

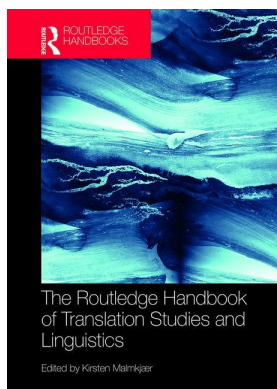
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Discourse analysis, interpreting and translation

Stefan Baumgarten and Melani Schröter

Introduction and definitions

This chapter differentiates between discourse analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and reviews the impact and possible uses of both for Translation Studies (TS). DA deals with the study of language as a social practice by explicitly taking into account discursive, situational and (inter)textual dimensions of communicative exchanges (Brown and Yule 1983; cf. Paltridge 2006). CDA highlights the ideological dimensions and implications of language by casting a “critical” eye over ideologically significant meanings and unequal power relations in hegemonic and exploitative settings, especially with reference to the way discourse shapes and is shaped by naturalised manipulative and discriminatory practices (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1998, 2008a). Defining and differentiating DA and CDA remains, however, problematic owing to diverging conceptualisations of the notion of discourse in different academic settings and disciplines. Significantly, both approaches tend to concentrate on ideologies embedded within structures and processes pertaining to intracultural (patterns of) communication. Whilst comparative discourse analyses across languages exist, and some studies have become incorporated into work in intercultural communication (Scollon, Wong Scollon and Jones 2000), neither DA nor CDA have integrated perspectives more immediately relevant for crosscultural communication, that is, for the study of translation as a social and ideological phenomenon circumscribed by its own distinctive sociotextual parameters. Since for scholars working with methods drawn from DA and CDA the default mode of analysis has been the investigation of intracultural communication, it is useful to differentiate between intercultural and crosscultural communication. If intercultural communication as a mode of linguistic contact is based on encounters between members of different discourse communities, we can think of crosscultural communication as based on linguistic mediations through sociotextual transformations. Translation and interpreting (T&I) are not solely based on textual contact, as there exists a large debate about where to draw the line between textual and other forms of crosscultural communication. A recent debate has centred around the notion of cultural translation (Buden *et al.* 2009), which stems from work in anthropology and ethnography that focuses on crosscultural encounters involving the shifting of identities, as Carbonell (1996, 81) puts it, “whenever an alien experience is internalized and rewritten in the

culture where that experience is received". We will confine ourselves to textual instances of T&I, since (C)DA is most beneficial in providing insights into sociocultural and ideological implications through textual mediations. In this sense, (C)DA may provide useful and sometimes decisive evidence for research in the (critical) social sciences. In this chapter, we regard T&I as a process that may be instrumental in bringing about social and ideological transformations. T&I may include paraphrasing within one language, mediating across languages and traversing across semiotic systems, e.g. the translation of a book into a film (Jakobson 1959/2000). Considering that T&I constitute instances of crosscultural mediation, (C)DA has not sufficiently acknowledged the existence of translational processes in (patterned) communicative exchanges, so there remains much work to be done in bringing these processes to the fore in discourse-analytical research. Conversely, TS is in the process of establishing a comprehensive body of studies that avail themselves of tools and methods from (C)DA (Schäffner 2004; Munday and Zhang 2015). Given that (C)DA does not have a strong philosophical and historical outlook, it appears reasonable to consider it as a method and analytical toolkit rather than as a fully fledged research paradigm. In any case, both TS research that applies (C)DA as a method and (C)DA approaches themselves could benefit from a more comprehensive philosophico-historical perspective, which would render their critical potential more convincing.

T&I constitute two different forms of textual mediation and both are instances of cross-cultural communication. Within TS, there has been growing interest in accommodating analytical concepts from (C)DA, for instance with regard to the study of literary translation (Munday 2008), political discourse in translation (Schäffner 2004) and translation in the European Union (Calzada-Pérez 2006). Whilst some of these studies draw on Hallidayan systemic linguistics, there has also been a growing interest in looking at translation from the perspectives of (global and regional) power asymmetries, (cultural) politics and (institutional) ideologies (Venuti 1995; Cronin 2003). Textual research in TS has followed shifting trends in synchronic linguistics since around the middle of the 20th century, beginning with Chomskyan generative grammar via text-linguistic approaches, pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Today, CDA approaches have become an established mode of textual research (Munday and Zhang 2015).

Historical perspectives

The evolution of (C)DA is indebted to three large-scale developments in linguistics. First, since around the 1950s synchronic linguistics in the structuralist paradigm has increasingly acknowledged that textual elements within clauses and sentences are not the only units connected by grammatical means, but that there also exists grammaticality beyond sentence borders, for example through text cohesion. From the 1970s onwards, developments within text linguistics triggered interest in a systematic description of structural characteristics of entire texts as more complex units of language use. In particular, the notion of genre provided a link to extratextual domains, since many genres display specific generic conventions and only occur in certain contextual domains. A focus on genre also provided a bridge to the question of how texts relate to each other, given that the relation between different tokens (individual texts) of a type (genre) can be considered a form of intertextuality. Second, the development of pragmatics shifted the emphasis from the systematic and conventional structure of language to what speakers try to achieve when using language, and how the enveloping speech situation proves essential to decoding the meaning of an utterance, for instance through speakers' use of politeness strategies and implicatures. Third, the development

of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language with their interest in language use in relation to social categories such as class, gender and language policies established the significance of sociohistorical and ideological context as analytical dimensions. The links between (C)DA, text linguistics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics can be observed across publications such as Brown and Yule (1983), Schiffrin (1994), Paltridge (2006) and Jaworski and Coupland (2006).

Paradigm shifts in synchronic linguistics, the development of pragmatics, and sociolinguistic approaches have also been closely reflected in TS research. First, Chomskyan linguistics influenced research on Bible translation from the 1960s onwards, work which relied on the idea of grammatical units as valid equivalents across languages (Nida 1964). With the onset of text-linguistic approaches, a sharper focus on units beyond the sentence level emerged, with work by Czech and German scholars featuring prominently (Levy 1967; Neubert 1985). Systematic research on text types, genres and genre conventions was pioneered in Germany from the 1970s onwards (Reiss 1977), with comprehensive studies on intertextuality and translation following around the 1980s (House 1977/1981; Hatim and Mason 1990). Second, insights from pragmatics began to be taken up from the 1980s onwards, when more nuanced attention began to be paid to contextual and interpersonal parameters. Gutt's (1991, 376, 393) application of relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986) was foundational, especially his concept of "translation as interlingual interpretive use" that aimed "to develop a concept of faithfulness that is generally applicable and yet both text- and context-specific". Whilst Gutt's cognitive account ignores crucial issues of power and ideology, Hatim and Mason (1997; also Mason 1994/2010) paved the way for a context-sensitive pragmatics open to the identification of ideological meaning relations in cross-cultural communication, and Munday (2008, 2012) employed (C)DA to establish a method and analytical framework for the analysis of translational communication. Based on a corpus-linguistic methodology, Munday investigates how translator styles relate to ideology and how translator attitudes may be unearthed through the observation of semantic prosodies. Finally, sociolinguistic approaches have always been implicitly present in TS research, with register analysis having become a mainstay in accounting for social variation in translated material and interpreted encounters. Other research ranges from the translation of social dialects to the deliberate exposure of female identities when translating male-based literary canons (von Flotow 1997). Moreover, sociological approaches have studied translation in relation to language contact, multilingualism and language planning, and to questions concerning major and minor languages (Cronin 2003).

The politically engaged strand of DA is indebted to the same developments in the empirical study of language in social contexts, but went beyond these with an even more explicit emancipatory agenda than in TS, with the aim of uncovering power relations and ideologies in language use in order to achieve change through criticism. Early examples of this approach include the work of "critical linguists" such as Kress and Hodge (1979) and Fowler *et al.* (1979). Both Fairclough (2001) in the preface to the second edition of his seminal book *Language and Power* (1st edition 1989) and van Dijk (2006) in the preface to the second edition of *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (1st edition 1997) observe that CDA became increasingly and rapidly popular from the late 1990s onwards. Since then, CDA has seen a notable diversification with the integration of a range of preexisting as well as new concepts and methodological approaches from linguistics, but also from the social sciences and media and communication studies. TS has evolved in parallel to the flourishing of CDA as a methodological innovation for much text-based research, and following its inception around the 1970s (Holmes 1988) TS has become firmly institutionalised since

around the late 1990s. Significantly, however, TS remains a less politically engaged and much more diversified and heterogeneous academic discourse than CDA. Nevertheless, TS went through various paradigmatic “turns”, beginning with a cultural turn during the 1990s that helped to emancipate the field from a certain overreliance on linguistic methodologies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990). The cultural turn was a leap forward in understanding the role of T&I as a social practice in an increasingly globalising world. A further significant development concerns the suggestion of a power turn (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002), which reminded scholars “that the explanations of the shifts that occur in translation are not to be found in the nature of culture itself, but in the power relations that govern in any culture” (Nergaard 2007, 39–40). This latest development in TS is equipping the field with a new transdisciplinary ethos, opening up the terrain for an increasing adoption of paradigms, methods and concepts from philosophy, sociology, psychology, literary studies and the cognitive sciences.

Core issues and topics

DA engages with the use of language beyond individual sentences or utterances and, hence, beyond the domains of grammar and semantics (cf. Brown and Yule 1983; Schiffrin 1994). Its key notions are text and genre, and its key areas of investigation are the analysis and description of different genres, text structure and composition, text grammar (cohesion) and text semantics (coherence). DA investigates the way elements within texts build up and contribute to constitute texts, the features that allow texts to be grouped into genres and the way texts refer to and interact with each other through intertextuality (cf. Paltridge 2006; Bax 2011). In TS, Neubert and Shreve (1992, 25) transcend grammatical and semantic categorisations by regarding translations as “text-induced text productions”, while Reiss (1977) emphasised the significance of the concepts of text type (a text’s rhetorical drift) and genre (a text’s social patterning) both for the activity and study of translation. Toury (1995, 23) moved away more decisively from a text-centred approach by introducing the concept of translation norms into TS, which indeed established a paradigmatic shift, given that now translations came to be seen mainly as “facts of a ‘target’ culture”. Translators, who tend to work within a target cultural context, are constrained by sociocultural norms that (sub)consciously govern their behaviour and in turn their textual output, so translation research became inspired to proceed from a target-cultural and target-text perspective rather than the other way around. The concept of norms has to be considered by any student of T&I, yet it remains problematic to establish empirical (textual) evidence, because norms can only be identified by means of intertextual relations across a diversity of genres, texts and individual styles. Hatim and Mason (1997, 18), on the other hand, accompanies and prefigures more power-sensitive research in that they envisage translation as a discursive and sociotextual practice that embodies “attitudinal expression, with language becoming the mouthpiece of societal institutions (sexism, feminism, bureaucratism, etc.)”.

CDA is interested in how discourse constructs and reflects sociopolitical issues, how discourse reproduces social relations and the performance and negotiation of power, and how ideologies are encoded in discourse. CDA’s key notions are power and ideology, and its key areas of investigation are the systematic identification of language use, especially in the ways it echoes or supports power relations, and dominant ideologies encoded in texts. CDA has produced a multitude of studies based on English and other languages, albeit hardly ever in comparison. Topics range from gendered discourse and heteronormativity, stereotyping, othering or racist discourse towards the discursive inscriptions of socioeconomic conditions, e.g. in view of globalisation, poverty or economic crisis. Especially since the

cultural turn, TS has produced many insightful studies on the ways in which translation has fostered the creation of discourses that serve specific ideological interests, for instance related to translation's role in colonial and hegemonic power relations (Niranjana 1992; Venuti 1998), nationalist agitation (Brisset 1989) and the politics of resistance (Tymoczko 2010). The construction of new social identities and literary canons through translational strategies and the role of translation in large multinational institutions have become focal points of investigation. These studies, however, are based on divergent philosophical premises, methodologies and analytical tools, which makes it difficult to identify a strand in TS that systematically adopts ideas from CDA. Hence, whilst we can observe an increasing cross-fertilisation between TS, the social sciences and cultural studies, a clearly identifiable strand of CDA-informed TS research would help to refine our understanding of the involvement of T&I in the generation and maintenance of unequal power relations and social inequalities.

Translation research has evolved from static, language-centred approaches towards approaches that explicitly account for contexts, ideologies and power relations. It is therefore not surprising that work in the relatively static area of contrastive discourse analysis has not informed recent research in TS, given that the former is largely meant to inform language typology and second-language acquisition. Whilst a number of text-grammatical, text-structuring and cohesive features have been studied in detail for different language pairs (cf. as a recent example Taboada, Suárez and Álvarez 2013), there has never been a recognisable research programme to contrast genre conventions systematically (but see e.g. Bhatia and Bhatia 2011; Connor 1996; Paltridge 1997; Swales 1998; cf. Barton, Dickson and Kinloch 2015). In DA, at least there is a set of recognised text-grammatical and cohesive features with functions that can generally be described fairly clearly, and there is a consensus about what the determining features are that enable description and differentiation between genres. For CDA, the picture is more complicated, since it is more difficult to determine a set of features that constitute and reflect power or ideology, or hegemonic versus subversive discourse; nor is it the aim of CDA to develop such an inventory.

Against this backdrop, and especially when the focus is not on one individual language, it is useful to distinguish between contrastive, intercultural and crosscultural discourse analysis. Whilst any contrastive mode of analysis would be usefully employed in theoretical and pedagogic research on language *per se* and on language learning, an intercultural mode of analysis would focus more strongly on the speakers and on how they negotiate their linguistic interactions with members of other discourse communities. Crosscultural discourse analysis, in turn, would be devoted to T&I, in particular to studying the ways in which this form of crosscultural communication is circumscribed by its own communicative parameters and constraints. Empirical analyses by M. Baker (1996) have shown that translations may display specific structural and lexicogrammatical features, for instance tendencies towards explicating or semantically disambiguating source-text information. Whereas Baker's corpus-analytical research, however, has not accounted for the pervasiveness of power relations and ideological significations, Venuti's (1995, 1998) extended discussion of the ongoing "invisibility" of the translation profession explicitly condemns market-driven and hegemonic translation strategies in the Anglo-American world. According to him, and inspired by Schleiermacher's concept of foreignising and domesticating translation strategies, literary translations into English tend to domesticate the foreign text by eradicating its cultural specificities in order to provide a smooth reading experience, whereas translations out of English into other languages tend to do the opposite by maintaining Anglo-American cultural characteristics, and in the process they help to bolster the (inter)national power of Anglo-American values.

Such strategies can also be described as sociocultural norms at work in crosscultural communication, and they are related to the pressures of socioeconomic patterns of globalisation.

Main research methods

Research in (C)DA and TS employs a large variety of methodologies (cf. van Dijk 2006; Wodak and Meyer 2009; Saldanha and O'Brien 2013). Owing to the inflationary employment of the notion of discourse in the arts and humanities and the social sciences since around the 1970s, it is no surprise that (C)DA and TS are both heavily reliant on this analytical construct. The methodological heterogeneity of (C)DA and TS is also reflected in an increasing interest in DA within the social sciences, triggered by scholars such as, among others, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida and Mikhail Bakhtin. This reliance on seminal thinkers with interests in questions about language and communication distinguishes both (C)DA and TS from the large array of more empirically orientated research in sociolinguistic and (applied) linguistics. In general, it is possible to differentiate between more theory-centred and more empirical research methodologies.

First, it became increasingly obvious that it was crucial to focus on the notion of discourse as a *theoretical* construct, not least due to the advent of the internet and the phenomenon of hypertext, which came to highlight other-than-language-based modes of communication. In (C)DA, and following Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006), there is increasing interest in combinations of text, text design, images and sound in what came to be known as multimodal discourse analysis (cf. Machin 2010). Methodological pluralism is also related to conceptual innovations concerning different aspects of language use in diverging social contexts. Concepts from cognitive linguistics, for instance, have been increasingly utilised in DA, mostly regarding the role of frames and scripts in the interpretation of discourse (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, 223ff.). CDA, in turn, has emphasised the role of cognition in theorising the relation between discourse and context (van Dijk 2008b; Hart 2011), and the role of metaphor in discourse, especially concerning the potential of pervasive metaphors to sustain ideologies (e.g. Musolff 2004; Charteris-Black 2005).

In view of its increasing institutionalisation since the 1970s, TS has given rise to a large diversity of research methodologies and analytical models. Following on from early comparative models that focused on structural differences between source texts and their translations, House's (1977/1981) and Hatim and Mason's (1997) register models and Chesterman's (2000) causal model paved the way for sociologically minded translation comparisons. In its wake, discourse-analytical models have slowly begun to proliferate. Of particular note is Schäffner's method of linking translational choices to "strategic functions" (2004: 144–145; based on Chilton and Schäffner 2002, also Chilton 2004), which was adapted in Baumgarten's study of different English translations of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Baumgarten 2009, 28–29; cf. also Baumgarten and Gagnon 2016, 10–13). Also noteworthy are M. Baker's (2006) typology of narrative in translation, and Marais' (2014) study of translation in multilingual South Africa which relied on complexity theory and semiotics. Caimotto's (forthcoming) study of deictic markers in a speech by Barack Obama that was translated for several Italian newspapers avails itself of proximation theory (Cap 2013), showing that unavoidable differences in deictic positioning between English and Italian help to foreground the source text's ideological contradictions. All these approaches have in common that they are mindful of the significance of norm-based behaviour in translation, whilst they also acknowledge that no examination of text and context variables can ever reach

definite causal conclusions, given that sociocultural values and identities are to be investigated against the backdrop of historical and spatial constraints.

Second, an increasing focus on the notion of discourse in *empirical* methodologies stems from a generally large methodological diversity as well as growing availability of user-friendly corpus technology in (applied) linguistics. In the first instance, DA embraces a variety of empirical approaches to the analysis of language use in context, such as conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, ethnographic models, pragmatics, as well as narrative, argumentation and content analysis. In addition, CDA has seen a number of innovative proposals for new research methods, such as the “discourse historical approach” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) and the “sociocognitive approach” (van Dijk 1998), which often integrate elements of preexisting concepts and methodologies (e.g. topoi and argumentation in the case of the former, mental models in the case of the latter). In the Anglophone world, many scholars have adopted systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1978, 1985) in order to investigate the relationship between highly context-sensitive linguistic features (e.g. modality) and their functions in discourse contexts (e.g. Fairclough 1995, 2001). In TS, a special issue of *Target* testified to an increasing diversification of empirical discourse-analytical studies, with Munday and Zhang (2015, 328) summarising the main models and themes (see Table 9.1)

Research exists on each category but at the time of writing no comprehensive overview of work in DA and translation exists in the form of a monograph. In (C)DA, the development and growing availability of corpus-linguistic tools have led to an increasing popularity of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS; cf. P. Baker 2006; Partington, Duguid and Taylor 2013). The attraction of CADS lies in its potential to uncover repeated patterns in language use that are unlikely to be noticed when analysing small amounts of text. This approach offers the

Table 9.1 Based on Munday and Zhang’s (2015, 328) categorisation of research in discourse analysis and translation

<i>1st level category</i>	<i>2nd level category</i>	<i>3rd level category</i>
Extralinguistic factors	<i>Culture</i>	Context of culture and translation
	<i>Ideology</i>	Power, ideology and translation (including a second-level subtheme of CDA)
Linguistic factors	<i>Communicative dimension</i>	<i>User:</i> idiolect, dialect, etc. (including translation shifts caused by user difference; crosslinguistic difference) <i>Use:</i> genre and register analysis (including field, tenor and mode and context of situation)
	<i>Pragmatic dimension</i>	Speech act and translation; implicature (the cooperative principle and Gricean maxims); coherence in translation; narrative analysis and translation
	<i>Semiotic/textual dimension</i>	Texture and textuality in translation; textual scale (word, clause, sentence, text) and translation units; cohesion in translation; thematic and information structure in translation; transitivity in translation; modality in translation; semiotics and multimodality; intertextuality; appraisal and translator attitude; paratexts in translation

possibility of cross-tabulating large text corpora and a remedy to claims about the imbalanced and limited choice of material for (critical) analyses (cf. the section on “Current debates” below). In TS, valuable corpus-driven research has appeared since the 1990s, and there exist various overviews (e.g. Olohan 2004; Zanettin 2012). Taking Table 9.1 as a rough guideline, and beginning with M. Baker’s (1996; cf. the section on “Core issues and topics” above) foundational work on typical patterns of translated language, research has recently progressed further from pragmatic and communicative factors into the realms of culture and ideology, which makes it possible to speak of the slow evolution of a new context-sensitive empirical paradigm in TS that integrates corpus methodology with the analysis of cultural and ideological dimensions.

Current debates

DA is not particularly prone to controversy. Rather than searching for social explanations, it is a field of enquiry that largely rests on an ethos of scholarly descriptivism. DA has moved beyond the study of written text and spoken conversation to devote increasing attention to online communication in a new research area known as computer-mediated discourse studies (CMDS). Issues arising from this for the study of text structures, genre conventions and intertextuality go beyond the ever more blurring lines between oral and written or casual and formal communication. They also concern the ever changing attitudes to and methods of generating texts, especially in view of communicative interactions between and across users, hypertexts and recipients. Here, new possibilities and conventions arise for the structuring of texts (hyperlinks, modularisation), for collective authorship, instant feedback and content that is determined by user history. It is not surprising, on the other hand, that in CDA current debates first and foremost relate to its “critical” and thus engaged stance towards its objects of investigation, with further discussions centring around the reliability of empirical results, CDA’s Eurocentrism and the predominance of research in English. Blommaert, while embracing CDA, emphasises its reliance on certain approaches to linguistic analysis, in particular systemic functional linguistics (2005, 35; cf. Widdowson 2004, 90–103), and what he identifies as its unwillingness to look beyond available linguistic data, for instance at “discourses that are absent” and at “the ways in which society operates on language users and influences what they can accomplish in language long before they open their mouths”. There are also unresolved issues centring around the lack of interest, especially in Anglophone CDA, in countries and societies that do not belong to “the core of the world’s system” (Blommaert 2005) and the false Western assumption of “universal validity for our ways of life” (*ibid.*, 36), especially when it comes to discourses of globalisation and late modernity.

There is, however, a growing interest in numerous countries, with many emerging studies on a variety of languages. Contributions to the journal *Discourse & Society* since 2014, for instance, include work from Israel, Brazil, Switzerland, Nigeria, Iran, Malaysia, Sweden, Portugal, Japan and Morocco. These contributions nonetheless follow methods and models established in Anglophone CDA research, and they are published in an Anglophone journal, translating their material into English. For a decidedly critical and reflective discipline like CDA, there is indeed a notable absence of a self-reflective debate about the hegemonic status of Anglophone CDA and its academic gatekeepers in conjunction with the implications of the hegemonic status occupied by English in research and higher education around the globe. Another point of criticism made by Blommaert (2005, 37; *italics original*) is CDA’s lack of historical depth, since “to the extent that CDA attempts to launch a critique of *systemic*

features of contemporary societies . . . , a synchronic approach will not do”. And Widdowson (2004) criticises the empirical approaches in many CDA studies for focusing on a selection of textual features that are determined by the researchers’ previous assumptions about the text. One might add that such studies are often based on a rather limited and obvious choice of texts; a classical example would be studying xenophobic or homophobic discourse on the basis of *Daily Mail* reporting. However, while CDA is still dominated by analyses of news media discourse, the genres used within CDA have become more diversified, albeit with a notable focus on power and ideology in hegemonic rather than subversive or counter-hegemonic discourse.

It is reasonable to argue that since the cultural turn in the 1990s, TS simultaneously underwent a kind of “critical turn”. Translation Studies since then began to increasingly focus on what might be termed an “ethics of globalisation” (cf. Bielsa and Hughes 2009), given that the production, dissemination and consumption of translations happens in divergent socio-cultural and socioeconomic environments. Such contexts are both defined through unequal relations of power, and through a general redefinition of concepts such as selfhood, nationhood or territoriality, especially in the wake of (entrepreneurial) globalisation. Questions of ideology and power became increasingly foregrounded, whilst TS remains in need of a more finely nuanced theoretical apparatus in analysing these questions with regard to the context of crosscultural communication. Innovations, for instance, could be drawn from critical globalisation studies or critical theory, especially regarding an analysis of translation under the conditions of today’s globalised capitalism. Whereas a debate on the fate of translation in today’s era of advanced consumer capitalism has barely begun, there exist lively debates on news translation (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009), on the dominance of English in translational encounters, on the fate of minor, or non-state, languages in translation (Branchadell and West 2005) and on the employment of translation as a counter-hegemonic discourse in activist movements (Boéri and Maier 2010). Such research is driven by an increasing need to conceptualise the practice of translation as involving numerous social actors – publishers, editors, translators, etc. – which implies a move away from questions of systemic structure to questions of agency. It is important to note, however, that such shifts in analytical priorities need to be linked to historical (dis)continuities and to larger philosophical debates within a discipline.

Future directions

It is not unreasonable to argue that (C)DA needs to be informed by more historical depth, especially given its predilection for systemic structures and personal interactions in contemporary societies. A closer engagement with concepts and methods from critical and economic theory remains desirable, as evident in the more openly historicising and political approaches of Marxist or anarchist persuasions. (C)DA’s focus on power relations and ideological positions may also be enhanced through a renewed contrastive cultural perspective on language as social action. A contrastive cultural discourse analysis (CCDA) may be fruitfully differentiated along intercultural dimensions (focusing on interpersonal encounters and thus agency) and crosscultural dimensions (focusing on recontextualisations and thus translation; cf. “Introduction and definitions” above). CCDA as a whole could describe power-induced and ideological similarities and differences across discourse communities (cf. Wierzbicka 1997, 2006, 2010), for instance in relation to discourses about authority, love, money, gender, ethnicity, etc. Such contrastive culture studies could underpin arguments about inter- and crosscultural (translational) linguistic patterns embedded in

discursive constellations of power and ideology (cf. Widdowson 2004), in the sense of how patterns of linguistic representation are intertextually and interdiscursively linked across languages and discourse communities (cf. Fairclough 1992).

A CCDA approach would help to remedy (C)DA's persistent bias towards intracultural discourse along national lines and its continuous Eurocentrism, especially its overreliance on hegemonic languages, above all English. Most importantly, CCDA would further accentuate a pending comprehensive account of rising socioeconomic inequalities across cultural domains. In the face of growing capitalist globalisation, simmering political, ethnic and religious controversies, and in the face of forced population displacements on an unprecedented scale, a method of contrastive cultural analysis would be well placed to highlight ever more alarming socioeconomic discrepancies world-wide. Over the years, (C)DA has offered numerous studies on localised interactions across power differentials and on more openly hierarchical large-scale discursive settings, i.e. discourse in entrepreneurial and (non-)governmental institutions. (C)DA has not, however, related its findings to a comprehensive account of global power relations within current international arrangements of state power, and we will hopefully also see more research on the ever growing pseudo-democratisation, commodification and technologisation of language use in the political and cultural domains (Fairclough 1999).

The *intercultural* dimension of CCDA would focus on international encounters and interactions between people, on internalisations of cultural premises, on the dangers of culture-blind misunderstanding and on resolutions to overcome cultural essentialism (cf. Jackson 2012; Dervin and Machart 2015). Such an approach would also proactively promote intercultural, i.e. cosmopolitan, citizenship through creating enhanced sensitivity towards the “other”, i.e. all that is initially foreign, in communicative interactions. Much work on intercultural communication has focused on cultural norms of politeness in terms of face-saving or face-threatening behaviour, using concepts that emerged from pragmatics (e.g. Scollon, Wong Scollon and Jones 2000). But cultural premises and culture-specific forms of linguistic practice are enshrined in discourse in multifarious ways, as Wierzbicka's work (1997, 2006, 2010) illustrates by investigating only a small number of cultural key words. An intercultural dimension could play a significant role in highlighting discourse-determined variations across genre conventions and semantic content that may become problematic in intercultural encounters. Considering an increasingly globalising (and thus homogenising) news media discourse, for instance, an intercultural dimension would flag up questions related to cultural agency, recipient anticipation, selectivity, content production and consumption. The issue of globalising media discourse also relates to the communicative norm of using English as a foreign language in intercultural encounters (cf. Pennycook 2007; Cagliero and Jenkins 2010), a custom that moreover tends to gloss over cultural alterity and the manifold realities inscribed in linguistic practices, particularly in view of discourse-determined meanings and genre conventions that speakers bring into global Englishes. CCDA's intercultural dimension may also highlight the cultural residues of English and the ways in which its use as lingua franca, especially in academia, potentially limits engagement with socioeconomic conceptualisations that are not enshrined in the English language and its associated, yet ever shifting, sociocultural landscapes (Wierzbicka 2014).

The *crosscultural* dimension of CCDA would focus on translation and interpreting as text-induced phenomena, as instances of crosscultural communication based on linguistic mediations through cultural recontextualisations. A novel crosscultural perspective for (C)DA would foreground T&I as communicative and semiotic phenomena in their own right. A crosscultural perspective would probe into the historical and political impact of cultural

essentialism in relation to translational products and practices, for instance in the ways in which T&I are embedded in crosscultural networks of power, influence and authority. Sociological questions concerning text selection and norm-governed behaviour will have to be triangulated with the resulting sociotextual profiles, patterns of audience reception as well as culture-specific and historical contexts. Against the backdrop of hierarchical power relations and their associated ideological significations, relevant research questions could ask: Which texts are assigned cultural significance and therefore get selected for translation? What norms govern the textual profiles of specific translations, in other words which notions of correctness concerning style, lexicogrammar and genre conventions determine the behaviour of T&I producers? Inasmuch as translations are influenced by dominant discourses and ideologies, particularly in the target language, what may the resulting intertextual patterns tell us about power, domination and hegemony in today's globalised world? And generally, what are the stakes of T&I in relation to technology, neoliberal geopolitics, migration and social movement politics? Investigations of crosscultural discourse patterns, however, must not sidestep an equally important focus on discursive silence, on those never verbalised but nonetheless ideologically relevant communicative features that continue to have a bearing on crosscultural events. Work in the sociology of globalisation is relevant in this regard, for instance the "sociology of absence" proposed by Santos (2006), where silences and gaps, e.g. non-translations, are considered as discursively constructed and thus ideologically meaningful.

Implications for practice

Research and text production are activities shaped by historical and cultural circumstance. Researchers and text producers have the option of adopting a disinterested or engaged approach, of being unconcerned about the wider social implications of their activities or of being mindful about the world's suffering and potential ways out of current predicaments. Consequently, academic researchers, in any domain of sociocultural enquiry, might opt for a descriptive approach that is mainly geared towards understanding social and semiotic phenomena (e.g. Marais 2014), or they could pursue a critical agenda that attempts to lay bare the underlying dynamics of power, conflict and struggle that are constitutive of every social situation. On the other hand, producers of texts, be it "originary" or translational communication, all bring their own conscious and unconscious ideological agendas and interests to the table. Most text producers are located in non-democratic and thus hierarchically structured workplace settings, which themselves are embedded in local and global networks of power. By and large, text producers construct their (shifting) identities within these parameters of discursive influence and political authority. Their location in the web of power inevitably influences their interpersonal alliances and ideological positions, which in turn flow into the textual output produced.

People in general and text producers in particular often do not have the opportunity to stick to their own ethical agenda. Translators who accept commissions from the armaments industry might be in financial distress, but they might also be fervent believers in military rule and trigger-happy self-defence. They might be pacifists or warmongers, anti-authoritarians or disciplinarians. When it comes to an *engaged* and thus critical account of their activities, the only thing researchers can do is lay bare their own ideological leanings and to engage in a critical examination of translators' discursive moves. From a perspective informed by notions of power, hegemony and domination, and with Blommaert's demand to look beyond existing and easily identifiable interactional and linguistic manifestations of discourse, it seems vital to bring issues of selection into sharp relief. Which texts get selected

for translation, and hence, represent “symbolic power” (Bourdieu 1991)? Equally, making the arrangements and processes of T&I more visible and transparent will allow for a critical assessment, for instance in the media, and encourage a more critical distance from the translated text as the end product of this process (cf. Schäffner 2012). Ultimately, however, any practical implication surrounding the theme of “discourse analysis, interpreting and translation” depends on people’s attitudes, beliefs and ideological views concerning the world’s geopolitical disparities and socioeconomic injustices. Do we really care, or shall we just accept things as they are?

Further reading

Baumgarten, S. and Gagnon, C. 2016. *Translating the European House: Discourse, Ideology and Politics – Selected Papers by Christina Schäffner*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

This edited volume offers a cross-section of Christina Schäffner’s seminal work on translation and politics, written between 1996 and 2012. With a focus on translation in the European context, this article collection illuminates various points of contact between translation research and CDA, including numerous case studies and translation examples. The book may serve as a valuable blueprint for future studies that seek to build on Schäffner’s CDA-inspired investigations, methods and conclusions.

Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N., eds. 2006. *The Discourse Reader*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

This reader provides a collection of key texts that illustrate the developments, key issues and concepts in DA and CDA. It is divided into six parts, including part 3 on “Sequence and Structure” pertinent to DA, and part 6 on “Power, Ideology and Control” pertinent to CDA. Each part is preceded by a brief introduction by the editors, contextualising key texts in the development of the study of discourse.

Mason, I. 2010/1994. “Discourse, Ideology and Translation”. In *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, edited by M. Baker, 83–96, 2010. London: Routledge (also in Hatim and Mason 1997, chapters 2 and 9).

Mason’s linguistic analysis of an article on Mexican colonial history can be seen as a piece of “classic” CDA-inspired translation research. Mason shows how underlying value orientations can be highlighted through a contrastive analysis of lexis and text structure in a Spanish text and its English translation, and how the resulting discursive shifts reveal a target text ideology that depicts native historical actors as less actively involved in shaping their own destiny than the Spanish colonisers.

Munday, J. 2012. *Evaluation in Translation: Critical Points of Translator Decision-making*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Many of Jeremy Munday’s investigations into translation are underpinned by key principles and methods from systemic functional linguistics. Even though this study does not explicitly adopt a CDA approach, Munday’s focus on appraisal theory, an innovation in CDA that scrutinises subtle markers of attitude in language, might bode well for future studies of translation that choose to adopt a critical linguistic stance.

Paltridge, B. 2006. *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

This introduction includes chapters that cover the main ground of DA (chapters 4, 5 and 6), and provide links between DA, pragmatics and sociolinguistics (chapters 2 and 3), and it includes a chapter about CDA which highlights concisely the main aspects that CDA adds to DA.

Related topics

Genre analysis and translation; Text linguistics, translating and interpreting; Narrative analysis and translation; Sociolinguistics, translation and interpreting; Translation, interpreting and new technologies.

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