Tuija Kinnunen &
Kaisa Koskinen (eds.)

Translators' Agency

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TRANSLATORS'
AGENCY

CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

1   Background

This book project was first initiated in the form of a symposium named 'Translators' Agency', organized at the University of Tampere in February 2008. At that time, one of the leading translation scholars, Professor Mona Baker from the University of Manchester, was visiting Finland, and we wanted to create a forum to discuss issues that are central to her recent work and also relevant to our own research interests. Traditionally, ever since Justa Holz-Mänttäri's pioneering work on translational action (1984), many translation studies researchers in Tampere have focused their research on questions that are best viewed from a social perspective. The topic of the symposium, translators' agency, was the fruit of a conversation between a number of colleagues who had a keen interest in the activity of translators and interpreters in different social contexts. What was finally the role of agency in the activity of these players? Why was there sometimes visible agency to be viewed and sometimes not? And what about the recent interest in activist translators by Mona Baker and others; it was clear that for these translators agency was a very central issue. Intuitively, agency seemed like a central concept in understanding the professional roles of translators and interpreters. But how should we define it, and, even more importantly, how could it be captured for analysis? What kinds of methodological tools could we use to identify and analyze agency as it emerged in various communicative contexts?

Mona Baker had just published a new book on the role of the translators and interpreters in different conflict situations (Baker 2006a). It seemed that reviewing the work of translators and interpreters in situations laden with ideological, political and cultural tensions would be revealing also for a researcher interested in the participatory roles of these actors in less acute contexts. Professor Baker's presentation in the symposium was titled 'Activism in Translation and Interpreting: Profession, Discipline and Society'. In this presentation she described the life-threatening conditions of work

for many interpreters in contemporary war zones in places like Afghanistan and Iraq. She also described a number of contemporary activist translation groups with various backgrounds and rationales (see also Baker 2006b), emphasizing that translators and interpreters are firmly embedded both within conflicts and within global networks of resistance. This embeddedness was a key concept for Baker's presentation: since we are embedded in time and space, we are inevitably influenced by the narratives that circulate around us, but – importantly – we can reason out these narratives and, if necessary, actively resist them. That is, we can exhibit our agency.

2   Agency

'Agency' is one of the key concepts of modern social sciences, and it has been conceptualized in numerous ways (for an overview, see Barnes 2000). It is hardly surprising, then, that it has also become a buzz word in contemporary translation studies, its prominence increasing as the sociological approaches to translation have gained more visibility. As translation studies scholars have become more and more interested in the roles of translators, interpreters and other cultural mediators (persons and institutions alike), they have also increasingly turned towards the social sciences for suitable theories and methods for analysis. "The complex question of agency", it has been argued, "has been considered of primary importance in the endeavour to make descriptive theoretical approaches more 'agent-aware' and translators and interpreters more visible as social actors" (Inghilleri 2005: 142).

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of *habitus* have gained the most currency in recent discussions, but it has also been acknowledged that the emerging sociology of translation and interpreting will benefit from applying divergent or even competing approaches (Inghilleri 2005: 142). Since Bourdieu's model is already well-documented in translation studies (e.g. Simeoni 1998, *The Translator* 2005), it has been our explicit aim to look beyond Bourdieu, and search for other approaches that might help us enlarge our view on the issue of agency. In the articles collected in this volume, the writers cast their nets widely in the social sciences, exploring approaches such as activity theory, agency theory, network analysis and explaining by

social mechanisms.

Agency as a concept is understood slightly differently in these various approaches (for example, agency theory focuses on principal-agent dyads; see Abdallah in this volume), and we do not aim at creating a static and unified definition of the term. However, some definitions are also needed. Scanning recent TS literature for discussions of agency in preparation for the symposium was slightly frustrating for us, not because of any lack of these discussions – quite the contrary, agency is often mentioned, and also often discussed extensively – but because of the scarcity of any clarifications on how the writers understood the concept. Contrasting this straightforward usage to the myriad competing understandings in the social sciences, the easy adoption of the term in translation studies probably indicates that the issue merits a closer analysis than has been completed this far. Further, there seems to exist a tendency to simply equate individuals, agents and agency. This can prove problematic, since agency can be endowed to non-human actors, institutions and organizations, while the human agents may have significant obstacles for executing their agency (Buzelin 2005: 215, cf. 203).

In the symposium, we devoted some time for a search of a definition that we could all agree on. The closing session of the symposium was conducted in the form of a joint discussion, where the audience took part in searching answers to the question "What is agency anyway?" Collectively, we formulated agency as the "willingness and ability to act". This definition was in fact quite successful in that it neatly encapsulates a number of key issues. First, *willingness* describes a particular internal state and disposition. This state is linked to consciousness, reflectivity and intentionality, and it is not without some moral or ethical undertones. This first aspect is largely individualistic and psychological by nature.

Second, *ability* relates the concept of agency to constraints and issues of power(lessness), highlighting the intrinsic relation between agency and power. This relation should not be seen in simplistic terms. As Anthony Giddens (1979: 6) reminds us, "power relations are always two-way: that is to say, however subordinate an actor may be in a social relationship, the very fact of involvement in that relationship gives him or her a certain amount of power over the other". Those in subordinate positions may be able to convert their resources, however scant they may be, into some degree of control over their

conditions. The concept of ability also underlines the notion of choice: in order to have agency, we must be able to conclude that "at any point in time, the agent 'could have acted otherwise'" (Giddens 1979: 56). The emphasis on choice and ability to act indicates that in addition to being a *state*, agency also implies a *status* (see also Barnes 2000: 6). This status is social by nature (as it is conferred to an individual, or institution, by others), and it evokes issues of liability and answerability.

Finally, agency is about *acting*, that is, exerting an influence in the lifeworld. The origin of the word 'agency' is in the Latin verb *agere* (to do). In a way, it is not so much that acting presupposes agency but rather agency is a product of actions. It comes into being in activity (see also Kinnunen in this volume). The concept of action focuses our attention to the temporal nature of agency. "'Action' or agency", Giddens (1979: 55) argues, "does not refer to a series of discrete acts combined together but to *a continuous flow of conduct*." Agency is not a static and measurable entity but a relational, fluid and constantly evolving series of acts, a 'flow'. In addition to the social context, the researcher interested in agency also needs to take into account its temporality. Agency is located in time and in space (Giddens 1979: 54).

3   Agency and structure

This collectively developed definition implies that agency is not only individual but also collective by nature. To make sense of agency, one needs to set it in a social context. This is not always simple. In the social sciences, 'agency' is commonly discussed in connection with its twin concept, 'structure'. The debate concerns the relative strength of social structures in determining our action and the relative strength of human agency to act freely and affect these structures. This issue of agency versus structure has for long been one of the core questions in social sciences. Following contributions such as Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice (e.g. 1993) and Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (1984), the present consensus seems to be in favour of treating agency and structure as a mutually dependent pair. For this pair, agency maintains structure, and this structure in turn constrains agency. In any given structure, the actors will have agency, but this agency (or *habitus*) is

structured by the context. The structures, however, are not permanent but constantly renegotiated by the agents.

The abstract issue of agency and structure is rarely discussed at length in translation studies (for an exception, see Meylaerts 2008), but implicitly it is a central theme in a number of influential approaches. One such approach is descriptive translation studies. It has its background in polysystem theory, and it has traditional emphasised the role of norms (see, in particular, the seminal book by Toury 1995). That is why in descriptive translation studies the focus of attention has been more on the structures and less on agents. According to Reine Meylaerts' critical overview, "Toury's model for descriptive translation studies has privileged collective schemes and structures instead of individual actors" (2008: 91). As Bourdieu's views have recently gained popularity in translation studies, one would assume that the resulting focus on the concept of habitus tilted the balance more towards agents. However, owing to its deterministic and static nature, the notion of habitus "seems to confirm all too often what it was supposed to avoid, i.e. the precedence of structure over agency" (Meylaerts 2008: 94). Meylaerts thus argues for a more dynamic understanding of the notion of habitus, and for a translation sociology at the individual level. In many ways, the present volume tries to achieve this dynamic understanding. However, the twin concepts of agency and structure cannot be disentangled: to understand the agents, one needs to look at the structures they are located in, and vice versa. As Anthony Giddens has pointed out, "the notions of action and structure *presuppose one another*" (1979: 53; italics in the original).

4   Researching agency

Reine Maylaerts calls for translation sociology at the individual level. In the articles collected in this book, the focus of attention is squarely on the human actors. The writers look at the activities of individual translators in particular cultural settings (Kujamäki, Jänis) and the 'footprints' of their activity in published translations (Paloposki); the professional status of translators as opposed to the neighbouring profession of technical communication (Suojanen) and of interpreters as part of a multiprofessional community

in courtroom interpreting (Kinnunen); as well as the coping strategies of translators located in production networks (Abdallah).

As the list of topics covered in this volume already indicates, however, the analysis of the agents involved is deeply embedded in the surrounding practices and professional environments of the translators and interpreters in question. Agency, in other words, is seen in terms of a continuous flow of situated practices (Giddens 1979: 55–56). Seen from the point of view of embeddedness in this sense, agency is less a property than a relational effect of social interaction. In other words, translators' agency only becomes a meaningful concept when employed in relation to a particular material context and community. Similarly, what we may initially perceive as a structure can be reinterpreted as a durable effort of 'holding together' by a number of actors. This interplay of agency and structure is the vocal theme of Kaisa Koskinen's article, charting the limits and promises of causal analysis in translation studies.

A number of approaches and methods are harnessed in order to enhance our understanding of the various factors related to translators' agency. Pekka Kujamäki and Outi Paloposki look at historical data, using network analysis and archive data (Kujamäki) and a quantified textual analysis of translators' footnotes (Paloposki) to identify the cultural relations and translators' active involvements; Tuija Kinnunen, Marja Jänis, Tytti Suojanen and Kristiina Abdallah have a more contemporary view, and their data includes translations (Jänis), interviews and fieldwork (Abdallah, Kinnunen). These varied approaches and different sets of data allow us to contemplate the notion of agency from many different viewpoints. We wish to thank all the contributors to this volume, all revisers of the articles, and the general editors of this series. We also express our gratitude to all the speakers and participants of the symposium for interesting discussions and viewpoints. Research on translators' agency continues.

Tampere, March 2010

Kaisa Koskinen and Tuija Kinnunen

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TRANSLATORS' AGENCY IN PRODUCTION NETWORKS

Kristiina Abdallah

1   Introduction

This paper focuses on translators' agency in production networks. Production networks have been identified as the prevailing working environment in present-day translation industry (Abdallah & Koskinen 2007: 674–675). Sturgeon (2001) has defined such networks as sets of inter-firm relationships that bind a group of firms of different sizes, including micro entrepreneurs, into larger economic units. The salient point is that vertically organised and therefore highly hierarchical production networks consist of multiple actors whose roles and performances are defined in interaction. Previously, I have empirically examined agency-related issues and quality problems arising in one such production network relying on an actor-network theoretical (ANT) approach (Abdallah 2008 and forthcoming; see also Buzelin 2005, 2007, Jones 2009, Kung 2009).

In this paper, I approach translators' agency through the translators' own experiences. I am interested to find out the kind of opportunities and resources that are available to translators to exercise their agency in production networks, and more importantly, to see the way in which translators are able to act for the primary principal, i.e. the reader. In looking for answers to these questions, I will draw on my interview data that includes in-depth interviews conducted during 2005–2009 with eight Finnish translators, who, at the start of the interview process, worked for various translation companies, either as subcontractors (3), freelancers (1), or in-house translators (4).[1] As Chan has pointed out, academic research on professional translators is

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[1]   I have divided the interviewees into three categories of employment, because these categories contain different legal and economic implications for the employer and the employee.

"relatively unchartered territory" (2008: 15). This research, in its part, will try to make this territory more accessible to scientific scrutiny.

The interviewees have been selected using a purposeful sampling method (see Patton 1990: 169–186), with the idea of including translators in different positions in production networks and at different stages of their careers. Informal interviews were selected as the appropriate method of extracting information about the interviewees' work experiences. The underlying idea behind these interviews is to collect the informants'workplace experiences in an ongoing fashion by following their careers longitudinally.[2] The longitudinal, still ongoing process is valuable, as it shows how the interviewees perceive their working environment, how they construct their agency, and how they negotiate their way in the various production networks in the course of several years. In this way, it is hoped that in-depth information on work-related phenomena can be collected and trends discovered.

Agency theory is the theoretical framework relied on in the analysis of the translator experiences. This theory has not, to my knowledge, been directly applied in translation studies before, although Chan (2005, 2008) has looked at the translation profession and translator certification from an information economics framework, basing his argumentation on the concepts of asymmetric information and adverse selection, which are also central concepts in agency theory.[3] Chan's works, therefore, come close to my research, not only because agency theory originates from information economics (Eisenhardt 1989: 59) but also because Chan looks at translating at its little researched pragmatic level.

Although agency theory has been heavily influenced by its background in economics, it has been also applied by scholars in marketing, accounting, political science, public administration and public management, applied psychology, sociology, and organisation theory (Kivistö 2007: 3). Agency theory deals with principal-agent relationships, which are "a pervasive fact

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[2]   These eight interviewees were willing to be interviewed and have trusted me to protect their identities. Their stories are important and I am grateful that they have repeatedly given of their time to further this research. It goes without saying that the interviewees' names have been altered. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and the extracts in this paper are my translations.

[3]   See Chan (2008: 11–15) for a summary of the economics theories used in translation studies.

of economic life" (Arrow 1985: 37) and which can be discovered anywhere where someone works or acts on someone else's behalf (Eisenhardt 1989: 58, Kivistö 2007: 11). The theory is well-suited to complement network-based research conducted by myself and others in translation studies (see Buzelin & Folaron 2007), as it explains the consequences of delegating authority (Lyne & Tierney 2003). This paper argues that there are delegation failures between principals and agents in translation production networks, such as informational asymmetries and goal-conflicts, and these conditions, in some cases, give rise to moral hazard and asymmetry of commitment.[4]

2   Agency theory

Agency theory, also called the principal-agent theory, can be used to analyse cooperation from an economic point of view in principal-agent relationships (Eisenhardt 1989: 72, Kivistö 2007: 2). It forces us to consider the role of incentives, interests and information in organisational thinking, as it assumes that much of organisational life is, at least to some extent, based on people's self-interest, opportunism and goal conflicts (Eisenhardt 1989). Much of the criticism towards agency theory is based on the very same issues for which it has been given credit, and hence the theory has been even considered Machiavellian[5] and dangerous. (Kivistö 2007: 41–49, 191–193.) At any rate, the theory promises to explain how to best organize commercial relationships in which one party, the principal, delegates authority and determines the work that another party, the agent, undertakes and performs on behalf of the principal (Eisenhardt 1989: 58). Agency relationships can be reciprocal, such as in patient-doctor relationships, but they can also be coercive, as in master-slave relationships. The contract is a central concept in the theory and it is seen as "an instrument enabling different forms of co-operation and control between the principal and the agent" (Kivistö 2007: 12). It has been said that

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[4]   In this article, I specifically focus on problems regarding translators' agency as well as the various coping strategies of the interviewees, whereas more global problem-solving and conflict-resolution will be delved into in my forthcoming work.

[5]   It is interesting to note that actor-network theory has also received similar criticism (see, for instance, Amsterdamska 1990).

agency theory arises from mistrust, control, and compliance, as it assumes that once principals delegate authority to agents, they cannot simply trust the latter but need not only economic incentives but also certain instruments to monitor their agents' actions (ibid. 1–3, 41–42).

Furthermore, as befits this particular research, agency theory deals with problems and consequences of delegating authority in principal-agent relationships, such as the difficulties arising under conditions of goal conflicts and **asymmetric information**. Asymmetric, or unequal, information arises when principals and agents do not communicate to each other all the relevant information needed in an economic undertaking. This lack of communication may be accidental or intentional. (Boatright 2002: 155, Chan 2008: 21–25, 28–31, Kivistö 2007: 56–67.) Agency theory assumes that agents are generally more risk averse than their principals (Eisenhardt 1989: 61–62), and agency problems tend to surface when principals and agents have different attitudes towards risk (Kivistö 2007: 16–17) and when the desires and goals of the principal and the agent are in conflict with each other (Kivistö 2007: 68–78, Eisenhardt 1989: 58).[6] Ultimately, from the point of view of successful cooperation, principals and agents should reconcile their different tolerances for risk. Hence, agency theory maintains that agency problems can be solved by certain types of contracts and by various information monitoring systems, which curb agent opportunism because the agent will realise that he/she cannot deceive the principal. (Eisenhardt 1989: 60–64.)

Korten (1999: 66) discusses the importance of complete information in market theory, emphasising that information should be freely available to all. This would require, then, that when buyers and sellers, or principals and agents, enter into business relationships and sign contracts, they should be fully aware of the attributes and the quality of the goods or services in question. Agency theory, however, takes a different baseline from market theory by admitting that there is asymmetric information and uncertainty in most business relationships. This being the case, opportunistic action tends to occur, leading to adverse selection and moral hazard (Boatright 2002: 157).

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[6]   Here, too, agency theory has a point of contact with actor-network theory (ANT). Both of these theories address goal conflicts and the alignment of interests, although ANT more openly admits to being concerned with finding out how power is constructed by creating lasting asymmetries of power (see Buzelin 2005, Abdallah 2008).

Adverse selection, also called the "lemon" problem (see Akerlof 1970), refers to a process in which unwanted results, such as the lowering of quality, arise, because principals and agents do not have access to joint information. An example of such a case is when the principal cannot make sure, pre-contractually, if the agent has the skills and the abilities to do the work for which he is being paid (Kivistö 2007: 78–82, Chan 2005; 2008: 39–40, 143). Adverse selection has also been called "hidden information" (Arrow 1985: 38).

Moral hazard, on the other hand, may arise in situations where the principal cannot monitor, post-contractually, the agent's actions and where the self-interested agent pursues his private goals at the expense of the principal's goals. Furthermore, agency theory assumes that when it is difficult for the principal to observe the agent's actions, the agent tends to produce poor quality or exercise too little effort in the work required. (Kivistö 2007: 22–24, 82–102.) To put it differently, moral hazard occurs when the party with more information about its actions or intentions behaves inappropriately from the perspective of the party with less information. An example of this is when the principal cannot be certain if the agent has put enough effort into his/her work or if he/she has acted oppportunistically, or shirked from what was agreed (Eisenhardt 1989: 61). Arrow has called this phenomenon "hidden action" (1985: 38).

3 Principal-agent dyads in translation production networks

Translation production networks are formed when one actor who needs translations, in the capacity of a principal, delegates work to another actor, an agent, to produce these translations, and this latter actor, in the capacity of a principal, subcontracts translating work to yet another actor, who becomes an agent. Such principal-agent relationships are hierarchical and defined by a delegation contract (Lyne & Tierney 2003). The translation production network can be seen to consist of at least four different dyads as depicted in the figure underneath.

- **Dyad 1**: the relationship of the primary principal (PP) – the end user of the translation, i.e. the reader[7] – and the client company as the agent (A).
- **Dyad 2**: the relationship of the client company as the intermediary principal (IP) and the translation company as the agent (A).
- **Dyad 3**: the relationship of the translation company as the intermediary principal (IP) and the translator as the agent (A).
- **Dyad 4**: the relationship of the primary principal (PP) and the translator as the agent (A).
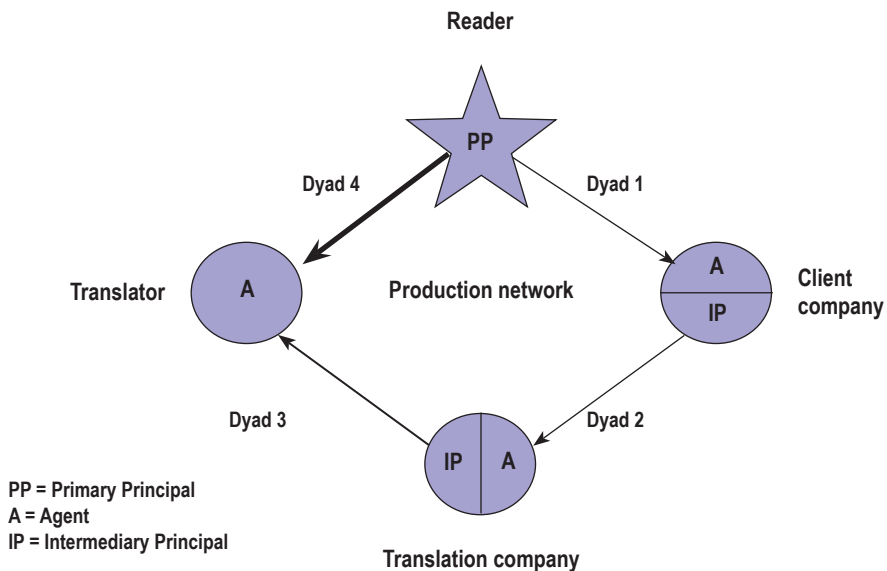
FIGURE 1. A model of the four principal-agent dyads in translation production networks

In this paper, I will focus on dyads three and four: the relationship of the translation company as the intermediary principal and the translator as the agent, and the relationship of the end user of the translation, the reader, as the primary principal, and the translator as the agent.

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[7]   Although I use the term reader here, it encompasses all forms of users of translations, such as the recipients of subtitled audio-visual programmes. Here, readers are treated as a unitary principal for ease of academic exercise. In reality, of course, readers are multiple principals, who have divergent preferences over the actions of their agent (see Lyne & Tierney 2003).

As is well-known, the ethical rationale behind translators' actions is multifaceted (see, for instance, Simeoni 1998: 11–12, Chesterman 2001, Pym 2001), but to put it in a nutshell, translators often feel a great sense of responsibility towards the reader, not only towards the party paying for their work. In actual fact, translators consider themselves the agents for the reader, whom they perceive as their principal. To put it differently, translators, by way of their professional ethics, feel that the reader has delegated authority to them to represent their interests in production networks.

In this model of the four principal-agent dyads, it is worth noticing that the reader, the end user of translations, always holds the role of a principal: he/she is **the primary principal** (PP) for all the other actors. This is the case even though there is no explicit contract to that effect. Here, it is useful to note that although contracts are a central element in agency theory, they do not need to be written and signed but can be metaphoric as well (Eisenhardt 1989: 58).

In other words, even if the contract is implicit, it is, nevertheless, ethically binding and ties all parties to it. No economic actor can deny the fact that consumers and buyers do have their rights in the marketplace, and these rights include the right to have complete and true information about the products and services (see Korten 1999). Legal bodies, such as competition authorities and consumer agencies oversee that the rights of consumers and buyers are respected. In fact, as I see it, it should be ultimately the very goal of agency theory to strive towards complete and true information by eliminating asymmetric information and the occurrence of agency problems in principal-agent relationships. However, according to the theory's critics, this is not the case (see Ghoshal 2005: 75–86).

In the economic dyads under study, whereas the reader always has the role of a principal, the translator, in contrast, always holds the role of an agent; the translator is **agent to two principals**, the reader and the translation company. The client company and the translation company, however, have **dual roles**; they either have the role of an intermediary principal or an agent, depending from whose point of view we are approaching their role in the production network (see Kivistö 2007: 12–13). As an illustration of the ethical dimensions of dual roles, we can mention the explosion that destroyed the Challenger space shuttle in 1986, where the disastrous results

were due to conflicts of interest and the contradictory obligations of dual roles (see Hooker 2006).

My argument in applying an agency-theoretical approach here is that, although it is important to look at the big picture, the entire production network as a whole, we also need to direct our enquiring eye to the different dyads within such networks. In other words, I will use the insights of agency theory as a complementary perspective to production networks (see Eisenhardt 1989: 71). It is important to add, however, that I will separate the different dyads only as an analytical exercise, for I firmly believe that in real life separating such dyads is an artificial and therefore a reductionist way of approaching networks. In what follows, I will put agency theory to the test when I analyse the interviewees' work-related experiences in translation production networks.

4   Agency as perceived by the translators themselves

By focusing on translators' experiences, the aim of this research is to give voice[8] to the otherwise "silent and invisible" translators (Simeoni 1998: 12) and to see how they construct their agency in their everyday work, and to find out what factors their agency and power depend on.

Table 1 below shows the situation in the working lives of the eight translators around the time of their first interview. Two of the translators, Kari and Maija, had in fact just left the translation industry at the time when I first interviewed them. Nevertheless, they are included in the data because not only do they have an MA in translation studies but they also have experience in translating, thereby qualifying as professional translators.

In the following sections, translators' agency is approached through such issues as the accessibility of information, cooperation, quality of the working process and the product, salaries and fees, and translator role and status.

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[8]   Translators are a typical muted group, and there are a lot of references to translators' invisibility (see, for instance, Venuti 1995, Simeoni 1998, Koskinen 2000). Muted groups have been studied by Meares et al. (2004) who have identified the following muted narratives in response to mistreatment at work: 1) muted-but-engaged, 2) angrily disengaged, 3) resigned, as well as 4) one type of privileged response.

TABLE 1. The eight interviewees around the time of their first interview

Inter-viewee	Sex	Problems with infor-mation	Conflict	Network structure	Feelings of power-lessness	Salary/ fee	Status	Contact with centre	Exit
1. Kari	Male	no	no	yes	no	low	low	no	yes
2. Jussi	Male	no	some-times	yes	no	low	ok	no	yes, new entry
3. Lea	Fe-male	sometimes	often	yes	yes	low	ok	some-times	no
4. Miia	Fe-male	sometimes	often	yes	yes	low	low	no	no
5. Maija	Fe-male	sometimes	often	yes	yes	low	low	no	yes
6. Kaija	Fe-male	sometimes	often	yes	yes	low	low	no	no
7. Matti	Male	no	no	yes	no	ok	ok	no	no
8. Rea	Fe-male	sometimes	often	yes	no	low	low	some-times	no

4.1   Asymmetric and incomplete information

Information is a key factor in economic affairs, as agency theory so focally emphasises; those parties with better information are in a position of power. Chan has demonstrated that, due to asymmetric information, there is adverse selection in the translation industry, which is why most translators are underpaid. Furthermore, Chan claims that adverse selection acts in such a way that "good" translators tend to leave their work as translators, thus making space in the industry for "bad" translators (Chan 2005, 2008: 143).

This research supports Chan's finding that quality is deteriorating in the translation industry. However, unlike Chan, I do not divide the interviewed translators dichotomically into good and bad ones, but prefer to approach the problem of deteriorating quality from a wider, more complex perspective. Still, the fact remains that four of the eight interviewees in my research data had exited the translation industry by the time of their second interview, and the reasons for their decision to exit warrant closer scrutiny and carry with them wider social and economic implications.

What undeniably emanates from the interviews is the fact that information does not flow freely in production networks. Even just by looking at the different dyads in the figure above, we can see that the translator enters the economic configuration only in the third dyad as the agent, and, as to the accessibility of information, this position is by definition **structurally unfavourable** because of the general principles of scale-free, and therefore highly undemocratic, networks (see Abdallah & Koskinen 2007: 675–678). It is not only the structure of such economic networks that impedes the flow of information but also the fact that the translator has to serve two masters, which makes their work difficult, particularly if these masters, or principals, have conflicting interests. The salient question is then not so much, any more, whether the translator has the necessary skills, ex ante, but, rather, whether the translator **is able**, ex post, to perform his/her work properly in this economic configuration.

It is essential for translators to have access to relevant information in order to perform their work adequately. Whereas machines can be programmed to function with limited input, translators need the source text, the terminology that the client wants to use, knowledge about the target audience, any other source material, and, when necessary, information about the product. These are minimal requirements in completing a translation assignment adequetely. If, for some reason, these requirements are not met, the quality of the translator's working process suffers, as does the quality of the end product.

Unfortunately, inadequate or substandard source materials and lack of relevant information are not uncommon in the translation industry, as some of these translators attest. As previously pointed out, asymmetric information may be accidental but it can also be used intentionally to one's own advantage. Such opportunistic action arises from goal conflicts and mistrust, when some actors have the need to protect their, and/or their clients', self-interest. It is no wonder then that translators express feelings of frustration and indignation, or they feel like "loose parts in the process" (Kaija, freelancer), which has been developed, not to make the process smooth and functionable from the translator's point of view, but, rather, to safeguard the commercial interests of the two intermediary principals. Incomplete information can be a cause for annoyance, as this extract shows:

> Sometimes the translator does not even know who the major client is. For instance, the client's name might be deleted from the annual report to be translated. It would be different if they referred to a non-disclosure agreement or something but to leave the name out just like that. It is annoying. (Rea, subcontractor)

It would seem that inhouse translators in translation companies do not necessarily have this problem, because as Matti says: "we always knew who we were translating for." But even if one works in a translation company, product information can be inadequate.

> The translator does not always know whether the gadget is room size or palm size. 'It is not important, just go ahead and translate.' The client always seems to have a different premiss from the translator. There is no time, because we [the translators] cannot perform information searches; there is no context to look for the necessary information or terminology. (Lea, inhouse translator)

Moreover, some of the interviewees have noticed instability in the field which further affects the flow of information and smoothness of work. Jussi, for instance, was happily working for a translation company as a subcontractor when all of a sudden, and quite unexpectedly, the company lost its contract to another translation company (see Abdallah 2008 for an account of a similar failure in another production network). Jussi received an e-mail from the internationally operating client company saying that if he wanted to continue working, he would have to contact translation company X to get purchase orders in the future. When I asked Jussi why he thought such a change had happened, he didn't really know but his "educated guess" was that the new company had agreed to produce translations at a cheaper rate, hence the change in the translation service providers. When Jussi joined the new production network, he had to start "from the bottom", and after two months, he realised that the material he was given to translate was "trash" and that the fee the new translation company was paying was much lower than he had received from the previous company. Jussi exercised his agency by exiting as soon as he had found another translation company that he could work for, thereby retaining his self-respect.

Six interviewed translators say that they have no contact with the major client. In other words, the client company is one or more dyads away from the actual translator, with no contact or interaction between them. Such chains of actors generate incomplete and asymmetric information by hin-

dering the flow of relevant information. When "information is lost on the way" (Lea, in-house translator), it undoubtedly complicates the work of the person who does the actual translating. According to Alasuutari (2004: 91), power relations are the possibilities and resources available to a person that can be affected and controlled by other people. For instance, by controlling and regulating the amount and forms of direct, two-way interaction, actors are placed in different power and subject positions, which has repercussions on their agency.

As a consequence, translators are not always able to perform, post-contractually, their work adequately due to the restricted flow of information between the various principal-agent dyads. This ensuing inability of the translator to perform his/her work adequately leads to moral hazard in some cases, for, from the point of view of the translator, the translation company as the intermediary principal has withheld, at least in some cases, relevant information from the translator. As this research focuses on dyads three and four, it is impossible to say whether there is a similar situation regarding the flow of information in dyad two. But, as agency theory gloomily points out, opportunistic, i.e. self-interested and unscrupulous, behaviour is not uncommon in principal-agent relationships, and ethical dilemmas and an agent's (and there are no less than **three agents** in the above dyads) opportunism leads to moral hazard (Boatright 2002: 157).

4.2   Quality-related problems arise from double and triple moral hazard

As formerly stated, moral hazard surfaces when there is asymmetric information and when the desires and goals of the principal and agent are in conflict with each other. As I have previously argued elsewhere, a serious problem in translation production networks arises from the fact that the various actors define quality using different criteria, and therefore the goals of the various actors are in conflict with each other (Abdallah 2003, 2005, 2007). That finding is also evident in this interview data. Indeed, information about the level of targeted translation quality is not freely available and shared by all parties in these dyads. And as information asymmetry can exist in each and every one of these principal-agent dyads, there is ample space for opportunism in production networks. If the actors do not share a com-

mon goal, such as a mutually agreed-upon level of quality, it is neither possible to have efficient cooperation nor to produce good quality. Here, then, lies a major problem in the present translation industry: the level of quality in the different dyads is not aligned. For that reason, I have suggested that a classification system of quality be developed and used as a boundary object, or an information system, between the various actors to coordinate their unaligned definitions of quality (Abdallah 2003, 2005). Creating such an information system can be considered an investment in trust formation in translation production networks, where lack of trust is currently widespread. Furthermore, the system, I believe, would hinder opportunism and moral hazard from arising in the various principal-agent dyads.

Such a problem arising from asymmetric information regarding quality can be called **double, or even triple, moral hazard**. Although Koppang and Lowendahl (1995) discuss double (two-sided) moral hazard in a different context, that of consultancy work, we can apply their thoughts to the translation industry by substituting the words 'consultancy' and 'consultant' with the words 'translation' and 'translator' and the word 'client' with 'translation company', which I have done in this quotation:

> The higher the degree of interaction required for a high quality outcome of the *translation* process, the higher the risk of what has been termed … as 'double moral hazard'. … Not only is the *translation company* dependent on the ethical behaviour of the *translator* in order to receive a high quality service, but similarly the *translator* is dependent on the cooperation of the *translation company* in order to be able to deliver the high quality service promised. There is a moral hazard involved for both parties, and the service provider cannot guarantee the service quality without substantial risk involved if the *translation company* behaves unethically. (Koppang & Lowendahl 1995: 113. Modifications and italics mine.)

In other words, double moral hazard occurs when the translator and the translation company behave unethically by **cheating each other**. Putnam (1994: 175) points out that in vertical patron-client, such as in principal-agent, relationships opportunism manifests itself on the part of the patron, or principal, as exploitation and on the part of the client, or agent, as shirking. However, there can also be a case of triple moral hazard, suggested by Koppang and Lowendahl (1995: 113), and that occurs when the parties (in our case the translator and the translation company) **collaborate in order to cheat a third party**, in which case there may be three or more parties that are

cheated by the actors' unethical behaviour in the process.

In my interview data, five of the translators (all the female translators) speak explicitly about conflicts related to quality. And yet, the word 'quality' is frequently used in marketing by the various actors to assure the public and/ or their clients of the excellence of their products. Conflicts of quality arise in this data when the translator as the agent tries to satisfy the unaligned demands of the two principals, the reader and the translation company. Being in between a rock and a hard place causes translators much consternation, in some cases even **ethical stress**, and, at the minimum, this situation slows down their work. Rea, who has long experience as a micro entrepreneur, takes up this issue. She protests because she does not feel comfortable being in such a double bind. We can also see that there is a case of triple moral hazard here, as described above: the translator cannot guarantee a high quality service if the client company and the translation company are not ethically bound to the cooperation. The parties that pay for the negative consequences of this problem are the translator and the primary principal.

> Quality has not been defined by translators in any way at all. Only the translation companies have done it, and to them quality means that we do the work quickly and as cheaply as possible … Expectations of quality could be a bit more aligned. They always expect good quality, no matter what the operational preconditions are like … We are expected to produce prime quality, even if we have no idea about the target audience. This issue comes up continuously, practically every day … Clients have learned to have their way, they make demands based on matters of opinion. We have no clear terms of reference. This is an expert service, no mass-produced article … This is a **big** problem. Quality is a central issue in each commission. And we don't have a concensus on this issue. (Rea, subcontractor)

And Rea is not the only one who talks about such quality-related problems. Lea, who works as an inhouse translator in a translation company, has noticed that the problem regarding quality surfaces regularly between the client and the translation company. Here, we can detect triple moral hazard that involves the client company, the translation company and the translator. The party that pays for the negative consequences is the primary principal, i.e. the reader.

> This [quality] is clearly a **big** problem. If I encounter this problem so often, I am sure that the same situation crops up elsewhere as well, not just in our company … Big clients send their work to different translation companies and then these

companies use different terminology, this happens all the time … We might get, for instance, a translation commission that has been partially translated somewhere, we don't know where. But it [the translation] clearly has traces of at least five different translators, for it is like a patchwork quilt. So many [translators] have their fingers in this one translation; there is no conformity whatsoever. Half of it is in Finnish, very bad Finnish [laughs out loud], with primitive sentence structures, poor punctuation … Sometimes I tell the coordinator, this won't work, this won't be good, no matter what you do. It is not enough if you just say that: it has to be on paper. (Lea, inhouse translator)

At the time of her second interview, Kaija explains how her work has become more difficult due to the poor quality of the source texts. She is still trying to act as the agent for the reader, but one can detect consternation as well as a sense of desperation in this extract. Here, we have a case of double moral hazard. The question that hangs in the air is whether the client company as the intermediary principal to the translation company is aware of the problems that the translators face in their work in the next dyad.

Technical problems have increased from the previous time we talked. They have started to produce some parts of the process in low wage countries … The quality is terrible, it has gone down the tube … We have talked about this, and my closest supervisors are aware of the situation …The flow of information is like this, everyone knows this here, they know the problem … It feels absolutely preposterous. (Kaija, freelancer)

Be it as it may, it is, nevertheless, the translator, not to mention the primary principal, who does not have access to all the information and who therefore suffers and pays for the negative consequences arising from asymmetric information. The translator pays for the negative consequences by being in an ethical dilemma between two principals whose goals and interests are not aligned. As long as the translator compensates for the inadequate working conditions provided by the intermediary principals by putting in extra effort into his/her task, there is a case of moral hazard in the production network. However, if and when the translator succumbs to the demands of the intermediary principals, moral hazard turns into double, even triple, moral hazard, resulting in the client company, the translation company, and the translator collaborating to cheat the primary principal. By telling the translation company about the substandard source texts, Kaija is ultimately try-

ing to defend the reader's rights, although she also accepts the commercial requirements of her principal, the translation company.

> I do understand the need to produce cost-effectively and all that, but at some stage it just works against itself … Savings are sought by making the translators' work more difficult … I have to zigzag in ever more troublesome waters … This slows down my work … They don't pay me by the hour, so they don't see it from my point of view. And I am trying to tell them that these source texts are horrific. (Kaija, freelancer)

As can be seen from the above extract, Kaija is still in a double bind here. She points out that there is a limit to the requirement to produce translations cost-effectively, and this limit is transgressed when the working conditions of the translator become unbearable.

We can sum up all of the above in Rea's words: no matter how poor the quality is, someone is, nevertheless, paying a lot of money for the translations. She basically hints at the possibility of triple moral hazard arising in such a situation.

> You cannot get constancy by paying so poorly, and then they [translation companies] try to fix these things with translation memories. And then we can laugh at the mistakes, but the truth is that someone is investing a lot of money in all of this, and the quality is – it is not much to write home about. (Rea, subcontractor)

As previously explained, Chan has demonstrated that due to the problem of adverse selection, the translation industry is a "market for lemons", in which low quality products drive out good quality products (Chan 2005, 2008: 18, 23–25). These findings, when combined with Chan's, indicate that quality is indeed deteriorating in the translation industry.

4.3   Low fees and low esteem for translators

Five translators mention the low esteem of translators and translations. Here their views coincide with those put forth in the Akava[9] translator union survey data of 2005, where appr. 85% of 116 respondents said that translating and translators are poorly or rather poorly appreciated, and none felt that translators are greatly appreciated. As Matti had noticed during his trainee-

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9   Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals (Akava).

ship in a translation company, the translator's role had been seen "very narrowly", which is why he later decided not to seek employment in the translation industry, although he had nothing to complain about his traineeship as such.

Rea has witnessed how, while the industry has become more professional and the amount of work has increased, translators' fees have gone drastically down. According to her, when a few years previously a subcontractor could charge approximately 50 € per page, at the time of her second interview in 2008 the fee was approximately half of that amount. In fact, Rea had taken up this issue of translators' low pay with a lawyer once and she was surprised to find out how much translation companies charge for their work.

> They [translation companies] always say that 'competition at the customer interface is so tight and that is why we cannot pay more than this'. But then once I had a conversation about women's low wages with a lawyer and I said that translating is another low-wage field dominated by women. This lawyer did not believe me, and he told me that he had actually quite recently paid almost a three digit sum per page to one translation company. I just said that well, it is not the translator who gets it. (Rea, subcontractor)

In this interview data, three of the translators have in actual fact witnessed their fees going down in the industry. Kaija talks about the forthcoming salary talks and how she perceives the nature of such 'negotiations':

> It is a yearly lamentation: 'We must increase profitability, and oh my, where could we reduce costs. We are forced to compete for clients on price. We have to reduce costs so that the profit margin will be in line with the production goals of the corporation.' In between the lines the message comes out that they have to reduce translators' fees … I don't know what becomes of this. They promise us a lot of work; the volume of work has grown, but they cannot pay for it. (Kaija, freelancer)

Indeed, seven out of eight interviewed translators mention low pay or salary in the translation industry. From the above extracts, we can deduce that either the situation in the translation industry is fiercely competitive and the parties in the different dyads are forced to compete on price alone, or the intermediary principals, i.e. client companies and translation companies, are unwilling to pay adequetely to those doing the actual translating work in order "to keep the profit margin in line with the production goals of the corporation". The extracts in section 4.2 are cases in point. They show how moral

hazard arises and develops into double, even triple, moral hazard, in production networks, and how, as a result, the translators are not able to keep their ethical promise to the primary principal, because the rest of the network, the intermediary principals, do not support them in this endeavour.

As mentioned at the beginning, two interviewees had left the translation industry at the time of the first round of interviews. Both of these interviewees had invested time and money in their careers as professional translators, by graduating with an MA in translation studies. Kari left his poorly-paid inhouse translator job for the software industry, where his initial monthly salary was 900 € higher. Maija left her inhouse translator job for reasons of ethical stress, which resulted from a conflict with the owner of the translation company. Soon after leaving her work, with a nice severance pay from the company thanks to her union lawyer's intervention, Maija transferred to the documention industry where her monthly salary rose by 800 €.

4.4   Summary of agency as described by the translators

By having given voice to the translators themselves, we have seen how they perceive their agency in production networks. The picture that materialises before our eyes is not pretty. To begin with, all eight translators have identified their working environment as having a network structure. Five translators have encountered problems with the flow of information. Moreover, five of the translators have often encountered conflicting situations regarding quality. Half of the translators have experienced feelings of powerlessness in their work. Seven translators say that their salaries or fees are low, and five say that their status is low. Only two of the eight translators say that they sometimes have a direct contact with the major client; six never do. Finally, by the time of their second interview, half of the translators had left the translation industry. By having used agency theory in this analysis, we have seen how asymmetric information and conflicting goals between the principals and agents give rise to opportunistic action and moral hazard, in some cases even double, and triple, moral hazard.

5 Coping strategies in place of trust

This chapter deals with the interviewees' individual coping strategies when trust and cooperation are not feasible options in principal-agent dyads. However, because agency theory grants no consideration to ethical or moral considerations, nor does it pay any attention to the role of trust in reducing outcome uncertainty in economic cooperation (Nilakant & Rao 1994: 666, Ghoshal 2005, Kivistö 2007: 32–35), we must look elsewhere to combine the concept of agency with other motives than self-interest and opportunism.

Australian sociologist Jack Barbalet has suggested that agency is always emotionally generated, and is not just a generic, given capacity. Emotions that contribute to agency are, according to Barbalet, 1) confidence to act on behalf of self, 2) trust, i.e. the feeling of acting together with others, and 3) loyalty, i.e. the feeling of acting on behalf of an institution (Barbalet 1998, Pedersen 2008).[10] In short, we will complement the shortcomings of agency theory with Barbalet's thesis of **the emotional nature of agency**.

Trust and loyalty are, of course, familiar concepts in translation studies, too, and translators have been expected to be loyal both to their clients and their readers (e.g. Nord 1991, see also Abdallah & Koskinen 2007). As a result, it is translators' professional ethics that posits translators in the role of the agent for their principals, whether clients or translation companies, on one hand, and readers, on the other. Is it then logical for us to assume that if only translators adhere to their ethics of loyalty, all will go well in the principal-agent dyads? The experiences of these translators do not support that argument, because in social relations, such as in commercial dealings, agency is constructed upon confidence, trust and loyalty, as Barbalet above reminds us. What happens to agency, then, if confidence, trust and loyalty are not possible?

In the following sections, I will discuss how the interviewed translators have managed without being able to trust the intermediary principals and without being able to feel loyalty towards the production network they have been part of, and how, as a consequence, they have developed various cop-

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ing strategies in order to retain their sense of agency. Several scholars have discussed the importance of coping strategies (see, for instance, Hirschman 1970, Sztompka 1999, Lyne & Tierney 2003, Alasuutari 2004, Abdallah & Koskinen 2007: 683–684). Alasuutari (2004: 131–134) sums up coping strategies nicely by saying that not only do people have a need to make sense of the subject position they occupy in their work but they also need to create such an attitude toward their work so that they can tolerate the given conditions, retain their self-respect, and find their role somehow meaningful. And if they are not able to do that, they will use voice or exit (Hirschman 1970), or neglect (Farrell & Rusbult 1992).

5.1   Saving one's neck

Five translators say that they have suffered from the consequences of asymmetric information in their work, and five translators speak explicitly about a conflict between their professional ethics and the demands and practices of their work. All but one of these five translators have long experience in the field and all five have learned to cope the hard way. When we spoke about the conflicts during the interviews, I asked the translators how they had acted in such conflictual situations. For instance, two of the translators mentioned how they keep records of what has been agreed on between them and their intermediary principal. If the communication has taken place by phone, these translators will send an e-mail to verify what has been orally agreed. They point out that if the translator does not have such records, their intermediary principal might not "remember" what was agreed, and then, for example, require them to correct the text contrary to what was agreed on, or the translator might have to lower the fee, because the intermediary principal "is not familiar with this word" (Rea, subcontractor). Furthermore, as Rea explains, solving conflicts takes a lot of one's time and is therefore not economically efficient.

> And it is all away from productive work. I don't get compensated for it. It takes an **unreasonable** amount of your time. I mean, where do you set the limit? Some of them really try to twist and turn. (Rea, subcontractor)

Rea gives an example of **a conflict of interests** regarding quality between a translation company and the translator. There is clearly an element of op-

portunism at play here, since one has to resort to neck-saving methods instead of simply trusting the intermediary principal.

> The translation company commissions a translation for a low fee. They say that you don't need to proofread the text. Then you produce the text on some strange IT platform in the net, and you cannot even use Word, nor proofread your text, nor correct typos. The schedule is very hectic; they say you don't need to revise the text. Okay, so the translator translates the text. Then they come back to you and say that there is this, that, and the other wrong with the text. Lucky you, if you have kept records of what had been agreed on. (Rea, subcontractor)

These practices attest to **distrust** between the principals and agents. And Lea elaborates on this issue. We can deduce that she, just like Rea, has learned to look after her own interests the hard way.

> Oh, great! No one answers questions concerning terminology. I save all the e-mail messages: this is what we agreed. Your people did not answer terminology-related questions; we didn't have proper source material. We have done the best we could. Then comes the complaint: 'this is not what we wanted'. But they cannot specify their claim. 'You have not used proper terminology'. But you did not provide us with terminology. 'Well, we do have these lists.' Oh dear, you should have sent them to us when we specifically asked for them … (Lea, inhouse translator)

As these extracts from the interview data show, problems regarding cooperation do frequently arise, at least from the point of view of the translators. Asymmetric information between the principal and agent can be detected, and the question that comes to one's mind is whether the readers as primary principals and/or client companies as intermediary principals are aware **how** translations are made as products. Why do these translators insist on having enough information; are they just trying to be difficult? And why do they have to protect themselves by keeping records of every phone call and act of communication?

5.2   Sucker effect leads to retaliation

The ethos behind translators' professional ethics obliges them to act in the interest of the primary principal, the reader. Consequently, all of these eight interviewees strive towards that goal, with varying results. But why do some of the translators feel compelled to act **against** the interests of the reader?

Why do some translators **exit** the network, and why do some of them **shirk** and resort to moral hazard? In this section, I will try to answer these questions.

Silver and Hayes (2003) offer an explanation that is useful in understanding the behaviour of some of the interviewed translators. They write about ethical dilemmas in agency theory:

> As the principal and agent negotiate the terms of a contract, one's expectation of the unethical behaviour of the other will cause defensive action. That is, one or both parties to the contract will **withhold information** or engage in other unethical behaviour to protect one's position. This is known as the 'sucker effect'. People do not want to be perceived as suckers. To that end they **reduce their own efforts** in expectation of the reduced efforts of others. The sucker effect leads to rationalization of unethical behaviour by each of the parties to the contract. Each party misrepresents information to the other because they believe they are receiving false information. One possible antecedent to the sucker effect is asymmetry of commitment. That is, one party believes it is more committed to the relationship than the other party. (Silver & Hayes 2003. Emphasis mine.)

According to Silver and Hayes, due to such perceived asymmetry of commitment the satisfaction with the principal-agent relationship decreases when those who feel that they are more committed than their partners believe that they have become 'suckers'. Therefore, it is common for those who believe that they have been taken advantage of **to retaliate as a defensive, self-protecting act** (ibid. Emphasis mine).

Silver and Hayes' thesis is congruent with Barbalet's point above in that agency is indeed emotionally generated. In this interview data, the ramifications of the sucker effect and ensuing emotional engagement are also visible. When a translator notices that he/she has been more committed to the relationship[11] and has been taken advantage of, he/she has basically four choices to retain his/her agency:

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[11] Farrell and Rusbult (1992) define four categories of responses to job dissatisfaction, namely exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect, thereby developing Hirschman's (1970) typology. The neglect category is interesting from the point of view of agency theory, as it includes reduced interest or effort (Farrell & Rusbult 1992: 202).

1. to give tit for tat
2. to bite the bullet
3. to rationalise unethical behaviour
4. to exit.

These choices are not just either or; instead, they can be used in various combinations by the same translator. And this is exactly why a longitudinal study is valuable, for it allows us to see how these translators' agency develops and changes in the course of the interview process.

5.2.1   Tit for tat

Tit for tat is a game theoretical strategy that means repayment in kind, i.e. retaliation. In this strategy, the agent will initially cooperate, and, if the opponent cooperates, the agent also cooperates in the future. If, on the other hand, the opponent does not cooperate, the agent will retaliate in kind (see Rasmusen 1991: 21–29, Pym 2000: 185). Game theories are based on mathematical calculations in which the success of a person's choices depends on the choices that others make. Game theoretical models help us understand why rational individuals, under some circumstances, can produce outcomes that are not rational, nor desirable, from the perspective of all involved. (Ostrom 1990: 6, see also Putnam 1994: 164) In this section, we can see how Miia has used the strategy of tit for tat to regain her sense of agency.

Miia had realised that she had been badly taken advantage of by the company she was working for. She had started working when she was a young student and was initially happy to have managed to get work "in her own line of business". She had plenty of work and tight deadlines, but she invested a lot of effort in her work, for, as she said "these translations are, after all, demonstrations of my skill." After a few months, Miia realised that she was working for a pittance. She felt that she had become a sucker, and that there was an asymmetry of commitment between her and her principal. Miia's first reaction was shame. She felt abused.

> This was a sensitive issue to me, I felt embarrassed and ashamed. I am weak. I am not able to take care of things. I had no baseline for what I should have asked for my work … My God! How little money I made in an hour! … Of course it affected quality. Quality did suffer. When I started my work, my main thought was

to produce good quality.

After some time, Miia tried to negotiate an increase in her fee, and because it took the company a long time to answer her, it hurt her feelings further. Finally, she managed to get a small raise but still her fee was very low. Miia had invested her skills, her eagerness, enthusiasm, and several hours of her time every day in the relationship with the intermediary principal, and the latter had acted opportunistically and exploited her labour by taking advantage of her naivety and good faith. At the time of her second interview three years later, Miia had got her 'revenge' and with that, regained her self-respect. In fact, her action shows how important it is for translators to maintain their sense of agency and the possibility of choice, even if it is only at the level of one's attitude towards one's work (see also Kaija's quote in section 5.2.3. when she rationalises her 'unethical' behaviour).

> I gave tit for tat to this company. I got my revenge in a way. [Laughs] I noticed that translating another genre paid reasonably well per hour. [Laughs] So, I asked them if I could translate this particular genre instead. [Laughs] I did a bit of a similar thing to this firm. I paid them back with the same measure. I translated this genre and noticed that I got [laughs and laughs heartily] really easy money that way. In a way, if I am completely honest, I took back a bit. I decided that I will complete this text in such and such a time frame, and not give it a minute more of my time. I worked for six months like this. But then this project ended. I still did some other type of work there for a while. But then I wasn't interested any more … Someone might say that this [the revenge] was just a minor thing, but to me it was a major thing. I worked so fast that my hourly pay rose to 20 € per hour. So it was actually a shame that the project ended. [Laughs heartily] (Miia, subcontractor)

5.2.2   Biting the bullet

Another way of coping without trust can be called biting the bullet. This strategy means that the translator accepts the inevitable and tries to live with it, no matter how difficult the situation is. In the first extract we can see how Kaija is trying to cope with her difficult work circumstances by building her agency on her own inner satisfaction. She knows that she is doing the right thing when she produces good work and defends the rights of the reader, even though her working conditions are deficient.

> I still use too much time in my work, anyway. They don't pay me by the hour …
> Nevertheless, I don't want to produce shoddy work, I don't want to compromise
> myself for the company. I am after my own inner satisfaction … And when things
> change, I have to find a balance again. I am trying to understand the company's
> point of view … But whose idea is this? [Laughs]. This is not in my power at all.
> (Kaija, freelancer)

As Sennett (2003) has pointed out, people have an inner need to be respected; they also generally prefer commitment over self-interest. This extract of Kaija's also clearly shows that agency is motivated by feelings.

> I would like commit myself to the company I work for. I would want to be proud
> of the company. The motivation for this is inside me. (Kaija, freelancer)

But then Kaija returns to the stark reality when she ponders on the different options available to translators. She concludes that there really are no options available, except to bite the bullet. Of course it would be easy to disagree with her and to say that there are always other options available. However, we must keep in mind that the negotiation position of an individual translator or even a group of individual translators is not symmetric to an internationally operating company.

> Many of my colleagues are thinking of quitting. But such movement hasn't really
> taken place. Should we protest together? We feel powerless … Maybe they just
> want us all to leave and quit in indignation. And then they could hire students
> on worse terms … Maybe they would be just happy if everyone left … Maybe
> it would not matter, because quality does not seem to matter … Should we just
> hang in there, so they could not get what they want. Maybe that is exactly what
> they want. It is really depressing; we don't even have the power to get even. (Kaija,
> freelancer)

Kaija concludes by hoping that these things will come into the open one day. And she has a point here, for transparency is the first step on the way to empowerment. By hoping for better times to come, she is trying to hold on to her fragile agency. And although she is not able to exercise her full agency in her work, she is certainly exercising agency by telling me about her experiences. In a way, she gets her revenge by exercising voice through me.

> The only hope is to get people talking about these things. We should talk about
> these things in public, not just among ourselves … People should know about the
> situation. (Kaija, freelancer)

Biting the bullet seems to be a temporary way of coping, for it does not offer long-term possibilities for the construction of one's agency, as we can see from the next section.

5.2.3   Rationalisation of 'unethical' behaviour

As previously mentioned, translators feel compelled to do their work well; they do not, generally, want to do their work half-heartedly. In the following extract, Kaija tells us why she has resorted to half-hearted ways of working. She is quite harsh on herself when she discusses why she resorted to 'unethical' behaviour. Just before this extract, she had told me about the results of the salary 'negotiations', where the translation company had decided to lower the translators' fees, hinting that it was the wish of their clients. Here we can see a case of **triple moral hazard**, as the translator finally gives up and succumbs to the requirements of the client company and her own principal. The party that is cheated by all three is the primary principal, i.e. the reader.

> I have been in this field for such a long time; it isn't that bad after all. Things go back to normal again … But it does affect your motivation, and your strategies become half-hearted … I still work there. It does get you though when you experience a situation where you feel so powerless. You notice it in the way your strategies change … My character is such that I would like to do my work well and, for instance, revise my work … But now you just duck out from certain things: why should I check this and that, they don't pay me for it … If the company doesn't care, why should I? I don't have a bad conscience about this any more; this feels like a logical thing to do. (Kaija, freelancer)

When I ask her whether professional growth means idealism giving way to practicality, i.e. that one learns how to navigate around the rocks, she agrees with me and then defends herself and her way of acting. (See also Miia's second comment in section 5.2.1.)

> It doesn't feel that bad anymore, it has become commonplace, routine … Maybe that's why I am actually quite satisfied, I don't feel like I have to give it my all … I don't feel that I am acting ethically incorrectly, although it would be better to act differently. I am not committing a crime here. I would like to do searches and the like, but there is nothing I can do … There is not enough time or energy; it is someone else's fault, not mine. (Kaija, freelancer)

Richard Sennett has written how the new form of global capitalism affects people's everyday lives and their work ethics negatively. The new capitalism and its institutions, globally operating companies, give no value to experience, craftsmanship or accomplishment. As Sennett points out, people, however, have a need to take pride in being good at something: they want to do their work well, and the new form of global capitalism damages such people (Sennett 2006). Certainly, from the above extract we can see how the mechanism Sennett has so accurately described has affected Kaija's work. The fact that Kaija is able to take a nonchalant attitude towards her work means that she is able to retain some kind of self-respect and sense of agency.

5.2.4   Exit, voice, and empowerment through conflict

Hirschman (1970) has pointed out that individuals can react to the perceived problems involved in their work by using different coping strategies. Basically, the choice can be described as one between "voice" and "exit". According to Hirschman, an organization can find out about its failure or quality problems in two ways: either the clients or employees leave it (exit) or they express their dissatisfaction directly (voice), or there could be a mixture of both. For production networks in the translation industry, this is a risky scenario, for, according to Hirschman, those who care most for the product and who would therefore be the most active and reliable agents of voice and change are for that very reason also likely to exit first if the situation deteriorates (1970: 47).

Maija had exercised voice in the translation company where she had worked for a number of years. She had been trying to negotiate better working conditions for herself and for her colleagues but had got into conflict with the director and owner of the translation company. Obviously, for speaking out and by not just silently accepting inadequate working conditions, the director wanted to outsource Maija and asked her to set up a company of her own. Maija did not succumb to this 'offer', but, instead, she contacted her union lawyer. Although she ended up leaving the company, she did so with relevant severance pay. In a way, Maija got her reward, or revenge, later when she heard from her ex-colleagues in the translation company that things had improved in their work place, at least partially thanks to Maija's efforts and

courage to speak out. At the time of her second interview, I asked Maija about the atmosphere in the job she currently had in the documentation industry.

> Well, here it was very different. Much better. The people were different, more empowered, and the salaries were much better. There was a collective labour agreement, all the processes were written out in files. There were clear rules, lots of information was available, the work community was nice. The people and superiors were nice, too. Although we have just gone through hard times in this work place, the experience was very different, from my point of view, compared to my job in the previous place. There were problems here as well, but the people were active; they spoke out. [Laughs] There was a completely different atmosphere here. This time, I didn't have to do much at all. Many of these people in this workplace had gone through several personnel negotiations already, and so they had learned to take care of themselves. (Maija, inhouse translator)

In short, Maija had been exceptionally brave in the translation company, where she had exercised voice first and then retained her agency by exiting. The experience was not easy for her though, for when she talked about it during her first interview, we had to interrupt the session because of her strong emotional response. We cannot but respect Maija, for she not only retained her self-confidence but she also held on to her loyalty towards the institution of translating without being able to trust her employer or her colleagues.

At the time of her first interview, Miia, too, had experienced a very dramatic sequence of events. She had "licked her wounds in silence", but after having heard a lecture I gave at my university, she felt a sense of relief and was compelled to tell her story, "to warn other students not to start working until they know more about working life". This I interpret as part of her growth from being a 'victim' to becoming an empowered agent. Her growth did not come easily, though, for it required her not just to recite her story and evaluate her feelings but to think constructively of the kind of person she is. A turning point for her was the moment when she called the company and refused to continue her stressful and poorly paid translation work. She finally understood that she had choices, and at that moment, she became empowered. Miia ends her first interview with these words:

> Everyone should be notified of these immoral work places … Students should be told in plain language how much money they could ask for their work, in euros. It does not serve anyone's interest if we translate for 5–10 € per page. Students

should be advised how they could look after their interests. (Miia, subcontractor)

In Miia's story we can detect a change from unreflected, habitual agency (as described by Simeoni in 1998) to planned, strategic action. Miia's experience affected the way she came to see her own agency. Moreover, based on her negative work experience, Miia now not only perceives the world differently but she has gained self-knowledge as well; she has become more serene and has a sense of direction:

I cannot blame my bad experiences for everything though. I just want to work for a certain number of hours per day. I am quite pedantic by nature. Subcontracting work is on your mind all the time … Being an entrepreneur is not everyone's cup of tea. I think I have come to realize that, as a person, I am not made for that kind of lonely entrepreneurial work. But yes, it is true that initially I have drifted away from translating due to this experience of mine. I am still sometimes quite suspicious – [sighs] – that someone is trying to take me for a ride. In fact, this [suspicious attitude] has shifted to other work-related things as well: my sense of justice is nowadays heightened. I immediately react at any sign of injustice. (Miia, subcontractor)

At the time of the second round of interviews, the situation is very different in the interviewees' lives, as half of the interviewees no longer work in the translation industry. Kari works in the software industry, Maija and Matti in the documentation industry, and Miia works in the public sector. Although the situation does not look too good from the point of view of the translation industry, the picture is more optimistic from the translators' point of view: all of these eight interviewed translators have a job; they are either self-employed or monthly paid, but none of them is unemployed. Translation companies currently have a lot of labour to choose from, particularly since almost anyone interested in translating can set up shop and start working, but what if there is a labour shortage of trained translators one day? A company with a dubious reputation is not an attractive one to work for, when there are other choices available. And these interviews attest that translators do indeed have various options of work. As Sennett (2006) reminds us, employees are no longer loyal in the market where outsourcing, personnel negotiations and firings are commonplace. And the more employees have the courage to leave unsatisfactory working conditions, the more the employers are forced to compete for manpower. In such a competive situation, work-

ing conditions, apart from wages and fees, can have a decisive role from the employee's or subcontractor's point of view.

The option of exit which has been resorted to by half of the interviewees shows that choice is not only possible but also necessary in the construction of agency, even though it might require leaving the profession that one was trained for. Although initially my aim was not to separate males from females in the interview data, I had to later change my mind on this issue, for gender does seem to have a bearing on the interviewee's tolerance of unsatisfactory working conditions and on the exercise of their agency by exit. All three males interviewed in this data have exercised their agency by exit. One of them, Jussi, still works in another translation production network, but even he exited a network as soon as he found it unsatisfactory. Kari and Matti were proactive, and they had a choice. Kari got a job in the software industry and Matti works in the documentation industry. Both of them had been offered a job in a translation company, but one of them exited because of poor salary, and the other chose to work in documentation because he considers it to be more creative: "there we can create texts from the beginning". Matti had actually done his training in a translation company and was happy with the work and also satisfied with the salary. Although he enjoyed his traineeship, he realised that the translator's role in a translation company is too narrow for his liking. That is why, when he graduated, he preferred to work as a technical writer instead, and he now works fulltime in a documentation company.

In short, the experiences of these translators show that the concept of agency is important in analysing employee wellbeing at the workplace. Clearly, an attractive workplace is one where true agency is possible and where translators, too, can retain their feelings of confidence, trust and loyalty.

6   Conclusion

This paper has looked at translators' agency in production networks through principal-agent relationships covered in agency theory. The weaknesses of agency theory have been complemented by Barbalet's thesis on the emotional nature of agency. The results of the analysis of the translator interviews sug-

gest that production networks manifest themselves as a challenging working environment for the translator, as pressures from the rest of the production network may impose certain behaviour on the translator, despite their desire to act ethically.

The interviews reveal dilemmas of collective action, with severe problems arising from asymmetric information and goal conflicts between principals and agents, such as moral hazard, double moral hazard, triple moral hazard, and asymmetry of commitment. The factors that discourage the emergence of true cooperation and the creation of quality outcomes (translations) according to this research are a) lack of mutual trust between principals and agents, b) lack of support for the translator, and c) lack of necessary information. Translation production networks, therefore, manifest themselves as an economic configuration with low social capital.[12]

As the primary principal in reality consists of multiple principals with divergent preferences, this fact can lead to such agent behaviour of the client company that it in actual fact pleases none of the principals (Lyne & Tierney 2003). It is not alleged that the present problematic state of affairs has been planned on purpose, for production networks do exhibit emergent complex behaviour with no central control (Mitchell 2006: 1195). This research, however, attests that such self-organisation in production networks does indeed express consequences that no one could have possibly intended. Nevertheless, these consequences have affected translators' agency, role and socio-economic status negatively. Furthermore, by degrading translators' working conditions, these emergent consequences have, according to the translators themselves, lowered translation quality, which has repercussions for the primary principals, ie. readers. Such deterioration of translation quality also refutes the claim that production networks and stringent competition promote economic efficiency.

Six translators have experienced conflictual situations in production networks. Five of them have also suffered from the consequences of asymmetric information and distrust, and have even occasionally undergone

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[12] Social capital refers to features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks, which facilitate coordinated action (Putnam 1994: 167). According to Sennett (2006: 63–64), a network has low social capital if those that are part of it feel that they are not being heard and appreciated or, worse still, if they feel that they are being used (see Abdallah & Koskinen 2007: 679–680).

quality-related ethical stress in their professional work. This stress is due to the fact that the translators would like to do their work well, i.e. to act in the best interests of the primary principal by fulfilling the requirements of their professional ethics, but they do not receive support from the intermediary principals in this task. Furthermore, the translator's position in the network is loaded with requirements of subservience, because the translator is the agent for two principals, the reader and the translation company, whose demands, goals and interests are presently not aligned. Therefore, the translator is obliged to solve alone the conflict between his/her own morality, his/her professional norms, the requirements of the working environment and common sense which tell him/her that "this is not my fault, they don't pay me by the hour, why should I worry about it as no one seems to care" (Kaija, freelancer). For that reason, some of the translators have felt the need to resort to moral hazard by giving tit for tat to the company that had demonstrated asymmetry of commitment in their relationship. As Hayes and Silver (2003) above point out, people do not want to become 'suckers'.

Some of the translators have also clearly become suspicious of the fact that the translation company acts in a dual role in production networks. If speed, flexibility and low price are the main criteria for translation quality, the question that comes to one's mind is **who** benefits from such a definition. At least some translators feel that the beneficiary is the translation company who, by lowering the translator's fee, gains a higher profit. Besides, if the translation company is not risk averse, it might even take the risk of lowering translation quality at the expense of the primary principal (see Abdallah 2008 for such an account). Translators, on the other hand, generally want to produce good work; they not only strive for this because of the primary principal and their professional ethics but because they also get inner satisfaction from doing their work well.

The conclusion of the analysis is that translators' agency and ability to act in the interests of the primary principal is presently highly restricted in translation production networks. Therefore, as long as such an economic configuration enjoys institutional and structural protection from national and international competition authorities and other political bodies, translation studies scholars, translator associations, translator educators, and translation companies should rise to the challenge of looking for ways to solve

moral hazard problems by creating incentives that prevent quality cheating. One solution could be the development of a quality classification system that coordinates the unaligned definitions of quality in the various principal-agent dyads (see Abdallah 2003, 2005). Creating such an information system can be considered an investment in trust formation in translation production networks, where lack of trust is currently widespread. Promoting translators' ability to participate as legitimate experts in translation production networks is an integral part of sustainable development in the translation industry and this should be in the interests of **all** the parties in these dyads.

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COMPARING TRANSLATION AND TECHNICAL COMMUNICATION: A HOLISTIC APPROACH

Tytti Suojanen

1 Introduction

In recent literature concerning translation it is not uncommon to find descriptions about the transformation or evolution of the contemporary language industry. It is commented that growing globalization, the development of information and communication technologies, and the dominance of technology along with technical texts in our lives have caused changes that affect the professional practice of translating (Gambier 2004, Snell-Hornby 2006). All this also poses new challenges to translation pedagogy in terms of both content and methodology (Koby & Baer 2003). For example, Ulrych (2005: 21) writes:

> (…) evidence from the working world indicates that professional translating entails multiple forms of communication once considered as lying on the periphery of what was considered "translation proper": activities such as technical writing, editing, language consultancy and screen translation, for instance, are becoming core components of a translator's day-to-day practice.

This article will address one of the interfaces indicated in the above quotation, namely that of translation and technical writing. With regard to terminology, however, the term *technical communication* will be used, because it better reflects the multidimensionality of the activities performed by technical communication professionals during the documentation process (see Grice 1997, also Schriver 1997: 6–11). The origins for this research interest lie in a project at the University of Tampere (1997) which studied the demand and interest in Finnish industry to set up technical communication training. Indeed, at the time there was a great demand for such training. In setting up

a program[1] under a department of translation studies, we had to consider many difficult questions. These were related to the definitions of technical communication, its relationship to translation studies, the competence requirements of technical communicators, and the way in which academia should respond to those requirements. These are still topical questions today. In the following, I will reflect on my experiences as head of the program and make observations on some of the viewpoints that have been put forward on the relationship between translation and technical communication.

2   Viewpoints

The viewpoints discussed below will be divided into three aspects: 1) the competence aspect 2) the professional aspect, and 3) the transdisciplinary aspect. I believe this division will allow us to consider the present transformations in the language industry vis-à-vis academia from a wide perspective, which can be fruitful in times of such transformations.

Ulrych (2005: 21–22) notes that the profound transformations in the profile of the translator are bringing the activity of translation closer to that of monolingual text production. Some authors would even say that translation activities can no longer be called translation but rather "reader-oriented writing" or "multilingual technical communication" (Kingscott 1996 in Ulrych 2005: 21), because the term "translation" cannot transmit the range of skills that are necessary. According to Ulrych, others see the new profile of translators and their activities as variants of interlingual communication in which the traditional concept of translation is one option. Gambier (2004: 64) also notes that the computerization of the translator's tools, the development of the market, and the diversification of demands have given rise to numerous new designations of "translation". He goes on to say that

> Nowadays, some professional sectors (trade, industry, IT) tend to favour terms like localisation, editing, multilingual documentation, technical writing, language mediation, versioning, etc., in order to prevent word-for-word processing as well as to underline the new multicoded character of documents (verbal, visual, sound, graphics, etc.).

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[1]   See http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/kielet/tekn/tc.html [5.8.2009].

These extracts contain the idea that what used to be "translation proper" has now changed to encompass activities such as technical communication. However, there is variation in the name designation to describe these new activities. The view that technical communication has become a part of translation (in the absence of a consensus about the name, translation still seems to be widely used) is very often the image also conveyed outside academia. For example, in the membership bulletin 'Kajawa' of the Finnish Union of Translators, a technical communicator was interviewed and the interview began: "The new professions of the translation industry – technical writing, documentation, localization, information design – began to grow ten years ago" (Koivisto 2007: 6, transl. T.S.). Thus, it appears that it is translation that has adopted these new fields. However, in my ten-year experience in technical communication the field does not seem to characterize itself through the concept of translation or declare itself as a part of translation. Quite the contrary, as Davis (2004: 80) writes:

> In the last 10 years, technical communication has begun to emerge from other disciplines as an identifiable field of its own. We are beginning to develop core knowledge that transcends our own disciplinary locales. Technical communication graduates entering the field are beginning to define themselves in new, more professional ways.

Technical communication is thus seen as a recent identifiable field of its own. As the simplified figure below shows, I see technical communication and translation on the same process continuum when a product is being documented:
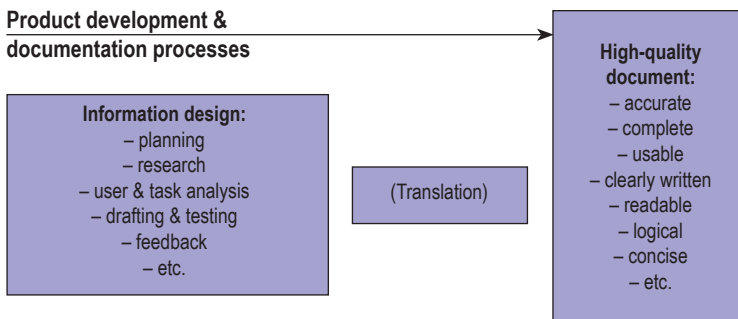
FIGURE 1. Documentation Production

In an ideal situation, the documentation process in which information is being designed starts when product development starts. Chisholm (1998: 303–304) calls this the collaborative team-based documentation cycle. The technical communicators work closely with the product development team and the documentation process runs along the project cycle from beginning to end. This improves communication between the technical communicators and product development, which is paramount for the production of high-quality documentation.

Once the documentation or parts of it are ready, enough time and resources must be allocated to the translation process if one is needed, thus the parenthesized "translation" (see also Suojanen 2008). Of course, translation is also a complicated process with its various phases, so here the parentheses simply indicate optionality. In the age of globalization vast amounts of documentation are translated, but considering the abundance of instructional material in our daily lives, this is not always the case. Furthermore, the documentation process has different concerns from the translation process due to its close link with product development. Poorly created documents also problematize translation (Bass 2006: 74), and if translation is required, it is equally important to take the upcoming translation process into account during the product development and documentation processes.

2.1   Competence aspect

To discuss the interface between translation and technical communication in more detail, competence offers one fruitful area of examination (see also Suojanen 2008). The issue of competence is one manifestation of professional agency, which has lately received increased attention. Competence lays the foundation for the practices and the role of translators and technical communicators. Risku (2004: 182) suggests the following basic similarity between translation and technical communication: they can both be described as co-operative text design, which means "the effective use of source texts and other knowledge resources to produce documents suitable for a specific target group, situation and environment". This definition is reported in Risku's case study, in which six translators who had become technical communicators were interviewed. Risku (2004: 193) concludes that the

background of her informants did not automatically make them technical communicators, but provided necessary core competences. These included carrying out terminological research, communicating with subject matter experts, analysing source material, getting acquainted with new subject matter, and mastering both a foreign language and one's mother tongue.

However, in Risku's (2004: 193) study the missing competencies proved to be specific to technical communication. These were information design, combining text and images, selecting appropriate media, common technical communication tools, usability testing and enhanced project management. Project management is, of course, also required in translation projects, but perhaps here reference is to managing the documentation process in alignment with the product development process, which poses a different set of challenges, as noted above.

Risku's (2004) informants see the technical communicator's role as different and more active. They are able to make design decisions and to be involved in the complete development process. Her informants describe that the main goal of translation is high linguistic quality, whereas in technical communication it is logical structure and content. Translator training did not prepare the informants to carry out task analysis or to select the media, content and structure of the text. As translators they had learned to concentrate on linguistic and terminological research. Risku's informants, who had changed careers, comment that there are many difficulties in starting out as a technical communicator: one has no experience of selecting content, developing overall concepts or plans, structuring complete texts or presenting information in small didactic bites. In other words, the informants felt that one is trained to think differently in translation studies.

My earlier observations on the competences of translators and technical communicators are along the same lines. A guiding principle is text production competence, in which the target audience and textual conventions are taken into account, and a knowledge of them is used to make terminological choices using the appropriate tools. However, there are also clear differences, such as the planning of documentation, information design, and the use of different tools. (Suojanen 2008.)

Another perspective, although not a recent one, is offered by Göpferich (1995: 1–2). She maintains that technical writing competence forms, or at

least should form, a part of translation competence. According to Göpferich, the professional profiles of technical translators and technical communicators have converged and the ability to produce "original" text does not constitute an additional qualification for translators. Both professions are determined by what the customer wishes: they cannot choose their contents, their text type, their style, etc. freely, but have to adhere to the customer's requirements, including the specified purpose and readership of the target text. To me, this portrays a somewhat narrow image of the technical communication field, because it only seems to pay attention to service-providing companies. However, we should also consider the in-house scenario, where the technical communicator bears great responsibility for the selection of content and text type as well as for determining the user group. This is also supported by the reports of Risku's informants above.

> Another parallel that Göpferich (1995: 2) finds is source text orientation: Technical translating is a type of technical writing in which the source text, apart from its language, meets the requirements to be fulfilled by the target text to such a degree that deviations from the source text can always be justified by the fact that these deviations are necessary to meet invariance requirements figuring higher in the hierarchy.

Göpferich (1995: 2) acknowledges that one might object that the translator transfers one source text into one target text, whereas the technical communicator has to resort to many source texts and source text fragments and "even has to find further sources of information". However, she notes that the translator might also need information not included in the source text and he must sometimes deviate from his source text to fulfil an invariance requirement. Thus Göpferich sees only gradual differences between translating and technical communication but no basic qualitative differences. I am inclined to think that the differences are greater. A technical communicator might not have a source text at all, and in fact, the whole concept of a source text is unknown in technical communication. What is more, finding further sources of information is the first step, so it is not a question of sometimes deviating from the source text, but quite a different scenario. First one analyses the user; then one gathers information from a variety sources, which include verbal, textual, visual and tangible object sources; and finally, one accommodates the information to fit the user profile during the authoring

process. Risku (2004: 187–188) also notes that there is no well-defined source text in technical communication. She goes on to say that where research in translation generally starts late, in technical communication preparatory research is required, and interviewing subject matter experts is an inherent part of this. Her informants also reported that the availability of a source text is a difference between translation and technical communication.

Schrijver and Van Vaerenbergh (2008) discuss the similarities and differences between translation and technical communication based on the comparisons of Schubert and Göpferich, and they offer a revised version of their comparisons. Schrijver and Van Vaerenbergh find constitutive or gradual differences in the areas of interlingualism, interculturalism, source documentation, information search, and text design. They aptly note that the outcome of such comparisons is dependent on the overall objective: the focus can be on the current work situation or on the desired professional profile. In this article, this setup is turned around: a holistic consideration is paramount when one seeks to compare these two fields of study.

Based on the discussion above we find both similarities and differences between the competences of translators and technical communicators. Their agency is thus manifested in a different way. It seems that the limits of agency in terms of design decisions, for example, are wider in technical communication than in translation. As there is a lack of up-to-date empirical research concerning the issue of agency of these two professional groups, we do not have enough evidence to claim that the competences of translators also cover the competences required in the profession of the technical communicator. A call for further evidence is also prompted by Harju (2008), who examined the way in which the translator can affect the usability of documentation. She found that the similarities between the activities of the translator and of the technical communicator are not as great as is generally presented in literature.

2.2   Professional aspect

Risku's point presented above is convincing, and it is backed with authentic interview material from professionals with experience in both translation and technical communication. However, examining similarities and differ-

ences on a micro level only is not sufficient. As noted above, when we consider the boundaries of translation and its relationship to a more recent professional field such as technical communication, it is important to adopt a holistic view. Thus we come to the professional, or sociological, aspect. This is in accordance with the current shift in translation studies from textual products toward translation as a social, cultural and political act connected to local and global relations of power and control (Cronin 2003, Inghilleri 2005: 125). It is also linked to some of the new research paths in translation studies with a strong sociological aspect, such as production networks (see, e.g., Abdallah & Koskinen 2007). So in addition to looking for similarities and differences from the viewpoints of process (the translation and writing processes) or product (a translation, an original), we also need a more sociological approach. Parallel to the sociology of translation, we could talk about the sociology of technical communication.

The sociology of technical communication entails taking into consideration the realities of working life along with issues such as professionalization and professional identity. As technical communication is a relatively new profession in countries such as Finland, it has been and continues to be important for technical communicators to build their own profile and professional identity. This is reflected in the creation of their own society in 1997 (Finnish Technical Communications Society, FTCS[2]) and networking with other professionals around the world, among others. Finnish technical communication professionals typically have a background in the humanities, usually in English translation or philology, as there are no degree programs in technical communication unlike there are internationally (Suojanen 2000: 100–101, FTCS 2003). According to the latest FTCS salary survey (FTCS 2007), Finnish technical communicators are typically women, they have been working in the field under 10 ten years, and they work for a service-providing company. It can also be noted that in the survey, 66% of the respondents reported technical writing and documentation as their main responsibility, while 1% reported translation as their main task. Conversely, Schrijver and Van Vaerenbergh (2008: 209) argue that technical writing is one of the services provided by translators in accordance with the European Quality Standard for Translation Services.

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[2]   See http://www.stvy.fi/en [13.1.2009].

It seems reasonable to assume that technical communicators' search for a distinct professional identity has to do with differences in the tasks and the fundamental professional profile of translators and technical communicators. This argument is supported by Korhonen's (2007) recent findings on Finnish technical communicators' professional identity. The number of informants who replied to her survey was 96, which is a fair representation of the field in Finland (accounting for approximately 1/3 of FTCS members). In Korhonen's study a general complaint among the informants was that the field does not get enough respect from the outside, that it is not well known in Finnish society, and that it is often mistaken as a subsection of the translation field. To me, this final item seems to suggest that technical communication professionals find the current situation skewed and that they wish to be recognized as a professional group in its own right. In Baker's (2006: 28–32) terms, technical communicators have their own ontological narratives, which reflect individuals' relation to the world. If technical communication professionals seek more visibility and a distinction of their professional activities from translation, this should also be taken into account in educational institutions. Training and research should echo changes in working life and support the emergence and development of new professional activities, at the same time developing and maintaining research in a new field.

2.3   Transdisciplinary aspect

The above image that technical communication is a part of translation and forms a part of translation competence presents a further problem, if we move to yet another aspect, the transdisciplinary aspect. Internationally, there is a wide variety of educational solutions in the field of technical communication. Programs are hosted by humanities' faculties and their English or rhetoric departments as well as engineering faculties in their different departments, to name but a few solutions[3]. In Finland, for example, programs are found under English; languages and translation studies; and communication studies in three different universities. The core competences required in the field of technical communication form the basis in all the programs,

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[3]   We find the same pattern in translation, too: structures and program design vary across educational institutions in different countries.

but there is variation in the emphasis given to different subfields.

So we have different territories and disciplines who all engage in technical communication training and research, and each of them approaches a new field from its own starting point (see also Abdallah et al. 2005: 79–80). At least two observations can be made about this situation. First, it enhances the multidisciplinary nature of technical communication (see Coney 1997) and prompts rich research, which incorporates language studies, information design, usability, rhetoric and visual design, to name but a few. Second, the placing of technical communication under translation might not be quite an accurate representation of reality. This is because the disciplinary and professional role of technical communication is at the same time being strongly advocated within the field (see Tebeaux 2004, Davis 2004). We could again make use of Baker's (2006: 33–44) discussion of narratives: researchers and educational institutions create, elaborate and circulate public and disciplinary narratives, which provide concepts and explanations about fields of study. Here it would seem that there are competing narratives about technical communication not only among different disciplines, but also with regard to ontological narratives mentioned above. In creating these public and disciplinary narratives, it is relevant to take into consideration, as Baker (2006: 46) notes, that narratives do not exist in a vacuum, but they should be assessed in relation to one another in a broader context. Just as it is important to treat translation in connection with the industrial, technological and economic changes in society (Cronin 2003: 23, 112–113), it is equally important in technical communication.

3   The stretching of boundaries

The above-mentioned observations have been intended as fruit for thought when considering the relationship between translation and technical communication. Whichever view concerning this relationship we support, it is clear that the two fields are uniquely intertwined, as we saw above. And as Risku (2004: 181) notes, many translators succeed in migrating to technical communication because of their background. There is little of this type of empirical study thus far, and we need more research on the competences

of technical communication professionals with varying backgrounds. For example, one of Risku's (2004: 186) informants notes that people with other than a translation background lack the experience of communicating with subject matter experts. Discussing these types of interfaces and determining the borders of different fields and disciplines is relevant because of the theoretical implications, but also because of practical educational considerations.

Baker (2006: 3) notes that narratives are open to change. At this point in time the narratives related to translation and technical communication along with competencies therein are in a state of flux. The agency of translators and technical communicators shares many features, but there are also noteworthy differences when we adopt a holistic view, which I have tried to demonstrate in this article. Both fields are characterized by complexity and quick changes, thus making the rich expertise of professionals a welcomed asset. It is interesting that the professions have another common element, namely, they seem to share a dissatisfaction of their roles. It is argued that technical communicators should assume the role of information creators and designers, who are equals with engineers and others (Davis 2004: 81). Technical communicators should also contribute more to product development (Hart-Davidson 2001). Similarly, translators should be more active in society at large (Cronin 2003: 67). Future developments in the language industry will show whether we will see a convergence of tasks and profiles of these two professional groups (see also Schrijver & Van Vaerenbergh 2008: 225). Boundaries will undoubtedly keep stretching, new comparisons will be made, and hybrid programs will be developed. When changes like these occur, it is important to keep in mind the big picture.

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RECONSTRUCTING A TRANSLATORS' NETWORK AND THEIR NARRATIVE AGENDA

JOHANNES AND RITA ÖHQUIST AS MEDIATORS BETWEEN FINLAND AND GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Pekka Kujamäki

1   Introduction

It is certainly a platitude to suggest as a point of departure that translators, as well as publishers, need information on texts in which it is worth investing time and money. Platitudinous suggestions, however, may give rise to questions that have not been asked so frequently in the context of translation and may also make us see people that work for and live from the seemingly unproblematic cultural exchange through translation. In situations where publishers' own connections to other literary markets and to copyright holders are inadequate, or the source literature is hardly a concept on the target side, there is a need for mediators who can fill in the gaps and bring both sides and their interests closer to each other. An interesting case in point is the mediating practice conducted by Johannes Öhquist between Finland and Germany in the first half of the 20th century. In 1928, as Finland joined the Bern Convention and started to pay attention to questions of copyright, Finnish publishers needed agents like Öhquist, who had a network of connections to both German publishing houses and authors. But Öhquist's contribution was, quite obviously, equally vital on the German side. The German market was, in response to political events in Finland (Finland's declaration of independence and the Finnish civil war, in which German soldiers were involved), open to cultural exchange with Finland but, at the same time, relatively ignorant of the Finnish culture.

Drawing on the unpublished archives of Johannes Öhquist and his wife Rita Öhquist as well as on Johannes Öhquist's cultural-political publications,

the following pages give an overview of the cultural and political engagement of the Öhquist couple and suggest a reconstruction of the network of their intercultural connections. In order to avoid the pitfall of simplifying their practice as being at the mechanical service of publishers, translators or original authors only, the paper looks at the intercultural and ideological space the Öhquist couple lived in and the active role they decided to play as intermediaries (cf. Pym 2000: 2). Of interest is, therefore, their narrative agenda, the storyline guiding their practice that started as a mission for the Finnish nation and ended more or less as an agency for Hitler's Germany.

2   A translation scholar finds a network

Before reconstructed networks there was a pile of descriptions on my desk. I was studying the German translation history of Aleksis Kivi's novel 'Seitsemän veljestä' ('Seven Brothers', 1870). It is not only the first novel ever written in Finnish and the most praised and canonized national novel in Finland, but also – next to 'Kalevala' – the novel with the widest translational reception abroad. My descriptive research on the German comet's tail[1] of Kivi's novel, i.e. eight German translations by six translators, had reached a point, at which I was able to sketch the individual translation profiles, say something on their ways of "constructing representations of foreign cultures" (Venuti 1995) and formulate hypotheses about the functions that the novel had possessed in the literary exchange between Germany and Finland during the last century (see Kujamäki 1998, 2001). My approach was descriptive and historical, guided indeed by "an active interest in how translations and ideas about translations relate to their socio-cultural environment" (Hermans 1997: 6). I was interested in understanding why this particular novel was translated in the first place and then retranslated so many times, why German translators had translated the text the way they had and why they had preferred certain translation strategies to others. Methodologically

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[1]   The metaphorical concept 'comet's tail', coined by Armin Paul Frank and Team (1986: 348) for a wide translational reception of one source text in the target culture, is – together with the descriptive research on German translation history in general – unfortunately rather unknown in the translation studies conducted outside Germany. (See also Frank & Kittel 2004.)

these questions meant "contextualisation" (Hermans 1991: 158, Toury 1995: 174) of translations into the socio-cultural situation that had initiated them.

In this search for statements of poetic and ideological constraints, the name Öhquist appeared repeatedly in the context of those German 'Seven Brothers' that were published in the first half of the 20th century. **Rita Öhquist** had provided three different German versions of the Finnish novel – one during the World War II (1942), one immediately after the war (1947) and one 20 years after her first version (1962) – and was therefore as the object of inquiry in the focus of my attention from the very beginning. Later on, in the process of contextualisation, it became evident that Rita Öhquist's husband **Johannes Wilhelm Öhquist** had been involved in several translation projects – be it through a preface for one of Rita Öhquist's translations or, already twenty years earlier, as a spokesman for Heinrich Minden, the first German publisher of Aleksis Kivi's novel. In the 1920s Heinrich Minden had created a modest Finnish library in order to make Finnish literature better known in Germany and to gain commercial visibility for his company. However, using his own resources Minden and his Finnish library never generated enough publicity and the project became a financial failure. In order to get support from Finland – that was, indeed, available, as the Finnish government had appropriated funds for the translation and publication of Finnish literature in Europe – and more publicity on the German literature market, Heinrich Minden turned on several occasions to Johannes Öhquist and asked him to use his "sources" for the benefit of his Finland-project. Öhquist was happy to oblige and published in Germany several reviews of Minden's Finnish material in Germany, which, however, couldn't save Minden from the coming commercial disappointments. (Kujamäki 1998: 109–115.)

The Minden-case is rather well documented in Öhquist's considerable correspondence with more than 130 German, several Scandinavian and Russian as well as a dozen Finnish publishing houses. For the sake of control over my own project I tried – still 13 years ago – to concentrate on correspondence that could be relevant in the contextualisation of the German translations of 'Seven Brothers'. However, only a few weeks stay in the library of the University of Helsinki sufficed to create an image of the substantial cultural and political engagement of the Öhquist family. This observation was supported by other research on the history of Finnish literature in Ger-

many (see e.g. Günzel 1994, 1997, Hein 1984, Kelletat 1981, Menger 1994, Tarkka 1981). It became obvious that Rita and Johannes Öhquist formed an important relay point for cultural-political exchanges between Finland and Germany. In adherence to the concepts of the 1990s I described their roles and practices in terms of "patrons" and "patronage" (Lefevere 1992) and the constraints of these practices in terms of "norms" (Toury 1995), but realised – at the same time – that an intercultural network of publishers, newpapers, periodicals, celebrities, writers and translators with negotiations for "translational regimes" (Pym 1993, 1998: 126) began to take shape around Öhquists' agency. The Öhquists were quite obviously working in an "interculture" (cf. Pym 1998: 177, 2000: 4–5), at the crossroads of beliefs and practices from both German and Finnish cultures. In other words, they had the relevant knowledge of their working cultures as well as the professional status that could be engaged in the transfer of cultural products and ideas across borders. Later, this agency has provided an interesting "gateway" – as Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar (2007) would call it – for entering the manifold networks of Finnish-German relations (cf. Kujamäki 2006, 2007) and the narratives (Baker 2006) they were supporting and were supported by.

In the following account, an attempt is made to reconstruct the network around Öhquists' agency and to describe their mediation processes, especially between the two World Wars. The narratives or stories that the Öhquist couple subscribed to or that were, at least partly, constructed by them, are described in a way they are emerging in the still ongoing analysis of the agency adopted by these mediators.

The way I use the concept of "narrative" draws on two sources, namely on Mona Baker's (2006) analysis of how translators and interpreters participate in both disseminating and resisting contemporary narratives, and on Steph Lawler's (2008) view of narratives as socially constrained means for constructing identities.

In Baker's study narratives constitute the intellectual and moral framework for violent conflicts in which translators and interpreters are positioned. For Baker narratives are "public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour" (Baker 2006: 19). In the way narratives "systematize experience by ordering events to each other – temporally, spatially, socially" (ibid. 10) they make sense of the world and of our relationship to

it and to other people. Drawing on Somers (1992, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994), Baker divides narratives into four types that cover the social functions and political weight of narrativity. First, ontological narratives are personal stories that define our place in the world and our own biography (Baker 2006: 28). Second, these personal and individual narratives refer to and are shaped by collective or public narratives that are "stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual" (ibid. 33). Examples of such formations are religious and educational institutions, the family, literature and the nation. It is important to bear in mind that personal ontological narratives would not make sense if they did not accord to the broader collective stories. Third, the type of conceptual narratives includes stories and explanations that scholars of a specific field develop "to themselves and others about their object inquiry" (ibid. 39, e.g. "translation is manipulation"). Finally, the concept of meta-narratives refers to a category of public narratives "in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history" (ibid. 44) and which typically have a long tradition and are geographically widely distributed. Examples include the public narratives of 'the Cold War', 'Progress' or 'The War on Terror'.

Steph Lawler applies a social view of narrativity similar to Baker, but her focus is on the sociological question of how "identities are 'made up' through making a *story* out of a *life*" (Lawler 2008: 11, her emphasis). Drawing on Ricoeur (1991), Lawler regards narrative as "a means to understand identity in its sociality, since narrative identity places us within a complex web of relationships and, ultimately, confounds the notion of atomized individual" (Lawler 2008: 13). By individuals she seems to refer to characters as main actors of the constructed story that can be both human (like 'persons') and non-human (such as 'nations'). Their life stories are constantly produced and reproduced on the basis of memories and interpretations of the past. In this way Lawler's attention covers mainly biographical narratives of an individual ('ontological narratives' in Baker's terms) or of a collective ('public narratives' in Baker's typology).

In what follows, the above ideas – namely that a narrative is a form of constructing reality and that narratives are representations of identity – come together in the way that the analytical focus is on the public narratives that are present in Johannes Öhquist's writings as well as in Rita Öhquists

translation practice. Very broadly speaking the ideas can be put under the umbrella category of constructing national identities or describing cross-cultural relationships as a part of the national identity.

But who were these people anyway? What did these people do for living? How did this network come into being? Where did the narratives come from?

3   Johannes Öhquist's political activism creates a network

Johannes Wilhelm Öhquist was born on December 6th 1861 in Slavanka, close to St. Petersburg in Russia. After his studies in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Helsinki he worked 1888–1905 in the archives of the Russian governor general's office in Helsinki. In 1895 he also stepped into the vacancy of German lecturer in the University of Helsinki. From 1918 to his retirement in 1927 he worked as press attaché of the Finnish legation in Berlin. In these capacities Öhquist influenced the development of Finnish-German political and cultural relationships in various ways till his death in 1949. (Menger 1994, 1996, Kohvakka 2003.)

It was especially in the so called second period of Russification (from 1908) that Johannes Öhquist played a major role in informing German-speaking countries on the political circumstances in the Grand Duchy of Finland and in drawing attention to Finns' struggle for autonomy and independence under the Russian yoke. For Öhquist, the Finnish nation was the northern watchtower of the western cultural civilization, and his central patriotic mission was to attract German attention to Finland's art, literature and educational system. His first contacts to important German newspapers were created at that time with several essays on contemporary Finnish topics. (Menger 1994: 85.)

During the World War I Johannes Öhquist lived in Berlin and Vienna, where he belonged to the group of exiled activists that systematically drove the political (and ideological) turning of Finland to Germany and organised the military training of Finnish volunteer *Jaegers* in Germany (Menger 1994: 86). These troops together with German soldiers were to take an important role in the Civil War in the newly established Finnish state in 1917–1918. The

ideological ground for narratives associated with concepts like "brothers in arms" ("Waffenbrüderschaft"), "Finnish-German affinity" ("Finnisch-Deutsche Wesensverwandschaft") or "Finnish friendship for Germany" was created exactly then, and these concepts were present in all his mediation practices till his death.

Johannes Öhquist's main contribution to the development of Finnish-German relationships, however, constituted of his writings on Finnish politics, geography, history, and culture, with which he influenced like no other – as Manfred Menger (1994: 86) assumes – the image of Finland in Germany over several decades. During the Weimar Republic, there was hardly a German publication on Finnish history, contemporary politics or Finnish art and literature, in which Johannes Öhquist was not involved– as an editor, writer or as a translator. It is interesting that many of his books on Finnish art or political history were later published in Finland as well; an observation that shows how little material Finland had to offer for interested readers abroad or at home. The Finnish translations were often provided by Helmi Setälä (cf. Menger 2002, Kohvakka 2003).

As a poet and as a translator of Finnish literature Johannes Öhquist had his debut as early as in 1894, and he concentrated ever since on translation of Finnish poetry. A volume of his original poetry, titled as 'Der Pilger', came out in 1908. His best-known achievement in this field was the collection 'Aus der Versdichtung Finnlands' ('Poetry from Finland'), published in 1918, which he edited and for which he himself provided most of the translations. To my knowledge, his last published translation came out in 1937. It was a collection of poems by V. A. Koskenniemi, writer, professor for literature and the leading pro German personality in Finland.[2]

In addition, Johannes Öhquist also published three novels, among them 'Der kristallene Turm' (1928), the "first great Finland novel" in Germany, as advertised by the publisher Carl Reissner in Dresden. In this historical novel the two standard narratives on Öhquist's agenda, namely the narratives of

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[2]   Milestones according to Kunze (1982): Karl August Tavaststjerna (1894, in *Aus dem Land der tausend Seen*); Zacharias Topelius (1894, Einleitende Worte. Das Land. Das Volk. in *Finnland im 19ten Jahrhundert*); *Aus der Versdichtung Finnlands* (1918, Hrsg. von J.W.Ö.; darin seine Übersetzungen von Larin-Kyösti; Eino Leino; A. Oksanen = August Ahlqvist; L. Onerva; Hjalmar Procopé; Johan Ludvig Runeberg; Lars Jacob Stenbäck; ein Auszug aus Kalevala); Bertel Gripenberg (1918); V. A. Koskenniemi (1937).

the raising national identity and of Finns' continuous struggle for independence from Russia got it's most explicit poetic expression, a clear literary counterpart for his non-fictional works on Finnish political history such as 'Das politische Leben Finnlands' (1916) or 'Leijonalippu' and 'Das Löwenbanner' (1922 and 1923 respectively). One excerpt will suffice here:

> Und siehe da – aus einem Bodenfenster an der hohen Straßenfront des „Atenäums" hatten unsichtbare Hände zwei lange Fahnenstangen hinausgeschoben, und von diesen entfalteten sich zwei gewaltige rote Fahnentücher mit einem goldenen Löwen in der Mitte: das Löwenbanner Finnlands, das Symbol seiner Freiheit, wallte langsam und majestätisch in dem schwachen Oktoberwinde über den Köpfen der staunenden Volksmenge. Ein überwältigender Jubel erfaßte die Massen. Mützen und Hüte flogen in die Luft, und ein tosendes Geschrei machte den Äther erzittern. Und plötzlich verstummte der Sturm. Irgendwo war von kräftigen Kehlen die Volkshymne angestimmt worden. Der Funke zündete und flog über die Menge, die Häupter entblößten sich, und nach wenigen Augenblicken brauste der Gesang tausendstimmig über den winterlich trüben, unruhigen Platz. (Johannes Öhquist, ‚Der kristallene Turm', 1928: 440.)

However, the novel is not only an example of narratives maintained and circulated in Johannes Öhquist's writings but it also shows how Öhquist recognised the expectations of the German literary market and the functions of translated literature in it. His correspondence with Carl Reissner in Dresden and more than twenty other German publishers prior to the publishing discloses the 'Chrystal Tower' as an interesting case of pseudotranslation (cf. Toury 1995: 45) that is useful in analysing the target-cultural framework of Öhquist's mediation work.[3] Johannes Öhquist had started to advertise the novel already in 1926. However, he introduced himself not as its author, but as its translator and as the agent of Kalle Karhunkoski, the supposed Finnish original author, often in the following terms:

> Als eingeschriebenes Postpaket übersende ich Ihnen heute das Manuskript eines Romans, an dem augenblicklich ein finnischer Dichter arbeitet: „Der kristallene Turm" von Kalle Karhunkoski. Der Dichter befindet sich gegenwärtig im hohen Norden, aber sobald das Original fortschreitet, wird Ihnen auch der deutsche Text zugänglich gemacht. Ich schicke Ihnen das, was bisher fertig, bereits jetzt, damit Sie Zeit haben, sich über die Annahme zu entscheiden. Um Ihnen die Ent-

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[3]　The correspondence is available in the unpublished archives of Johannes Öhquist held in the library of University of Helsinki, Collection 269.

scheidung zu erleichtern, füge ich nach Angaben des Dichters eine Planskizze über Fortsetzung und Schluß des Romans dem Manuskript bei. (Johannes Öhquist to the agency H. Haessel of Leipzig, July 6 1926.)

[In a separate package I am sending you the manuscript of a novel on which a Finnish poet is currently working: *Der kristallene Turm* by Kalle Karhunkoski. The poet is presently in the North, but the German text will be made available to you as the original advances. I am sending you what has been done so far, so that you can decide on the project. To help you with the decision I also enclose a sketch of the novel's development and conclusion, based on the poet's indications. (Translation by Anthony Pym in Kujamäki 2006: 50.)]

If the publisher showed any interest, Öhquist usually confessed in his following letters that the novel is not a translation but was written in German by a Finn who masters German as a mother tongue, and he finally revealed the true identity behind Kalle Karhunkoski. His explanation for the use of a pseudonym was that his name was in Finland as well as in Germany so well-known as an author of other than fictional literature that he was afraid that the novel would not be received without certain unfavourable reservations.[4] This explanation is, however, only one part of the picture. As an agent in the interculture between Germany and Finland, Öhquist was well aware of the fact that, at least for the time being, the German market was open for Nordic and especially Finnish literature. His reasoning must have been that it was easier for a translation from Finland than for a piece of literature originally written by yet another German author to find a publisher on the already competed German market. This assumption gets support from Öhquist himself, who described the situation later in 1936 in one his unpublished poems in the following words:

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[4]   See e.g. Johannes Öhquist to the publishing house Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt in Hamburg, July 24, 1927.

In Deutschland ist das Dichten	[In Germany, living as a writer
Nur unter Schwierigkeiten zu verrichten.	is a problematic task.
Man muß Hafer kauen	You have to eat oat
Und Rossäpfel verdauen	and digest horse droppings
Dann wird man gedruckt.	if you want to get printed.
Oder man muß finnisch oder chinesisch schreiben	Or you have to write in Finnish or in Chinese
Und es in Übersetzungen vertreiben.	and market it in translations.
Man kann es auch deutsch verfassen	You could write in German, as well
Und die Verleger in dem Glauben lassen,	and make the publisher believe
Die Eier seine im Ausland gelegt,	that the eggs are laid abroad,
Dann werden sie mit Begeisterung verlegt.	and they will be enthusiastically published.]
(„In Stoss-Seufzer", 1936; as quoted in Menger 1996)	(Transl. P.K.)

To sum up: As a writer of political essays, school material, encyclopedic publications, translations, poetry and novels Öhquist constructed a contact network which expanded during his years in the Finnish legation in Berlin (see Picture 1). Already as a press attaché he used this network to support Finnish-German cultural exchange (Menger 1994: 86) and to forward symbols and values that were powerful in the development of the national identity in contrast to Russia and in adherence to Western Europe, especially Germany. However, this practice got new dimensions as well as new narrative contents in the end of 1920s, after Johannes Öhquist's retirement.

By that time, Rita Öhquist (nee Winter), Johannes Öhquist's third wife, had already joined the network and started to build a profile as translator of literary prose into German.

Rita Öhquist was born on September 22nd, 1884 in Schleswig-Holstein in Germany. After her teacher education she got married to German writer Ernst Clausen, who died in 1912. In her second marriage to Johannes Öhquist (since 1917) she learned Finnish and Swedish and in 1925 she started to translate Finnish and Swedish prose into German. She became an important mediator of Finnish prose (originally written by authors like Zacharias Topelius, Frans Emil Sillanpää, Aleksis Kivi and Maila Talvio)[5] especially in the Third Reich, but she also translated Finnish and Swedish research articles,

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[5]   Milestones according to Kunze: Zacharias Topelius (1925, aus dem Schwedischen); Aino Kallas (1929); F. E. Sillanpää (1932); Maila Talvio (1937); V. A. Koskenniemi (1938); Unto Seppänen (1938); Eero Niilo Manninen (1942); Lauri Haarla (1940); Aleksis Kivi. (1942/1947/1962); Mika Waltari (1944); Annikki Setälä (1951); Kurt Matti Wallenius (1954); Auli Konttinen (1957); Göran Stenius (1957); Aapeli (1961).

dissertations and other scientific publications as well as children's literature. Furthermore, she took actively part into diverse mediation practices of her husband and published reviews of Finnish literature in Germany, of German literature in Finland, and articles on contemporary issues in both countries. She also worked as an informant for Finnish and German publishers.

4   The Öhquist couple as literary agents

A particularly interesting part of Öhquists' engagement, as already implied above with a couple of examples, was the correspondence that they maintained with German, Scandinavian and Finnish publishers. In the 1920s and 1930s, with Öhquists' help, German publishing houses not only sought ways in which German literature could enter Finland but also looked for Finnish and Skandinavian authors that might be of interest in the German market. According to the archived correspondence, Johannes and Rita Öhquist had contacts to more than 130 German publishers. At the same time in Finland, Finnish publishing houses such as Otava and Werner Söderström Publishing Company (WSOY) were constructing connections to German publishers, partly with the help of the Öhquist couple.

Öhquists' help seems to have been vital on both sides of the network, but for slightly different reasons. In the first decade of its independence, Finland had become, at least for a short period, an interesting source culture on the German literary market, but given that Finnish literature was relatively unknown at that time, publishers were clearly dependent on literary mediators. Indeed, the first German-language literary history of Finland, by Hans Grellmann, was not published until 1932. Till then, information on Finnish or Swedish literature in Finland was available in fragments hidden in diverse general encyclopedic presentations of Finland, many of them produced by Johannes Öhquist.[6]

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[6]   These fragments include: a four-page introduction to Finnish folklore in 'Aus der Versdichtung Finnlands' by J. Öhquist (1918), a 14-page introduction to Swedish and Finnish literature in 'Finnland' by J. Öhquist (1919), a one-page summary in 'Finnland. Eine kurze Übersicht' by J. Öhquist (1924) and – finally – an introduction to history and "pantheon" of Finland's literature in 'Finnland: Land und Volk – Geschichte – Politik – Kultur' by J. Öhquist (1928).

In Finland, especially young Finnish-speaking publishers developed their own contacts to European publishing houses only slowly and were therefore equally dependent on people like Johannes Öhquist, who had practiced between several literary markets already for decades. For Finns, Öhquists' help became even more important after 1928, as Finland finally joined the international Bern Convention (officially: 'International Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works') which granted the foreign author the same copyrights in Finland as the Finnish regulations grant for its own authors and which covers translations, as well. By then, Finland had become a notorious "wild west" for literary gold diggers, where questions of copyright were rarely paid attention to (see Hellemann 2007).

Therefore, a good part of this mediation consisted of mediating copyrights and giving expert opinions on new or contemporary works, either at the request of publishers' readers or on their own initiative. Johannes Öhquist's comments appeared later as reviews in German or Finnish newspapers or journals, for which Öhquist wrote reports on European, Russian and American literature as well as on political and economic issues in Finland and Russia. Öhquist also mediated original German-language books to Finland. Between the World Wars, German was still widely studied as the first foreign language as well as read among the educated Finns, and in the first half of the 20th century, as the Finnish market was still developing, German originals as well as German or Swedish translations of other world literature provided a valuable connection to the literatures of other countries. Through German or Swedish translations Finnish readers became acquainted with several modern European and American authors (e.g. André Gide, Aldous Huxley, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf) long before they got translated into Finnish after the Second World War. In many cases these artists were first introduced in Finnish newspapers by Johannes Öhquist (see Kujamäki 2007).

In the 1920s, Johannes Öhquist paid special attention to the publishing house S. Fischer Verlag in Berlin and to its popular authors Gerhardt Hauptmann, Thomas Mann and Jakob Wassermann, of whom Öhquist published several reviews both in Finland and in Germany. The first German author mentioned in the correspondence with S. Fischer was, however, Paul Schlesinger. In 1922, commissioned by the Finnish publishing house

Otava as well as by the Swedish-speaking publisher Schildt, both in Helsinki, Öhquist negotiated the translation rights into Finnish and Swedish for Schlesinger's novel 'Stefan und Else Hirrlinger'. A couple of years later, Gerhardt Hauptmann's 'Insel der großen Mutter' (1924) was published in Germany, and Öhquist asked for a copy in order to review it for a Finnish newspaper. A German version of this review was completed, but it is uncertain whether a Finnish version ever saw daylight. It is certain, however, that Öhquist mediated rights for Otava and Schildt to publish Hauptmann's novels as well as other novels published by S. Fischer – such as Jakob Wassermann's 'Faber. Oder die verlorenen Jahre' (1924) and Thomas Mann's 'Der Zauberberg' (1924). Because of gaps in Öhquist's archived correspondence it is out of our knowledge why neither Otava nor Schildt published Mann's famous novel. Nevertheless, two explanations seem plausible: the publishers were either not interested or the rights were simply too expensive for them. Gerhardt Hauptmann, the Nobel Prize winner from 1912 mentioned above, was rejected on the Finnish side because of the first reason, and Jakob Wassermann was turned down because of the latter: the thousand Goldmarks demanded by S. Fischer was simply too much for Otava.

After that Öhquist tried to recommend the authors to other Finnish publishing houses, but seems to have given up around 1925 as he reports to Berlin that he has not been able to find a Finnish publisher for Hauptmann's novel. Wassermann's subsequent novel 'Laudin und die Seinen' (1925) suffered a similar fate, as it was rejected by both WSOY and Otava. WSOY wrote to Öhquist: "It is highly unlikely that this author could become popular in Finland – at least not among the Finnish-speaking readers."[7] Their view changed a couple of years later, as WSOY published a Finnish translation of Wassermann's novel 'Der Fall Maurizius' ('The Maurizius Case', 1928) in 1932. In contrast, Thomas Mann's 'Zauberberg', for which Öhquist asked for the Swedish-language translation rights directly from the author himself as early as in 1920, as the novel was still under construction, waited for its Finnish translation till 1957.

Not all mediation work was, of course, this unsuccessful. After all, in 1930 Otava rewarded its agent for his valuable work with a company medal.

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[7] Werner Söderström Publishing Company, Helsinki to Johannes Öhquist, November 9 1925, transl. P.K.

The above brief description nevertheless implies a somewhat unfavourable proportion of accepted to rejected novels in Finland. One of the obvious explanations for this is that Johannes Öhquist, supposedly working in an interculture, was too closely connected to the German culture. One of the basic points of departure in his intermediary work was his profound knowledge of German literature as well as his personal conception of valuable German literature, a conception that was based on a certain German-side canon and as such was not so easily adjustable to the general poetic and ideological expectations prevailing among the Finnish publishers. One example of this is the fact that Öhquist did not believe in the commercial potential of Erich Maria Remarque's novel 'Im Westen nichts Neues' (1928/1929). As the German publisher offered it to Öhquist in 1929 for publishing in Finland, he replied sceptically: "This country is completely saturated with war novels." Accordingly, Otava rejected the novel only a few weeks later. Nevertheless, the Finnish translation was published already in the same year, by the publishing house Kirja in Helsinki, and it reached nine editions in two years' time.

Knowing the future developments in his mediation practice it is almost equally possible to assume that Öhquist disliked Remarque's novel because of its pacifist message.

5   German narratives take the stage

In 1933, a new player entered the network: Die Nordische Gesellschaft ('Nordic Society') in Lübeck, Germany. With this new player the narratives built on concepts like "Finnish-German affinity" or "friendship" took on a strongly racial political tone, giving new motivation to the German openness to Finnish literature as well as new motivation to the mediation practices of the Öhquist family.

The Nordische Gesellschaft was originally founded to promote the city of Lübeck's commercial and cultural relationships with the Baltic countries. In 1933, however, it was incorporated within the general National Socialist organisation and became responsible for the cultural relations between the Third Reich and the Nordic area (Lutzhöft 1971), and – first and foremost

– for a better understanding of the "new Germany" in the North (see e.g. Timm 1935).

The work of this organisation was conducted in the framework of the "Nordischer Gedanke" ('Nordic idea'), a racist dogma that was developed a few years earlier by Hans F. K. Günther. This dogmatic narrative represented the view of the so called "Nordic race" as the superior one. In this ideological context Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden constituted a mythical area, where the sixth Nordic nation, i.e. the Germans, would find their real forefathers.

In addition to genotype, German culture was thought and taught to have its roots in the North, as well. As in the Third Reich in general, art had a political task: Germany's artists were advised to look away from the decadent, degenerate and hostile influences of German modernism and look to Nordic art instead, and through it to their own true national identity. For this purpose, Finnish literature promised a valuable poetic model, but the Nordische Gesellschaft – now an important meeting point for German publishers – needed mediators like Rita and Johannes Öhquist in order to ascertain that the poetic model really remained valuable, the narrative respected.

The society had very clear ideas about what was acceptable for the German market. It was particularly looking for race-specific works by Nordic or Scandinavian artists, as well as works that foregrounded the authentic, pre-defined character of the Nordic peoples. As Kate Sturge (2004) observes from German reviews on Scandinavian literature from that time, "good" translations were the ones that give the German 'Volk' insights conforming what they already know to be true about Nordic characters and would "call forth an echo in the minds of the German readers, an echo of kinship (Verwandschaft) which will awaken in them a true sense of their own Nordicity".

In translation practice, this meant an assimilation of the translated text to the time-bound universe of discourse and cultural scripts, i.e. to the geographic and national clichés that were in regular use in other German culture-political writings on and translation from Scandinavia (Steffen 1997) and Finland of the time: Finland as a land of thousands of lakes, the mythical Finnish sauna as well as the wild and beautiful landscape of the country with its dark forests, warmest summers and hardest winters; the Finnish culture as the last idyllic watch tower of Western civilization; hunting, heroic

and muscled Finnish people as representatives of the "healthy" Nordic race and its powerful characteristics (for examples see Tarkka 1981, Steffen 1997, Kujamäki 1998, 2001).

Of course, the above definition of valuable Scandinavian literature with its central narrative content is but one reflection of the function of foreign literature in the Third Reich in general. Heinrich Jessen, then the head of the cultural department of Nordische Gesellschaft, wrote in 1941 in the magazine 'Die Weltliteratur' that the function of translated literature was to describe other nations with their deepest and most typical characteristics for Germans. For him the production of translations was, like all contacts abroad in the thirties and fourties, a political act that should primarily serve the German 'Volk' (Jessen 1941). As Lutzhöft (1971: 365) has shown, this idea was only an application of Hitler's maxim in 'Mein Kampf' – namely, that the German policies serve only the interest of the German nation – to cultural transactions. The concept of "world literature" was adapted accordingly. In her study on anthologies and anthologising practices of the period Birgit Bödeker speaks of functionalising the concept for Germany and cites Sigmund Graff (1940, transl. P.K.): "We do not admire Shakespeare (…) but the German idea that we have of Shakespeare." The "German idea" became a standard with which literature from abroad were to be measured. According to Bödeker, this led finally to the falsification of the whole concept of "world literature". From 1940 on, the magazine 'Die Weltliteratur', for example, favoured literary contributions mainly from Germany, from German speaking regions or from other friendly nations, such as Finland (Bödeker 1997: 310).

6   Working for the interests of the 'New Germany'

The Öhquist family agreed to the target-side requests and standards on different levels. They informed the Nordische Gesellschaft about potential candidates for translation into German, organised translators or translated themselves several novels for publishers, helped to organise events on Nordic culture in Germany and commented on candidates that could visit the writers' house of the society in Lübeck (for details see Hiedanniemi 1980).

In the actual translation work, Rita Öhquist complied flexibly with the

ideological reservations that the representatives of the Nordische Gesell-schaft or the German publishers expressed. The correspondence indicates how she came to know and deal with the ideologically shaped expectations of the German target culture. She was able to warn publishers readers in advance about the apparent shortcomings of her Finnish source texts, and she was quite prepared to propose "unavoidable" improvements.[8] All in all, and here we turn to narratives again, if we assume that an average reader develops an image of a foreign country with the help of its translated fiction, then it is reasonable to assume that Rita Öhquist's translations together with other literary texts from Scandinavia and Finland that were promoted by the Nordische Gesellschaft, only buttressed and never challenged the emotionally charged, rural and partly backward German image of Finland. (Kujamäki 2001, 2006.)

However, not all proposals or recommendations turned out to be straightforward ideological success stories. Frans Emil Sillanpää, the future Nobel Prize winner, was at first well received in the Third Reich, but became by 1939, after his provocative radio speech adressed to "all dictators of the world", an ideologically unacceptable Nordic author (cf. Tarkka 1981). Olavi Paavolainen, one of the visitors in the writers' house of the Nordische Gesellschaft, wrote afterwards an unfavourable description of the "new Germany" (in his book 'Kolmannen valtakunnan vieraana', 'As a Guest in the Third Reich', 1936). And Sally Salminen, whose novel 'Katrina' (1938) was a bestseller and reviewed as "highly Nordic" in the German press, became two years later, after her public "kontra Deutschland" – confessions in Finland, "racially alien, on no account to be kept available for buying or borrowing" (as reported by Sturge 2004). Interestingly enough, Salminen was denounced to German authorities by no one less than Johannes Öhquist (cf. Menger 1994: 90).

More importantly, the official Finland (including the Finnish press) remained very reserved and cold in front of the racist propaganda promoted by the Nordische Gesellschaft. With the growing number of drawbacks in cul-

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[8] For example: The case of F.E. Sillanpää is reported in Tarkka 1981 and Kujamäki 2006. On Maila Talvio, who was one of the few prominent "pro Hitler" personalities in Finland and a well received Nordic author in the Third Reich, see Günzel 1994, 1997, Kujamäki 1998: 69–71.

ture-political diplomacy the organisation first lost its friendly tone, then its influence, and became finally, at least for a short period, obsolete altogether.

As regards official response, Johannes Öhquist's last big effort for Finnish-German relations did not make any exception. Already since 1933 he had committed himself, quite in adherence to the ideological goals of the Nordische Gesellschaft, to promoting the better understanding of the "new Germany", i.e. of the Third Reich in Finland. In 1934 Öhquist published – in the periodical 'Finsk Tidskrift' in Finland – an extensive review on Swedish and German books on national-socialist Germany, among them the Swedish translation of Hitler's 'Mein Kampf'. The most important result of this engagement came out in Finland in 1938 ('Kolmas valtakunta'; transl. into Finnish by Väinö J. Vatanen) and in Germany a few years later in 1941 ('Das Reich des Führers'). Johannes Öhquist's book on the Third Reich was an enthusiastic description of the Hitler's Germany and revealed once again his personal commitment to Finland's political and cultural integration into Germany as well as political and cultural disintegration from the bolshevist Soviet Union, though now in the framework of a totally different meta-narrative. In Finland, the book was reviewed as a highly superficial and subjective presentation and then silenced altogether. The only positive comment came from V. A. Koskenniemi, who shared his translator's narrative with the following words: "(…) all that I have experienced in the new Germany only underlines your interpretations." In Germany, in contrast, Öhquist's praise was very welcome: the book 'Das Reich des Führers' was printed in several editions, recommended for schools as a necessary reading (Menger 2002) and hailed by no one less than Joseph Goebbels.

7   The network fades away

The archived correspondence diminishes, perhaps not surprisingly, towards the last years of the World War II. The work for Finnish-German relationships, however, continued in Wolfach, Black Forest, where the Öhquist couple lived since 1940 in modest conditions. The commitment for the "New Germany" and "Finnish-German friendship" produced a couple of propa-

gandist books,[9] but Johannes Öhquist also wrote two further historical novels[10] on Swedish kings and other Nordic statesmen. With the new phase in the war against Soviet Union, the literature of northern "brothers in arms" had become interesting for German readers in general (Häggman 2008: 416), but Öhquist's heroic Nordic figures quite obviously met the officially propagated needs of the target culture as well.

According to Menger (1996: 168–170) and Liinamaa (2006: 211), characteristic for Johannes Öhquist's last years were his self-awareness of the past "mistakes" and optimistic plans for new publications. These, however, never saw daylight, for multiple reasons – paper regulation, uninterested publishers and especially the fact that the former cosmopolitan and the later "apologist for Hitler" (Menger 1994: 92) remained till his death on the blacklist of pro Nazi authors maintained by the Information Control Division (ICD) of the Office of Military Government (US Zone) in Germany (OMGUS).[11]

In contrast, Rita Öhquist was able to continue her work as translator of Finnish prose till the beginning of 1960s. However, the bibliographical information on German translations of Finnish prose indicates that she had already lost the earlier position from which she could control the translation flow to her own advantage. The extremely productive years were long gone, new translators with their own agencies and networks had taken over the field. Since the archived correspondence is not very informative in this respect, one can only speculate about the reasons. There are, however, reasons to assume that Öhquists' agency lost its influence together with the metanarrative it had recently committed itself to, namely with the idea of the "New Germany".

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[9]   ,Waffenbruder Finnland' (1942) and ,Das kämpfende Finnland' (1944)

[10]   ,Ein König und sein Günstling: Schicksal und Tragik einer heroischen Freundschaft' (1940; 3rd edition 1943) and ,Das nordische Dreigestirn: Gustav Wasa – Gustav II. Adolf – Karl XII' (1942).

[11]   For organization, principles and functions of ICD/OMGUS see e.g. *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (1994: 434–437) or http://globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/other/us-army_germany_1944-46_ch20.htm (cited July 30, 2009)

8   By way of conclusion

Drawn maps or sketches of networks based e.g. on the correspondence and other mediating contacts create distortions, illusions of clear and simple relationships and power relations. By putting Johannes and Rita Öhquist, for the sake of convenience or control over the project in question, in the middle of the network an illusion of order is created with an implicit message that this family was in charge and in total control of the culture-political exchange between the two countries. As the above examples imply, this was not the case. The misleading potential of such static presentations should be born in mind as a methodological reservation for the present account. (On the methodology of drawing network maps cf. Tahir-Gürçağlar 2007.)

Moving in the network is like turning a caleidoscope. One step from the middle to another location or "node" in the network opens up new perspectives to individual or institutional agencies with different power potential, motivations and functions. Looking from this new location the former major player may seem but one of the minor ones or even become totally insignificant. In the story of my personal research history Rita Öhquist was, first, one of the key players in the German comet's tail of the Finnish 'Seven Brothers'. However, in the process of contextualization her network turned out to be, despite its immediate relevance to the actual research question, first much smaller than the one elaborated around Johannes Öhquist's agency, and finally, at the closer look, but one corner of the same. Without questioning the significance of Rita Öhquist's work in the interculture, it is important to bear in mind that in the end she entered a network that had already been functioning for decades, learned a new profession in it and slowly developed her own mediation practices. This is reflected above in the amount of attention paid to Rita versus Johannes Öhquist. And this is also why it is almost impossible to separate Rita Öhquist's network from the one used by Johannes Öhquist only. After all, the archived correspondence provides some evidence that the couple functioned as one team rather than as two separate agents.
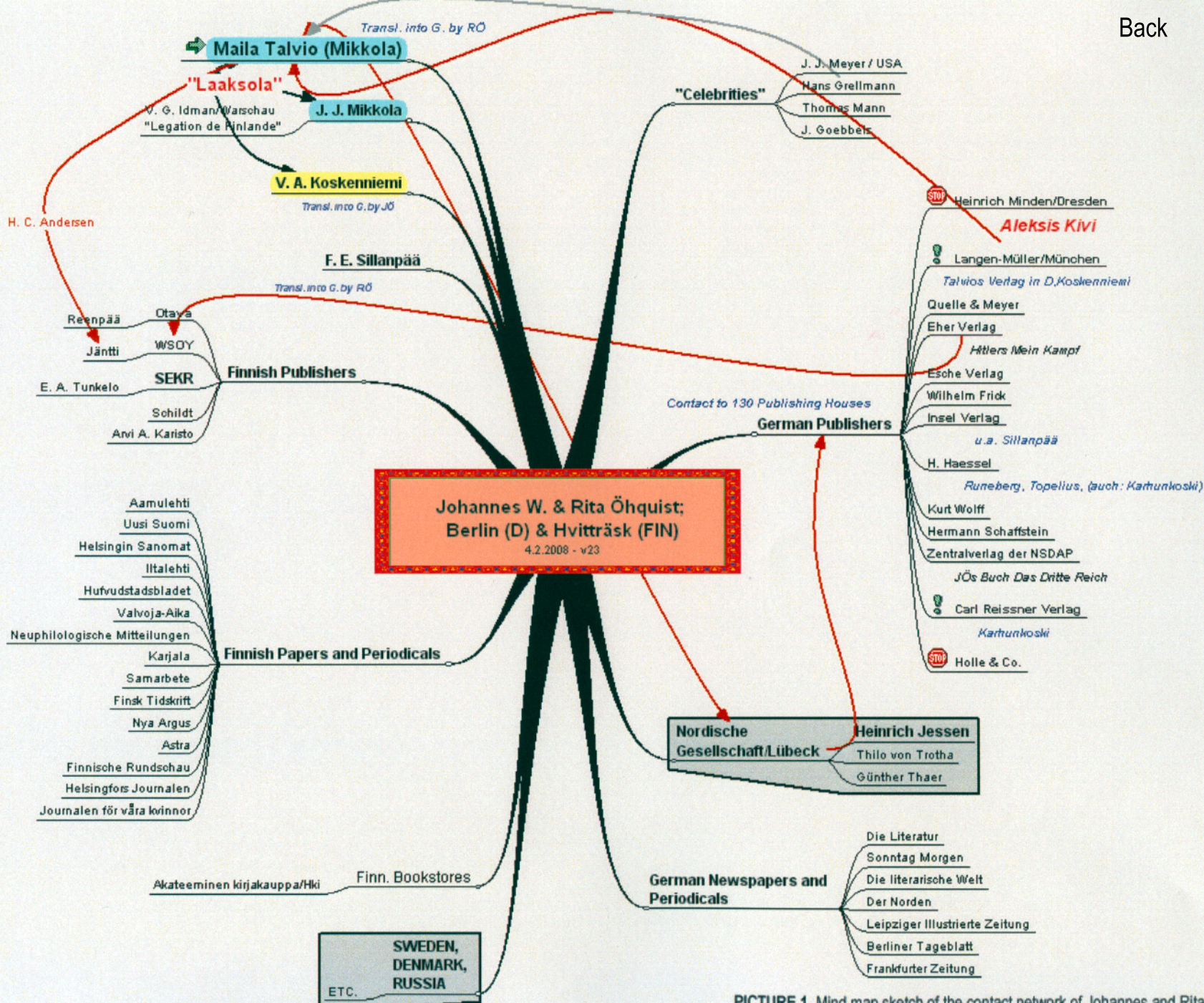
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Transl. into G. by RÖ

Maila Talvio (Mikkola)

"Laaksola"

J. J. Mikkola

V. G. Idman/Warschau
"Legation de Finlande"

V. A. Koskenniemi

Transl. into G. by JÖ

"Celebrities"

J. J. Meyer / USA
Hans Grellmann
Thomas Mann
J. Goebbels

H. C. Andersen

F. E. Sillanpää

Transl. into G. by RÖ

STOP Heinrich Minden/Dresden

Aleksis Kivi

Langen-Müller/München

Talvios Verlag in D,Koskenniemi

Quelle & Meyer
Eher Verlag

Hitlers Mein Kampf

Reenpää   Otava
Jäntti   WSOY
E. A. Tunkelo   SEKR   Finnish Publishers
Schildt
Arvi A. Karisto

Esche Verlag
Wilhelm Frick
Insel Verlag

Contact to 130 Publishing Houses

German Publishers

u.a. Sillanpää

H. Haessel

Runeberg, Topelius, (auch: Karhunkoski)

Kurt Wolff
Hermann Schaffstein
Zentralverlag der NSDAP

JÖs Buch Das Dritte Reich

Carl Reissner Verlag

Karhunkoski

STOP Holle & Co.

Johannes W. & Rita Öhquist;
Berlin (D) & Hvitträsk (FIN)
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Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung
Berliner Tageblatt
Frankfurter Zeitung

PICTURE 1. Mind map sketch of the contact network of Johannes and Rita Öhquist

THE TRANSLATOR'S FOOTPRINTS

Outi Paloposki

> And, departing, leave behind us
> footprints on the sands of time.
> (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: *Resignation*)

1   Introduction

In studying an individual translator, author, or even a range of translations within a specific research frame, we often notice indications of other interesting phenomena on the "fringes" of our topic. They may not be directly relevant to what we are looking for at the moment, and thus there is no time or space to study them then and there; at best, they accumulate somewhere in the margins of our research as potential research topics, awaiting a time when we can look at them more closely. At some point they will have gathered enough momentum to appear from the wings and occupy the centre stage. This is what happened to me with footnotes: they started to accumulate at the edges of my vision while I was looking at data for other purposes. In the course of my study of retranslations, of the role of the translator, and of the linguistic profiles of late nineteenth-century translations in Finland, footnotes started attracting my attention with their frequent appearances, and I started meticulously noting down these appearances, in the hope of being able to look at them properly at some other time. It soon became quite obvious that annotation was such an important phenomenon that it had to be considered on its own. I felt there must have been some underlying, consistent sense (or perhaps several senses) to these footnotes: surely they were not just instances of failure or "non-translation", signs of the translator not being up to his or her job (Dominic Aury goes as far as to call footnotes the

translator's shame, "honte").[1] Much of what has been written on annotation in translation has actually consisted of comments on whether footnotes should be "allowed" at all; Jacqueline Henry's (2000) article takes up the controversy in its title: "De l'érudition à l'échec: la note du traducteur".

Another source of inspiration for the study of footnotes was my former teacher and colleague at the University of Turku, Dr. Ellen Valle, who had come across footnotes in her study of the reception of Jane Austen translations in Finland – here again, footnotes were tangential to her main topic. When she asked me what happened to footnotes in Finland in general (in Austen translations and reprints, they seemed to have gradually disappeared over the years), I did not have an answer. I merely knew, largely on the basis of a gut feeling, that this seemed to be the case in general – but when did their heyday start, and how did it end? This was the first time I realized that there is a whole big issue here about which I definitely did not know anything, and which seemed to merit attention. Since then, annotations have for me constituted these "fringes" or shadows of my other research, waiting for a chance to occupy front stage, and when, several years later, there was the invitation to participate in the seminar on agency at Tampere University, they offered themselves as the natural choice of topic. After I had looked at translators' agency in areas such as source text selection, strategies, and layout and typography, footnotes seemed like a natural next step. What would be a more fascinating clue to a past translator's work than his or her footnotes, the one spot in the translation that is clearly the translator's own voice? As became clear along the way, the question is not that simple; but as a starting point, looking at translators' footnotes as their footprints seemed an adequate enough metaphor. Footnotes, like footprints, are marks left behind by people who have gone their way, and they let us follow and discover the paths they have taken.

The present paper is an attempt at a survey of the practice of footnotes in translated fiction in Finland at the turn of the twentieth century. It was clear from the start that my occasional notes on annotations were not enough to reveal any meaningful patterns or correlations: what was needed was a

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[1]   I dedicate my first footnote to Dominic Aury: the quotation is from his preface to Georges Mounin's famous "Les problèmes theoriques de la traduction", and has been cited in Henry 2000: 240.

more systematic corpus of translations, encompassing different translators, source languages and genres. Furthermore, the selection of books had to be inclusive, in the sense that not only books with footnotes would be studied: to reveal patterns of annotation, it was also necessary to find out when and in what instances footnotes were not used. The resulting corpus of 98 books came to span several decades and cover different genres, source languages, translators, authors and publishers. In the following, I first briefly discuss agency (2) and footnotes in general (3); I then go on to present my data and the methodological issues involved (4), followed by a description of footnote usage in Finland during the years 1870–1929 (5). I conclude (6) by summarizing different aspects of footnotes and their study, pointing towards possible future avenues of research. One of these is the role of the translator in writing footnotes, linking the discussion to the notion of agency.

2   Translator's agency and footnotes

The concept of agency has burgeoned in the wake of the sociological turn in translation studies, focusing on the significance of the people behind the texts.[2] It has encompassed research on translators' work, activities, roles and self-perception. Obviously, much of it has been carried out within a sociological framework (see e.g. Wolf 2006, Poupaud 2008); it often addresses present-day issues, such as translator networks and workplace concerns, and the methods used vary from interviews to ethnographic study, including participant observation. This may suggest that agency can only be studied with regard to contemporaneous translators. However, other kinds of data and methods can be used if we want to look at past translators and their agency. If agency is understood as the translator's everyday practices, decisions and even routine chores, such documents as for example drafts, letters and notes provide ample material for study. They contain information on translators' aids, tools, requests, suggestions and refusals, and give clues to

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[2]   Obviously, there are studies focusing on translators prior to the quite recent sociological turn: the FIT history project (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995, Delisle 1999, 2002) and Anthony Pym's (1998: 160–161) remarks on the importance of the actual people are but some examples of the interest in the translator's person.

their working environment, networks and affiliations, as well as their free-dom of choice to decide for themselves on certain issues (or negotiate them with other agents, such as authors, publishers, other translators). The study of these documents gives information on macro-level power relations (the selection of texts; publishing decisions), the exercise of control by transla-tors over their own work (stylistic choices, strategies, use of source texts and aids) and the day-to-day running of their daily work. This is the kind of individual translators' agency I have looked at earlier (2007, 2009), through studying their correspondence and the ways these translators negotiated and managed to settle issues with their publishers.[3]

These processes do not appear in the end product, the finished transla-tion. Agency is thus not always visible as such: without access to archival material, we do not know what role the translator has played in the process.[4] Footnotes, on the other hand, are extremely visible in the translation (even if the translator's arguments, aims and processes behind the footnote are hidden). Interestingly, it is precisely their visibility that often seems to be the problem with accepting footnotes: they leap to the eye (Henry 2000: 239), or prevent the reader from enjoying the "pleasure of the text" as they inter-rupt the reading process (the writer João Ubaldo Ribeiro, quoted in Milton 2004: 83).[5] This paratextual visibility (see Koskinen 2000: 99), however, is an asset for research. A corpus of footnotes is relatively straightforward to compile, and can serve as material for a variety of research topics. A survey of the prevalence of footnotes may reveal reading patterns and acceptability: if footnotes were widely used, they may have been, if not requested, at least accepted by the editors and readers. They may thus have been part of the normal reading experience, breaking with linearity (Julie Lefèbvre, cited in Henry 2000: 229, also speaks of the footnote as subverting the idea of linear-

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[3] Cf. Sandra Poupaud's (2008: 39) definition of agency as capability, performance and/or discourse.

[4] Such material may even be non-existent: not all decisions have been documented, or the documents may be lost.

[5] There are more examples of such comments e.g. in Henry 2000. Nabokov (1992: 147) was of the opposite opinion: "I want translations with copious footnotes, footnotes reaching up like skyscrapers to the top of this or that page so as to leave only the gleam of one tex-tual line between commentary and eternity." I thank Andrew Chesterman for locating this quotation for me.

ity). Analyses of surveys may be used to study variation related to specific source languages and cultures, or individual differences in translators' writing practices. The contents of footnotes provide information on what the translators chose to spell out. They do not reveal what the audience knew or did not know; rather, they tell us what the *translators* believed their audience did not know but *they* considered important for them to know. Footnotes thus provide a window on translators' perceptions of their audience, and on their views of their own task and role. Footnotes illuminate translators' (potentially subconscious) ideas about their work as providers of informative accounts or ideological lessons, explanations or forays into side-issues. Thus the visibility of footnotes both facilitates research and feeds it with new insights.

3   Footnotes in history

Footnotes have been an important facet of original literature. The list of books with authorial footnotes compiled by the bibliophile William Denton shows that writers such as Sterne, Dumas and Fielding cultivated footnotes; many modern authors, however, also find use for them.[6] At one time, footnotes were so widespread that they even gave rise to satire: Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener, an eighteenth-century German author, wrote a mock thesis called 'Hinkmars von Repkow Noten ohne Text', a work written entirely in footnotes (Anderson 1997). An example of present-day use of footnotes as a literary device is Mark Z. Danielewski's 'The House of Leaves' (2000), where footnotes form a graphic pattern on the page: a modern version of breaking up linearity in reading. Scholarly and essayistic literature carries a long tradition of footnotes, where the function of the annotations is considered to be paying homage or debt to the work by former scholars; providing "readers with the intellectual mapthat [sic] the writer has used to arrive at her conclusions." (Anderson 1997). There are, however, other, less transparent uses for the footnote. The book-length history of footnotes by Anthony Grafton (1997) charts the widespread practice of annotating historical[7] and literary

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[6]   For Denton's list, see http://www.miskatonic.org/footnotes.html (accessed 18.1.2008).

[7]   A different though related way of using footnotes is the tradition in scholarly writing of

works, and gives many illustrations as to the role of footnotes in adding, undermining or satirizing the information given in the text. Footnotes thus provide the writer with a "second voice" and a chance to add to or contradict his or her own text fruitfully. In addition to graphically breaking with linearity of the text, footnotes also add to the multi-layered nature of the meaning in the text.

If authors' and researchers' footnotes can function as "second voices" in their texts, so can translators' footnotes, which constitute even more clearly a "second voice" in the text. By all accounts, the practice of annotating translations is just as widespread as that of annotating original and scholarly writing. As regards the study of translators' footnotes there are at least two possible directions: an overview of the practice (on a national or regional scale or at a certain point in history), and individual case studies of translations with footnotes. There seems to be an increasing trend towards the latter type of study (Henry 2000, Stanek 2001, Leppihalme 2004, Martin 2006, Varney 2008); no large-scale overviews seem to have been produced yet with regard to translators' footnotes, even if Henry (2000) gives a general outline of the practice (unfortunately without bibliographical sources or references to available research results), and Eduardo Crisafulli (1999) explores the links between textual criticism and translation in the practice of footnotes. An overview of the general practice of footnoting translations, the kind of archaeological study Anthony Pym (1998: 5) was referring to in writing about the history of translation ("who, where, when, why, and what?") is yet to be carried out.

4   Footnotes in Finland 1870–1929: methodological concerns

The following two sections of this article present a survey of annotating practices in Finland during the years 1870–1929. The time span arises out of the observation, made in my earlier research concerning translators' agency during the turn of the century, that the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century were the heyday of the footnote in Finnish translations: footnotes are a regular feature of almost all the

placing references in footnotes, not within brackets in the texts.

books I have studied from this period. The time span to be studied was extended in both ends to capture the potential changes in the practice during a longer time curve. It is obvious that a period of sixty years will not render a full-scale account of the development of the phenomenon, but it was deemed sufficient to describe how and why annotating was done in the early period of Finnish translation history. My earlier research on the birth of literary translation in Finland during the first half of the nineteenth century gives background data on earlier developments; what happened after 1929 with the footnote remains to be studied.[8]

The beginning of the period in question was a time when there was a marked increase in translated literature in Finland (Kovala 1999: 299). During the last decades of the 19th century, more translations were published than original works in Finnish; the total numbers of published books also increased dramatically. Gradual changes had taken place in Finnish society as regards literacy, primary education, and book production and distribution, as well a other factors facilitating the birth of a book culture. During the first half of the nineteenth century there appeared roughly 400 books in Finnish; with the censorship edict of 1850 book production in Finnish declined dramatically, but the last three decades of the century saw a new upswing (around 1700 new books published).[9] The data in my earlier studies on translation in Finland show that during the first half of the nineteenth century annotation was not widely used; if anything, there were translators' prefaces and epilogues. The configuration of and relations between different paratextual practices (prefaces, epilogues, footnotes) is a larger issue than can be elaborated here; suffice it to say that many of the early translations were adaptations, and the link between adaptation and lack of annotation will be discussed later in this paper.

My initial questions stemmed directly from the experience of having

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[8]   Data collected randomly (partly through the kindness of interested colleagues) shows that the practice of annotation has not died out; there may be some interesting conclusions to be drawn from the occurrence of annotations in present-day translations.

[9]   The bibliographical sources used are the Finnish national database Fennica, nowadays available on-line, and its predecessors, the series of bibliographies started by Valfrid Vasenius in 1878. The bibliographical parameters have changed over the years; during the early days, a "book" was often defined as a publication consisting of 48 pages or more.

worked with translated literature from the era. Having studied translations from the turn of the century I already knew that the number of footnotes was very high compared to the situation today, and that some translators were prolific users of footnotes. For example K. G. S. Suomalainen, one of the key figures of the period whose work I have studied in detail (e. g. Paloposki 2007, 2009), used them extensively. I also knew that the use of footnotes was not restricted to translations from only some source languages. I thus wanted to expand my search to translators and works I had not studied before, to allow for more variation and to see the big picture whole. The questions I posed were, first: how widely were translators' footnotes used, and by whom? Was there any difference between female and male translators? Did the author's gender make any difference? (it must be noted here that very little literature by female writers was translated during the nineteenth century, making this a marginal category). What about the publisher, or the series in which the book was published and marketed? The idea was to uncover the patterns (if any) in the intricate web made up by individual translator, author, source language, publisher, and genre. The second set of questions would then concern the contents of the footnotes: what they dealt with, how they could be grouped, and whether any structural, ideological or person-related patterns could be identified. This proved to be a very fruitful area of study, and will be dealt with in detail in another paper; here, my purpose is to analyse the answers to the first questions as to the prevalence of the phenomenon and the interrelations of the variables, with only a brief overview of the contents of the footnotes.

A few observations are in order as to the nature of the study and the methodology used. Despite having collected a set of data consisting of 98 books, studying it with an eye to different variables (translator, gender, genre, publisher), and presenting a number of breakdowns, I do not consider it a quantitative study. There are at least two good reasons for not focusing on producing a quantitative analysis. The first is definitional, the second has to do with the heterogeneity of the data.

First, and quite obviously, it is impossible to capture a complex phenomenon where the main concepts and units are in statistical terms highly variable. "Books" and "footnotes", both basic units in this study, do not conform

to standards.[10] I have counted footnotes per translated book (both the number of books with footnotes and the number of footnotes per book), but since books vary in size, there are no easy comparisons to be made. Ranging from fewer than 50 to over 1200 pages, book size is significant for the outcome of the calculations. Obviously these can be standardized as in relation to the length of the book, but the size of a page is no less shifting an entity than the size of a book. A nineteenth-century book page may contain 600 characters, but it may equally well contain 1600 characters or more. As it would be out of the question to do a complete survey of all translated books during the period, any sampling with data like this is bound to lead to under-representative results. The problem with "footnote", in turn, is not one of size or calculation but of source identification. The concept of a footnote seems clear enough at the start, but closer scrutiny shows it is far from transparent. Identifying different kinds of footnotes is difficult and often time-consuming. As footnotes have been part of the literary practices of authors, it is not always clear whether a footnote has been inserted by a translator or whether it was there in the original. Sometimes they are clearly marked as either the author's or translator's (Finnish translators often used the abbreviated phrases Suom. huom. or Käänt. huom., "translator's note"). This is not, however, always the case. Furthermore, if a translation has taken place via a third language (as was often the case during the period in question), footnotes may have appeared in the middle version – the translation into a middle language, which in this case becomes the mediating version for the Finnish translation – and translated from there by the Finnish translator. Checking for this is even more time-consuming than checking for originals: it is often not clear whether the translation was made directly or via a second language, and the titles of these middle versions are generally not given in the translation. There are often several possible intervening versions: many works, for instance, had already been translated into Swedish several times before their first Finnish translation appeared, as in the case for example of Victor Hugo's 'Les Misérables' (Swedish translations in 1862 and 1888; reprint of the first part of the 1888 Swedish translation in Finland in 1895; first Finnish translation 1896–1897). Verifying these details demands elaborate detective work for finding the potential or actual mediating versions, and detailed textual

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10   See also Pym, Poupaud & Torres Simón, forthcoming.

analysis to ascertain the origin of the translation. It often also necessitates travel abroad, since these versions are not always available in Finland, nor is all bibliographical information necessarily available on-line. In some cases it has been possible to do so, where it has coincided with other research on the actual translations, but a systematic checking of all translations is out of the question. With a large corpus such as this and including anonymous works, it is impossible to check on all originals, especially as many are obscure and not easily available.

The second problem lies in the nature of the data. The wide variety of different source languages and genres, coupled with highly individual translatorial styles during a formative period in literature and translation, makes it impossible to capture the phenomenon in sufficient fullness to be quantitatively representative. It would be futile to even try and give a clear-cut picture of a phenomenon in a state of change and with such ramifications. The number of translators was large and many of them were anonymous, making it next to impossible to neatly group and classify the findings. Strategies vary from adaptation to word-for-word rendering; source texts may be originals, translations, or both (some translators used various editions, in a number of languages, in translating). To cover all these different kinds of translations, every book would need to be studied in advance to determine the category it belongs to. The categories themselves are not mutually exclusive but rather form a continuum; thus statistics do not capture the phenomenon in a meaningful way.

An additional complicating factor in this study was the fact that the data were in part determined from the outset, since for reasons of economy I based my corpus on what I already had at my disposal or about which I had come to possess information. First of all, there are certain translators whose production I have studied (most notably Karl Gustaf Samuli Suomalainen, better known as Samuli S., and Aino Malmberg) or whose work is known to me through the work of colleagues and students (Aatto Suppanen, Waldemar Churberg, Helmi Krohn).[11] Secondly, in connection with my studies in retranslation I have previously carried out several case studies of translated books (including Hugo's 'Les Misérables', Gogol's 'Dead Souls', Lager-

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[11]   Aatto Suppanen was studied by Susanna Saarikivi (2005), Waldemar Churberg by Katja Vuokko (forthcoming) and Helmi Krohn by Maarit Leskelä-Kärki (2006).

löf's 'Gösta Berling' and Valera's 'Pepita Jiménez'); as a by-product of this research, I have accumulated information on footnotes. Thirdly, students participating in my research methodology seminar at the University of Helsinki have written case studies of books with annotations. Fourthly, there is an arbitrary selection of books from various source languages and by different translators that has simply accumulated on my desk and bookshelves. All of these formed the first set of my material, obviously making the selection biased and deviating from any standards of objective random sampling. As is clear at this point, however, instead of trying to capture accurate statistical information and precise dates and correlations, what matters is to reveal meaningful relations between the practice of annotation and the different factors which may lie behind it. The sample of 98 books spanning six decades is large enough to help understand the ramifications and potential causal elements underlying annotation; yet it is sufficiently small to enable the manual study of single cases to illustrate examples and methodological concerns.

To complement the first set of material described above, I sought to include more female translators, different publishers, and books appearing in different series (based on an initial assumption that being published and marketed as part of a series might make a difference in the way the book was conceived of by the public; consequently, series publication may have affected paratextual practices). In addition, the source languages were balanced more evenly and the different decades of the time span were rounded up. In practice, this work took place in the Helsinki university student library, where older literature is available in open stacks: different source language sections were perused and the other variables kept in mind to complement the data.[12] The data now consisted of 98 books by 59 different authors, plus a collection

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[12]   The choice of the student library can be criticized on the grounds that the literature there is potentially already a selection and not the overall body of literature translated into Finnish, as would be the case with the National Library. However, as the work is very time-consuming, it was considered preferable to balance this drawback with the benefit of not needing to order books from the closed stacks; a laborious and slow procedure since the number of books that can be ordered at any one time is limited. The student library was established in 1858 and the acquisitions thus reflect literary developments over a long period of time, not just modern-day views of what earlier work is still worth reading today.

of short stories by various writers. Fifteen of the books were by seven differ-
ent female authors, and 78 by 52 different male authors; five books did not
carry the author's name or carried only a pseudonyms or initials, making
it more difficult to identify the author. There were altogether 63 different
translators involved: 11 female, 38 male and 14 unidentified (anonymous
or pseudonymous). The data for 13 of the translations have been compiled
by colleagues or students;[13] the data for the other 85 translations have been
compiled by myself.

The biggest source languages in the corpus are English (22 books), French
(18), German (18) and Russian (12). The number of Swedish books is 8, Nor-
wegian and Danish 3 each, and Polish 3. To allow comparison with the total
output in literary translation during the sixty-year period, the shares of dif-
ferent source languages have been calculated with the help of the production
figures in Kovala (1992: 193): Of the total number of translated books, Eng-
lish accounted for 31 % of translations, the Scandinavian languages for 23 %,
German for 16 % and French for 10 %.

As can be seen, English was the most important source language during
the period. It should be noted, however, that its share was not constant but
showed a gradual increase over the sixty years; this shift does not show in the
overall figure. The corpus reflects roughly the overall trends in translated
literature, even if the percentages have not been analyzed in detail. As noted
in the methodological discussion above, such accuracies are in any case il-
lusory, and the breakdown given here is deemed adequate for the purposes
of the study: i.e. to explore the overall trends of annotating practices during
the period.

As for the translators, 49 are known by name and 14 are anonymous.
Fourteen translators have more than one book in their name in the corpus
(and account for 51 of the translated books altogether). 34 translators have
one book in their name in the corpus; the rest (14 books) were translated by
anonymous translators. The 14 translators represented in the corpus by more
than one work are as follows: Samuli Suomalainen (11 books), Helmi Setälä
(8 books), Elisabet Löfgren and Aino Malmberg (4 each), J. V. Lehtonen,

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[13]   My thanks go to Ritva Leppihalme, Kaisa Koskinen, Liisa Tiittula, Leena Salmi, Pauliina
       Immonen, Elina Kilpeläinen, Eevi Kuisma, Satu Pohjola, Heinilinnea Tonttila, Johanna
       Viitasalo and Katja Vuokko.

Hanna Pakkala, Ester Peltonen, Aatto Suppanen and Maila Talvio (3 each), and Waldemar Churberg, Jalmari Hahl, O. A. Joutsen, Alma Suppanen and Martti Wuori (2 each).

5   Results of the study

Although the general prevalence of the practice of annotation was confirmed in the study, it became apparent that the distribution of footnotes according to individual book or translator was highly uneven. My initial assumption that most turn-of-the-century translations would contain footnotes needed to be reassessed. I had previously studied translators who used footnotes heavily, which biased my initial view: Samuli Suomalainen, Waldemar Churberg and Helmi Krohn all wrote plenty of footnotes. In the corpus, however, the distribution of footnotes was very uneven: some two fifths of the books did not have footnotes at all. Of the 98 books, 57 contained footnotes and 41 did not. The number of footnotes in the books that did contain them also varied widely: while some books had more than 100 footnotes, seven books had only one and five books had two. 45 books thus had three or more footnotes. Interestingly, in the case of books with more than 100 pages the number of footnotes was often fairly constant over the first 100 pages but then decreased rapidly or disappeared altogether. Two reasons can be inferred for this phenomenon: first, as subsequent study showed, the purpose of many of the footnotes was to explain cultural realia; since many of the same points recur later in the same book, there is presumably no need to repeat the explanation. Another, more mundane reason may lie in the fact (also evident from earlier research, exploring the working conditions of translators on the basis of their correspondence and other personal documents) that translators usually worked under very heavy pressure and tight deadlines: it is reasonable to assume that with the deadline closing in it was simply necessary to cut out lengthy and time-consuming asides such as footnotes.[14]

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[14] Interestingly, Henry (2000: 240) gives lack of time as one potential explanatory factor for footnotes: when translators do not have time to try and invent a wordplay in the target language, they resort to explaining it in the footnote. This goes to prove that annotating may have served different ends.

The corpus contained altogether around 700 footnotes, which would correspond roughly to seven footnotes per book; as we have seen, however, the distribution was more uneven. Among the unannotated books, some categories stand out. There were four books by the French author George Sand, each by a different translator; none of these were annotated. Paul Heyse, the German Nobel Prize winner of 1906, had three translations in the corpus, none of which were annotated either. These are the only authors in the corpus with several translations but no annotations, despite the fact that several translators were involved. No single reason behind this can be guessed at without a complementary qualitative study.

A more typical pattern is found in translations from Swedish and German: there were far fewer footnotes than in the other material. An initial, plausible explanation would be that the Swedish and German cultures are (or were at the time) closer to Finnish culture than were for example French or Russian culture; therefore books from German and Swedish would not need explanatory footnotes. A follow-up study, however, shows that Swedish and German books (and cultures) may contain elements just as strange for Finns as do the English and French ones; the correlation seems to occur not so much with the source culture as such as the genre of the books chosen for translation. The proportion of literature considered "folk literature" was higher among works translated from Swedish and German than among those from other source languages. Folk literature was also more often adapted than were classic or otherwise highly valued works. As adaptation often involves the levelling out of cultural specificity, the absence of realia which would have necessitated explanatory comments seems to be one reason behind the scanty annotation. Thus annotation may also serve as a clue to what was considered canonized literature – an important point that necessitates further study.

With regard to the series in which the translations were marketed: one observation that stands out is the occurrence of one particular series, Helppohintainen novellikirjasto ("bargain-price novels"[15]) where none of the books contained any footnotes. As a matter of fact, the series also coincides

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[15]   "Novelli" in standard Finnish stands for a short story, not a novel. In this case, however, the works included in the series were novels, not short stories (they were short novels, to be exact).

with what has been said about folk literature and the German and Swedish languages: most of the books which appeared in the series can be considered folk literature, and several were translated from Swedish and German. The only non-annotated Dickens in the corpus also appeared in this series. Both the Dickens text and other books in the series were also generally shorter than the rest of the books in the corpus. Otherwise, whether or not a book appeared as part of a series did not seem significant. Aino Malmberg, for example, translated two books by Hall Caine for (the publisher) Otava's series *Otavan romaanisarja* (Otava series of novels), in 1898 and 1901; while the first had plenty of footnotes, the second did not have any at all. A further qualitative study showed possible causes to be related to the translator's person (her love for British culture) and the topic of the books (life in England versus life in Italy), coupled with her expert knowledge and her assumed role as a self-appointed cultural ambassador representing English culture to Finnish readers. It was these factors that may have been decisive in leading the translator to insert footnotes, rather than the series or publisher or even the author, since all of these factors were the same in both books.

Out of the books that were annotated, it is possible to either classify them as books with footnotes (without specifying the number of footnotes) and do breakdowns as to source language, translator etc., or it is possible to look more closely at the most annotated books and see whether they form any distinguishable patterns, relating them to certain translators, source languages etc. Both classifications have their justification. Classifying all books with footnotes, even if there is only one footnote, is justified in that it tells us that footnotes did belong to the toolkit of the translators of the time; i.e., they were part of the normal work procedure and a potential translation strategy. The translators felt they could add a footnote without going against the sensibilities of the reader; they may even have considered it their duty to write a footnote. It is thus the general attitude towards footnotes we are witnessing here, and which we can also deduce from the fact that the appearing of footnotes remained constant for a long period of time and that they were not criticized in reviews (the one remark I have found in newspaper reviews was a complaint over the lack of explanation in a book without footnotes). On the other hand, if we look at most annotated works, we may learn more about the individual translators and on how they perceived their tasks.

On the first count, if we look at all the books with footnotes (one or more), we get the following breakdowns: by source language (1), by translator (2), and gender (3).

(1) Annotated books: number of annotated books/total number of books from the same SL

English 18/22
French 12/18
German 8/18
Russian 10/12
Swedish 2/8
Danish 1/3
Norwegian 2/3

Polish 3/3
Italian 1/1
Spanish 1/1
Several languages 1/1
Unknown 0/8
Total 59/98

As can be seen, most translations from English and Russian and two thirds of translations from French have been annotated. Of the smaller languages, two out of three Norwegian books are annotated, all three Polish books have footnotes, and Spanish and Italian books follow suit. As pointed out earlier, German and Swedish works are less often annotated than the rest. Another interesting feature is that books where the author (and consequently the source language) have not been identified stand out as a group: none of them have been annotated.

(2 & 3) Annotated books per translator: number of annotated books/total number of books by the same translator. M/F indicates translator's gender. The list includes only translators with more than one translation in the corpus.

Suomalainen 10/11 (M)
Setälä 4/8 (F)
Löfgren 2/4 (F)
Malmberg 3/4 (F)
Lehtonen 3/3 (M)
Pakkala 1/3 (F)

Peltonen 0/3 (F)
Aatto Suppanen 0/3 (M)
Talvio 3/3 (F)
Churberg (M), Hahl (M), Joutsen (M) 2/2,
Alma Suppanen (F) 1/2, Wuori (M) 1/2

Female translators seem to have annotated about half of the books they have translated, male translators a somewhat larger share. There are, however, marked differences among individuals; and even if one might conclude that men in general were more active and perhaps agentive in their work with footnotes, there were women translators as well who showed active agency in this area. Maila Talvio annotated all three of her translations in the cor-

pus; Aino Malmberg annotated three of her four translations. Helmi Krohn, who was a translator all her life (which lasted nearly a hundred years, and resulted in almost that many translated works), has eight books in the corpus, of which she annotated four. As an active translator she would be a good case for an in-depth study of footnotes, but this would require going through a large part of her work. This is the dilemma of qualitative studies: to be able to draw meaningful conclusions, simple counting and comparison is not enough. It does, however, reveal some general trends and give clues as to where to continue the search.

If we now turn our gaze towards the most heavily annotated books, we can draw on a list of 25 books (those containing ten footnotes or more) for more detailed information on annotation. As regards source languages, the list follows the overall pattern of annotations: there are ten books translated from English, six books from Russian, and four from French. The rest consist of one each from German, Polish, Italian, Swedish and Norwegian. The single most heavily annotated book is Albion Tourgée's 'A Fool's Errand', translated into Finnish as 'Hullun yritys' by Waldemar Churberg. Churberg's other translation in the corpus, Dickens' 'David Copperfield', is also heavily annotated, and judging from information from previous research (e.g. Vuokko, forthcoming) it is safe to say that Churberg was definitely a keen footnoter. Churberg's biographical data provide some contextual information as to his person: charged with the attempted murder of the Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Helsinki, he spent much of his later life in prison and in a mental institution. 'A Fool's Errand', appropriately, was his last translation.

Other books with plentiful footnotes were Turgenev's 'Home of the Gentry', translated by Siiri Hannikainen (55 footnotes); Victor Hugo's 'Les Misérables' (translated by J. Jäykkä with 40 footnotes), Dumas' 'Count of Monte Cristo', Dostoyevsky's 'Crime and Punishment', Scott's 'Quentin Durward', Korolenko's 'The Blind Musician', Austen's 'Pride and Prejudice', Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield', Fielding's 'Joseph Andrews', and Hall Caine's 'The Christian'. Apart from Siiri Hannikainen and Aino Malmberg's translation of Hall Caine's 'The Christian', all the other "heavily" annotated works were translated by men. Women generally inserted fewer footnotes than men in any single book, with the exception of Hannikainen (but hers is a special

case, as will be seen below in the analysis of the contents of the footnotes).

Apart from the series "Helppohintainen kirjasto", there is no marked difference in terms of whether or not the book appeared in a series. The publisher did not seem to matter much either: of the most heavily annotated books five were published by Otava, four by Waldemar Churberg's own publishing company (which in itself does seem indicative; furthermore, in two of these cases he was also the translator), and three by Werner Söderström (WS). Otava and WS (known today as WSOY) continue to be prominent in book publishing business even today, while most other publishers present in the corpus have disappeared.

What were the footnotes about, then – what was their function? It is interesting to note that a large part of them were translations into Finnish of Latin or other foreign language inserts. These were either proverbs or single words, inserted as quotations or allusions or to add local colour (dialect, for example). In some of the books almost all footnotes consisted of such translations. Siiri Hannikainen's translation of Turgenev's 'Home of the Gentry' is a case in point: all 55 footnotes consisted of foreign quotes translated into Finnish. Of the total of 700 footnotes in the corpus, over 150 were of this type. Another large group consisted of explanations of culture-bound elements, realia. These were either encapsulated in the footnotes by a single term or were given more or less lengthy explanations, sometimes encompassing much more than just the phenomenon in question. In addition to the footnotes explaining foreign inserts and realia, there were others, giving more general contextual information on the literary or political context of the original work and comments on the translation process, on wordplay and puns. These different kinds of footnotes reveal the translators' expertise in a number of fields (including the craft of translation itself) and the different roles that a translator can be seen to play in writing footnotes: those for example of instructor or ideologue.

6 Conclusion

Footnotes were a widely used practice for the whole of the 60-year period studied here. There was great variation in the use of footnotes by different

translators and in different genres. What can be safely assumed is that there existed an atmosphere or a space for the use of footnotes: it was an accepted, even expected practice, which made it possible for translators to "indulge" in writing annotations if they so chose. Translators thus had an agentive role: they were able to decide (time allowing) whether they felt it necessary to add annotations or not. They may also have had a certain influence in teaching, orienting and explaining – at this point, it is impossible to say exactly how important the footnotes were for readers. On many occasions, footnotes may have added an extra voice, a resisting opinion, a formative comment on the book that was being translated (which of course all translation does in any case; footnotes merely do it more visibly). But agency does not need to "go against the current"; it was probably often not so much an act of self-inspired resistance but rather responded to the translator's self-image and in this way to a perceived need. Besides, there was the model of the use of footnotes by both foreign authors and foreign translators, which set an example for Finnish translators as well (which they were free to use, vary or ignore, as they saw fit).

Since a large proportion of annotations deal with the translation of realia (e.g. Leppihalme 2004), footnote study is linked to research on translation strategies. This link, however, is only partial. They could perhaps be fruitfully compared to two different angles from which to look at things. Much of translation research starts with a problem, such as realia (how they have been translated), and leads to a study of strategies, where footnotes constitute one option. But in the study of realia other solutions besides footnotes also need to be taken into account (explanation in the text itself, loanword, omission etc). When the research starts from the other end, from the annotation itself, the question is a different one, although footnotes do shed light on strategies and on realia as well. What footnotes contribute to translation research is a different perspective: that not of problems or strategies but of agency. Through the use of footnotes, translators make themselves visible as actors. Their agenda in writing footnotes can be studied through textual and contextual analysis; likewise, their attitudes towards their readers and their ideas of their own role as regards the audience can be researched through the study of footnotes. If agency is seen as competence and performance (as in Poupaud 2008, see also Suojanen in this volume), footnotes provide a solid

footing for its study.

My earlier research (2007, 2009) supports the finding that translators were active agents in many of their tasks. The widespread use of footnotes in Finland coincided with the period when translation was discussed extensively in literary societies, in newspapers and magazines, and among the literati in general, and when translations were seen as playing an immensely important role in the literary (and political) destinies of the nation. Footnotes were thus part and parcel of an overall active translatorial career. In my study of translators' agency in late-nineteenth-century Finland (Paloposki 2009) I discussed the role of translators in a situation where norms were still being negotiated, and concluded that the individual agency of the translator and the collective norms and constraints playing upon the translator's work were the two poles between which translators moved. It is not just these two poles but a certain space between them that is at stake here. Translators are able to use annotations NEITHER because of collective norms making them do so, NOR because they are bending the rules and creating a new system. There is a large free space where they have a choice, where they have models from the past and from other cultures (such as translators' footnotes); where there is no actual pressure put on them to use footnotes, but where they are not necessarily being creative and innovative either – or resistant and revolutionary in putting into practice something like footnotes. Quantitatively, there is no large-scale systematicity or consistency in the use of footnotes in Finnish turn-of-the century translations; qualitatively, however, interesting patterns of role expectations and audience perceptions start to emerge, as well as different translatorial profiles.

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ETHICS OF TRANSLATOR'S AGENCY: TRANSLATING RUSSIAN JOURNALISTIC TEXTS INTO FINNISH

Marja Jänis

1   Introduction

The starting point for this article is translations of Russian journalistic texts published in Finnish in 'Sirppi, vasara ja tähti' (2006a) by Antti Karppinen and in English in 'The Hammer, Sickle, and Star' (2006b) by the same author. These translations struck me as a novel solution to the problems of translating journalistic texts from Russian into Finnish. Finnish and Russian ways of writing informative, social and political texts are different and pose difficulties for translators. These differences in writing and the problems they present for translators have been verified in research by Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto in her doctoral dissertation 'Quasi-correctness. A critical study of Finnish translations of Russian journalistic texts' (1989) dealing with translations of journalistic texts in the Soviet period. Furthermore, these cultural differences have been dealt with on the practical level for ages: as neighboring countries Finland and Russia have long traditions of cooperation in many fields of life, and translators have had to decide how to render texts in translation to target audiences. In this article I shall first provide an overview of historical aspects related to translating from Russian into Finnish, and then discuss aspects of ethics and agency using journalistic texts as an example.

2   Background

The data of this article is of recent origin, and needs contextualization. I will briefly sum up the history of the relationships between Russia and Finland from the point of view of translation, and – in my case as a Finnish scholar – from the Finnish point of view. Finland was annexed to Russian Empire

as a Grand Duchy 200 years ago in 1809, and stayed so for more than 100 years, 1809–1917. It had previously been an eastern province of the Swedish Kingdom. After annexation to Russia, the Swedish language continued to be the language of culture, education and administration until the second half of the 19th century, but along with the idea of building a Finnish nation with Finnish as a national language, Finnish was increasingly introduced into all forms of social and cultural life. Russian governors in Finland supported the introduction of the Finnish language into administration to a limited extent, more to oppose Swedish influence than to support Finnish nationalistic movements. As Paloposki (2007: 114) notes, this support for the wider use of Finnish was even questioned by nationalistic elements as an attempt to tie Finland more closely to Russia. For official documents, there had to be a Swedish and Finnish version, and, since the 1880s, a Russian version as well. In 1900, almost 100 years after the annexation, the Russian General Governor ordered that Russian be the language of administration. In Finland this order met with heavy resistance, and accelerated the process of gaining independence. There is no research on how administrative documents were translated from Russian into Finnish during the more than 100 years that Finland was part of the Russian Empire, but since translations of Russian literature into Finnish show a literal rendering of Russian linguistic features and cultural items (Jänis & Pesonen 2007: 194–195), it can be assumed that this was the norm in other forms of translation as well.

After Finland gained its independence in 1917, forms of cooperation with Soviet Russia and later the Soviet Union became very scarce, and consequently the demand for translation and translators decreased. Naturally, in Finland, as well as in other countries, the Soviet socialist experiment also roused interest among certain groups of people, but the general political atmosphere was very anti-Soviet in the 1920s and 1930s. The few translations did not help the situation. For instance, the leftist cultural journal 'Kulttuurilehti' published translations of Russian articles on Soviet cultural life, and the translations are strikingly unintelligible and odd, rendering Russian expressions and sentence structure very literally (Jänis & Pesonen 2007: 196). The need for translators from and into Russian was certainly urgent during World War II, when Finland was at war with the Soviet Union, but there is very little information about translating at that time.

The situation changed after the war, when Finland started to build good neighborhood relations with the Soviet Union, at the same time being cautious not to be drawn into the bloc of socialist countries. Finland "could continue developing as a western democracy and industrialize its economy with multilateral trade arrangements, which advanced in integrating with the west with corresponding arrangements with the east" (Rytövuori-Apunen 2008: 129). This cooperation gradually covered many fields of life. It meant a growing demand for translations of legal, political, business, military etc. documents. How to disentangle the cultural differences in these documents was never questioned, by the translators or those who commissioned them. Those who in practice dealt with translation in political and economic relations and cultural exchange using Russian and Finnish were a fairly limited group of people. Many of the translators were Russian emigrants (Baschmakoff & Leinonen 2001: 373), since Russian was only taught in very few schools and institutions of higher education until the late 1960s. Studying translations of official bilateral documents demonstrate a close observance of the source language and its cultural practices, and this practice was probably never questioned. A recent study on translating the bilateral government agreements between Finland and Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union shows how those translations based on previous bilateral agreements between Finland and the Soviet Union only partly differ from those that were written in post-Soviet times (Probirskaja 2009).[1]

Journalistic texts have other purposes than establishing forms of official cooperation. The opening of the Soviet Union, its involvement in international organizations and matters, starting in the second half of 1950s and continuing to its collapse in 1991, required presenting information about itself in a positive light. Translations of this information into other languages were mostly undertaken by Russian translators, but Soviet news agencies had translators representing the target audience in many countries, in Finland too. In Vehmas-Lehto's research mentioned above, the material came from translators of the Soviet news agency APN (Agenstvo Pečati Novosti) in Helsinki. With the collapse of the Soviet Union this kind of centralized

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[1]   Probirskaja (2009) has analyzed bilateral agreements between Finland and Russia applying the key word –method, where key words are those in which the frequency deviates from the key words used in agreements of these two countries with other countries.

and controlled translation of news and other journalistic material came to an end. Nowadays there is no systematic distribution of Russian journalistic texts in Finnish translation in Finland, and news or feature materials about Russia are either translated from materials distributed by international or Russian information agencies or written by correspondents of the Finnish media companies in Russia.

3   Russian translation theories

In the following I shall present a short survey of Russian translation theories, since Finnish translators of Russian were introduced to them in theory and practice. A series of bilateral seminars for Finnish translators from and into Russian were organized by the Institute for Finnish and Soviet Cultural Relationships in the 1970s and 1980s (Pernaa 2002: 244). The theoretical thinking of Soviet Russian translation scholars impressed the audience, because very little was known about translation theories in Finland at that time, and seminars were popular among translators and students of Russian.

Maria Tymoczko (2007: 27) has argued that during the second half of the 20th century the main schools of thought concerning translation can be traced to two sources. One is the code-switching needed for breaking codes of secret languages, and it has its background in linguistic theories; the other is propaganda that seeks to influence the target audience, and it forms the basis for functionalist theories. The development of functionalist theories was also influenced by the vast Biblical translation activities and theoretical ideas of Eugene Nida. Both code-switching and propaganda were developed and widely used in the ideological confrontations of the 1930s, World War II and later during the Cold War.

The code-switching idea of translation was deeply rooted in Soviet translation theories: the level of meaning (plan soderžaniâ) must remain the same though the level of expression (plan vyraženiâ) changes (Barhudarov 1975). How to achieve equivalence was the central question, as it was in Western theories at that time. The Russian theorist Ûrij Recker had as early as 1950 worked out a theory of regular "law-governed" equivalents (*zakonomernye sootvetsviâ*), and developed it further, suggesting modes or devices (*priemy*)

to provide adequate compensations (*adekvatnye zameny*) (Recker 1974, also in Revzin & Rozencvejgt 1964). The term translational transformations (*perevodčeskie transformacii*), a term adopted from structural linguistics, was used by Russian translation scholars in approximately the same sense as *shifts* in Western translation theories. Along with the development of functionalist ideas in translation studies, functionalist thinking was introduced and developed in Soviet translation theories, e.g., by Alexandr Švejzer, (1973; 1988), Lev Latyšev (1981), Zinaida L′vovskaâ (1985), who all emphasized the significance of developments in linguistic pragmatics for translation theory and practice.[2] However, since the development of international contacts in all fields was controlled and entrusted to a limited number of reliable people in the Soviet era, there were few translators and little questioning of the prevalent theories, or the norms and practices that were imposed upon translators. Nor was there any equivalent for the skopos theory in Soviet translation theories (Vehmas-Lehto 2008: 21).[3] Deconstructive thinking, questioning the essentialist notion of meaning and its consequences for translation, has not been discussed to a great degree in Russian translation studies.[4] Sandra Halverson (2004: 341) in her analysis of the definition of translation by the Russian translation scholar Vilen Komissarov notes that Komissarov's description of translation is totally based on the objectivist view of the object of translation studies. In general, a study of the bearings of the prevailing theories on the translation practices and patterns in the Soviet period still needs to be undertaken.

On the practical level Russian translation theories have also affected Finnish norms indirectly since many Finnish readers were introduced to information about the Soviet Union in Finnish translations undertaken in Soviet Karelia. Robert Kolomainen, a translator and translation scholar from Russian Karelia remembers translation classes at Petrozavodsk University, where the principles of law-governed equivalents were underlined for stu-

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[2]   For a general overview of Russian translation theories, see Komissarov 2002.

[3]   A recent book for trainers of translators by Alekseeva (2001) is based on theories of text types and genres following the German functionalist thinking of Katharina Reiss, although *skopos* is not mentioned in the book.

[4]   We find sporadic references to deconstruction in Russian writing: for instance, I.V. Vdovenko (2007: 50) mentions that a new translation of A. A. Milne's 'Winnie the Pooh' is called *deconstructionist* by its translator V. Rudnev.

dents of Finnish as late as the 1960s and he deplores the results: "the translation might have succeeded on the level of lexis, phraseology and style, but not on the syntactic level" (Kolomainen 2006: 181–182; translated by M.J.).

History, geography and power relations have influenced Finnish practice of translating from Russian. The Latvian translation scholar Ieva Zauberga (2001: 269) refers to the fact that has also been verified in research as well: translations into "minor" languages from "big" languages tend to be more literal than translations from "minor" languages into "big" ones. This is the case with Finland and Russia as well: literal representation of the source text, a very direct translation was the norm in Finnish translations of Russian texts.

4   Russian journalistic texts

In this article translator's agency is examined within the context of translating contemporary Russian journalistic texts into Finnish. As mentioned above, the same question was the theme of Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto's doctoral dissertation (1989). Vehmas-Lehto called the literal way of translating journalistic texts *quasi-correctness*, a concept coined by Papp (1972), who describes a quasi-correct translation as being grammatically correct, but "the text as a whole does not correspond to the picture a native speaker has of a well-formed text" (Vehmas-Lehto 1989: 29). Kinga Klaudy (1980) has analyzed Hungarian translations of Russian texts and concluded that the frequencies of certain grammatical elements – e.g. participles, verbal nouns and certain verbal forms – in translations are closer to Russian than the original Hungarian texts. In the conclusion to her study Vehmas-Lehto maintains that the translations she analyzed and called *quasi-correct* "render the message correctly, but not felicitously or effectively " (Vehmas-Lehto 1989: 208).

Vehmas-Lehto compares recommendations for writing a journalistic text in Russian (source culture) and in Finnish (target culture) and points to their differences. Russian scholars of journalistic texts characterize the writing of such texts as a combination of expressiveness and standardization. Finnish recommendations for writing journalistic texts propose readability, neutrality and freshness. According to Vehmas-Lehto, expressiveness in Russian

journalistic writing takes such forms as using metaphors and similes, parcellation of subordinate clauses, inversion and exclamatory sentences, rhetorical questions, addresses to readers, nominal sentences and repetitions (ibid. 62). Standardization involves using clichés and established collocations of attributes and nouns (ibid. 63).

Vehmas-Lehto's study was carried out during the last years of the Soviet regime. We can ask whether Russian journalistic writing has undergone any radical changes like those that have occurred in the political and social order. In an article on linguistic characteristics in recent Russian media texts Marjatta Vanhala-Aniszewski (2005) lists such features as abundant use of colloquial expressions, quotations of other texts and intertextuality, mixing of words of different registers, and wordplay. Her list includes such syntactic features as inversion, rhetorical questions, repetitions and addresses to readers, used for assuring the expressiveness of the text (ibid. 151). In particular, the list of syntactic devices is similar to that of Vehmas-Lehto above.

A comparison of recommendations from Soviet and recent years concerning the form a journalistic text should take also demonstrates similarities.[5] In 1971 Vladimir Kostomarov (1971) wrote that a journalistic text combines standardization and expressiveness. Using standard expressions is the prerogative of effective mediation of information, whereas emotive expressions convey the author's attitudes towards what the information is about. The attitudes were at that time motivated by the general socialist values of Soviet society. Komissarov (2002: 72) presents Russian translation scholar Alexandr Švejzer's (1973) definition of the dominant features of journalistic texts: the purpose of information (*ustanovka na informaciju*) and the purpose of persuasion (*ustanovka na ubeždenie*). These purposes should guide translators of such texts, Komissarov maintains.

In a recent book for trainers of translators by Irina Alekseeva (2001: 196), the author describes the language of journalistic texts as containing clichés (*klišírovannost´*). Alekseeva points out that the concept of clichés has no negative connotation. She believes that standard collocations (clichés) of

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5   Rytövuori-Apunen (2008: 123) cites Ûrij Lotman, who has observed that continuity is not as much about the similarity of content as the mechanisms of change. Previous content can reappear in new forms as well as "inside out", which means that something which had previously been positively valued is given a negative prefix (or vice versa).

journalistic texts function as a signal for emotional reception, but their use does not disturb the reception of the informative message – they are like worn-out metaphors. On the syntactic level she mentions variation of long and short sentences, inversion and parcellation.

A comparison of Russian journalistic texts in Soviet and recent times is obviously a very wide-ranging question and cannot be considered in this context. I have only compared the descriptions for the sake of determining the implications the eventual differences in journalistic texts of different times might have for their translation into Finnish.

5   Translating journalistic texts as ethics and agency

When we deal with translating journalistic texts the typical point of departure is that the source and target text belong to the same genre and their purpose is to inform about the state of affairs or opinions. As mentioned above, many conventions about writing texts in this genre in the Finnish and Russian cultures are different. Following Maria Tymoczko (2006: 25), I shall use the term surface structure. She uses the term in her article in calling for recognizing the diversity of text types in different cultures (Tymoczko 2006:25):

> In the process it is important to reflect the fact that texts with similar surface structure may perform very different functions and may hold very different positions in the textual repertoires of diverse cultures. The converse is, of course, also true: text types with divergent surface structures may nonetheless perform similar functions and hold similar positions crossculturally.

Tymoczko does not clearly define what exactly she means by *surface structure*. In this article surface structure is understood in a holistic sense covering various linguistic levels. When texts are translated to serve the same purpose in the target as in the source culture, and the expected surface structure in the target culture differs from that in the source culture, translators need to decide how to deal with the differences, to underline or suppress them. As to the translator's agency, this would first involve questioning whether a translator has the right to act as an agent and advocate some idea(s) in translation. Furthermore, s/he has to be aware of the professional limits and

possibilities of her/his agency. After defining one's agency s/he has to decide about translation strategies. Defining one's agency involves ethical choices, especially when translating journalistic texts that deal with ideological and political attitudes and issues.

From the point of view of translating Russian journalistic texts into Finnish and the possible ethical choices involved, I find useful Andrew Chesterman's (2001) classification of four tentative forms of ethics. He describes them in the following way: (1) Ethics of representation means recreating a text that fully represents the source text and requires loyalty to the source culture, text, author etc; (2) ethics of service involves following the translation commissioned by the client(s); (3) ethics of communication aspires to optimize cooperation between people, and loyalty to the profession of translator as a cross-cultural communicator, and (4) norm-based ethics means making the target text comply with the expectations of what translations are supposed to be like in the target culture at a certain time.[6]

In the following I shall apply Chesterman's classification to my topic. Chesterman (2001: 140) defines following the ethics of representation meaning that a translation needs to be the sign of the original, "standing for" it. If the desired surface structure of journalistic texts is different in the source and target culture, following the ethics of representation would require representing the surface structure of the source text. The translation would be a representation of the source text but would not necessarily function as a "normal" journalistic text in the target culture. It is also worth noting that among laymen the concept of correct translation is based on the assumption that being literal is being correct, and the translator is asked to act along these lines. Translators, even if they intuitively feel that their rendering of the message in a foreign language is not working, have difficulties in defending their view. On the other hand, a literal translation, the representation of the original without paying attention to the target culture readers, can be a conscious choice, when translators conceive their agency in underlining the differences between the source and target discourses and cultures. When

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[6]   Norms have been studied and discussed in translation studies since Gideon Toury's (1980, 1995) pioneer work in descriptive translation studies. They have repercussions on the case study presented in this article: where do translation norms come from and what is their impact on translating Russian journalistic texts into Finnish.

translating Russian journalistic texts into Finnish, in many cases a direct translation of a Russian journalistic text is a kind of enunciation of the Otherness of the text, its unconventionality as a journalistic text as compared to the expectations of the Finnish reading audience. To quote Chesterman (2001: 140): "If a translation *mis*represents the Other, the result may be a prejudiced, biased, ideologically suspect version, which has unethical consequences for intercultural perceptions and relations." My claim is that following the ethics of representation can misrepresent the Other in this sense.

As to the ethics of service, in this specific context there can be several reasons for adhering to it. As previously noted, the norm in translating Russian texts into Finnish has been a very direct, literal representation of the source text. There might be political reasons for this: literal translation can be a demonstration of respect for the source discourse, as was the case in Finnish pro-communist media starting from the post war times up to the collapse of the Soviet Union. In this case the representation of Soviet information and preserving its alien surface structure was a conscious choice, commissioned by the client and accepted by the translator. The translator´s agency was to introduce Finnish readers to Russian ways of thinking, and the information and attitudes could be understood despite the differences in the surface structures when compared with the Finnish manner, because readers wanted it so.

However, literal translations rendering the surface structure of the Russian text were published in all Finnish media, not only pro-communist. When a text translated from Russian – and marked "translated from Russian", or "Soviet view" – was not coherent with other discourse in the media where the translation was published, it might have been a hidden agenda of the commissioner of the translation to make the text and the source culture behind it seem odd and even funny, ridiculing the source in the same way as irony is used.[7]

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[7] In her study of irony in media texts, Toini Rahtu (2006) claims that the interpretation of irony is dependent on the notion of coherence. Coherence depends on a complex interplay of contextual features, which is why all interpretations must be seen as socio-cultural processes. An utterance is perceived as coherent if it makes sense and hangs together. Incoherent utterances can result in an ironic interpretation; however, the incoherence must also be perceived as being intentional, and intentionality in turn is a sign of the ironist's stance. See also Jänis 2009.

The ethics of communication can be elaborated further within discussions on agency. It is a strong enunciation of agency within the framework of the prevalent Western norms concerning the written translation of nonliterary texts when a target text is purported to be a translation, although there are noticeable deviations in the surface structures of the source and target texts. In this case the translator claims that s/he knows what to do with the source text in order to facilitate the target audience's understanding of it, without rejecting it because of its strange surface structure.

The ethics of norms is linked with the conventions and historical background that was discussed above. However, since the norm has been literal translating, and I claim that my example presents a novel solution to translation problems from Russian into Finnish, it is obvious that following ethics of communication does not involve adhering to the ethics of norms.

6   Recent translations of Russian journalistic texts into Finnish

My data is from recent Russian journalistic texts and their translations into Finnish and English. The material consists of translations of text excerpts from current Russian political discourse quoted in 'Sirppi, vasara ja tähti' (2006a), a book by Antti Karppinen, and from 'The Hammer, Sickle and Star' (2006b), a book in English by the same author. Karppinen has worked as a Finnish diplomat in the Soviet Union and Russia for more than 15 years. In his book Karppinen quotes articles mainly from such Russian newspapers that are politically opposed to the current Russian regime. In these books Karppinen describes the background of the articles by using indirect quotations and comments, but also includes translated excerpts from the original articles in the book. These excerpts are indented indicating that they are direct translations. Karppinen is very well acquainted with Russian culture and language and has assumedly made the translations himself.[8] He, is not, however, a professional translator.

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[8]   Karppinen (2006a: 16) refers to "translators" in his preface to *Sirppi, vasara ja tähti*: "the collection that has taken the form of a book is not comprehensive, nor does it include translators' comments" (transl. M.J.); as Karppinen does not elaborate the translator or "translators" any further, it must be assumed that he is the translator or takes the role of a translator.

In the "Preface" to 'The Hammer, Sickle, and Star' Karppinen says that it "brings together work performed over the past fifteen years for the first time in English" (Karppinen 2006b: 9). This implies that the English book contains texts from Karppinen's previous books on the same theme (Karppinen 1999, Karppinen 2003) in addition to the newest one (Karppinen 2006a) and that Karppinen has written the English text himself. Nor is any translator mentioned.

For a closer analysis I have chosen one article. The Russian original is an article by Leonid Radzihovskii (2004) entitled "Liberalofobiâ" commenting on the discussion of liberalization. Karppinen suggests that using this title the author refers to the fact that the Kremlin had often silently begun the reforms that the media so loudly and negatively accused the liberals of initiating. Radzihovskii's article was published in 'Rossijskaâ gazeta' on May 18, 2004 and can be found in the Integrum data base. The contents of the article are described using indirect quotations and comments and partly translated in 'Sirppi, vasara ja tähti', and 'The Hammer, Sickle, and Star'.

I shall first describe the article as a whole and then comment on the translated excerpts. The source article is about 1000 words long. It is an emotional and expressive piece of writing. There are ten rhetorical questions and three exclamations. The author makes frequent use of quotation marks to mark their ironic use in this context. They can be ironic references to Soviet discourse, as in the following examples:[9]

- "требует народ" ("the people demand")
- о настроениях "простого народа" (about the mood of the "simple people")
- "революционных потрясений" ("revolutionary upheavals")
- "народных требований" ("demands" of the people)
- "по просьбе трудящихся" ("by request of the working people")

The discussion of the legitimization of the privatization of public property is done, for instance, using word play:

- "легитимировать приватизацию" ("legitimate privatization"; also used without quotation marks)
- легитимизации приватизации (legitimization of privatization)

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[9] The Russian words are given in the form in which they appear in the text. The translations are mine M.J.

- ”легитимизации кавказцев в России” (“legitimization of Caucasians in Russia”)
- ”переприватизация” (”reprivatization”)
- ”нелегитимной приватизации” (“nonlegitimate privatization”)

Cultural references are linked with Russian history and would require explanations if translated to foreign readers:

- ”плача Ярославны” (“Jaroslava's lament”; refers to a central figure in the folk epic 'Slovo o polku Igoreve')
- ”абстракционизмом” (“abstractionism”; refers to former Soviet leader Nikita Khruchshev's campaign against modern artists in the early 1960s)
- защитники прав униженного и оскорбленного народа (defenders of the insulted and injured people; a reference to Dostoyevsky`s novel 'The Insulted and the Injured')
- (…) принесет ему ту же дырку от бублика госсобственности…(gives it [=people; M.J.] the same hole of the round roll of government property; a reference to Vladimir Mayakovsky´s political slogan: одному бублик, другому дырка от бублика – это и есть демократическая республика “for some a round roll and for others the hole of the roll – that is a democratic republic”)

In the translations these expressions are mostly omitted. As an example, I shall take a part of the article, first in Russian, then give Karppinen´s text, first in English and then in Finnish.

> (…) известно, что подавляющее большинство начальников в России, штатских и военно-полицейских, левых и правых, космополитов и патриотов, русских, евреев и немцев, последнюю тысячу лет смотрят на народ как на быдло, они у себя в голове крепостное право не отменили.[10]

> It is well-known that the majority of Russia's leaders, including civil servants, military and police officers, leftists and rightists, cosmopolitans and patriots, and the majority of Russian, Jewish and Germany (sic!) bosses had always regarded the people as slaves over the last thousand years. All these groups had still mentally held on to serfdom in their own heads. (Karppinen 2006 b: 162.)

> Tunnettu asia on, että Venäjän päälliköiden enemmistö, sekä siviilivirkamiehet että sotilas- ja poliisipäällystö, vasemmistolaiset yhtä hyvin kuin oikeistolaiset,

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[10] (…) it is known that the majority of bosses in Russia, civil, military and police, leftists and rightists, cosmopolitan and patriots, Russian, Jew and German for the last thousand years have regarded people as cattle (bydlo), they have not ended serfdom in their own head. (Transl. by M.J.)

kosmopoliitit ja patriootit, venäläisten, juutalaisten ja saksalaisten esimiesten en-
emmistö, viimeksi kuluneiden tuhannen vuoden aikana ovat aina pitäneet kansaa
'bydlona'(orjamassana) siksi, että he omassa päässään (mentaalisesti) edelleenkin
pitävät kiinni maaorjuudesta. (Karppinen 2006a: 134.)

In the Finnish translation Karppinen has used synonyms for the word
načal´nik, päälliköt, päällystö, esimiehet, equivalents given in the Russian-
Finnish dictionaries; in the English two synonyms – *leaders, bosses*, also
dictionary equivalents. The word *bydlo*, which literally means 'cattle', is used
in a pejorative sense about people who obey orders and can be made to do
anything. In English it is rendered with the more neutral *slaves*, probably
inferred from the following word linked with serfdom – 'krepostnoe pra-
vo'. The Finnish translation employs the transliterated form 'bydlo' with an
explanation *orjamassa* 'masses of slaves'. On the syntactic level Karppinen
has added co-ordinate connectors when listing different categories of bosses
sekä…että, '*both…and*', and *yhtä hyvin kuin* 'as well as', following the Finn-
ish norms, and made explicit the cause and effect of the last clauses *siksi, että*
'because', which is implicit in the Russian text. In the English translation the
two last clauses are made separate sentences, rendering the final sentence
emphatic. The translations are more explicit and less aggressive in their at-
titude towards "bosses" than the original.

The second example of Karppinen's text, both in the English and Finnish
versions, consists of an indirect quotation of the original and then a direct
translation excerpt. This is the original Russian excerpt:

(…) у нас нет независимых профсоюзов, партий, продажен суд, грубы и
безнаказанны чиновники. С этим не спорит никто. И предлагают модное
решение: усилим Государство. Прелестно! Только переведем на житейский
язык: усилим власть чиновника. Куда ж ее еще-то усиливать? Задерем выше
уровень хамства и взяток "по просьбе трудящихся"? Так что ли? Причем
власть бесконтрольную - ведь всякий контроль "от лукавого", от того
самого подлого гражданского общества, "либерализма".[11]

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[11] We do not have independent trade unions, parties, the court can be bought, civil ser-
vants are crude and unpunished. Nobody can deny this. And a fashionable solution is
offered: let us strengthen the state. Wonderful! But let us interpret this in everyday lan-
guage: let us strengthen the power of the civil servant. How can you still strengthen it?
Let us raise the level of shamelessness and bribes "by the request of the working people"?
This is it? Besides, that power is uncontrollable – because all control is "from the evil",

In the following the indirect quotation of the beginning of the text in English appears first, followed by the translated excerpt:

> Was the hatred of the liberals perhaps a fear in the nomenklatura that the serfs would be provoked by the liberals to demand equality, human rights, independent trade union, and real political parties?
>
> When contrastingly it is demanded that the state be strengthened, it leads to bureaucratic machine that is corrupt, free, independent, and not under the control of the justice system. The bureaucracy is brutal and untouchable. Did the average citizens want those in power to slip even further out of control, when they opposed the civil society favored by the liberals? (Karppinen 2006b: 163.)

In Finnish the text is slightly longer, but follows in general the English translation:

> Onko "liberaaleihin" kohdistunut viha kenties nomenklatuurassa herännyttä pelkoa, että tämä "bydlo" rupeaa vaatimaan liberaalien yllytyksestä tasavertaisuutta, ihmisoikeuksia, riippumattomia ammattiliittoja, todellisia puolueita.
>
> Kun (vastakohdaksi) vaaditaan valtion voimistamista, johtaa se yhä kauemmaksi pois oikeuslaitoksen korruptiosta, vapaasta riippumattomuudesta ja lisää virkakoneiston raakuutta ja rankaisemattomuutta (grubost i beznakazennost). Haluavatko 'tavalliset kansalaiset', että toimivaltaa pitävät luisuisivat yhä kauemmaksi kontrollista, kun vastustetaan liberaalien suosittamaa (demokraattista) kansalaisyhteiskuntaa. (Karppinen 2006a: 134.)

In translating this excerpt Karppinen has radically neutralized the expressiveness of the Russian text. In the Finnish translation there are clarifying words in brackets, even some transliterated Russian words; however, they do not appear in the same grammatical form as in the original. On the lexical level, the stylistically marked expressions *po pros´be trudâŝihsâ* 'by the request of the people' is translated with the Finnish idiom *tavalliset kansalaiset* and with quotation marks, referring to the ironic use of the idiom, whereas in the English translation it is rendered neutrally *average citizens*. The Russian idiom *ot lukovogo* – 'from the evil' – is omitted. The seven sentences of the Russian text are combined into two in the Finnish and three in the English translation. Most questions of rhetoric are excluded. The text is remarkably shortened, omitting exclamations and quoted expressions. The target text represents the excerpts of Radzihovskii´s text as neutral, intelli-

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from that evil civil society, from "liberalism". (Transl. by M.J.)

gent, containing sharp but unemotional argumentation.

7   Conclusions

It appears that Antti Karppinen saw his agency as a translator in bringing the Russian journalistic texts closer to Finnish readers, as well as to those who read his book in the English translation. Tymoczko (2007: 211) notes that translators make choices about which values and institutions to support and oppose, and determine in this way their activist strategies, even when they decide what to transpose from a source text and what to construct in a target text. Karppinen writes in the prefaces to his Finnish and English books about giving a voice to the Russian intelligentsia's contemporary political thinking. Karppinen's construction of the target text was motivated by the desire to make the Russian critical political discourse understandable to Finnish and English language readers without their being put off by the alien surface structure of the text. The ethics motivating his agency as a translator is that of communication. I would like to support such agency when translating from Russian into Finnish because these two neighboring countries need to cooperate. This example can be seen in a larger context as well: a translation can spoil the image and message of the sender of the source text, if the translator does not take into account the differences in writing texts of certain genres in different cultures. Or a translator or commissioner can misuse a direct translation to ridicule the message sender and the culture behind it. In our contemporary world, where representatives of very different cultures need to communicate, the ethics of the translator's agency should be discussed and taken into account by translators themselves, and by those who commission translations.

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AGENCY, ACTIVITY AND COURT INTERPRETING

Tuija Kinnunen

1 Introduction

This article investigates contradictions in multilingual court work from the perspective of court interpreters' agency in Finland. The presupposition will be that Finnish courts currently work in multilingual settings as if it were possible to carry out the process in the very same way as when carried out in a monolingual setting. Furthermore, I will argue that from the court interpreter's point of view court interpreter's role, status, agency, and rules defining court external practices with other professionals have not been adequately defined in Finnish legislation. For example, if we look at the Finnish procedural code[1], we can see that these issues are not regulated to any notable extent. Once there are no clearly defined rules for the actions of the interpreter in court, we may either expect that the interpreter has pronounced agency and so there is no need to define the interpreter's position more clearly or we may expect that the quiet assumption behind the judicial curtains renders the interpreter's participation in the process as something invisible, something that will not affect the procedure in any significant way regardless of the interpreter's crucial role in enabling the court proceedings.[2]

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[1] Code of Judicial Procedure, Chapter 4, Language of the Court Proceedings, Section 2 (1) When a language other than the one used by a Finnish or Swedish speaking party is used in court proceedings, said party has the right to interpretation and translations as provided by the Language Act.

[2] Aliens Act, Chapter 1, Section 10 Using interpreters or translators (1) Aliens have the right to use an interpreter when an administrative matter or an appeal under this Act is being handled. The authorities shall ensure interpretation as provided in section 203. In addition, aliens may also use an interpreter or translator at their own expense in an administrative matter or an appeal. (2) An interpreter or translator procured by authorities may not be a person whose connection with the person or matter concerned may jeopardize his or her reliability or the safety of the person concerned. (3) Separate provisions shall be issued on interpreters' obligation to secrecy. Section 203 *Interpretation*

In addition, I will argue that interprofessional collaboration practices among court interpreters, court authorities, and lawyers are not always rational and purposeful by any means. There is clearly a need for improved communication between professionals of language and law so that contradictions in collaborative practices can be discussed. These arguments are justified by the results of data analysis including examples of various contradictions in how the courts operate.

Traditionally monolingual court work has faced difficulties in multilingual situations, and as new agents are now filling up the court rooms, they bring with them their own goals, rules and tools and methods of action. Activities that were once carried out in a single language are now being carried out in two or more languages, and as the new 'clients' of the courts come from multiple cultures and backgrounds, as do many interpreters, there is a need for alternative ways of action and more information and knowledge about each others' work.

Contradictions are indicators of a need for change and development. The concept of contradiction focuses our attention on such issues in the activity systems that reflect the possibility for change and development. A contradiction can be viewed as a tension in a systemic structure and it may be taken as a tool of analysis. Internal contradictions indicate that the system is not operating smoothly and some elements do not fit together. When new elements, like a foreign language speaker or an interpreter, enter an activity system such as a court procedure, some of the old elements may collide with

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and translation (1) The authorities shall provide interpretation or translation if the alien does not understand the Finnish or Swedish language used by the authorities under the Language Act (423/2003), or if he or she, because of his or her disability or illness, cannot be understood in a matter that: 1) is processed in the asylum procedure; 2) pertains to refusal of entry or deportation; or 3) may be initiated by the authorities. (2) To clarify the matter or to secure the rights of the person concerned, the authorities may also provide interpretation or translation in matters other than those referred to in subsection 1. (3) The provisions on the obligation of an administrative court to provide interpretation or translation are laid down in the Administrative Judicial Procedure Act. (4) The obligation of the authorities or a court to provide translation or interpretation does not apply to material that has no bearing on the processing of a matter. (5) The person concerned has the right to be notified of a decision concerning him or her in his or her mother tongue or in a language which, on reasonable grounds, he or she can be expected to understand. A decision is notified through interpretation or translation.

the new elements, and as a result a certain tension occurs. For a researcher, these disturbances and conflicts – when detected for what they are – mark a need and possibility for change in the relevant activity system. For this reason, it is useful for would-be-developers to look for these disturbances and conflicts when there is a recognized need to change a particular system. In conflict situations such as these, it also becomes possible to observe attempts to resolve the conflict and to act in a new, possibly innovative way more suitable for the incorporation of the new element into the existing activity. As contradictions offer possibilities for change and development, the prospect of change presupposes an analysis of prevailing situation and so, when contradictions are detected in this manner, participants can start the process of developing a new vision and new ways of practice. (See e.g., Engeström 1987, 2000, 2001.)

Recently, court interpreting has become an issue of emerging importance in the European Union countries, and common standards for multilingual cases are needed.[3] In Finland the number of speakers of languages other than Finnish or Swedish has steadily increased. However, since these other language groups are still relatively small when compared to other Scandinavian countries, Finnish court authorities and attorneys remain rather inexperienced in working with court interpreters. For example, there are no official statistics for using languages other than Finnish or Swedish in court proceedings even if the courts have to keep a record of using interpreters. Finland is officially a bilingual country whose official languages are Finnish and Swedish, and courts operate in both official languages. Around 5.3 million people reside in Finland, and while the majority of them speaks Finnish as their native language, approximately 290,000 of the total population speak Swedish as their native language (which makes up 5.4 percent of the total population). The number of foreign residents is relatively small, approximately 144,000 (2.7 percent), but the number is increasing steadily. The

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[3] Common EU standards are being required, and EU Commission has now given a proposal (COM 2010 82/3) for a new directive. The "proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and the Council aims to set common minimum standards as regards the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings throughout the European Union." See http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/intro/news_intro_en.htm [12.3.2010].

number of speakers of other languages than Swedish and Finnish is 207 037.[4] The increasing number of potential new court customers needs more legal aid in terms of court interpreting and legal translating. Here it is also worth noticing that the voice of citizens with a foreign background or newly arrived immigrants is oftentimes only heard with the help of an interpreter or/and a translator. Consequently, interpreters and translators must be considered as actors who enable the identity, empowerment and agency of these people, and interpreters must therefore be trained accordingly.

1.1   Court interpreter's role

Many professional organizations and educational institutions still prescribe the court interpreter's role as being neutral and invisible although empirical findings have shown that the interpreter is a co-constructive participator in the courtroom interaction (Angelelli 2004: 16–21). This kind of non-theorized thinking reveals an underlying assumption: people think that the meaning of a message is objective and can be conveyed even when "all parties to a conversation work together (participate) to generate this meaning" (ibid. 21). Belief systems flawed in this manner are often founded on existing "theoretically uninformed practice" (ibid. 23) and should be questioned correspondingly, in order to find that proficient court interpreting together with its successful outcome would not possible without the power of interaction and responsible agency (ibid. 21–23).

According to González Pérez (2006: 392), "[t]he interpreter's duty in these settings is understood to consist of ensuring that the parties' joint work towards the accomplishment of their interactional goal is not hampered by the bilingual nature of the encounter". However, considering the issue more closely, there are differing expectations of what should be interpreted during the court sessions and how the interpreter and other people in the setting should act; not everybody agrees on which interpreting techniques should be used in courts, and actors may have varying opinions concerning the interpreter's role in the courtroom. In addition, the normative ideals of faithfulness, impartiality, objectivity and neutrality which are stated in professional

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4   Statistics Finland, Statistical Databases.
      See, http://www.stat.fi/tup/tilastotietokannat/index_en.html [12.3.2010].

codes, can be somewhat problematic when analysed from the perspective of interaction. Leinonen (2007), for example, has discussed the problematic nature of these ideals as stated in the Finnish professional code of court interpreters in comparison with the actual practice of interpreted interaction and the knowledge of interaction gathered by researchers.

1.2   Ability and need to act

The concept of agency in this article follows the definition of activity theorists Kaptelinin and Nardi (2006: 33) "as the ability and the need to act". From this premise, I will raise the question whether the court interpreter has the **ability** and the **need** to act during a multilingual court hearing, and I will employ activity theoretical concepts in order to examine the different perspectives of court interpreter's agency. In the context of activity theory, one needs to ask first: What is the purpose of a person's activity? It may be claimed that this purposeful object motivates the activity of a subject and fulfils the subject's needs and that, in order to have agency, a human subject must possess either biological or cultural intentions (cf. information technology, Nardi 1996). In addition to this, in all societies human subjects also typically act as agents who realize other people's intentions and whose agency can be characterized as delegated agency (Kaptelinin & Nardi 2006: 247–248). With this in mind, we must see what motivates court interpreters and makes them take different actions in order to attain their motive as delegates to their clients. In activity theory "the ultimate cause behind human activities is *needs*" (ibid. 60).

If we adopt as our viewpoint the actors' ability and need for agency and collaboration in the activity framework of the courts, we have to consider both the need for expansive action (that is, agency and intentions of the court interpreters) and the restrictive power of the structure (the institutional legal setting) which together construct a mutually influential duality. According to Angelelli (2004: 24), the act of interpreting has to be contextualized before one is able to investigate it because the practice is a socially situated act influenced by the constraints of the institutional courthouse context (Angelelli 2004: 24). Moreover, as noted by Baker (2006: 335–336), translation studies research attends carefully to the socially constituted character of context and

the active negotiation among participants in interaction.

Agency is also related to visibility. Empirical investigations carried out by Angelelli (2004) have demonstrated that interpreters do not perceive their role as being invisible but that their visibility is rather to be viewed as a moving entity on a continuum. Interpreters exercise and bring their agency into a material form when they participate in knowledge construction which can be described as a contextual and cooperative achievement (Duranti 1992 in Angelelli 2004: 42). In order to achieve this, legal practitioners have to trust court interpreters (cf. Angelelli), and this may only be done when court interpreters become accepted members of the legal community. If we suppose that trust among legal practitioners is at least partially achieved through the proper use of courtroom language, we have to accept that in order to develop court interpreting, court interpreters as learners and users of the proper social and linguistic codes of that community must be allowed to participate in the different practices of the social communities which they work with (cf. Wenger 1998). Actors do not always play in line with their social role if they think that they are not able to realize their abilities in a certain situation (Goffman 1973 in Miebach 2006: 109) and, in the Finnish court interpreters' case, their role is not clearly defined and this problem relates to their action in the courtroom. As it turns out, court hearing procedures also restrict the interpreters' ability to act even when they would need to act on behalf of their clients in the setting.

Court interpreting is a way of interaction in an institutional setting. According to Koskinen's (2008: 17) analysis of the concept of institution, it is typical that "institutions share a number of features: any institution can be defined as a form of uniform action governed by role expectations, norms, values and belief systems", and so within the legal community the participants of different legal practices know what to expect from each others and what their duties are. This is true as far as the institutional actors are concerned but in the case of court interpreters we will rather speak of institutional boundary members.

2   Activity theory

At first, we must investigate courtroom interpreting as an activity before we can say something more about the interpreters' agency and the goals they are trying to achieve in order to fulfil their own needs and the objectives assumed by the social activity of the community they are participating in. With the help of activity theory we can analyse contradictions in different working situations as well as assess their need for development (Engeström 2000: 960). Activity theory is explicitly interested in analysing practical activity, and it aims first and foremost at viewing the activity itself rather than its subject or object. The subject and the object will only become discernible through the analysis of the activity itself. (Kaptelinin & Nardi 2006: 31.) According to activity theory, the activity itself is the context for all actions taken within it.

The activity theoretical framework aims at putting aside the old dualistic sociological framework in which the research focus lies either on the individual actor or the socioeconomic structure (that is, either on the interpreters' agency or the structural and institutional power of her working context). The central theoretical concepts are **activity** and its **social situatedness** together with the **object-orientedness** of the **activity system**. One of the basic ideas of the theory is that the individual actor needs to be tied to the social structure, and so any actions should be studied in the context of the system.

> Activity theory is an approach in psychology and other social sciences that aims to understand individual human beings, as well as the social entities they compose, in their natural everyday life circumstances, through an analysis of the genesis, structure, and processes of their activities (Kaptelinin & Nardi 2006: 31).

Activity theory is also known as cultural historical activity theory. It is not a new theory as its foundations were already developed back in the 1920s and early 1930s by Lev Vygotsky, a Soviet researcher in psychology, and Vygotsky's colleagues Alexei Leontiev and Alexander Luria developed the theory further (Engeström 1999: 3–4). For Vygotsky it was important that individuals are seen as agents in society who possess cultural means (tools) for arriving at their objects. The object-orientedness of any action was central to his thinking, and so it was important to analyse the objects as cultural entities in order to understand the individual's action.

Whereas Vygotsky's focus remained on individuals, Alexei Leontiev turned his attention to collective activities in which the individual subject was investigated in his interrelations with the community. Leontiev, however, also predicated a divide between the concepts of **collective activity** and **individual** action, and according to him, the activity itself consisted of subject, object, actions and operations. (Engeström 2001: 134.) After these researchers of the first and the second generation, a so-called third generation of researchers is now in the process of developing new conceptual tools in order "to understand dialogue, multiple perspectives, and networks of interacting activity systems" (ibid. 135).

In order to understand the ideology of activity theory we have to take it as our starting point that the origin of all activity lies in society and culture and their historical development and not in the individual (Engeström 1999: 19–22). Activity is something that is collectively carried out and has a collective and relatively stable object against which participants carry out their situated actions which, nonetheless, remain intelligible to other participants in the context of the collective object. In addition, activity can be viewed as a complex systematic structure that is both multilayered and hierarchical, and therefore it is reasonable to see it as a system (see Engeström 1987: 78, Engeström 2004: 9–10).

The activity system can be visualized on the basis of Engeström's model (1987: 78). In figure 1 (see below) basic elements of an activity system are presented in the form of a triangle. The activity system consists of different actors of which the first are **subject**, **object**, and the **tools** of action (artefacts), while the others are the **rules**, **community**, **division of labour**, and the **outcome** of the activity.
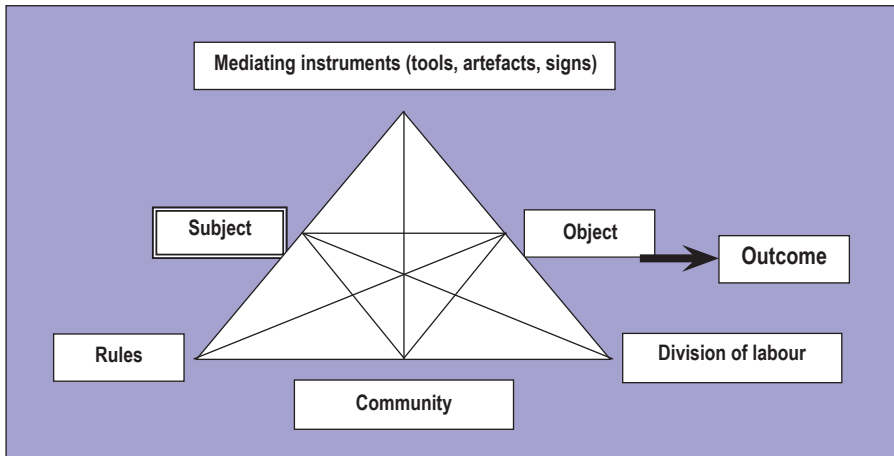
FIGURE 1. A model of human activity system by Yrjö Engeström (1987: 78).

The anatomy of the actions can be analysed with the help of Engeström's model. In his model the subject is the person whose perspective is central to the analysis and, in our case, that person is the court interpreter. If we look at court interpreting in the context of a hearing, the object of this activity is to enable a multilingual court session; as one Ministry of Justice interviewee stated, the court interpreter is there primarily for the **case** and not for any of the participants.[5] Moreover, in addition to the central actor, there are procedural rules which define the art of interaction in the activity system, and there are also different tasks delivered to different actors acting in a number of roles. The participating community at large consists of these variable persona sharing a common objective.

Engeström (e.g. 2000: 961) provides as his own example the activity systems that have been particularly developed for health care. Health care is a general object for many different actors such as doctors, nurses and laboratory analysts, and they carry out their specific actions in the context of this collective activity. Their actions are regulated by diverse rules, they use different tools to carry out their actions, they work within a certain com-

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[5] Ms. Paulina Tallroth, Head of the Department of Language Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Interview, 9.6.2008.

munity and there is a division of labour so that each actor will know what they are supposed to do. These variable aspects of the activity itself construct a systemic structure which can be described as constituting the context for the object, subject, action and operation. The contexts, in other words, are generated by people *on* acting.

This view of context has similarities with such pragmatics and interpretation studies that characterize context as being processual by nature, and which understand context as something that is collaboratively construed by speakers during an interactional encounter (see for example González Pérez 2006: 391–392). This pragmatic understanding of context stresses the communicative context of utterance making and meaning construction. Activity theory suggests that in order to understand interaction within this system, it is important to understand the object of this activity first – even if there can be different objects for different sequences (Engeström 2004: 106–109).

Court activities involve many individual actors all with their own motives and objectives for their work within the system. This causes the multivoicedness of activity, according to the principle of which multiple points of view, different traditions and many kinds of interests are always present in activity systems. This complicates the matter as individuals and groups assume different positions. (Engeström 2001: 136.) In multilingual court settings many systems can be employed simultaneously and all of them could become the focus of an analysis: among others, any of the voices of the prosecuting authority, police, court, advocacy, lay members, court interpreters and immigrants might be prioritized.

The activity theoretical approach "distinguishes between short-lived goal-directed **actions** and durable, object-oriented activity systems" (Engeström 2000: 960). As we pointed out, a series of actions builds up the activity system. However, these actions do not always take place smoothly, and the activity system itself can remain internally contradictory; for example, in the activity system of the court, systemic contradictions may emerge between the judge and the interpreter. We can thus assume that the legal community does not always understand the actions taken by linguistic practitioners who, in turn, may not always be aware of the motives of the courthouse practitioners or who may carry out their work in a way they consider logical for their own communicative goals.

3   Data and method

In this article I analyse contradictions within interprofessional collaborative practices by means of different data collection methods. The data in this article includes practitioner interviews (including judges, clerks, interpreters, and a lawyer, as well as a leading language police authority on behalf of the Ministry of Justice), observations in district court settings, recordings of court interpretations, and a small-scale survey for the planning of further education (Isolahti & Kinnunen 2008). The data included is listed in Table 1 (see below). The practical understanding about court interpreting as an activity is based on observations and field notes made during four criminal cases. Different data highlight variable aspects of multilingual court activity.

TABLE 1. List of data analysed for this article.

Code	Method	Date	Material	Notes
1	E-mail questionnaire 12 short questions, 54 district courts Some phone calls (with Nina Isolahti = NI)	25.4.2008	39 answers from clerks and judges in electronic form or by phone	Information not always reliable, some answers very difficult to interpret correctly; only general overview & tendencies
2	Observation, criminal case	18.3.2008	Recorded defendant hearings, notes	2 female interpreters for Russian
3	Observation, criminal case	19.3.2008	1 h 12 min, notes	Female interpreter for Thai
4	Analysis of recorded evidence	19.3.2008	Recorded hearing	Female interpreter for Thai
5	Group interview (with NI) Judges, clerks	26.3.2008	1 h 45 min	2 male judges, 1 female judge, 3 female clerks
6	Observation, criminal case	7.4.2009	Notes	Female interpreter for German
7	Interview (together with NI) Judge	14.4.2008	1 h 29 min	Female with much experience in family law and with interpreters
8	Interview Lawyer	4.6.2009	1 h 21 min	Male who works weekly with interpreters, very experienced
9	Observations, criminal case	4.6.2009	Notes	Female interpreter for Tamil
10	Interview Court interpreter	8.6.2009	57 min	Female who has app. 5 years experience in German
11	Interview Language Policy Authority Ministry of Justice	9.6.2008	1 h 50 min	The role of court interpreting in language policy.
12	Interview Court interpreter	9.6.2009	2 h 12 min Correspondence between interpreter and law agency	Female who has app. 8 years experience in English

I opted to vary the duration of the settings observed. In the largest case, five persons were accused of serious tax evasions (Code 2), and two interpreters were employed for the Russian language. The second case dealt with discrimination at work on the basis of ethnic origin and language, and it included a victim who spoke Thai and for whom the court employed an interpreter for Thai (Code 3). Meanwhile, the third observed case was on drunk driving and concerned a defendant of German origin for whom the court employed an interpreter for German. The fourth observed case, finally, was a criminal case in the field of labour legislation between two parties who were not of Finnish origin and for their purposes the court employed an interpreter for Tamil. Two of the interpreted hearings for the parties speaking neither Finnish nor Swedish were recorded by the courts in question and they were available for the research by a research permit. Interviews were conducted in six different situations. For this article, two court interpreters were interviewed (Codes 10, 12). Besides, one judge was interviewed in her office (Code 7) and a group of judges and clerks were interviewed in a courthouse meeting room (Code 5). In addition, one lawyer was interviewed at his office (Code 8).

4   Contradictions within the activity system

4.1   Courtroom activity

Let us imagine ourselves looking at the scene during a hearing in a courtroom setting: a court interpreter is sitting at a desk between two persons, the defendant and the defendant's lawyer. At the moment of our observation the court interpreter is listening to the judge who is questioning the defendant. The interpreter is simultaneously taking notes and scanning through documents on the desk next to her notes; the documents cover the background material of the case and some word lists. These tools, including the notetaking practice, can be viewed as mediating artefacts in the interpreting activity. Then, in the following moment, the interpreter perceives that the judge is finishing the question. The interpreter looks at the defendant sitting next to her, takes her turn in the interaction and starts interpreting the question

to her. At the same time the court's voice recorder is taping the defendant's hearing. The interpreter observes her interaction partner for signs of non-understanding. The description given is a collage of pieces of information and conclusions gathered during the various observed courtroom hearings.

This interpreter can be viewed as an actor whose tools consist of her two working languages, the note book, the pen, her notes and the documents she has received as background material for the case. She knows that it is useful to sit between the defendant speaking the foreign language and the defendant's lawyer. This is a practice that she has probably acquired during her training when she has visited court hearings; it is likely that, in such situations, she has also learned to take notes and prepare herself for different situations. What's more, she has learned to control the actual interpreting situation so as to stop the turns from becoming too long. Through experience, she has also learned that she has to be very active in front of the court right from the beginning of the hearing to be able to organize her working conditions. In this sense, her acquired knowledge and professional knowhow can be considered her working tools. This educated and experienced interpreter is also aware of the rules of procedure, the aims of the different actors in the courtroom, and the questioning techniques of the oral setting.

When we now widen our view and take a look at the different actors on scene, we can recognize the prosecutor sitting behind her desk, lay members sitting quietly next to the judge behind their high desk, a clerk at a computer beside the judge, and the injured party with her lawyer sitting on the other side of the room. Some members of the public, as well, are seated at the back of the room. In this fashion, the action takes place in an institutional setting consisting of different roles.

At the moment the interpreter finishes her turn, the defendant takes hers and starts answering the question in her language. The interpreter makes some notes and then stops the defendant in order to ask her something. In response, the defendant adds something. Then the interpreter again takes her turn, looks at the judge and starts interpreting the answer. Other people in the room listen to her carefully. The lawyer of the victim is taking notes. The clerk is typing. The victim shakes her head and looks angry. The above example illustrates the observations of courtroom activity made during the hearings (cf. Engeström 2000: 961).

During this short period of time a number of different actions was taken: they were parts of an overall activity that became the object enabling the multilingual hearing. The most distinctive actions were (1) listening to and observing the speakers; (2) interpreter's notetaking and reading; (3) judge questioning the defendant, interpreter translating the judge, interpreter listening to the defendant, interpreter explaining unclear issues to the defendant, defendant answering the judge, and court interpreter translating the defendant.

We can well assume that these communicative actions may take place differently than described but the overall setting and procedure will nonetheless stay the same. As a result, the overall concept can be characterized as being an activity which has a more permanent, mutually constructed objective than the individual actions that happen to take place.

4.2   Historicity and the Finnish context

One of the principles of Activity theory, namely historicity, underlines the development of activity systems. In order to understand the activity of a system, it is necessary to know what has happened in the system before, what kinds of decisions have been made and why. If we want to understand the special character of the Finnish court setting and its procedures, we must know something about the history of this institution. We must also understand why Finnish interpreters and translators act alone in the courts and why there are only a few interpreters for some languages. We can also ask why the interpreting remunerations are so low that professional practitioners are not interested in these tasks. Has the situation always been like this? After all, there can be many historical reasons which explain certain developments and their relevance for the current situation.

All activity systems possess a historical reason for their existence and they thus have their own history in which they have fulfilled particular functions for the surrounding society. The object of the court has been to produce fair decisions on the basis of legislation in force. As court systems and their procedures have constantly evolved throughout decades and centuries, they have been influenced by many changes in the history of the surrounding society, and this has happened in spite of the courts' traditionally independent

position outside political discussions.

Historical questions come up very quickly when we take a look at Finnish society with its need for ever more interpreters and translators for immigrant languages. When one considers the changes that have occurred in Finnish society during the recent decades and that have influenced the court, one change in the environment has certainly been the growing number of immigrants, as well as the growing number of cases that have some kind of international aspect. In contrast with the past, the parties will not always speak Finnish or Swedish as the case used to be. Thus, the environment of the courts is increasingly multilingual, and the group that needs legal protection is no longer linguistically or culturally homogenous. The number of foreign citizens residing in Finland currently represents 2.7 percent of the total population (Official Statistics of Finland 2008), and the largest foreign language groups are those who have reported as their native language either Russian, Estonian, English, Somali or Arabic.[6]

Our short history of immigration and the relatively small groups of speakers of certain languages in Finland cause problems for court interpreting – perhaps even for community interpreting as a whole – and for the linguistic rights of these people. For example, the statistics show that Somali is spoken by app. 10,000 individuals, and the approximate number of speakers of Arabic amounts to 8,100, Kurdish to 5,900, Albanian to 5,800, and Chinese to 5,700, while Persian, Thai and Vietnamese speakers amount approximately to 5,000 each. However, it must also be noted that the proportion of foreign citizens residing in Helsinki, the capital, already weighs in at 6.7 percent of the city's total population. (Official Statistics of Finland 2008.)

Excerpts 1a and 1b[7] reveal some of the problems which can arise when the number of speakers of a certain language is very small. Lawyers and members of courts have to be aware of this problem, and they must consider

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[6] For example, in 2009 the number of persons whose native language was Russian resulted in 50 000. The largest foreign national groups come from Russia (app. 27,000), Estonia (app. 23,000), Sweden (app. 8,400), Somalia (app. 5,000), and China (app. 4,600). In 2008, 31,800 refugees were residing in the country. In addition to these immigrant groups and their languages, many other immigrant languages are spoken in the country, and people whose mother tongue is neither Finnish nor Swedish have a right to use an interpreter in court. (Official Statistics Finland.)

[7] Excerpts are translated from Finnish into English by Stuart von Wolff.

the risks of using interpreters who are not aware of their professional ethics. For example, some interpreters work for consulates, too, and in some instances the people who need judicial assistance, particularly in the case of asylum seekers, do not want the consulates to be aware of their legal needs. Moreover, it is also possible that some clients do not want to be interpreted by certain interpreters which they know from before.

Excerpt 1a

> If we've got 15, 20 speakers of some language, within our vicinity, there's a particularly **strong likelihood that these people know each other**, and once I was supposed to have a case, that I was, that I was, that I got an interpreter who was the opposition's best friend. It noticed, I noticed that in enough time, that it could have caused horrible damage, because **our mandate is confidential**, and that a person can turn to a lawyer in secret. If a person is planning a divorce, or or something like that, well it's totally embarrassing, if if somebody contacts a lawyer in confidence, and that waiting for him/her [as the interpreter] is someone's spouse's best friend… [yeah, who would then immediately go and…] So I don't know what the code of ethics is, but these are often such **quasi-professionals, or even complete trainees, about whose ethics** I'm not that sure…

In addition, lawyers may not always be satisfied with the services of municipal interpreter centres or, in other words, with the interpreters provided by them. At least in excerpt 1a above, the interviewed lawyer expressed his lack of confidence towards quite a few interpreters by calling them "quasi-professionals" or "complete trainees". According to his own experience, he cannot be sure whether these interpreters are actually aware of their professional ethics. In excerpt 1b, the same lawyer refers to the urgency of several legal matters. In small immigrant communities it can happen that the assigned interpreter is someone who the client knows from before and so it is of utmost importance in these matters to deal carefully with interpreter issues.[8]

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8   All court interpreters seem not to be aware of the regulations in the Administrative Procedure Act 434/2004. See Section 13 (1) An attorney or a counsel shall not without permission disclose any confidential information given to him/her by the client for purposes of taking care of the matter. (2) The privilege and prohibition of use pertaining to information received by an attorney for purposes of performing his/her task shall be subject to the provisions of the Act on the Openness of Government Activities (621/1999) even if the information has been received from an authority other than that considering the matter. (3) The provisions in subsections (1) and (2) apply also to interpreters and

Excerpt 1b

> When a person has to use the services of an office such as ours […] assault and battery, well that's when a husband is harassing a wife, well it's difficult to suggest that next week there would be a really good interpreter available, could you come back and tell us next week what happened last night, **we're dealing with urgent cases**, in which the underlying principle is that the matter be dealt with the same day, I was the one contacting the police about this case, and the police and courts share a common problem, a common problem, that we don't really understand what this person is saying, but that we always try and get a hold of an interpreter, that would be so, so super, but I don't have, for example, at this moment anyone at hand, because there are different **interpreting centers, whose services I am not always completely satisfied with**, and then concerning these exotic languages there's the issue of whether we can even get them, in little Finn community, **little community in Finland** that if we request an interpreter, who comes here, well it can well be that it's our opposition's best friend

As we can see, the need for interpretation can be very urgent in legal matters. Combined with a shortage of qualified professionals and the small size of certain immigrant communities, this is a serious problem for courts and legal agencies which requires attention.

The traditional contradiction in activity systems exists in the tension between the money invested and the quality of outcomes. This contradiction is easily recognized in present-day health care (Engeström 2004: 11). For example, health care costs must not exceed certain limits, and this may cause problems for the quality of accessible care and treatment. Problems such as these can also be recognized in court settings where it is sometimes the case that professional practitioners are not commissioned simply for being too expensive (see Excerpt 2, lawyer). There is a certain irony to all this as, in effect, their participation would many times be the most effective and also the cheapest and safest way of handling a case. In consequence, some interpreters refuse to go the courts for criminal cases because of the poor remuneration.

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translators participating in the consideration of the matter. They apply further to persons who on commission or otherwise participate in taking care of the matter of the client. Section 65 *Disqualification of an interpreter or a translator* A person who is in such a relationship with a party or the matter that his/her credibility is thereby compromised shall not be retained as an interpreter or translator.

Excerpt 2

> And then there's the problem of, whole way they look at this issue of interpreting, if I can say that the Court provides interpreters for their own [criminal] cases. We are not involved in this at all. And the situation is such that the Ministry of Justice, or I don't know where this directive comes from, the permissible hourly allocation, yes, well, it's rather low, you see, and sometimes I have asked good interpreters why they no longer come to hearings before the Court of Appeal, well the answer is that our office's rate is just too expensive for the Court of Appeal. So, so, **they quite consciously opt for cheaper services**, and unfortunately you can see that in the quality of the interpreters' work.

According to the interview with a lawyer (Excerpt 2), there is a contradiction in court between the objective, the tools and the rules. The objective is to make a valid legal decision but the rules (set by the ministry) and the tools (the money allocated) prohibit the court from using the best practitioners available although there are also other rules (set by the ministry) which claim the quality of the process as something valued. Here the main problem is that no imperative statute exists that would insist on the court using the most qualified practitioners as interpreters while it also must be acknowledged that a statute with a qualitative statement like this would not be possible. Another contradiction of the system involves the poor quality of court interpreting which prolongs the oral court session and so complicates the hearing and decision-making even when one objective of the court proceedings was to find the solution as efficiently and in as little time as possible. Moreover, one should also not forget that interpreting as such almost certainly protracts the procedure in comparison with a procedure carried out without interpreting. Taking all these factors into account, it seems that the use of unqualified interpreters when qualified are available is far from understandable in today's Finland where the official aim of the Ministry of Justice is to speed up the trying of legal cases.

4.3   Interpreters as boundary members of legal communities

Finnish translators and interpreters are not regarded as integrated members or equal partners within the courts' activity systems but the same goes for many other countries, too (see, for example, Angelelli 2004 or Kadrić 2009

[2001]). In Finnish courts there are no permanent offices for on-site translators or interpreters and thus no in-house culture of translation and interpretation, and because of this, Finnish court interpreters have no membership in the social communities of the courts. They do not have direct access to the practices of the courts even if in their work they have to deal with the institutional power of the courts including the salient structures, hierarchies and procedures of all actions implemented within the walls of these judicial bastions. In addition, no accreditation system exists for court interpreters: instead they work on a freelance basis and are called to court when needed. As it occurs, many professional interpreters accept assignments from courts only occasionally – not to speak of persons who act as interpreters only in the case of actual need. Due to these unfortunate circumstances, there is a lack of trust towards many practitioners in the field.

Furthermore, we have to consider the interactional role expectations that legal practitioners may have towards court interpreters who come from outside the courthouse walls to conduct their work, while it is also important to take into account the court interpreters' relationship to the social structure that forms the context of their interpreting activity. Angelelli (2004: 25) has pointed out that many interpreters are "isolated from the social interaction and institution in which they work". Unfortunately, this isolation means that especially such people who only occasionally act as court interpreters will always be newcomers in the practices of the court, and consequently they will never reach expert level in their performance (cf. Wenger 1998).

When we consider the position of court interpreters in the courts' activity system, we may notice some problems at an early stage in the commissioning practices of the courts (Isolahti & Kinnunen 2008). There is significant variety as to who gets to commission the translators and interpreters: in practice, clerks, department secretaries, process servers and even judges may wind up as acting commissioners. As we can see, the division of labour is thus not at all clear among the courts themselves. Due to non-existent regulation, court members are quite free to decide how they work with interpreters as long as they do not violate any procedural regulations. However, the judge of the case is responsible for deciding on the general need for interpretation. This may not always be an easy decision as it may not be always clear whether interpretation is actually necessary or not. In all of the cases I observed, the

biggest problem seemed to be how to find professional interpreters or at least people who have some training in interpreting for minor immigrant languages.

Many Finnish courts use the interpreters that the municipality provides only at their fixed rates, despite the fact that the actors in question may not always be satisfied with these services. When in demand, interpreters or agencies are contacted either by phone or email. The interpreters appear in court in the same way that the lawyers and case parties do; they show up when it is their turn to act and then leave after their payment has been agreed on. Sometimes these interpreters also act as translators who translate the written summons of a case, or they may be in touch with the same case already during the preliminary investigation or in negotiations with the lawyers. Some preliminary hearings may also have taken place. However, these facts notwithstanding, the court interpreters may still hardly define themselves as being "members" of the legal community, the obvious prerogative of lawyers and prosecutors.

No official markers of court interpreters' membership in the legal community actually exist – unless one takes into account the unofficial status and tacit approval of their work as acting practitioners when they have been commissioned for more than once. In this sense, court interpreters can be viewed as practitioners with 'boundary membership' which may be granted in silence when the practitioner has mastered the smooth handling of the interpreted cases, appropriate jargon of the court, and shows by their behaviour to have understood the proper codes of the legal context (cf. Wenger 1998:104–105). Thus, in conclusion, interpreters can be treated as visiting members of the community if they are able to work with certain documents without problems, master the technology of the courtroom, or else recognize the rules of their working context.

Moreover, organisational structures to support better collaboration are lacking in the current scene; many district courts do not even possess a proper register of professional interpreters. According to my interviews, the district courts also lack any standardized methods for assessing the quality of the interpreters' work, even if some court secretaries do keep unofficial 'black lists'. One group of practitioners (judges and clerks in a district court) stated that they never gave any feedback to their interpretation services pro-

vider: they simply used the services of the local provider without further ado. This implies that the practitioners in question were quite satisfied with the interpreter services available and that they had not experienced the commissioning of interpreters and the quality of their work as a problem of such magnitude that would have forced them to change their practices in any way. But there are other views on the issue, as well. Judging from a telephone conversation I had with one court secretary, it may be assumed that court interpreting is not always experienced as being among the worst problems by all legal practitioners or by those with the power to change things in courts. Subsequently, court secretaries may be frustrated by the lack of reliable interpreter registers in their everyday work: the search for a suitable interpreter for a case may well take the whole day. On the one hand, this misfortune is due to the fact that many interpreters are busy, live far away, or they find the court remunerations too low for them. On the other hand, it may also be that only a few persons able to interpret between certain languages reside in the whole country. But this apparently trivial problem of the court secretary goes unnoticed or uncared-for by the more powerful actors.

4.4   Problem-solving with primitive tools and rules

It must be noted that even the most popular foreign language in Finland, English, can cause problems in Finnish courtrooms. In Excerpt 3 (see below) the interviewed lawyer ponders the entire scale of the problem as the fact is that also interpreters working with a very common language pair Finnish-English do face problems in the courtroom context. The courtroom is a highly sensitive and demanding context for language use, and so the appropriate use of language and knowledge of interactional rules in such a highly institutional context are sure to constitute problems for **anyone** who comes to the court without any background in jurisprudence.

Excerpt 3
> And I can tell you, even if this will perhaps be somewhat upsetting for your research, that one can say, that in close to, well perhaps not half, but let's say quite frequently, say, in 3 to 4 out of 10 interpretations, in which we're dealing with an English-language interpretation, that I'm able to judge, that they're inaccurate in some way.

> So then I wind up having to correct the interpreter's mistakes, especially if we're at such a stage in the court process that the client's responses or the witness's responses are being interpreted, **well I wind up having to intervene** – it was not quite like that – and then it's corrected, and that is quite disturbing, when one considers that in Finland interpreters, for English in particular, are the most professional, so what does that say about interpreters' skills, if we'd be talking now about the interpretations of Kurdish, Farsi or Russian, or some other language, which we cannot necessarily always get that easily, and where nobody is able assess the interpretation?

The excerpt further illustrates the nature of shared problem solving between two professions in a court setting where the lawyer has to correct the interpreters' performance in the courtroom. From this example we can surmise that either the interpreters are not performing professionally or that their assignment in the courtroom is exceedingly demanding.

As we could see, lack of trust towards court interpreting was evident in this excerpt. However, we must not forget that some of the interviewed judges were generally satisfied with their interpreters' performance, and it must also be noted that the interviewed lawyer emphasized that all interpreting cannot be perfect as there are different interpreting sequences during the hearings, and interpreting does not always play the same role as several other sources of information.

The notable reason for the low status of the interpreter's profession is due to the lack of training and competence among those people who act as interpreters and translators for many of the minor language groups. Consequently, these types of individuals affect the status of educated members of the profession, as well, who mainly work from and into the major B languages such as English, German, French, Russian, and Swedish. However, as we have seen, problems appear within the courts also in the case of these languages.

The following example (Excerpt 4) is an excerpt from an interview with an experienced lawyer who has extensive experience of working with interpreters and immigrant or refugee clients. In this excerpt, one basic contradiction between the expectations for the interpreters' role in court and their actual on-site performance is readily discernible. In this case, the interviewed lawyer had expected the interpreter to be aware of his professional

role as a court interpreter.

Excerpt 4a

> I had a really horrible situation a little while ago. There was an interpreter present during the courtroom session. The prosecution was seeking imprisonment of a number of years. And immediately it became clear that the person who was serving as interpreter could not manage, or that they [the interpreter and his client) could not manage to understand each other. They did **not speak the same dialect** of language, they just could not manage. Then there was the question about whether, whether, since they couldn't understand each other, whether the entire transcript of the preliminary investigation, interrogation report, is at all correct. And then the man who was my client, a speaker of language x, said, that the interpreter the police had engaged was bad, well, **which almost made the interpreter pitch a fit**, so that he said that the police interpreter is so good that it's impossible that there should be any kind of problem or misunderstanding.

First, there was a problem with the language. The accused and the interpreter did not understand each others' dialects. This indicates that the court had not ascertained in a sufficient manner which language or dialect is needed during the proceedings. Second, there appeared to be a problem with the preliminary investigation – this question was raised during the proceedings by the accused person who claimed that the interpreter engaged by the police had been incompetent. Due to this, the court interpreter stepped out of her or his role and started to defend the interpreter who had been engaged during the police interrogation. This incident raises a number of questions regarding ethics, trust, secrecy, visibility and resposibility. In his description of the courtroom situation, the lawyer further shows how difficult it is for other members of the setting to react to an obvious breach in the usual courtroom protocol.

Excerpt 4b

> So that the interpreter started all of a sudden to testify, that her/his translation was true, and this was in my opinion **completely unprofessional**, for an interpreter to tamper with the prosecutor's presentation of evidence so that, s/he starts, like, while interpreting on behalf of the accused, s/he also pleads that the prosecution's material is true, and that it has been interpreted and translated accurately – that is like the worst of all, for an unprofessional interpreter **not to stay in role**, and they are horrible moments in that courtroom, when there's such talk, and

the **interpreter's client and the interpreter all of a sudden get into a heated discussion**, nobody understands either of them, somehow one has the impression, that the interpreter in some way has given directions, or is leading the witness or something, that **does not belong to the interpreter's role**, and that **nobody really knows how one is supposed to relate to such a situation**, that is the interpreter rejecting, or barring, or what's going on, but in any case, if the interpreter is supposed to translate a 5-word sentence, and if that somehow turns into a 4-minute or 5-minute discussion between the interpreter and interpreting client. Yeah, well, that certainly gets people wondering about what on earth they're talking about, those people.

As the above example shows, there are interpreters who are not fully aware of their role. This unawareness causes troubles for the other actors in the courtroom. This may be partly because the role of the interpreter is not properly defined in the law. Furthermore, it is difficult for the judges to interrupt such incidents, if they are not able to decode what is actually going on between the interpreter and the person who needs interpreting. This example also indicates why it is important for other actors of the court to know what is pronounced between persons speaking other languages. Besides, it also proves how the accused or the victim of a foreign origin might feel, if they were called into a foreign court and are not able to fully participate during the hearing; for example, they would not be able to request necessary clarifications for their potential questions. In spite of all the above, one does not really comprehend, in such situations, why the judge does not interrupt the interpreter and ask her or him to stop this kind of action, and announce, what the role of an interpreter is supposed to be. In some cases, the reason for not doing so might be that the judge does not want to stay the proceedings but continue with the case despite the problems in interpreting. So, it seems that the contradiction in occasions like these lies between the actors and their objects, i.e. the judge wants to handle the case, the accused person wants to get understood and the interpreter wants to enable the interaction. Furthermore, the lack of rules is reflected in the situation described above, and one explanation for the contradiction might also be that there was a shortage of qualified interpreters in this very language combination. In the following excerpt the lawyer goes on explaining another dilemma, that of the impartiality of the judge.

Excerpt 4c

> And then there's this **impartiality dilemma** that when normally in court the litigating parties involved put matters before the judge. The prosecution has its evidence, the defence has its own evidence, and so forth. The judge's task is, well, to deal in a neutral manner with matters, for all their strengths and weaknesses, but when it comes to the interpreter, the judge himself has summoned her/him.

> So if there's something wrong with the interpretation, it's awfully difficult for the judge to say to the interpreter "you're incompetent, just leave", since the judge is the one who sought out the interpreter in the first place. And that's the impartiality dilemma here, that in my opinion it would be better, if some other body rather than the Court would engage the interpreter [...] **but what's the judge to do**, if the interpreter is incompetent, the judge is the one who's arranged, he's held to account for how he conducts his courtroom, and then, he's like, like, well, it's the judge's own cock-up, if he hasn't ensured the interpreter is proficient, and these are indeed regrettable situations and it's horribly difficult for one to meddle in the conventions of a judge's affairs, one certainly can't criticize how a judge's conducts his courtroom.

To conclude, one can state that in the activity system of the court, a number of potential contradictions regarding court interpreting seem to exist. When problems appear during the activity, contradictions may become visible. On the basis of the above data, it is possible to conclude that effective ways of collaboration do not exist for occasions described in the excerpts.

4.5 Problems in interprofessional collaboration

If we now peruse a few more interview excerpts (Excerpts 5a, 5b, and 5c) with an interpreter who has a university degree in translation studies and eight years of experience in interpreting, we can recognize a significant collaboration problem between the interpreter and the law office. The interviewee has been commissioned by a law office that needs interpreting for a witness hearing in a civil trial. On interviewing her, I looked with the interpreter at her case documents and e-mail correspondence with the law office. She then reported problems in her collaboration with the office; she felt unable to carry out her work properly as she had not received the documents which she would have required in order to prepare herself for court performance. In the first part of Excerpt 5a, evidence of the lack of required material be-

comes quite clear.

Excerpt 5a

> [riffling through documentation and correspondence] these documents are in order, per se, and indeed here's the transcript of the most recent 3rd session in advance of [– –] but what's completely missing here is, **what I didn't receive despite my requests**, indeed I didn't receive any information about the evidence that I could have made myself familiar with, not even a transcript of evidence, which would be valuable for an interpreter, like when they say here that they refer to item C4 submitted in evidence, well it would be nice to know what C4 is, because that could influence, among other things, the verb one uses.

> But I didn't get that, and **because of that there was indeed a problem in the interpretation** in, in the hearing coming up very soon [– –] and here [in the correspondence] that if you want to refer to the actual written [i.e. not viva voce] contents of evidence [Interviewer: but you didn't get any response to your request] no, no, no. [Interviewer: Is it normal not to get a response?] Yes, it's very common. [– –] I think they just aren't interested – they somehow don't understand, why an interpreter asks about something like that… why don't we just do our job?; don't we know what's doing?; why are we asking such questions? They just don't get it, even though we try to explain [– –]

The interpreter shared the documents of the case with me, saying that the material she had received was useful but still not the material she had requested in the first place. She wanted to make herself familiar with the evidence for the case since this evidence contained the facts which formed the foundation of the claim. This claim was being handled in the oral hearing, and so it was entirely understandable that the interpreter required all available linguistic material for her preparation work. Without the data, she remained unable to predict the communication that would take place in the courtroom, even though everyone else involved in the process had already been able to work with this material, and also the witnesses were coming to court in order to answer questions regarding the claimed facts. Although the interpreter had requested the evidence documentation from the law office, she never received it.

Excerpt 5b

> Here's the claim [pointing to the lawsuit], but what's it based on? **And if I don't have that fundamental information, and all I've got is this claim, then I wind up**

missing the most essential information. […] Like what is the whole background here. It has an influence on absolutely everything. Like I'm missing a piece of the puzzle, and I'm left in a kind of fog, and I'm just fumbling my way forward, since I don't know what this thing is that we're talking about here […]

The interpreter describes her activity context in the courtroom with the word 'fog'. She is forced to take her actions even if she is not able to "see" where she is aiming at with her communication. She does not have the same understanding as the lawyers or the witnesses or the judge who have all been able to familiarize themselves with the evidence material. In other words, her preliminary understanding of the case is insufficient, and this is the reason why she was not able to use exact expressions or correct terminology. The interpreter was of the opinion that due to her difficulties in the interpreting process it was difficult to define which concrete issues actually belonged to the field of the damage claim in this case. My own view of the situation was that she was furious because she felt her own performance to be dissatisfactory because her collaboration partners were not giving her the possibility to succeed in her work on the level of her own standards. Due to the disregard of her work on part of the law office she had little respect for the current way of collaboration with the lawyers.

Excerpt 5c

[– –] but like in this case, it induced error on our part quite concretely, **as I hadn't received the file transcripts of evidence**, in which were lists of, for example, different building materials, which included things like 3 stub distribution boxes, [––] **like I don't know what that is, even in Finnish** [Interviewer: and who would have clarified that] yes, indeed, nobody – and there are other similar situations [– –] when such information was not forthcoming, and when there were claims for damages, and where the whole point was to clarify which materials should be given due consideration for compensatory action, – that is, which materials the court would consider, and which not.

The excerpt shows that a serious lack of knowledge exists on the side of legal practitioners towards the work of interpreters. If we keep in mind what the lawyer said in Excerpt 3 about the quality of the English interpreters' performance, we may find that the problems in courtrooms do not exist only because of the poor quality of the interpreters' work. Interpreting is an activity that as such presupposes collaboration between the different actors in the in-

terpreted setting. This applies to the courtroom context but is also necessary outside the courthouse because of the fundamental role of preparative characteristics of this kind of communicative work in many highly professional contexts. Fluent interactional performance requires factual knowledge and proper understanding of the case and the functions of interpretation. Similar results of imbalance in power relations between the court interpreter and the court have been reported, for example, by Mona Baker (2006: 329–330).

In court interpreting it is essential for the interpreters to familiarize themselves with the evidence documentation, as both the subject material and the vocabulary can often be very technical or medical or complex in another way. Preliminary understanding is of utmost importance. Evidence material helps the interpreter to understand and predict different perspectives and arguments during the courtroom conversation, which in turn enables the selection of correct phrases and expressions as well as exact use of terminology. In addition, it would be useful to know which evidence the lawyer will make use of in the courtroom. The interviewed interpreter (Excerpts 5a, b and c) made it clear that it was very frustrating to ask again and again for the material when nobody seemed to be interested in sending her the documentation. She also stressed that one had to be very active in these issues as other people remained ignorant about the perspectives the interpreter was aware of due to her expertise. Besides, as she said, other professionals had other things to take care of, and so the interpreter had to be very proactive and keep asking the law office whether they had thought about this and that.

Yet, as we have seen, there are not many signs of active professional collaboration or co-operation between the people inside and outside the courthouse. Nevertheless, interpreters do seem to have more collaboration in civil cases when they are hired directly by the law offices and when informal co-operation seems easier to organize. Despite this, however, one can ask whether most court interpreters identify themselves also in these instances as possessing a rather passive and instrumental role in which they do not get to exploit their capabilities.

In my view, the court interpreter's role and prevailing practices within the legal community should be renegotiated. This task calls for professional competence, repeated encounters, the discussion of problems and willingness for collaboration on both sides; Engeström (1987), for instance, calls for

collectively generated activity in order to achieve development, change and transformation of social structures. Active collaboration and mutual understanding between all professionals in the legal field is also stressed by Sandra Hale (2007: 64). When a court interpreter becomes able to take an active role in a certain situation and the court applies to this rule, the interpreter can be compared to a broker who introduces other people to new practices from the outside (cf. Wenger 1998: 109). Becoming a broker requires, among other things, an ability for coordination and alignment between different perspectives (Wenger 1998: 109) characteristic for the work of translators and interpreters in dealing with different professions and taking care of the parties' communicative needs. Yet this kind of brokering seems to be difficult in current court settings as linguistic practitioners traditionally possess no on-site legitimacy: they are outsiders. Moreover, because some court interpreters are not networked and so fail to share their own practices and experiences in the legal community with other interpreters, they also fail to learn about other people's experiences.

According to activity theory studies, it is obvious that in order to succeed in reaching the common objective of any activity, the actors must be able to communicate with each other about the objects of their own work. Trust must be created between all the actors.[9] For this purpose, it would be useful to launch a collaborative structure where it was possible to deal with each others' role expectations and so resolve common problems. As we have seen, the needs of interpreters have not yet been fully identified (as in Excerpt 6a), and legal practitioners frequently have simplistic lay views on issues related to interpreted interaction. Furthermore, it is apparent that a lot of misunderstanding and misinformation hovers among the legal practitioners in this field of their work. Some legal practitioners entertain the misconception that there are interpreters with the actual status of an "official interpreter" or that an accreditation system exists for court interpreters in Finland. As it occurs, there are some countries, such as Austria and Australia, with an accredi-

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9   See Chesterman (2000: 181–183) for the concept of "translational trust" which is an elementary ethical value and default position for any translation professional in order to be able to act like "a trusted insider", i.e. someone who can be trusted despite being primarily an outsider. According to Chesterman (ibid. 181), "Translators, in order to survive as translators, must be trusted by all parties involved, both as a profession and individually". See also Abdallah & Koskinen 2007.

tation system, but many European countries do not share this feature (see Corsellis 2005) and so this is a widespread problem on the entire continent.

4.6   Interpreter's agency in the courtroom

To some degree, court interpreters are free to choose whether they should or should not act in a way suitable for their own professional practice, but we must not forget the conventions of the institutions in which they operate. This fact notwithstanding, it appears that in some cases the other actors in the courtroom are bound to submit themselves to the actions of an interpreter and a victim when neither of them is not used to the judicial procedures and act only in the way they construct during the interaction. In one case I observed (see Code 3), the judge was unable to direct either the interpreter or the victim to follow her rules of hearing despite attempts to control the questioning.

The victim here was a rather young female of Thai origin. The interpreter for Thai did her best in the interaction but in the end remained unsuccessful in managing the situation. The judge attempted to use the interpreter as an agent of hers to manage the hearing of the victim properly, but she was unable to achieve her aim which then resulted in a very problematic hearing for my study. There were long sequences of verbal interaction only between the victim and the interpreter which obviously caused a lot of frustration for other actors of the court.

As opposed to the interpreters interviewed by me, who said they were able to stand up in problematic situations and mold the context to fit their work, this interpreter did not manage to handle the situation at all. The judge then ordered the interpreter to interpret only short sequences of speech at a time – and it was obvious that the order was meant as an order for the victim too – but failed in the attempt.

Subsequently, the victim's interpreter ended up in a difficult position as she did try to follow the judge's orders, but she remained obviously unable to convey the judge's message to the young woman whose hearing she was interpreting. Every now and then, the judge also addressed the prosecutor directly during hearing sequences in which the victim was speaking in Thai even though the interaction should have principally occurred between the

primary speakers, that is, the victim and the judge.

Something like this seems to be typical of judges (Hale 2007), and the problem with unprofessional interpreting may often stem from the judge's inability to evaluate the cause of an interactional problem. It falls on the judge to find out whether a problem is due to the action of the interpreter or the person who is being heard through an interpreter. On the basis of interviews with court members, it is obvious that in some cases judges may determine from the interpreter's unprofessional behaviour that their work is substandard even though they cannot understand the person (cf. Excerpt 4b). In this sense, it is generally problematic to evaluate the credibility of an untrained interpreter (see Hale 2007: 93). However, it is the judge's obligation to make sure that both sides understand what is being said during a hearing. A judge should supervise the interpreting and so secure the present communication by advising, demanding and re-questioning (Lankisch 2004: 198–199).

Nonetheless, the procedural script itself may also cause disturbances if the judges follow it to a tee. Engeström, for instance, found on the basis of observed criminal court settings in California and in Finland that procedural rules are inflexible when something unpredictable happens (Engeström 1998: 230). Fortunately, however, some judges were able to step out of the ordinary routine in such cases and adjust their behaviour accordingly: in effect, they provided instructions that enabled new approaches to meaning construction in the courtroom (Engeström 1998: 225–226).

It is then a contradiction if those interpreters who are not aware of their role expectations, ethics, and interpreting techniques (tools of action) remain to a certain extent freer to act than trained interpreters: such untrained actors only perform in the way they think the interpreting should be carried out in order to attain the general objective and the wished outcome. This indicates that the courts do require a flexible procedure for occasions like this and that judges should receive training in acting with an interpreter.[10] The performance of interpreters is constructed during the collective courtroom interaction, and the presiding chair should be able to collaborate with the interpreter in such a way that the hearing can be managed successfully.

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[10] See Krikke and Besiktaslian (2005) for their suggestion of basic rules for interaction with interpreters.

Towards this end, it must be stressed that professional interpreters are already used to adapting their way of interaction so that it is functional to the context. A professional interpreter can become more resourceful in collaboration with a richer source of working tools – lexicon, preparation, interpreting experience, training, and knowledge of technology and substance. All in all, the professional interpreter also remains more liable for his or her specific actions as they are not so much a result of a collective activity as the case may be with others. However, those interpreters exist as well who are unable to adapt their communicative actions in a functional way. In consequence, the problem will persist as long as there are not enough trained interpreters, and so the judges who keep appointing unqualified interpreters will be liable for any problems caused during the interpreted interaction.

It thus seems that agency as a notion is a 'dependent variable' that changes according to different social situations. In addition, some social structures encourage agency more than others do (see Fuchs 2001: 39). Yet, at times, also the opposite can be true: some actors may come to possess agency in terms of interaction even if they lacked any institutional power. Furthermore, it can also be the case that although in a hearing the judge clearly wields the greatest share of institutional power in directing the course of communication, they may not be able to use their power in any effective manner if the interpreter remains unable to render the judge's orders any further, or if the parties for some reason wilfully refuse to follow given rules.

5   Conclusions

In this article I have been examining the court interpreter's agency through the lens of an activity theoretical framework, and the results indicate that agency is something defined by the contextual structure of interaction and the individual's own capacity and need to interact in the context in question. However, as a counterpoint, it was found during the investigation that an individual may also possess significant agency during interaction by **being ignorant** of the institutional context (of procedures, protocols, participant roles and rules of interaction) in such a way as insider participants would expect them to be. This happens if an individual fails either consciously or un-
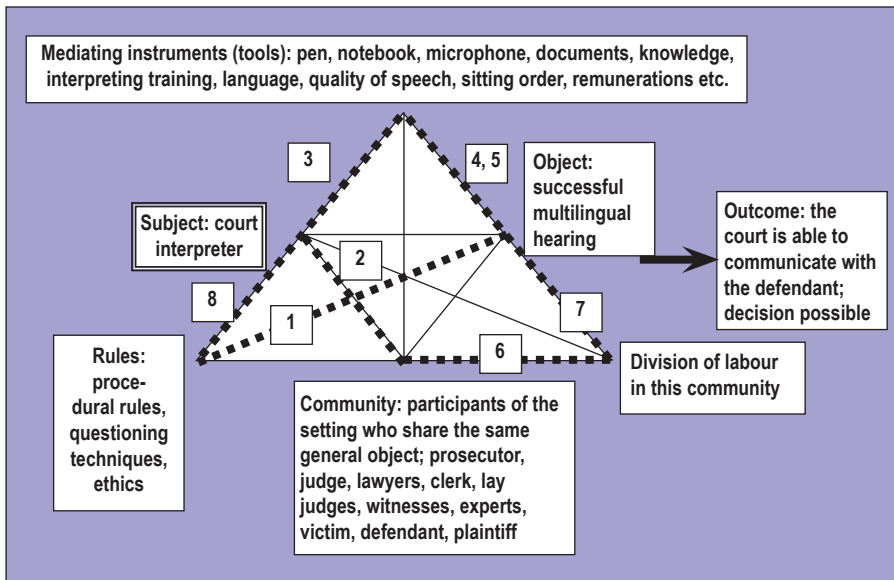
consciously to follow the norms of an institution but, despite this, has both the **ability** and **need** to make their voice heard in this context in their own way. A person being interpreted, for instance, may not want to wait until the interpreter has finished their turn, or s/he may want to add or ask them something during the interpreting sequence if s/he does not understand the characteristics of interpreted interaction. This kind of behaviour may be the result of not being introduced to ways of speaking through an interpreter.

In one of my criminal cases with interpreting, a young woman of Thai origin managed make her hearing very difficult by being neither willing nor capable of acting in a manner prescribed by the judge. And being the victim of the case, this was not a fortunate outcome for her by any means. With this in mind, we can assume that in order to possess real agency, an actor has to be able to act in such a way that the outcome results in something that is desired for the interaction. According to the definition introduced in the beginning of this article, the subject must thus have the aforementioned **ability** and **need** to act: there must be a motivation for all actions taken. This is one of the cornerstones for any theory based on activity. Besides, because there is a common objective for the collective activity system even if it may not always be clear for all participants (see, for example, Engeström 2000: 960), the important thing for the success of a collective activity is that all actors sharing the knowledge of this common objective are themselves motivated to reach it.

With the help of Engeström's model (1987) earlier on in the article we were able to define the basic elements of court room activity during a criminal hearing illustrated in Figure 2 (see below). The subject of the activity is the court interpreter and the object of their activity is a successful multilingual hearing. This is the reason why the interpreter was commissioned in the first place. The desired outcome is for the court to be able to communicate with the defendant who does not speak the language of the court, and finally to be able to make the right judgement despite the language barrier. Towards this end, the interpreter uses different tools to attain the desired object. The interpreter may, for example, use a pen, a notebook, the desk microphone, various documents, and also the knowledge gained during the case preparation. In this context, acquired interpreter training can be considered a tool that enables the reaching of one's objective, language competencies, quality

of one's speech, and perhaps even the sitting order in the courtroom.

Our research has thus far indicated a number of contradictions between the rules governing court procedure and the object of the activity system. First, the procedural rules have been designed for monolingual settings and so they do not take into account the fact that interaction takes place in a different way during an interpreted session (contradiction 1, see Figure 2 below). The second contradiction (2) appears between interpreters and law offices or court houses in planning and co-ordination of shared information, whereas the third contradiction (3) discovered relates to the lack of reference material and training which are essential tools for achieving the goals.

Mediating instruments (tools): pen, notebook, microphone, documents, knowledge, interpreting training, language, quality of speech, sitting order, remunerations etc.

3

4, 5

Object: successful multilingual hearing

Outcome: the court is able to communicate with the defendant; decision possible

Subject: court interpreter

2

8

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7

Rules: procedural rules, questioning techniques, ethics

6

Division of labour in this community

Community: participants of the setting who share the same general object; prosecutor, judge, lawyers, clerk, lay judges, witnesses, experts, victim, defendant, plaintiff

FIGURE 2. Activity system of a criminal hearing with court interpreting. The dashes in boldface illustrate the contradictions from the perspective of court interpreting.

Moreover, as we have seen, apparently not every interpreter has been properly educated or knows their ethics (contradiction 4), and so we must keep in mind that adequate compensations for the interpreter's work can also be considered as a tool for achieving the wished quality of the object as it helps

the interpreter to spend more time in preparing for the case (contradiction 5). Furthermore, it has been unclear in our research who in the court commissions the interpreters: the practice was found to differ from court to court (contradictions 6 & 7). Heterogeneity of this type may cause confusion among interpreters whose contact persons may vary significantly from court to court, and it may also be an indication of the issue being a minor one for many courts. Nonetheless, it does cause a contradiction between the division of labour and the object of the activity (contradiction 7), whereas for a successful outcome it would be better if there were some kind of training available for those who work with interpreters and translators.

When thinking of the principle of expansive transformation and development in the area of court interpreting, one certainly notices the need for development. As one possibility, in a court setting the participants themselves could collectively search for innovative solutions and new practices whenever there seems to be a contradiction in activity (cf. Engeström 2004: 31–34). Furthermore, I believe that court procedure regulation itself should be changed to include new regulations for multilingual interpreted hearings and the role of the interpreter in it (contradiction 8). The current situation is very problematic as the present regulations provide no official position for the court interpreter. In consequence, individual interpreters have little chance of influencing the strict structure of the hearing unless they are very active themselves. When asked about how the process regulation should be changed, one interviewed interpreter (see Code 12) suggested it should at least mention that the process may include a "court interpreter". According to this interpreter, if there are no regulations for the interpreting itself, the interpreter may be considered as something extraordinary. Indeed, the regulation should include a paragraph about what the court interpreter actually does and does not do: such simple, practical procedural statements would be useful for all. In addition, they should include directives for the conduct for the judge, the prosecutor and the lawyers regarding situations when there is a person involved in the case who does not speak the court's language.

All of my interviewees expressed the need for some kind of improvement in various processes connected to multilingual hearings. It seems that developmental processes in this field require a great deal more of shared endeavour and initiative among all the actors of this collective activity than has

hitherto been practised in Finland. The range of working practices between courts, law offices and interpreters require serious analysis, and all actors have to rethink their own roles and practices. Reforming the system will not be possible in the form of educational efforts only if the actions taken remain unilateral. What's more, the systematic structure of the collective activity as a premise for improved quality poses a further problem: no steady flow of interpreters working in courts in all languages currently exists. Thus it is worth asking why anyone should decide to invest in education in this field as reasonable income will not always be available for all practitioners, and as programmes for practical training in interpreting and collaboration with legal practitioners have so far failed to materialize even though the models have been available for quite some time, it is also worth asking what our primary measure should be. However, as the importance of this issue has now been recognized on the level of the European Union, the proposal (COM 2010 82/3) for a new directive on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings will hopefully promote developmental activities in this field. A more solid description of the status in legislation would clarify the role of the interpreter for everyone involved and thus it would increase the ability of the court interpreters to act in a more target-oriented manner during multilingual hearings. Moreover, the court activity system would benefit from developmental meetings where all stakeholders could address these issues together and discuss new models for their work.

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fields. Without much previous interest in theoretical issues of causality, I have gradually realized that the pursuit of explanations entails a particular set of problems that can be captured with the concept of causality. In other words, one cannot escape causality in empirical research.

In this article my aim is to discuss the various ways in which causality has been approached in translation studies, and to assess their applicability in explaining agency and the role of human action in translatorial events. I will proceed as follows. First I will introduce the three models of causality identified by Andrew Chesterman as the prevailing ways of conceptualizing causality in translation studies. This discussion leads me to argue that the so-called Aristotelian model of four causes, in spite of its usefulness in many respects, may be too deterministic and too static to fully account for the particularities of human agency. I will then propose a complementary view, that of explaining by mechanisms, as a means of tackling some of the problematic aspects of causal explanations in translation studies. In conclusion, I will return to the notion of agency, and to the tension between free will and determinism it entails, to see whether the mechanismic approach has helped us in any way to explain how translators (and other agents participating in the translation process) act the way they do, and why the products and effects of translatorial action are constituted the way they are.

My examples throughout the article relate to a research project studying the institutional translation of the European Commission. The data for this project have been collected in the Finnish translation unit of the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT), and they consist of both interviews and focus group discussions of the translators working there as well as a number of translated documents. The aim of the study is to both analyse the translators' own views of their work and their agency in it, and to study the translated documents and the various stages of their completion, to gain a fuller understanding of institutional translation as a particular kind of translatorial action. With its focus on the translating subjects, the project is informed by the recent "sociological turn" in translation studies. It is my contention that in order to incorporate the element of agency in the study of the

contexts. My aim in this article is to analyse the discussions of causality in translation studies and to explore the extent to which the concepts of agency and causality can be fruitfully employed in the study of translating and interpreting.

2   Causality

The two key concepts of this article, 'agency' and 'causality', belong to the set of core concepts in social sciences and in the philosophy of science. As mentioned in the introduction to this volume, 'agency' is commonly discussed in connection with its twin concept, 'structure'. The debate concerns the relative strength of social structures in determining our action and of human agency to act freely and to affect these structures. That is, the discussion is parallel to our present interest in the relative roles of agency and causality in exploring the limits of human free will. These agency versus structure debates chart the respective roles of free will and systemic predestination. Structure, in other words, can be seen as a *causal* force that structures and delimits members' behaviour. Causality has been understood in a multitude of ways (for a variety of uses, see Gylling et al. 2007). In this context, and following the standard usage in the philosophy of science, I use the notion of causality in reference to a particular traditional paradigm of scientific explanation, that of deductive-nomological reasoning (also known as the covering law model).

An often-cited founding reference in discussions of deductive-nomological thinking is the work of Carl G. Hempel (1905–1997), a well-known philosopher of science and logical empiricist. The Hempelian line of thought aims at defining universal laws for explaining empirically observed phenomena. In the human sciences, these laws are typically considered probabilistic rather than deterministic. That is, they explain what kinds of effects particular premises are *likely* to produce. (See Raunio 1999: 155.) Causality is thus a (probable) relation between particular premises and observable phenomena. Nevertheless, contrary to our everyday usage of causation, it does not in itself necessarily imply a cause-effect relation. Rather, it is argued that causal relations themselves are not directly observable at all, and the notion

of causality is related to the observable relations of *invariable association* or *constant conjunction* (ibid. 157). These terms imply that in order to observe causal relations, one needs to rely on quantitative data to look for regularities: invariability and constancy cannot be observed from singular case studies. This kind of causal explanation thus requires empirical data suitable for statistical analysis, but it also calls for a theoretical framework that is explanatory (often in the form of hypotheses) for the researcher to achieve the leap from co-variation to causal dependence. In the social sciences, it has been argued, causal explanations only exist on the level of theory, whereas on the level of empirical data we can only find statistical dependencies, co-variation or invariable association (Raunio 1999: 163, see also Töttö 2005: 117–120).

As can be inferred from the above, deductive-nomological thinking presupposes a particular world view, both in terms of what research is about and in terms of what the object of study is about. This means that singularity is subsumed to universality, the recurrent is more relevant than the unique, and that predictability is valued more highly than contingency. In other words, we look for similarities and stability, not for differences and unexpected turns of events. However, here the notion of causality collides with that of agency: in observing human action, one cannot avoid the issue of the creative permutations of human behaviour, nor the problem of the research itself affecting the observed data. As the research in human sciences is part of the same reality it studies, a causal prediction, probabilistic or not, enters the scene it purports to study. It thus becomes a part of the observed reality, and thus it unavoidably alters the scene and its future (Giddens 1979: 244).

However, a simplistic distinction between the social and natural sciences has also come under attack. While advances in genetics and cognitive science have given us new information on the functioning of the human body and mind, developments in quantum physics have given rise to voices doubting the relevance of causal explaining in the natural sciences (or, ultimately, the entire existence of causation): chaos and order in our universe do not seem to rely on dualistic cause-effect relations nor support the assumptions for finding linear causal chains. Rather, the arguments runs, what we need is an understanding of complex and multiple relations of dependence. (Hintikka 2007: 219, cf. Enquist 2004.) In the light of all these doubts, one might be tempted to argue that causal explanations are not relevant for translation

studies. A discipline traditionally geared towards qualitative studies of singular cases, together with a strong emphasis on translating and interpreting as socially and culturally embedded action, translation studies does not seem to be a likely candidate for deterministic causal models. For this reason, it is all the more interesting, then, to look at the arguments put forward by the few, but influential, proponents of causal reasoning, namely Gideon Toury and Andrew Chesterman.

3   Causal explanations in translation studies

3.1   Causal models in TS

According to Pertti Töttö, a Finnish professor of social sciences methodology, the social sciences have a problematic relationship with causality. With their undue emphasis on qualitative and interpretive approaches, descriptive methods and "a veritable fear of causality", Töttö argues, the social sciences delimit their possibilities of, for example, evaluating the effectiveness of the interventions proposed by scholars (Töttö 2005: 84–86; trans. K.K.). In other words, Töttö refutes the often-repeated view of a fundamental difference between the social and natural sciences in that one would aim at (reflexive) understanding and the other at (causal) explaining. Töttö's focus is on social work, and according to him, its relative lack of causal methodologies is deplorable because social work is a practice and, as he argues, all practices are based on known or assumed causal effects (ibid. 85). Translation studies in many ways resembles the study of social work as described by Töttö, and translating and interpreting are likewise particular forms of social practice. Might there thus be a similar need for causal explaining in translation studies?

Some translation studies scholars, in particular within the framework of descriptive translation studies, have certainly felt that the answer is 'yes'. The framework of descriptive empirical research was first established by Gideon Toury already back in the 1970s. In Toury's programmatic book explicating and reinstating the research agenda for descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995), he argues for an empirical, systematic and "truly scientific" discipline

capable of describing, explaining and predicting translational phenomena. The fundamental aim of this discipline is, according to Toury (1995: 16), to establish regularities of behaviour that can be used as a basis for formulating a series of coherent laws, and finally, a general theory of translation.

The most prolific contributor to the discussions of causality in translation studies has, however, without doubt been Andrew Chesterman. Toury himself actually never uses the term 'causality', although his model of relations between variables, observable regularities and universal (probabilistic) laws is clearly causal by nature. Chesterman builds on Toury's work, and on the idea of translation studies as an empirical human science. The deductive-nomological framework is also reinforced by explicit references to Hempel; these can be found in both Chesterman's and Toury's work. Citing Hempel and referring to Toury, Chesterman argues that "Translation Studies proceeds by proposing well-justified hypotheses and testing them against empirical data. Interrelated and corroborated hypotheses may then lead to theoretical laws." (Chesterman 2000b, see also Toury 1995: 9, Chesterman 1999, Chesterman 2000c, Chesterman 2008: 369–370.)

Chesterman puts particular emphasis on hypotheses. "Any rigorous discipline progresses by way of hypotheses", he argues in his programmatic article for a causal model in translation studies (2000a: 21). All in all, the research agenda and the way to progress drawn for translation studies seems very similar to the deductive-nomological model described in the above section. Both Andrew Chesterman and Gideon Toury emphasise predictability: we need to establish causal relations not only to explain and understand past and present causes, but to be able to predict future effects (e.g., Chesterman 2000b, Toury 1995: 267; 2004: 22). In this, too, they are in line with the overall positivist tradition that holds the formulation of general laws as the ultimate goal of all scientific work. However, outside the natural sciences (at least), these laws will typically be probabilistic rather than universal. Toury (2004: 23–25) places particular emphasis on probabilistic thinking, arguing that the translators' selections between opposing modes of behaviour (e.g. foreignising versus domesticating strategies) – that is, their exercise of agency – will always introduce a degree of unpredictability in any causal reasoning. This instability notwithstanding, Toury argues, "hunting for regularities is, and will always be, the name of the game" (ibid. 28).

Whereas Toury concentrates on *regularity*, Chesterman (2005: 191), focuses on *causality* as a central concept of any empirical science, and thus also of extreme relevance for translation studies. Although Chesterman considers an explicit causal model to be the way to progress, he also maintains that the notion of causality can at least implicitly be found in most approaches to translation: in skopos theory, relevance theory, polysystem theory, critical culture studies, think-aloud protocol studies and the entire prescriptive tradition (ibid. 191, 195–197). The list indicates that, in spite of the Hempelian argumentation, causality in Chesterman's vocabulary is much more wide-reaching, covering not only observed regularities in empirical data but also all kinds of intentional and purposeful actions, however singular they be. Furthermore, when one looks at the examples Chesterman provides of the kinds of research projects suitable for the causal model, one cannot avoid a certain sense of confusion. In the long list of problems to be solved by translation studies (Chesterman 1999, Ch. 5; see also Chesterman 2000a: 21), very few follow the logic of experimental quantitative research, whereas others are either entirely singular (e.g., "Why is this particular translation like this?") or fairly far-removed from empirical testing (e.g., "How to educate clients and the general public?").

A causal model is described by Chesterman as "the richest and most powerful" because it also contains the other two basic models in translation studies, the comparative and the process model (2000a: 21, see also Chesterman 2005).[1] But shouldn't we rather argue that a Hempelian causal model is a particular subgenre of empirico-statistical research? It seems that the extended interpretation originates from scholars' willingness to force the notion of causality to fit in with mainstream translation studies. This unavoidably leads to a watered down version of causal theory, one that tries to accommodate qualitative approaches and case studies within a model of hypothesis-testing and the generation of probabilistic laws.

The case study is also Toury's favourite method: all the practical examples in the book are case studies, and Part Three is even subtitled "An Assort-

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[1] Discussions of causality in Translation Studies often start with a description of Aristotle's four causes (see e.g. Chesterman 2008). In this context, I will overlook the Aristotelian model since the Aristotelian causes are only tangentially relevant for empirical causal reasoning.

ment of Case Studies" (1995: 113). However, this is not a method best suited for empirical research on causalities. Case studies can generate hypotheses for further testing (as in Toury's case), and they can be used for *falsifying* a general hypothesis (see, e.g., Paloposki & Koskinen 2004), but as case studies are not replicable and their findings thus not quantifiable, one cannot generalise universal laws on the basis of case studies (cf. Toury 1995: 192). A causal model suited for 'an empirical science' and capable of delivering the kind of results Chesterman and Toury are arguing for, would need to rely on experimental and quantitative research. Yet similar to many other social and human sciences, quantitative studies have traditionally had very limited success in translation studies – so much so that even a scientific-minded scholar such as Toury would base his search for universal laws on 'representative' case studies. Toury thus argues that "[o]bviously, empirical *sciences*, translation studies included, can proceed perfectly well with no recourse to empirical *methods*, at least for a considerable period of time" (1995: 222, emphasis in the original).

3.2   Translation universals as causal explanations

The rise of corpus studies with their quantitative and linguistic orientation changed the direction of translation studies dramatically in the late 1990s. For the first time in the short history of the discipline, a method was now available for a quantitative empirical study of translated texts. Might this have been the momentum for a causal model? At this time, a number of corpora were compiled, and researchers in different countries begun to work in a manner of concerted action within a Touryan framework of descriptive translation studies, looking for regularities in their data (Laviosa 2008, for background in Toury's work, see in particular Toury 1995: Ch. 11). Corpus researchers have indeed focused their attempts at the possibilities of defining some universal features of translation (for an overview of the field, see Kujamäki & Mauranen 2004). Nevertheless, the concepts are defined in various ways, and there is debate over whether these features should be called universals or laws (see Toury 2004). My opinion is that a universal implies a very strong law, and the choice between the two is a matter of degree. But to further argue that both universals and laws would actually be comparable or

equal to norms (Bernardini & Zanettin 2004: 52) seems to be a category mistake, and does not contribute to the conceptual clarity in translation studies (for more on norms and corpus studies, see section 3.3 below).

The exceptional strength in the search for universals is that several scholars have adopted a similar agenda, and findings from one set of data can be put to test in others. This means that the possibilities for identifying regularities from which to hypothesise causal relations have been significantly improved. However, Toury and Chesterman seem to have remained fairly unenthusiastic about the new possibilities. For instance, in his discussion of corpus research, Chesterman (2004) pays little attention to the new avenues for exploring causality, and he does not even mention his proposed causal model from a few years before. Instead, his introduction begins with a claim that can be interpreted as antagonistic to causal models and quantitative corpus studies and in favour of case studies: "Only by looking for similarities between *single cases*, and then generalising from these (…) can any discipline progress towards an understanding of the general explanatory laws that are relevant in its field" (2004: 33, emphasis added). Chesterman returns to this issue later in the article (ibid. 40), arguing for a 'low road'[2] in research. The article warns against generalising too quickly from particular findings to universals or to laws. A similar ethos is also evident in Toury's contribution to the same volume, calling for "moving gradually, and in a controlled way, towards an empirically-justified theory" (2004: 15).

Universals, when or if they are identified, would be a form of causal explanation in translation studies. So translations (tend to) exhibit feature X because it is a universal feature of (most) translations and caused by some elements inherent in the process of translation itself. Chesterman's discussion of the problem of causality (2004: 44–46) goes one step further: he wants to identify the causes behind the cause and seeks causal explanations for the universals – and he also calls for studying their effects, stretching the causal chain from both ends. However, corpus studies (as they have been designed thus far) only accommodate a limited conception of causality. The method offers an efficient way of analysing huge numbers of texts, but in the process these texts become decontextualised: the method is not optimal for relating

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[2]   Accidentally or on purpose, this division of research to 'low' and 'high' roads implies a value judgement placing observations on a lower level than theoretical generalisations.

the observed textual features to their potential causes (or to their effects), either social, cognitive or textual. Thus, while corpus studies show great potential in establishing some universal features of all translation[3], there seem to be fewer possibilities for defining causal explanations for the universals themselves.

The prospects of predicting future translational relations on the basis of previous ones are also lessened by the number of unstable premises in the equation: languages themselves are moving targets. Moreover, translation studies has been able to establish quite effectively that there is constant variation in translation strategies, and in the ideologies and cultural relations governing translation across time and space. The ability to prophesise might therefore be greater in the social context surrounding the translation. For example, it might be useful if we could establish a causal link between the time invested in translation and the quality of the output, as we could then advise the commissioners to allow enough time for the translation process. Or, at least, the inverse could perhaps be demonstrated: the less time the translator is allowed to have to complete the task, the greater the possibility of quality problems arising in the product. However, this would require compiling different kinds of corpora, based on experimental designs.

In their present format, the universal hypotheses used in corpus studies are typically based on a single, macro level causal explanation: the nature of certain texts as translations is seen as a cause of particular universal features. In other words, this causal explanation resembles the natural sciences in that it presupposes that there are some inherent features in the act of translating – irrespective of the translating agent or the context of the act – that cause particular textual or linguistic tendencies. There are a number of proposed universals, both concerning the relation of the translation to the source text ('S-universals') and to the target language ('T-universals') (for an overview, see Chesterman 2004: 40). Looking at some of these proposed universals one

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[3]   There is, as yet, little comparative research that would attempt to falsify (in the Popperian spirit) the assumed *translation* universals by way of establishing whether they also exist in other kinds of text processing. In my small data of the draft versions of an EU document, explicitation was identified to take place also in the rewriting process of the original text (see Koskinen 2008: 131). Until proven otherwise, there is reason to believe that many or all alleged translation universals may in fact occur in all kinds of rewriting (see also Halverson 2003, House 2008 as well as Toury 1995: 61).

cannot avoid wondering whether it might be more fruitful to approach these findings from the point of view of norms (cf. the confusion about the correct term discussed above). For instance, explicitation, arguably the strongest and most often supported of the proposed universals (see, e.g., Pápai 2004), could also be explained as being an instance of a more general norm of being explicit to assist communication, a norm which is also known from Gricean maxims and thus taught to many translation students in their training. This link has also been suggested by others (Chesterman 2004: 45, Pym 2008: 322–323). Indeed, there might be some intuitive wisdom in this norm-based interpretation.[4] Likewise, the proposed 'law' of levelling out (also called flattening or conventionalisation) in translation might find its explanation in translators' wish not to stick their necks out, that is, not to attract attention and with it, potential mistrust by using fancy expressions. This same observation has been made and expressed in a more elegant way by Anthony Pym as a causal postulate that within a reward structure that does not favour risk-taking "translators will logically tend to be risk-averse" (2008: 326).

This kind of hypothesis based on psychological dispositions cannot be tested within a purely textual corpus framework, but corpus designs do allow for some norm-based approaches. It has often been argued in translation studies that translations are adapted to fit the prevailing socio-cultural norms of the target culture at the time (norms will be discussed in more detail in the next subsection). And the prevailing (linguistic or textual) norms, one would assume, can be identified from parallel texts existing in the target culture. This coincides with an often-used design in corpus studies using comparable corpora, that is, translated data as well as data originally written in the same target language (see e.g. Mauranen & Jantunen 2005: 7–8). This design would allow us to test the hypothesis that translations follow the norms set by target texts; if the two sets of corpora exhibited similar features, the hypothesis would be corroborated (see Probirskaja 2009). However, this interpretation is often ruled out from the very beginning by the dominant ideological paradigm of corpus studies in translation studies: the search for

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4   The idea of communication assistance strategies (Pym 2008: 323) is further enhanced if we consider translators' agency within the framework of agency theory, that is, seeing translators as agents working on behalf of their principals in an intermediary role (see Shapiro 2005 and Abdallah in this volume).

universal translational features fixes the researchers' gaze at looking for *differences* between the two sets of corpora in order to identify features typical for translated texts only. This starting point leads a number a researchers actually to distance themselves from the received view of the norm of acceptability via idiomatic usage, and to take into reconsideration the old prescriptive notion of (bad) interference. The result is a recasting of a number of features as an unavoidable result of the nature of translating (e.g., Eskola 2005).

In spite of the limits of the method, corpus research has great potential for a causal reasoning in translation studies. For example, Eskola's (2005: 241) description of the ultimate goals of studying translation universals with digitalised corpora follows the ethos of causal models. Eskola argues that the increasing number of studies of limited surface features in particular genres and languages will eventually collectively provide a way to an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of translation. Working with large-scale corpora could thus be a way to the kind of controllable empirical research on the actual practice of translating and interpreting that Toury and Chesterman have been propagating, but the leap from linguistic regularities to universals or laws of translation has perhaps been too long to take on one fell swoop (see also Toury 2004: 17). None of the proposed universals has been confirmed yet, and many of the pioneering scholars of corpus studies (such as Baker or Mauranen) have abandoned the quest for translation universals and instead migrated to new fields and new research agendas. Hopefully, others will keep on, also casting their nets beyond expected universals. This kind of empirical research is a collaborative, long-term commitment, and the search for regularities (and their causes) has only begun.

3.3   Norms as causal explanations

A rather reserved attitude is evident in Chesterman's (2004) and Toury's (2004) comments on translation universals. A re-examination of their own methodological examples can provide some explanations for this lack of enthusiasm. As we discussed above, in spite of their surface level discourse on empirical quantitative research and their explicit Hempel-references, they tend to support case studies. They both also emphasise social and cultural

issues beyond the linguistic aspects, and thus beyond the reach of contemporary corpus studies. The framework set by Toury (1995) places strongest emphasis on the explanatory power of norms, which are seen as a particular kind of influence or constrain on agency. This view has also been widely accepted in translation studies. Could norms then function as a causal force on translation?

In corpus studies, the notion of norms has been less central than that of the universals, although there is some debate and confusion about their interconnectedness (see above). This is rather surprising, since corpus studies often take their cue from Toury's work where norms play a central role. Toury has himself later (2004: 22–23) downplayed the explanatory value of his axiom of translation as a norm-governed activity, but in numerous descriptive case studies, norms have indeed been granted a central role, and the socio-cultural norms have been used as an explanation for particular features. Often the reasoning in these studies is rather circular, as the only source of information about the target culture norms is the translated text.

Intuitively, it is easy to grant norms a causal role in translator behaviour; it may even seem so self-evident that a universal law stating that translation is to be norm-governed would appear rather useless (see Toury 2004: 21). It is indeed a shared view in social sciences that in human life and interaction, norms cannot be ignored. However, even though it is generally agreed that norms are relevant for our action, it still makes sense to try to establish how, and to what extent, they regulate translation and whether we can identify other factors that are equally or more relevant. A hasty link between the reasons of action and norms may well be an oversimplification (Giddens 1979: 57, Alasuutari 2004: 30, 50, see also Koskinen 2008: 149). Causal models emphasise the probabilistic nature of causal reasoning and the non-observability of causal relations. Similarly, norms are not observable as such. If we assume norms to be causal factors for translations, the best chance to observe them would be during a norm conflict: in our everyday interaction, norms operate in the background, but a conflict forces the members to produce explicit norm statements (Alasuutari 2004: 50). Nevertheless, the variability of norms and the potential of a norm conflict effectively put into question the direct causal role of norms: if translators are not cultural dopes but capable of unpredictably acting 'otherwise' (Giddens 1979: 56), there is also no direct

causal link between their translation strategies and the prevailing norms of translation.

A further corollary of the centrality of conflicts in studying norms is a methodological emphasis on the out-of-the-ordinary and the non-conformity. The large samples necessary for the empirical agenda for studying deductive-nomological causality are entirely ineffective for spotting the rare and the unexpected, in natural and social sciences alike. For the purposes of prediction and explanation, one needs to focus on regular causes in the form of regularities in system behaviour; singular causes, which are by definition unique, are beyond the reach of statistical reasoning. So, the notion of probability can be seen as a way of accounting for limited randomness and chance in observed events. A more radical view would argue that the social world is fundamentally unpredictable (e.g., Taleb 2007: 171).

Causality assumes linearity, but if the world is completely non-linear, probabilities become entirely unpredictable. A totally haphazard view of the world would render all scientific explanation useless, but it is a sobering thought that in the natural sciences, causal modelling also requires crude simplifications of complex systems (see, e.g., Wagner 1999). Many case studies yield interesting results on norms, and they may generate hypotheses on various causal relations. However, they also easily entangle the researcher into a complex cobweb of conflicting motivations and interrelations. Looking for causality, the researcher may end up with creating a causal narrative, that is, *manufacturing* rather than observing connections between facts (see Baker 2006: 67–71 and passim). In short, the notion of causation is therefore cognitively fundamental for the human mind. In any causal approach one thus needs to be aware of a potential tendency for causal emplotment, both by the observer and the observed. In a retrospective historical analysis (typical in translation studies), where independent facts are connected *post facto* through backward reasoning, this risk may be significantly greater than in experimental and statistical research designs better suited for research on causality.

3.4 Agency as a causal force

The notions of motivation and cognition we ended up with in the previous section are key words for understanding the respective roles of agency and causality. These words indicate that our attempt to chart the respective roles of agency and causality has taken us a full circle: trying to establish causal (i.e., non-agent-dependent) relations has taken us back to – agency. Norms may well be the best candidate for explaining causality in translation studies thus far. But looking at norms as causes for translation features, we encounter intentionality: "the translator did this because she or he wished to conform to a given norm" (Chesterman 1998: 91). Perhaps, in order to find a causal force, we need to go one step further: conceivably it is not norms that govern translation activity, but the translators' ways of dealing with these norms. Similar agent-based arguments have also been put forward in the context of translation universals. For instance, explicitation has also been explained as translators' conscious strategy, not as a causal effect of the nature of translating:

> Summing up the analysis of the parallel and the comparable corpus we can conclude that, as the data suggest, in the period of 1969 and 1999 a translation norm was in play, according to which translators tended to adjust to target text standards and satisfy the target readers' expectations. On the whole, this is the ultimate function of explicitation strategies. (Pápai 2004: 160.)

Returning to look at Chesterman's 'causal model' (2000) from the point of view of agency leads to a reassessment of the model. In spite of its emphasis on rigorous empirical testing of hypotheses and subsumptive explanations, this model is in fact an agency-based cognitive model:

> [I]nsofar as explanatory hypotheses appeal to situational factors such as the skopos or socio-cultural factors such as translation norms, it must be borne in mind that these only actually affect the translation *via* the translator's own mind. This realization places the translators themselves at the centre of a causal model. (…) They themselves have the final say. (Chesterman 2000a: 26, emphasis in the original.)

In a more recent article titled "On explanation" Chesterman (2008) repositions himself with respect to causality. As the title already indicates, the new stand no longer focuses on causality and takes a broader, more unify-

ing approach to scientific work. "Causal explanations proper" are given a minor role, both in the article (eight lines) and in translation studies. As if also commenting on his own previous texts, Chesterman now argues that "it may seem unreasonable to speak about causes at all in translation studies (causes proper, that is), except in a very limited way", and although he wishes to retain the concept "in a loose sense", he warns that "we should be wary of slipping into a stricter interpretation of 'causality' than can be justified" (ibid. 373).

Chesterman's key reference in this article (in addition to Aristotle) is Georg Henrik von Wright, whose well-known teleological or manipulative theory of causation is based on the notion of intentionally making something happen (see von Wright 1971/2004). In other words, we are dealing with an *agency theory* of causation. Reflecting on Chesterman's earlier articles in light of this one, it seems that in spite of the Hempelian meta-text and the rhetorical emphasis on deductive-nomological empirical research, this kind of agent causality was what Chesterman was looking for from the beginning.[5] Stated succinctly, there seem to exist two different causal models intertwined in Chesterman's argumentation. This kind of confusion is in no way unique to translation studies: it has been argued that the concept of causality itself is confused, and its usages "schizophrenic" (Kuorikoski 2007: 192).

Agency theory of causation indeed offers numerous avenues for further research in the context of multilingual communication (these cannot be explored further in this context): goals, intentions, motivations, norms and obligations, and finally, the ethics of action, are among its key terms. But this kind of a focus on teleological causes cannot easily be combined with the deductive-nomological framework that we identified with the causal theories above. Another consideration that one should keep in mind is the notion of intentional fallacy, which is often used in literary criticism to warn against placing too much emphasis on the actors' (authors') own intentions in determining the meanings of a text. The same risk is evident here[6].

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[5] It might be useful to differentiate between *causation* (production of an effect), and *causality* (a relation between cause and effect).

[6] See Giddens 1979 for the role of unintentional consequences and Alasuutari 2004 for the importance of tacit routines.

4 Causality and complexity

4.1 Nexus of relations

A teleological approach to translating would fit nicely with functional translation theories. However, approaching causality from the point of view of the agent's intentions and teleological reasons can lead to an individualistic perspective that is ill at ease with notions of translating and interpreting as *social* action. Compared to other, more collaborative and situated theories of action (e.g. activity theory, see Kinnunen in this volume), a teleological orientation focuses attention on the actor's inner motives and psychological states. It is thus not an optimal accompaniment to another key theme in Chesterman's article (2008), as well as in recent discussions in translation studies: the network.

Chesterman refers to "the causal network of the world" and argues for models that take into account "multiple causality as a cluster of factors that may all influence each other" (375–376, see also 372, 377). A similar argument for moving "from pairs to a more realistic network of variables and its influence on translational behaviour" has also been put forward by Gideon Toury (2004: 25). This is a position that anyone working on case studies can wholeheartedly accept: any case is a complex knot of details, influences and potentially relevant factors, and one needs a holistic approach to account for that complexity.

In my own research I have used a *nexus model* (see Martin 2002) in the study of EU translators' identifications and relations (Koskinen 2008). The nexus model is based on placing the object of study (in this case, the translators working in the European Commission) at the centre of our attention and then trying to establish the kinds of relations it enters into and how these relations interact with it and each other. The object of study is, in other words, placed as the hub, or nexus, in a network of constantly shifting relations. Within a case study, there is indeed much to gain from viewpoints allowing for multiple perspectives. On the other hand, the researcher also soon realises that there is no way of accounting for everything. This is because there is simply too much 'noise' in reality, and choices need to be made. In short, too much information blurs your vision.

All research designs are, in fact, necessarily approximations in a manner similar to what physicians call effective theories (Enquist 2004). Like effective theories, both the nexus model and the causal model are approximations or simplifications of complex reality, but while the causal model tries to reduce that complexity into linearity, the nexus model tries to account for the complexity of the constellation. It allows for causal relationships but does not assume any linear or predictable chain of causes and effects.

4.2   Explaining by mechanisms

Assuming that a nexus of relations is a workable model for the study of translation phenomena, it seems to create a new opening for studying causality in translation studies. Even if we (must) keep in mind the complexity of the object of our study, in practical terms it may still make sense to disentangle a particular singular relation for a closer examination with the aim of establishing a causal connection. Both Chesterman and Toury, in the above quotations, still relate the network of relations with words such as 'causal' and 'influence'. This is also a sentiment one can find in many case studies: in addition to describing the complex networks, we also wish to explain our findings. The question remains as to how we can proceed from the identified relations in individual cases to an argument on causality.

In addition to the need for empirical data suitable for statistical analysis, we need stepping stones for the researcher to achieve the leap from correlation to causal dependence. These stepping stones are not to be found in the form of universal causal laws (the leap is too long). Instead, causal mechanisms or processes can be used to explain *how* a particular factor can instigate a change in another factor (Raunio 1999: 163). Toury's main concern in the case of corpus studies (2004: 17) was the shaky grounds for the transition from observed regularities to universals. Indeed, a causal relation cannot be firmly established unless we can also explain *how* the causation takes place; without this we only have generalisations about tendencies. One way of filling this gap, and one also suitable for linking the case study ethos and causal reasoning, can be found in the concept of causal mechanisms (Hedström & Swedberg 1998/2007), also mentioned briefly by Chesterman (2008: 374). This 'middle-range' approach to causal explanations, steering

away from both the search for covering laws and from idiosyncratic anthro-pomorphism, has recently gained popularity in sociology. In contrast to the Hempelian model of causality, it is a more down-to-earth attempt to identify a plausible account of the sequence of events, conditions or processes linking the *explanans* and the *explanandum* (see Hedström & Swedberg 1998/2007: 7 and passim). Although using mechanisms as a basis for explanation stems from a fundamental critique of the covering law approach, and mechanisms are sought from a level that is lower than universal laws, it still is a rigorous attempt to arrive at a fine-grained and 'non-commonsensical' explanation of some generality, going beyond ad hoc stories of individual cases (ibid. 10).

There are also a number of advantages in focusing on mechanisms. First, this approach acknowledges the contingent character of social causation, and takes into account the possibility of several mechanisms being active concurrently, working together or competing with one another (Hedström & Swedberg 1998/2007: 21, 26). It is thus less rigid than the notion of cover-ing laws, and allows for different outcomes. And second, these mechanisms can be found from different spheres: they can be social, cultural, cognitive or psychological (cf. Pym 2008: 322; see also Halverson 2003). A review of trans-lation studies literature from the perspective of causal mechanisms would probably yield several candidates for mechanisms affecting translational behaviour.[7] As an illustration, the above-mentioned risk-aversion strategy identified by Pym could be relabelled as a social mechanism.[8] Third, in all likelihood, many of these mechanisms, be they cognitive or cultural, will be the same or similar to the ones identified in other social contexts. There is thus an extensive and growing sociological literature that one can rely on if one wants to explore the approach further (see Elster 2007). As a third way between description and laws (Hedström & Swedberg 1998/2007: 6), a focus on mechanisms might constitute a step forward in explaining translational behaviour – the goal for translation studies repeatedly set by scholars such as Toury and Chesterman.

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[7]   Note also Elster's emphasis on choice, which he considers to have more explanatory pow-er than constraints or selection (2007: 6).

[8]   See also the options of "voice" and "exit" (Hirschman 1970 cited in Abdallah & Koskinen 2007 and in Hedström & Swedberg 1998/2007: 4) and the coping strategies discussed by Abdallah in this volume.

Indeed, mechanism-based approaches concentrate more on behaviour and less on structures and institutions. Hedström and Swedberg state that in the social sciences "the elementary 'causal agents' are always individual actors", and "the action being analyzed is always action by individuals that is oriented to the behaviour of others" (1998/2007: 11–13; on methodological individualism see also Elster 2007: 13). Explaining by mechanisms is said to take into account not only the agents' desires and knowledge, as well as their ability to act and their characteristics, but also their structural positions (Ruonavaara 2008: 48, citing Hernes). Still, the focus in some key reference texts (e.g. Elster 2007) is squarely on individual behaviour. This creates links with psychological, socio-psychological, cognitive and even biological approaches to human behaviour, and might prove useful in bridging the various subfields of translation studies.

5   Conclusions: Causality and agency

The goal of this article was to explore whether the two apparently opposing concepts, agency and causality, can be usefully applied into the study of translating and interpreting. During the course of this exploration it has turned out that the bipolar opposition this paper proposed is, in fact, false, and that causality in human behaviour is often agent-based, cognitive and motivated, whereas agency is limited in many ways and causally constrained by the structural positions where the agents are located. It also became clear that discussions of causality in translation studies have not been entirely cogent, and the covering-law rhetoric often used in these discussions seems to have never actually been intended entirely as such.

While it may indeed be futile to search for universal and a-historical laws of translation, causal relations are still relevant for explaining certain kinds of translational phenomena. Lower-level explanations in the form of causal mechanisms could serve as a means to establish regularities on a more modest scale. Nevertheless, looking at translating and interpreting in their social context introduces complexity in the research design. Reality is complex, and actors are involved in numerous networks and structures. Theoretically, everything in life is at least potentially connected to everything else, and to

really take stock of all potential causal factors would require a theory of everything, and an empirical study of the entire universe. Causal mechanisms are one way of simplifying data to come up with some explanatory findings.

Sociological literature on causal mechanisms tends to favour agent-based explanations. However, it is equally important to look at various structures and to identify the particular mechanisms encouraged or prohibited by particular structures. Causal mechanisms understood from a wider perspective thus invite us to combine psychological and cognitive approaches to translating and interpreting with those that are cultural and sociological. This kind of theoretical dialogue might fruitfully enhance our understanding of both agency and causality in translation studies.

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