Chapter 1

Interpreting and Translation

This research examines the differences between Deaf and hearing translators/interpreters (T/Is), and the analysis falls into two main categories: analyzing the target language (TL) as a stand-alone piece of linguistic data and comparing the source language (SL) and the TL as translated or interpreted data. A variety of literature addresses both of these points, and this study explores them from the perspective of translation studies, interpreting studies, and relevance theory.

The terms “interpreting” and “translation” are not synonymous within the translation and interpreting field. Extensive research has been undertaken within translation studies, and only in recent years has interpreting studies attempted to establish itself as an equal (Pöchhacker 2004). Interpreting is often seen as a field within the area of translation, confirmed by the preface of a prominent interpreting studies reader: “The idea of devoting a separate volume to Interpreting Studies, rather than relegating it to a subsection of Lawrence Venuti’s Translation Studies Reader, was not immediately evident, but was readily espoused in consultations with Advisory Editor Mona Baker” (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002, ix).

While translation and interpreting are concerned with the rendering of one language into another, differences exist due to the form and time constraints. Frishberg (1990, 18) identifies the difference saying translation refers to written texts and interpretation refers to the “live and immediate transmission” of discourse, either spoken or signed. In both cases the source or original language or text (SL) is translated or interpreted into a target language or text (TL).

In the UK Deaf T/Is translate to camera (TV news, Web sites, etc.) working from an autocue of written English. This falls between the Frishberg distinction of the form of the SL and TL for interpreting since the SL is written, but the TL is not. An alternative distinction is one of time: the decision making process in translation is usually one subject to review, revision, and a longer time, whereas for interpreting it is instantaneous. Kade (cited and translated in Pöchhacker 2004, 11) defines interpreting
as, “a form of Translation in which a *first and final rendition in another language* is produced on the basis of a *one-time presentation* of an utterance in a source language” (emphasis in Pöchhacker).

Within broadcast news, scripts are often given the day before the broadcast to the T/Is. This gives the T/Is an opportunity to read and re-read the SL, resulting in a greater than one-time presentation of the SL text before rendering it into BSL. The T/Is can read and ascertain the intention of the whole text; in interpreting, the SL utterance is broken into short units for rendering (Shlesinger 1995, 194).

BSL has no written form, and since no way exists of editing a recorded form of the language (although sections of a longer text could be re-filmed), a performance or presentation element very similar to interpreting remains. Even though we can compare the SL with the TL product, investigating the reasoning behind the translation itself provides one way of exploring competency. If the TL BSL is a translation, we can analyze the level of preparedness by looking at prosodic features. The process of the translation or interpretation can also be examined by think-aloud protocols to see whether the T/Is physically rehearse the TL product before creating the final TL live.

**INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATION STYLES**

The interpreting field draws heavily from theories in translation studies and although some researchers have focused on various aspects of the interpreting process and SL-to-TL text comparisons, etc., a strong influence from the translation field remains. Linguistics has been used to try and measure the accuracy of translation. Catford (1965) measured shifts from one category to another in a translation: for example, does an adjectival phrase in the SL become an adjectival phrase in the TL and thus achieve formal equivalence or become an adverbial phrase and perhaps achieve textual equivalence? Cokely (1986) within sign language interpreting research also formally analyzed “additions” or “omissions” according to the SL focusing on linguistic transfer between languages, without looking at whether information was being delivered in a culturally sensitive way that was appropriate for the audience.

This token-for-token approach is often used to judge fidelity, but one must question what one is being faithful to, either single linguistic units or a greater communicative goal. Although the form plays some part in
rendering a TL text as, “it is the linguistic form of the source text where many clues to meaning are found” (Janzen 2005, 71), in recent years, the general trend in translation studies has been toward cultural, rather than linguistic transfer (Hatim 2001, 10, 44).

Hatim writes, “the ‘cultural turn’ in translation studies has shifted the focus to the study of ideology as a shaping force . . . and to translation as re-writing within such trends as [for example] the gendered practices of feminist translation” (2001, 10). The move toward cultural rather than linguistic transfer encompasses not only sense-for-sense interpretation (Seleskovitch 1978), but also the adoption of the need for the T/I to be accountable for the wider informational content and culturally loaded information in a SL message.

Cronin (2002) also discusses the cultural turn in interpreting, translation, orality, and colonialism. He opens up the field of interpreting to consider much of the recent moves in translation studies within a context of translation and interpreting rather than the product solely as a scientific object for enquiry. Within a colonized context it is the voice of the oppressed group that wishes to be heard. We need to consider language differences such as the primary orality of a group of people whose language has no written form. We also need to consider how the T/Is position themselves with respect to the different language groups they work between and of which they are members.

Furthermore, within the area of ideology, Hatim (2001) writes there are two emerging trends, the ideology of translation and the translation of ideology. This research examines the ideology of translation from the perspective of translations favoring hegemonies. Specifically, the work focuses on the Anglo-American tradition where foreign texts, when translated into English, are normalized with foreign cultural references changed to be culturally appropriate for the home audience. This adoption of a transparent and fluent style works in favor of the dominant and powerful target culture. The translation of ideology “focuses on how ideology is conveyed in and through the use of language” (Hatim 2001, 11) and will be explored in greater depth in chapter 5.

Hatim also explains that although linguistics is capable of informing the study of translation, for example, by examining cross-linguistic variation and language typology, more than one discipline can be brought in to widen the scope and goals of this type of analysis. These disciplines include sociolinguistics, pragmatics, text linguistics, and discourse analysis. This gives us a good background from which to work, and Hatim
(2001) discusses many different schools of thought and theory in relation to translation studies from the 1960s to the present. His diagram (43) provides a useful way to examine different models of equivalence and their orientation to the source or target language (refer to fig. 1.1 for a modified version).

In figure 1.1, the theories on the left-hand side of the triangle are orientated toward the SL and attempt to analyze or hold the translation accountable to it. Those on the right-hand side of the triangle hold the translation accountable to the TL. Amongst the feminist translators this involves in some cases a quite radical intervention. Hatim (2001, 53) gives an example of a traditional translation versus a feminist translation by Linda Gaboriau.

This evening I'm entering history without pulling up my skirt.

This evening I'm entering history without opening my legs.

The feminist translation makes the implication in the SL explicit. This explication fulfills the political aims of the feminist translator since it does not euphemize the exploitation of women throughout the ages. This is made clearer within the feminist translation style as the reference is a line about women. We might see similar explication by Deaf T/Is if a story refers to Deaf people or contains an explication of the Deaf experience. A mainstream audience might not understand nor desire an explicit translation that documents some of the atrocities carried out on Deaf people in the name of eugenics and oralism that a Deaf translator could make explicit.

On the left-hand side of the triangle in figure 1.1 we see notions of translation explored with a SL focus. Catford’s approach is described earlier. Nida’s focus was on the readers of the TL responding to the text in the same way as readers from the SL culture when reading of the SL. Koller included both Catford’s formal equivalence and Nida’s dynamic equivalence within the five frameworks of equivalence he proposed, which included denotative equivalence, connotative equivalence, and text-normative equivalence. Beaugrande extended the narrow focus of other scholars to the notion of text as the unit for translation rather than word or sentence renderings, and while Venuti is also interested in text as the unit of translation, his focus is on ensuring that the reader is reminded that the source text and culture is foreign to the TL reader.
On the right-hand side of the triangle in figure 1.1 we see different notions of translation explored in relation to the TL. Holmes acknowledges the difficulties in translating (predominantly) literature and poems. He looks toward creating a TL that considers a network of correspondences because of the shifts encountered when translating from SL to TL that fit to a greater or lesser extent. Bassnett and Lefevere took this further by moving to a cultural level whereby the translation had to take on board the network of cultural symbols within which the translation was situated. This was followed with the idea of translation as production and not reproduction, as demonstrated by the feminist translators, and similarly with the notion of the TL being a response to the SL by the deconstructionists. Toury was interested in applying polysystems to look into the ideologies behind what was chosen to be translated, and manipulationists explored this theme in greater depth. They were interested in issues of the perpetuation of ideas about the SL being sacrosanct rather than allowing the TL to be a stand-alone product. Finally Skopos theory looked at the intended function of the TL within the TL culture and accepted that this function can be different from its function with the SL culture. Relevance theory (RT) occupies the center of the diagram, since RT provides a framework for equivalence measured by the cognitive effort of understanding rather
than against the SL or TL, and will be explored in greater depth later as a central framework for this research.

When considering translation strategies, Hatim (2001, 87) describes them as a complex relationship between

1. A concern with the notion of “register” and issues related to the use and the user of language (this is within the source language orientation);
2. A concern with “intentionality” and other aspects of pragmatics such as speech acts, implied meaning and relevance;
3. A concern with the wider notion of “culture,” with the focus shifting to the status of text, genre, and discourse in the translation process (this is within the target language orientation).

These three factors are examined by investigating the interplay between the direction in which the T/Is are working (from or into first language) and the decisions that the T/Is make when constructing the TL.

**Culture and Intentionality**

Two factors needing consideration are intentionality and culture. RT explores how T/Is use contextual assumptions to make something optimally relevant to their addressees. These contextual assumptions include cultural knowledge and intentionality (what the speaker intends the addressee to understand as being communicated), and they are clearly culturally bound.

This research explores differences between the TL of Deaf and hearing T/Is in order to identify a Deaf translation norm. Pragmatics will be used to examine the types of translation shifts occurring between the SL and the TL, and it will provide a theoretical framework for the notion of cognitive cultural contact, which Stolze (2004, 43) defined as: “The two culture systems establish contact within the translator’s mind: in other words, her cognition as an expert reaches out into two different cultures and into various discourse fields.”

This will be understood in terms of pragmatic enrichment and impoverishment (Sequeiros 2002, 1998) discussed later. The shifts made will be analyzed in accordance with implied meaning and relevance. Insights can be gained into the cultural and linguistic transfer, and the ideology behind these transfers or shifts, by analyzing the texts of the Deaf T/Is
(from the TL culture) and hearing T/Is (from the surrounding SL culture), and comparing these texts with interview data.

When discussing empirical research in translation studies, Hatim (2001, 154) acknowledges that four factors need to be considered.

1. The range of translators represented in a corpus
2. The level of expertise
3. Directionality (whether the translator is working into or out of the mother tongue)
4. The spectrum of textual practices represented (genre, text type, discourse)

The level of cultural information (expressing an intention) that can be included in a translation may depend upon which culture the T/Is come from. It also depends upon the skill of the individual T/Is to be able to identify and incorporate such information. Directionality acknowledges that T/Is are able to work in different directions, but naturalness is something I compare against native (linguistic and cultural) intuitions. Some of the judgments on intentionality and cultural relevance could differ depending on whether one is working in one’s mother tongue, irrespective of whether these decisions affect comprehensibility.

The T/Is in this research are either Deaf / Deaf (hearing) with their first language (L1) as BSL and second language (L2) English; or hearing with L1 English and L2 BSL. They all work in television, some of the Deaf T/Is also work in Web cast news, Web, and DVD translation. A discussion of their level of expertise can be found in the methodology section. Factors three and four are relevant to the research design; directionality of rendering (L1 to L2, or L2 to L1) is one of the principal factors being researched and can be explored by examining the translation ideology the Deaf T/Is discuss in interviews and the manifestations of this ideology in the TL.

The spectrum of texts is limited to broadcast news; this information-giving medium enables an analysis of how the T/Is situate themselves: either as passive conduits or active and empowered agents within television interpreting. Some of the data may be prepared translation by the T/Is from a script. Other pieces of data will have T/Is interpreting, that is, rendering unseen information they have had no time to prepare.

By examining the TL product and its blinking phenomena, and the process the T/Is undertake creating the TL, their preparedness can be seen. The level of preparedness shows the degree to which the T/Is give themselves
the agency to construct an optimally relevant TL. Optimal relevance is achieved by expressing the communicative intent the T/Is perceive is being made manifest in the SL in a culturally appropriate way in the TL.

**INTERPRETING, TRANSLATION, AND EQUIVALENCE**

One of the central themes of both translation and interpreting is equivalence, both in terms of its conception and realization in the TL vis-à-vis the SL and/or vice-versa. As seen earlier (refer to fig. 1.1), equivalence can be judged as something orientated toward the SL or toward the TL. Equivalence can also be seen to be solely linguistic, or pragmatic, or cultural—or a combination of all of these. Generally the term “‘formal equivalence’” is used when a specific feature present in the SL is also present in the TL, and “functional equivalence” describes when there exists some difference between the SL and TL, but the translation functions in the same way as the SL (Pöchhacker 2004, 141). For example,

**SL**

He put his hands in his pockets

**TL**

Il a mis les mains dans ses poches

In TL a, the translation is word for word (exemplifying formal equivalence), while in TL b the third person possessive his/son is changed to the plural definite article the/les (exemplifying functional equivalence). In French this functions in this context in the same way as the English SL, since the possessive ses mains would only be used if he put his hands in someone else’s pockets!

Shlesinger (1995, 195) notes, “formal equivalence is (essentially a matching of surface forms commonly referred to as ‘literal translation’),” as opposed to “functional equivalence (essentially a matching of the ways in which the text will be used and understood).” This is also a theme Napier (2001) examines with sign language interpreters, using the terms “literal” and “free” interpretation, although these can be understood to mean the same as formal and functional equivalence. That is not to say that in some instances languages present things in the same way and so a surface-form translation fulfills a functional equivalence. The aim of this research is to use all three criteria of equivalence, linguistic, pragmatic...
and cultural, as defined by the Deaf T/ls through ethnographic interviews, to explore a Deaf translation norm from their perspective.

Ruuskanen (1996) provides a useful way of conceptualizing functional equivalence. She examines translators’ construction of their audience, which she calls “the pragmatic other.” In her analysis, translators construct their notion of equivalence by imagining who their audience will be. Ruuskanen discusses the preparation of a TL text within the context of the commission one is given. If the SL is a piece of technical language intended for medical doctors, the translators would construct their pragmatic other including that knowledge. The equivalence would then be judged by whether the technical text is understood and seen as appropriate by the medical doctors. If the same technical text is translated for a lay audience, the pragmatic other would be different, and as such the TL would be different. If the audience sees the text as appropriate for the context, it will have achieved equivalence even though the TL is different from that of the medical doctors.

Within Web/narrowcast/broadcast translation/interpretation, this functional notion of equivalence is useful as the audience is not present. The T/Is must make judgments about who will be watching and how they will render the SL into the TL to achieve functional equivalence for that audience. This functional equivalence implies that for a different, constructed pragmatic other, the SL will be rendered differently into the TL.

Gutt (2000, 377) discussed equivalence in terms of “faithfulness.” Here the notion does not rely upon equivalence with respect to either the SL or the TL. Instead, Gutt uses RT to examine the goal of faithfulness to the intentionality of central premises while re-writing or representing these notions in pragmatically appropriate renderings of the TL. Gutt (in Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002, 390) cites Namy.

When the French Polytechnicien, addressing his American counterpart, says: “Quelle est la proportion de main d’oeuvre indirecte que vous appliquez à l’entretien du capital installé?” should the interpreter say “What is the proportion of indirect labor you apply to the maintenance of the fixed capital?” or should he say, “How many people do you employ to keep the place clean and maintain the equipment?”

He goes on to explain when listening to an interpretation, the audience “needs to be able to recover the intended meaning instantly.” The motivation being to ensure the TL utterance is optimally relevant and therefore requires the least amount of effort from the audience for comprehension.
To represent intentionality requires both competence in the pragmatics of the language and cultural competence. Cultural competence also manifests itself in the contextual assumptions at play, including the contextual assumptions the T/Is use to construct the pragmatic other they have readily available within the shared cognitive environment. In this study, these assumptions are made when viewing the language (via autocue) and video footage at the time of the rendering of the SL into the TL.

As described in detail later, the Deaf community has some level of competence in English as well as BSL. If the T/Is ascribe some level of bilingualism to the audience, this will then be used to judge whether an apparent surface-form equivalence might meet functional equivalence, as long as linguistic (polysemically appropriate rendering) and pragmatic faithfulness are also manifest in the surface form. Consider the following example.

**English:** a green expert

**BSL:** `PERSON-CL IX GREEN EXPERT`

If the audience were aware of environmentalists being called “greens,” this would be sufficient information for the audience to understand the BSL without excessive cognitive effort. If not, then this could fail to be functionally equivalent.

### Pragmatics and Relevance Theory

Pragmatics is the study of language in use and how people understand language in different contexts. Aspects of pragmatics include analysis of conversation (Grice 1981; 1978; 1975), speech act theory (Searle 1979; Austin 1962) and implicature and explicature (Carston 2002; Blakemore 1992). Pragmatic theory also examines the interaction between the inference system and the linguistic code used to understand direct and indirect meanings of language (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 1986). Although several of these aspects are important to this study, RT, a cognitive theory of pragmatics, gives insights into equivalence.

When . . . interconnected new and old items of information are used together as premises in an inference process, further new information can be derived: information which could not have been inferred without this combination of old and new premises. When the processing of new
information gives rise to such a multiplication effect, we call it relevant. The greater the multiplication effect, the greater the relevance. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 48)

RT enables the examination of how information is processed by T/Is from one language into another. The interpreted language shows the types of information the T/Is find relevant, through their representation of the SL in the TL, and we are able to look at the types of transfers the T/Is make with respect to the SL. The following section reviews the different models proposed to explain how people understand language in context, including RT and ideas of enrichment and impoverishment. Finally, the section shows how RT has been applied to translation in the works of Gutt (1991), Hickey (1998), and Sequeiros (2002, 1998).

**Code-Based and Inference-Based Comprehension Models**

There has been a gradual shift in understanding how people comprehend language. The message model (de Saussure, 1922, [1916] 1974) is an early model used to explain how interlocutors understand language. It was based on the following idea: thoughts are generated by a central thought process; these thoughts are encoded into a transmitted linguistic signal; this signal is perceived by a hearer, decoded, and the thought is received.

Authors have argued the linguistic code does not contain enough information for this simple message model to work (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 1986; Blakemore 1992, 1987; Grice 1975). The linguistic code underspecifies the information needed by the audience in order to fully understand what is being said. Hence Grice (1981, 1978, 1975) developed the concept of the cooperative principle; the idea that in conversation we aim to be a useful interlocutor because we have expectations about the rules of conversational communication. From this idea he developed nine maxims of conversation deemed to rule conversational interaction and first introduced the idea of relevance (Grice 1975).

His idea of relevance focused on the inference system and inference-based communication, relying not only on the surface form of a message but what underlying meaning there might be to that message. The surface form of the meaning is often called literal, and message meanings not following this surface-form meaning are taken to be nonliteral. A classic example of nonliteralness is irony, as when a speaker says, “Why don’t you take all day?” Within the context of criticizing someone for taking a
long time, we know that to understand this utterance we need to derive more than its surface-form meaning. There could be a variety of clues, including the expectation that the task being undertaken by the addressee should not, literally, “take all day.” In this case the addressee is supposed to infer from the utterance something other than its literal meaning.

Although many theorists (Bach and Harnish 1979) used this inference-based model to augment the code-based model, Sperber and Wilson (1995, 1986) use Grice as a starting point to focus on inferential communication, examining relevance in “psychologically realistic terms.” Grice started examining identifying “what is said,” and RT started to address how “what is said” is identified (Carston 2004, 13).

Relevance Theory

This theory of pragmatics is grounded in information processing and cognitive theories of linguistic communication with its central tenet: “the aim of information processing is to recover as many contextual effects as possible for the least cost of processing” (Blakemore 1992, 34).

Human beings use certain “behaviour which makes manifest an intention to make something manifest–ostensive behaviour or simply ostension” (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 49). This is a general property of human interaction; the desire to point out information and to communicate this information has been intentionally pointed out. The hearer uses inference to understand there was an ostension; a coded communication such as language can be used to strengthen this ostensive-inferential communication, where ostensive-inferential communication can be defined as,

Ostensive-inferential communication: the communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 63)

Within linguistic communication, the processing effort the hearer makes to understand an utterance needs to be considered to be worth making. This effort is seen as worthwhile when overt communication is occurring; ideally in this situation, the speaker is deemed by the hearer to be optimally relevant. The speaker intends the hearer to believe she
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The speaker is being optimally relevant when she speaks, and two principles bind RT.

Cognitive Principle of Relevance

Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance.

(Wilson and Sperber 2002, 254)

Communicative Principle of Relevance

Every ostensive stimulus conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance. (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 256)

There exists a risk when communicating a speaker’s intention in an optimally relevant way that it might not be believed by a hearer. A speaker can misjudge the information she is giving her audience by providing too little or too much information for the communication to be successful. RT does not ignore this possibility, but rather accepts the risks present in linguistic communication. This overt linguistic communication occurs in the context of a psychological construction coming from several sources: the immediate environment or information, the expectation, and general cultural assumptions. Sperber and Wilson (1995, 16) outline, “A central problem for pragmatic theory is to describe how, for any given utterance, the hearer finds a context which enables him to understand it adequately.” The goal of RT is to identify how contexts are selected and used in utterance comprehension (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 20). These contexts can be cumulative, such that environmental factors, cultural assumptions, expected future outcomes, and previous and present linguistic code could be used collectively to understand an utterance.

Explicature and Implicature

One of the most important ideas underpinning RT is the underdeterminacy of language; it never fully encodes the information we wish to communicate. Some of information is communicated explicitly (by explicature) and some implicitly (by implicature). Explicature is taken to be an “explicitly communicated assumption,” that is, “an assumption

1. This follows the convention adopted by Sperber and Wilson (1986) where the communicator is assumed to be female and the audience male.
communicated by an utterance $U$ is *explicit* if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by $U$” (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 182).

By combining the logical form of an utterance (decoding the linguistic information) with assumptions (pragmatic inferring from the context), the hearer is able flesh out the semantic representation (Blakemore 1992).

It’s snowing [IN KATHMANDU]. (Carston 2002, 323)

In this example, the logical form is understood and then the utterance enriched with a location shown in parentheses. The semantic representation becomes, “it is snowing in Kathmandu.” If the speaker intended to communicate the location, and the hearer understands the speaker to have intended to communicate this information, then the ostensive communication is successful. Depending upon the contextual assumptions in the shared cognitive environment (the speaker and the addressee being in Kathmandu or having previously mentioned Kathmandu) successful communication is possible.

Varying degrees of explicitness exist within explicature: how explicit the linguistic code is affects the level of inference, making the utterance (or explicature in this case) more explicit. In the example above (it’s snowing), there could also be a temporal as well as location explicature.

It’s snowing [IN KATHMANDU] [AT THE PRESENT TIME]

The quantity of the information present in the linguistic code reduces the amount of explicatures needed and increases the degree of explicitness. We need to bear in mind there is a “possible difference between the proposition expressed by the speaker and her explicature(s): the proposition expressed may or may not be communicated; only when it is communicated is it an explicature of the utterance” (Carston 2002, 117). That is to say if the speaker intends to communicate $P$ by saying utterance $U$, $P$ is an explicature if the hearer understands $U$ to have communicated $P$. This constitutes successful ostensive communication without which the explicature would not exist.

Implicature on the other hand is, “when the speaker could not have expected his utterance to be relevant to the hearer without intending him to derive some specific contextual implication from it, then, and only then, that implication is also an implicature” (Sperber and Wilson 1981, 284). The following example from Blakemore (1992, 123–124), where the hearer has to access the context (5) and to deduce the contextual implication (4), expresses this. [The numbers are those used by the author.]
(2) A: Did I get invited to the conference?
(3) B: Your paper is too long.
(4) Speaker A did not get invited to the conference.
(5) If your paper is too long for the conference you will not be invited.

The answer in (3) B is enriched by an explicature: your paper is too long [for the conference] and there is the specific contextual implication (the implicature) (5). It is not clear whether the enrichment happens prior to or subsequent to the implicature, but both are present in this utterance.

Sperber and Wilson developed useful concepts within a relevance framework (1995). They argue that no language utterance is ever completely explicit, and more contemporary works support this idea (Talmy 2000a, 2000b; Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Fauconnier 1997). The linguistic code of an utterance always underspecifies the assumptions associated with that utterance. The RT definition of explicature and implicature (derived from explicit and implicit), however, is not what would commonly be understood by these terms. Wilson (2005, 1130) gives useful examples of both explicatures and implicatures.

Identification of explicit content (explicatures):
1. John left the party. (‘political groups’, ‘festive gathering’)
2. The teachers told the students they needed more holidays. (reference resolution)
3. I met no-one in town. (‘no-one I knew’, ‘no-one interesting’)
4. Your father will be here soon. (resolution of vagueness)
5. The sky is blue. (‘partly/totally’, ‘blue of a certain shade/blueish)
6. You will be there tomorrow. (request, bet, prediction)

Implicit context (implicatures):
7. This book is as good as any the author has written. (good? mediocre? bad?)
8. Some of the lectures were interesting. (scalar implicatures)
9. a. Jim: Have you read Relevance?
    b. Sue: I don’t read difficult books. (indirect answers)
10. I’m hungry. (indirect speech acts)
11. Bill is a giant. (literal/metaphorical/ironical)

These types of inferences affect T/Is, since it is necessary for them not only to access the full propositional form in the SL but also to decide how to represent it in the TL. It is of course possible for there to be an error
on the part of the hearer (in this case the T/I) who would make decisions about rendering what he has understood a speaker to mean. This being the case, one would expect the greater the explicature in the SL linguistic code, the less likely it is the T/I will make an error in the TL. The problem might well be that the speaker is not mindful of the translation process and as such assumes it is a two-way interaction (between the speaker and addressee) rather than a three-way interaction (between the speaker to the T/I and then T/I to addressee). This could mean she assumes the T/I has the same knowledge about the subject as her audience, which might not be the case.

RT and Translation

For Gutt, RT enables “an empirical account of evaluation and decision-making” (1991, 21) with respect to equivalence and the relationship between the source and the target text. What is of interest for this study is Gutt’s treatment of covert translation, which he describes as being “where the translated text is intended to function like a target language original” (1991, 45). The TL has all traces of the SL removed from it. Having a minority language TL with majority language SL traces removed from it, supports Venuti (1997) as outlined above, which picks up from the ideas of Schleiermacher (1813) [cited in Munday (2001)].

Either the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader towards the writer, or he [sic] leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer toward the reader.

Venuti supports the idea of moving the reader toward the writer, and this suggests creating a covert translation. It maintains cultural and linguistic difference and does not reinforce and re-impose the hegemonic values, language, and culture on the minority audience. Within RT there are different types of language use, “descriptive” and “interpretive,” and these can account for “loose talk.” If someone says, “Bill is a gangster,” this can mean literally that Bill is a gangster and would be a descriptive use of the language. Alternatively, it can give Bill some of the attributes of being a gangster, and this would be an interpretive use of the word (Gutt 1991, 33–37).

Gutt suggests that many acts performed by bilinguals are called translations, with the main difference being whether the SL is descriptively or interpretively used. In some situations the original text could be used
as a guideline rather than a source text to be followed faithfully. Again Sperber and Wilson’s RT (1995, 1986) can be applied to the TL and the shifts occurring in the translation process because the TL has to be relevant enough to make it worth the addressee’s while to process the ostensive stimulus. If the Deaf audience has to spend too much cognitive effort on understanding the TL, the T/Is are not fulfilling their purpose, that is, translating the English SL into a BSL TL and creating equality of access for the Deaf audience.

Enrichment and Impoverishment

Sequeiros (2002) analyzes both pragmatic additions enriching the TL and pragmatic omissions impoverishing the TL with respect to the SL text. Sequeiros defines enrichment as, “A process of completion of the logical form (i.e. the semantic representation encoded by the utterance) whose aim is to arrive at the proposition expressed, which may or may not be one of the set of thoughts explicitly communicated by the utterance” (2002, 1070). And he defines impoverishment as, “given a particular proposition (i.e., thought) expressed by an L1 (Language 1) utterance, the linguistic rendering in L2 (Language 2) may encode less than the L1 as a result of a process which will be called interlingual impoverishment” (2002, 1070).

Initially it is useful to look at intralingual examples, that is examples of the process of the completion of a logical form to arrive at the propositional form within a language. Wilson and Sperber’s (1993, 293) notion is that, “If the linguistically encoded information is too vague, or too incomplete, to yield an adequately relevant interpretation, it will be enriched using immediately accessible contextual assumptions, to the point where it is relevant enough.”

Sequeiros uses the idea to further expand upon this idea of pragmatic enrichment. We know not all information is linguistically encoded, for example in a conversation the speakers could say,

Speaker A: Will Aoife be long?

Speaker B: She is with Richard.

Here the logical form of the utterance made by Speaker B is not sufficient to answer Speaker A’s question. If however, the situation is such that Speakers A and B know Aoife is a student, Richard is her tutor, and
Richard only ever spends a short time with his tutees, then Speaker A can use this information to make a relevant interpretation of the logical form to create the propositional form. The T/I then has to decide how to represent the enriched logical form (the propositional form) in the TL to be relevant to the audience as the speaker intended. If we now look at interlingual enrichment (and impoverishment) then according to Sequeiros, “An utterance is a case of interlingual enrichment if its semantic representation is the intended enrichment of the semantic representation of an utterance from another language” (2002, 1078). In other words, if the translator explicates the TL on the lines of the full propositional form rather than following the logical form this would be a case of interlingual enrichment. Similarly if the TL became less implicit this would also be an example of interlingual impoverishment. Sequeiros (2002, 1077) states,

The logical possibilities between the two languages seem to allow four different cases as regards explicitness/implicitness:

A Translation *more* explicit because of (enrichment):
   i. Linguistic differences between two languages
   ii. A choice of the translator on some other grounds

B Translation *less* explicit because of (impoverishment):
   i. Linguistic differences between two languages
   ii. A choice of the translator on some other grounds

Sequeiros further details four areas of enrichment: temporal enrichment, thematic enrichment (agent, source, and possessor), enrichment based on discourse relations, and enrichment based on implicatures. These four areas of enrichment build on his previous work on impoverishment (Sequeiros 1998) and give a useful taxonomy of the types of pragmatic shifts that may occur in translation and can be used to compare the types of shifts the two groups of T/Is perform.

The temporal shifts afford the TL utterance an additional time unit, which can be understood to have been intended in the SL. For example, “now” can mean this second, or this minute, or this hour, or this afternoon, or today, etc. When the translation is explicated, it pragmatically enriches the TL so the TL is closer to the intended propositional form of the utterance than the logical form of the SL. An example:

   d. I HAVE HAD LUNCH [TODAY] (Sequeiros 2002, 1072)

This would be the same as BEEN LUNCH in BSL, where the addressee explicates the temporal context of the utterance.
Thematic enrichment explicitly states the agent of an event in the TL when compared with the SL. The impoverishment occurs when the agent is purposefully lost and becomes implicit in the TL. The TL is still understood, and the implication should not be an error but a decision made by the translator for reasons of naturalness and efficiency over effectiveness.

A cada impulso sonaba un diminuto crujido [SL text]

*With every push it crackled a little* [suggested translation]

*With every gust of wind it crackled a little* [TL text]

. . . the degree of explicitness has been changed . . . [the] interlingual enrichment [is] based on information which had not been linguistically encoded in the original but merely suggested, but which is linguistically encoded in the translation. (Sequeiros 2002, 1081–82)

The source thematic enrichment occurs when the TL makes explicit the point of origin of an event or entity.

El agua salía hirviendo, y eso compensaba la falta de sol y de aire. (Sequeiros 2002, 1083) [my additions indicate enrichments]

The possessor thematic enrichment occurs when the TL builds into the linguistic code the possessor of an entity described in the utterance. Even though this may be a grammatical necessity, it still falls within a strict definition of enrichment with respect to the SL.

Ruti sonrió con melancolia. Le puso una mano en el hombro.

*Ruti smiled sadly and put his hand on the old man’s shoulder.*

The English version includes the possessor of the shoulder, namely, the old man and also the possessor of the hand, namely, Ruti. These two pieces of information are merely suggested in the Spanish original. (Sequeiros 2002, 1084)

This example highlights different motivations for the construction of the TL text. The hearer of the Spanish will enrich the logical form of *Le puso una mano en el hombro* to mean Ruti’s hand and a man’s shoulder as this is how Spanish linguistically encodes the possessive. In English the possession is explicitly marked in the linguistic code so the translation into
English requires that a possessive be used. While the process involves an enrichment of the logical form from the Spanish, the translator has no choice in how this is translated with regards to the possessive markers, although the addition of *old* relies on contextual assumptions in the text. As described, there are different categories of enrichments and impoverishments, shifts that the interpreter or translator can choose to make and those that are obligatory.

The enrichment shifts based on discourse relations occur when the TL makes explicit the connections between two clauses or utterances.

*El calor pegajoso le humedecía la camisa, adhiriéndosela al cuerpo.*

*The sticky heat made his shirt damp, so that it clung to his body.*

... the Spanish has two clauses ... Between the two clauses there is a discourse relation [sic] relationship of consequence. ... This connection is left implicit in the original but in the translation it is encoded linguistically by adding the connecting expression *so that.* (Sequeiros 2002, 1085)

This enrichment shift from Spanish to English would not be necessary from BSL to English, although there could be a need for a causal connective such as *become.* It is also important to examine the features one would expect from an unwritten language (Ong 1982, described later). As BSL is an active language, events generally occur in chronological order and follow a logical order of cause and effect, all of which may create translation shifts toward both enriched and impoverished forms.

A further category may have to be developed, as the previous categories do not cover the situations when the contextual assumption is due to visual information and the potential for BSL to linguistically encode locational information.

**CAR DRIVE CL-MOVE-LEFT-HAND-SIDE-OF-ROAD**

*the car is driven on the left hand side of the road*

This type of enrichment could be grammatically obligatory, as the TL has to encode a less ambiguous lexical item than the SL. The news headline where the English uses the word *balloon,* meaning hot air balloon, and the Deaf T/I translates this as *HOT-AIR-BALLOON* provides another example. No superordinate sign covers these two English contexts, which can be understood to mean either hot air balloon or “party” balloon depending on contextual assumptions.
The RT notion of relevance is assessed in terms of cognitive effects and processing effort.

1. Relevance of an input to an individual
   a. Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.
   b. Other things being equal, the greater the processing effort expended, the lower the relevance of the input to the individual at that time. (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 252)

If the goal of the T/I is to maximize the TL relevance for the target audience, then the TL will be constructed in such a way that it is relevant to the audience rather than just seeming to be relevant to the audience. Optimal relevance then becomes,

An ostensive stimulus is optimally relevant to an audience if [if and only if]:
   a. It is relevant enough to be worth the audience’s processing effort;
   b. It is the most relevant one compatible with communicator’s abilities and preferences. (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 256)

In relevance terms, ease of understanding is viewed within a framework such that comprehension is described as,

Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure
   a. Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects:
      Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguation, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility.
   b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied. (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 259)

In the example when HOT-AIR-BALLOON is used to translate the word balloon, the BSL is a translation of the pragmatically enriched form (the fully intended propositional form). The T/I’s motivation for this translation comes from the fact that BSL specifically encodes a difference between “blow-up balloon” and “hot air balloon,” but the consequence is that the audience requires less cognitive effort to understand the TL; there is no need to disambiguate the term balloon since the most explicit semantic representation is encoded linguistically. There remains a need to resolve the reference, that is, which hot air balloon is being referred to, and this is where an interaction occurs between either the SL or the TL and the information being shown on the screen.
The final category, pragmatic shift based on implicatures, differs from those described above. Sequeiros notes, “This is a case where the translator has included an implication of the original text in the target text thereby translating not only what was said but also what was implied” (2001, 1086). These translation shifts extend beyond mere enrichment of the original. Sequeiros sees this as unacceptable—not because what is linguistically encoded in the TL is more narrowly specified in the propositional form than the SL, but because of explicating an implication when the level of possible enrichment moves away from the intended propositional form.

Happily for the self-command Afortunadamente para of both Heyward and Munro they knew not the meaning of the wild sounds they heard. Afortunadamente para Munro, y Heyward, no entendían el significado de los salvajes gritos que oían, pues de lo contrario difícilmente hubieran podido dominar su renovado dolor.

(The Cooper, The Last Mohican)

The translator has added an implication of the first clause to the Spanish text . . . which was not present in the original version.

Pues de lo contrario difícilmente hubieran podido dominar su renovado dolor.

Since otherwise they would hardly have been able to control their renewed suffering.

This translation goes beyond a mere enrichment of the original. (Sequeiros 2002, 1086)

One important factor to add is that both Gutt and Sequeiros examine written translation from a RT perspective. In this study, the written English SL is shown to the T/I before broadcasting, but as BSL is an oral language, an editable, written TL cannot be constructed. Any constructions of the TL are used in preparation for the task, and then either a live broadcast or a recorded broadcast takes place. When the TL is broadcast live, the preparation and BSL practice supports the production of the text but cannot remove the performance factor.
The theories previously outlined can be considered within the context of television interpreting. Sperber and Wilson (2002, 14–15) provide a cognitive, linguistic way of thinking about the interaction between the T/I and the audience.

In particular, an individual A can often predict:

a. which stimulus in an individual B’s environment is likely to attract B’s attention (i.e., the most relevant stimulus in that environment);

b. which background information from B’s memory is likely to be retrieved and used in processing this stimulus (i.e., the background information most relevant to processing it);

c. which inferences B is likely to draw (i.e., those inferences which yield enough cognitive benefits for B’s attentional resources to remain on the stimulus rather than being diverted to alternative potential inputs competing for those resources).

The news broadcasts examined are summary headline news or news-week review programs totaling 23 minutes, 25 seconds. The summary headlines are translated after the main news has been delivered and occur as a summary of three or four main news stories. Similarly, the news-week review has the whole program translated, but happens at the end of the week and reviews the main news stories of the week.

The news is subtitled, giving the Deaf audience access to the news stories in English before they see it rendered into BSL. Therefore, the bilingual audience already has some knowledge of the news story before the translation occurs. It is fair for the T/Is to assume their translations may not be the first time the audience has come to know the news story; however, it is the first time the audience has seen the news story in BSL.

Before the translation occurs, the T/Is receive the English script and have some time to prepare how they will approach the translation. For the headlines, in the studio the T/Is also see the videotape footage that has run during the initial broadcast of the story. For the news-week review, the T/Is see the video footage that will be running in the background while they are rendering.

BSL is a visual language and has some nouns and verbs differentiated according to visual motivations (Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999, 164). This builds upon the work of Mandel (1977). Taub (2001) explores these
ideas in greater depth in American Sign Language (ASL) and discusses visual motivation in ASL and other signed languages.

[T]he meaning of *tree* and the associated visual image do not determine the signs’ forms, as they are all different – but neither are the forms unrelated to the meaning. Instead the forms all bear different types of physical resemblance to the image of a tree. The nature of these forms, given their meaning, is neither arbitrary nor predictable but rather motivated. . . . In using the motivation, I intend that two conditions be met: that one can observe a tendency rather than a strict rule, and that one can attribute the tendency to some reason external to the linguistic system (ibid., 8–9).

The videotape footage enables the T/I to select the appropriate, visually motivated, lexical items for the news.

In choosing a visually motivated lexicon, the linguistically encoded information in the script is modified by actual iconography or isomorphism to render the SL into the TL. The choosing of appropriate visually motivated lexicon is not a voluntary decision by the T/I, as often this is merely a disambiguation of a superordinate or polysemic noun into BSL so the TL is factually correct (for example, hot air balloon). The path movements of verbs, however, can be motivated by the desire for naturalness rather than accurate propositional representation.

The limited amount of time for the broadcast maximizes the need for a succinct and relevant TL. Since the news stories recapitulate previously broadcast news items, the T/I is able to select old and/or new information from the SL and the videotape footage, and represent relevant information in the TL to the audience using visually motivated implicature (for example, metaphoric use of space) and explication (disambiguated nouns and polycomponential verbs [Schembri 2003]), as well as culturally specific contextual assumptions that influence the TL.

**SUMMARY**

Different theoretical approaches have been discussed in order to understand how translations and interpretations are related to and understood when compared with the original texts. Different translation norms also have been discussed in order to examine what is translated, how it is translated, and the specific linguistic and cultural analyses applicable to translational activity. Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Wilson 2005) provides a useful context for understanding some of the themes raised in the interviews.