Eugene A. Nida and Translation Studies

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This article discusses the nature of scholarship in the humanities in order to put into perspective Eugene Nida's *Toward a Science of Translation*. It describes European linguistics, literature studies, and foreign-language teaching in the 19th and 20th centuries in broad and simplified outline. When Nida published his book in 1964, the European Union was being formed, and international trade and cooperation were about to increase enormously. This would call for new generations of translators with an academic training rather than merely a bilingual (childhood) background. The article points out Nida's arguments concerning, e.g. the division into decoding and encoding, the time spans between actual translations of the Christian Bible, the identity of the source texts, and the relevance of directionalities in Bible translation to professional translation work. Rounding off with a view of the divergences and 'sameness' of source and target texts today, the article concludes that Nida's book was published at a crucial epoch, when translation had become a profession for many people; that 'equivalence' is often useful in a classroom setting; that Nida's work was pioneering in its stringency; and that it inspired fruitful debates, insights, and research, thus leading to the foundation of Translation Studies.

Key words: Eugene Nida; scholarship in the humanities; directionality; synchrony; diachrony; equivalence; international organisations.

On the nature of scholarship in the humanities

A tribute to and an assessment of Eugene Nida's achievements in Translation Studies calls for an examination of the nature of scholarship in the humanities in general. Nida's contribution was an outstanding one and is therefore a landmark in the history of Translation Studies. However, in order to fully appreciate this, his book must be placed in the historical, scholarly, and social contexts in which it originally appeared. Although such a retrospective operation is not without critical elements, it in no way detracts from Nida's outstanding contribution. His perceptive and pioneering study opened the eyes of the scholarly community to Translation Studies like no other work before. // 82 …//

Scholars in the humanities sometimes envy natural scientists for what they perceive as the 'exactness' and precision of their disciplines. Laymen normally consider whatever is 'proved' in science to be 'truth beyond dispute'. Over time, natural scientists have come to realise that all investigations, no matter how 'objective' their results seem to be, depend on the object of study, the instruments used for assessment, and the individual(s) applying them. They therefore agree that theories in the natural sciences are in fact not theories, but only hypotheses that should continue to be subjected to testing in order to be falsified. As long as they stand up to testing they have validity, but when they are falsified, they must be replaced by new hypotheses.[1]

In the humanities, 'truth' is also relative; this relativity then is a factor common to both scholarship and science, as is the fact that the observer affects the results. But there is a major difference in the degree of relativity – in the humanities, we deal with relativity in the world around us in terms of its effect on human life, human actions and humans' interaction, running the gamut from wars to friendly dialogue, from love to hatred. These things cannot be described and measured in ways that would satisfy the demands of the natural sciences. It is even more to the point that we cannot falsify concepts and ideas. We may disagree with them and we may reject them after having examined them (e.g. vicariously by referees in scholarly journals). Ideas that are palpably out of keeping with 'reality' rarely make it to print; and if they do, they are 'filtered' again, insofar as they are normally read by few people and rarely quoted, thus failing to inspire new thinking. In the humanities we must consider research good when it inspires and provokes new ideas, and leads to constructive criticism, to further insights, and to more knowledge.

Translation: the field

Translation is communication between humans; however, unlike most human linguistic communication, it is tied to communication between two parties that do not understand one another without the mediation of a middleman – a translator.

While most Translation Studies scholars will accept translation as a broad term, comprising not only written translation but also interpreting, subtitling, etc., when Eugene Nida's *Toward a Science of Translation* was published in 1964, the focus in scholarly work was nearly exclusively on written translation. Since many translations are preserved on stones, on tablets, in parchment or in paper records, the history of written translation is infinitely easier to trace than say, that of interpreting. In addition, much written translation has involved texts with a strong directive influence on the daily lives of target-language audiences. On the one hand, there are the religious texts of Buddhism (originally Sanskrit) and Christianity (originally Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek). On the other, translations of literature and binding international treaties have also been respected and held in high esteem by both sending societies and receptor audiences. Small wonder that it is written translation that has attracted most attention and, not least, demands for exactness and quality. // 83 …//

We know that in absolute terms, there have been fluctuations in the number of people involved in translation throughout history. In some epochs, translation has had a greater impact than in others. The Chinese translation of Buddhist sutras from c. 100 to 1100, the Muslim activities in 8th- and 9th-century Baghdad concerning the preservation of the scientific lore of Greek and Roman antiquity, and the transfer of Arab knowledge to the Western languages in Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries have all left their traces in present-day cultures across the globe.

The humanities, linguistics and literature in the last centuries in the West

In a broad and simplified overview of the humanities, linguistics and literature were dominant in the West in the 19th century and the first half of the twentieth. Historical linguistics established the common origin of the Indo-European languages by comparison and stringent thinking, which led to the development of 'linguistic laws' at the beginning of the 19th century, thanks to pioneering works by a Dane (Rasmus Rask (1787–1832)) and several Germans (e.g. Jacob Grimm (1784–1863), Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and Franz Bopp (1791–1867)). This tradition was carried on and led to sophisticated academic studies in highly esteemed European 'schools' (e.g. in Prague), showing that linguistics was often considered more exact than other fields in the

humanities. These trends were very much alive when Nida's work was published.

Embryonic literary studies in the early 19th century were concerned with, among other things, the 'Zeitgeist,' a concept originating with Wolfgang Goethe, and intimately connected with the European (especially English and German) ideology of 'Romanticism,' according to which poetry was derived from semi-divine inspiration. Early literary studies concentrated on the life and creative processes of individual authors, and gradually examined the 'influence' that authors, nations, or 'cultural movements' exerted on one another. The finest monuments to such thinking are found in sweeping statements in comparative literature by academics who had read the literary works in translation. However, this dependence on translation was rarely recognised in comparative literature studies until the late 20th century.

Foreign-language teaching did not connect with linguistics, but rather, in some vague way, with 'culture'. Notably, Latin and Greek had been a staple of European teaching as 'the classical languages', whereas French gained a foothold as the international language of the upper-middle classes and the aristocracy in the middle of the 18th century. It was usually taught by French ex-pats or by educated people who had lived in France. Gradually, the teaching of other languages – usually dependent on geopolitical realities – emerged in various countries, normally started by private initiative. But both the 'authority' of Greek and Latin texts and probable teacher insecurity meant that the focus was on individual words, phrases and inflections, and also lay behind the frequent insistence on 'correct translation' – sometimes even on just one version. // 84 …//

It should be noted that, especially in the 19th century, the translation of informative, scientific and technological material increased prodigiously in Europe, but being deemed unworthy of elevated thinking, it did not attract the attention of the elites.

Europe in 1964

The Europe in which *Toward a Science of Translation* appeared was slowly recovering from the devastation of the Second World War. At the same time, it was establishing the cooperative structures that led to the creation of the European Union, which is today the largest single professional workplace for translators. International trade and exchange would soon flourish in the age of globalisation.

Nida's book was first published in Europe in the Netherlands. Written by the well-known supervisor of translations for the American Bible Society in 'Latin America, Africa, and Asia', the book was intended for an audience that went beyond Bible translators and which was – one assumes – accustomed to sophisticated thinking. Nida posited that his book was solidly based on contemporary developments in anthropology and psychology, but above all on the "important and fruitful developments in linguistics, both in the structural as well as the semantic areas" (1964: ix). These considerations referred to the transformational grammar developed in the US by Noam Chomsky, and many analyses in Nida's book bear witness to transformational grammar, which was a novelty at the time.

Speaking in broad terms and leaving out details, most translation scholarship in continental Europe, notably in the German sphere of influence, was based on literature or philosophy, often taking in, on the one hand, minutiae such as single words and phrases and, on the other, large sweeps of literature. Studies in the Anglophone world were definitely in the essayistic tradition. Virtually all studies were, to some extent, prescriptive, and many focused on 'errors.'

Nida's book was written in a civilised and unassuming tone, a feature that has been frequently overlooked by its critics and reviewers. In terms of its influence, it is worth noting that the work was stringent, and in this respect it still stands out. The references to linguistics seemed to

relate to European academic traditions of 'exactness' in linguistics. Small wonder that, as it gradually became known to academics, the book had an enormous impact on the then small circle of European scholars of translation.[3] In addition to a new approach to linguistics, and in accordance with its subtitle (...*with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating*), the book referred to a tradition that had its origins in biblical translation – as opposed to the literary texts that were central to critics and were frequently used in the academic world for training potential translators. And, being written by an American, and with references to work in other parts of the world, the book also seemed to point beyond the confines of Europe. // 84 …//

Nida himself stresses that the book "makes no pretensions to be a definitive volume" (ibid.) and emphasises that there will be changes, especially ones that would be brought about by future developments in semantics. And yet the book is full of insights that struck readers as perceptive and innovative.

In a discussion of Nida's work for a modern Translation Studies audience, one must include some notes of caution: (a) some of his terminology differs from modern scholarly usage, (b) there have been major upheavals in Translation Studies (some of them caused by Nida's work itself) that have changed the field, and (c) many of his observations have been taken too uncritically or too literally by other scholars and have thus been interpreted in contexts beyond their original ones.

Since Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence have already been debated frequently in Translation Studies, I shall largely leave them in peace and instead single out a few of his other points, notably those shown in illustrations 41, 42, and 45 in *Toward a Science of Translation*. I shall relate these to professional translation, to Nida's own background, and to their impact upon readers. I will also take the liberty of rephrasing some comments to conform to modern terminology, in order not to complicate the discussions.

The translation process

Like other scholars, Eugene Nida is inevitably constrained by his knowledge. Or, to be specific, he is limited to biblical translation as he would know it. Let us examine his model of translation as shown in Figure 41 (1964: 146):
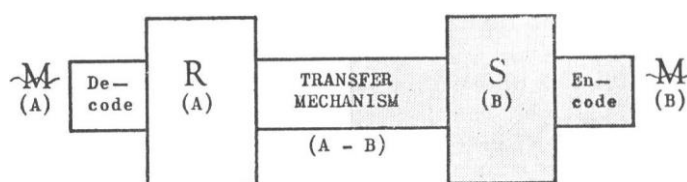
In this model, Nida divides the translation process into a decoding phase and an encoding phase in between the transfer of the message (M) from the source to the target language (A to B). This model is clear and makes sense in a number of ways.

A) In the history of translation, the Bible has very often been translated by a source-language speaker into the target language (from his mother tongue (A) into his foreign language (B)); this version would often be edited and written in 'correct target language' by a target-language speaker. This also applied to early translations of Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit into Chinese and, as late as the 20th century, to much Bible translation (many missionaries were men who would be sent abroad when they were 40 or older and who never achieved perfect fluency in the foreign language). // 86 …// In China, this system is known as "missionary speaks – Chinese writes" (Xiong Yuezhi 1996: 16). In missionary–translator teams there are thus obvious differences between 'decoding' and

'encoding'.

B) The illustration also breaks down the translation process into a series of components. This makes sense when we envisage a translator who picks up a source text, reads it and then translates it. It makes eminent pedagogical sense to students who have begun to learn a new foreign language; they will immediately be aware of what 'decoding' means, because this is precisely what they feel they have to do when they face an incomprehensible foreign-language text and have to 'find out what it says' by means of dictionaries.

Conversely, professional translators and advanced translation students usually have 'automated' processes, in that they can plunge into a source text and swiftly render it into the target language, possibly with one or two checks on unfamiliar words. This latter procedure is not unknown to Nida, who notes that "[a]nyone experienced in translating from one particular language to another does tend to speed up the process of transfer by anticipating in the decoding something of the encoding process." (1964: 147)

C) It is highly relevant that Nida's book was published at a time when the recruitment of interpreters and (to some extent) translators was undergoing rapid and fundamental change. Professional interpreters debated whether interpreters were 'born' or 'taught'; 'born' mediators required little or no training (which was good), whereas 'taught' ones demanded training (which was not quite as good). I checked on the background of some interpreters I met at the European Commission in Brussels and found that most of the 'born' interpreters had learnt their foreign languages in their childhood or early youth.[4] Others had to learn foreign languages in school or in courses, as teenagers or adults. Few participants in these debates could have foreseen the present process of globalisation, in which there would be an immense need for linguistic middlemen, including many (indeed, now a majority) who had not been 'born' to the trade.

Nida's book was published on the eve of this new epoch. I suggest that, by and large, those who became professional interpreters and translators in previous eras tended to become so due to the place and circumstances of their birth or some other happenstance, rather than by calculation and planning.[5] It was the explosion of international relationships during and in the wake of the Second World War that created the need for a new caste of translators. Nida's stringency, his systematic approach and his pedagogical examples met the needs of young (and early) European translators and provided them with a lucid description of the process they were trying to master. While it is true that not all of them would have read Nida's book, their teachers would either have read it or heard about it and would have used some of his ideas in their teaching. // 87 …//

And thanks to its stringency, *Toward a Science of Translating* also paved the way for subsequent serious work in Translation Studies, including other genres, new approaches, and other modes of transfer.

'Equivalence,' time spans and the identity of source texts

When discussing 'equivalence,' it must be borne in mind that Nida was primarily concerned with biblical translation. In order to successfully propagate Christianity, the Bible has to be the same in all languages – otherwise, Christianity would fall apart. Small wonder then, that establishing the meaning of the text (and rendering it in translation) is the guiding principle for translation in Nida's book.

In the book, equivalence and the difficulties involved are discussed mostly by means of analyses of linguistic units at lexical and syntactical levels. They are not really applied to translational examples, although some biblical examples are quoted. Principles are discussed, some of them quite thoroughly. Figure 42 shows biblical texts and translations in chronologically disparate periods and

different languages (1964: 147):
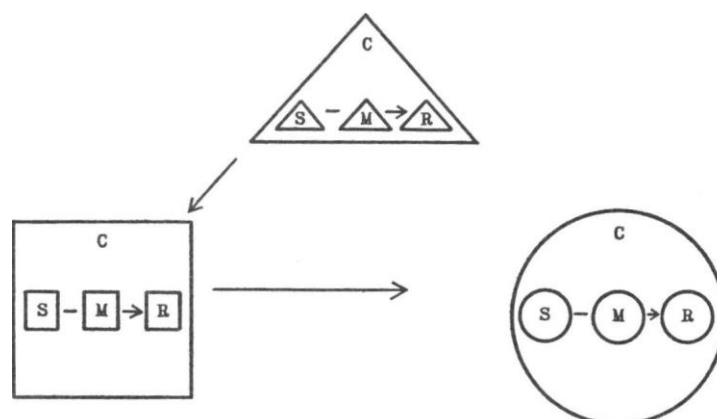
Nida comments that this illustrates "the typical situation in which an English-speaking translator tries to render the Biblical message (whether from Greek or Hebrew) into some present-day non-Indo-European language." For the sake of clarity, it must be explained that 'S', 'M', and 'R' stand for monolingual or language-internal 'senders,' 'messages' and 'recipients' in Greek or Hebrew (triangles) or English (squares) and a non-Indo-European language (circles).

The phrasing suggests that Nida fails to take into account the problem of diachrony, viz. that in the c. 2,000 years between the penning of the Hebrew and Greek biblical source texts and the English translation(s) thereof, language usage, words, phrases and meanings have changed fundamentally. There is a major problem in terms of knowing what all words in the scriptures originally meant and in rendering them 'correctly' in a modern language. To compound matters, since Jesus Christ spoke Aramaic and the Greek in the New Testament, it is in part a *relay* translation. // 88 …//

This is not devastating criticism, as in the 1960s, factors such as displacements in time and space were not central to thinking in the humanities – so few, if any, noticed.

The tangible and physical identity of Nida's source text is also open to debate. Various branches of the Christian Church do not entirely agree about which parts in the Hebrew Bible and Christian scriptures should be included in their holy writs. But, once again, the identity of the source text was not a question that was uppermost in debates in the humanities at the time that Nida's pioneering book appeared. The issue was never raised in my school and university days. We would have to translate back into English source texts that had been transferred into Danish, and later we would translate excerpts of Danish literature that stood no chance of making it to the British market, merely because they presented "interesting translation problems" (i.e. syntactical or lexical traps). Little heed was paid to matters such as language change.

Directionalities and the 'core meaning'

Nida points out that actual Bible translation comprises four combinations of directions in translation, viz., "[option 1] translating from one's mother tongue into an acquired language; [option 2] translating from an acquired language into one's mother tongue; [option 3] translating from one mother tongue to another (complete bilingualism); and [option 4] translating from one acquired language into another acquired language" (1964: 150). Nida explicitly states that the first option is typical of most missionary work; that the second is decidedly preferable; that (with modifications) the third is almost as good as the second; and that the fourth one is the least

satisfactory.

These combinations are not unheard of in translation work, but hardly in that order. Professional translators will work mostly into their A, B, C, etc. languages as in options 1 and 2 (with the added proviso that at the EU and UN, and in the Anglophone world in general, translators usually translate only into A, their mother tongue). Nida's third option is fairly rare, and the fourth is resorted to only when there is no alternative. In other words, some of the language combinations discussed are rare outside special fields (such as Bible translation). Nida's conclusions are based on unusual circumstances and will not result in translations that can be easily compared. In this respect, Nida seems to have fallen into the same trap as most other scholars in the humanities (including me), i.e. generalising too much from too little material. In terms of volume, Bible translation does not loom large in the global translational activity.

In Figure 42, which was discussed above, the different triangular, circular and square forms make it eminently clear that there must be variations in the 'meaning' of the versions of the Bible in different languages. // 89 …//

But at the end of the discussion of directionalities, I feel that there is an infelicitous presentation that has led many readers astray because they have not read Nida's text carefully. The paragraph that winds up this discussion of (*synchronic*) directionality ends with an illustration of the 'meanings' implied in the cross-lingual, *diachronic* 'processes' involving the original, mediating, and final languages in missionary translation. And, as previously mentioned, this inevitably also includes some *relay* translation, namely versions in which all translations (or texts) have a target audience (whether in Hebrew, Greek, English or non-Indo-European languages). Nida illustrates the outcome of the diachronic transfers in Figure 45 (1964: 150):

It is problematic that Nida does not make a clear division between *synchronic* processes and *diachronic* comparisons, that the central point in the figure appears to be the same, and the overlapping areas are so large. Readers who do not pause sufficiently to realise that Nida has changed the focus to refer to two radically different situations are easily led to believe that it is indeed possible to talk about equivalence in terms of the central content, irrespective of the time spans and language combinations involved in the translation.

'Equivalence' or 'sameness' in today's contexts

By introducing a differentiation between formal and dynamic equivalence, Eugene Nida implicitly indicated that this central concept was not all that stable. In the subsequent debates, much has been said, and in far less civil words than those used by Nida. Although the pros and cons both emphasise that equivalence is a shaky concept, there is an argument, most comprehensively presented by Sandra Halverson (1997), that there is something to 'equivalence'.

But let us have a look at equivalence as 'sameness' in translation in today's world.

Equivalence and literature

Literary translators have always made their own adaptations, often to the horror of scholars and students who happened to check them in detail in thesis work. There is no reason to deny that a literary translator's rendition is affected by her personality, her status, and her background

knowledge, or to put it in linguistic terms: her idiolect, sociolect and use of the potential of the target-language system. Literary translators have to survive, and they rarely depend on the author for their survival. The clients they really cater for are publishers, and consequently the readers for whom they produce their translations. And yet there is more to it. // 90 …//

This has recently been demonstrated in uniquely complex ways in the case of J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter books, which were translated into more than 60 languages. I believe that the ways in which translators have dealt with this saga may potentially provide material for the many scholars who wish to examine strategies and sleights-of-hand in literary translation.

The names of many minor characters were rendered differently in many languages: translators came up with localised or adapted names that would 'evoke a similar response' with readers in e.g. Brazil, Norway, Italy, etc. (Wyler 2003; Brøndsted 2004). Others, such as the first Russian translator, chose not to translate later volumes (wikipedia.org). The fact that nobody except the author knew how the saga would end, as well as the fact that even the translators did not get the English source text until a given volume appeared in British English and American English, meant that translators were not aware of the relationships between the books, let alone the overall themes of the saga. Thus the French translator of the first book took it for granted that the books were meant for children and adapted the style accordingly (Feral 2006). Others may have produced translations that turned out to be contradictory. Katrine Brønsted has unearthed an example in which the Danish translator had taken the liberty of changing the magic ingredient of Harry's wand from "a phoenix tail feather" to 'a horn from a chimera' in the first volume. This means that a plot point in the second volume, whereby that Harry is saved by the phoenix whose feather is in his wand, is not conveyed to Danish readers (Brøndsted 2004 (footnote 6)). However, the fact is that, no matter what translators may do to create equivalence (by making adaptations for the sake of 'dynamic equivalence'), the Harry Potter stories are so suffused with British characteristics, including the names of the protagonists, that there can be no sameness of formality or response – i.e. a translator cannot transplant all aspects of the stories from their British cultural contexts. Insofar as there is some kind of 'sameness,' it is found in different layers between the British Harry Potter books, and the translations and will vary between languages.

'Sameness' in the political arena

But in some contexts in modern society there exist translations that are 'the same as the source text versions' and which we could therefore term 'equivalent,' albeit not precisely in the sense used by Nida. These translations (including interpreting) are found in contexts ranging from humble court hearings to international treaties and agreements. Such agreements are found within every single supranational body, from the Mercosur of South America to the United Nations. At present, the notion of 'sameness of content' is most obviously found at the European Union, where documents in the process of common legislation are forged into directives, regulations and laws. These are drafted, discussed and handled in English, French or German and then appear (i.e. are made public) 'at the same time' in the national languages of the countries that are members of the EU. It has often been argued, by both practising translators and theorists, that this is a fiction, that no equivalence at the micro- or the macro-level is possible in 'real life' (Seymour 2002; Forstner 2007[6]). // 91 …//

But real life is changing: at the European Union, the work of the official bodies such as the European Commission is checked by national specialist delegates, by linguists with legal backgrounds, by the European Parliament, by the Council of Ministers. There is a strong political and even physical reality to the 'sameness'. And in the unthinkable event that there should ever be disagreement about these equally valid laws, I am certain that legal experts, perhaps at the European

Court of Justice, will settle the dispute. The ruling will be that the texts are 'equally valid'. So even though many scholars disagree about 'equivalence', something akin to it exists in the world, far above the heads of translation practitioners and theorists. In different languages and societies politicians are creating equally valid international as well as national legislation, which some may identify as 'equivalence'.

Conclusion

It will have been noted that, although I have made a number of critical comments on some of Eugene Nida's ideas – I have, in fact, written a tribute to him. In order to appreciate that this is not self-contradictory, we must return to what was said at the outset: good research in the humanities leads to fruitful discussion and new insights. This is what Eugene Nida's book has done. Both adherents and critics have been obliged to make explicit why they found specific features and ideas correct or inadequate.

There is no doubt that Nida introduced a pedagogical concept that, because it focused so unambiguously on the relation between a source and its target text, could be understood by many students and was taken to heart by many teachers – so much so, in fact, that it is still frequently used today.[7]   Nida's pioneering book was the first Anglophone Translation Studies work that was stringent in the application of its ideas and progressed in a scholarly fashion. His thinking provided the generations of translators who began to appear on the marketplace after World War II, and who had acquired their B, C etc., languages in an academic framework, with a model of the translation process that they could recognise, notably by introducing the concepts of decoding and encoding. Part of this thinking remains relevant to teaching today.

Eugene Nida's ideas of 'equivalence' are also relevant in classroom settings. In these safe surroundings, everybody can measure – and possibly see – 'equivalence' between source and target texts, notably when these are considered stable, which they are, insofar as they have usually been uttered and translated under fairly controlled situational parameters.

Nida also indirectly started the exploration of the new field of Translation Studies, which today is burgeoning with new sub-disciplines. Thanks to the impact of his work, he was also one of the main agents behind the development and multitudinous specialisations characteristic of modern Translation Studies. // 92 …//

His statements about translation were debated – sometimes hotly, sometimes too uncritically – but by and large, his work is considered excellent and pioneering, partly thanks to its stringent approach to translation problems and partly because it pointed towards worlds other than the literary ones of most translation criticism at the time. What is more, his tone was urbane and civilised. Ultimately, the ensuing debate has proved most fruitful, which is a major test for outstanding work in the humanities, and consequently in Translation Studies.

Let us therefore thank Eugene Nida for his enormous contribution to the emergence of Translation Studies – and, indeed, to the international scholarly recognition of the field.

Notes

1. Chesterman uses Karl Popper's schema (A Popperian meme of the process of scientific methodological theory). In it, Tentative Theories are trial solutions that can be subjected to error elimination in order to be falsified. Theories can be corroborated, but they can never be finally verified (see Chesterman 1997).
2. I do not know how large the first print run was, but when I acquired the book myself (instead of

having a library copy) in 1976 it was still a first edition.

3. Most of these checks were with staff at the SCIC at the European Commission in Brussels, where I was stationed as an expert for three months in 1974–75. Some high-ranking members insisted that people from bilingual households or poor families in mountain (read: border) regions were more apt to be 'born' interpreters (clearly because they were bilingual as children). Owing to scarce documentation, this cannot be proved beyond dispute. I believe that this debate was relatively short-lived, which was partially due to the very establishment of SCIC. It was the first body in which a number of interpreters became professionally recognised by societies and their employer. Naturally, they would discuss their own as well as others' (mostly the future interpreters') backgrounds. My findings are corroborated by the comments in Wikipedia on the first UN interpreters (UN/ UN-Secretariat/ United Nations Interpretation Service/ Early days of the interpreting profession.)

4. To the best of my knowledge, there has never been any discussion about translators of written material. My guess is that, in the case of written translation, the earliest societies using translators had an interest in assuring the quality of the middlemen and therefore introduced (rigorous?) selection whenever written translation was involved.

5. Personal communication, Martin Forstner (author of 'Language européenes en dialogue: comparer, traduire, enseigner', Chateau de Copet, 2007.)

6. In my view 'adequacy' would be a more appropriate term because it allows for the contextual and situational factors that are always present in authentic translation work.

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I take the liberty of not referring to my own publications, since, except for *Basics in Translation Studies* (euroedit@hotmail.com), they are accessible at www.cay-dollerup.dk/publications.

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