Competence and Creativity in Translation: Multilingual Perspectives

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Abstract

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This thesis addresses competence and creativity in translation by focusing on the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject. Drawing on recent multilingualism research and integrating insights from translation studies, hermeneutics, sociolinguistics, and second-generation cognitive science, it is argued that translators do not simply transfer meaning between words, texts or cultures; they embody a relation to the languages and cultures they are translating, just as multilinguals do in code-switching, performing identities, and symbolically identifying with different linguistic and cultural meanings. To explore these ideas, I conducted a qualitative study on multilingual translation students in Montreal to learn more about their diverse backgrounds. Research results—covering a broad range of languages, age groups, life experience, education, and employment histories—suggest that the translation process cannot be defined without considering the sociocognitive complexity of translation and that translators, at every stage of their development, actively draw on their unique linguistic and sociocultural repertoires. A working definition of translators' symbolic competence is proposed as a framework for analysing students' interests in, attitudes about, and approaches to translating and for considering how translators, especially translation students, can potentially develop their competence and creatively in translation by exploring this nuanced terrain.

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Introduction

Multilingualism as a social phenomenon often refers to situations in which multiple languages exist side-by-side in society but are used separately by different segments of the population. It is sometimes distinguished from "plurilingualism"—or multilingualism at the individual level—which designates a person's competence in more than one language and ability to switch between languages according to circumstances. The notion of heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981 [1934]) adds yet another layer of complexity, alluding to variation *within* single languages, such as dialects, sociolects, idiolects, slang, and code-switching. Montreal is a city that encompasses all of these multilingualisms. It is ethnically and linguistically diverse like any major urban centre but also has an exceptionally high percentage of bi- and trilingual speakers—the highest in Canada and possibly in North America (Lamarre 2003: 64).[1] As Sherry Simon (2006) has observed, Montreal is a city where "on the sidewalks teenagers start their sentences in one language and finish them in another, where graffiti send out truly mixed messages" (10) and where multilingualism, mixed languages, and code switching are "preferred modes of communication, forms of translation specific to its polyglot sensibility" (ibid.). Montreal's high rate of multilingualism, particularly among allophones,[2] can be partly attributed to Quebec's efforts to protect the French language as a minority language within Canada, which is officially bilingual but, in practice, dominated by English outside of Quebec (cf. Lamarre 2003: 64). These factors have made Montreal not only a hub of bi- and multilingualism but also an important centre for translation and translator-training programs.

Montreal has four universities that offer translation courses and two that offer comprehensive translation programs—Concordia University and the Université de Montréal. At Concordia, students choose between French to English or English to French translation, usually translating into their native or "dominant" language. At the Université de Montréal, students primarily translate from English into French and have the option of adding a third source language. While studying at Concordia, I had the occasion to meet a number of multilingual

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[1] Census data from 1996 revealed that 46.8% of Quebec allophones spoke both of Canada's official languages compared to 5.4% in the rest of Canada, implying that, at the time, trilingualism was nine times higher in Quebec (Marmen and Corbeil 1999). Recent evidence suggests that Quebec's multilingualism is continuing to rise, particularly in the Montreal area, with its high immigrant population (Pagé and Lamarre 2010). However, as Pagé and Lamarre (ibid.) point out, traditional survey methods often define linguistic groups according to a single language, thus obscuring complex multilingual dynamics across different contexts.

[2] *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 2004), defines "allophone" as "(esp. in Quebec) an immigrant whose first language is neither French nor English."

translation students whose first or dominant language was neither French nor English. Some of these students were born and raised in Quebec; others have recently immigrated to Canada. I also met a number of multilingual students who have either French or English as a first language but have acquired other languages that they use personally or professionally on a regular basis. As for the French-English bilinguals, I found their backgrounds to be equally diverse, encompassing Québécois, Acadian, French, Belgian, Haitian, Mauritian, Senegalese, American, and Canadian varieties of French and English, among others. I couldn't help remarking how animated many of these students became when discussing their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They seemed proud of their multilingualism and spoke of having a passion for languages. I had the feeling they were drawn to translation not strictly for the professional opportunities it might offer but also for very personal reasons, reasons related to their unique linguistic and cultural backgrounds and, in some cases, to their very sense of identity. As one student put it, "I've been translating my whole life."

In translation studies, the recent interest in translators, interpreters, and other "agents of translation" (Milton and Bandia 2009) has generated important sociological research (Inghilleri 2005; Wolf and Fukari 2007; Meylaerts 2008; Gouanvic 2010). The cognitive dimensions of translating, however, have often been studied in isolation, severed from any reference to sociocultural contexts or even to actual translators. The translator, though at the centre of process-oriented studies, often remains oddly invisible. Research on translation competence (Schäffner and Adab 2000; PACTE 2005, 2011; Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009; Shreve and Angelone 2010), combining both process- and product- oriented analyses, has drawn primarily on quality-assessment tools that measure performance or on experimental methods such as think-aloud protocols, keystroke logging, and eye tracking techniques that seek to uncover the mysteries of the translation process—Gideon Toury's (1982: 25) famous "black box." While these studies have enriched our understanding of the multifaceted and complex task of translation and contributed to the development of ever-more sophisticated translator-training programs, the unique histories and subjective experiences of individual translators have often been overlooked.

Within a strict empirical-experimental paradigm, questions pertaining to the translator's subjectivity, agency and identity, or to the performative or ethical dimensions of translating, are considered beyond the scope of empirical testing and therefore of peripheral interest. Likewise,

though creativity has long been acknowledged as an important aspect of translation, it is notoriously difficult to define and objectively impossible to pin down. Consequently, any reference to creativity in translation, as in other domains, risks being associated with romantic conceptions of individual genius and other clichés.

My research explores competence and creativity in translation by focusing on the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject. Translators' critical and creative capacities are reconsidered in light of the concept of *symbolic competence*, defined in second-language acquisition (SLA) research as a multilingual subject's "acute ability to play with various linguistic codes and with the various spatial and temporal resonances of these codes [...] not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else's language, but to shape the very context in which the language is learned and used" (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008: 664). Applying this concept to translation, I set out to develop a working definition of translators' symbolic competence that is grounded in translators' diverse linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds. This approach situates the translator "as a viable third term" (Pym 1995: 7) not between source and target texts and cultures but between processes and contexts, synthesizing, that is, process-oriented, participant-oriented, and context-oriented theories and methodologies (cf. Saldahna and O'Brien 2013). By insisting on the contextualized, subjective role of translators in the translation process and integrating insights from translation studies, hermeneutics, SLA, sociolinguistics, and second-generation cognitive science, this thesis responds to Chesterman's (2009) call for a "translator studies" and represents a modest attempt to develop a research model that highlights the symbolic dimension of language in translation and the interdependence of psychological and sociological factors in translating, factors that cannot be studied without taking the particular trajectories of individual translators into consideration.

To explore these ideas, I conducted a qualitative study on multilingual translation students in Montreal to learn more about their diverse linguistic, cultural, personal and professional backgrounds. Research results—covering a broad range of languages, age groups, life experience, education, and employment histories—suggest that the translation process cannot be defined without considering the sociocognitive complexity and contexts of translation (Simeoni 1998), and that translators, at every stage of their development, actively draw on their diverse and unique linguistic and sociocultural repertoires. This implies rejecting essentialist or

minimalist definitions of translation competence and creativity in favour of an enlarged perspective (cf. Tymoczko 2007) that conceives of translating as bound to translators' identity, agency, performativity, and cultural positioning.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of different approaches to studying competence and creativity in translation within the discipline of translation studies. These approaches encompass a broad range of paradigms and methodologies, including empirical-experimental, cognitive, literary, cultural, ideological, and hermeneutical perspectives. Chapter 2 introduces the multilingual turn that has become prevalent in recent SLA and sociolinguistics research. Following an overview of multilingualism research in these disciplines, I focus on Kramsch's (2009b) definitions of the multilingual subject and symbolic competence in SLA. Chapter 3 situates these multilingual perspectives within the context of translation studies by concentrating on the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject—first, by considering questions of subjectivity, intersubjectivity, and embodied cognition with reference to translation studies but also within a broader sociocognitive framework, second, by presenting translation studies research on translators' identity, agency, and performativity, and third, by synthesizing these and other relevant translation studies perspectives to arrive at a working definition of the translator's symbolic competence. These theoretical frameworks comprise approximately one half of the overall thesis.

The second half is devoted to the research design, methodology, and results of my qualitative study on multilingual translation students in Montreal. Chapter 4 outlines the research design and methodology, Chapter 5 provides detailed information on questionnaire responses and Chapter 6 focuses on in-depth analyses of individual profiles based on interviews with selected participants. Chapter 7, in conclusion, provides a recap and highlights the relevance and implications of this study for current and future research in translation studies and beyond. Finally, as much work went into the actual questionnaire design and University Research Ethics Committee application, I have included these documents in the appendices. These documents provide additional information concerning participant consent, storage and disposal of data, and other protocols that are required when working with human subjects in academic research.

Chapter 1: Competence and Creativity in Translation

1.1 The Task of the Translator

As many translation scholars have observed (Steiner 1975; Bassnett 1980; Robinson 1997), discourse on "the task of the translator" goes back to ancient Rome and probably further, predating modern translation studies and Benjamin's famous (1923) essay of the same name by centuries.[3] Good translation has been, from earliest times, linked to translators' creativity and has found its place amongst other creative forms of expression, as evidenced in Cicero's (c. 46 BCE) insistence on the translator's role as a creative orator rather than a literal "word-for-word" interpreter (Munday 2012: 30). St. Jerome (c. 395 CE) would later make his famous distinction between "word-for-word" (literal) and "sense-for-sense" (free) translation, forming, as Munday notes, "the basis of key writings on translation for nearly two thousand years" (2012: 30).[4]

Though there are no references to competence *per se* in what Newmark calls the "pre-linguistics period of translation" (1981: 4), skill in translation has often been associated with creativity, from the Renaissance *belles infidèles* revival of the Roman concept of creative *imitatio* (Hermans 2004: 123) to the many metaphorical descriptions of translation in translators' prefaces and commentaries. Translation has been likened to crossing a bridge, following in another's footsteps, performing a musical score, changing clothes, painting a portrait, digestion, cannibalism, reincarnation, purification, alchemy, smuggling, and cross-dressing (St. André 2010). The poet-translator Yves Bonnefoy has described translation as a form of intimacy, friendship, and dialogue and translators as explorers journeying "into the recesses of the poet's psyche" (cited in St. André 2010: 211).

Since the emergence of translation studies as a discipline, often dated to Holmes' (1972) paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies," translation scholars have sought to go beyond the metaphorical "reminiscences of translators" (Lefevere 1975: 1) in order to establish a more systematic and methodical approach to studying translation phenomena. While this has

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[3] According to Delisle and Woodsworth (2012: 3), evidence of translation can be traced to the earliest instances of writing. Archaeologists, for example, have discovered bilingual Sumerian-Eblaite clay tablets that are 4500 years old (ibid.). Robinson begins his (1997) history of Western translation theory with Herodotus (c. 450 BCE). Thackeray's (1917) translation of and commentary on Aristeas (c. 130 BCE) recounts the story of the *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament starting in the third century BCE and named after the legendary 70 elders said to have translated the first section "as by a miracle" in 72 days. The translators' competence was purportedly assessed over the course of a seven days banquet, during which King Ptolemy tested the proficiency of each translator with "hard questions" (ibid.).

[4] According to Munday, similar terms can be found in ancient Chinese and Arabic translation traditions (2012: 32).

certainly been pivotal in making translation studies the rich and complex field it is today, internal specialization has also given rise to a number of divides, for example, between micro-linguistic/cognitive and macro-social/cultural approaches. Thus, translation competence has been primarily defined within a strict empirical-experimental paradigm in terms consistent with the information-processing models of first-generation cognitive science, while creativity in translation has been studied separately as either a linguistic/cognitive or literary/cultural phenomenon. The hermeneutical approach, as developed by Stolze (2010, 2011), proposes a holistic model that is grounded in methodological precision and welcomes insights from (second-generation) cognitive science, while, at the same time, exploring translator's competence and creativity as deeply subjective phenomena. The following is a brief overview of these diverse approaches.

1.2 Defining Translation Competence

Translation competence, in its modern form, has been referred to as a legacy concept inherited from Chomskyan linguistics (Shreve and Angelone 2010: 3). Chomsky (1965) distinguished between "competence" as the innate, systematic knowledge underlying language and "performance" as language use. According to this distinction, which Pym (2003: 484) equates with Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*, competence is considered the proper object of the scientific study of language, and performance, beyond the scope of scientific inquiry. While some early translation studies scholars (cf. Koller 1979) attempted to adopt a more performance-based definition of translation competence (Pym 2003: 484), the concept's genesis within first-generation cognitive science has left an enduring legacy of assumptions about language and cognition that continues to influence translation competence research (cf. Muñoz-Martín 2010).

The first references to translation competence go back to Wilss (1976), who defined it as a union of three elements: receptive competence in the source language (reading and comprehension), productive competence in the target language (writing), and supercompetence, the ability to transfer messages between the linguistic systems of the source and target cultures (Shreve 2012: 1). Harris and Sherwood (1978) outlined a number of developmental stages in what they referred to as "natural translation," based on their studies of bilingual children's innate

ability to translate.[5] Toury, like Harris, recognized that "the predisposition itself for translating was 'indeed coextensive with bilingualism'" (1995: 248), but he distinguished his concept of the "native translator" (1984, 1986) from that of the "natural translator," emphasizing the importance of a third element: *transfer competence*. According to Toury, the emergence of translating as a skill "hinges upon the presence of a kind of transfer mechanism, which makes it possible to actually *activate* one's interlingual capacity and apply it to utterances in one or another of one's languages" (1995: 248). Toury relates the development of this skill to socialization processes (246, 250) and defines professional translation as a form of learned and norm-governed behaviour (Lesznyák 2007: 186).

Bell (1991: 43) defined translation competence as "the knowledge and skills the translator must possess in order to carry out a translation," which include target language knowledge, text-type knowledge, source language knowledge, subject area ("real world") knowledge, contrastive knowledge, as well as decoding (reading) and encoding (writing) skills (37). He also introduced the concept of translation competence as an expert system and proposed a number of communicative subcompetences: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discursive, and strategic (1991: 40–41). Neubert (1992, 2000), considering contextual features as well as the complex, heterogeneous, and approximate nature of translation, defined "translational" competence as that which enables translators to cope with "variable tasks that make specific demands on the cognitive system of the translator" (2000: 3). He proposed five qualitative parameters: language competence, textual competence, subject competence, cultural competence and transfer competence (2000: 6).). Shreve's (2006) parameters are similar to those of Bell and Neubert, but he explicitly distinguishes between declarative and procedural knowledge and focuses on resources "from a variety of cognitive domains accumulated through training and experience" (28), including linguistic knowledge of both languages, cultural knowledge (and knowledge of specialized subjects), textual knowledge of source and target textual conventions, and translation knowledge, strategies, and procedures (40).

The PACTE (Proceso de Adquisición de la Competencia Traductora y Evaluación) research group, which has been carrying out experimental research on translation competence since 1977, has developed what is arguably the most comprehensive framework. They define

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[5] Harris' concept of natural translation was criticized for not distinguishing translators from other bilinguals (Lesznyák 2007: 175).

translation competence as "the underlying system of knowledge required to translate" (PACTE 2011: 33) that includes expert knowledge, procedural knowledge, a strategic component, and the following inter-related subcompetences: bilingual subcompetence, extra-linguistic subcompetence, knowledge about translation, instrumental subcompetence, strategic sub-competence, and psycho-physiological components (ibid.).

Finally, Pym, responding to the ever-expanding complexity of the multicomponential models, proposes a minimalist definition of translation competence based on two elements: 1) the ability to generate a series of more than one viable target text (TTI, TT2 ... TTn) for a pertinent source text (ST), and 2) the ability to select only one viable TT from this series, quickly and with justified confidence (Pym 2003: 489). According to Pym,

> There can be no doubt that translators need to know a fair amount of grammar, rhetoric, terminology, computer skills, Internet savvy, world knowledge, teamwork cooperation, strategies for getting paid correctly, and the rest, but the specifically translational part of their practice is strictly neither linguistic nor solely commercial. It is a process of generation and selection, a problem-solving process that often occurs with apparent automatism. (ibid.)

Pym argues that a minimalist concept of translation competence, based on the production and elimination of alternatives, distinguishes between the means (i.e. tools and technologies) and the ends (arriving at a translation solution). At the same time, a simpler model can easily adapt to rapid technological and professional change and thus contribute to critically orienting translator training in response to these changes (494).

1.3 Experimental Research on Translation Competence

Despite the practical appeal of Pym's simplified definition and a number of pioneering product-oriented studies (Stansfield, Scott, and Kenyon 1992; Campbell 1991),[6] the growing trend in translation competence research has been to integrate complex, multicomponential models with a variety of primarily process-oriented or triangulated (two-or-more mixed methods) experimental research techniques. According to Göpferich and Jääskeläinen (2009: 169), process-oriented research on translation competence can be traced to the first exploratory studies of the mid-1980s

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[6] Stansfield, Scott, and Kenyon (1992) were among the first to use experimental methods to define translation skill level descriptions. (Lesznyák 2007: 176). Campbell's (1991) studies assigned an important role to the translator's "disposition," which, according to Lesznyák (at the time of writing in 2007), was in line with recent cognitive competence models but required further research in translation studies (2007: 186). Note that since Lesznyák (2007), a number of translation studies scholars have undertaken research on the translator's personality, disposition, and subjective stance (cf. Hubscher-Davidson 2007, 2009, 2013; Rosiers et al. 2011; Munday 2012).

(e.g. Gerloff 1988; Krings 1986). These studies initially made use of think-aloud protocols (TAPs), but other methods now include dialogue protocols (or "thinking aloud" in pairs), retrospection, Integrated Problem and Decision Reporting (IPDR), questionnaires and interviews, video and screen recording, keystroke logging, eye tracking, EEG, and neuro-imaging techniques (170). A number of these research methods are represented in Shreve and Angelone's (2010) volume *Translation and Cognition*. Angelone, for example, uses a dual methodology of TAPS and screen recording to compare professional and student translators' uncertainty management and metacognitive problem solving (2010: 7). In the same volume, Diamond and Shreve provide an overview of recent studies employing neuroimaging techniques to investigate bilingualism, language switching, and translation (289).[7]

The PACTE Group's empirical-experimental research has unfolded over two phases, including studies on professional translators (compared with foreign language teachers) (2002-2010) and translation competence acquisition in translator trainees (from 2010–present). They employ a number of methods and technologies, including questionnaires and retrospective interviews related to direct and inverse translation tasks, keystroke logging, and screen recording. PETRA (Expertise and Environment in Translation), another large-scale research group, proposes a program that integrates theoretical concepts from cognitive linguistics, connectionism, situated cognition, and social constructivism to "study as many aspects of the translation process as possible under the same scope" (Muñoz Martín 2009: 1). Their research methods combine the use of questionnaires, language testing, professional-student-laypeople comparisons, keystroke logging, eye tracking, and process-product triangulation (ibid.).

Experimental research on translation competence has increased exponentially over the past 15 years, with the emergence of several large-scale research projects.[8] Though incorporating both product- and process-oriented research and integrating more contextual factors and varied methods to establish reliability and "ecological validity" (Muñoz Martín 2009), many of the large-scale programs are decidedly process-oriented, overlapping with other areas of cognitive research in translation studies, and scholars in the field (Göpferich et al. 2011; Shreve and

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[7] These include functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), functional magnetic resonance adaptation (fMR-Adaptation), positron emission tomography (PET), electroencephalograms (EEG), event-related potential methods (ERP), functional near-infrared continuous wave spectroscopy (fNIRCWS), and heart rate measures (HR).

[8] Along with PACTE and PETRA mentioned above: CRITT (Centre for Research and Innovation in Translation and Translation Technology), EXPERTISE (Expert Probing through Empirical Research on Translation Processes), LETRA (Laboratory for Experimentation in Translation), and TransComp, among others.

Angelone 2010; O'Brien 2011; Muñoz Martín 2013) have set their sights on developing increasingly rigorous experimental techniques. The neuroscience of translating will also undoubtedly emerge as an important area of research in the years to come (cf. Tymoczko 2012), shedding light on many areas of process-oriented, cognitive, and translation competence research. As O'Brien observes,

> Investigating the brain and how it functions is not a simple task and this may explain why progress is slow. Some may question the importance of this sub-domain of research in translation studies, but any research that helps understand the complex task that is translation or, indeed, the functioning of the human brain is, I would argue, valuable and should stand firm alongside other "ways of seeing" (O'Brien 2011: 1).

1.4 Defining Creativity in Translation

Creativity in translation is often understood as belonging exclusively to the realm of literary translation. However, as Jääskeläinen (2012) points out, creativity plays a role whenever there is no ready-made answer, therefore "creativity is part and parcel of the cognitive problem-solving in other kinds of translation tasks as well" (193). O'Sullivan (2013), placing more emphasis on the sociocultural context, notes that "as concepts of translation become enlarged (see e.g. functional, pragmatic and sociological approaches) and move away from equivalence-based models, it becomes easier to see translation as inherently creative" (44). Balacescu and Stefinik (2003) distinguish between theoretical approaches that focus on creativity in translation as a problem-solving activity (cf. Guilford 1950) and those that focus on the aspect of novelty. In the first category, they include machine translation as the "degree zero of creativity in translation," comparative stylistics, text linguistics, pragmatics, *skopos* theory, and hermeneutical approaches (2003: 513–515). In the second, they include the 17th-century notion of the *belles infidèles* (cf. Mounin 1955), the theories of the "manipulation school" (cf. Hermans 1985), and the translator's use of creative licence for political or ideological ends, for example, in certain feminist (Godard 1989; Lotbinière-Harwood 1991; Levine 1991; Simon 1996) or post-colonial (Venuti 1995; Bassnett and Trivedi 1999; Simon and St-Pierre 2000; Bandia 2008) approaches to translating.

Thus, as O'Sullivan notes, "There is a tension between scholars who see creativity as the bread-and-butter of translation—in other words, a basic requirement for effective translation production—and scholars who see it as something which exceeds everyday translation practice" (2013: 42). Creativity understood as choice on the translator's part is related to the concept of the translator's agency, but it also presupposes a standard, restricted, and literal ideal of equivalence

based on distinctions between "original" and "derivative" (cf. Loffredo and Perteghella 2006), categories that are in themselves cultural constructs (O'Sullivan 2013: 42). These distinctions potentially set creative writing and translation apart from translation "proper" (ibid.), thus limiting the definition of translation to equivalence-based models. In other words, creativity in translation calls into question the very definition of translation. Perhaps this is why interest in translators' creativity is shared by translation scholars across a broad spectrum of theoretical and methodological approaches (i.e. cognitive, pragmatic, literary, hermeneutical, sociological, etc.), many of whom would agree with Delisle (1988: 37) that "the most distinctive trait of human translation is its *creativity*." While the various definitions and approaches are not mutually exclusive, research on creativity in translation can be considered along two main axes: empirical-experimental approaches that investigate the cognitive processes involved in translating, and literary-cultural approaches that investigate parallels between translating and other forms of creative writing, as well as exploring creativity and translation within particular sociocultural, political and historical contexts.

1.5 Experimental Research on Creativity in Translation

According to Bayer-Hohenwarter (2011: 664), it wasn't until the 90s that creativity emerged as an area of empirical research in translation studies, beginning with Wilde's (1994) type/token analysis and elaborated in Kussmaul's (1991, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007) groundbreaking studies based on observation and empirical data from the translation classroom.[9] Product-oriented approaches have included studies on specific text-types (Nida 1998; Šarčević 2000; Pommer 2008), pedagogical experiments (Bastin 2000, 2003; Bastin and Bétancourt 2005), and large-scale corpus-based analyses (Al-Shabab 1996; Laviosa 1998; Kenny 2000, 2001, 2006). Process-oriented research has included Heidan's (2005) use of keystroke logging to study creative translation phases, Audet's (2008) use of think-aloud data to analyze literary translation processes, and Hubscher-Davidson's studies on translators' creative personalities (Hubscher-Davidson 2006, 2009).

One of the concepts that has emerged in both product- and process-oriented empirical research is that of translation "shifts" as potential indicators of creativity, quality and expertise in

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[9] According to Bayer-Hohenwarter, until the 1990s, creativity had been discussed predominantly within the literal-versus-free-debate (2011: 664). The "millennia-old dichotomy" (Vermeer 1998: 49) between "literal" versus "free," or "word-for-word" vs. "sense-for-sense" translation can be traced back to Ancient Rome and the translation theories of Cicero, Horace and Quintilian, who proposed the idea of creative imitation—*imitatio*— as a form of "free" translation and disdained slavish, "faithful" adherence to the source text.

translation (Ballard 1997; Ivir 1998; Bastin and Bétancourt 2005; Pellat 2006; Cho 2006; Kussmaul 2000a; 2000b, 2007). While Ballard (1997) identifies "addition" and "omission" as the most important shifts (going all the way back to Cicero, c. 46 BC), Ivir (1998) defines the translator's creativity as "his/her ability to choose a strategy that will suit the context of situation in which the translational situation takes place" (144), and Pellatt (2006) distinguishes non-creative, "ordinary" language use from translation procedures such as addition, substitution, permutation, and reduction (Bayer-Hohenwarter 2011: 667). Bastin and Bétancourt (2005) conducted a classroom experiment in which 25 translation students translated a text on the first day of their first semester in the program and then retranslated it 15 weeks later. They compared the quality of the two translated texts in terms of shifts defined as *paraphrases* involving deviations from literal translation and *new creations* involving more extensive changes (Bastin and Bétancourt 2005: 218) and concluded that 45 hours of training in translation methodology was insufficient for students to "unlearn the reflex of literalness" (Bayer-Hohenwarter 2011: 666).

Cho (2006) used think-aloud protocols to investigate relationships between creativity and expertise in a sample of Japanese/Korean translations produced by 13 translators, concluding that the syntactic similarities between the two languages may account for the relatively low incidence (0 to 30%) of shifts and the therefore more-literal, less-creative translations (Bayer-Hohenwarter 2011: 667). Kussmaul (2000a, 2000b, 2007) introduced a typology of cognitive shifts in translation ("optional" and "obligatory" shifts) based on Fillmore's (1977) scenes-and-frames theory. More recently, Bayer-Hohenwarter (2009, 2010) has developed a comprehensive creativity assessment procedure based on criteria devised to measure creativity quantitatively across different units of analysis and across different experimental texts, regardless of their text type. This research, combining product- and process-level analyses and comparing the performance of student and professional translators, explores the hypothesis that a translator's ability to produce creative shifts is an aspect of translation competence and is therefore a skill that can be developed in the translation classroom (Bayer-Hohenwarter 2011: 668).

1.6 Literary/Cultural Studies Approaches to Creativity in Translation

The concept of creativity in translation has been central to research that explores relationships between translating, creative writing, and other forms of creative expression. As Simon (1994, 2006), Meylaerts (2010), O'Sullivan (2013) and others have noted, these creative activities often

converge in the figure of the bi-and multilingual writer-translator, resulting in various forms of hybrid writing and self-translation. Clive Scott (2000: ix) has observed that "while the evidence of practice makes creativity unproblematic when we consider the author-translator, we are confronted by a tangle of controversy when it comes to identifying and locating creativity in the conduct of the translator-translator," that is to say, the translator who does not engage in "original" creative writing or self-translation. For Perteghella and Loffredo (2006), understanding creativity in translation hinges on acknowledging both the writer's and the translator's subjectivity, and speculating on the connection between the two "is inevitably also to speculate on creativity itself" (8).

It is precisely this exploration of subjectivity—or, more specifically, plural subjectivities— that is often at the heart of bilingual writers' and self-translators' creative processes. For Nikolaou (2006: 28),

> [...] translation sets off a destabilizing dance of associations that accelerates self-reflexivity, quickens awareness of the materiality of words. It fosters a sense of plurality, undecidability and ambiguity, a rise in instances of double meanings in my texts, whose theme can often indeed be one of translation or language breakdown, alongside a preoccupation with inner dialogues and divided selves.

Meanwhile, de Courtivron (2003: 3–4) asks,

> Where does the deepest material of the self lodge itself if not in language? [...] You can never sidestep the question of identity when you learn to live in a new language. Questions of home, of assimilation, of linguistic and cultural alienation, of triangulation and translation; the elusive search for one-ness and the haunting quest for the self are perhaps foregrounded more acutely in texts by bilinguals because their authors face an ultimate disconnection.

Nikalaou concludes that considering translation within a wider context of literary experience and experiment requires integrating knowledge from research on life-writing, bilingualism, creativity, and cognition in order to "start listening to these selves, to be able to trace and decipher more adequately how translators perform and transform source authors, originals and their own voice at once" (2006: 31).

As Pattison observes in the same volume (Perteghella and Loffredo 2006), literary translators are not the only ones who benefit from exploring creative processes (91). She notes that good scientific and technical translators have a sense of curiosity and love research. The act of translation, she says, becomes an act of discovery as the translator researches the subject,

doing much of the groundwork that the writer would have done before writing the original article, and translators are often working at the interface of various forms of creative expression (2006: 91). Pattison feels that creative writing can benefit both established and novice translators and improve their skills as translators, regardless of their areas of specialization: "All translators can achieve improvement in the quality of their work once they are encouraged to write for pleasure, take risks and go beyond the usual boundaries" (2006: 84).

For Boase-Beier and Holman (1999), creativity in translation arises not in spite of constraints but, rather, because of the extra constraints that the translator is subject to due to the ever present model of the source text.[10] The idea that creativity is not only subject to but also a response to constraints had already been observed by Neubert (1997: 19):

> In the course of achieving something new, mediators [...] have to resort to novel ways of encoding an old message. They are forced to creativity because the means of the target language are not identical with those of the source language. To arrive at an adequate target language version, new resources have to be tapped. In these efforts, creativity plays a prominent role.

Boase-Beier and Holman, however, are quick to point out that original writers are also bound by a variety of political, social, poetic and linguistic, and textual constraints (1999: 6), and the collection of essays in their volume ultimately cast doubt upon the idea that, in this respect, a clear distinction between original and translation can be made, whether as process or product (ibid.). They conclude that the translator has to be aware of the role played by his or her own personal preparation and training: "Upbringing, education, knowledge, sensibilities, predilections and beliefs also contribute to the formation of the individual personality of the translator, limiting, defining and also facilitating the translation process, from the initial selection of the SL text right the way through to the final release into the world of its TL progeny" (1997: 9).

Tymoczko (2003b: 28), in her analysis of relationships between translation, ideology, and creativity, goes beyond addressing the constraints of the source text to consider, following Lefevere (1979, 1985), the constraints of the source culture. Her analysis highlights the discourse structures that shape both personal and social identities. According to Tymoczko, discourse shifts on both personal and social levels "open up new possibilities of being and unlock creativity on

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[10] See also Lane-Mercier's (2010) discussion of the difficulties translating *joual* with reference to David Homel's (1984) retranslation of Jacques Renaud's novel (1964) *Le cassé* [*Broke City*]. Lane-Mercier argues that "untranslatability can be a powerful source of linguistic and ethical creativity in a given literary, political and socio-cultural context."

all levels" (2003b: 31), and these shifts arise when there is juxtaposition and competition between alternate representations in contexts, for example, of language acquisition, translation and multilingualism (37). For Tymoczko, language shifts and social struggles bring unconsciously accepted aspects of culture and language to conscious awareness and promote a sense of self-reflexivity (2003b: 40), and "the more translators recognize the ideological implications of language interface in their work and the ideological foundation of translation in general, the more innovative they potentially become" (42).

In a similar vein, Simon (1994, 1999, 2006) has explored how writing and translation come together as creative practices in what Pratt (1992) referred to as the "contact zone" (Simon 1999: 58) and how the dynamics of language interface can set the stage for deviant forms of "creative interference" (Simon 2006). "Translation is more than a simple mediation between different codes," she writes. "As a form of communication, it 'acts' on the language and creates new relations of alterity" (1994: 21, my translation). For Simon, contact zones— multilingual cities like Montreal, Barcelona, Calcutta and Trieste (2012)— are breeding grounds for innovative translation practices and experimental writing, and these forms of creative interference have the power to displace language and dislocate the self (2006: 120). "What if the 'something else' that results from translation," she asks, "is in itself an act of creation?" (ibid.).

In sum, creativity in translation, whether considered from a cognitive, literary, sociocultural or ideological perspective, is clearly bound to translators' decision-making processes, agency, subjectivity, and identity, as well as to constraints that involve "broad cultural considerations of history, genre and linguistic convention [and] considerations that also have something to do with culture, but are more narrowly, more personally defined" (Boase-Beier and Holman 1999: 7). Yet as Perteghella and Loffredo (2006: 6–7) note, just as a writer's intentionality is no longer defined in a postmodern context as the inspiration of an individualistic romantic genius-author but becomes, rather, a form of critical practice, so too, the translator's creativity can be considered a form of critical practice, a competence that involves "response-ability" (ibid.), responding, that is, to a text (and context) in which "the translating subject— neither the person of the translator nor a Kantian universal subject—comes to be defined" (ibid.).

1.7 The Hermeneutical Approach

The translator, according to Stolze (2011), is the central element in the hermeneutical model of translation; hence the issue of the translator's competence and creativity is also central.

Hermeneutics is more than the art of interpretation. It involves a critical reflection on the conditions of comprehension with respect to one's orientation in the world (ibid. 45) and entails distinguishing between objective features, like the grammar or lexicon that unites members of a speaker's community, and subjective features related to the one's inner motivations and cultural experience and background (ibid. 33). Stolze rejects both prescriptive and descriptive theories that conceive the translation process as an automated, rule- or norm-governed response to a source text. Rule-governed approaches, she says, fail to consider the translator, the historically and culturally rooted person using the languages (ibid. 30), for whom translation is a dynamic process (the target text is yet to be produced). Translators do not respond to linguistic objects: morphemes— semes—lexemes—in texts—as a genre—situated—in a culture; they are confronted, rather, with the voice of an author—in a culture—in a discourse field—as texts— with words—carrying sense (Stolze 2010: 143). "The point of departure in the hermeneutical philosophy is the individual as a historical and social person who wants to orient him/herself in the surrounding world, understand others, and act in the society. This is relevant for translation" (ibid.).

Stolze's definition of translation competence attributes an important role to metacognition and metalinguistic skills, which serve the purpose of managing, monitoring and controlling the translation process (Lesznyák 2007: 180).[11] Stolze (2011) revisits Neubert's categories, situating them within a hermeneutical framework that is interested in integrating research results into the strategic motivation of social action of an embodied self in the surrounding world (177). Thus, for Stolze, "language competence" includes awareness of differences in linguistic patterns and cultural concepts, "textual competence" includes awareness of style, text type, and genre, "subject knowledge" concerns cultural specificities and scientific facts, "cultural competence" requires phenomenological self-reflection, and "transfer competence" is not a matching of two languages but, rather, a mediating competence, in that "the translator, in his/her performance, has to consider both the content of the translation and the addressees' cognitive environment" (2011: 178–179).

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[11] Shreve (2009) and Angelone (2010) also explore the concept of "metacognition," defined as "the conscious, volitional, strategic control over complex, cognitive tasks [which is] highly associated with expertise, particularly the ability to utilize *monitoring,* a component of metacognition that involves the ability to self-reflect and provide internal feedback on and control over the progress of a problem-solving sequence" (Shreve and Angelone 2011: 110).

For Stolze (2011), creativity in translation is also grounded in the translator's subjective experience. "Creativity," she says, "belongs to the human being, just as intuition and subjectivity [...] but trying to 'measure' creativity is fruitless" (139). In response to Wilss' (1996: 49) observation that research on creativity had not yet reached "the degree of explicitness needed to attain the criteria of objectivity [that] ideally characterize scientific endeavours," Stolze replies that it is not necessary to press creativity into a fixed grid of research methods. Instead, "we have to accept this phenomenon in an intersubjective re-enacting of its results" (2011: 139). Creativity is not *creatio ex nihilo*—creation out of nothing. It is a "combinational, exploratory playing with given ideas and rules" (ibid. 140) within a system of life. The translator, oscillating "between rules and play" (ibid. 78), identifies with a message understood in empathy, in order to re-express it as if it were his/her own opinion (ibid. 140). Thus, while Stolze shares empirical researchers' cognitivist definition of creativity as a problem-solving activity, she emphasizes the dynamic, uneasy nature of the translation task based on rules of language usage acquired through learning and experience and linked to prior knowledge and phenomenological self-critical thinking.

1.8 Conclusion

As is surely evident from this very brief overview of research on competence and creativity in translation, there is no single theory or research agenda that could encompass all of the complex factors that might influence a translator's choices and abilities, determine whether these processes are automatic or intentional or the result of skill, talent, training, or socialization, or explain how they are evaluated and/or valued within a given culture. The very terms "competence" and "creativity" are potentially problematic. Is competence strictly a mental or behavioural capacity that can be measured, or does it have a sociocultural dimension that is also subjective and ideological? Is creativity the province of a select few or is it, as O'Sullivan suggests (2013: 42), the "bread and butter of translation"? Is competence even possible without creativity or vice versa? Translators' personal accounts and subjective experiences can bring a unique perspective to these questions, filling in gaps and making connections that theoretical frameworks are sometimes obliged to ignore. Recent approaches in multilingualism research embrace this subject-oriented hermeneutical or "phenomenological stance" (Kramsch 2002) by placing the multilingual subject at the centre of inquiry, where the micro and macro, the

individual and social, and the cognitive and cultural converge.[12] Thus, before considering the translator as a historically grounded subject as a means for exploring competence and creativity in translation, we will first look at these developments in multilingualism research.

Chapter 2: Multilingual Perspectives

2.1 The Multilingual Turn

The plethora of research on bi- and multilingualism in recent years has many scholars in applied linguistics and related fields now referring to a "multilingual turn." This has been particularly prevalent in SLA and sociolinguistic research, focusing on the study of language use in social contexts as opposed to language as a mental faculty or a self-contained system (Li Wei 2008). Building on the foundational work of linguists like Gumperz (1960, 1964), Labov (1963), and Hymes (1966),[13] recent approaches include research on language crossing (Rampton 1995), negotiating identities in multilingual contexts (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004), language and emotions (Pavlenko 2005, 2006), linguistic repertoires and language portraits (Busch 2012) and concepts of language ecology (Kramsch 2002), mobility (Lamarre et al. 2002; Blommaert 2008, 2014; Pennycook 2012), and translanguaging (Garcia 2009; Li Wei 2011; Garcia and Li Wei 2014).

Rampton's (1995) early empirical work on a form of code-switching[14] that he called "language crossing" paved the way for later developments in translingual and translanguaging research. He studied communication among adolescents in a multiracial UK neighbourhood, concluding that language crossing was a "socialised [sic] practice closely integrated into the performance of multiracial peer group culture" (1995: 485). His study highlighted two specific issues: 1) how individuals, in negotiating and partially deconstructing ethnicities, can adopt someone else's ethnicity or create a new one and 2) how socialization is not always a process of enculturation but can also be a process of learning to live with social and ethnic difference (ibid.).

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[12] Like Stolze's hermeneutics, Kramsch's (2002: 8) "phenomenological stance" seeks to "encompass phenomena on multiple scales, both global and local, both universal and particular, without losing sight of who does the seeing, the embracing, the encompassing, and against which horizon of expectations."

[13] Gumperz coined the term "verbal repertoire" (1960), the origin of the concept of "linguistic repertoire" (Busch 2012). Labov's (1963) study on language variation "marked a turning point in the study of language change" (Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswill 2011) and the emergence of sociolinguistics as a discipline. Hymes introduced the concept of communicative competence in 1966 (Hymes 1966).

[14] Code-switching is defined as "the use of more than one language during a single communicative event" and is distinguished from other phenomena such as language borrowing (Musket 2011: 301).

Research on the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts has since been taken up by a number of scholars focusing on the politics and power relations inherent in language contact. As Pavlenko and Blackledge note, "The fact that languages—and language ideologies—are anything but neutral is especially visible in multilingual societies where some languages are, in unforgettable Orwellian words, 'more equal than others'" (2004: 3). While studies on the negotiation of identities in SLA research initially drew on sociopsychological paradigms (cf. Tajfel 1974, 1981; Berry 1980), these approaches came under criticism for their monolingual bias in assuming a one-to-one relation between language and ethnic identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 4). Interactional sociolinguistics, focusing primarily on code-switching, introduced a more ethnographically oriented approach that views social identities as "fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction" (8). This direction was further developed by poststructuralist scholars (cf. Gal 1989; Heller 1988; and Woolard 1985) who pioneered the study and theorizing of language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic and cultural systems (10).

While relationships between language and identity are clearly influenced by political and social factors, emotions also play an important role. In her work on multilingualism and emotions, Pavlenko (2005) has also observed a monolingual bias in research on language and emotions that privileges a one speaker/one language view.[15] Evoking feminist scholars who argue against gender bias by exploring gender and the difference it makes, Pavlenko sets out to shed light on relationships between language and emotions by highlighting the difference that language(s) make. She nuances her analysis in considering factors, such as "native language," age and context of language acquisition, distinctions between balanced and dominant bilinguals, and variation within languages.[16] While early writings on bilingualism attempted to pathologize bilingualism,[17] Pavlenko seeks to offer a more complex view, considering relationships between multilingualism and emotions on different levels: immediate, vocal, emotional expression;

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[15] Pavlenko also addresses here the much-overlooked role of translation in ethnographic research in the social sciences: "[Reporting] conventions in emotion research are beset with unacknowledged translation problems, among them, the tendency to translate local emotion terms with single-word English glosses, as well as lack of discussion of conceptual equivalence criteria for translation of emotion words in cross-linguistic projects..." (2005: 13).

[16] "Balanced bilinguals are those who have a relatively similar proficiency in their languages, and dominant bilinguals are those who exhibit higher proficiency in one of the languages" (ibid: 8).

[17] Bilingualism, particularly with reference to immigrants and minorities, was linked to a pathological inner split and to "feelings of anomie, alienation, apathy, cognitive dissonance, and emotional vulnerability" (Pavlenko 2004: 25).

semantic and conceptual representation; discourse; multilinguals' embodied perceptions and reactions to different languages; and social cognition (42-43).

In SLA and sociolinguistic research, the study of multilingual identity is also related to the concept of "linguistic repertoire," which can be traced to Gumperz's (1960) concept of the "verbal repertoire." Gumperz described verbal repertoires as being linked to particular speech communities, and he observed that individual multilingual repertoires of languages and dialects "form a behavioural whole, regardless of grammatical distinctness, and must be considered constituent varieties of the same verbal repertoire" (Gumperz 1964: 140). Busch (2012) revisits the linguistic repertoire concept, arguing for the relevance of a poststructuralist approach (with reference to Derrida 1972, 1998 and Butler 1997) and introducing a novel method for studying multilinguals' visual and verbal representations of their linguistic experience and linguistic resources using "language portraits." These portraits are based on templates representing a figure to which participants can add colours or drawing to indicate, for example, the relation of different colours to different languages or body parts. The portraits are then complemented by participants' verbal descriptions and interpretations:
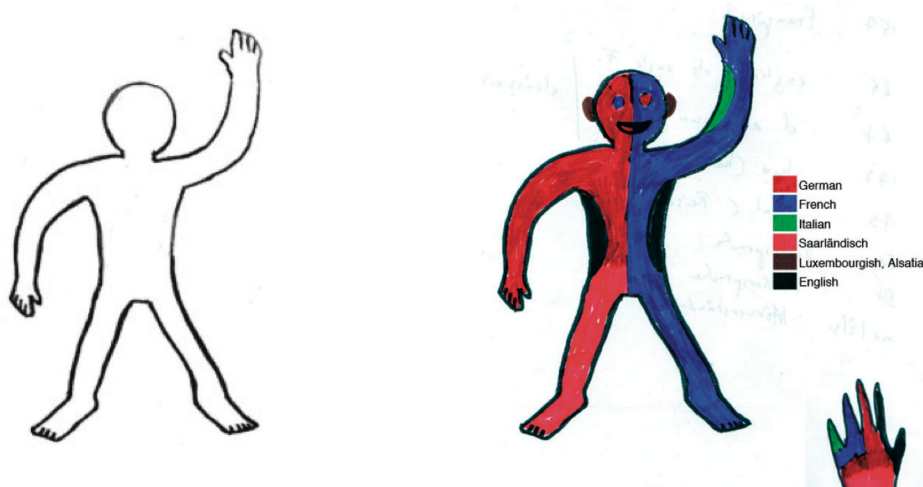
"Figure 2: Pascal's representation of his linguistic repertoire" (Busch 2012: 511–513)

The advantage of this method, according to Busch, is that meaning is created through both narrative and visual modes. While the verbal mode favours diachronic continuity and synchronic coherence, the visual mode—using lines, contrasts, colours, areas, and surfaces—emphasizes the whole (*Gestalt*) and the relationality of the parts (2012: 518) and allows for contradiction, fractures, overlappings, and ambiguities (cf. Breckner 2007). This accords well with Busch's

poststructuralist reading of linguistic repertoires in which linguistic choices are determined not only by the situational character of interaction and by grammatical and social rules and conventions, but are also subjected to the time-space dimensions of history and biography (ibid. 521). "Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses, and codes," she concludes, "the linguistic repertoire forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imagination and desire, and to which speakers revert in specific situations" (ibid.).

This holistic perspective also informs Kramch's (2002) ecological approach to the study of language acquisition and socialization. The ecology metaphor, according to Kramsch, "captures the dynamic interaction between language users and the environment as between parts of a living organism" (3) at a time when, in the wake of globalization and the Internet revolution, difference and variation have moved to the centre of language acquisition research (4). Kramsch introduces the work of several scholars who have replaced linear approaches to SLA and language education with complex, non-linear models that stress the relationality of different levels, from "the emotional and motivational make-up of the individual learner, to the social/professional community of language users, to the larger institutional framework endowed with institutional memory, power and authority" (16). Scollon (2002), for example, considers language not as a closed, rule-based system operating independently of biological and sociocultural contexts but, rather, as an idiolect, as "the whole language of the experience of the person, including the ability to translate from one language to another" (Kramsch 2002: 20).

In a similar vein, Lamarre et al. (2002), Pennycook (2012), and Blommaert (2008, 2014)[18] also question language as a closed system but focus on mobility as central to the study of languages, language groups, and communication. Lamarre et al. (2002), for example, have developed a "non-static" ethnographic method that follows individuals through the different settings and social networks they traverse in the course of a day. Their research on young bilinguals and trilinguals in Montreal has shown how factors other than geography can influence language practices:

> [T]rilingual code-switching appears to occur primarily among people who know they share a multilingual repertoire. In this respect, it differs from bilingual French-English code-switching, often associated with the negotiation of language use for an exchange between strangers. As language practice, it also differs from bilingual French-English

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[18] See also Lamarre and Lamarre (2009), and Lamarre (2013).

> code-switching in that it reveals even more complex identities and often, ties to communities and social networks that extend beyond the local context. (58)

In some cases, the cultural, ethnic, and linguistic mixing reflected in young Montrealers' language practices makes it almost impossible to predict the languages of social interactions (Lamarre et al. 2002: 55). In the course of their everyday lives, people are likely to move across geographic zones traditionally associated with different language communities, and this mobility may be contributing to an erosion of traditional linguistic frontiers (ibid. 54).[19]

Questioning the structuralist reification of terms like "social structure," "culture," and "language," Blommaert (2014) points to the importance of multilingualism research in drawing attention to highly complex, messy, and hybrid sociolinguistic phenomena that defy established categories (4). He proposes if we accept, like Cicourel (1992),[20] that "any form of human communication is set in a real social environment and draws on real and actual bodies of knowledge and experience of participants operating as 'context' in social encounters, then tracing the sources of knowledge and experience of participants becomes a key issue" (Blommaert 2014: 1). A multilingual's "polyglot repertoire," says Blommaert, is not tied to natural or stable language but, rather, to the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker (2008: 16). Pennycook (2012) also calls for sociolinguistic scholars to go beyond ideas that support assumptions about "the discreteness and the location of languages" (19). He agrees with Blommaert (2010) that the focus now has to be on the use of diverse resources, genres, styles, practices and discourses that are mobilized as part of everyday linguistic interaction (Pennycook 19). It is precisely within this context that Busch revisits the linguistic repertoire, noting that, as a result of varied networking practices—both on- and offline—"speakers participate in varying and deterritorialized communities of practice," (2012: 505), thus calling into question any previous notion of a stable or fixed speech community.

This recent emphasis in sociolinguistics on the mobility, permeability, and ecological interdependence of previously reified categories, on both micro and macro scales, is nowhere more evident than in the growing body of research on *translanguaging*. The term

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[19] As Sherry Simon (2006) has observed, in contexts where "languages mingle relentlessly," as in certain areas of Montreal, translation becomes a *condition* (9).

[20] Cicourel's (1992) article emphasized the challenge in conversation and discourse analysis to "do justice to the tremendous complexity characterizing real social environments" (Blommaert 2014: 1). Blommaert concurs with Cicourel (1973) that as along as we continue to reify the terms "social structure," "culture," and "language," we "shall miss the contextual cognitive significance of everyday social organization" (cited in Blommaert 2014: 1).

translanguaging, translated from the Welsh *trawsieithu*, was first coined informally in the 80s by Welsh educationalists Cen Williams and Dafydd Whittall (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012: 643). It initially referred to a pedagogical practice that involved the intentional switching between languages within teaching practice (ibid.). García (2009) developed this idea, also within an educational context, shifting the focus from code-switching between autonomous languages to consider, rather, processes involving multiple discursive practices that bilinguals engage in to make sense of their worlds (Garcia and Li Wei 2014: 45). Li Wei (2011) defines translanguaging as follows:

> Translanguaging is both going between different linguistic structures and systems and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. Translanguaging space is a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging. It is a space where the process of what Bhabha calls "cultural translation" between traditions takes place. (1222)

According to Li Wei, the idea of a translanguaging space is also related to criticality and creativity, two concepts, he says, that are intrinsically linked and particularly relevant to multilingualism, a phenomenon that entails tension, conflict, competition, difference, change, and increased contact between people of diverse backgrounds and traditions (1223–1224). He defines criticality as the ability to arrive at considered views of cultural, social and linguistic phenomena, and to question and problematize received wisdom, and creativity as the ability to chose between "following or flouting the norms of behaviour, including the use of language" (ibid.). Translanguaging thus encompasses various modes through which language users critically and creatively adapt to, adhere to or challenge linguistic, social, and cultural norms. As Busch observes, Gumperz's (1964) concept of a verbal repertoire already suggested that the connection between speech style and social relationships was not absolute, implying that speakers could move beyond "normative and constraining categorizations" (Busch 2012: 504). This has influenced debates around concepts like language crossing and translanguaging while also laying the groundwork for ecological perspectives based on the study of diversity within specific sociopolitical settings focusing on how language use creates, reflects, and challenges hierarchies and hegemonies, "however transient these might be" (Creese and Blackledge 2010: 104).

2.2 The Multilingual Subject

As Tymoczko (2003a, 2007), Meylaerts (2006), Stratford (2008) and others have observed, multilingualism was the norm historically and throughout the Middle Ages until the emergence of nation-states created a one-to-one relation between language and national identity, resulting in a "romantic (monolingual nationalist) paradigm" (Meylaerts 2006: 1). According to Meylaerts, in a global context of mass migrations and increased mingling of diverse languages, the monolingual paradigm has become passé, and citizens are perceived and described more and more as in a state of permanent self-translation (ibid.). As Sommer observes in her exploration of "bilingual aesthetics," multilingualism destabilizes identities and can result in a "melancholic overload of language and identity" (2004: xv). It also, however, fosters a critical perspective, goads creativity, and represents an opportunity to supplement one identity with others, to embrace plurality: "real authenticity means being more than one" (xxiii).

Questions surrounding bi- and multilingual identity and subjectivity have come to the fore in recent years in a number of language testimonies, memoirs, and biographies in which multilinguals recount their migration experiences, their challenges and pleasures in learning new languages, and the impacts of bi- and multilingualism on their sense of identity and creative processes (cf. Hoffman 1989; Esteban 1990; Kaplan 1993; Makine 1997; de Courtivron 2003, Burck 2005). Reflections on multilingual identity and subjectivity can also be found in translators' prefaces and biographies (Delisle 1999, 2002; Whitfield 2005, 2006; Simon 2013), in translators' writings on their experiences and creative processes (Huston 1999, 2002; Eco 2001; Di Giovanni 2003; Rabassa 2005; Bassnett and Bush 2006; Grossman 2010; Allen and Bernofsky 2013), and in the growing body of research on self-translation (Fitsch 1988; Grutman 1997; Hokenson and Munson 2007; Montini 2010; Cordingley 2013; Grutman and Van Bolderen 2014).

As Kramsch (2009b: 3) notes, many scholars in applied linguistics have drawn on biographical accounts to conceptualize the experience of bilinguals and second language learners— how they perform who they are in different languages (Wolf 2006; Koven 2007), how they develop multilingual identities (Burck 2005; Block 2007), and the relation between emotions and subjectivity (Pavlenko 2005, 2006). Kramsch also makes use of the personal testimonies of language learners to explore both their experience of the subjective aspects of language as well as the transformations they undergo in acquiring it, and she interprets these

through a poststructuralist lens that explores subjectivity in relation to language as symbolic form (cf. Bourdieu 1991; Butler 1997, 1999). She defines multilinguals as people who use more than one language in everyday life, whether it be in a foreign or second language classroom, in daily transactions, or in writing or publishing in a language other than the one they grew up with (Kramsch 2009b: 17). Her definition of the multilingual subject encompasses a broad range of multilingual experiences:

> In most cases, [multilinguals] will have acquired one or several languages as a child, and learned the others in various formal or informal settings. They might not know all these languages equally well, nor speak them equally fluently in all circumstances, and there are some they used to know but have largely forgotten. I also include the many people who are able to understand a family language but can't speak it, those who were forbidden to speak the language of home and whose only language is now the language of the school, and those who used to speak a language but, because of past painful experiences, now refuse to do so. These silenced speakers can also be, to some degree, multilingual subjects. (ibid.)

The symbolic dimension of language is emphasized here by Kramsch's inclusion of remembered, forgotten, repressed, and potential language use. Her definition of the multilingual subject distinguishes between the individual as a sociological or political entity, the person as a moral, quasi-metaphysical entity, the self as a psychological entity, and the subject as a symbolic entity that is "constituted and maintained through symbolic systems such as language [and] consciously constructed against the backdrop of natural and social forces" (2009b: 17). According to this view, historically and socially contingent subjects emerge in interaction with other subjects and take up subject positions through which they present and represent themselves discursively, psychologically, socially and culturally (ibid. 20). Multilingual speakers can occupy many positions simultaneously, depending on the languages used, with whom, on which topics, and in relation to their own and others' particular memories or expectations (ibid). In the context of SLA research, this suggests the possibility of "viewing language learning as the construction of imagined identities that are every bit as real as those imposed by society" (ibid. 17).

Of course individuals, persons, selves, and subjects are interrelated. For Kramsch, "our ability to recognize and accept ourselves as subjects, with emotions, feelings, memories, and desires, is the prerequisite to developing our sense of self" (2009b: 19). Gaining access to the subjective aspects of language acquisition therefore requires considering the effects of language on the embodied perceptions, memories, and emotions of language learners and users (ibid. 5)

and the ways that language learning engages them "cognitively, emotionally, morally, and aesthetically" (ibid. 43), including with respect to their sense of identity and self-continuity. According to Kramsch, it is precisely this continuity of self that is disrupted in second and foreign language learning, because there is no "living connection" (cf. Hoffman 1989) between words and things, no way to link new names for things to memories and lived experiences (Kramsch 2009b: 71). Drawing on Neisser's (1988, 1993) ecological theories of the self, Kramsch describes the language learner (or multilingual subject) as constituted by an *ecological self* that emerges from direct perceptual experiences and corresponding representations of body-states in the mind, an *interpersonal self* that responds to others and engages in personal interaction, an *extended self* conceived as extended in time through memories, projections, and fantasies, and encoded in the mother tongue and foreign language, and a *reflexive self* that is able to conceptualize knowing and understanding the other, and to reflect on one's self and experience from a "meta-place" (Kramsch 2009b: 71).

While these plural conceptions of self and subjectivity are not unique to multilingual subjects, multilinguals have a broader range of semiotic resources in addition to their internal language varieties, dialects, sociolects and other variations (ibid. 21). "To survive linguistically and emotionally the contradictions of everyday life," writes Kramsch, "multilingual subjects draw on the formal semiotic and aesthetic resources afforded by various symbolic systems to reframe these contradictions and create alternative worlds of their own" (ibid. 22). These are perhaps the multilingual subjects at the heart of Sommer's (2004) "bilingual aesthetics" and Simon's (2006) "creative interference."

2.3 Symbolic Competence

As discussed in Chapter 1, linguistic competence was initially conceived (Chomsky 1957) as an innate mental capacity underlying the formal language system of an ideal speaker-hearer. Hymes (1966, 1972) introduced the concept of "communicative competence," which emphasized the social, pragmatic, and performative aspects of language use and described the competent speaker as "one who knows when, where and how to use language appropriately rather than merely knowing how to produce accurate grammatical structures" (Saleh 2013: 103). Canale and Swain (1980) integrated these ideas, highlighting the relationship between grammatical competence, or

knowledge of the rules of grammar, on the one hand, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of rules of language use, on the other (Canale and Swain 1980: 6).[21]

The multilingual turn in SLA and sociolinguistic research, with its emphasis on subjectivity, mobility, and diverse linguistic practices and repertoires, has coincided with a reconsideration of idealized conceptions of linguistic and communicative competence. The concept of symbolic competence (Kramsch 2009b; Kramsch and Whiteside 2008), in particular, shifts the focus from measurable language proficiency or behaviour to the complex interplay between meanings and social, cultural and historical contexts across time and space, including individuals' abilities to identify with different linguistic/cultural communities and different times and places for different purposes. As Kramsch (2009b: 199) notes, symbolic competence does not replace communicative competence but, rather, gives it meaning within a symbolic frame initially conceived, following Bhabha (1994), as a "third place" (Kramsch 1993) or "third culture" (Kramsch 2009a). According to Kramsch (2009b: 199), multilingualism, previously occulted by the monolingual paradigm, now prompts us to rethink not only idealized competences but also the third space metaphor proposed in applied linguistics as an avenue for challenging traditional dualities between L1/L2, C1/C2, NS/NNS, us/them, and self/other.[22] The idea is not to eliminate these dichotomies but to focus on the relations between them and the heteroglossia within each pole:

> [Third place] was conceived as a symbolic place that is by no means unitary, stable, permanent, or homogenous. Rather, it was seen, like all subject positions, as multiple, always subject to change and to the tensions and even conflicts that come from being "in between" (Weedon 1987) [...] The spatial metaphor of third space now seems too static for a relational state of mind that, as the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages of the Modern Language Association has suggested, should enable multilingual speakers to "operate between languages" (MLA 2007). For all these reasons, I propose reframing the notion of third place as symbolic competence, an ability that is both theoretical and practical, and that emerges from the need to find appropriate subject positions within and across the languages at hand. (Kramsch 2009b: 200)

By means of example, I have discussed elsewhere (Ruschiensky 2013) Kramsch and Whiteside's (2008) study on language ecology in multilingual settings, which combines insights

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[21] Many other terms have been used, i.e. strategic competence (Canale and Swain 1980), communicative language ability (Bachman 1990), multicompetence (Cook 1992), pragmatic competence (Bialystok 1993), intercultural competence (Sharifan and Jamarani 2013) and metacultural (Sharifan 2013) competence.
[22] L1/L2 = language one/language two. C1/C2 = culture one/culture two. NS/NNS = native speaker/non-native speaker.

from complexity theory and interactional sociolinguistics to examine exchanges among individuals in a multilingual, predominantly Spanish-speaking San Francisco neighbourhood. Whiteside participates in and describes various conversations that take place in Spanish, English, Mayan, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Korean and that are marked by extensive code-switching (Kramsch & Whiteside 2008: 648):[23]

> The first excerpt occurs in a grocery story with Vietnamese writing on its awning. The Vietnamese owner, whom DF introduces as Juan, has been speaking to DF in English, who answers him in Spanish. Juan is busy loading meat from the freezer into the display case, and this exchange comes at the end of a short conversation about the meat DF needs:
>
> -Juan: how much panza you want? (tripe)
> -DF: voy a comprar cinco libras de panza mañana   I'm going to buy 5 lb. of tripe tomorrow.
>
> -Juan: OK mañana
> -DF: /\ma' alob.   Good
> -Juan: _/OK!
> -DF: \/Dios bo dik   thanks
> -Juan: _/bo dik
> -DF: _/saama   tomorrow
> -Juan: @@,
> -@@
> -_saama
> -DF: ah

While the Vietnamese grocer "Juan" has adopted a Spanish name for his Spanish-speaking customers, Don Francisco (DF) is a Mayan-speaking client who insists on speaking Mayan. According to Kramsch and Whiteside, by ending the exchange with "saama," Juan shows a willingness to let the customer have his way (2008: 648). In other exchanges, Don Francisco navigates diverse linguistic encounters and has a different identity and status depending on the language(s) used and who he is using them with, whether it be other Mayan speakers (in relation to whom he enjoys the status of a respected and successful business owner), Spanish speakers (the majority of his clientele, in relation to whom he has a vulnerable position because he hasn't mastered the language), the Vietnamese and Chinese merchants (with whom he mutually negotiates his position), and the English-speaking researcher (with whom he has agreed to work in exchange for learning Spanish). Kramsch and Whiteside's study shows how the various speakers in these exchanges enact agencies and identities not only in space but also over time.

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[23] The transcription conventions used here are based on DuBois (2006). See Appendix I.

Don Francisco, for example, continues to speak Mayan in a context—the Vietnamese grocery and, more generally, the San Francisco neighbourhood—where there are few Mayan speakers. In doing so, he maintains a link to his Yucatecan past and identity. Memories, in this sense, live on as present embodied realities to be both experienced and observed (cf. Hofstadter 2007). Kramsch and Whiteside conclude that "by performing English, Maya, Spanish, or Chinese, rather than only learning or using these languages, the protagonists ... signal to each other which symbolic world they identify with at the time of utterance" (2008: 660).

Kramsch and Whiteside's analysis highlights individual and cultural memory, the intrinsic plurality of self and other, and the emergent and unbounded nature of language use (2008: 659-60). They define symbolic competence in relation to the following four factors: 1) subjectivity and subject-positioning, 2) historicity or an understanding of the cultural memories evoked by symbolic systems, 3) performativity or the capacity to perform and create alternate realities, and 4) reframing, as a means of changing the context. From this perspective, subject positioning "has to do less with the calculations of rational actors than with multilinguals' heightened awareness of the embodied nature of language and the sedimented emotions associated with the use of a given language" (ibid.). Subject positions are not just social or psychological realities but also symbolic in the sense that the language user's engagement with and manipulation of symbols involves both a representation of people and objects in the world as well as a construction of "perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, aspirations, [and] values through the use of symbolic forms" (Kramsch 2009b: 7). The historical and symbolic dimensions of language use are also related to archetypes of cultural memory, what Pierre Nora (1997: 3031) calls *lieux de mémoire* [sites of memory]: "Any utterance or turn-at-talk can become a *lieu de mémoire*, formed by the sedimented representations of a people. Whether these representations are accurate or not, historically attested or only imagined, they are actually remembered by individual members and serve as valid historical models" (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008: 665). Within an ecological perspective, utterances not only perform a role or meaning but can also bring about that which they utter. At the same time, multilingual encounters increase the contact surfaces between different symbol systems and therefore also the potential for creating multiple meanings and identities (ibid. 667). Symbolic competence thus encompasses the ability to use various codes to manipulate conventional categories, create alternative realities, and "reframe the balance of power" (ibid. 666). It is not an additional skill to be mastered but, rather, a "semiotic

awareness" (cf. van Lier 2004), a mindset through which multilingual individuals can create possibilities by seeing themselves through their own embodied histories and subjectivities and through the histories and subjectivities of others (ibid. 667–668).

2.4 Conclusion

The web of ideas outlined above—concepts of language crossing, translanguaging, personal and historically embedded power relations in multilingual encounters, and the diverse, mobile, linguistic and sociocultural resources that multilinguals draw on to negotiate subject positions and symbolically represent and construct meanings and identities —provides only a brief glimpse into recent research in SLA and sociolinguistics on multilingualism. The "multilingual turn" has enabled scholars in these fields to consider previously inaccessible linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural phenomena and, in the process, given rise to new theories and methodologies.[24] The concept of symbolic competence, in particular, foregrounds identity, agency, and performativity as basic ingredients of language acquisition and use, encompassing not only language but also the full social, cultural, historical, and phenomenological repertoire of the multilingual subject. The symbolic dimension of language use and multilinguals' identification with different languages, cultures, contexts and purposes seems particularly relevant to questions of competence and creativity in translation, especially with respect to the position of the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject.

Chapter 3: Who Translates? The Translator as a Historically Grounded Subject

3.1 The Translator's Turn

Translation studies is a young discipline that grew out of comparative linguistics (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958; Jakobson 1959; Nida 1964; Catford 1965) and came into its own with the cultural turn (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) and a shift in focus to the text- and context-oriented theories of descriptive translation studies (Toury 1982) and the "manipulation school" (Hermans 1985; Lefevere 1992), which took comparative literature and Even-Zohar's (1978) polysystems theory as their points of departure. As Dam and Zethsen (2009) note, these approaches tended to ignore the actual translators behind the translations, which is perhaps not surprising given that Holmes' (1972) map of translation studies, generally considered the founding document of translation studies, makes no explicit reference to human translators (Dam and Zethsen 2009: 7;

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[24] According to Lamarre (2013), studies in Montreal reveal a complex portrait of language use that challenges current ways of thinking about language and doing research and suggest a need for new methods, i.e. "non-static" ethnographic research methods (41).

cf. Chesterman 2009). The "translator's turn" was announced with Robinson's (1991) book of the same title, which was followed by a number of landmark publications focusing on translators, such as Delisle and Woodsworth's (1995) *Translators through History* and Venuti's (1995) *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, and, later, research on the translator's voice (Hermans 1996b), translator ethics (Pym 1997),[25] and the translator's habitus (Simeoni 1998). These approaches highlighted translators' active roles in shaping languages, literatures, identities and cultures, raised questions regarding translators' subjectivity, identity, and agency, and brought a fresh perspective to issues revolving around the sociocultural, political, and ideological aspects of translating. "Translator studies," the term Chesterman (2009) proposes, now includes a growing body of research on agents of translation (Milton and Bandia 2009; Tymoczko 2010; Koskinen and Kinnunen 2010; Buzelin 2011), the translator's habitus (Inghilleri 2003, 2005; Meylaerts 2008, 2010; Vorderobermeier 2014), translators and interpreters as intercultural mediators (Pym 2002, 2009, 2011a; Shäffner 2003), translators' communities and networks (Buzelin 2005; Risku and Dickinsin 2009; Folaron 2010; Risku, Windhager and Apfelthaler 2013), translators' status (Sela-Sheffy 2005; Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger 2011), translators' ethics (Meshonnic 2007; Pym 2012), and the translator's voice in translation (Alvstad 2013; Taivalkoski-Shilov and Suchet 2013; Whitfield 2013; Hermans 2014), among others. This chapter attempts to situate the multilingual perspectives outlined in Chapter 2 within the context of translation studies (or "translator studies") by concentrating on the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject—first, by considering subjectivity, intersubjectivity, and embodied cognition in translation, second, by exploring definitions of translators' identity, agency, and performativity, and third, by synthesizing these and other relevant translation studies perspectives to arrive at a working definition of the translator's symbolic competence.

3.2 Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and Embodied Cognition

Translators are not neutral conduits of meaning transfer but are always subjectively immersed in the translation process. Meaning cannot be "transferred," because it is not located in words, texts, or utterances but emerges, rather, in the process of translating as part of a translator's embodied, subjective, and intersubjective experience.[26] Noë (2009: xii) has remarked that consciousness is

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[25] See also Berman (1984, 1985).

[26] According to Martín de León, transfer metaphors of translation are related to the underlying conceptual metaphors (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980) of CONDUIT and CONTAINMENT: "to translate is to carry objects from one place to another" (Martín de León 2010: 83). Container metaphors of translation based on an underlying

more like dancing than it is like digestion: "Consciousness isn't something that happens inside us: it is something that we do, actively, in our dynamic interaction with the world around us" (ibid. 24). Extrapolating, we might say, "meaning-making is more like dancing than it is like digestion." It isn't something that happens inside us (or inside language). It is something we do, actively, in our dynamic interaction with the world around us. Translating engages "the *whole* translator rather than the translator as mere linguistic facility" (Scott 2000: 251), and translation's task is to capture the whole-body experience of reading, rather than the simple interpretation of texts (ibid. 213). Translation is not just a question of choosing the right words but also of imagining the right worlds (Ruthrof 2003: 69).

The conduit image of the translator has its origins in the computational metaphors of first generation cognitive science, which emerged in the 50s as a reaction to behaviourism, shifting the focus from empirical observation of "external" stimulus response to the modeling of "internal" processes in the head. This shift coincided with Chomsky's (1956) seminal work on syntactic structures and the invention of computers, resulting in the new field of artificial intelligence and an enduring legacy of assumptions about language and cognition: cognition as an input-output information-processing system, and communication as a coding-decoding of messages between senders and receivers. Applied to translation, this has often been illustrated as follows:

Sender 1 ⇒ Text 1 ⇒	Receiver 1 = **TRANSLATOR** = Sender 2 ⇒	Text 2 ⇒ Receiver 2

Cognitive science has since taken a "corporeal turn" with the emergence of embodied and situated theories that define cognition and language not as internalized capacities, but rather, as dynamic mind-body-world interactions. Embodied cognition does not refer to the body as an object of study. The emphasis, rather, is on how we experience the world as embodied beings— physically, subjectively, cognitively and emotionally, how the workings of the mind, including language, are grounded in our sensorimotor perceptions, our interactions in our immediate environments, and in our broader, intersubjective and sociocultural contexts. Mark Johnson summarizes what he calls "this richer sense of embodiment" as "a brain, in a living body, in a changing environment that is at once physical, social, cultural, economic, religious, gendered,

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dichotomy between form and content, between outside/inside, body/soul, garment/body, casket/jewel, husk/kernel, vessel/liquid, etc. are abundant throughout history (cf. Hermans 1985, 2004). See also Tymoczko's (2007: 272) classroom brainstorming session (and trick question) on "where does meaning reside in translation?"

etc. All dimensions of human thought," he says, "emerge from increasing levels of complexity in organism-environment interactions" (cited in Pires de Oliveira and Bittencourt 2008: 39). The idea of "extended" or "situated" cognition further highlights this interactive aspect—the ways in which we off-load cognitive tasks onto the environment through artifacts, symbol systems and technologies and the ways in which individual minds are shaped by their interaction with social and cultural structures. In short, cognition, re-defined, extends beyond an individual's head or a particular set of features in the brain to encompass the full range of pragmatic, cultural and social experience.

Highlighting the role of the translator implies considering cognitive processes. However, integrating the study of these processes within a sociocultural framework has proven difficult. The cultural turn in translation studies entailed rejecting earlier linguistic and cognitive approaches that were criticized as being essentialist. Notwithstanding the difficulties in describing translation at various levels of complexity, the resulting micro-linguistic/macro-social divide can in part be attributed to underlying assumptions about language and cognition inherited from first-generation cognitive science, which focused exclusively on internal processes in the head and excluded any reference to context or culture. Likewise, experimental research in translation and cognition has drawn primarily on methods that isolate the mysterious processes taking place in the "black box" (Toury 1985) of the translator's mind.

Though descriptive translation studies has largely emphasized the sociocultural norms that govern translation, the cognitive dimension has not been overlooked. According to Toury, norms are acquired by the individual in the socialization process. They are "intersubjective factors" that lie somewhere between "absolute rules" and "pure idiosyncrasies" (1995: 54). He says that addressing the intriguing question of how, and to what extent, sociocultural factors influence cognition, would be an invaluable contribution to our understanding of translation (1999: 20). Likewise, Hermans has defined norms as "psychological and social entities" that "mediate between the individual and the collective" (1996a: 26). Though he conceives of translation as a communicative act that "constitutes a more or less interactive form of social behaviour" (ibid. 29), he describes the decision-making process as something that "takes place in the translator's head" and is "in large measure, necessarily and beneficially, governed by norms" (ibid. 28). Translational hermeneutics, for its part, firmly rejects the concept of a brain as a storage place for knowledge: "Just as hermeneutics stressed the importance of the 'historical

consciousness,' cognitive science now acknowledges that the momentary situation of a person, together with the individual history of cultural development, is an integral part of the processes of thinking and behaviour" (Stolze 2011: 67). In the hermeneutical tradition, the translator, far from being considered an anonymous conduit, is conceived of as an embodied, situated person who is subjectively invested in the translation process. Subjectivity in translation should not be excluded from study or treated as a "danger," says Stolze (2011: 34; cf. Nida 1964;). Nor does reflecting on subjectivity reduce translation research to "examining each individual translation act as an individual creative endeavour" (House cited in Stolze 2011: 33). The fact that translations vary from one translator to the next is not a defect but a fundamental characteristic of translation (Stolze 2011: 32), just as subjectivity in human activity is an "ontological given" (ibid. 34). Paradoxically, the only "cure" for subjectivity is reflexivity, that is, "more and better subjectivity, more discriminating, and more self-critical subjectivity" (Spiegelberg cited in Hemmat 2009: 173).

Translational hermeneutics also develops the notion of "intersubjective plausibility" (cf. Balecescu and Stefanink 2003), wherein "truth is never found 'as such,' neither objectively by methodology and logical reasoning, nor subjectively by evidence and conviction, but only dialectically in a relation to history, in sharing with others by learning, and in reflecting on one's habitus" (Stolze 2011: 58). Husserl (1989 [1912]) conceived intersubjectivity as a possibility of "trading places" or "place exchange" (*Platzwechsel*) and the common (or objective) world as an accomplishment made possible by empathy (*Einfühlung*), understood as "the primordial experience of participating in the actions and feeling of another being *without* becoming the other" (Duranti 2010: 6–7). Translation can be described as an "intersubjective re-enacting" (cf. Stolze 2011: 139), an event of interpretive understanding that underscores the position of a subject who wants to understand and is both receptive and active at the same time (ibid. 53–55).[27] The translator who "wants to understand" has to "look behind the words at the intentions and messages of authors" (ibid. 55). This interactive relation to the other, the dialogical aspect of translation, has its internalized counterpart in Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia as a form of

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[27] Pym (2011a) proposes the term "personification" to refer to translators' mental processes "when they use textual material alone to construct communication participants (authors, end-users, clients, other translators, editors) as people" (93). See also Pirouznik (2014).

internal dialogue (Robinson 1991: 100).[28] Meaning is not only experience in the world but also experience with others (Cornejo 2008: 176), and individuals are social beings partly constituted through self-other relations. Even without overt social interaction, the language(s) "used" in silent individual thinking have been acquired through participation in or observation of dialogue (Linell 2014: 181).

Functionalist translation theories have also highlighted the intersubjective and context-dependent nature of translating. *Skopos* (Reiss and Vermeer 1984) and translatorial action (Holz-Mänttäri 1984) theories shifted the focus to the roles translators play and to translation as a unique, one-off process rooted in specific situations (Risku 2002: 524). However, as Martín de León (2008) observes, though classical functionalist approaches go beyond ideas of coding and decoding and situate translation in a social context, they also present an idealized model of communication (17). In defining all action as goal-oriented, functionalist theories are structured according to the classical cognitive paradigm, in which "the activity of the brain-computer" is conceived as being "directed towards solving predefined problems" (ibid.). According to the model of situated cognition, which is grounded in second generation cognitive science, meaning does not exist as "a predefined and invariable entity" but is negotiated and constructed and thus *emerges* in a way that is not completely predictable (ibid.). Integrating these perspectives, Risku proposes the term "situated translation" (2002: 523):

> Rather than restricting the scope and object of scientific studies solely to the workings of internal representations, [situated translation] emphasises the role played by physical and social context in cognition. It attempts to prove that language is a construct which cannot exist in isolation. Within the context of translation, this means that it is the way language is used in a specific kind of text and situation that is of interest, whereby the actual text itself is seen "as an integral part of the world, not as an isolated specimen of language" (Snell-Hornby, 1988: 49).

Risku concludes that "any attempts to explain translation by describing processes in the mind of an individual are bound to fail" (2010: 103). Translation involves complex systems that include "people, their specific social and physical environments and all their cultural artefacts" (ibid.). By extension, translation, as a socially embedded activity, also implies relationships and processes involving the representation and production of knowledge, cultures, and identities (Stolze 2011: 57; cf. Prunč 2007: 309).

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[28] Dialogical theories assume that other-orientation is a fundamental property of human sense-making (Linell 2014: 173).

3.3 Identity, Agency, and Performativity in Translation

Though translators have contributed to the invention of alphabets, the emergence of national languages and literatures, the spread of religions, and the transmission of ideas, culture, and power throughout history (Delisle and Woodsworth (2012 [1995]), the image of the translator as subservient and secondary (cf. Simeoni 1998) continues to dominate popular conceptions of translators, undermine translators' status (cf. Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger 2011), and contribute to translators' self-images as neutral technicians or, at best, talented wordsmiths.[29] Indeed, given the presence of translation throughout history and in all domains of life, the translator's persistent "invisibility" (cf. Venuti 1995) is remarkable.

In translation studies, the translator's identity has been primarily explored through biographical depictions of individual translators (Delisle 1999, 2002; Whitfield 2005, 2006), sociological accounts focusing on translators' cultural and sociopolitical role or professional status (Meylaerts 2008; Katan 2009; Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger 2011), or from a historical perspective, as above (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012 [1995]). However, metaphors are also abundant—translators have been compared to slaves, servants, traitors, spies, and impersonators, and, more recently, traffickers and cross-dressers, among others (Saint André 2010). With increased awareness of and interest in translation, translators have also been "enjoying something of a vogue in popular culture" (Simon 2008: 11), in novels, Hollywood films, and even television news stories (ibid.). The fictional representation of translators—and the complex interplay between translation and fiction in general—offers yet another avenue for exploring the translator's identity (Delabastita and Grutman 2005, Kaindl and Spitzl 2014).

According to Delabastita and Grutman (2005), fictional representations of translators encompass everything from the classic cognitive conduit metaphor, illustrated in the previous section, to translators as divine messengers inspired by "divine intervention," intergalactic communicators capable of bridging enormous linguistic and cultural distances and defending the survival of the human race, intercontinental mediators implicated in colonial struggles and impacting the fate of entire communities, and the somewhat less heroic "endeavours of 'ordinary' people in 'real' life" negotiating various multilingual encounters and experiences— "individual travellers, immigrants, nomads, expatriates, explorers, refugees, exiles, and the like"

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[29] I am referring here to the image of the translator as a kind of "language nerd" as compared to that of the writer or poet as a "creative genius."

(19–22). For Delabastita and Grutman, this last category encompasses translators' subjective experience as well as a number of ethical considerations related to trust; loyalty versus betrayal; invisibility versus authorial ambition; untranslatability; and identity:

> How can translators prevent the permanent position-shifting (the oscillations of empathy and sympathy, the never-ending switching and adjusting to other parties, the make-believe of speaking/writing for others) from 'eroding' or "dislocating" their sense of self, leaving them unanchored and alienated in a space "in-between"? (ibid. 23)

Gonzalez and Tolron (2006) frame these issues within a "metaphysics of translating," observing that the translator's confrontation with the creation of a text is also a confrontation with the "principle of reality," and thus plays a role in the construction of identity. In *Translating Selves*, Nikolaou and Kyritsi (2008) explore a similar terrain. They consider the translator's position-shifting not so much as a hindrance but as a potential opening to plural selves beyond a unified identity:

> Does the practice of translating create further selves, or does it reflect a capacity for otherness already within? In seemingly subverting or complicating a unified identity, does translation allow us to reach a truer, if more fragmented, selfhood, yet one that still shares the common need to communicate its distinctiveness? To what extent does our cognitive and psychological landscape include processes of translation in a more general sense...? (10)

In Delabastita and Grutman's fictional context, this plural concept of the translator's identity is perhaps best represented by the figure of the fictional translator operating not within the story but at the metanarrative level of the story's telling (cf. Delabastita and Grutman 2005: 25).[30] The metanarrative's self-reflexive techniques such as "the use of a very overt narrator; the juxtaposition of different styles and text-types; parody, pastiche and other forms of intertextuality; the mixing up of different communicative levels (e.g. author *vs.* narrator, narrator *vs.* character); *mise en abyme* (e.g. novel-within-a-novel) and other mirroring techniques; and, indeed, the use of different languages" (ibid. 26) are, to some extent, inherently implicated in the translation process from the outset—with or without conscious manipulation of the text—as a form of interference that arises due to translators' complex positioning and problematic identity in relation to the "real" authors of their (translated) texts. The translator's invisibility (cf. Venuti 1995) is in itself based on a fiction. As Hermans (2014: 287) notes, "From the moment the reader

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[30] Delabastita and Grutman (2005: 26–27) refer here to an example cited by Chesterman (1997), in which the actual Finnish translator of a Russian novel appears within the novel as a figure personifying Helsinki, thus the translator enters the fictional world of the novel waiting to be translated by him.

enters the translated text, the 'I' that speaks is not the 'I' of the translator but that of the original speaker." This is what Pym refers to as "first-person displacement" (Pym 2004: 8) and Alvstad (2014) characterizes as the "translation pact" in which individuals are invited to read the translated text as an original and reconstruct only an "implied author" and not an "implied translator" (270). How can we account, asks Hermans, for the attitudes of translators "when we know that they are responsible for assembling the words we read on the page but that their agency as speakers, their discursive presence, is subsumed under that of the original author?" (2014: 287).

The role of agency in translation has emerged as an important theme in translation studies in recent years. The idea that translations are a fact of the target culture (Toury 1995: 29) has been expanded by an awareness of translators' active roles in contributing to cultural innovation and change—sometimes conforming to norms, sometimes going against the grain (Milton and Bandia 2009; Tymoczko 2010). "The complex question of agency," says Inghilleri, "has been considered of primary importance in the endeavour to make descriptive theoretical approaches more 'agent-aware' and translators and interpreters more visible as social actors" (2005: 142). The concept of agency, however, remains ambiguous. As one of the key ideas of modern sociology, it has often been defined in contrast to social structure, resulting in what has come to be known as the agency/structure debate (Loyal and Barnes 2001: 507). Agency and structure come together in Bourdieu's concept of habitus—the internalized dispositions that result from a life-long process of individual and collective experiences and interactions. Bourdieu's (1977: 72) two-way conception of habitus as both "structured" and "structuring" is intricately linked with the concepts of field and capital through which social agents negotiate their positions and power. However, it is in combining agency and structure within the single concept of habitus that Bourdieu's theory paves the way for a more nuanced understanding of relationships between individual and social processes. Like the embodied and situated theories of second generation cognitive science, the habitus concept questions traditional mind-body and subject-object dichotomies and implies rejecting the reification of social structures to focus on the fluidity of social relations—on what Bourdieu has referred to as the "ontological complicity" between the social agent and the world (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 20).

Studying agency in translation, then, involves not only tracing the personal trajectories of individual translators, on the one hand, and the specific social and historical contexts, on the

other, but also attempting to understand the relationships between the two—between the individual and society, the subjective and objective, and the mental and material. What do we mean, for example, by "socialized individuals" or "internalized norms"? Is this a passive process? Is it unidirectional? Socialization has traditionally been defined by a series of oppositions that have deep roots within the Western philosophical tradition. Understanding agency as a relational phenomenon entails a reassessment of these categories. In limiting analyses to the confines of an agency-structure debate, one side or the other will necessarily prevail—usually the structures and norms seen as corresponding to "objective," external reality. However, these "structures" and "norms," though sometimes accompanied by very real constraints, are abstractions too. According to Toury, norms "emerge as *explanatory hypotheses* rather than entities in their own right" (1999: 16). In themselves, they cannot be described or accounted for by empirical methods any more than the mysterious processes taking place in the black box of the translator's mind.

Simeoni (1998) was among the first translation studies scholars to draw on Bourdieu's concept of habitus and propose a more agent-centered analysis of the relationships between translators and norms, describing the translator as actively *adjusting to* rather than being *governed by* norms (cf. Toury 1995; Hermans 1996a). Though Simeoni devotes much of his analysis to the "internalized subservience" of the translator's habitus, he also notes that "most translators currently practice their trade in highly differentiated societies, and the cognitive specificity of translation may have less to do with language and verbalisation than with social cognition and sensitivity" (1998: 13). He proposes that understanding the mental processes of translation may require downplaying linguistic, psychological, neurological or other tasks, in favour of recognizing the sociocognitive complexity of translation (ibid.).

The agency/structure dichotomy also implies that agency arises *exceptionally* within or against fixed structures. However, if we take agency in translation to be an exceptional or deviant expression of "free will," we overlook the fact that translation is never neutral. From the perspectives of both second generation cognitive science and relational sociology, agents and social contexts are ontologically inseparable. Rather than saying that agents internalize structures or struggle against the status quo, we might say that agency is a cognitive phenomenon that is embodied, context-dependent, and intrinsically social. This allows for analysis at the individual level without excluding social factors or de-politicizing the concept of agency. From this view,

agency is not a defiance of norms, it is the norm, and translators are always "inescapably engaged and committed, either implicitly or explicitly" even when they do not set out to be activists (Tymoczko 2010: 9).

Agency in translation is related to performativity: both point to the embodied, historically situated translator behind the translation. Bhabha (1994: 227) famously referred to the "performativity of translation as the staging of cultural difference." Critiquing the ethnocentric, pluralistic framework of multiculturalism, he proposed a shift in focus from the epistemological function of the subject to enunciative practice. The enunciative "present" is performative. It is a dialogic, enactive process that "opens up possibilities for other 'times' of cultural meaning (retroactive, prefigurative) and other narrative spaces (fantasmic, metaphorical)" (ibid. 178). But if translation is the "performative nature of cultural communication" (Bhabha 1994: 228)—language *in actu* rather than language *in situ*—we might ask, is it *translation* or *translators* that perform?

In his book *Performative Linguistics: Speaking and Translating as Doing Things With Words*, Robinson (2003) provides an overview and critique of some of the founding concepts of performativity in language. His analysis draws on Austin's (1962) distinction between constative and performative utterances and notion of speech acts. Constative linguists, he says, study language in the "null context ... as a set of structural properties and the logical interrelations among those properties" (2003: 4)—outside of all human cognition and social use—whereas performative linguists are interested in relationships between actual speakers, writers and interpreters: "how humans perform verbal actions and respond to the verbal actions performed by others" (ibid.).[31] Performative linguistics distinguishes between the locutionary (what is said), the illocutionary (what is being done in the saying of it) and the perlocutionary (the effect the speaker has on the listener by or through the saying of it) (Robinson 2006: 76). Robinson weaves these ideas into a complex "performative back-story" that includes references to Simeoni's (1998) discussion of the translator's habitus, Damasio's (1999) neuroscientific study of emotion, Derrida's (1988) concept of "iterability," Bakhtin's theory of "double-voicing, and his own (2003) somatic theory of language use and translation. Robinson links Derrida's "iterability"—

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[31] Language doesn't just convey information. For example, a minister standing in front of a bride and groom says "I now pronounce you man and wife," and the utterance performs an action—the couple is officially married. A similar example would be a judge announcing, "the court is now is session." However, in a fictional scenario—or an interpreter's translation, as Pym argues (1992)—the utterance does not literally perform the act. Austin calls these secondary utterances "nonserious" or "parasitic."

the idea that any utterance must be performable to be spoken at all and that "language becomes usable, speakable, writable, performable, through its [...] capacity for being repeated in new contexts, which tends to transform it" (Robinson 2003: 20)—to Bakhtin's theory of "double-voicing," the notion that "every word ever spoken is saturated with all the dialogues it has ever been used in," and that "each language user brings to every use of a word the memory of all the past dialogues s/he ever heard it in" (2003: 20). In a similar vein, Robinson's somatic theory of language and translation is based on the idea that our bodies channel repetitions (Derrida's "iterability") through "somatic markers" that help us remember what we have learned from experience in ways that facilitate rapid, action-oriented decision-making (2003: 20). The translator, as a language user, also brings the memory of his or her past dialogues and experiences to every use of a word. For Robinson, this performative/iterative take on communication is "quintessentially a translator's view" in that "different languages can always be performatively brought into closer conceptual proximity, can always be reperformed as different in complexly linked ways" (2003: 216).

Performativity, as "a useful mode of theorizing *and* practising the multiple ways in which social reality comes into being" (Tsekeris 2010: 140), is also related to identity. According to Butler (2010), performativity "works to counter a certain metaphysical presumption about culturally constructed categories and to draw our attention to the diverse mechanisms of that construction" (147). She refers to situations of "performative breakdown" and interprets Derrida's iterability in terms of the "rupture or failure that characterizes every interstitial moment within iteration" (ibid. 152). Likewise, Sommer's (2004) "bilingual aesthetics" focuses on how language plays "hit-and-miss games with the world" (xiv). In bilingual or multilingual contexts, she says, the potential to err is multiplied—mistakes, false friends, double entendres, and mixed registers abound. This creates a critical perspective, since interrupted communication requires humility, begs debate and necessitates negotiation. Multilingual encounters, like art, humour, and surprise, promote aesthetic effects by blocking habitual perception (ibid. xiii). This blocking of habitual perception and the critical perspective that arises from it correspond to what Robinson would describe as "cognitive dissonance" or metalocutionary "stalls" (2003: 202-206). Robinson argues that understanding (and misunderstanding) emerge in the metalocutionary discovery that foreign words not only have different meanings but also different *iterative* histories. Meanings are the most recent by-products of an ongoing iterative process that is shaped

by embodied, subjective, and intersubjective histories of language use. Sommer (2004) and Robinson (2003) might agree that, in multilingual contexts, inhabitual perceptions or metalocutionary "stalls" destabilize identities but that, in the process, the rules of the game are constructed anew—plural identities are embraced (Sommer) and speech acts are interpretively reperformed (Robinson).

3.4 Translators' Symbolic Competence

In multilingual encounters, symbolic competence emerges as a complex, subjective, intersubjective, and sociocognitive phenomenon. As discussed in previous chapters, concepts such as translanguaging, linguistic repertoire, and symbolic competence have problematized the idea of an ideal language learner/user or neutral language-learning or communicative situation and even called into question the very notion of fixed languages and speech communities. In multilingualism research, cognitive science, and sociology, there has been an overall shift in focus from static, reified categories to relational processes. Likewise, in applying the concept of symbolic competence to translators, "the translator" is not to be conceived as an ideal or generic category. Nor is the translator granted some kind of special status, as sometimes occurs, for example, with the term "artist."[32] Translators, like artists, bring criticality and creativity to their work by drawing on multiple, even conflicting and contradictory aspects of their personal and professional experience. Thus, the first premise of my working definition of translators' symbolic competence is that it is not based on a series of special talents, skills, or subcompetences but, rather, on a holistic consideration of translators' experience, background, stance, and positionality as multilingual, historically grounded subjects—in sum, those aspects of translation that "engage the *whole* translator" (Scott 2000: 251). Translators' stance and positionality are themes that have recently become more central in translation studies (Munday 2012: 227). Munday cites Maier's (2007) discussion of the translator as an "intervenient being" and Tymoczko's emphasis on translators' cultural and ideological affiliations beyond the immediate temporal and spatial context:

> [T]he ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in the relevance to the receiving audience. These latter features are affected by the place of enunciation of the translator: indeed they are part of

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[32] Translators, like artists, can be defined, in the strictest sense, according to the professions they practice—translators generally earn a living translating texts from one language to another, often for practical purposes; artists produce, exhibit and sell artworks, manage budgets, etc. The very fact of holding a paintbrush, for example, does not automatically make someone creative, nor is creativity limited to "artistic" endeavours.

what we mean by the "place" of enunciation, for that "place" is an ideological positioning as well as a geographical or temporal one. These aspects of a translation are motivated and determined by the translator's cultural and ideological affiliations as much as or even more than by the temporal and spatial location that the translator speaks from. (Tymoczko 2003a: 183)

As Laviosa (2010, 2014) has observed, Tymoczko's (2007) theory of "holistic cultural translation" has a number of parallels with Kramsch's (2009b) definition of symbolic competence. Holistic cultural translation requires an an interest in and sensibility to cultural difference, an ability to perceive and negotiate cultural difference, and an ability to appreciate that cultures like languages are open, heterogeneous, and marked by generativity and performativity (Tymoczko 2007:235–236). According to Laviosa, symbolic competence can therefore be a valuable asset to translation, conceived not as a transfer from text to text but, rather, as a "rethinking of one context in terms of another, whereby context is meant a whole ecology of which text is only a part" (2010: 14). In turn, holistic cultural translation enhances symbolic competence because "experience in dealing with more than one language and more than one culture in interface elicits implicit and explicit comparison, hones skills in comparison, and inculcates a sense of self-reflection" (Tymoczko cited in Laviosa 2010: 19). Translating across cultural difference is "not only the center of a translator's power and agency, it is where the translator demonstrates the greatest skill" (ibid. 20).

The second premise of my definition of translators' symbolic competence draws on the concept of the translator's habitus, particularly, with reference to Meylaerts' (2008, 2010) extension of the term to include translators' "plural habituses." Meylaerts describes habitus as a dynamic, plural concept. Translators, as intercultural actors, she says, develop practices through personal, professional, and cross-cultural habituses. This plurality encompasses the diverse linguistic, social, and political experiences that influence translators' perceptions of and attitudes toward the respective languages and cultures in which they live and work (2010: 3). According to her, the interplay "between agency and structure, between the individual and the collective, and between habitus and norms, constitutes the basis of any understanding of translation as a social activity" (ibid. 15).

Like multilinguals' plural identities (cf. Sommer 2004), translators' plural habituses can be said to give them a critical edge, that is to say, a kind of increased agency in relation to socialization processes and structures, since neither translators nor multilinguals are confined to

a single set of linguistic or cultural norms. Translators, like multilinguals, navigate complex encounters. Whether interpreting in person or translating texts, translators, too, call upon a variety of dialects, registers, language capacities, cultural imaginations, and social and political knowledge and memories (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008: 646). I have proposed elsewhere (Ruschiensky 2013) that if, for Kramsch and Whiteside, communication competence is not so much a question of language skill or mastery, but rather of knowing "which speech style to speak with whom, about what, and for what effect" (2008: 646), translation competence might also be conceived as a form of metalocutionary performance, a symbolic competence that goes beyond ideals of equivalence or fidelity to a linguistic or cultural script and depends, in part, on a translator's ability "to choose between following or flouting the norms of behaviour, including the use of language" (Li Wei 2011: 1223–1224). However, just as creativity is not *creatio ex nihilo*, "choosing," in this sense, is not simply an expression of free will but, rather, a response to the "multiple definitions and discontinuities" (Meylaerts 2008: 94) that structure and are structured by translators' multilingual experiences and dispositions—the inevitable questioning that arises in the complex, embodied experience of identifying with different languages, text genres, voices, and cultures. As Fuchs has observed, translation, understood sociologically, has to be seen as interactive and relational. Echoing Tymoczko (2003a), he contends that the person translating is neither outside the contexts involved, nor inhabiting a place "in-between":

> [We] need to start not from the assumption of two separate, unconnected contexts but from the fact of contact, if not, as is actually usually the case, of interpenetration of different contexts, discourses and social fields. Secondly, the person translating is not outside the contexts involved, nor does s/he inhabit a place "in-between." Rather, the translator—in fact, each social actor—has her/his feet in both or all the camps involved and constantly moves between them when translating. Thirdly, translations are made in everyday life by everyone; translation happens in each person's mind—one lives in translation. Finally, meanings are usually, or often, shared only partially across contexts. Taking up meanings of one context in another one, and thus resituating and repositioning them, is a pragmatic affair. (2009: 27)

The third premise of my definition of translators' symbolic competence is that translating introduces an explicit (metacognitive) self-reflexivity that is distinct from that involved in other forms of more spontaneous translanguaging. In spontaneous encounters, translators, like other multilinguals, negotiate/perform meanings and identities through various forms of "informal" translation, translanguaging, and code-switching. However, when carrying out specific translation tasks— translating in the strict sense—translators engage their own linguistic and

sociocultural repertoires as well as those for whom they are translating (with respect to both source and target contexts). In other words, translators not only have their feet in "both or all the camps" and constantly move between them when translating, they also articulate thoughts, express ideas, communicate feelings and experiences, and perform in view of others' intentions and purposes and on others' behalf—they perform, that is, in the traditional sense of performing or interpreting (a role, a musical score, a script, etc.).[33] Translators perform as multilinguals with respect to their own personal histories and identities and as interpreters of the other's enunciation, while simultaneously representing, rewriting or re-enacting the "script" in another language or medium.[34] Translation then, even more than other forms of multilingual communication, entails a constant repositioning and conscious, critical evaluation of one's stance and *response-ability*, as Perteghella and Loffredo (2006) so aptly put it. Translators draw on their linguistic/sociocultural knowledge and experience to inform their practice as translators, which, in turn, enriches their multilingual and multicultural repertoires—including any variations of dialect, register, subject matter, text type, etc.— in a reciprocal manner, *ad infinitum*. In the chapters that follow, I will explore the various aspects of translators' symbolic competence outlined above with respect to multilingual students' competence and creativity in translation. I will address, in particular, how these holistic, plural, and self-reflexive dimensions of translators' symbolic competence relate to students' multilingual backgrounds, opinions, attitudes and approaches to translating, and how translators, especially translation students, can potentially develop their competence and creatively in translation by exploring this nuanced terrain.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Research Design

In order to explore translators' diverse multilingual trajectories in light of the above outlined theoretical perspectives, I set out to learn more about individuals who have chosen to study translation and how their interests in, attitudes about, and approaches to translating are related to

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[33] Van den Broeck (1998) observes that this double sense of performing is relevant to translation, since "the translator, unlike the critic who gives his interpretation the form of a discursive statement while not demonstrating it [...], must be said to interpret by "enactment" [...] The interpretation of the 'creative' translator, thereupon, brings the work of art into full existence, in the sense in which the music is actually played, the drama enacted, the dance danced [...]" (12). See also Maier (1984) and Bermann (2014).

[34] As Hermans (2007) notes, the concept of translation as "reported speech" has been explored at length: Jakobson (1959), Bigelow (1978), Pym (1992, 2004), Mossop (1983, 1998), Gutt (1991), and Folkart (1991). Though beyond the scope of this thesis, this could be an interesting avenue for exploring translators' symbolic competence. See also Pym (2011b) on the "translator as non-author."

their diverse linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds. I conducted a qualitative study on translation students, in other words, a small subset of "translators," defined here as individuals who engage in translating as part of their study programs, professional work, or both. For the first phase of the study, I designed a questionnaire titled "Multilingualism and Translation" (which I translated as *Plurilinguisme et traduction* for the French version) and distributed it by email to students of two Montreal university translation programs (see Appendices III and IV). The questionnaire included questions on students' backgrounds, where they were born and raised, and when they moved to Montreal and under what circumstances; questions on their language history, proficiency, first languages, and learning contexts; questions about language use, which languages they use daily, whether they use different languages in different contexts or alternate often between them; and questions related to language preference, status, and identity, whether they identify one language as their "mother tongue," associate languages with different social statuses, have positive or negative experiences related to language use, or identify with particular linguistic or cultural communities, local or online. The second part of the questionnaire focused on questions related to translation, the languages students translate between in their study programs and/or in their work outside of school, previous translation experience in Canada or in other countries of origin, why they chose to study translation, and what they have liked and disliked most about their study programs.

The second phase of the study included a series of semi-structured interviews with selected participants. In choosing the interviewees, I tried to represent diverse languages, age groups, personal and professional histories, and translation programs. These exchanges provided an opportunity to further explore individual students' unique backgrounds and experiences and learn more about their history of language use, choice, proficiency, acquisition, attitudes and preferences, as well as their views on the social status and value of the languages involved. We also discussed their decision to study translation, the languages they translate between, how they see the role of translation, their aspirations as professional translators, and particular translation problems that they encounter, which may or may not be related to their multilingual competencies.

I interviewed 14 participants on two separate occasions, in French or English, according to their preference, though many interviews included some degree of spontaneous switching between both languages. The interviews were conducted in private university study areas and

were audio recorded. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. The first interviews took questionnaire responses as a point of departure, but participants were welcome to elaborate on other topics. For the second series of interviews, participants were asked to provide examples of specific translation problems, ideally in the form of written extracts of translations they had worked on. Though I did provide some basic guidelines, the choice of this material was entirely at the discretion of the participants. I was particularly interested in what participants would choose to present and talk about.[35] All questionnaire and interview participants were provided with clear explanations of my research goals and procedures, consent forms, and assurances of confidentiality, in accordance with University Research Ethics Committee protocols (see Appendix IV).

4.2 Research Methodology

While empirical methods are widely and successfully employed in product-oriented and descriptive translation studies, often integrating what Tymoczko has referred to as a critical "postpositivist" perspective that shifts inquiry "away from research oriented toward digging out and amassing observable 'facts' to self-reflexive interrogations" (2007: 23), it could be argued that the insistence on obtaining "objective" data in process-oriented research has contributed to the translator being conceived as a neutral conduit of information transfer.[36] Reframing competence and creativity in translation within a postpositivist paradigm, that is, integrating perspectives from both an Empirical Science Paradigm (ESP) and a Liberal Arts Paradigm (LAP) (cf. Stolze 2009) allows the sociocognitive complexity of translating to come into view. My research methodology can be described as both **empirical** and **explorative**. According to Williams and Chesterman, empirical research "seeks new data, new information derived from the observation of data and from experimental work; it seeks evidence which supports or disconfirms hypotheses, or generates new ones" (2002: 58). An example of explorative research, according to Saldanha and O'Brien, is one based on a phenomenological method, "an interpretive, subjective approach to research, which is interested in gaining insights from

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[35] They were asked to choose a short extract, preferably of one of their own translations, which they found particularly difficult, interesting, inspiring or that provided an opportunity to learn something new. I emphasized that the point was not to judge the quality of the translation, but to have a discussion about translating.

[36] Tymoczko also differentiates between "empirical" and "objective" research methods (2007: 145), citing Halverson (2000: 357), who points out that belief in a "world out there" entails a commitment to empirical investigation, but not necessarily to a belief that all parts of that world are observer-independent or that there is one "true" way of describing it.

personal experiences" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013: 16). A similar methodology underlies both Stolze's (2011) hermeneutical approach based on the premise of intersubjective plausibility, as well as Kramsch's (2003) phenomenological stance referred to in Chapter 1. My approach is also modeled on ethnographic and qualitative research methods employed in translation studies (Koskinen 2006, 2008; Hubscher-Davidson 2011) and multilingualism research (Wei and Moyer 2008; Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012) that favour a reflexive, critical conception of joint "data construction"—as opposed to objective "data gathering"—that encompasses both the researcher's and participants' subjectivity.[37]

My choice to use student translators as my sample group was based on personal familiarity with the population (as a translation student myself) and accessibility (email distribution of questionnaires via departmental mailing lists). As Saldanha and O'Brien have observed, this type of "non-probability" or "convenience sampling" has been the most common method used in translation studies research to date (2013: 164) and in humanities and social science research in general (34):

> Frequently, master's students or final year undergraduate students participate in studies where claims are then made about the products, processes, attitudes or behaviours of "professional translators." Some studies even use "bilinguals" or "language students" and purport to produce findings about "translation." While there is nothing wrong with doing research on bilinguals' ability to "translate," for example, studies which do this should not make claims about professional translation behaviour because, quite simply, the sample would not conform to the general understanding of what a "professional translator" is. (34–35)

Saldanha and O'Brien note, however, that convenience sampling can be very useful for developing research hypotheses. Problems only arise when generalizations are made to the population at large. The aim of my research is not to arrive at generalizable findings that are representative of professional translators or even student translators as a group. On the contrary, my research focuses on the heterogeneity within a particular translating population—in this case, student translators in Montreal—in order to bring to light the inherent differences and diversity therein and undertake fine-grained analyses of relationships between individuals' unique, subjective trajectories and their translating practices. Translation students have often been used in studies comparing "novice" and "professional" translators, particularly in research on

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[37] As a translation student myself, I completed the questionnaire of my own design in order to provide my "data," but also to experience it from the participants' point of view.

developing translation competence (Schäffner and Adab 2000; Alves 2005; Alves and Gonçalves 2007; Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009). However, my findings would suggest that even seemingly self-evident categories like "translation student" or "professional translator" cannot be taken for granted. One of the students I interviewed, for example, is pursuing a PhD in translation studies and is a professionally certified translator in four language combinations. Another interviewee translated professionally between Romanian, Hungarian, English and Italian in her country of origin, Romania, for eight years before moving to Canada and undertaking a bachelor's degree in French-English translation. These are just two of the many diverse profiles that will be described in more detail below. Determining whether these examples are the exception or the rule, that is, investigating quantifiable similarities and differences within a specific translating population in order to arrive at generalizations, would perhaps be better suited to a large-scale quantitative research project. In the context of my master's research, my main interest is to bring this diversity to light and explore its potential relevance to questions of competence and creativity in translation.

Chapter 5: Research Results

5.1 Presentation of Questionnaire Results

Though my research methods and analyses are primarily qualitative, that is to say, based on an interpretivist position (cf. Saldanha and O'Brien 2013: 22), certain quantitative data are also relevant, as they provide descriptive information on the overall results, frame the analysis, and allow for comparative observations and hypotheses. This chapter presents detailed quantitative and qualitative data obtained from my questionnaire on multilingualism and translation—approximately 700 pages of data condensed into 22 pages. In the interests of representing the widest possible range and diversity of responses, I limit analysis here and attempt to present the information gathered in a clear and coherent manner. This chapter is therefore primarily descriptive and intended to shed light on the diversity of translation students' multilingual backgrounds and experiences. The questionnaire covers the following categories: biographical information; background; languages; language history; language use; language preferences, status and identity; and translation. The sections are not of equal length. Text fields were designed to expand as you type, and respondents were asked to provide as much or little information as they like. Some questions, for example, called for brief responses while other more descriptive or subjective questions often elicited longer responses. Please note that all

French questionnaire data is presented in the original. Corresponding English translations can be found in Appendix II.

Biographical Information

Of the 72 students (40 from Concordia, 32 from the Université de Montréal) who completed and returned the questionnaires, 56 responded in French and 16 in English. The ratio of female to male respondents was 59 to 13. Ages range from 19 to 63 years old, with the majority in the 25-30 range, and 11 respondents being 45 or older. A total of 54 were born in Canada and 18 in other countries: Romania, United States, Czech Republic, Colombia, Argentina, Moldova, France, French Polynesia (Tahiti), Mauritius, Senegal, Lebanon, and Belgium. Students at all levels of translation programs are represented: undergraduate, certificate, diploma, master's and PhD students (37 BAs, 15 MAs, 9 Diplomas, 9 Certificates, and 1 PhD). The majority have degrees and/or professional experience in fields other than translation as well as a varied range of interests and hobbies:

Bachelor's Degrees
English literature – French literature – French-English literature – English-Finnish literature – administration – psychology – linguistics – history – accounting – anthropology – Spanish studies – music – Latin-American studies – cinematography – education – painting and drawing – biology – German – law – political science – nursing – classics
Master's Degrees
foreign trade – journalism – history
Past Employment
translator – bookkeeper – law clerk – waitress – barmaid – production coordinator – NFB – telemarketing – cashier – secretary – vice-president of finance – tour guide – assistant-cook – affordable housing agent – pedagogical advisor – massage therapist – Italian conversation group leader – "student" jobs – architect – customer service – data entry clerk – conversation "aid" – organist – teaching assistant – daycare teacher – localization tester – French conversation leader – French tutor at CEGEP – ride attendant at La Ronde – nurse – teacher – community group coordinator – English teacher – import-export coordinator – verification officer – internal communications and marketing agent – journalist – legal assistant – artist – landscaping/parks maintenance – researcher for the MUHC – florist – biology lab research assistant – stockperson – marketing – communication – office clerk – software localisation – Ikea – office manager – receptionist – chiropractor's assistant – call centre supervisor – accountant – administration – photo retouching – graphic artist – decorator – comic strip artist – human resources – management – Telus customer service – survey centre – bakery clerk – horticulturalist – information clerk – Cirque du Soleil – computer programmer/analyst – information network administrator – French assistant – social worker – respiratory therapy inspector – writer – orderly
Current Employment
translator – administrator – marketing – tennis instructor – translation project coordinator – waitress – administrative assistant – proofreader – reviser – Starbuck's – reservation agent – secretary – lawyer – retired – office clerk – construction project manager –consultant – musician

– parish organist – translation sessional instructor – cook – daycare teacher – copywriter – assistant research director – medical receptionist –administrative assistant –study clinic recruiter – cashier SAQ – gas station attendant – clerk – emergency call operator – engineer – hospital administration – university administration – coordinator of communications – respiratory therapist – clinical nurse
Other Activities and Interests
reading – piano – linguistics – cat shelter volunteer – sports – writer of fiction, essays and criticism – travel – video games – music – theatre – teaching – carriage/horse riding – languages – films – cooking – arts – psychology – gardening – volunteer translation for "Voices" (TIC for developing communities) – baking – history – politics – romance languages – history –sports – dance – architecture – construction –Hispanic language and culture – knitting – outdoors – literature – anthropology – photography – snowboarding – tennis – education – psychology – audiovisual – classical music – Japanese, British and German culture – drawing – design – cognitive science – philosophy – Kung Fu – health – animals – media – journalism – writing/editing – literary translation – social justice movements – art – floral arrangements – decorating – Montreal Youth Coalition Against Homophobia – sitcoms – economics – yoga – calligraphy – stamp collecting – biology – family – business – marketing – horticulture – botany – oenology – mountain climbing – networks – technology – science – cycling – coin collecting – painting – revision

Background

Respondents were asked to briefly describe where they were born and raised and, if applicable, when they moved to Montreal and under what circumstances:

Born and raised in Greater Montreal: 30
Born in Montreal or Quebec and raised elsewhere: 3
Born and/or raised in other regions/provinces: 19
Born and raised in other countries: 16
Born elsewhere (region or country) and raised in Montreal: 4
Other regions/countries of origin or upbringing: Ontario, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Romania, United States, Czech Republic, Colombia, Argentina, Moldova, France, French Polynesia, Mauritius, Senegal, Lebanon, Belgium, Lac-Saint-Jean
Moved frequently during childhood/ teens (3 or more locations): 4
Moved or traveled extensively as adults: 2
Arrived in Greater Montreal as children or adolescents: 11
Arrived as adults: 25
Arrival: n/a: 33, n/s: 2

n/a = not applicable, n/s = not specified

A number of respondents were born and raised in suburban communities surrounding Montreal—Laval, St. Eustache, Repentigny, Brossard, Châteauguay, Boucherville, Nun's Island, and Ile Perrot, among others— and moved to Montreal to study. Others, particularly among the older respondents, have moved in the opposite direction, from downtown Montreal to the suburbs. While many younger respondents have remained in their family homes while

completing their studies, others expressed a desire to move to (downtown) Montreal "as soon as

possible," to be immersed in a more diverse, urban context:

Puis, à l'âge de 18 ans, je suis retournée vivre à Montréal, seule. Je viens d'un milieu aisé, et j'ai décidé de migrer de la banlieue vers la ville afin de poursuivre mes études et d'être en contact avec un monde plus vivant et plus diversifié.[1]
Bref, je suis déménagée à Montréal pour vivre l'expérience d'une métropole avec d'autres amis qui étaient aussi venus pour y étudier. La diversité de Montréal me paraissait franchement plus intéressante que la vie dans mon petit hameau![2]
J'ai grandi à Boucherville; une enfance plutôt ennuyante et je suis partie vivre à Montréal le plus tôt possible.[3]

Many younger respondents also moved to Montreal from other regions of Quebec to undertake

college and university study programs:

Je suis née à Hull, j'ai grandi à Sherbrooke. Je suis déménagée à montréal en 2001 pour étudier en antropologie. J'ai toujours habité sporadiquement à Montréal depuis.[4]
Je suis née à Joliette, ai habité moitié/moitié à Joliette et Rawdon (parents divorcés) et ai déménagé à Montréal au début de mon DEC en gestion hôtelière, à l'âge de 17 ans.[5]
Je suis née à Laval, mais j'habitais alors à St-Benoit (Mirabel). Je n'ai vécu là que trois ans, avant de déménager à Joliette et d'y grandir. Je suis allée vivre à Montréal lorsque j'ai entrepris mes études universitaires, mais je n'y suis que la semaine.[6]

Others moved to Montreal from Western Canada, the Atlantic Provinces, the United States, and

other countries specifically to pursue studies:

I was born in Regina, SK, where I lived until I was 8, then I moved to a small village in northern Saskatchewan. I returned to Regina when I was 18 to go to University. After completing university, I taught English as a second language in Germany for one year, after which I moved to Montreal to improve my French and study translation.
Né et grandi à l'Ile Maurice, petit paradis en plein milieu de l'océan Indien. Ile multiculturelle dont la langue officielle est l'anglais, la langue populaire, le créole mauricien, la langue d'éducation, l'anglais. Ma langue maternelle est le français. Venu à Montréal pour étudier l'architecture. Ca m'a pris quelques années de pratique pour parfaire mon anglais à l'oral.[7]
Née à Caen, j'ai passé la plupart de ma vie à Bayeux, petite ville en Normandie connue pour sa richesse historique. J'ai déménagé à Montréal l'année dernière afin de poursuivre mes études en anglais.[8]

A number of respondents listed other reasons. Many traveled extensively before settling in

Montreal and undertaking studies in translation:

I was born and raised in Moldova. In 2006 I immigrated to Canada, Montreal. I had decided to move for various reasons: I wanted to know the world, look for happiness, see other cultures. Economically, I knew Moldova was a country where it would have been very hard to buy a house and raise a family.
Je suis né à Carthagène, en Colombie, et j'y ai grandi également. J'y ai vécu jusqu'à l'âge de 14

> ans, jusqu'en 2007 pour être plus précis. Cette année-là, j'ai quitté la Colombie, avec ma famille (mes parents et ma sœur) pour le Canada; les circonstances qui nous ont menés dans ce pays étaient purement reliées à une meilleure qualité de vie (plus de temps en famille) et un meilleur futur professionnel pour ma sœur et moi.[9]

> Je suis née en France et j'ai vécu dans un village de province de 900 habitants jusqu'à mes 18 ans. Je suis ensuite partie pour faire des études universitaires dans la capitale régionale: Lyon. J'ai obtenu une bourse pour faire des études à l'étranger et je suis partie étudier au Pérou. J'y ai rencontré mon mari. Je me suis installée au Pérou mais mon mari a décidé de déménager au Québec il y a 3.5 ans. Je l'ai suivi. Il a fait une maîtrise ici et maintenant c'est mon tour.[10]

Of 72 respondents, 10 indicate that they were born and raised in Montreal and surrounding areas and have remained either in Montreal or the suburban communities where they grew up without having moved often. The majority of respondents, however, 62/72, describe having moved frequently. Many also describe having come into contact with different dialects, languages and cultures from a young age. This includes movement both within Quebec and between Quebec, Canada, and other countries:

> Je suis née à Montréal, mais j'ai vécu une enfance nomade à suivre mes parents au fil des différents emplois de mon père. Nous avons donc déménagé pratiquement à tous les ans, ce qui m'a fait découvrir des villes, des gens et des écoles un peu partout dans la province de Québec. Cela a, entre autre, développé de ma facilité d'adaptation en général.[11]

> I was born in Levis, Quebec and moved to the U.S. when I was five. I completed elementary school in the US and moved to Germany when I was 12 to start and complete middle school. I then moved back to Quebec for my last two years of high school. I completed CEGEP in Sainte-Foy and moved to Montreal when I was 19 to start and complete my degree in translation at Concordia. I have lived here since.

> Je suis née à Beyrouth, ville où j'ai vécu jusqu'à mes 15 ans. J'ai immigré au Canada (Ottawa) avec ma famille, puis lorsque je me suis mariée, j'ai déménagée à Montréal (6 ans maintenant).[12]

> Née au Sénégal de parents camerounais, je suis arrivée au Canada à l'âge de 6 ans suite à l'affectation de mon père au siège de l'OACI comme traducteur-interprète. J'ai grandi dans l'arrondissement d'Outremont, où j'ai complété tous les piliers de ma scolarité jusqu'à l'UdeM.[13]

> I was born in the Czech Republic and lived there until the age of 19. After that, I travelled and lived in several countries, mostly in Europe, before I moved to Canada in 2008. I moved here because of my boyfriend whom I met in Europe.

> I lived in Colombia until I was 15 years old. Then I lived in the USA with my family until I turned 22. When I arrived in Canada I lived in Toronto with my parents for one year and in Quebec [City] for 2 years, before moving to Montreal where I live now.

Languages

Respondents were asked to list all languages that they currently understand (oral comprehension), speak, read and write, and rate their proficiency on a scale of 1 to 5, with the highest level of proficiency being 5. The languages that students listed, 30 in all, include the

following: French, English, Spanish, German, Italian, Finnish, Romanian, Hungarian, Swedish, Czech, Slovak, Dutch, Portuguese, Arabic, Korean, Latin, Haitian Creole, Mandarin, Russian, Japanese, Tahitian (re'o ma'ohi), Mauritian Creole, Catalan, Vietnamese, Croatian, Urdu, Hindi, Greek, Huron-Wendat, and American Sign Language (ASL). Out of 72, 58 respondents listed three or more languages. Seven respondents listed six or more languages:

French/English bilinguals	14
3 or more languages	58
3	22
4	19
5	10
6	2
7	2
8	3

The table below lists the total number of respondents who understand, speak, read or write each of the languages. The mean proficiency (mp) represents the average proficiency for each language and is calculated by adding up all of the numbers and dividing by the number of numbers, as in the following example: French: 5 (understand) + 4 (speak) + 5 (read) + 4 (write) = 18 ÷ 4 (number of numbers) = 4.5. These figures are not intended to represent precise measurements but rather provide a framework for comparison, where mp = ≥ 3 indicates an overall average proficiency of three or higher for that particular language and mp = < 3 indicates an overall average proficiency of less than three for that particular language.

language	total	mp = ≥ 3	mp = < 3	language	total	mp= ≥ 3	mp = < 3
French	72	72		Latin	2		2
English	72	72		Haitian Creole	2		2
Spanish	45	25	20	Mandarin	5		5
German	18	6	12	Russian	3	1	2
Italian	14	5	9	Japanese	1		1
Finnish	2	1	1	Tahitian	1		1
Romanian	3	3		Mauritian Creole	2	2	
Hungarian	1	1		Catalan	1	1	
Swedish	1	1		Vietnamese	1		1
Czech	1	1		Croatian	1		1
Slovak	1	1		Urdu	1	1	
Dutch	1		1	Hindu	1		1
Portuguese	7	4	3	Greek	1	1	
Arabic	6	4	2	Huron-Wendat	1		n/a
Korean	2		2	ASL	1		1

Language History

Respondents were asked to indicate where they first acquired these languages, including languages they are still learning. The following table represents the number of respondents for each language and learning context:

language	home	school	work	other	language	home	school	work	other
French	54	63	19	27	Latin	2			
English	27	65	31	36	Haitian Creole	1	1		1
Spanish	8	37	8	18	Mandarin	1	5		1
German		17	2	3	Russian	1	3	1	2
Italian	2	12	1	3	Japanese				1
Finnish		2	1		Tahitian	1	1		
Romanian	3	1	1	1	Mauritian Creole	1			
Arabic	3	5		3	Catalan		1		1
Swedish				1	Vietnamese	1			
Czech	1	1		1	Croatian				1
Slovak				1	Greek	1	1		
Dutch	1		1		ASL		1		1
Portuguese	1		1		Hungarian	1			
Korean	1			2					
Other: pop culture, travel, video games, internet, self-taught, family, immersion program									

The following table represents respondents' motivations for learning different languages. I asked whether they were first language(s), required languages (for school, work or any other social context), or languages they chose to learn. Of the 72 respondents, 13 listed more than one first language (L1), 62 overall indicate that they were required to learn a second language (L2), 54 respondents (in addition to the above) have also or are continuing to learn languages by choice. Other reasons given for learning languages include having moved frequently, traveled extensively, or because they were languages spoken by parents, grandparents, or other family members.[38] Note that these categories overlap, i.e. first languages are sometimes also "required" languages, though not always.

language	first	required	choice	other	language	first	required	choice	other
French	40	27	8	2	Mandarin		1	5	
English	10	54	18	26	Russian		1	2	
Spanish	3	19	25	3	Japanese			1	
German		5	13	2	Tahitian				1
Italian		2	10		Mauritian	1			

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[38] The concept of "heritage language" will be further explored in chapter 6.

					Creole				
Finnish		2	2		Catalan			1	1
Romanian	1				Croatian			1	
Hungarian					Urdu		1		
Swedish			1		Hindi				1
Czech	1				Greek				1
Slovak				1	ASL			1	
Dutch		1	1		FR + EN	8		1	
Portuguese			6	2	FR + Arabic	1			
Arabic	2	1	3	1	FR + Vietnamese	1			
Korean			2		FR + Romanian	1			
Latin		1	2		EN + Italian	1			
Haitian Creole			1	1	Romanian + Hungarian	1			

FR = French; EN = English

The following table represents the approximate ages of language acquisition according to the number of respondents. Note that for respondents listing more than one first language (L1 + L2), the third language is still represented as L3. We see here that 47/72 respondents started learning both their second and third languages from a young age. A large number, however, began learning their third and fourth languages later, after the age of 15.

L1 + L2 (two first languages): 13					
Language	5-10 years	10-15	15-20	20-25	25+
L2	39	15	8	1	
L3	8	15	23	4	4
L4		4	20	5	3
L5		2	8	3	3
L6		1		3	2
L7				1	1
L8				1	2

Finally, respondents were asked if they would like to elaborate on the learning contexts. Many provided detailed descriptions. The learning contexts described often revolve around school or work and, in many cases, involve situations where learning the language was seen as a requirement or necessity:

J'ai acquis l'anglais à la maternelle. L'école était sensée être bilingue, mais de facto tous les enseignants et les enfants ne parlaient que l'anglais. Mes parents ne comprenaient pas quand je leur expliquait que personne ne « voulait me parler ». J'ai appris l'anglais très vite.[14]
I was brought up speaking both languages [French and English] but because is Sydney [Nova

Scotia] is a very English speaking city, French was not as important to my studies or daily life.
Milieu de travail à 80% anglophone. L'anglais est donc devenu ma langue d'usage en milieu de travail.[15]
I learned English upon moving to the US, but as I was very young, I pretty much consider it my first language; I am as comfortable in English as I am in French. I had to learn Spanish, as it is a second language in the US. German was mandatory for middle school as I attended German school and not English school. I decided to keep learning Italian in university as I had acquired a good base in Germany.
Je suis allée à une école francophone et donc le français nous y était prescrit. J'ai appris l'anglais en 4eme année. Pendant ce temps, on ne parlait que l'arabe à la maison ainsi qu'à l'école arabe. L'espagnol est la seule langue que j'ai choisi d'apprendre. C'est une curiosité que j'avais.[16]
I spoke Romanian every day at home, at school and at work. I learnt Russian at school, then I had to use it a lot at work. I learnt French and English at school, then at university, as [part of my] bachelor degree in foreign languages. I taught French and English at school, but had to use both Russian and Romanian daily, too.
English is a required second language in most schools in Colombia, but I attended an all-English school from first to fourth grade, and from then on a bilingual school until eighth grade. I finished high school in the USA and also completed 2 years of college. I took French classes in high school and during college. I also completed the "francization" curriculum in Quebec City and did a certificate in French writing at the Université Laval.

Many other respondents, however, emphasize having been encouraged by their parents or

motivated by their own curiosity:

Le français est ma langue maternelle. Pour ce qui est de l'anglais, j'ai commencé à l'apprendre très jeunes grâce à mes parents, pour qui c'était important, et grâce à mon environnement, l'Outaouais étant une région où les gens sont majoritairement bilingues. Pour ce qui est de l'espagnol et de l'allemand, je les ai appris au Cégep, dans le cadre de mon programme d'étude.[17]
L'anglais m'a été très mal enseigné au secondaire; le gros de mon apprentissage s'est fait sur le tard, par moi-même. J'ai étudié l'espagnol et le mandarin par curiosité. Deux sessions d'espagnol au cégep, et quatre sessions de mandarin à l'université. J'oublie peu à peu ces deux langues car je ne les pratique jamais.[18]
À part pour le français et l'anglais, j'ai appris ces langues par choix et intérêt, parfois pour voyager ou pour communiquer avec des locuteurs de ces langues. En général, je commence par des cours, si possible à l'université, puis j'essaie de voyager dans les pays où l'on parle ces langues.[19]
We spoke English at home (it is my mother tongue) but I heard French a lot in the family context. My father and his siblings generally speak a mix of French and English when together, and the family is close (we see each other once a week or every two weeks) so I picked up a lot of my French there.
Ma mère, bien que Canadienne, a vécu son enfance aux États-Unis où elle a étudié. Mes parents ont donc pu m'inscrire à l'école anglaise. Ils voulaient que j'apprenne l'anglais. Donc, j'ai commencé à prendre des cours d'anglais privés dès 6 ans avec une enseignante à la retraite et je suis ensuite allée à l'école anglaise. J'ai alors commencé à parler anglais à la maison avec ma mère. Pour l'espagnol, je voulais participer à un projet de coopération internationale au Cégep

qui se passait au Pérou. J'ai donc appris l'espagnol au Cégep et j'ai continué à l'apprendre en voyage.[20]

Language Use

Respondents were asked a series of questions related to language use, including which languages they use on a daily basis, whether they use different languages in different contexts or switch between different languages, dialects or registers on a regular basis, and which languages they use most often online. The following table indicates the number of respondents who use these languages on a daily basis:

French and English	47
French, English and Spanish	6
French only	7
French and Spanish	3
French, English and Arabic	2
French, English and Romanian	2
French, English and Spanglish	1
French, English and Czech	1
French, English and Italian	1
French, English and Greek	1
French, English, Russian, Romanian	1

The table below represents the number of respondents who use different languages with different people and in different situations. Other contexts of language use that respondents mentioned include online use, individual study, travel, cultural activities, reading, self-instruction, watching television or listening to the radio, or communicating with family.

language	home	friends	school	work	community	official	other
French	58	57	53	46	45	47	11
English	33	44	38	61	30	26	14
Spanish	5	10	12	6	6		9
German		5	1		1		8
Italian	1	3	3		1		5
Romanian	2	2					
Hungarian							1
Finnish							1
Swedish	1	1					1
Czech		1			1		
Portuguese	1	3	1	1			1
Arabic	2	4	1		3		2
Korean		1					2
Haitian Creole	1	1			1		

Mandarin			3				1
Russian	1	2					2
Japanese							1
Tahitian	1	1					
Mauritian Creole	1	1			1		
Catalan		1	1	1			
Greek	1				1		
ASL			1				

When asked whether they switch between different languages, dialects, and registers regularly, the vast majority (62/72) responded yes. Of these 62 respondents, 24 indicated that they switch sometimes, while 38 said they switch often. Some also indicated which languages they most often switch between: 23 between French and English, 8 between French, English and another language, and 1 between French and Spanish. Respondents also indicated switching between dialects and registers in the following languages: formal and less formal Czech, Newfoundland and Québécois French, Québécois French and French from France, Tahitian Creole and French, Peruvian slang and Spanish, various dialects of Arabic, and between everyday language and technical, medical terminology. Many respondents said they alternate "everyday," "all the time," "constantly," and "in the same sentence." They also offered the following comments on their code-switching:

En parlant avec mes sœurs et frères, j'alterne entre le français et l'arabe mais j'essaie le plus possible de ne parler que l'arabe.[21]
Dans la rue, dans les commerces et beaucoup dans mon quartier (Hampstead)…[22]
Yes, but not with the same person.
En fonction du contexte, du niveau de compréhension de mes interlocuteurs, ainsi que de leur profil linguistique.[23]
J'alterne énormément, surtout avec les amis bilingues.[24]
Oui!![25]
English to Greek and vice versa when I am at home and in a work environment I switch from English to French and French to English quite often.
Je m'efforce de ne parler qu'une langue à la fois.[26]
Je change de registre, autant en français qu'en anglais.[27]
Dans la même langue, oui, mais pas d'une langue à l'autre.[28]
Au travail, on peut commencer une phrase en anglais et la terminer en français, et inversement.[29]
Registres, oui […] car les Joliettains ont un certain « accent » régional.[30]

With respect to language use, respondents were also asked which languages they use most often online, and whether they communicate regularly with people from other regions or countries,

including, if applicable, their countries of origin. The table below represents the number of respondents using the following languages most often online:

English	29
French	16
English and French	16
English, French and Spanish	3
English, French and Czech	1
English, French, Hungarian and Romanian	1
English, French, Russian and Romanian	1
French, English and Italian	1
English, French and Romanian	1
English and Greek	1
French, English and German	1
Several languages	1

Note that while 56/72 respondents filled out questionnaires in French, 29/72 use English most often online compared to 16/72 using French or 16/72 using both. Respondents indicated that they communicate regularly online with friends, relatives or professional contacts in the following locations/countries: Alberta, Toronto, New York, Ireland, Romania, Chile, Ontario, United States, Brazil, Korea, Japan, Tahiti, Mauritius, Cameroon, Italy, Spain, Latin America, Lebanon, Saskatchewan, Greece, Canada, Columbia, Europe, and Mexico. Some also responded that they are in frequent contact with friends and family in their countries of origin, including Romania, Czech Republic, Columbia, French Polynesia, Mauritius, and Lebanon. Many respondents also pointed out that the language they use online depends in large part on whom they are communicating with or their purpose, which might be related to work or personal research. In the latter case, the subject matter often determines the choice of language.

Language Preferences, Status and Identity

This section included several questions related to language preferences, status, and identity. Respondents were asked whether they have one language that they consider to be their dominant or native language. This question yielded a number of interesting responses. For example, while 13/72 respondents indicate having more than one "native" language, 65/72 nevertheless identify having one dominant language. In other words, 7 respondents describe having two native languages but still one dominant language. The responses suggest that, for various reasons, respondents are not always most proficient in their native languages. Respondents' understanding of "dominant" languages seems to be based on languages used most often or

languages representing the majority in a particular social context. For example, one respondent's native language, Arabic, is also the language spoken almost exclusively at home and a language that she tries hard to maintain and develop. Nonetheless, she lists her dominant language as French. Another respondent, whose native language is French but who did most of her early schooling in English, offers the following reflection on what she considers to be her dominant language:

> Si j'avais à choisir, je dirais le français, mais c'est un sentiment plutôt récent. Pendant longtemps, je me sentais plus à l'aise de communiquer en anglais (surtout à l'écrit) et je parlais majoritairement l'anglais à la maison, puisque mes colocataires ou mes partenaires étaient anglophones. Quand j'ai commencé mes études en traduction, j'avais d'ailleurs pris l'option de traduire du français vers l'anglais. Je me suis sentie gênée de ne pas être à l'aise en français, alors j'ai pris des cours de mise à niveau pour traduire de l'anglais vers le français. Ça a été un virage plutôt identitaire, et en vérité, je ne suis pas certaine ce qui m'a poussé à le faire.[31]

When asked if they associate certain languages with a high or low social status, the vast majority of respondents (63/72) replied that they did not associate different languages with different statuses. One respondent, who eventually declined to participate in the study, even said he found the question insulting. The following response sheds some light on this question:

> J'aimerais pouvoir dire non, mais je crois que c'est quasi-impossible de dissocier les langues du statut qui leur est accordé […] j'aime croire que toutes les langues sont égales (y compris les langues non officielles), mais il y a tellement de bagage culturel et historique qui leur est rattaché que c'est difficile de traiter une langue en la distinguant de l'identité.[32]

Nonetheless, many respondents expressed very strong feelings about not attaching higher or lower statuses to languages:

> [Se] restreindre à l'apprentissage sommaire d'une seule langue, de façon volontaire, chez une personne apte à en apprendre plusieurs (environnement, capacités cognitives) est synonyme de fermeture d'esprit, selon moi, au XXIe siècle.[33]

> Quand j'étais jeune, être anglophone voulait dire être riche, fortuné, avantagé. Plus maintenant. Maintenant, parler français et anglais, c'est faire preuve de polyvalence et d'ouverture.[34]

Other factors were mentioned, such as languages having different statuses depending on context. More than one respondent, for example, pointed out the privileged position of English internationally. Others associated social status more with register and language mastery: "plus on maîtrise de langues, plus on est avantagé" [the more one masters languages, the more advantages one has]. The next question asked whether respondents had had any positive or negative experiences related to language use, choice, or proficiency. Out of 72, 50 responded yes: 21

citing positive experiences, 17 noting negative experiences, and 12 indicating both positive and negative experiences. On the positive side, respondents cited both personal and professional contexts, as well as the benefits of making friends and being able to communicate with people while traveling:

Professionnellement, j'ai souvent été embauchée parce que je pouvais m'exprimer aussi couramment dans les deux langues.[35]
Mon accent est perçu comme amusant par beaucoup de mes amis québécois et il arrive souvent que des inconnus m'approchent pour me poser des questions sur mon pays ou la raison de ma venue au Québec.[36]
Le fait de parler deux langues m'a permis d'occuper des emplois mieux rémunérés en plus de me permettre de créer de tisser des liens d'amitié avec des anglophones.[37]
My first experience in Quebec (at the Explore program) was mostly positive, with a few negative encounters with people in the city that stemmed from issues of language. In France, I had entirely very positive experiences with the people in Perigueux, who were usually very pleasantly surprised that I was fluent in French.
L'effort de s'exprimer dans la langue du pays visité est généralement apprécié. Je n'ai jamais vécu d'expérience négative.[38]
J'ai vécu beaucoup d'expériences positives avec des gens qui sont touchés de rencontrer quelqu'un qui s'intéresse à leur langue/culture.[39]

On the negative side, respondents shared the following experiences, many of which revolve around tensions between English and French in Montreal both at school and in the workplace:

Les francophones québécois que j'ai connu au cégep n'aimaient pas beaucoup que je change aussi souvent entre l'anglais et le français. On m'a souvent dit que je devais « rentrer dans mon pays ». Le reste du Canada (Ontario, Manitoba) m'a surpris également par son intolérance des francophones. J'ai pris l'habitude de m'y exprimer exclusivement en anglais.[40]
J'ai été confrontée à des expériences négatives lorsque je voulais utiliser le français comme langue de travail, à Montréal, dans un hôpital anglophone.[41]
The worst experience I have ever had was in CEGEP. My theatre teacher found out my dominant language was English and then assumed that I could not understand anything she was saying. On more than one occasion, she called me out in front of the class to make sure I understood. I was very embarrassed at the time.
I learned about "tutoyer vs vouvoyer" in a traumatic moment in French class in high school. The teacher made me cry before she realized I had no idea what she was getting so worked up about. In Franco-Ontario schools, it's permissible to "tutois" teachers but my French teacher in Montreal that year was from France where such things are not done.
In high school, it was pretty clear that it was the French VS the English.
Cependant, le fait d'être Québécoise francophone (spécialement à Montréal) s'accompagne de nombreux stéréotypes négatifs. Tensions, malentendus et amertume règnent souvent encore dans les relations anglophones / francophones à Montréal. Que ce soit quand je magasine, à l'université ou à Montréal (je travaille dans le Golden Square Mile), je sens clairement encore cette Grande Solitude qui sépare les esprits.[42]

I was somewhat surprised to find the majority of negative experiences described centred on French-English relations in Montreal, even among the younger respondents. On a different note, one of the respondents described feelings of alienation or frustration when not being able to speak her native language for extended periods, while traveling, for example:

> Lorsque je pars en voyage pour quelques mois, je trouve très difficile de mettre ma langue maternelle de côté et de ne parler qu'anglais ou une autre langue au quotidien. Je remarque qu'à l'usure, mon cerveau se fatigue et j'éprouve de la difficulté à m'exprimer dans le même registre qu'en français.[43]

Another respondent, the daughter of recent Vietnamese immigrants, describes her difficulty speaking her mother's language:

> Je n'ai jamais appris à lire ni à écrire en vietnamien et je peux à peine comprendre cette langue maintenant. C'est négativement perçu par ma mère et une partie de ma parenté. Je n'habite plus chez mes parents depuis 8 ans et j'ai donc perdu l'usage de la langue, d'autant que c'est seulement avec ma mère que je parle en vietnamien. Lorsque j'essaie de parler en vietnamien, je me sens très ignorante et embarrassée. C'est toujours une expérience négative.[44]

Respondents were also asked whether they feel like a different person depending on which languages they are using, and whether this is a positive or negative experience for them. The responses were more or less equally divided between those who said they do feel different (33) and those who don't (37). Two respondents were undecided. Among those who do feel different in different languages, 14 described it as a positive experience, 7 as negative, and 12 as neutral or both. Respondents who said they feel "different" shared the following experiences:

J'ai l'impression de jouer un rôle.[45]
Je me sens plus « libre » en anglais (2nd language).[46]
C'est comme si je ne pouvais jamais être parfaitement à l'aise dans les deux en même temps […] mais je peux dire que j'ai récemment appris en étudiant la traductologie qu'un tel sentiment est partagé par plusieurs personnes bilingues ou plurilingues.[47]
Je sens que j'appartiens à une communauté très ouverte et que j'accepte plein de gens de diverses cultures et pays.[48]
Lorsque je parle français je me sens un peu plus limitée : pour les français, je ne suis pas française, pour les québécois, je ne suis pas québécoise (je n'ai pas l'accent)… Et en arabe, je sens que c'est ma langue intime, mon histoire.[49]
I find it harder to joke the same way in French that I do in English [...] it is a bit easier to be more rational in French.
Oui un peu, en général c'est une expérience très positive.[50]
Whenever I visit Greece, even though I can speak, read and write Greek fluently, I always feel inferior.
Ce n'est pas une expérience négative c'est seulement un peu bizarre.[51]
[Quand] ils m'entendent parler l'anglais ou l'espagnol (surtout au travail), je me sens

« observé », c'est plutôt une expérience positive.[52]
Oui, je suis différente car des code sociaux et une conception de monde particulière sont rattachés à chaque langue. Très positive.[53]
I find the experience of using different languages a positive thing, and very much enjoy attending events or gatherings in which both languages are used, as they feel somehow like richer experiences.
J'ai constaté que parler de quelque chose d'émotif en anglais diminue l'intensité de mon émotion, comme s'il s'établissait une certaine distance entre ce que je ressens et ce que j'exprime. Ainsi, je pourrais exprimer des émotions fortes ou négatives plus facilement en anglais qu'en français, comme si cela me conférait un certain incognito, comme un masque (54).

Respondents who said they didn't feel different also shared a number of observations:

C'est l'aspect culturel qui change.[55]
Une fois que je maîtrise assez la langue … je peux rester moi-même.[56]
I believe that my bilingualism is a core aspect of my personality.
Non, mais ma capacité d'expression change en fonction du vocabulaire : je vais changer de langue pour mieux m'exprimer en fonction de la direction d'une conversation.[57]
C'est le contexte dans lequel je dois émettre quelque chose qui m'affecte plus que la langue elle-même; mais j'ose dire plus de choses dans d'autres langues que le français… en français, les mots me semblent bien plus lourd de sens.[58]

The next question was closely related to the preceding one: respondents were asked if they feel more "like themselves" in some languages more than others. The responses, once again, revealed certain nuances/ambiguities. For example, though 37/72 respondents had replied that they do not feel like a different person depending on the language they are using, 49/72 nonetheless responded that they feel more "like themselves" in certain languages. Of the 49 who answered yes, the majority (35) said they feel most like themselves in their native language, while 7/49 said they feel more like themselves in a non-native language, 4/49 said it depends on the context, and 3/49 said they feel most like themselves when using more than one language. Many respondents indicated that they feel most like themselves in a language because it's the language in which they have greater facility of expression or in which they are best able to "express themselves":

Je suis plus « moi-même » en français, car c'est dans cette langue que je peux m'exprimer le mieux et que je peux utiliser plus facilement l'humour.[59]
I suppose I could say yes, in English. This answer probably contradicts the previous one. Maybe it is not so much feeling "like yourself" as feeling more "at ease" speaking English.
Oui, lorsque je parle l'espagnol, car je suis capable de m'exprimer d'une façon plus particulière et qui m'est propre.[60]
Définitivement plus moi-même en français, c'est plus naturel et ça laisse ressortir ma

personnalité.[61]
Je suis plus à l'aise en français et en anglais, mais c'est lié à mon niveau de compétence.[62]
Il est certain que parler français, ma langue maternelle, sera toujours un peu plus naturel que parler les autres langues. Par exemple, il m'arrive encore de trouver ça étrange de prononcer oralement certaines expressions anglaises moins fréquemment utilisées.[63]
It is easier for me to communicate in Spanish or English. A little less in French. Maybe that's why I might feel less "like myself" in certain situations.
Oui, je m'exprime plus fidèlement à mes émotions lorsque je parle en français.[64]

Other respondents related feeling "like themselves" less to personal expression than to cultural references/identity or language use in different social contexts:

Je me sens plus moi-même en français, évidemment. La majorité de mes repères et de mes références sont en français.[65]
À cause de mes ancêtres (anglais, irlandais et français), je me sens pas différente quand je parle l'une ou l'autre de ces langues.[66]
J'ai l'impression d'être plus « moi » quand je parle comme à Tahiti, comme je le fais avec ma famille et mes amis polynésiens.[67]
Je me sens définitivement comme « moi-même » en français. L'anglais est encore plus une langue pour le travail que faisant partie de mon identité.[68]
Yes! I feel great when I speak English and Russian recently. French tires me sometimes because people here switch to English when they hear the accent, when I can easily carry on with them in French.
Ca dépend encore une fois a qui je m'adresse. Avec certaines personnes je me sens « moi-même » en m'exprimant en anglais alors qu'avec d'autres, c'est le français qui me fait me sentir « moi-même ».[69]
I feel more comfortable in English. I write faster, and I speak more clearly. That being said, I have days where my French feels equally strong; it depends on my energy levels and how comfortable I feel (are there intimidating people in the room? How long have I known the people I am socializing with?)

Finally some respondents, though maintaining they feel more like themselves in (primarily) their native languages, nonetheless emphasized, once again, their positive experiences in other languages, suggesting that their experience of "being other" is more a positive than a negative experience:

Généralement plus en contrôle en français, mais le fait d'avoir à réfléchir un peu plus avant de parler en anglais fait que je cours moins le danger de me mettre le pied dans la bouche …[70]
Je me sens le plus « moi-même » en français, bien que j'aie beaucoup de plaisir à parler d'autres langues.[71]
I guess I can express myself better in English. But I love being able to communicate in French and sometimes feel that French lends itself to being more expressive in certain contexts.

The following question asked whether respondents related to a particular linguistic or cultural community (or communities), either local or online. Of the 72 respondents, 53 replied that they do identify with a particular community or communities. These encompass a very diverse range:

> English online – English and French – francophone – francophone Québécois – Europe – other bilinguals – Acadian culture/North American English – Newfoundland English – Québécois – Canadienne-Française/Nord-Américaine – international English – French and Huron-Wendat – Mandarin – Portugese and Italian – Italian – Camerounaise, Noire, Beti/Ewondo (de Yaoundé), Québécoise, and Montréalaise – Hispanic/Latino – francophone Québécois + English online – québécois, agnostiques, nerd/geek et ouverts sur le monde – Hispanic/French – la communauté "millitante" libertaire de Montréal – bi-and multilingual Montreal – Libanaise (arabe) et francophone Montréalaise – bilingual/multilingual Montreal transplants – Greek cultural community – francophone bilingue – Québécois (français, anglais et allophones confondus) – jeune montréalaise francophone – québécoise, francophone et joliettaine – English – montréalaise-québécoise – Franco-Ontarian – anglophone – québécois, canadian, and the community of translation students

Of note here are distinctions between "Québécois" and "French Canadian" (indicating generational differences) as well as between francophone, anglophone, allophone, or various mixed Québécois communities. Many respondents identify as Montrealers, either French, English, or both. One refers to identifying with other bi-/multilingual Montreal "transplants." Many respondents identify with different immigrant communities in Montreal, for example, Italian, Hispanic, Portuguese or Greek. One respondent of Mauritian origin said he identifies with the Italian and Brazilian communities in Montreal because of the multilingualism, even though he doesn't speak Italian or Portuguese. A number of respondents in fact clearly identify with bi- and multilingual communities both in Quebec and in their countries/cultures of origin, whether these be Acadian, Franco-Ontarian, or Beti-Ewondo Cameroonian. One of the respondents indicated that she identifies with Québécois culture— French, English and allophone combined—but that she distinguishes this plural Québécois culture from Canadian culture outside of Quebec. For other respondents, the question of community surpasses linguistic, ethnic or cultural identity:

> Je trouve que le terme « communauté » est un concept très large, même flou, à la limite. Si je m'identifie à une communauté culturelle, ce n'est pas tout le temps. Par exemple, je me reconnais dans la communauté 'millitante' libertaire de Montréal. D'une certaine manière, c'est une sous-culture, on partage plusieurs points de vue, aspirations, analyses politiques, etc. Mais cette communauté est multiethnique et plurilinguistique et c'est comme ça qu'on veut qu'elle soit. Il y a certains éléments communautaires qui y sont associés, comme des groupes de musique, de la nourriture, des vêtements, mais en réalité, c'est plus au niveau des idées que ça se passe. Lorsqu'il y a des événements par exemple, on s'assure toujours d'avoir un service

d'interprétation (français, anglais, et d'autres langues au besoin).[72]

Translation

This part of the questionnaire is, once again, divided into a number of sub-sections. Certain questions are more "factual" in nature, while others involve more interpretation and description. The first question asked respondents to specify which languages they translate between in their study programs. Of the 72 respondents, 45 translate from English into French, 19 from French into English, 3 in both directions between French and English, 3 from English and Spanish into French, 1 from English/French and Italian into English and French, and finally, 1 between French, English, and Spanish in all directions. Note that Concordia students focus on translating between French and English in one direction, whereas at the Université de Montréal students have more options. That being said, a number of students at Concordia also translate in language courses taken outside of their translation programs, sometimes as part of a language minor in Italian or Spanish, for example. Out of 72, 43 translation students said they translate in these languages outside of school, while 21 students translate between other languages as well, and 11 said they translate between different languages for different purposes, though the number of non-applicable (n/a) responses was very high for this question (55), possibly due to lack of experience. A majority of respondents (61/72) said they have never done any interpreting, either as part of their study program, their work, or in any other context, though many (66/72) responded that they find themselves translating "informally" in different social situations (sometimes = 50/72; often = 16/72). Finally, 22 out of 72 respondents said they had previously worked as translators, while 50 out of 72 said they had no formal (work or study) translation experience prior to undertaking their study programs. The following question asked what had influenced respondents' decisions to study translation. The table below sums up their responses, indicating the number of respondents who emphasized, in various ways, the following factors:

practical/work potential: 26 – enjoyment: 21 – interest: 20 – good at languages: 20 – "love of languages": 14 – past experience: 9 – challenge/intellectually stimulating: 9 – development /knowledge: 6 – curiosity: 4 – suitable personality: 4 – good writing skills: 2 – possibility of working from home: 2 – mobility/flexibility: 1– career change: 1 – quality (or lack thereof) of translation in workplace: 1

The following question then asked whether respondents would describe their interest in translation as being primarily personal, professional, or both. Of the 72 respondents, 48 responded that their interest was both personal and professional, 12 replied primarily

professional, 8 primarily personal, and 4 not responding. Respondents offered the following comments:

C'est très intéressant d'un point de vue carriériste, mais avant tout, il s'agit d'une grande passion.[73]
Je le sais que je vais avoir de la difficulté à me trouver un emploi, mais j'aime ce que je fais.[74]
Je m'y sens comme un poisson dans l'eau.[75]
Je suis en train de changer ma vie. J'aime comprendre et faire comprendre.[76]
I had started translating from English to Greek [...] it was a personal request from my father who was dying from cancer and wanted to read Trudeau's memoirs.
Pour moi, écrire c'est comme peindre avec des mots. Traduire, c'est comme peindre pour des aveugles. Et si ça me permet de gagner ma vie, c'est encore mieux.[77]
C'est surtout personnel. Je ne sais pas encore comment je vais inclure cet intérêt dans ma vie professionnelle.[78]
J'aime vraiment beaucoup la traduction, mais encore plus la traduction littéraire. Je crois qu'on vit dans un monde de traduction, et de multiplicité des langues. La traductologie me fascine encore plus, car j'aime réfléchir au processus de traduction.[79]
Mainly professional, but I fell in love with it, so I guess it's personal too.
I would say both, or maybe even more personal than professional. If I could spend my life living in a different country and learning a new language every year or two (which is what I did when I finished high school), I would be the happiest person on earth.
Both—It's something I really enjoy doing, and I love that I can be paid for it.
C'est un domaine qui m'intéresse car il me permet d'apprendre constamment en travaillant sur divers textes. Ainsi, j'ai la possibilité de toucher un peu à plusieurs thèmes (biologie, médecine, etc.).[80]

Respondents were then asked it they felt their multilingual backgrounds, experience and competencies had played a role in their deciding to become translators. Not surprisingly, perhaps, 66/72 responded yes, while 6/72 responded no, citing, rather, their proficiency in English writing or their interest and perseverance. Respondents offered the following observations:

Oui, le fait de connaître au moins une troisième langue, même faiblement, permet de développer nos compétences en traduction.[81]
Oui. L'apprentissage de l'anglais a été très important dans mon cheminement de vie, car il m'a ouvert des portes (études, travail) et m'a décidé à vouloir devenir langagier/traducteur.[82]
Definitely. I switch between languages all the time, so translation is a written manifestation of what I do informally and formally in my life.
Oui. Sans avoir appris l'anglais dès l'école primaire, sans l'avoir développé auprès de mes amis, sans l'avoir utilisé pendant trois ans à l'université, je n'aurais pas eu l'occasion de développer mon amour des langues.[83]
Mes compétences plurilingues ainsi que mes expériences ont joué un rôle important dans ma décision de devenir traductrice.[84]
Definitely. I have always seen my bilingualism as a great asset and I am interested in languages.

I am also interested in many other fields, and being a translator can give me opportunities to combine many interests.
Certainement. C'est clairement ma passion pour les langues et les cultures ainsi que ma facilité à apprendre des langues qui m'ont mené à devenir traductrice.[85]
Tout à fait. Je faisais déjà de la traduction pour le plaisir, parce que j'avais les compétences nécessaires. Par la suite, j'ai décidé d'entreprendre des études en traduction.[86]
Ma compétence plurilingue a joué le rôle le plus important.[87]
Yes. I feel like I've been translating my whole life.
Oui, définitivement. L'apprentissage des langues m'a permis de communiquer avec plus de gens et m'a toujours donné envie d'en apprendre plus.[88]
My experience editing the work of others has made me a lot more critical of my own work (sometimes too critical I think!) and this has helped me a lot. My science background and the fact that I like research (I did some in my other degree) have made me analytical, which I find extremely useful in this field, no matter the subject of the translation.
My background wasn't very multilingual before coming to Quebec, but I fell in love with French in high school and always wanted to get better at it.
No, I was not initially very confident in my bilingualism and so the decision to become a translator was based a little more on my proficiency as a writer in English.

Respondents were asked which languages they prefer (or would prefer) to translate between.

Many respondents listed the same language combinations that they translate between in their

study programs, while others listed different languages/combinations:

French → English: 10 – English → French: 15 – English ↔ French: 20 – French ↔ English ↔ Spanish: 3 – French/English → Czech: 1 – Spanish → French: 4 – Korean, Japanese, Mandarin, German (direction not specified): 1– English → Spanish: 2 – Romanian/Russian → English, English → French: 1 – Mandarin (direction not specified): 1– French/Spanish → English: 2 – English ↔ French, Spanish → French, ASL → English, Mauritian → French: 1 – French/Greek → English – German → French – no preference: 6 – preference not specified: 2

The following question asked whether respondents had an area or more than one area of

specialization in translation, i.e. literary, economic, community, technical, etc. The responses

were more or less divided between yes (33/72) and no (39/72):

Yes: 33
economic – advertising – religious – tourism – literary – art – biomedical – audiovisual subtitling – advertising – adaptation – administrative – educational – legal – housing – health – environmental – community – pharmaceutical – commerce – official documents – technical – marketing – insurance – finance – human resources – sales – political – sports – outdoors – biology – business
No: 39 (but interested in the following areas)
medical – politics – financial – marketing – adaptation – literary – technical –audiovisual – cinema – legal – social sciences and humanities –scientific – economic – medical-pharmaceutical – subtitling – film adaptation – localization – science

Respondents were asked if they translate between languages other than French or English and if they see possibilities for translation work in these languages in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, other countries, or online. Of 72, 32 responded that they did translate between other languages and also saw possibilities for work in these languages. They listed a range of potential work contexts:

Canada – online – other countries – Spanish in Montreal – Moldovan/Romanian in Montreal – partout [everywhere] – Spanish ↔ French in Latin America – international – German in Europe – Greek online – Chinese and Arabic – Spanish in Quebec, Chinese in rest of Canada – Spanish in Montreal, Ontario, Canada and the U.S. – American clients – German in Canada and Europe

The following question asked respondents if they felt their translation programs had been beneficial to them, what they liked most about their programs, and what they liked the least. The responses, on both the positive and negative sides, cover an extremely wide range:

What students like most about their translation programs
bilingual classes – improving language and translation skills – hands-on experience – technical aspects – translation history – comparing literary translations – project management class (led to employment) – computer translation – courses on professional realities – literary –variety of courses and professors – localization – audiovisual translation – economic translation – internships – medical translation – translation theory – linguistics – specialized translation courses – general culture – group work – practical aspects – idiomatic translation – learning about linguistic interference and ethics – practical application – French writing skills – introduction to CAT tools – networking – improved French – revision – research methods – sociopolitical courses – creative aspects – COOP program – real-world translation preparation – enjoyment –well-structured program – profs with real translation experience – practical advice and sample translations – scholarships – professional option at the master's level

Many respondents emphasized the quality of the teaching and competence of the professors, whom they described variously as "inspiring," "supportive," "professional yet friendly," "formidable" [incredible], and "géniaux" [brilliant]. One student remarked that she "loved every aspect of the BA program—technical, practical, literary, linguistics, theory and history. Great profs, high standards, very supportive." Other comments included: "I didn't really understand what translation was before starting the program," "the program opened my eyes to the challenges of translating," "my translating improved about 400%," and "yes! It has forced me to be more attentive to my own biases when translating." The following table lists aspects that students liked least about their programs. Since it mirrors many of the same items in the previous list, we might deduce that those students who prefer the practical aspects, for example, are the same ones who don't like translation theory, or those who prefer literary translation are perhaps less keen on economic translation, etc. Many respondents noted here that they would like to have

more practical, hands-on experience and that the translation volume required is too little, that is, not representative of real-world expectations. Others, however, noted the divide between theory and practice and would like to see these more integrated.

What students like least about their translation programs
translation theory – not enough theory – not enough practical translation courses – no training for non-mother tongue translation – literary translation – legal and economic translation – needs more emphasis on business side – practical is useful but would have liked more literary and theory – composition courses – French grammar courses – inaccurate portrayal of professional realities – it would be interesting to have more bilingual courses, working together (French and English too segregated) – quality of courses varies a lot from one to the next – translation volume required is not realistic (too little) – distance between theory and practice – not enough specialized courses and practice – terminology courses – linguistic purism of certain profs – translation history – difficulty finding internships – prescriptive attitude of some professors – not able to include third language learning in BA – computer translation courses – computer tools should be more integrated in the program and include more than one course – can't take extra language courses – literature courses – too many pseudo-specialization courses – problems with the COOP program

To conclude the questionnaire, respondents were invited to share other comments on their multilingual backgrounds, translation experience, study programs, ideas about translation, etc. Respondents shared the following comments:

It is much easier to read new languages than to speak and write, but knowing a little is better than knowing nothing at all of another language and culture, also, it's very advantageous to know at least two languages to understand different perspectives.
Le plurilinguisme m'apporte d'autres façons de concevoir le monde et de m'exprimer.[89]
Je voudrais apprendre d'autres langues pour pouvoir échanger toujours plus : j'ai commencé à apprendre le chinois.[90]
My multilingual background is a curse as much as is a treasure.
Dans un pays bilingue comme le Canada, la traduction est très importante.[91]
Understanding the culture and the people who use the language is essential: it is important for translators to have contact with people and not just books and online sources.
Il m'est rapidement devenu apparent que la force du traducteur est sa maîtrise de la langue d'arrivée.[92]
Completing this questionnaire has allowed me to further reflect on the decision that I have taken to seriously pursue translation at this stage in my life and I find that truly it is a positive one.

5.2 Conclusion

In sum, these research results provide a rich portrait of multilingual translation students' backgrounds, ideas and feelings about languages, about their sense of self and identity in different languages, and about how they relate their personal experiences and identities to larger sociocultural contexts. They also raise a number of questions. For example, do translation

students' plural linguistic-cultural repertoires or knowledge and experience in other fields contribute to their competence and creativity in translation? How do they navigate these different roles? Are translation students' attitudes, aptitudes and approaches to translating influenced by concepts of "home" or "mother tongue," the communities they identify with, or feeling more or less "like themselves" in different languages or contexts? Many respondents say they experience their multilingualism and role as translators as central to their overall sense of identity, describe their interest in translation as both personal and professional, and say they have a "passion for languages." What does it mean exactly to have a passion for languages and translating? In the following chapter, the working definition of translators' symbolic competence outlined in Chapter 3 will be put to the test to explore these and other questions through in-depth analyses of individual participants' profiles, questionnaire responses, and interviews. It will examine, in particular, the ways translation students, according to their own perceptions and attitudes, navigate different roles and repertoires, identify with different languages and cultures, and position themselves as translators.

Chapter 6: Individual Profiles and Analyses

I interviewed 14 participants on two separate occasions. The first interviews took questionnaire responses as a point of departure. For the second series of interviews, participants were asked to provide examples of translations they had worked on. I was particularly interested in what students would chose to present and talk about as a reflection of their own experiences, attitudes and interests. Therefore, I will not be attempting here to link participant profiles to in-depth, text-based analyses, i.e. to seek "evidence" of translators' symbolic competence in the translated texts. I will focus, rather, on participants' experiences and observations, which in some cases deviated considerably from the subject of translation altogether. Though these deviations can in part be attributed to certain methodological shortcomings—guidelines for the semi-structured interviews were perhaps too broad—they also in some ways substantiate my initial hypothesis: students are drawn to translation not strictly for professional reasons but also for a myriad of other reasons related to their personal experiences, backgrounds and identities. Some of the students I interviewed even spoke of leaving translation behind and pursuing other professional interests. Their stories, however, are still informative and relevant. While they cannot not be used to arrive at generalizations about translators or translation, they do provide a window onto

possible ways of exploring competence and creativity in translation. The concept of translators' symbolic competence can provide a framework for such an investigation.

We recall that Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) define symbolic competence in relation to the following four factors: 1) subjectivity and subject-positioning, 2) historicity or an understanding of the cultural memories evoked by symbolic systems, 3) performativity or the capacity to perform and create alternate realities, and 4) reframing, as a means of changing the context. From this perspective, symbolic forms are not just items of vocabulary or communication strategies; they embody experiences and emotional resonances through a variety of dialects, registers, language capacities, cultural imaginations, and social and political knowledge and memories. Applying this concept to translation, I proposed that a working definition of a translator's symbolic competence must therefore take into consideration 1) translation as a process that engages the whole translator as a subject and not just as a linguistic facility, 2) translators' multilingual identities and plural habituses, and 3) the self-reflexive, metacognitive aspects of translating that distinguish it from other forms of multilingual communication.

6.1 Engaging the Whole Translator

Engaging the whole translator means considering translators' personal history, professional experience, aspirations, and other activities and interests and the impact these might have on their attitudes about and approaches to translating. By extension, we can hypothesize that translation students' diverse linguistic and sociocultural repertoires as well as their knowledge and experience in other areas all potentially contribute to their symbolic competence as translators. Many participants, both in questionnaires and interviews, drew parallels between their experience in other areas and their experience as translators. Likewise, those who embrace the idea of translation as a creative endeavour often relate it to other creative activities that they partake of, either for work or pleasure. These reflections suggest that students do not assume a simple cause-effect relation between, for example, being good at languages and being good at translation, or between having acquired specific translation skills and then applying them to translation. Their observations point, rather, to an on-going process of learning and discovery that engages them personally and motivates them to develop their skills both as translators and in their other fields/areas of interest.

Catherine

Catherine is someone who seems very much at ease navigating her different languages, roles and
repertoires. At 24, she recently completed a bachelor's degree in French to English translation
and currently works as head manager of marketing and sales for a fashion-design company based
in Montreal. Her current tasks include not only managing the sales and marketing department but
also designing and translating the company's website and promotional materials, providing input
on clothing design, traveling to fairs and fashion shows, and sometimes even participating in
photo shoots and fashion shows as a model. Though translating and adapting promotional
material are only part of her job, she enjoys working for the company and gaining experience in
many areas.

   Catherine was born in Lévis, Quebec and traveled extensively during her childhood and
adolescence. Though she started speaking French first—her parents are both francophone
Quebeckers—she began learning English at the age of five when her family moved to Texas. She
did all of her elementary school in English. In Texas, Spanish was a required second language
that she started learning at seven years old. When her family moved to Germany, she was 12.
She had the option of attending an English middle school but chose to study in German instead.
She returned to Quebec when she was 14 and lived with her grandparents during her last two
years of high school:

> -CA: I think I went through a little teenage angst, and I wanted to come back home. I was
> homesick. I wanted to know where I was from. I had to get back on the ball with French,
> and it's not just the language. It's the culture, the expressions, it's what happened here. I
> had no clue.
> -CR: You didn't grow up watching Québécois TV? [@@]
> -CA: Not at all! The referendum of 95, I had no idea what that was! I was like, what do
> you mean they want to leave Canada? What are you talking about? [@@] There was a
> *verglas* [ice storm] in 98? I didn't know what that was. I didn't even know what snow
> was![39]

Catherine now identifies both French and English as her "native languages," she is highly
proficient in Spanish, German, and Italian, and she has also studied Greek and Swedish. Though
she translated from French into English (her second language) in her translation program, at

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[39] The 1995 Quebec Referendum was the second referendum (following 1980) on Quebec's sovereignty and
independence from Canada. The reference to the 1998 ice storm, which devastated large areas of Ontario, Quebec,
the Maritimes and the Northeastern United States, reminds us that geography and climate also have cultural
significance.

work she now writes in and translates between French and English in both directions, often creating original texts and translating her own work. For our second interview, she brought samples of pamphlets and catalogues for which she has created all the written material and contributed to the visual design, which sometimes has to be altered in translation. She enjoys the creative aspect of this process—coming up with catchy slogans and names for clothing lines and then playing between the two languages. Sometimes, an idea or a rhyme scheme comes to her first in French and then she translates into it English; other times it is the English that comes first, which she then translates into French. In her translating, she takes certain liberties, occasionally maintaining, for example, punchy English expressions in the French version, but she is also very rigorous in applying her knowledge of various forms of lexical, grammatical, stylistic and typographical interference. As head manager of marketing and sales, she also has to be sensitive about which language she uses when communicating with clients and distributors. She is clearly aware of her position as a balanced French-English bilingual:

> When the phone rings at work, I'm smart. I check the area code and answer accordingly. I'll answer in French. If I answer in English I'll sometimes get, "ya quelqu'un qui peut me parler en français icite?" [is there someone who can speak French to me 'round here?]. And then I answer in super hard-core Québécois, and then they want to still be rude to me but they can't anymore [@@].[40]

This is a good example of what Kramsch and Whiteside might refer to as "reframing the context" of language interaction—being aware of certain social or cultural expectations and then subverting them by responding in an unexpected way. The fact that Catherine speaks perfect English without any accent is not, for her, at odds with her Québécois language and identity. She has encountered disapproval from some francophone Quebeckers who don't understand why she sometimes prefers English, even though French is her "mother tongue." She refers to an aunt, for example, who is "into languages too" but also very "pro-French":

> -CA: I think she's for the *Charte*.[41] I'm sorry I'm totally biased. I don't think we should make anybody do anything. And you know what, in Montreal it's a bad idea.
> -CR: Protecting the language and culture...

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[40] The company that Catherine works for is based in Quebec, but the vast majority of its client-distributors are based outside of Quebec in English-speaking Canada and the U.S.

[41] The Charte des valeurs québécoises [Quebec Charter of Values] was a controversial bill proposed by the governing Parti Québécois in 2013 that sought to amend the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms by redefining the concept of "reasonable accommodations" for ethnic and religious minorities, in particular, by limiting the wearing of "conspicuous" religious symbols for state personnel. While some championed the bill, others regarded it racist and discriminatory.

-CA: Right right, but to me I speak so many languages, I couldn't do that. I personally think French will never be threatened here [...] No one outside of Montreal speaks English. My parents are very pro-languages. They would never say "why are you speaking English?"

For Catherine, using French and English on a daily basis, switching regularly between languages and registers, keeping in contact with international friends through Facebook, and using several languages online on a regular basis is the norm. She says she feels like she has been translating her whole life. She would like to eventually seek work that focuses more on translation, primarily between French and English, but maybe also incorporating some of her other languages—German, Spanish or Italian. Overall, she says she learned a lot in her translation program, benefiting, in particular, from her course on advertising adaptation as well as the program's focus on translating between French and English, which she says is important because of "the linguistic situation here." As we have seen, becoming sensitized to this situation—from discovering the history of the sovereignist movement in Quebec to the politics of everyday contact between French and English in Montreal—has also been part of her learning process, one that she has learned integrate into her work as a sales manager, designer and translator.

Isabelle

Isabelle, like Catherine, also navigates different roles and repertoires. Her experiences, however, have led her to branch out beyond translation into other directions. At 38, she recently completed a BA with a major in translation and a minor in cognitive science and is now pursuing a master's degree in information sciences. Isabelle was born in Joliette and grew up in the Montreal suburb of Boucherville. She has a DEC in nursing and worked full-time as a clinical nurse for six years. She has also worked as a freelance translator and reviser. She is fluent in French (her first and dominant language) and English, highly proficient in Spanish, and has also studied German, Portuguese and Chinese. Working as a nurse in a predominantly English-language hospital in Montreal, she used French and English on a daily basis and alternated frequently between these two languages on a regular basis as well as between different registers and everyday language and medical language.

In her program, Isabelle translated from English to French but has occasionally translated in the opposite direction. She finds herself translating informally often and says she has done a lot of non-professional interpreting at the hospital. She says she has never seen a professional interpreter or translator at the hospital and that nurses and other employees are often called upon

to interpret in the emergency room. In this context, she has often had to come up with novel translation solutions:

> J'ai eu un patient arabe qui parlait un peu anglais. Je devrais donner des consignes, qu'il n'avait pas le droit de manger ou de boire, et qu'il fallait attendre que quelqu'un vient prendre une prise de sang. J'ai marqué mon message en anglais, très simple. J'ai fait Google translate de l'anglais vers l'arabe. Puis il y avait un autre patient qui parlait arabe et français. Je l'ai demandé qu'est-ce qu'il disait en français.

> [I had an Arab patient who spoke a bit of English. I had to give him instructions to not eat or drink until someone comes to take a blood sample. I wrote my message in English, kept it very simple. I Google-translated it from English to Arabic. There was another patient who spoke Arabic and French. I asked him what it said in French].

Isabelle has also met a lot of child "language brokers" at the hospital, young children interpreting and translating for their parents and other family members:

> Oui, j'ai vu des enfants de six ou sept ans qui vont faire ça pour leurs parents. C'est important à prendre en considération aussi l'aspect culturel. Parce que ces enfants-là il servent de filtre culturel aussi. Ils disent, « ma mère elle n'aime pas ça. » Ils voient les deux façons de penser, et comment ils sont différentes.

> [Yes, I've seen children six or seven years old doing this for their parents. It's important to also consider the cultural aspect. Because these kids serve as cultural filters too. They'll say, "my mother doesn't like this." They see the two ways of thinking and how they are different.]

As a translator, Isabelle says she finds the divide between the client's expectations and the translator's reality increasingly frustrating, in particular, having to justify her fees and professional qualifications. She is interested in the complex role of communication, both in the healthcare context and as a translator:

> À la base, la capacité à jouer avec des langues différentes ouvre la voie au métier de traducteur. De plus, mon métier d'infirmière en milieu clinique m'a fait comprendre l'importance d'une bonne communication entre le patient/famille et le professionnel de la santé, sous divers aspects : langue, culture, réalités.

> [Basically, becoming a translator begins with an ability to play with different languages. Also, working as a clinical nurse helped me understand the importance of communication between the patient/family and healthcare professionals in various ways: the different languages, cultures, and realities].

However "educating the client," she says, is also part of the job, both in healthcare and in translation:

À l'hôpital ça fait partie du métier d'éduquer le client. Il y a un côté... comme tout à l'heure, j'ai marché dans la rue et ce gars fait comme [kissing sound]. Donc, qu'est-ce que je fais? Je ne suis pas un chien. C'est un peu ça. Pourquoi tu n'as pas remarqué que j'ai un bac en traduction?

[At the hospital it's part of the job to educate the client. There's a side to it ... like earlier, I was walking down the street and this guy was like [kissing sound]. So, what do I do? I'm not a dog. It's it bit like that. Why haven't you noticed that I have a bachelor's degree in translation?]

The above example is doubly relevant because, for Isabelle, having to prove her worth as a translator recalls the gender discrimination she experienced as a nurse. She says that nursing, like translating, is often regarded as "un travail de femmes" [women's work]. As a nurse, she was often expected to perform duties that were not part of her job, and she saw male nurses accede to administrative positions very quickly: "ils vont pas rester sur le plancher" [they don't stay on the floor]. Likewise, though Isabelle has had many positive experiences with translation clients, she says she has perceived a similar gender bias on the part of some clients, who expect her to do more work, more quickly, and for less money, like it's "natural" for women to be nice and help out: "Sois gentille. C'est correcte, tu peux le faire." [Come on, be nice. It's fine, you can do it]. Isabelle, who qualifies her interest in translation as more personal than professional, says she doesn't want to spend her life "tourner les coins ronde" [cutting corners]. She is interested in translation as a linguistic, cognitive, and cultural phenomenon, and she sees translating as a process that involves research, learning and creativity. These are perhaps aspects of translation that she will be able to develop in the future. In the meantime, she is exploring other professional avenues.

Elena

Elena, 34, is currently completing a Graduate Certificate in Localization. She was born and raised in Moldova and immigrated to Canada in 2006. Her decision to move was motivated by various factors: "I had decided to move for various reasons: I wanted to know the world, look for happiness, see other cultures." Her linguistic repertoire includes four languages: French, English, Romanian and Russian, and she rates her average proficiency in all of these as five on a scale of one to five. She identifies her first language as Romanian, which she also considers to be one of her dominant languages, along with English, though she remarks that the question of "dominant" language is difficult for her. She speaks mostly Russian at home with her spouse, of Ukrainian

origin, and her 20-month-old son, and she uses her native language Romanian less and less. She refers to her Moldovan dialect of Romanian as her "kitchen language," and relates it to childhood memories, emotional experiences and "baggage." In USSR-era Moldova, the official and prestige language was Russian. Elena feels that Russian was imposed on her but not without some positive consequences, in particular, her exposure to and appreciation of Russian culture, which she describes as very rich and which she continues to enjoy to this day.

Elena alternates between languages on a regular basis but says that certain languages dominate depending on the context. For example, she lives in a predominantly French-speaking suburb of Montreal and therefore uses French more and more on a daily basis. Online, she uses all of her four languages regularly with different people. She has had both positive and negative experiences related to language use. She says, in Moldova, if you didn't speak Russian, "you could be mocked, laughed at or simply ignored." On the positive side, she does feel like a different person depending on which language she is speaking, and she enjoys "wearing different hats," speaking Romanian with her family in Moldova via Skype, Russian with her husband, English with her university professors, and French with her neighbours. In her questionnaire, she said she feels more "like herself" in English and Russian, both languages that she learned later than her native Romanian or French. However, during the interviews, she switched between English and French often and spoke of her increasing confidence in French. In spite of her distance from Moldova (she hasn't visited in seven years) and her complex linguistic and cultural repertoire—which she says is "a curse as much as a pleasure"—she still identifies with the Moldovan community and thinks it is important for her son to know where his mother is from. She attends Moldovan events in Montreal, listens to Moldovan music and cooks Moldovan dishes.

In her BA in Translation program, Elena translated from French to English. She says that choosing the direction was in itself difficult, given that neither is her "native" language. She has also translated between Romanian/English and Romanian/French in Moldova and from Russian and Romanian into French and English in Quebec. She describes her interest in translation as both personal and professional, something she has always been fascinated by and that she sees as "a written manifestation" of what she does informally and formally in her everyday life. Elena also has several years of experience as a language teacher, both in her native Moldova and in Montreal, and, in our interview, she seemed torn about which professional direction she would

now like to pursue. Our conversation sparked a whirlwind of emotions for her: about her languages, her passion for translating but also her doubts about it, and her exasperation with what she sees as an unethical emphasis on profit in the language-learning and translation industries. She recounts her experience working as a project manager in a Montreal translation agency:

> One day you don't have your 2000 words and they call you in. I was project manager. I saw my translators do that. And the thing is with me, my translator, she would come and say Elena, I have to leave early because my cat is sick and I have to take him to the vet. I never said anything to her. Then the next day my boss is shouting at me for not being strict enough with my translators. So these middle managers, they're becoming dogs. The whole corporate world, *c'est n'importe quoi* [anything goes].

She recalls a similar experience working as a teacher in a language school in Montreal:

> I worked in this language school. And you would think—language school—a human-oriented business. You're dealing with people who are learning a language. In other words, you need teachers who are relaxed and love what they do. You need students who feel supported and motivated. That's all you need. No, this language school, it's all about deadlines. They took the business model and brought it into the language school. The teachers feel like they're on a conveyor belt. PhDs! PhDs! Carmen. Now do you understand why I want to go self-employed? I refuse to work in such a system.

Elena has since set up her own business from home, combining teaching and translating. She has a web site and is investigating different E-learning and LMS (learning management system) platforms as tools for teaching languages but also as potential web sites that need to be translated. She says she is creating "her own thing," working with open source programs only, drawing on translation to inform her teaching and vice versa—translation, she says, has always been the basis of her teaching—and creating teaching environments both in person and online that adapt to learners' needs. Elena is clearly not just looking for a job. She is seeking a human-oriented approach that reflects her commitment to teaching and translating and her integrity as a teacher and translator.

6.2 Multilingual Identities and Plural Habituses

In Chapter 3, I proposed that translators' plural habituses (Meylaerts 2008, 2010), like multilinguals' plural identities (Sommer 2004), can be said to give them a critical edge, that is to say, a kind of increased agency in relation to socialization processes and structures, since neither translators nor multilinguals are confined to a single set of linguistic or cultural norms. However, choosing to follow or flout norms is not a simple expression of free will but, rather, a response to

the "multiple definitions and discontinuities" (Meylaerts 2008: 94) that structure and are structured by translators' multilingual experiences and dispositions. The inevitable questioning that arises in the complex, embodied experience of identifying with different languages, text genres, voices, and cultures can be as destabilizing as it is empowering. These tensions, however, as Sommer (2004), Simon (2006), and others have observed, can also be a source of bi- and multilingual criticality and creativity. As Elena remarks in the previous section, her multilingualism is both "a curse and a pleasure." This sentiment is echoed by many respondents in their descriptions of positive and negative experiences related to languages and is reflected in their concepts of "home" and "mother tongue," the communities they identify with, their feelings of being more or less "like themselves" in different languages or contexts, and their attitudes about and approaches to translating. The following profiles highlight these and other issues related to translation students' relationships to different languages and cultures.

Nikol

Nikol, 30, recently completed a BA in French to English translation. She was born in the Czech Republic and lived there until the age of 19. She travelled and lived in several countries in Europe before moving to Canada in 2008. She has done translation internships and currently works as in-house translator for a bank in Montreal. Nikol's linguistic repertoire includes eight languages: French, English, Czech, Slovak, Finnish, Spanish, German, and Dutch, and she rates her average proficiency in six of these— French, English, Czech, Slovak, German and Spanish— as three or higher on a scale of one to five. She identifies her first language as Czech, which she also describes as her native or dominant language and the language closest to her heart. Nonetheless, she now uses English most often, at work and with her French-speaking Québécois husband. She says that she and her husband switch to French occasionally but revert back to English fairly quickly, because it is the language they first used together in in Finland. This is an experience shared by many respondents who say that once they have become acquainted with someone in a particular language, it becomes difficult to switch to another language with that person later. Nikol uses English, French and Czech on a daily basis and alternates between languages, registers and dialects often. She also has a network of friends in Montreal with whom she speaks a combination of Czech and English:

> NL: So it's nice, but it's funny because I sometimes feel like what I have to say comes more easily in English, or it takes me so long to find the words in Czech.
> CR: Because you haven't been using it as much?

> NL: I think so. Yeah, I really live in English now. It kind of sticks. And they do it too. [the other Czech speakers]

She also communicates regularly with people from several different countries including "back home" (Czech Republic). She says the concept of "home" is difficult for her. She has recently obtained Canadian citizenship, but she longs to return to Europe:

> NL: But now I've determined that I'm moving back. I don't know if it will be next year or in five years, hopefully it won't be that late. I don't want to stay here. I've decided I can't. It's not my place.
> CR: Is it more about missing there or something about here that just doesn't feel right?
> NL: I think it's really Europe vs. North America. It's just so different. The mentality and life in general. Here everything is so focused on work and making money and buying a big house [...] I felt at home in Europe. I was fine everywhere, particularly in Finland. It's also related to the fact that my family and friends are there. So it's a mix of things. Mainly it's such a strong feeling and it's growing stronger.

After finishing high school, Nikol moved almost every year, working as a nanny in different countries—Germany, The Netherlands, Finland, China—and learning the languages. Now, after five years in Montreal, she says she feels "static," like she's not doing "what she's supposed to be doing"—going to new places and learning new languages. She says: "If I could spend my life living in a different country and learning a new language every year or two, I would be the happiest person on earth."

In her program, Nikol translated from French to English, and she has worked as a translator in these languages outside of school. She sometimes translates into Czech also on a volunteer basis, and she often translates or interprets informally in family contexts, mainly between Czech and English. She says that when she and her husband celebrated their marriage in Europe, she invited the families she had worked for in Germany, The Netherlands, and Finland, and, of course, her Czech friends and family and her husband's French-speaking Québécois family:

> I was the only person who could communicate with all of them. So it was pretty stressful, on my own wedding day. I don't know if you can really call it interpreting. It's funny, because you're kind of filtering. You change the message a bit, just to make it clear for the person. I wouldn't change the meaning, but you condense it and extract the main idea. You don't really say everything that the person is saying, which you probably would do as a professional interpreter.

Nikol says she would have liked to have done some interpreting in her program, and she sometimes practises interpreting while listening to the radio. She chose to study translation

because she has always enjoyed and been good at languages, and she describes her interest in translation as more personal than professional. Though she now works from French to English, she would love to include Czech as one of her translation languages and possibly also Dutch and German. She feels, however, that it would be difficult to find translation work in these languages in North America. She has considered applying to a European master's in translation program and has been looking at work possibilities in Brussels. Though Nikol is highly proficient in six different languages, she says being fluent in several languages is not so unusual in Europe. Like other respondents who say they identify not with any one language or culture but with a community of bi- and multilinguals, Nikol's identification with multilingual Europe might also be part of what makes it feel more like "home" to her, moving between different countries and rekindling her relationships with and through her different languages.

Dania

Dania, 31, was born in Lebanon, but her parents immigrated to Montreal a few months after she was born. She grew up in the Montreal suburb of Brossard. She is currently completing a BA in English to French translation. She also has a BA in child studies with minors in Spanish and political science and has worked in teaching and childcare with French, English and Arabic-speaking children. Dania's linguistic repertoire includes four languages: French, English, Arabic and Spanish, and she rates her average proficiency in three of these—French, English and Arabic— as three or higher on a scale of one to five. She identifies her first language as Arabic but her "native" or dominant language as French. She started learning French very young and now uses French, English and Arabic on a daily basis—Arabic with her family, French with colleagues and other university students, and English with friends. Dania's parents have encouraged their children to remain connected to the family language and culture, sending them to Arabic school and insisting that they speak only Arabic at home:

> DA : J'avais cinq jours de l'école en français et, le samedi, l'école en arabe.
> CR : Puis, l'arabe a été toujours présent dans l'apprentissage?
> DA : Oui, tout le temps, tout le temps. Mes parents nous ont dit que tu parles n'importe quelle langue à l'extérieur de la maison, mais à la maison, c'est toujours en arabe. C'est juste ça qu'ils nous ont demandé. C'est vrai, parce qu'on passe plus de temps à l'extérieur qu'à la maison. C'est juste normal qu'ils veuillent qu'on continue à parler en arabe.

> [DA: I had five days of school in French, and school on Saturdays in Arabic.
> CR: So Arabic was always present in your education?

DA: Yes, always, always. My parents said, speak whatever language you want outside, but at home it's Arabic. That's all they asked of us. It's true, because we spend a lot more time outside than at home. It's only normal that they want us to continue speaking Arabic].

Dania's parents both have a good base in French, having studied it in Lebanon, and her father is also proficient in English, having spent time in Egypt. Her father is a Muslim minister, and, while the Muslim community in Brossard tended to be more Arabic-speaking in the past, the younger generation, she says, is increasingly multilingual and multiethnic—African, Pakistani, and Indonesian, among others. "Les langues," she says, "se mélangent, et il n'y a pas de choix que de s'adapter et de parler anglais et français beaucoup plus." [The languages are mixed, and there's no choice but to adapt and speak more French and English]. Meanwhile, Dania makes every effort to speak Arabic with her siblings "pour ne pas oublier cette langue" [so we don't lose the language]. However, she is more proficient in French, using it more often at school and in social activities, for example, and she finds it easier to speak French even though it is not her mother tongue.

She identifies with the Arabic community but also with the English/French community, which she describes as multilingual, since many of her English- and French-speaking friends and acquaintances speak other languages as well. After completing French high school, she continued in English at CEGEP and in her first BA program, and she also began studying Spanish:

> Ma tante est moitié italienne, moitié libanaise, mais elle a grandi dans la Republique Dominicaine. Donc, sa première langue c'était l'espagnol. Quand je suis allée visiter en 2002, j'ai parlé en espagnol un peu avec sa fille, et je me suis dit, oui, je veux faire ça. Parce que c'est tellement intéressant. Je trouve que c'est une belle langue, très proche du français mais, en même temps, il y a beaucoup de mots qui sont pris de l'arabe. Donc, pour moi c'était juste normal que j'apprenne l'espagnol.

> [My aunt is half Italian, half Lebanese, but she grew up in the Dominican Republic. So, her first language was Spanish. When I went to visit in 2002, I spoke a bit of Spanish with her daughter, and I said to myself, yeah! I want to do this. It's so interesting. I find it's a beautiful language, very close to French, but there are also a lot of words borrowed from Arabic. So for me it was just normal to learn Spanish.].

Though Dania translates from English to French in her program, she says she can also translate in the other direction and would like to eventually translate from Spanish and Arabic as well:

> C'est un rêve de travailler de l'arabe ou de l'espagnol vers l'anglais ou français, mais je sais que je ne serai jamais capable de traduire vers l'arabe ou vers l'espagnol. Il va toujours manquer quelque chose dans ces deux langues. Aussi, ma langue, mon dialecte prend le dessus sur l'arabe classique. On écrit en arabe classique, mais on parle en libanais. C'est deux réalités différentes.

> [It's my dream to work from Arabic or Spanish into English or French, but I know I will never be able to translate into Arabic or Spanish. There's always going to be something missing in these two languages. Also, my language, my dialect, is not Classic Arabic. We write in Classic Arabic but speak Lebanese. It's two different realities.]

Dania says she was inspired to study translation because of her love of languages, and, even though she feels finding work might be difficult, she loves translating and thinks it's worth it. Though she is very creative and adventurous—her hobbies include photography and snowboarding—she found her advertising adaptation course to be difficult, because she feels she doesn't have the imagination to come up with creative and catchy slogans. Nonetheless, she would like to try a course in literary translation "just to see what it's like." She also enjoyed her community interpretation course and has done a lot of informal interpreting, for her mother at the medical clinic, for example, and for parents in the daycare centre where she works. Ultimately, she says, her interest in languages and translation goes beyond words. It's also "tout le baggage qui vient avec" [all the baggage that comes with it] and feeling "bien dans sa peau" [good about herself] helping those who don't understand the language being used.

Sophia

Sophia, 22, is currently completing a BA in English to French translation with an Honours in Italian. She was born and raised in Montreal. Both of her parents immigrated to Montreal as children—her mother from Italy and her father from Portugal. Her linguistic repertoire includes five languages: French, English, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, and she rates her average proficiency in all of these as three or higher on a scale of one to five. She identifies her two first or "native" languages as English and Italian. She spoke mostly English at home with her parents and Italian with her grandparents, who she regularly spent time with after school. She began learning French from the age of three and completed all of her subsequent schooling in French:

> I'm not sure if the law was already in place.[42] But it had nothing to do with that. They [her parents] figured since I already speak English at home and with my family and

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[42] According to La Charte de la langue française, also known as Bill 101, the language of instruction in Quebec from kindergarten to secondary school is French. However, a child whose father or mother is a Canadian citizen and

everything, and we live in Quebec, we're going to send our child to a French school. If it was the opposite, I'm sure they would have done the opposite just because they wanted me to learn both [French and English].

Her high school, however, was very multiethnic:

Well it was a French school, but there were so many ethnicities. There were Haitians, Latinas, a little bit of everything, Greek, Arabic. They spoke French, their specific language, and a little bit of English also, so it was really a mishmash outside of class.

She says she liked this mixing, the fact that it wasn't "split." She began studying Spanish and Portuguese in CEGEP and also undertaking more formal instruction in Italian. Portuguese was her father's first language. Her father's family, however, spoke mostly English, so she never had the opportunity to learn Portuguese in the same way she had learned Italian with her mother's family. She says that learning Portuguese later, at the age of 18, wasn't like learning a foreign language. During our interview, I brought up the concept of "heritage languages," which, as Kelleher notes, "are not 'foreign' to particular individual or communities; instead, they are *familiar* in a variety of ways" (2010: 1). This resonated immediately with Sophia:

Yeah, I find that really interesting, because that's really why I want to learn Portuguese. Since I grew up with it. I know the accent. I can understand someone speaking to me if it's not too fast or if it's something I can identify with, for example supper at the table, things I heard when I was little. It's more the fact of not having learned the actual grammar of it. I just haven't had the chance until now.

Her family, on each side, has always been very involved in Montreal's Portuguese and Italian communities. On the Portuguese side, activities often revolve around the church and various religious events, parades and festivals, for example, in honour of different saints. She says the Italian community has similar activities:

On my dad's side, my aunt is pretty religious. She's involved in the church, so we always go to the feasts. They really encourage artists of Portuguese origin. So they come here [from the Azores] and there's a feast and dancing. There's a folkloric dance. So you're all in traditional garb and you dance. I don't do it [@@], but there's a specific move you can do and it's pretty easy, everyone knows it. And on the Italian side, there are also feasts, like the same thing for the saints, and they have parades a few times a year. When I'm cooking with my great aunt, we talk Italian the whole time.

Sophia's BA degree is the equivalent of a double bachelor's degree. She has completed her specialization in English into French translation and is now focusing on her courses in Italian

who has received or is receiving elementary or secondary instruction in English has the option of attending school in English.

literature and translation, translating from English, French and Italian into English and/or Italian. Most of her English into French translation courses were oriented toward pragmatic translation—general, legal, and economic translation, for example, whereas her Italian courses focus almost exclusively on literary translation. She has found comparing the different approaches and language combinations to be instructive. She finds it easier, for example, to translate between French and Italian because they have a similar grammatical structure and even some of the same idiomatic expressions. Translating from English into Italian has proven more difficult, especially when certain literary, formal or stylistic features cannot be easily recreated. In these instances, she has found some of the techniques acquired in her pragmatic translation courses (cf. Delisle and Fiola 2013) to be helpful:

> If something is untranslatable you can compensate for it elsewhere. I was working on another translation, and in the English there was an alliteration, and I couldn't do that in Italian because the words didn't match up. So I just used the words that actually had the meaning but my sentence ended up rhyming in the end, and I was like, oh, okay! There wasn't an alliteration but there was a rhyme instead. It doesn't always happen on purpose [@@]. But you should strive for that.

Sofia also completed three internships as part of her translation co-op program and she has been gaining practical experience as a freelance translator in diverse fields. She plans to pursue her studies, working towards a master's degree and, eventually, a PhD, but she is not sure whether she will focus specifically on translation or on Italian language and literature. However, she feels that any path she choses will contribute to her development as a translator. Translation, she says, "requires a high level of general culture and, even when you deepen your knowledge of languages, you never stop learning. You can only get better over time."

6.3 Translators' Positioning and Self-reflexivity

In my working definition of translators' symbolic competence, I hypothesized that it is also based on a self-reflexivity that is distinct from that involved in other forms of spontaneous translanguaging. As the above profiles demonstrate, translation students, like other multilinguals, clearly navigate different personal, professional, linguistic, and cultural roles and repertoires. Translation students' complex relationships to different languages and cultures have often been pivotal in their decisions to pursue a career in translation. How they reflect on their identity and role as multilinguals and translators also contributes to their attitudes about and approaches to translating. Translators perform as multilinguals with respect to their own personal histories and

identities but also on others' behalf. Translation then, even more than other forms of multilingual communication, entails a constant repositioning and conscious, critical evaluation of one's stance and *response-ability* (cf. Perteghella and Loffredo 2006). The following profiles highlight the observations of interviewees who shared their reflections on their multilingual identity, past and present translation experiences, and their role as translators. As we shall see, this self-reflexivity contributes to their understanding of the translation process but also to their awareness of the critical constraints and creative potential of their translation practice.

Laurent

Laurent, 25, is currently completing a BA in English to French translation. He was born and raised in Laval, a large suburb north of Montreal. His mother is from France, and, growing up, he spent a lot of time in the French region of Angers, which he refers to as his "second home." He is also, through his father's side, a member of the largely French-speaking Huron-Wendat First Nation, whose community is based in Wendake, a municipality neighbouring Quebec City. Laurent is fluent in French and English, highly proficient in Spanish, and has also studied Russian, Arabic and Japanese. He identifies his first language as French, which he also considers his dominant or "native" language, and he started learning English from the age of five. He grew up in an area of Laval where English dominated, and he often felt like a minority as a francophone:

> LA : Dans mon quartier, il y avait beaucoup de Grecques, de Portugais. Quand j'ai joué au soccer, j'étais un des seuls francophones. Il n'y avait pas d'échanges. Il y avait une barrière.
> CR : Les autres parlaient en anglais?
> LA. Oui. C'était très anglais. Ça faisait bizarre, parce que je sentais un peu en minorité quelque part, mais dans ma tête, je ne devrais pas parce que je suis chez moi.
>
> [LA: In my neighbourhood, there were a lot of Greeks and Portuguese. When I played soccer, I was one of the only francophones. We didn't exchange much. There was a barrier.
> CR: The others spoke English?
> LA: Yeah. It was very English. It was weird, because, I felt like a bit of a minority in some way, but in my mind, it seemed like I shouldn't because I'm from here.]

He attended high school in Mile End, a very diverse, multiethnic downtown neighbourhood of Montreal:

> Il y avait des gens de partout... des Français du Haïti, Centrafrique, Cameroun, Sénégal. Il y avait quelques gens du Maroc, d'Algérie, de l'Amérique du Sud, puis encore

aujourd'hui, il y a beaucoup de Grecques, de Russes, d'Ukrainiens, d'Arméniens. Les Italiens et les Grecques parlaient beaucoup en anglais entre eux, mais ils parlaient français avec les autres. C'était un gros mélange. Les gens parlaient toutes sortes de langues.

[There were people from all over ... francophones from Haiti, Central Africa, Cameroon, Senegal. There were people from Morocco, Algeria, South America, and still today, there are a lot of Greeks, Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians. The Italians and Greeks often spoke English amongst themselves but French with the others. It was a huge mix. People spoke all kinds of languages.]

In this context, he felt he was seen as a "pure laine" Québécois,[43] literally a "pure wool" [true blue] Quebecker of French-Canadian origin. Later, however, when attending a more predominantly francophone CEGEP, he became aware of his difference as the son of an immigrant from France:

Je pense qu'au secondaire les autres me voyaient comme une pure laine. Au CÉGEP la grande majorité était québécois, puis ça fait drôle. J'étais plus perçu comme immigrant. C'est bizarre pour moi. Dans ma tête, mon ami marocain, c'est évident qu'il est marocain. Mais, pour moi ça m'a pris du temps pour se rendre compte que je suis moitié fils d'immigré. À constater qu'il y a une différence. Comme tu es moins québécois qu'eux.

[I think in high school the others saw me as *pure laine*. At CEGEP, the majority were Québécois, so it's weird. I was seen more as an immigrant. It's strange. In my mind, it's obvious that my Moroccan friend is Moroccan. But it took me awhile to realize that I was also the son of an immigrant, to notice that there was a difference. Like you're less Québécois than them.]

Laurent's trajectory reveals all of the nuances of multilingual Montreal. Though born and raised in Quebec, he felt like a minority as a francophone among the anglophone children of Greek and Portuguese immigrants in the neighbourhood where he grew up. Later in CEGEP, among "les vrais" Québécois, he became aware of his difference as the son of an immigrant from France. Meanwhile, during his high school years, surrounded by incredibly diverse languages and cultures—in a context where everyone is "different"—his "real" Québécois identity was undisputed, even though his French-from-France accent and expressions still sometimes set him apart.

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[43] The terms "Quebecker" and "Québécois" are both used in English to refer to Quebec citizens, regardless of language. The term "Québécois," however, sometimes carries political connotations, i.e. of being "un vrai" [a real] or "pure laine" [true blue] Québécois.

These experiences, however, are undoubtedly at the root of Laurent's fascination with and admiration for different languages and cultures. He brings a critical and creative perspective to exploring language and identity. He loves learning new languages, even just the basics, for example, of Japanese or Arabic, because he would rather have "an aperçu plutôt que rien du tout" [a glimpse into a language rather than nothing at all]. It allows one, he says, to adopt or understand different perspectives that would be unimaginable without access to the language. This is also what motivates him learn Huron-Wendat, an aboriginal language that has not been spoken in Quebec since the turn of the last century. Laurent has family members in Wendake, Quebec City, and Montreal who are implicated in the revival of the language through teaching and preserving Wendat history, music, culture and art. He feels that language is a cornerstone of identity and that learning the Wendat language will help him connect to his Wendat identity.

Laurent also brings a critical and creative perspective to his interest in translating. He has a BA in history, undertook communication studies, and completed the first year of a master's degree in applied history, before discovering translation, which he says he is drawn to because of his fascination with languages but also because of his interest in social and political issues, "tout ce qui est engagement social et politique." He has taken a number of specialized translation courses in his program and says he is definitely not interested in economic translation, for example, but is looking forward to focusing more on literary and scientific subjects. At the same time, he also enjoys what he describes as an element of play in translation, which he feels requires a degree of abstraction and distance, but also, creativity:

> J'ai parfois l'impression de "jouer," de résoudre un casse-tête. Il est fascinant d'essayer de traduire certains concepts ou idées lorsque les mots manquent, mais de trouver un moyen quand même [...] C'est très créatif. Coté apprentissage, il faut faire un peu de recherche et c'est très intéressant, enrichissant.

> [I sometimes have the impression of "playing," of solving a puzzle. It's fascinating trying to translate certain concepts or ideas when the words don't exist but finding a way all the same ... It's very creative. In terms of learning, you have to do a bit of research, and it's very interesting, very enriching.]

Andrea

Andrea, 34, recently completed a BA in French to English translation. She also has a BA in business administration and a BA in English and Finnish language and literature. Having translated professionally in her native Romania for several years before moving to Montreal and

undertaking a bachelor's degree in French to English translation, she has significant experience as a translator. While her linguistic repertoire and identification with various languages and cultures are as complex as in all of the preceding examples, she has also had time to reflect on her past translating experiences and develop a critical perspective on her practice as a translator. Andrea's linguistic repertoire includes eight languages: French, English, Romanian, Italian, Hungarian, Finnish Spanish, and German, and she rates her average proficiency in all of these as three or higher on a scale of one to five. She identifies two first languages—Romanian and Hungarian—but says that she now feels a deeper connection to English. She learned Hungarian first, living with her mother's family, but when her parents moved in together when she was three, she started speaking Romanian, the language of her father's family. English and French were both required school subjects, starting in grades five and six. She started learning Spanish and Italian at 14 during her grade nine summer vacation, saying she had nothing to do and spent all her time watching Italian programs and the occasional Spanish soap opera on Romanian TV.

Andrea now uses English and French on a daily basis, speaks Romanian occasionally with a high school friend in Montreal, and Hungarian with her family back in Romania. She listens to Italian and Finnish on the radio, uses German with her in-laws on Skype, and, more rarely, Spanish with family in Chile. She uses mostly English and French online but also Hungarian, Romanian and Spanish. Though Romanian is one of her first "native" languages and she was born and raised in Romania, she says she has never felt a connection to Romanian or Romania:

> I don't really identify with Romanian for some reason. It's like it was never my language. I spoke and wrote it very well, but somehow I never connected with it [...] We had some political issues in the family. You know, Hungarians vs. Romanians. I guess, subconsciously, I was influenced by my mom's attitude toward Romanian and it stuck with me. As a kid you're very easily influenced and you don't even realize it. You're influenced by your parents' way of thinking and attitudes, and then you carry all that baggage with you. My dad didn't speak Hungarian and didn't like it when did. So we— my mom, my grandma, my sister and I—spoke Hungarian only when he wasn't around. To me it's so unnatural to talk to my mom in Romanian. I just can't. Unless there are Romanians present, to be polite.

Andrea first began translating for a small translation company in Romania while she was pursuing her degree in English and Finnish language and literature. She translated first from Italian into Romanian. She had never studied translation (or Italian, for that matter); she just "started translating." She then translated from English and Hungarian into Romanian, and a

couple of times, from Romanian into Hungarian, which, she says, "kind of killed her." She lived in Finland for eight months and then moved to Hungary where she spent four months working for a translation agency, translating from Hungarian into English. She then returned to Romania and worked in a translation agency for four years. There, she says, she also did quite a lot of interpreting "against her will," mostly between English and Romanian:

> My first job was just whispering into somebody's ear, which was okay. Then I did consecutive interpreting for a series of workshops with a small group of people. That was okay too. All English-Romanian. Then, after my boss signed a contract with an Italian client, I suddenly found myself doing simultaneous interpreting between Italian and Romanian at department meetings. It was so hard because the meetings covered very specific technical issues and people were talking so fast [...] cutting each other off and yelling.

She recalls one occasion on which she interpreted for six hours with only a half-hour break:

> It was for a trade union conference, something related to markets, and they said I just had to whisper into one guy's ear, but when I showed up there, they shoved me into a booth. I freaked out. I had no training. It was a Friday. Romanian into English. I remember after a couple of hours my brain just stopped working, and the guy I was interpreting for kept turning around to see what I was doing. I was brain-dead. It was really horrible. I guess I didn't do a bad job after all, because the guy asked questions throughout the whole time, so he must have understood what the whole thing was about.

That was, for Andrea, the beginning and end of her interpreting career, though she still sometimes finds herself translating "informally," especially at "big Romanian-Hungarian-German family reunions." She says she has always been passionate about languages and feels that translation is a great way to put that passion to use. Nonetheless her choice to pursue translation was something she came upon by chance. She says that when she started working as a translator she felt it really suited her and realized it was her calling. She is very selective, however, about the kinds of translating that she likes doing and feels she is good at. In her bachelor's program in Montreal, she translated from French to English, and she has recently obtained a full-time position in a Montreal translation agency translating primarily public affairs and pragmatic texts, which, she says, involves some creativity, especially when translating certain internal documents and PowerPoint presentations that make use of more engaging and idiomatic language. These are also, however, the text types she finds the most challenging, partly, she says, because English is not her native language, and partly because sometimes knowing more languages can make it difficult—you start mixing everything, she says, and

making comparisons with the other languages: "The way of saying things is so different. You have to think differently. I don't always manage to do it as well as I would like to, but, yeah, to some extent I am creative, but not that creative [...] I'm a very pragmatic person."

Marc

Marc, 37, was born and raised in Montreal. He is currently pursuing a PhD in translation studies, and he also has an MA in translation and a BA in Latin-American studies. He is an OTTIAQ-certified[44] translator in four language combinations. His linguistic repertoire includes eight languages: French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Italian, Haitian Creole and Arabic, and he rates his average proficiency in five of these—French, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan— as three or higher on a scale of one to five. Marc's first language is French. He started learning English in grade three and later attended English summer camps in high school. His says his interest in languages began by imitating different accents:

> Quand mes parents m'a envoyé dans le camp d'été, j'avais 15 ans. J'étais beaucoup dans l'imitation. J'aimais ça, imiter les gens, leurs accents, et j'ai appris beaucoup comme ça. C'est sûr que j'ai besoin de cours toujours pour comprendre la grammaire. Mais aussitôt que j'ai une base, après ça je vais par l'imitation.

> [When my parents sent me to summer camp, I was 15. I was really into imitating. I liked to imitate people's accents, and I learned a lot that way. Of course, I always need courses to understand the grammar. But, as soon as I have the basics, I go by imitation.]

He began learning Spanish in CEGEP and participated in an exchange program while pursuing his BA in Latin American studies. He spent several months in Mexico and has since returned on several occasions. Apart from French and English, he says he learned all of his other languages later in life, out of choice and interest: Arabic at 20 years old, Italian at 25, Portuguese at 28, Haitian at 33, and Catalan at 35. Ideally, he takes university courses and then travels to practice the language. When traveling, he tries to learn the basics of different languages, even those he has not studied:

> Même quand je vais dans un pays où je ne connais pas la langue, j'essaie au moins d'apprendre quelques mots—merci, bonjour—surtout dans les langues moins diffusées. Mais, c'est parce que je suis curieux aussi. Je pense que l'apprentissage des langues c'est beaucoup de curiosité.

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[44] Ordre des traducteurs, terminologues, et interprètes agréés du Québec [the Quebec order of translators, terminologists, and interpreters].

> [Even when I'm going to a country where I don't know the language, I at least try to learn a few words—hello, thank you—especially in the less-widely used languages. But it's also because I'm curious. I think learning languages has a lot to do with curiosity.]

Marc now uses French and Spanish on a daily basis and alternates regularly between French and other languages, depending on who he is communicating with. He uses mostly French online but also navigates content in all the languages he knows, and he communicates regularly with friends in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. Like Laurent, he feels that learning different languages is a way to discover different ways of thinking and reflect on the nuances, as well as the possibilities and limitations, of one's own language:

> Les langues sont toujours en mouvement, en contact. Même le fait d'apprendre d'autres langues me permet d'enrichir ma propre langue [...] Je pense que la langue est malléable. On va chercher les ressources qui ne sont pas nécessairement consignées officiellement. C'est sûr qu'en traduction il faut assurer de prendre en compte ton public cible. Mais, des fois on va prendre un long détour quand le mot est là et les gens l'utilise.

> [Languages are always in movement, in contact. Even just learning other languages enriches your own language [...] I think language is malleable. You sometimes draw on unofficial sources. Of course, in translation, you have to make sure to take into account the target audience. But sometimes you make a long detour when the word people actually use is right there.

As a freelance translator, Marc translates between the five languages in which he is fluent: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan, mostly into French, but, sometimes, for example, from Spanish into Portuguese. He works in different languages for different types of translation, specializing mostly in official documents—diplomas, transcripts, university records, and immigration files, for example. From English into French, he translates primarily government and commercial documents. Like Andrea, he has been translating for several years, but he has also worked consistently in the same languages and with similar text types and subjects. He also teaches undergraduate translation courses, and, interestingly, much of what he shared about his teaching experience also revealed a lot about his own attitudes about and approaches to translating. He describes teaching translation almost as a collaborative process, in which his own practical experience plays an important role:

> La salle de classe c'est un lieu d'apprentissage. Je ne les donne pas des textes puis leur dis « débrouillez-vous. » Non, on les regarde ensemble, on les travaille ensemble [...] En lisant un texte à traduire, je ne pense qu'à la traduction, mais aussi à mes outils, déjà à quelle place je vais chercher des références, des termes.

[The classroom is a place for learning. I don't just give them texts and say "deal with it." No, we look at them and work on them together ... In reading a text to translate, I'm not just thinking of the translation but also of the tools at my disposal, where I'm going to look for certain references or terms.]

Marc encourages his students to develop a critical perspective while at the same time exploring their personal creative expression:

Ils sont dans la première ou la deuxième année, donc ils sont encore dans le processus de découverte. Ce que j'essaie de faire c'est de les amener à réfléchir à ce qu'ils font. D'intérioriser le texte. Respecter l'original, mais surtout respecter le sens. Au début ils vont mot à mot, ils collent aux textes. Ils ont peur de se laisser aller, d'écrire à leur façon.

[They are in the first or second year, so they're still in the process of discovering. I try to encourage them to reflect on what they're doing. To internalize the text. To respect the original, but, especially, to respect the meaning. At first, they translate word-for-word, the stick closely to the texts. They're afraid to let go, to develop their own writing style.]

Ultimately, he says, translators are not machines. Translation students can improve their translating not only by immersing themselves in the subject and language but also by building on their general knowledge:

Moi je pense que c'est hyper important qu'ils réfléchissent. Il y a trop de monde qui pensent que la traduction est juste machinale. Qu'on est devant l'écran : *tac tac tac*. Puis on ne pense pas et on fait juste traduire traduire. Mais ça prend tout un bagage derrière ça. Tes connaissances sur la traduction, mais aussi les connaissances en général. Plus qu'ils lisent sur le texte, mais en général aussi, le mieux ils vont traduire.

[Personally, I think it's extremely important that they reflect on what they're doing. Too many people think translating is just mechanical, a person sitting in front of a screen: *tac tac tac*. That there's no thinking going on, just translating, translating. But there's a whole baggage behind it that informs the process. Knowledge about translation but general knowledge as well. The more they read on the text, but also the more they read in general, the better they're going to translate.]

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore competence and creativity in translation by focusing on the translator as a multilingual, historically grounded subject. The multilingual perspectives represented here are twofold, including the theories and methods employed in current multilingualism research as well as the personal perspectives of individual multilingual translation students, as presented in the above questionnaire and interview responses and analyses. While these results cannot be seen as representative of professional translators or even

student translators as a group, they shed light on the diversity within Montreal's translation student population and provide a rich portrait of translation students' personal and professional backgrounds, linguistic and sociocultural repertoires, and interests in, attitudes about, and approaches to translation. The concept of symbolic competence— the idea that multilingual subjects use symbolic forms not only to represent the world but also to construct meanings and identities—has provided a framework for considering how translation engages the whole translator, is grounded in translators' multilingual identities and plural habituses, and gives rise to a self-reflexivity that highlights the sociocognitive complexity of translation. As Simeoni observed, the cognitive specificity of translating may have less to do with language and verbalisation than with social cognition and sensitivity (1998: 13).

In this respect, this thesis also seeks to complement current research on competence and creativity in translation and, in some ways, challenge the corresponding empirical-experimental/ literary-cultural studies divide by integrating perspectives from hermeneutics, second generation cognitive science (embodied and situated theories of cognition), and relational sociology, all of which propose a shift in focus from reified structures—a conception of cognitive processes, competences, meanings, languages, and cultural knowledge as *things* that can be studied in isolation, acquired or transferred—to relational processes, where the micro and macro, the individual and social, and the cognitive and cultural converge. This approach, though raising a number of theoretical and, especially, methodological problems, also resonates with the current multilingualism research outlined in previous chapters—the ecological perspectives on language learning and language use that emphasize diverse repertoires, mobilities, and practices (i.e. translanguag*ing*) and regard individuals' knowledge and experience not as isolated mental phenomena cut off from the world but as lived realities operating "as context" in any communicative interaction (cf. Cicourel 1992; Blommaert 2014: 1).

Finally, as stated from the outset, this thesis represents a modest attempt to develop a research model that highlights the symbolic dimension of language in translation and the interdependence of psychological and sociological factors in translating, factors that cannot be studied without taking the particular trajectories of individual translators into consideration. The qualitative study undertaken here is a preliminary step in this direction, and the research results are far from conclusive. I have insisted throughout on the notion of a "working" definition of

translators' symbolic competence in order to emphasize the explorative nature of this project. In conclusion, the following section outlines some possible avenues for further research.

7.1 Translation as Practice

In his paper "Models of What Processes?" Chesterman (2013) takes up Toury's (1995, 2012) distinction between cognitive translation *acts*, on the one hand, and sociological translation *events*, on the other. The relation between the two, the mental and the situational, is, according to Toury one of "complementarity and containment" (cited in Chesterman 2013: 156). Together, they constitute the translation *process*, which occurs across different time scales—"one is in seconds or microseconds, the other in hours or days, or even months" (Chesterman 2013: 156). It is with reference to these specific definitions of act and event that Chesterman proposes the term translation *practice* to account for larger processes of cultural and historical evolution, including, in the broadest sense, the time scale of human evolution. According to Chesterman, the translation practice also includes shorter-term "historical" processes, such as those investigated in longitudinal studies on translation competence acquisition (ibid.).

I propose that the concept of translators' symbolic competence could provide a framework for exploring these shorter-term historical processes—translation as a practice—with reference to the translator as a historically grounded subject, the individual whose agency is the link between the mental and the situational and whose work/craft/vocation as a translator is continually developing over time in an on-going process of personal and professional evolution.[45] Taking this theme further implies considering a translation practice in the same way we might conceive, for example, an art practice, which is generally not regarded as an act taking place in some sort of cognitive vacuum or as an event that emerges in the relationships between various social structures and unnamed social actors. Art works and art contexts are rarely analyzed without reference to artists, even when the latter are not particularly well known. As Meylaerts has observed, insight is needed into different translating actors' "*various* and *variable* internalization of broader social, cultural, political and linguistic structures [...] and the evolution of their translational choices at the micro-structural and macro-structural levels" (2008: 95). The

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[45] While this definition of practice is more-or less consistent with standard definitions of practice as "the actual doing of something; actions as contrasted with ideas," "a repeated exercise in an activity requiring the development of a skill," or "the professional work or business of a doctor or lawyer, etc." (Barber 2004), insight is needed into the relationships between translators' biographical trajectories and translation as a practice evolving over time in various contexts (cf. Meylaerts 2008: 95).

working definition of translators' symbolic competence presented here could provide a "conceptual bridge" (cf. Chesterman 2005: 19) for developing models and methodologies that incorporate analysis across multiple levels: "the textual, the cognitive, the sociological and the cultural" (ibid. 23).

7.2 Theory and Practice in Translator Training

Exploring the above line of thought from a slightly different angle, Munday (2012) has drawn on Chesterman's concept of consilience—the attempt to define shared ground between textual, cognitive, sociological, and cultural approaches— to consider how this can be brought to bear on integrating theory and practice in translator training. Munday examines two important streams in current translator training—projects involving the translation of a text with critical commentary and more substantial research undertaken in master's and PhD programs. Commentary projects, he says, not only provide students an opportunity for reflective learning but also give insights into their translation processes that are in some ways as "illuminating as methods such as think-aloud protocols" (2012: 299), thus contributing, in turn, to the development of translation theory. Insofar as students' commented translations combine both rigorous methodology as well as subjective insights, they present another possible avenue for exploring translators' symbolic competence, in addition to experimental research, questionnaires, interviews, and ethnographic methods. The forthcoming publication (cf. Dore 2014) *Achieving Consilience: Translation Theories and Practice*, slated to appear in 2016, will bring together student papers adapted from students' commentary-based dissertations, highlighting their contribution to the learning process and relevance as a valid source of information for translation studies research. As Dore observes, the majority of these dissertations remain stored in university libraries and rarely result in publications. The proposed volume, she says, will provide valuable insights into young professionals' real-life practice, help other translation studies scholars better understand the translator's decision-making process, and give young translation studies scholars an opportunity to enter the academic arena (Dore 2014: n.p.).

Woodsworth (2002) has also explored novel approaches to integrating theory and practice in the translation classroom. Her recent paper "Transposing Voices: Teaching Interculturalism in a Literary Translation Course" (2015, forthcoming) also describes a student-centered approach that draws on the insights provided by the students themselves while at the same time contributing to developing their competence and creativity in translation. In the

context of a literary translation course she was teaching, Woodsworth included a "storytelling" assignment that was not an actual translation but, rather, an exercise in creative writing. Students were instructed to interview someone from a culture other than that of the dominant ethnic groups of Quebec/Canada and to "translate" the story into an English narrative. They were asked to "translate," that is, "from an oral form to a written one, possibly from another language or dialect, and [they were] expected to find creative ways to explain or 'translate' different cultural phenomena: food, items of clothing, or religious practices, for example" (2015: n.p.). The assignment introduces students to the process of cultural as opposed to linguistic translation and also provides a concrete way of exploring certain theoretical issues and debates—issues around foreignization and domestication, for example (cf. Berman 1984; Venuti 1995)—in the context of a practical translation course. As a student-oriented approach that seeks to develop students' criticality and creativity, it parallels a number of the methods that Kramsch (2009b) is experimenting with in the SLA classroom. It also resonates with many of the ideas presented in this thesis. Hands-on creative experimentation in the translation classroom can be an avenue for exploring not only foreign concepts and realities but also students' relationships to their own complex linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds. Such an approach could help students develop an intercultural competence as well as a symbolic competence that connects them to their own diverse backgrounds and experiences and thus foster a deeper connection to the texts they are translating.

7.3 Interdisciplinary Dialogue

Translation, until very recently, has received surprisingly little attention from linguistics scholars researching multilingualism even though translation studies, encompassing a broad range of linguistic, cognitive, cultural, and sociological approaches, has been at the forefront of research exploring both micro and macro perspectives on language use and language contact in various social, cultural, and political contexts. Dialogue between multilingualism research and translation studies will undoubtedly, however, have much to contribute to these interrelated fields of study in the future. Two recent initiatives, for example, point in this direction. One is a four-year ethnographically oriented research project directed by Angela Creese at the University of Birmingham titled *Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations In Superdiverse Wards of Four UK Cities*. The second is a new journal titled *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, edited by Sara Laviosa and expected

to be launched in March 2015. While the first project enlists the collaboration of several important multilingualism scholars, the second, integrating a more interdisciplinary approach, brings together scholars in the fields of psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, SLA, and translation studies. Other interdisciplinary applications include rehabilitating translation in the language-learning classroom (cf. Kramsch 2009b; Pym et al. 2013; Laviosa 2014), introducing concepts developed in SLA research, such as symbolic competence, in the translation classroom (cf. Laviosa 2014), and further exploring parallels between symbolic competence (Kramsch 2009b) and holistic cultural translation (Tymoczko 2007).

The theories and methods employed in this thesis highlight the continued importance of interdisciplinary dialogue. While the shift toward cultural studies approaches in translation studies may have at one time entailed a distancing from linguistics-based approaches, the recent surge of multilingualism research in both translation studies and various subfields of linguistics (psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, SLA) points toward the possibility of exploring new intersecting research trajectories. Recognizing the bias of the monolingual paradigm in both disciplines has led to a plethora of new theories and methodologies and shed light on previously elusive or simply undetected phenomena, for example, the fact that most cultures are multiethnic and multilingual, that language practices are not always geographically defined, that the complex patterns and power relations involved in various forms of code-switching and translanguaging are not the exception but rather the rule, and that tensions between languages and cultures, attested in all situations involving language contact—including translation—are often a source of personal and cultural criticality and creativity. Giving equal consideration to both competence and creativity highlights the relation between the two and provides an avenue for exploring the precarious but critical and creative positions from which translators, like multilinguals, navigate these diverse symbolic repertoires and sociocultural contexts.

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Appendix I: Transcription Conventions based on DuBois (2006)

Boundary Tone/Closure
Terminative   .
Continuative   .
Truncated intonation unit   -
Appeal   ?
Vocalisms
Breath (in)   (H)
Laugh   @
Manner
Manner/quality   <MISC
Voice tone   <VOX>
Metatranscription
Unintelligible   (??)
Comment   ((WORDS))
Overlap   [ ]
Tone shifts
Rising tone   /
Falling tone   \
Low to high tone   _/
High-low-high   \/

Appendix II: English Translation of Questionnaire Data

1. Then, when I was 18, I moved back to Montreal to live on my own. I come from a comfortable background, and I decided to migrate from the suburbs to the city to pursue my studies and be in contact with a more lively and diverse world.
2. Basically, I moved to Montreal to live the urban experience with other friends who had also come here to study. Montreal's diversity frankly seemed more interesting than life in my little hometown.
3. I grew up in Boucherville. It was a pretty boring childhood. I moved to Montreal as soon as possible.
4. I was born in Hull and grew up in Sherbrooke. I moved to Montreal in 2001 to study anthropology. I've lived in Montreal off-and-on ever since.
5. I was born in Joliette, lived half of the time in Joliette and the other half in Rawdon (divorced parents), and moved to Montreal when I started my DEC in hotel management, when I was 17.
6. I was born in Laval but later lived in St. Benoit (Mirabel). I was only there for three years before moving to Joliette, where I grew up. I moved to Montreal when I started university but I am only there during the week.
7. I was born and raised in Mauritius, a little paradise in the middle of the Indian Ocean. It's a multicultural island—the official language is English, the vernacular language is Mauritian Creole, and the language of instruction is English. My mother tongue is French. I came to Montreal to study architecture. It took me a few years to perfect my spoken English.

8. I was born in Caen and spent most of my life in Bayeux, a small city in Normandy, known for its historical richness. I moved to Montreal last year to pursue studies in English.
9. I was born in Cartagena in Colombia and also grew up there. I lived there until I was 14, up until 2007, to be more exact. That year, I left Colombia with my family (my parents and sister) to move to Canada; the circumstances that brought us to this country were purely related to having a better quality of life (more time for family) and a better professional future for my sister and me.
10. I was born in France and lived in a small village of 900 inhabitants until I was 18. I left to go to university in the regional capital, Lyon. I received a scholarship to study abroad and went to study in Peru. I met my husband there. I had settled in Peru, but my husband decided to move to Quebec 3 ½ years ago ... I followed him. He did a master's degree here, and now it's my turn.
11. I was born in Montreal but I had a nomadic childhood, following my parents, my father's different jobs. We moved practically every year. This exposed me to cities, people and schools all over the province of Quebec and developed my overall sense of adaptability, among other things.
12. I was born in Beirut, where I lived until I was 15. I immigrated to Canada (Ottawa) with my family, then when I got married, I moved to Montreal (6 years ago now).
13. Born in Senegal to Cameroonian parents, I arrived in Canada at the age of 6, following my father's appointment to the position of translator/interpreter at the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization). I grew up in Outremont, where I completed all levels of my education up to the Université de Montréal.
14. I learned English in preschool. The school was supposed to be bilingual, but, de facto, all the teachers and kids spoke only English. My parents didn't understand when I told them that nobody "wanted to talk to me." I learned English really fast.
15. My workplace is 80% anglophone. English has therefore become my work language.
16. I went to a French school, so French was obligatory. I learned English in the fourth grade. Meanwhile, at home, we only spoke Arabic, as well as at the Arabic school. Spanish is the only language I chose to learn. It was a curiosity I had.
17. French is my mother tongue. As for English, I started learning very young, thanks to my parents, who thought it was important, and thanks to my surroundings, Outaouais being a region where people are predominantly bilingual. I learned Spanish and German at CEGEP[46] as part of my study program.
18. English was very poorly taught in high school. I learned it later, for the most part on my own. I studied Spanish and Mandarin out of curiosity. Two semesters of Spanish at CEGEP and four semesters of Mandarin at university. Little by little, I'm forgetting these two languages, because I never use them.
19. Apart from French and English, I learned these languages by choice and out of interest, sometimes for travel or to communicate with people who speak them. In general, I begin with courses at university, if possible, then try to travel to countries where people speak the languages.
20. Though my mother is Canadian, she spent her childhood in the United States, where she also did her schooling. My parents could therefore enrol me in English school. They wanted me to learn English. So I started taking private English courses with a retired teacher when I was 6 and

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[46] The province of Quebec has a network of publicly funded pre-university colleges known as CEGEPs. CEGEP stands for Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel [general and vocational college].

then went to English school. As for Spanish, I wanted to participate in a CEGEP international cooperation project in Peru. So I learned Spanish at CEGEP and then continued learning while traveling.
21. With my sisters and brother, I alternate between French and Arabic, but I try as much as possible to speak only Arabic.
22. In the street, in the stores, and a lot in my neighbourhood (Hampstead)…
23. Depending on the context, level of comprehension between speakers, as well as their linguistic background.
24. I switch a lot, especially with my bilingual friends.
25. Yes!!
26. I try to speak just one language at a time.
27. I switch between registers, as much in French as in English.
28. Within the same language, but not from one language to another.
29. At work, people will start a sentence in English and finish it in French, and vice versa.
30. Registers, yes … because *Joliettains* have a certain regional "accent."
31. If I had to choose, I would say French, but this is a fairly recent feeling. For a long time, I felt more comfortable in English (especially writing) and I spoke mostly English at home because my roommates or partners were anglophones. When I first started out in my translation program, I had even picked the French to English option. I felt embarrassed not being at ease in French, so I took courses to bring my French up to standard so I could translate from English into French. It was a shift that had something to do with identity, and I'm not really sure what pushed me to do it.
32. I would like to say no, but I think it's almost impossible to disassociate languages from the status that's accorded to them … I like to think that all languages are equal (including non-official languages), but there's so much cultural and historical baggage attached to a language that it's difficult to consider it as distinct from identity.
33. Limiting yourself to learning a single language, by choice, when you are capable of learning many (environment, cognitive abilities) is, in my opinion, synonymous with having a closed mind, in the 21st century.
34. When I was young, being anglophone meant being rich, well-off, privileged. Not anymore. Now, speaking French and English is proof of one's versatility and openness.
35. Professionally, I have often been hired because I could express myself fluently in both languages.
36. My accent is perceived by a lot of my Québécois friends as amusing, and often complete strangers approach me to ask questions about my country and why I came to Quebec.
37. The fact of being able to speak two languages has helped me get higher-paying jobs and also form friendships with anglophones.
38. Making the effort to express yourself in the language of the country is generally appreciated. I've never had a negative experience.
39. I've had many positive experiences with people who are touched to meet someone taking an interest in their language/culture.
40. Québécois francophones I knew in CEGEP didn't like me because I switch quite often between English and French. I've often been told I should "come back to my country." The rest of Canada (Ontario, Manitoba) equally surprised me with its intolerance of francophones. I got into the habit of expressing myself exclusively in English there.
41. I have encountered negative experiences when wanting to use French as my work language,

in Montreal, in an anglophone hospital.
42. However, being a francophone Québécois (especially in Montreal) comes with a number of negative stereotypes. Tensions, misunderstandings and bitterness often still reign in anglophone/francophone relations in Montreal. Whether I'm shopping, at the university or in Montreal (I work in the Golden Square Mile), I still clearly feel this Great Solitude that separates us.
43. When I'm traveling away from home for a few months, I find it very difficult to leave my mother tongue behind and speak only English or another language everyday. I notice that over time, my brain just gives up and I find it hard to express myself in the same register I would in French.
44. I've never learned to read or write in Vietnamese and I can barely understand it now. This is seen in a negative light by my mother and some of my relatives. I haven't lived with my parents for 8 years now and so I've lost my use of this language, especially since the only person I speak it with is my mother. When I try to speak Vietnamese, I feel very ignorant and embarrassed. It's always a negative experience.
45. I feel like I'm playing a role.
46. I feel more "free" in English (2nd language).
47. It's as if I could never be completely comfortable in both at the same time … but I can say that I've recently discovered, in studying translation, that it's a feeling shared by a lot of bilingual and multilingual people.
48. I feel like I belong to a community that's very open and that accepts all kinds of people from diverse cultures and countries.
49. When I speak French, I feel a little more limited: for the French, I'm not French, for the Québécois, I'm not Québécois (I don't have the accent) ... and in Arabic, I feel that it's my intimate language, my history.
50. Yes, a little, in general it's a very positive experience.
51. It's not a negative experience, just a little bizarre.
52. When they hear me speak English or Spanish (especially at work), I feel I'm being "observed," it's a rather positive experience.
53. Yes, I am different because there are different social codes and particular conceptions of the world attached to each language. Very positive.
54. I've noticed that speaking about something emotional in English diminishes the intensity of my emotion, as if there were a certain distance between what I'm feeling and what I'm saying. Consequently, I'm able to express strong or negative emotions more easily in English than in French, as if this provides a kind of anonymity, like a mask.
55. It's the cultural aspect that changes.
56. Once I've mastered the language well enough … I can still be myself.
57. No, but my ability to express myself depends on the vocabulary: I'll change languages to better express myself depending on the direction of the conversation.
58. It's the context in which I express myself that affects me more than the language itself; but I say things in other languages that I wouldn't dare say in French … in French, words seem much more charged with meaning.
59. I am more "myself" in French, because it's the language in which I express myself best and use humour more easily.
60. Yes, when I speak Spanish, because I'm able to express myself in a way that's more particular, unique to me.

61. Definitely more myself in French, it's more natural and lets my personality come out.
62. I am more comfortable in French than in English, but it's related to my level of competence.
63. French, my mother tongue, will definitely always be a little more natural than speaking other languages. For example, I still sometimes find it strange using certain English expressions that are less common.
64. Yes, I'm able to articulate my feelings better in French.
65. I definitely feel more myself in French. My points of reference are primarily French.
66. Because of my ancestors (English, Irish, and French), I am not different when I speak any of these languages.
67. I have the impression of being more "me" when I speak as I do in Tahiti, like with my family and my Polynesian friends.
68. I definitely feel like "myself " in French. English is still more a language for work than it is part of my identity.
69. Again, it depends on who I am addressing myself to. With some people, I feel "myself" when expressing myself in English, while with others, it's French that makes me feel more "myself."
70. Generally more in control in French, but the fact of having to reflect a bit before speaking in English means I'm less susceptible to putting my foot in my mouth …
71. I feel more "myself" in French, even though I take great pleasure in speaking other languages.
72. I find the term "community" to be a very broad concept, almost vague even. If I identify with a certain cultural community, it's not all the time. For example, I see myself in Montreal's "activist" community. In a way, it's a sub-culture that unites many points of view, aspirations, political analyses, etc. But it's a multiethnic and multilingual community, and that's how it is envisioned by the community. There are different associated elements, such as musical groups, food, clothing, but in reality, it's more about ideas. When there are events, for example, someone always make sure that interpretation services are provided (French, English, and other languages, if needed).
73. It's very interesting from a career point of view, but most of all, it's a great passion.
74. I know I'm going to have difficulty finding a job, but I love what I do.
75. I feel like a fish in water.
76. I'm in the process of changing my life. I like to understand and help others understand.
77. For me, writing is like painting with words. Translating is like painting for the blind. And if I can also earn my living at it, all the better.
78. It's mostly personal. I still don't know how I'm going to include this interest in my professional life.
79. I really love translation, especially literary translation. I believe we live in a world of translation, of a multiplicity of languages. Translation studies fascinates me even more, because I like reflecting on the translation process.
80. It's a field that interests me because working on a variety of texts allows me to continually learn new things and touch on several different subjects (biology, medicine, etc.).
81. Yes, the fact of knowing at least a third language, even slightly, helps develop competencies in translation.
82. Yes, learning English has been very important in my life, because it has opened a number of doors (school, work) and been decisive in my wanting to become a language professional/translator.
83. Yes. Without having learned English in elementary school, and using it later with my friends

and during three years of university, I wouldn't have had the chance to develop my love of languages.
84. My multilingual competences as well as my experiences played an important role in my decision to become a translator.
85. Definitely. It is clearly my passion for languages and cultures as well as my aptitude for learning languages that led me to become a translator.
86. Absolutely. I was already translating for pleasure, because I had the necessary [linguistic] competencies. Then I decided to study translation.
87. My multilingual competence has played the most important role.
88. Yes, definitely. Learning languages has enabled me to communicate with more people and always given me the desire to learn more languages.
89. Multilingualism offers other ways to conceive the world and express myself.
90. I would like to learn other languages to be able to have even more exchanges: I've started learning Chinese.
91. In a bilingual country like Canada, translation is very important.
92. It became apparent to me very quickly that a translator's strength is his or her mastery of the target language.

Appendix III

Multilingualism and Translation
Study conducted by: Carmen Ruschiensky
MA Candidate in Translation Studies
18 September 2013

Questionnaire

Please take as much space as you need to respond. Text fields expand as you type.
All information will remain confidential.

1. Consent

I have carefully studied the attached consent form below, and I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

2. Biographical Information

Name	

Age	
Place of birth	
Place of residence	
Citizenship	
Gender	
Marital status	
Current university program	
University	
Level and year of study	
Previous education	
Current occupation	
Previous occupations	
Other activities/interests	

3. Background

Please briefly describe where you were born and raised and, if applicable, when you moved to Montreal. What were the circumstances?

4. Languages

Please list all languages that you currently understand (oral comprehension), speak, read and write, and rate your proficiency on a scale of 1 to 5. Highest level of proficiency = 5.

language	understand	speak	read	write
sample	5	5	5	5

5. Language History

Please indicate where (town/city, country) and when (approximate age) you first acquired these languages, including languages you are still learning. Check (x) as many boxes as necessary.

language	location	age	home	school	work	other
sample	Regina,	3	x	x		x

	Canada					

What were/are your motivations for learning? Were they your first language(s), required languages (for school, work or any other social context), or languages you chose to learn?

language	first language (s)	required	choice	other

Would you like to elaborate on the learning contexts?

6. Language Use

Which languages do you use on a daily basis?

Do you use different languages with different people or in different contexts?

language	home	friends	school	work	community	official	other

Do you switch between different languages, dialects or registers on a regular basis?

Which languages do you use most often online? Do you communicate regularly with people from other regions or countries, including, if applicable, your country of origin?

7. Language Preferences, Status, and Identity

Do you have one language that you consider to be your dominant or native language?

Do you associate certain languages with a low or high social status?

Have you had any notable positive or negative experiences related to language use, choice, or proficiency? In particular contexts?

Do you feel like a different person depending on which languages you are using? Is this a positive or a negative experience?

Do you feel more "like yourself" in some languages more than others?

Do you identify with a particular linguistic cultural community or communities (either local or online)?

Would you describe these communities as monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

8. Translation

Which languages do you (or did you) translate between in your program of study? Please specify source and target languages.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Do you work as a translator in these languages outside of school?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Do you translate between other languages? Occasionally or on a regular basis? Professionally or as a volunteer?

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Do you translate between different languages for different purposes, contexts, areas of specialization, etc.?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Do you do any interpreting, either as part of your study program, work, or in any other context?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Did you ever work as a translator prior to undertaking a degree in translation?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Do you ever find yourself translating "informally" in different social situations?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                             │
│                                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

What influenced your decision to do a degree in translation?

>

Would you describe your interest in translation as being primarily personal, professional, or both?

>

Do you feel that your multilingual background, experience and competencies have played an important role in your deciding to become a translator?

>

Which languages do you (or would you) prefer to translate between?

>

Do you have an area of specialization in translation (i.e., literary, economic, community, technical, etc.)? More than one?

>

If you translate between languages other than French or English, do you see possibilities for translation work in these languages? In Montreal, Quebec, Canada, other countries, online?

>

Has your translation study program been beneficial to you? Which aspects of the program do you like most? Which do you like least?

>

9. Other Comments

Please feel free to share any other comments or personal reflections on your multilingual background, translation experience, translation study program, the role of translation, etc.

>

<div style="border:1px solid black; height:40px;"></div>

10. Interviews

Would you be interested in participating in the second (interview) stage of this study? If so, please provide your contact information here. Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

<div style="border:1px solid black; height:60px;"></div>

Thank you for participating!

Please save the completed questionnaire and forward it as an attachment to:
carmen.ruschiensky@gmail.com

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

A. PURPOSE
I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to explore relationships between translation students' personal and professional experience, everyday realities of language use in multilingual contexts, and the relevance of multilingualism to meaning, identity, and translation.

B. PROCEDURES
I understand that this research will be conducted in Montréal, and my participation will involve the completion of a confidential (email) questionnaire.

I understand that the principal investigator may contact me to participate in the second stage of research, which will include a series of three (maximum) audio-recorded interviews of approximately one hour each, conducted exclusively by the principal investigator in a Concordia University Library study room (or a location of my chosing), and a discussion of an excerpt of one (or more) of my translations, which I will chose.

I understand that I am not obliged to participate in additional research tasks, and I will be able to indicate this on the questionnaire.

I understand that audio recordings and any other material (questionnaires, transcriptions, notes, excerpts) will be securely stored and accessible only to the principal investigator (Carmen Ruschiensky) and made available only to her Faculty supervisor (Deborah Folaron) and myself, upon request.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS
Risks/discomforts: I understand that there are no known risks associated with this research project, though I may experience some discomfort in answering personal or sensitive questions about my background, experience, attitudes, values and preferences related to my langugage use and translation practice.

Benefits: I understand that this research is relevant to my own area of study as a multilingual translation student, that I will have an opportunity to reflect on my experience, discuss and explore translation issues and problems of interest to me, learn from the experience, and gain insights into my work as a translator.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime during the research stage without negative consequences.

- I understand that if I chose to withdraw my participation, I must inform the principal investigator in writing (email) at my earliest convenience or by May 1, 2014 at the latest.

- I understand that after this date (May 1, 2014) and following the principal investigator's thesis submission, any material that I have provided and authorized cannot be withdrawn.

- I understand that my participation in this study is CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity).

- I understand that the Principal Investigator will provide a summary of research findings upon request, and that I can access this information at any time by contacting her directly by phone or email.

- I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THAT BY COMPLETING AND RETURNING THE ATTACHED QUESTIONNAIRE, I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Research Ethics and Compliance Advisor, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481
ethics@alcor.concordia.ca

*This research is supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
and the Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture*

Appendix IV

Plurilinguisme et traduction
Étude menée par : Carmen Ruschiensky
Candidate à la Maîtrise en traductologie
18 septembre 2013

Questionnaire

Veuillez utiliser autant d'espace que nécessaire. Les champs de saisie s'agrandissent automatiquement. Tous les renseignements demeureront confidentiels.

1. Consentement

J'ai lu attentivement le formulaire de consentement ci-dessous, et je consens librement et volontairement à participer à l'étude en question.

2. Renseignements biographiques

Nom	
Âge	
Lieu de naissance	
Lieu de résidence	
Citoyenneté	
Sexe	
État civil	
Programme universitaire	
Université	
Niveau et année d'étude	
Études antérieures	
Emploi actuel	
Emplois antérieurs	
Autres champs d'intérêt	

3. Contexte

Veuillez décrire brièvement où vous êtes né, où vous avez grandi et, le cas échéant, quand vous avez déménagé à Montréal. Quelles étaient les circonstances?

4. Connaissance des langues

Veuillez indiquer toutes les langues que vous comprenez (compréhension orale), parlez, lisez et écrivez, et notez votre compétence sur une échelle de 1 à 5 (5 étant le plus haut niveau de compétence).

langue	comprendre	parler	lire	écrire
exemple	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*

5. Antécédents linguistiques

Veuillez indiquer où (village/ville, pays) et quand (âge approximatif) vous avez acquis ces langues, y compris les langues que vous êtes en train d'apprendre actuellement. Veuillez cocher (x) autant de champs que nécessaire.

langue	lieu	âge	maison	école	travail	autre
exemple	*Regina, Canada*	*3*	*x*	*x*		*x*

Veuillez résumer brièvement les raisons pour lesquelles vous avez appris ces langues. S'agit-il de vos langues premières, de langues requises (à l'école, au travail, dans un autre contexte social), ou de langues que vous avez choisi d'apprendre?

langue	langue première	requise	choix	autre

Souhaitez-vous préciser les circonstances d'apprentissage?

6. Usages linguistiques

Quelles langues utilisez-vous au quotidien?

Utilisez-vous des langues différentes en fonction des contextes? Avec des gens différents?

langue	maison	amis	école	travail	communauté	officiel	autre

Alternez-vous régulièrement entre langues, dialectes ou registres différents?

Quelles langues utilisez-vous le plus souvent en ligne? Communiquez-vous avec des gens d'autres régions ou d'autres pays, y compris, le cas échéant, votre pays d'origine?

7. Statut, identité et préférences linguistiques

Avez-vous une langue que vous considérez comme votre langue natale ou dominante?

Associez-vous certaines langues à un statut plus ou moins élevé?

Avez-vous vécu des expériences positives ou négatives liées à vos choix, usages ou compétences linguistiques? Dans des contextes particuliers?

Avez-vous l'impression d'être une personne différente selon la langue que vous utilisez? S'agit-il d'une expérience positive ou négative?

```
[empty box]
```

Vous sentez-vous plus « vous-même » dans certaines langues plus que d'autres?

```
[empty box]
```

Vous identifiez-vous avec une communauté linguistique ou culturelle particulière (soit locale ou en ligne)? Plus qu'une?

```
[empty box]
```

Décririez-vous ces communautés comme monolingues, bilingues ou plurilingues?

```
[empty box]
```

8. Traduction

Quelles langues traduisez-vous dans votre programme d'études? Veuillez préciser les langues de départ et les langues d'arrivée.

```
[empty box]
```

Travaillez-vous comme traducteur dans ces langues en dehors de l'école?

```
[empty box]
```

Faites-vous la traduction entre d'autres langues? Occasionnellement ou régulièrement? Dans des contextes professionnels ou bénévoles?

```
[empty box]
```

Travaillez-vous dans des langues différentes selon le but, le contexte, le domaine de spécialisation, etc.?

```
[empty box]
```

Travaillez-vous comme interprète, soit dans votre programme d'études, au travail, ou dans un autre contexte?

```



```

Aviez-vous déjà travaillé comme traducteur avant d'entreprendre des études en traduction?

```



```

Jouez-vous parfois le rôle de « traducteur » non officiel dans des situations sociales?

```



```

Quels facteurs ont pesé sur votre décision d'entreprendre des études en traduction?

```



```

Comment qualifiez-vous votre intérêt en traduction? Surtout personnel, professionnel, ou les deux?

```



```

Croyez-vous que votre formation, expérience et compétence plurilingue ont joué un rôle important dans votre décision de devenir traducteur?

```



```

Avez-vous des langues de préférence dans votre travail de traduction?

```



```

Avez-vous un domaine de spécialisation en traduction (c.-à-d., littéraire, économique, communautaire, technique, etc.)? Plus qu'une?

```



```

Si vous faites la traduction entre d'autres langues que le français ou l'anglais, voyez-vous des possibilités d'emploi dans ces langues? À Montréal, au Québec, au Canada, dans d'autres pays, en ligne?

Avez-vous bénéficié de votre programme en traduction? Quels aspects du programme préférez-vous? Lesquels aimez-vous le moins?

9. Autres commentaires

Si vous le souhaitez, n'hésitez pas à ajouter d'autres commentaires ou réflexions personnelles sur votre plurilinguisme, votre expérience en traduction, votre programme d'études, le rôle de la traduction, etc.

10. Entrevues

Aimeriez-vous participer à la deuxième étape (entrevue) de cette étude? Si oui, veuillez fournir vos coordonnées ci-dessous. N'hésitez pas à communiquer avec moi si vous avez des questions.

Merci de votre participation!

Veuillez enregistrer le questionnaire rempli et me le faire parvenir à :
carmen.ruschiensky@gmail.com

CONSENTEMENT À PARTICIPER

A. BUT

Le but de la recherche a été porté à ma connaissance, à savoir: explorer les relations entre les expériences personnelles et professionnelles des étudiants-traducteurs, les réalités d'usages linguistiques au quotidien, et la pertinence du plurilinguisme dans l'étude du sens, de l'identité et de la traduction.

B. PROCÉDURE

Il est entendu que cette recherche sera menée à Montréal, et que ma participation implique le remplissage d'un questionnaire confidentiel par courriel.

Il est entendu que la chercheuse principale pourrait communiquer avec moi pour me demander à participer à la deuxième étape de cette étude qui comprendra une série d'entrevues (un maximum de trois) d'une heure chacune, enregistrées en audio, menées exclusivement par la chercheuse principale dans une salle d'étude de l'Université Concordia (ou un endroit de mon choix), ainsi que l'analyse d'un extrait d'une (ou plus) de mes traductions que je choisirai.

Il est entendu que je ne suis pas obligé à participer à cette deuxième étape de recherche, ce que j'aurai l'occasion de préciser en remplissant le questionnaire.

Il est entendu que les enregistrements audio et toutes autres données (questionnaires, transcriptions, notes, extraits) seront conservés en lieu sûr et accessibles à la chercheuse principale (Carmen Ruschiensky) et fournis exclusivement à son professeur-superviseur (Deborah Folaron) et moi-même, sur demande.

C. RISQUES ET AVANTAGES

Risques : Il est entendu qu'il n'existe aucun risque connu associé à cette recherche, mais je pourrais me sentir mal à l'aise en répondant à certaines questions personnelles ou délicates sur les antécédents, expériences, attitudes, valeurs ou préférences liées à mes usages linguistiques et pratiques de traduction.

Avantages : Il est entendu que cette recherche est pertinente à mon propre domaine d'études en tant qu'étudiant-traducteur multilingue et que j'aurai l'occasion de réfléchir sur mes expériences, de discuter des problèmes qui m'intéressent, d'apprendre, et de mieux comprendre mon travail de traduction.

D. CONDITIONS DE PARTICIPATION
- Il est entendu que je suis libre de me désister et d'interrompre ma participation en tout temps au cours de la recherche sans conséquences défavorables.
- Il est entendu que si je décide de me désister et d'interrompre ma participation, je devrai aviser la chercheuse principale par écrit (courriel) dans les meilleurs délais ou, au plus tard, avant le 1er mai 2014.
- Il est entendu qu'après cette date (1er mai 2014), et après la soumission de la thèse de la chercheuse principale, il sera impossible de retirer les données déjà fournies et autorisées.
- Il est entendu que ma participation à l'étude est confidentielle (mon identité, connue de la chercheuse, ne sera pas divulguée).
- Il est entendu que les données de l'étude peuvent être publiées.

J'AI LU ATTENTIVEMENT LA PRÉSENTE ENTENTE ET JE COMPRENDS QU'EN REMPLISSANT ET RETOURNANT LE QUESTIONNAIRE CI-JOINT, JE CONSENS LIBREMENT ET VOLONTAIREMENT À PARTICIPER À L'ÉTUDE EN QUESTION.

Si vous avez des questions sur vos droits en tant que sujet de recherche, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec le conseiller de l'Éthique de la recherche de l'Université Concordia, par téléphone 514 848-2424, poste 7481, ou par courriel à ethics@alcor.concordia.ca.

Appendix V

Summary Protocol Form (SPF)
University Human Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research – Research Ethics and Compliance Unit: GM 1000 – 514.848.2424 ex. 7481
ethics@alcor.concordia.ca

Important (Faculty, staff, students)

- Approval of a Summary Protocol Form (SPF) must be issued by the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC) prior to beginning any research involving human participants.

- The central UHREC reviews all faculty and staff research, as well as some student research (in cases where the research involves greater than minimal risk). The UHREC, Disciplinary College reviews all minimal risk student research (minimal risk course related research intended solely for pedagogical purposes is reviewed at the Department level).

- Faculty and staff research funds/awards cannot be released until appropriate certification has been obtained. For information regarding the release of faculty and staff research funds/awards please contact the Office of Research. For information regarding the release of graduate student funds/awards please contact the School for Graduate Studies. For information regarding the release of undergraduate student funds/awards please contact the Financial Aid and Awards Office or the Faculty/Department.

- Please submit one signed copy of this form to the UHREC c/o the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit via e-mail at **ethics@alcor.concordia.ca**. *Please allow at least one month for the central UHREC to complete the review; students should allow at least 14 days for the UHREC, Disciplinary College to complete the review*.

- All research must comply with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, funding/award agency policies and guidelines, applicable law and governmental regulations, as well as the *Official Policies of Concordia University* as required.

- Once obtained, the Certificate of Ethical Approval for Research Involving Human Participants is valid for one year and must be renewed on an annual basis throughout the life of the project. This requires the submission of an Annual Report Form before the current approval expires. A project's approval expires automatically if a renewal request is not received before the current approval expires. No research activities

- involving human participants may be conducted under an expired approval.

- For more information regarding the UHREC, UHREC Disciplinary College or the procedures for the ethical review of research involving human participants, please see the Concordia *Policy for the Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Participants, VPRGS-3* and related *Procedures for the Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Participants* (*Official Policies of Concordia University*).

Important (students)

- If your project is encompassed within your supervising faculty member's SPF, your supervisor need only inform the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit via e-mail of your addition to the research team. If your project is an addition to, or an extension of, your supervising faculty member's SPF where a similar methodology is proposed, your supervising faculty member must submit a detailed modification request and any revised documents via e-mail; no new SPF is required.

Instructions

This document is a form-fillable Word document. Please open in Microsoft Word, and tab through the sections, clicking on checkboxes and typing your responses. The form will expand to fit your text. *Handwritten forms will not be accepted.* If you have technical difficulties with this document, you may type your responses and submit them on another sheet. Incomplete or omitted responses may cause delays in the processing of your protocol.

Status:

☐   Faculty/staff
☒   Graduate student (PhD, Masters)
☐   Undergraduate student
☐   Postdoctoral fellow

This research (check all that may apply):

☐   Is health and/or medical related
☐   Is to take place at the PERFORM Center
☐   Includes participants under the age of 18 years
☐   Includes participants with diminished mental or physical capacity
☐   Includes Aboriginal peoples
☐   Includes vulnerable individuals or groups *(vulnerability may be caused by limited   capacity, or limited access to social goods, such as rights, opportunities and power and includes individuals or groups whose situation or circumstances make them vulnerable in the context of the research project, or those who live with relatively high levels of risk on a daily   basis)*

☐   Involves   controlled   goods/technology,   hazardous   materials   and/or   explosives, biological/biohazardous materials, or other hazards (radioisotopes, lasers, x-ray equipment, magnetic fields)

☐   Is multi-jurisdictional/multi-institutional/multi-centric

1. Submission Information

Please check ONE of the boxes below:

☒   This application is for a new protocol.

☐   This application is a modification or an update of an existing protocol:
     Previous protocol number (s):

2. Contact Information

Please provide the requested contact information in the table below:

Principal Investigator/ Instructor	Department	Internal Address	Phone Number	E-mail
Carmen Ruschiensky	Département d'études françaises		514-369-3348	carmen.ruschiensky@gmail.com
Faculty Supervisor (*required for student Principal Investigators*)		Department / Program		E-mail
Deborah Folaron		Département d'études françaises		debbie.folaron@concordia.ca
Co-Investigators / Collaborators		University / Department		E-mail
Research Assistants		Department / Program		E-mail

3. Project and Funding Sources

Project Title:	Performativity and Translation in Multilingual Contexts

In the table below, please list all existing internal and external sources of research funding, and associated information, which will be used to support this project. Please include anticipated start and finish dates for the project(s). Note that for awarded grants, the grant number is REQUIRED. If a grant is an application only, list APPLIED instead.

Funding Source	Project Title	Grant Number	Award Period	
			Start	End
SSHRC	Original Title: Translating Metaphor: A Cognitive, Linguistic and Semiotic Approach Revised Title: Performativity and Translation in Multilingual Contexts	766-2013-0630	01/05/2013	01/05/2014
FQRSC	Original Title: La traduction des métaphores: une approche cognitive, linguistique et sémiotique Revised Title: Performativité et traduction dans les contextes plurilingues	172318	01/05/2014	01/01/2015
Concordia Faculty of			01/09/2012	01/09/2013

Arts and Science Graduate Fellowship				

4. Brief Description of Research or Activity

Please provide a brief overall description/lay summary of the project or research activity. The summary should not contain highly technical terms or jargon and should be in a style similar as to how you would describe your work to an individual without any discipline specific training. *Do not submit your thesis proposal or grant application.*

My initial research focused on problems and processes related to translating metaphor from a cognitive, linguistic and semiotic perspective. My goal was to analyze the translation of metaphor both as a practice and as a reflection of underlying cognitive processes, through a comparative text-based analysis of French to English translations, taking into consideration, as well, the emergence of meaning as an interactive process and the broader cultural context. Though still based on analyzing translation processes and products, the focus of my research has shifted to an emphasis on the latter, that is to say, a more sociocognitive and sociolinguistic approach that takes into consideration the role of the translators themselves. I have also broadened the scope of my research to include the multilingual competencies of translators who live, work and/or translate between three or more languages. Research on multilingualism is a rich and expanding field. Much of this work draws on linguistic, sociological and ethnographic approaches to explore language contact, meaning, competence and identity in multilingual contexts. The relation between the personal trajectories of multilingual individuals, the performativity and pragmatics of language use, and the negotiating of meanings and identities across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts are relevant to the translation process and the particular problems that translators encounter. Translators are not neutral conduits of language and meaning transfer but are always subjectively implicated in the process.

   During the first year of my studies in the Master's Program in Translation Studies at Concordia, I had the occasion to meet a number of translation students who, though studying in a French-English translation program, live and work between three or more languages. In some cases, translation students' first (or dominant) languages are neither French nor English. Many of these students were born and raised in Quebec; others have recently immigrated to Canada. In other cases, multilingual students whose native languages are French or English have also acquired additional languages that they use, personally or professionally, on a regular basis. In order to further explore this diversity in the context of translation studies, I would like to include a multiple case study of individual multilingual translation students as part of my research.

   My methodology will include a preliminary questionnaire, which I will distribute by email to undergraduate and graduate students who study or have recently completed studies in the translation program at Concordia (Département d'études françaises) and/or the Université de Montréal. This will enable me to establish criteria for a non-random selection of five translation students whom I would engage to participate in two or three sessions of audio-recorded interviews. My interview questions will focus on students' history of language use, choice, proficiency, acquisition, attitudes and preferences, as well as their views on the social status and value of the languages involved. I will also question them on their decision to study translation, the languages they translate between, how they see the role of translation, their aspirations as professional translators, and particular translation problems that they encounter, which may or may not be related to their multilingual competencies. I will also ask participants to provide examples of specific translation problems in the form of written extracts of translations they have worked on, which I hope will provide the basis for a critical and mutually informative discussion. The choice of this material will be entirely at the discretion of the participants.

My intention is to investigate individual students' trajectories in relation to specific translation issues and problems, through a comparative analysis. Though I will attempt to represent diversity in my selection of participants in terms of, for example, languages, age, background and gender, my study is not intended to not to be representative of multilingual translation students as a group but rather descriptive of specific cases. As a translation student myself, I am confident that I will be able to establish a rapport of mutual trust and respect with the participants, who will be informed of every aspect of my research, encouraged to ask questions, decline responses at their discretion, and contribute to analysis of translation issues and problems that we may or may not share. Though I am aware of my biased role as the "researcher," part of my selection criteria for the case studies will involve identifying translation students who are interested in the project and feel they might have something to learn by participating.

5. Scholarly Review / Merit

Has this research been funded by a peer-reviewed granting agency (e.g. CIHR, FQRSC, Hexagram)?

⊠   Yes   Agency: <u>SSHRC, FQRSC</u>

☐   No   If your research is beyond minimal risk (*defined as research in which the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation is no greater than those encountered by participants in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research*) please complete and attach the Scholarly Review Form (Scholarly Review Forms for student research may be signed by thesis committee members)

6. Research Participants

a) Please describe the group of people who will participate in this project.

Montreal-based university-level translation students (Concordia University, Université de Montréal) who are studying or have recently completed studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels, and who live, work and/or translate in three or more languages.

b) Please describe in detail how participants will be recruited to participate. Please attach to this protocol draft versions of any recruitment advertising, letters, etcetera which will be used.

I will intially design a questionnaire that will be emailed to translation students in cooperation with and via the appropriate translation studies departments at Concordia University and the Université de Montréal. I will specifcally be asking translation students who live, work and/or translate in three or more languages to participate in this preliminary questionnaire at their discretion. The questionnaire will be a PDF form that can be completed as a digital form, saved, and returned to my email address. This form will also ask if they would be interested in participating in the second stage interview process, and, if so, how and in which language (French or English) they would prefer to be contacted. It will be made clear that their participation in either the questionnaire and/or interview will remain completely confidential.

c) Please describe in detail how participants will be treated throughout the course of the research project. Describe the research procedures, and provide information regarding the training of researchers and assistants. Include sample interview questions, draft questionnaires, etcetera, as appropriate.

I will provide participants with a detailed description of my research project, and they will be informed of the intentions and purposes of my study. The process will begin with the above-mentioned preliminary questionnaire. At this stage, I will be establishing a context for my selection criteria and will not be meeting or discussing with participants in person. This questionnaire will include questions concerning basic biographical and linguistic information (i.e., birthplace, current or past studies and/or occupations, age, gender, language history, use, proficiency, languages of translation, linguistic, ethnic or community affiliations, etc). In the second stage, I will be meeting with 5 participants in person, individually, to conduct audio-recorded interviews at a location of their chosing, though I will suggest a library study room as a possible and practical option. I will conduct two or three interviews, approximately one hour each, over a period of three months.

The interviews will be semi-structured and take the original questionnaire as a point of departure. I will introduce specific questions and topics that will guide the interview process and allow participants to elaborate. During the second or third interview, I will ask participants to provide written extracts of translations, which we will discuss during the interview. I will ask their permission to conduct further analysis on these texts and include excerpts (clearly identified as participant contributions) in my thesis. Interviewees will be able to chose whether they prefer to conduct the inteview in English or French (or both). My approach as the interviewer will be professional but relaxed and friendly. I regard the interview process as more of a conversational, collaborative interaction that I hope will be stimulating and informative for both myself and the participants. I will inform interviewees that they should feel free to contact me by phone or email, and I will make every effort to maintain a professional, friendly and respectful relationship with participants throughout the process, taking into consideration any special concerns and adapting my schedule, as need be.

Participants will be clearly informed of my intention to record the interviews and their right to withdraw participation at any time during the research stage. I will request, however, that if they have any hesitations or concerns about their participation, that they contact me as soon as possible, within a reasonable time frame, i.e., before the final stages of completing my thesis. Participants will have access to interview transcripts upon request and will reserve the right to have material removed, destroyed and/or not included in my thesis. All interactions between myself and the participants, as well as all data collected (audio, written notes, etc.) will remain strictly confidential, unless participants chose (prefer) to have their names revealed. Only my advisor and myself will have access to this material. All interviewees will be asked to complete and sign a consent form. Questionnaire respondents will only be asked to sign a consent form if I include specific details from their responses in my analysis.

7. Informed Consent

a) Please describe how you will obtain informed consent from your participants. A copy of your written consent form or your oral consent script must be attached to this protocol. If oral consent is proposed, please describe how consent will be logged/ recorded. *Please note: written consent forms and oral consent scripts must follow the format and include the same information as outlined on the sample consent form.*

Written consent will be obtained from interviewee participants according to the guidelines and template provided by Concordia University's Human Ethics Research Committee. Written consent forms will be obtained from questionnaire respondents only in the event that details from their responses are included in my research analysis.

b) In some cultural traditions, individualized consent as implied above may not be appropriate, or additional consent (e.g. group consent; consent from community leaders) may be required. If this is the case with your sample population, please describe the appropriate format of consent and how you will obtain it.

N/A

8. Deception and Freedom to Discontinue

a) Please describe the nature of <u>any</u> deception, and provide a rationale regarding why it must be used in your protocol. Is deception absolutely necessary for your research design? Please note that deception includes, but is not limited to, the following: deliberate presentation of false information; suppression of material information; selection of information designed to mislead; selective disclosure of information. Please describe the proposed debriefing procedures post-participation.

Participants will be fully informed of the goals and intentions of my interviews and research. They will be encouraged to ask questions and clarify their understanding of the research at any stage in their participation.

b) How will participants be informed that they are free to discontinue at any time? Will the nature of the project place any limitations on this freedom (e.g. dissemination and/or publication date)?

Participants will be informed in writing, as part of the written consent form, that they will be free to withdraw participation at any time during the research stage. However, I will also request, in writing, that they agree to inform me as soon as possible of any hesitations they might have regarding their participation and taking into considerstion the submission deadline for my thesis. Withdrawl of material used in my thesis will not be possible as of four months prior to (April 2014) or following my thesis submission deadline, scheduled for August 2014.

9. Risks and Benefits

a) Please identify any foreseeable benefits to participants.

Since my research project is about translation, I have no doubt that it will be of great interest to participating translation students. While my research will contextualize participants' contributions and experience within a larger socio-cultural and theoretical context, it will also address particular questions, issues and concerns that are brought to light by the participants themselves. Interviews will be semi-structured and open-ended, allowing for critical discussion and reflection, both with respect to the broader cultural context as well as through analysis of specific translation issues and problems. Emphasizing the multilingual backgrounds and competencies of the participants will also provide an opportunity to explore and reflect on an important aspect of their personal and professional practices and identities as multilinguals and translators.

b) Please identify any foreseeable risks or potential harms to participants. This includes low-level risk or any form of discomfort resulting from the research procedure. When appropriate, indicate arrangements that have been made to ascertain that subjects are in "healthy" enough condition to undergo the intended research procedures. Include any "withdrawal" criteria.

Participants will be selected, in part, relative to their interest in my research project. I will not be seeking to retrieve any information that they are not interested in providing. I am interested in their knowledge and experience as multilinguals and translators. In this respect, I do not foresee any high-level risks or potential harm to participants, who I will be screening selectively and judging to be willing and able to participate. However, since I will be conducting personal interviews with people I have not known prior to undertaking this research, I can not be 100 per cent certain that I will not encounter individuals with particular difficulties or vulnerabilties of which I am unaware. Some interview questions might raise personal and potentially sensitive subjects that could be related to experiences in a participant's country of origin, political aspects of language contact and translation, or relationships between multilingualism, translation and emotions, to name a few examples. If at any point in the research I feel that a participant's experiences or problems are beyond the scope of my research topic, or if I encounter any form of hostility, aggression, uncooperativeness, etc. I will ask the participant to withdraw from the project. In my opinion, however, the risk of such an encounter is extremely low.

c) Please indicate how the risks identified above will be minimized. Also, if a potential risk or harm should be realized, what action will be taken? Please attach any available list of referral resources, if applicable.

My approach as the researcher will be to maintain a critical, reflexive position, and I will encourage participants to do the same, emphasizing the benefits of critical reflection, research as a learning process and how this can contribute to our understanding of translation and practice as translators.

d) Is there a likelihood of unanticipated "heinous discovery" (e.g. disclosure of child abuse, revelation of crime) or "incidental finding" (e.g. previously undiagnosed medical or psychiatric condition) outside of the intended scope of the research that could have significant welfare implications for the participant or other parties, whether health-related, psychological or social? If so, how will such a discovery be handled?
Note that in exceptional and compelling circumstances, researchers may be subject to obligations to report information to authorities to protect the health, life or safety of a participant or a third party (TCPS2, Article 5.1) Note that if, in the course of the research, incidental findings are discovered, researchers have an obligation to inform the participant (TCPS2, Article 3.4).

Given the subject, nature and approach of my research, I feel that the likelihood of encountering serious personal problems, conflicts or "heinous discoveries" is extremely low. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, when conducting personal interviews with previously unknown individuals, one cannot be 100 per cent certain that some sensitive information, even though not solicited, may be disclosed. If, following the first interview, I have any even subtle indications of potentially sensitive or harmful issues beyond the scope of my research, knowledge or experience, I would not proceed with the following interviews. I would not disclose participants' confidential information to anyone else, except in the event that the health, life or safety of the participant or anyone else is at risk. In this case, I would abide by the stipulations of *TCPS2, Article 5.1* and *TCPS2, Article 3.4.* and inform myself of the appropriate procedures to follow, without disclosing confidential information other than to the said participant and/or the appropriate authorities.

10. Data Access and Storage

a) Please describe what access research participants will have to study results, and any debriefing information that will be provided to participants post-participation.

Since the purpose and nature of my research will be fully disclosed from the outset, there will be no need for a post-participation debriefing session. All interviewees will have access (upon request) to all written

data and audio-recordings. I will also present my research findings and analysis to interviewee participants, i.e,. material to be included in my thesis. I will not be contacting questionniare respondants to share study results, but they will have access to this information upon request.

b) Please describe the path of your data from collection to storage to its eventual archiving or disposal. Include specific details on short and long-term storage (format and location), who will have access, and final destination (including archiving, or any other disposal or destruction methods).

My data will include completed questionnaires returned to my email address, digital audio recordings, transcriptions, notes taken during interviews, and written extracts of student translations. All data will be transferred onto and stored on, short and long term, my password-protected home computer. I will not be storing data on any portable devices, such as laptops, tablets, USB keys, etc. However, I will back up all material onto an external hard-drive, which will remain stored in a filing cabinet in my home office. Digital audio files will be transferred to my home computer immediately following the interviews and deleted from the digital recording device. No one else will have direct access to this data. Data will be made accessible (temporarily) to my advisor and to participants upon request. To this end I would temporarily transfer, for example, copies of audio files onto a USB key for consultation purposes only. These copies would be deleted following consultation. Data pertaining to participants who chose to withdraw from the project will be immediately destroyed, upon request. Data used in my analysis and thesis will remain stored on my password-protected home computer and external hard-drive. Participants will be informed that once my thesis is submitted it will not be possible to remove this information but they could request to have original data destroyed.

11. Confidentiality of Results

Please identify what access you, as a researcher, will have to your participant(s) identity(ies):

☐	Fully Anonymous	Researcher will not be able to identify who participated at all. Demographic information collected will be insufficient to identify individuals.	
☐	Anonymous results, but identify who participated	The participation of individuals will be tracked (e.g. to provide course credit, chance for prize, etc) but it would be impossible for collected data to be linked to individuals.	a) If your sample group is a population in which the revelation of their identity could be particularly sensitive, please describe
☐	Pseudonym	Data collected will be linked to an individual who will only be identified by a fictitious name / code. The researcher will not know the "real" identity of the participant.	
☒	Confidential	Researcher will know "real" identity of participant, but this identity will not be disclosed.	
☐	Disclosed	Researcher will know and will reveal "real" identity of participants in results / published material.	
☐	Participant Choice	Participant will have the option of choosing which level of disclosure they wish for their "real" identity.	
☐	Other (please describe)		

any special measures that you will take to respect the wishes of your participants regarding the disclosure of their identity.
N/A

b) In some research traditions (e.g. action research, research of a socio-political nature) there can be concerns about giving participant groups a "voice". This is especially the case with groups that have been oppressed or whose views have been suppressed in their cultural location. If these concerns are relevant for your participant group, please describe how you will address them in your project.

N/A

12. Additional Comments

a) Bearing in mind the ethical guidelines of your academic and/or professional association, please comment on any other ethical concerns which may arise in the conduct of this protocol (e.g. responsibility to subjects beyond the purposes of this study).

Since I will be interviewing translation students who study at the university (Concordia) where I am pursuing my research, I will take measures to avoid any potential conflict of interests, i.e., selecting interview participants who are not currently registered in courses taught by my advisor or myself.

b) If you have feedback about this form, please provide it here.

13. Signature and Declaration

Following approval from the UHREC, a protocol number will be assigned. This number must be used when giving any follow-up information or when requesting modifications to this protocol.

The UHREC will request annual status reports for all protocols, one year after the last approval date.

I hereby declare that this Summary Protocol Form accurately describes the research project or scholarly activity that I plan to conduct. Should I wish to make minor modifications to this research, I will submit a detailed modification request or in the case of major modifications, I will submit an updated copy of this document via e-mail to the Research Ethics and Compliance Unit for review and approval.

Principal Investigator Signature: Carmen Ruschiensky

Date: __4 June 2013_____

Faculty Supervisor Statement (required for student Principal Investigators):

I have read and approved this project. I affirm that it has received the appropriate academic approval, and that the student investigator is aware of the applicable policies and procedures governing the ethical conduct of human participant research at Concordia University. I agree to provide all necessary supervision to the student. I allow release of my nominative information as required by these policies and procedures in relation to this project.

Faculty Supervisor Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix VI

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY
FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Name of Applicant: Ms. Carmen Ruschiensky

Department: Études françaises

Agency: SSHRC/FRQSC/Concordia

Title of Project: Performativity and Translation in
                         Multilingual Contexts

Certification Number: 30001563

Valid From: July 31, 2013   to: July 30, 2014

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

_____

Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee

01/29/2009

Appendix VII

UNIVERSITÉ
Concordia
UNIVERSITY

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
OFFICE OF RESEARCH

SGW Campus - GM 900
Tel: 514.848.2424 x 7481 • Fax: 514.848.4290
oor.ethics@concordia.ca

ANNUAL REPORT FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Please ensure that all questions are fully completed. Attach additional sheets if you require more space. Once completed, please return a signed hard copy to the HREC, c/o the Office of Research, S GM-900.
STATUS REPORT DUE DATE: June 30, 2014

		QUESTIONS
SPF#: #30001563	ORIGINAL SPF APPROVAL DATE: July 31, 2013	
PROJECT TITLE: Competence and Creativity in Translation: Multilingual Perspectives (originally Performativity and Translation in Multilingual Contexts)		Is data collection from hum
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Carmen Ruschiensky	DEPARTMENT: Departement d'études françaises	
OFFICE ADDRESS:	TELEPHONE: 514-994- 0644	E-MAIL: carmen.ruschiensky@gmail.com

an subjects still active in this protocol?   YES ☒ NO ☐

If no, when did the data collection phase end?
Is there currently primary data from this study in storage?   YES ☒ NO ☐

If yes, please give details on the format and location of this data storage, who has access to it, and the plan for its eventual disposal/destruction:

My data includes completed questionnaires returned to my email address, digital audio recordings, transcriptions, notes taken during interviews, and written extracts of student translations. All data have been transferred onto and are stored on my password-protected home computer. I am not storing data on any portable devices, such as laptops, tablets, USB keys, etc., however, all data is backed up on an external hard-drive, stored in a filing cabinet in my home

office. No one other than myself has direct access to this data. All primary data will be destroyed (erased from my computer and external hard-drive) upon the completion and sucessful defence of my master's thesis in the spring of 2015.

If No, please give details as to when this data was disposed of or destroyed, and what method was used to do so.

What is the current funding status of this project?

☒ Funded	Agency:	FRQSC	Funding Period:	01/05/2014 to 01/05/2015	
	Grant Type:	Master's Scholarship	Grant Number:	172318	
☐ Funding Sought	Agency:		Funding Period:		
☐ Unfunded					

Have there been changes to any of the following elements since this protocol originally received ethics approval that have not been submitted as a modification? To answer this question, please refer to your original SPF # «SPF»

	YES	NO		YES	NO
Appreciable Risk	☐	☒	Sample Size	☐	☒
Consent Process	☐	☒	Target Population	☐	☒
Research Methodology	☐	☒	Research Team	☐	☒
Treatment of Participants	☐	☒	Research Location	☐	☒
			Other	☒	☐

If you answered YES to any of the above, please explain what changes have been made, and why they were not submitted as a modification.

The title of my project has been modified very recently (please see above). Nothing else has changed.

Since original ethics clearance, have any adverse events (such as complaints, injuries, problems or complications) been experienced by any participants as a result of involvement in the study?

YES ☐ NO ☒

If yes, please describe any adverse events in the space below.

INVESTIGATOR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
_____

Please check the category into which the project falls:

☒   CONTINUING PROJECT
I acknowledge that this project will continue according to the description in the application for which ethics clearance originally was granted and in compliance with Concordia University Policy for the Ethical Review for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. Any subsequent modifications to this project are indicated on this form or have been submitted for prior ethics clearance by the Human Research Ethics Committee. Any adverse events occurring during the conduct of this research will be reported immediately to the Office of Research.

☐   COMPLETED PROJECT
I acknowledge that this project was completed according to the description in the application for which ethics clearance originally was granted and in compliance Concordia University Policy for the Ethical Review for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. Any subsequent modifications to this project are indicated on this form or were submitted for prior ethics clearance by the Human Research Ethics Committee. Any adverse events that occurred during the conduct of this research have been reported to the Office of Research.

☐   TERMINATED PROJECT
I acknowledge that this project has been terminated prior to completion, and that completed portions remained in accordance with the description of the application for which ethics clearance originally was granted and in compliance Concordia University's Policy for the Ethical Review for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. Any subsequent modifications to this project are indicated on this form or were submitted for prior ethics clearance by the Human Research Ethics Committee. Any adverse events that occurred during the conduct of this research have been reported to the Office of Research.

Signature of

Principal Investigator: Date: June 30, 2014

Appendix VIII

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY
FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Name of Applicant: Carmen Ruschiensky

Department: Faculty of Arts and Science\Études françaises

Agency: N/A

Title of Project: Performativity and Translation in Multilingual
                       Contexts

Certification Number: 30001563

Valid From: June 11, 2014   to: June 10, 2015

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

_____
Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee