliometric analysis and evaluation of the data gave insight into distribution over time, geographical distribution, emergence by language, core areas and focal points in the research output. It hence allowed for differentiation of the results by categories such as language of publication, time of publication, type of publication (i.e. a journal article, a monograph, or an edited volume) or different keywords. The bibliometric data that was available and collated from the TSB database was further complemented with the additional category of country of affiliation (at the time of the

respective publication, as far as available) which was researched manually for all publication entries that were identified as the core data corpus.

Finally, the thesis presented insights from the quantitative bibliometric analysis of publication data against a background of the emergence of ideas and diffusion of innovations. In this context, the temporal, thematic and geographical distribution of publication data was also presented and an analysis of data points showing snapshots clustering, patterns and entry points in the emergence of sociological ideas in TS was provided.

## **6.1 Results**

The conceptual objective of this thesis centered around the issues of emerging ideas and how ideas arrive in and spread across a 'loan' discipline. A core motivating question for this research was to find out what entry points and emergence patterns are identifiable through quantitative bibliographic data for ideas from sociology in the discipline of TS. Consequent sub-questions unfolded to ask what entry points and patterns are identifiable over time, in specific geographical locations, or languages with regards to the emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies. In extension, the thesis investigated if influence(s) and directionalities regarding entry points and emergence patterns for sociology in translation studies can be brought out with a bibliometric analysis of publication data. A secondary line of question was the potential contribution to our understanding of how interdisciplinary knowledge is perceived (and incorporated) in TS from various vantage points. Finally, the third major question underlying this research project focuses on investigating the potential usefulness and aptitude of quantitative bibliometric research approaches within translation studies and the advantages as well as potential drawbacks. The aim was to contribute to existing recent research into bibliometrics in TS and establish what a quantitative bibliometric approach is able to contribute to analysing emerging (interdisciplinary) ideas in translation studies in particular, and in the humanities and social sciences in general.

Potential limitations and the issue of subjectivity of a manually curated, and therefore by nature to a degree selective bibliographic database have been discussed in the previous chapters and shall be brought to mind again here. From the bibliometric analysis of data, emergence pattern over time were distilled and evaluated. The emergence of sociology in TS as seen through this data was found to reflect a strongly exponential development up until 2010. From 2010 onwards, engagement appears to have plateaued in comparison to previous years. This could indicate a saturation of this particular area of research for the time being. For confirmation, this would need to be re-checked after 2020 since data for the two years 2018 and 2019 is outstanding at the time of writing. However, it is considered highly unlikely that publication data will see such an influx over the next two years from the current level that another exponential spike will present in the publication date for 'sociology' in TS. This pattern for the emergence of sociology in TS can be both read as a reflection of Kuhn's episodic model of knowledge development, and as alignment with patterns for emerging ideas that typically feature in scientific research communities, where knowledge development tends to follow an exponential curve rather than a linear progression. As a discipline that draws strongly and continuously on interdisciplinary research and input, and which indeed at times locates itself as an interdiscipline, this insight from the distribution of entry points for sociology in TS suggests that some areas of translation studies and the respective canon of knowledge are showing behaviour that is aligned with the sciences with regard to the process of incorporating and developing new interdisciplinary ideas.

Findings from the analysis of geographic and linguistic data points reflect on the plurality and diversity of TS and gave interesting insight into its publishing behaviour. The bibliometric analysis showed approximately twice as many countries of affiliation than languages of publication. This is an arresting reminder that a very high number of scholars write about theories in a language that is not their native language, after reading about a theory in translation from another language, into a language that may also only be their second or third language. This diversity of languages of publication

present in the data, though in low numbers, is to be seen as an incredibly positive characteristic of TS. Publishing academic research in any language that is not one of the 'big three' (English, Spanish, French) can present a significant challenge for many researchers around the world. Translation studies is continuously seeking to further linguistic plurality, and the linguistic patterns shown here for the case of the emergence of sociological ideas in translation studies indicate the positive effects of diversification.

The earliest contributions that engage with ideas from sociology can be traced to authors with affiliations in Canada and Spain. Early contributions to ideas in sociology in TS from these two countries emerge singular and non-regular but developing a very strong research output at an earlier point in time than other countries. Together with the United Kingdom, these can be seen as countries which contribute significantly to entry points for sociological theories and ideas in TS in terms of research output.

Reviewing all data points on geographical and temporal distribution with regard to an overall pattern for the emergence of sociology in TS as seen in the publication data collated and analysed for this study, the emerging picture suggests that sociology in TS originated in a highly dispersed and de-centralised manner, over time became more crystallised in the UK, Spain and Canada, but continues to be fuelled by contributions from around the world and maintains a high level of linguistic diversity.

For the distribution in the appearance of sociology in TS in general, a picture of highly staggered emergence appears from the data points on geographical distribution of results in the selected publication data. Contributions from scholars with Canadian affiliations can be seen in the data as emerging on a significant, non-singular scale ahead of Spain, and significantly ahead of the United Kingdom. While it needs to be kept in mind that affiliations of scholars are not absolute, and that scholars often change their affiliation over the course of their careers, this can nonetheless be indicative of some aspects of the development of sociological ideas in the discipline of translation.

As a further significant influence in the emergence of sociology in TS, language of publication and linguistic distribution were also factors of investigation in this thesis. A total number of 17 different languages was identified in the publication entries as collated through the keyword search method for the data corpus while more than two thirds (65%) are in English. This actually reflects the TSB database's overall average ratio of English language publications, which is also 65%. It was found that English and French appear as the two biggest languages for publication submissions in the data but at the same time Spain is the highest represented country (together with the UK) with regards to countries of affiliation. A diversification process over time with regards to the languages of publications is recognisable, as evidenced by the broad and increasing linguistic variety in the detailed results from this data. Sociology in TS may be over-represented by a small number of countries on the one hand, and dominated by publications in two or three big languages on the other hand, but the topic of sociology in TS has demonstrably spread around the globe now.

Through the bibliometric analysis and comparison between snapshots for the emergence over time for Bourdieu vs *habitus* vs *agency* keywords, significant variances became visible. Perhaps counterintuitively, these three concepts developed very differently. While *habitus* and *agency* result overall in more publications found in the data, engagement with 'Bourdieu' as a relevant keyword starts a few years earlier. Emergence of the notion of *agency* presents as a more sustainable development in the data, whereas the outlying spike in publication numbers featuring *habitus* is fuelled largely by a single edited volume, *Remapping habitus in Translation Studies* edited by Gisela Vorderobermeier (2014). Another edited volume *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, edited by Claudia V. Angelelli also published in 2014 contributed further results to the *habitus* spike in that year. Edited volumes and the article contributions therein can be considered further significant entry points for the emergence of ideas in TS. Further results and insights from analysis by type of publication show that the vast majority of data originated from journals and/or edited volumes. Monographs

and dissertations (i.e. contributions that have a large thematic and conceptual scope written by just one author) only account for 10%. In this case, emerging ideas from sociology entered the discipline of TS largely in edited volumes, not through monographs or dissertations, and consequently, journals and edited volumes constitute a key point of entry and emergence.

Insights from reference works reflect an ongoing dichotomy in the discipline of TS between plurality and diversification being perceived as both a blessing and a curse. The same goes for interdisciplinary approaches and loan concepts and theories, such as in the case of sociology in TS. Interdisciplinarity and interdisciplinary knowledge in TS was and is equally seen as something that needed to be managed somehow, and that is at the same time a great asset and highly apt for the nature of TS. Further dissection into patterns for the emergence of interdisciplinary knowledge in TS shows that in this case of the example of sociology in TS, interdisciplinary knowledge in TS emerges with a significant delay after processing to reach a threshold from where it is more firmly embedded as part of the discipline. Again, this is reflected in additional works of reference which assume a role of canonising literature, since sociological approaches in TS were only incorporated after a certain critical mass of engagement is reached.

Generally, canonising literature appears to support the notion of TS as diversifying further, rather than constricting it in a prescriptive way. It is noticeable that the real exponential increase in publications engaging with sociology in TS as seen in the present data only occurs in the decade after the publication of canonising reference works. This leads to the suggestion that reference works do indeed have a dual role: they can be reactive to emerging knowledge, but also proactive in including new ideas into a canon of disciplinary knowledge, sparking further interest. Thus, they can contribute to reaching a threshold of critical mass of interest, which then 'validifies' emerging ideas to a certain extent as part of the canon and fuels further interest.

Finally, having reflected on the origins and development in the discipline of sociology as well as on the various data points on emergence of

sociology, it is possible to see a parallel between the evolutionary history of sociological theory, which partially originated as a reaction to drastic changes in society, and between the emergence and employment of sociological theories in TS, which began to take hold and establish a rapid dynamic of research, special issues and conferences, at a time when the discipline was in a state of flux and drastic change itself.

By means of employing a quantitative approach to bibliometric publication data analysis, this thesis has shown a series of snapshots of how the idea(s) of sociology have emerged in translation studies. This analysis was delineated in scope regarding the data, framework, research questions, and bibliometric tools for analysis drawn from, in order to focus on the provision of a quantitative basis for identification and analysis of emergence and entry points for sociology in TS, and aimed to open up new ground for further research and provide alternative avenues of enquiry for other scholars to expand on in new directions.

## **6.2 Contributions**

This thesis was written as an overall contribution to introspection, reflection and meta-discussion within TS. It sees itself as contributing in writing a small section to the history of the emerging idea of sociology in TS, and to this end it delivers first and foremost the quantitative aspects on details how this idea emerged in TS. Approaches from the field of history of ideas are often strongly informed by frameworks and methods from philosophy, but are less often complemented or evidenced with quantitative data. This thesis offers a combinatory approach that accounts for and draws on the history of ideas for an ideational framework and for careful deliberation of a range of factors and issues affecting ideas and knowledge through its respective history. At the same time, the approach taken in this thesis also incorporates an additional level of quantitative analysis and substantiation with the incorporation of large-scale bibliometric data. For the study of the history of ideas, this methodology has the potential to further open up new areas of research, especially in collaboration with scholars from other fields. The data scope

and depth delivered a range of insights into how sociology in TS emerged over time (the ambitious temporal scope encompasses 45 years) and geographical and linguistic distribution, from the first contributions to the extensive wave of material that was produced in the field during the 2000s and that confirmed sociology in TS as having arrived as a firm part of the discipline and significant area of research that started to show its own further internal diversification process. This thesis also makes a further contribution to research in TS by offering an expanded application of bibliometric research methodologies in a large-scale database. The majority of enquiries engaging with bibliometric research undertaken in TS so far have utilised a smaller scale dataset. This thesis contributes to further testing the applicability of bibliometric research in TS on a larger scale. The insights and results from the data analysed indicate that bibliometric approaches in combination with the utilisation of a large-scale database are a valid and efficient way for gaining insights into both the genesis of a specific idea, as well as into the adoption patterns and points of emergence for new ideas within a discipline. This thesis shows that bibliometric analysis has the potential to provide further understanding of how, when, from where, and through which types of publications the topic of sociology has emerged in TS. This kind of insight into sociological theories and approaches that have come to influence TS research significantly also has the potential to help analyse and understand how TS canonises its knowledge as a modern academic discipline.

By broadening the scope of enquiry, background and framework, and consequently researching a large body of knowledge outside of translation studies, this thesis has also offered up new areas of research options including e.g. the area of Diffusion of Innovation studies and contributes further to existing TS knowledge by presenting a number of varied examples, insights, literatures, theories and concepts from fields distinctly outside of the discipline of translation studies. Researchers from other discipline should hopefully also find interest and stimulation in the triangulation of history of

ideas, innovation studies, and bibliometric data to trace the emergence of ideas.

Another valuable insight this thesis gained from the engagement with Diffusion of Innovation theory as developed by Everett M. Rogers suggests that the adoption behaviour for and establishment of sociology in TS appears approximately comparable to the adoption curve model as laid out by Rogers. This is an aspect that would require further substantiation and confirmation with additional studies, but it implies that insights from the Diffusion of Innovation theory could potentially be used as an indicator for other future developments in the discipline of TS. By offering a bibliometric analysis of import patterns in TS for ideas from other subject areas, this thesis aims to increase understanding of how certain import patterns and adoption behaviours look like and have developed in the discipline. These insights suggest the possibility of making indicative predictions about future developments in TS, for instance with regard to new fields of research that are opening up, and might be of special relevance for disciplines like TS which feature a number of research strands that are highly interdisciplinary.

On the other hand, through its engagement with Diffusion of Innovation theory, this thesis also offers complementation to research in DOI by highlighting issues of e.g. language disparities, and adoption and spread of information across linguistic and cultural borders as important aspects to consider in the knowledge adoption process, which so far seem to have received less attention. This thesis suggests that closer collaboration between researchers from TS and DOI might be highly fruitful for a more nuanced understanding of innovation adoption behaviour in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural context, and offers a starting point for future research efforts in this direction.

Similarly, this thesis engages with the Weak Tie theory as developed by Mark Granovetter, and highlights a distinct lack of consideration for linguistic issues in the theory. The Weak Tie theory as put forward by Granovetter assumes transfer of information between two points in a network regardless of their linguistic situation, i.e. it does not distinguish between

native speakers and non-native speakers. This thesis suggests that for a more meaningful understanding of the flow of information between contacts in a network, the Weak Tie theory should be revisited and complemented with further analysis of information flow between native versus non-native speakers. This is arguably of increasing importance in a highly globalised world, and again this thesis implies that a collaboration between network scholars working with Weak Tie theory and TS scholars would be a highly rewarding project.

Aspects that could be particularly useful and of interest for future research in TS include for instance the aspect of communication involved in the process of innovation diffusion. The second edition of Rogers' book *Diffusion of Innovation* was in fact renamed *Communication of Innovations*, which reflected the central role that communication occupies in Rogers' theory on innovation. Communication is a key aspect at the core of Diffusion of Innovation theory, but the issue of communicating innovation and new ideas and concepts, especially across linguistic border is as of yet under-researched. This could be a fruitful field for collaboration between translation studies and the Diffusion of Innovation field.

An aspect that has not been explicitly covered by the methodology and database of this thesis and that would also be a highly valid subject for further research is the topic of academic conferences and the specific resulting publication data. I recognise that conferences, symposiums, or workshops can be significant catalysts for engagement with and adoption of ideas, and as such as important points in the process of emergence of new ideas in an academic discipline. However, the focus of this thesis was strongly on a bibliometric analysis, also with regard to the applicability of a bibliometric approach to a consistent large-scale data set in TS.

On the basis of insights made from the analysis of bibliographic data from TS publications with the aim of identifying and analysis entry points for emerging ideas, this thesis would recommend the further study of bibliographic data specifically resulting from conferences and symposiums as a separate valid research project. This is largely due to the fact bibliographic

data resulting from conferences will inevitably present in a variety of formats, and not necessarily standardised and categorised with searchable keywords, which was an important prerequisite for this thesis. Engagement with conference data about emerging ideas is likely to shine further light on adoption patterns and the influence of geographical locations, network access, and publication and/or presentation languages.

If bibliographic data from conference proceedings would have been included in this project, the data might have shown clearer symmetries between adoption behaviour over time and significant well-attended events that can facilitate knowledge exchange between scholars in and across disciplines, such as e.g. the IATIS conferences. The inclusion of conference publications could also be an indicator for the influence of interpersonal relationships, which is an equally important piece of the puzzle to understand the emergence and adoption of new ideas in disciplines, but with a focus on social dynamics in professional networks would have required a very different framework and methodology than this current project was designed and set up for. Another interesting aspect would be to investigate further the emergence of ideas in different types of conferences, for instance the IPCITI for early career researchers and PhD students, or specialised workshops and symposiums that are being held with a clearly focused theme.

Finally, this thesis has developed and tested a bibliometric methodology approach for investigating emerging ideas in translation studies bibliographic data and employed the bibliometric method to survey research engagement in TS. This continues and complements existing recent TS efforts in bibliometric research (cf. e.g. Zanettin et al 2015). Bibliometric research presents itself as a highly promising field that deserves more attention from TS scholars and researchers. Many academic fields, in particular within the UK, have also begun to view public engagement as one of their core requirements, with a view towards making academic disciplines more attractive to a wider audience, and thereby also attracting not only future generations of researchers, but also funding projects geared towards outreach initiatives or indeed higher levels of funding in general. To this end,

an exact survey or snapshot of the field and range of ideas in question is invaluable in order to identify for instance trends in current research, and bibliometric approaches present a promising option for these purposes. This thesis added further insight into how bibliometric research can be employed as a highly useful tool for *surveying, measuring, and mapping* the horizon of knowledge in an academic discipline at a given time, in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of currents, trends and developments. It generated insight and answers for the research questions discussed in this thesis, and its overall focus on replicable quantitative data makes it an ideal tool to carefully and continuously re-assess perceptions or expectations with regards to the data evaluation and findings. It should therefore also lend itself well to complement further introspection and meta-analysis of TS knowledge.

# Appendix

Example of data collation from TSB database with targeted keyword search 'sociology' with additional information on country of affiliation

Year	Country of Affiliation	Language	Title	Author / Editor	Publication type	Keywords
1991	Finland	French	Travail et	Gambier, Yu	Article in jnl/bk	creativity Go to thesaurus entry ; lexicon Go to thesaurus entry ; sociological approach=sociology Go to thesaurus entry ; analysis Go to thesaurus entry ; idiomatic translation=free translation Go to thesaurus entry ; meaning=content Go to thesaurus entry ; context=socio-political context ; culture=cultural approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1991	France	French	La liberté	Déjean le Fé	Article in jnl/bk	context=socio-political context ; culture=cultural approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1992	Israel	Hebrew	Hebrew: a	Ornan, Uzi	Edited volume	adequacy=inadequacy ; calque ; cognitive science=cognitive approach=mental process=mind ; comprehension=meaning ; analysis ; children's literature=juvenile literature ; corpus=corpora ; drama ; empirical research=experimental research ; concept ; lexicology ; paraphrase ; semantics ; sociological approach=sociology ; standardisation=standardization ; ambiguity ; concept ; methodology ; polysemy ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; sti
1993	Bulgaria	English	Translatio	Zlateva, Pal	Edited volume	comparative research=contrastive research ; culture=cultural approach ; historical approach=historiography=history ; communication ; cultural constraints ; culture=cultural approach ; discourse ; shift ; sociological approach=sociology ; community translation ; minority language ; process-oriented focus ; sociological approach=sociology ; strategy=F
1993	Finland	English	Recent tre	Tirkkonen-C	Edited volume	linguistic approach=linguistics ; Middle Ages ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; trans
1993	Canada	French	L'institut	Simeoni, Da	Article in jnl/bk	descriptive approach ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; faithfulness=fidelity ; influence=impact=effect ; linguistic globalisation=globalization=internationalization ; interculturality=transculturality=cross-culturality ; localization=localization ; analysis ; case study ; community interpreting=public service interpreting ; concept ; empirical research=empirical research ; curriculum ; ideology ; politics=political approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1993	USA	English	Social scie	Riggs, Fred	Article in jnl/bk	culture=cultural approach ; historical approach=historiography=history ; comparative research=contrastive research ; communication ; cultural constraints ; discourse ; shift ; sociological approach=sociology ; community translation ; minority language ; process-oriented focus ; sociological approach=sociology ; strategy=F
1993	Germany	German	Die deuts	Lossau, Nori	Monograph	linguistic approach=linguistics ; Middle Ages ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; trans
1993	Belgium	English	Translatio	Lambert, Jos	Article in jnl/bk	descriptive approach ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; faithfulness=fidelity ; influence=impact=effect ; linguistic globalisation=globalization=internationalization ; interculturality=transculturality=cross-culturality ; localization=localization ; analysis ; case study ; community interpreting=public service interpreting ; concept ; empirical research=empirical research ; curriculum ; ideology ; politics=political approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1993	UK	English	Public acc	Fraser, Jane	Article in jnl/bk	culture=cultural approach ; historical approach=historiography=history ; sociological approach=sociology ; translation
1993	Canada	French	Traducteu	Delisle, Jean	Article in jnl/bk	linguistic approach=linguistics ; Middle Ages ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; trans
1993	Spain	English	Trusting ti	Calzada Pé	Article in jnl/bk	descriptive approach ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; faithfulness=fidelity ; influence=impact=effect ; linguistic globalisation=globalization=internationalization ; interculturality=transculturality=cross-culturality ; localization=localization ; analysis ; case study ; community interpreting=public service interpreting ; concept ; empirical research=empirical research ; curriculum ; ideology ; politics=political approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1994	Belgium	English	The inter	Robyns, Clei	Article in jnl/bk	culture=cultural approach ; historical approach=historiography=history ; sociological approach=sociology ; translation
1994	Austria	German	Simultand	Pöschhacker,	Monograph	linguistic approach=linguistics ; Middle Ages ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; trans
1994	UK	English	The institi	Ostarhild, Ed	Article in jnl/bk	descriptive approach ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; faithfulness=fidelity ; influence=impact=effect ; linguistic globalisation=globalization=internationalization ; interculturality=transculturality=cross-culturality ; localization=localization ; analysis ; case study ; community interpreting=public service interpreting ; concept ; empirical research=empirical research ; curriculum ; ideology ; politics=political approach ; sociological approach=sociology
1994	Canada	French	Emile Zola	Merkle, Den	Article in jnl/bk	culture=cultural approach ; historical approach=historiography=history ; sociological approach=sociology ; translation
1994	Canada	French	Problème	Lavoie, Judi	Article in jnl/bk	humour=humor=joke ; identity ; ideology ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; text lin
1994	Canada	French	Genres lit	Gouanvic, J	Edited volume	humour=humor=joke ; identity ; ideology ; problem-solving=problem ; sociological approach=sociology ; text lin
1994	Canada	French	La traduct	Gouanvic, J	Article in jnl/bk	genre ; historical approach=historiography=history ; model=translation model ; science fiction ; sociological appr
1994	USA	English	Technique	Draitser, Em	Monograph	19th century ; historical approach=historiography=history ; humour=humor=joke ; literary approach=literary disco
1994	Canada	French	Transpare	Chapdelaine	Article in jnl/bk	dialect ; linguistic approach=linguistics ; process-oriented focus ; sociological approach=sociology ; translation
1994	Brazil	Portuguese	Tradução	Carneiro Ro	Article in jnl/bk	domestication=appropriation? ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; exoticizing=exotization ; method ; sociological ap
1994	Canada	French	La littérat	Brun, Claire	Article in jnl/bk	criticism=translation criticism ; discourse ; literary approach=literary discourse=literature ; politics=political appro
1995	France	English	Essays on	Rey, Alain	Monograph	neologism ; sociological approach=sociology ; standardisation=standardization ; term ; terminology ; terminol
1995	Spain	English	European	Pym, Antho	Article in jnl/bk	criticism=translation criticism ; equivalence=non-equivalence ; linguistic approach=linguistics ; sociological appro
1995	Spain	French	Reflexion	Nobs Feders	Article in jnl/bk	convention ; culture=cultural approach ; genre ; problem-solving=problem ; reader=target audience=listener=rea
1995	France	French	A partir d	Ladmiral, J	Article in jnl/bk	criticism=translation criticism ; historical approach=historiography=history ; ideology ; linguistic approach=linguisti
1995	Spain	English	Notes on	García-Land	Article in jnl/bk	meaning=content ; philosophical approach=philosophy ; scientific discourse=scientific=science ; sociological appr
1995	Denmark	English	Teaching	Dollerup, C	Edited volume	historical approach=historiography=history ; literary translation ; machine translation=automatic translation ; soci
1995	France	French	Histoire e	Ballard, Mic	Article in jnl/bk	historical approach=historiography=history ; literary approach=literary discourse=literature ; sociological approach
1996	Canada	French	L'adjectif	Zafio, Massi	Article in jnl/bk	historical approach=historiography=history ; ideology ; literary approach=literary discourse=literature ; philosph
1996	Spain	Spanish	La traducc	Santos Car	Article in jnl/bk	context=socio-political context ; literary translation ; sociological approach=sociology ; teaching (translation)=did
1996	Portugal	Portuguese	Da traduç	Magalhães,	Monograph	case study ; interview ; professionalism=non-professionalism ; sociological approach=sociology ; translator=trans
1996	Germany	German	Collected	Lauber, Cord	Monograph	biography=autobiography ; literature=translation ; sociological approach=sociology ; translation=translation ; role



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