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62 Translation studies, translation practices and emotion

Abstract: This chapter aims to provide an overview of the role of emotion in thinking about translation. It outlines how emotions have influenced pre-scientific thinking about translation from the Antique period to modern authors and provides an overview of how emotion has been studied in the field of Translation Studies. The chapter addresses both the complexity of translating emotions in texts and the influence of translators' emotions on the translation process. Key studies are reviewed which examine the difficulty of translating emotional language in various sorts of texts, such as literary works or the proceedings of the European Parliament. Subsequently, the chapter outlines experiments with translators that have investigated how translators' emotions can influence performance in this particular language activity, and implications for the professional field and the practice of multilingualism, for example in international organizations, are elucidated. Finally, the chapter will discuss what contribution the study of translation can make to research on language and emotion in the future, considering as well the emergence of machine translation.

1 Introduction

Translation is required in a variety of communicative situations across languages, cultures and modalities (O'Hagan 2019). Throughout the ages, translation has occupied a central role in intellectual and cultural exchange by enabling access to knowledge, wisdom and texts that have shaped humanity through their emotional value and impact, such as the Bible (Siever 2015). Nevertheless, translation has probably never been more widespread than in today's world, where international contact and trade is ever growing (Malmkjaer and Windle 2010). In an increasingly interdependent world, translation is indispensable for overcoming language barriers and makes an essential contribution to the support of linguistic heterogeneity. In international cooperation and institutions, translation allows people to communicate their ideas, opinions and emotions across cultures in the language they choose and feel most comfortable with. Although thinking about translation dates

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back to ancient times, and despite the important role translation has played throughout history, the scientific discipline investigating translation is relatively young. The beginnings of *Translation Studies* as a discipline are most often set with the foundational statements of James S. Holmes (1972), which officially moved the study of translation out of the fields of linguistics or literature studies. Also, the development of Translation Studies as a scientific discipline was driven by the need for a systematic training of professional translators that emerged with the founding of international organizations, such as the United Nations or the European institutions. To ensure a supply of professionally trained translators, general principles by which translation can be explained and predicted had to be established, as well as suggestions of appropriate translation procedures. For example, translation scholars specified that the purpose of a text should guide translation decisions and be given priority over the equivalence of linguistic features, to ensure that the communicative function of the text is maintained in the target language (Nord 1997). Also, quality standards of translation were outlined in the ISO 17100 norm on the delivery of translation services (ISO 17100:2015). This norm defines, inter alia, that translations have to be checked by another translator to maintain high standards of quality. The importance of translation being carried out professionally becomes particularly apparent in emotional situations. As examples, we can easily conceive the dire consequences of medical diagnoses being inaccurately communicated or instructions in a crisis situation, such as an earthquake, remaining unclear.

In the past decades, Translation Studies has grown steadily as a research area, which is also reflected in the growing number of journals dedicated to translation research. The journal *Target* covers the interdisciplinary study of translation phenomena in general and other journals, for example *Translation Cognition and Behavior* or *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer,* focus on specific sub-fields of translation research. By definition, Translation Studies has a strong applied orientation. It sets out to derive research questions from translation practice and to provide input for translator education and professional practice, always maintaining close ties with the professional world of translation. More recently, technological developments such as the improving quality of neural machine translation have had an influence on translation practices and will continue to shape the language industry in the future.

2 What is translation?

The term *translation* comprises different forms of activities. All these activities have in common that they aim to preserve meaning while having to change form and to adjust the message to audiences with a different linguistic and cultural background. They involve the interpretation of the sense of a source message and the production of a target message with the intent of establishing a relationship of equivalence between the two messages (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier 1999: 188). In translation activities, emotions can come into play in various ways. The source message may contain emotional contents which translators need to identify and which may have a strong emotional impact on themselves. Further, translators need to reproduce the message's emotionality in the target language,

to maintain this crucial aspect of communication. In order to do this, they need to bridge differences between signs and modalities and need to take into account cultural variations in the expression of emotion.

To differentiate between different forms of translation, Jakobson ([1959] 2004) advanced a tripartite definition in which he distinguishes *interlingual, intralingual* and *intersemiotic translation*. According to this definition, interlingual translation or translation proper is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. Interlingual translation happens across different languages when a message based on a source text in one language is transferred into a target text in another language. This form of translation, transferring meaning across different languages, is probably most often referred to when we talk about translation in everyday discourse. In this chapter, we will focus on interlingual translation as well and will elucidate in a more detailed manner how it relates to emotion. Importantly, interlingual translation has to be distinguished from *interlingual interpreting*, which is concerned with the transfer of spoken messages across different languages. An interpreter listens to a speaker and in real time delivers the same message, including its emotionality, aloud in a different language. As opposed to written translation, interpreting is characterized by a fast processing of the perceived message and an immediate reformulation of the target message (Agrifoglio 2004). Also, interpreting happens in a communicative context that is multimodal and includes prosody, mimicry and gesturing, which may themselves communicate emotions.

Moreover, other forms of translation can play an important role in the transfer of meaning in human communication. According to Jakobson's definition (2004: 138–143), intralingual translation defines the rewording or an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language. This form of translation is frequently encountered in everyday life, for example when we explain certain words to children or paraphrase specialized content for non-specialists. Finally, intersemiotic translation refers to an interpretation of verbal signs by means of a nonverbal sign system and occurs when some ideas that are expressed verbally are translated into images or movement. An example for this form of translation are adaptations of stage plays for opera or dance. In this case, the code of expression changes from linguistic signs to musical sounds or body movements, posing particular challenges and at the same time opening up new opportunities for the rendition of emotional meaning.

3 Emotion in pre-scientific thinking about translation

Early writings about translation were produced by translation practitioners themselves, reflecting on their practice and giving recommendations for translation procedures based on their own translation experience (Munday 2011). Many famous writers, poets and philosophers translated various types of texts and wrote about the phenomenon of translation. Their writings were directed at characterizing the nature of the translation task and at explaining, justifying or discussing their choice of a particular translation strategy. In pre-scientific thinking about translation, individual translators put the emphasis on different aspects of the translation task, depending on their attitudes towards the authors and source

texts, as well as the goals they had in mind when translating. In their thoughts about translation, emotions were rarely mentioned explicitly, which can be explained by the fact that translators are traditionally supposed to be neutral mediators, disappearing behind the message they convey. When taking a closer look, we nevertheless find that, implicitly, emotions were given significance in thinking about translation throughout history. These traces of emotion and emotionality shall be elucidated in the following.

3.1 From the Antique period to Bible translation in the Middle Ages

Traditionally, systematic thinking and writings on translation are thought to begin in the Antique period with Roman rhetorician Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC; Seele 1995). Cicero translated classical Greek oratory into Latin and looks at translation through the lens of an orator. Stating that his priority when translating is to preserve the style and force of language, his approach to translation attributes great importance to the reaction of the audience. For an audience's reaction to oratory, the emotions it evokes are crucial, and what Cicero describes as the force of language is highly dependent on the emotional impact words and sentences manage to leave on the audience. In his reflections on translation, Cicero thus already implies that the preservation and transfer of emotional significance is of high relevance in this activity.

Moving on in history, the translation of the Bible was an important event in the history of translation. Translation, in this context, was a means of disseminating the word of God and translating the Bible meant translating a text that was supposed to move the reader in a way that would make the word of God appealing. Moreover, translating religious texts constituted an emotion-laden task for the translator himself and bore a high responsibility towards an author with a particular authority. In the 4th century, Jerome (347–420), who later became the patron saint of translators, faced this challenge and translated the Bible into Latin. His translation of the Bible became known as the *Vulgate* (405; Siever 2015). In his thinking about translation approaches, Jerome distinguishes between the translation of religious texts and non-religious texts. According to him, the former represent the word of God and should therefore be translated more literally, while a freer approach can be adopted for non-religious texts (Vermeer 1992). Jerome's distinction between literal and free approaches to translating later became central to thinking about translation and was further refined and applied to different text types. As illustrated by Jerome's striving to be faithful to the religious text and his author, Jerome's thoughts about translation are dominated by his emotional relation to the origins of the source text and his fear to distort the word of God.

In the 15th century, Luther engaged in the same endeavor and translated the Bible from Latin into German. His translation had an important influence on the standardization of the German language and exemplifies the role translation played in the emergence and constitution of modern national languages in Europe (Lefevere 1977). Luther's *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530) is an insightful description of translation practices from which we can also learn about the role of emotion in this activity. Similar to Jerome, Luther emphasizes the importance of the text he is translating and the emotions involved in the process of

translating the Bible. However, while he seems to be afraid of falsifying the word of God and is aware of the potential dangers associated with altering this sensitive text, Luther also considers faithfulness to his readers a priority in translating. He defends his Bible translation into modern German that was clear and using everyday rather than elitist language by explaining that, to reach his readers, he adapted his language to the way common people usually speak. Although he does not mention emotions explicitly, through an empathetic approach to his readers, Luther is aware that a translation that would stay too close to the original would lose not only its comprehensibility but also its emotional impact on the readership. Similar to Cicero's ideas, Luther's writings on translation deal with the complexity that is involved in translating language in a way that elicits the intended emotions in the audience.

Another main movement of translation in the Middle Ages shows a nice contrast to the priorities Bible translators set in their thinking about translation. If for Jerome and Luther an appropriate reader response was in the center of their efforts, other types of texts required different approaches. In the Toledo School of Translators (1130–1284), scholars were translating scientific texts from Arabic into Latin and later Castilian, to gain access to knowledge in a variety of scientific domains (Pym 1994). In their thinking about translating these factual texts, we find little mentioning of emotional aspects, but rather a focus on other important aspects of communication, such as comprehensibility and making thought clear and understandable in the target language.

3.2 From Leonardo Bruni to the Belles Infidèles

In the Renaissance period, Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444) became one of the most significant and prolific translators. In *De interpretatione recta* ('On the Correct Way of Translating' [1420] 2008), a recognized treatise on how translation should be carried out, Bruni discusses Latin translations of the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle. In a rather emotional way, he describes the impact the authors' powerful language has on the translator and how he feels drawn to the expressions he finds in the source texts. Under this impression, Bruni emphasizes the importance of preserving the artistic form of the source language in translation, while also rendering the correct sense. Comparable to Luther and Jerome, Bruni mentions the feelings source texts can evoke in translators because of their authors, content or style and illustrates how these feelings influence the translator's approach and focus.

Contrary views can be found in the Baroque period. During this time, thinking about translation was strongly influenced by the *Belles Infidèles* movement in France (Mounin 1994). In this movement (1600–1720), translators were far less respectful towards the source text than their predecessors in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Inconsiderate towards the identity and style of the original, they heavily adapted texts in their translations according to what they thought would please the audience. They took the liberty of adapting speech they judged as too rude, deleted words and passages of the original, for example if they contained social criticism, or changed a negative ending into a happy one. Ultimately, these translations were not conveying the same meaning but were creating new texts, guided by a ubiquitous preference for positive and pleasurable feelings and linguistic elegance.

It seems that the approach to translation of the Belles Infidèles was characterized by their preferences and emotions, which prevailed over the loyalty towards the source text.

3.3 From the Romantic period to modern authors

Later, in the Romantic period, Schleiermacher (1768–1834) wrote one of the most influential theoretical treatises of pre-scientific thinking about translation (Lindemann 2016). His essay *On the different methods of translation* (Schleiermacher 1813) suggested different approaches for literary translation and the translation of pragmatic texts. It demonstrates in a vivid way how important empathy with authors and readers is in finding the right translation approach. Schleiermacher creates the idea of bringing the writer of the source text and the reader of the target text closer. According to him, one possibility in translation is to leave the writer in peace as much as possible and to move the reader towards him by providing necessary clarification. Schleiermacher recommends this procedure for literary texts and calls it *foreignization*. For pragmatic texts, on the contrary, he proposes to adopt the procedure of *domestication,* which moves the author towards the reader by letting the author speak in a way that saves the reader trouble and efforts (Siever 2015). Even when using Schleiermacher's procedure of foreignization, with literary texts that deploy stylistic means and figures of speech, translators often face a central paradox: how can it be possible to transfer meaning while staying close to the linguistic form of the source text? In metaphors, for example, the object or action that is described sometimes cannot be explained through the same comparison across different languages and cultures. Romantic theories of translation suggest that this paradox can only be solved through creativity (Siever 2015) and anticipate the great importance that will later be attached to creativity in the scientific study of translation (Malmkjaer 2019). As we will discuss in more detail in the following sections, emotions play an important role in creative processes and therefore in meeting this core challenge of translation.

While in the Romantic period thinking about translation is at first dominated by optimism about the capacity to solve the number of challenges posed by this activity, later in this period, resignation sets in. In a letter to August Wilhelm Schlegel, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) rather emotionally expresses frustration about the task of translating itself and the unsolvable problem of either losing characteristics of the source text or rendering the text in an unnatural way in the target language (Siever 2015). With his credo that every language is its own world, Humboldt's view on translation becomes mainly pessimistic and translating is presented as an endeavor that is impossible to account for both the original and the target language and culture. Modern authors such as Walther Benjamin (1892–1940) later took up Humboldt's perspective and radicalized it based on their ideas of linguistic relativity, assuming that it is impossible to express exactly the same meaning in a different language (Hirsch 1995). Here again, we find that approaches to translation were often influenced by translator's attitudes and emotions, sometimes even in relation to the complexity of the task. Despite or maybe precisely because of this, many fundamental ideas and basic concepts of translation are already outlined in the pre-scientific period and will later reappear and be specified by the systematic scientific study of translation.

4 Emotion in Translation Studies

Despite the long history of thinking about translation, the study of translation has evolved as an area of research only in the middle of the last century (Holmes 1972). Today, the name Translation Studies stands for a heterogeneous interdiscipline that adapts theory and methods from other disciplines to its own purposes, to study translation in all its complexity (Bassnett 2002). Three major branches of translation research address the phenomenon of translation from different angles. The process-oriented branch focuses on the translation process as defined by Hansen, "as everything that happens from the moment the translator starts working on the source text until he finishes the target text. It is all encompassing, from every pencil movement and key stroke to dictionary use, the use of the internet and the entire thought process that is involved in solving a problem or making a correction" (Hansen 2003: 26). In process-oriented translation research, the cognitive processes and concrete behavior of the translator leading to the completion of the target text are the focus, and emotion is a topic of interest as emotions may influence the processes underlying translators' decisions and strategies.

The product-oriented branch of translation research studies existing translations from a text-based perspective. It compares translated texts with the original one, analyses the translation of different text genres and the characteristics of translated language. The concept of translation quality is central for this research strand. Optimum quality in professional translation implies that a translator provides, in an appropriate amount of time, an accurate and complete rendition of the original that does not distort the original message in denotation and connotation, fulfilling hereby the function of the text in the target language (adapted from Moser-Mercer 2008: 44). In this sub-field of translation studies, emotions are given attention if they are relevant for the function of a text or if intercultural differences in the communication of emotion have to be taken into account for the correct reproduction of the original message in the target language. The third and last branch of translation research studies translation as a phenomenon itself. Its focus lies on what is understood as translation, how translation is viewed by society and how particular translations are received in the target culture (Munday 2011). In this sub-field of Translation Studies, emotions come into play as they determine attitudes towards the phenomenon of translation in general but also towards particular translations.

In the scientific study of translation and its relatively short history, it took a while until emotions became a topic of systematic investigation and, comparable to other disciplines, the recognition of emotion as an essential feature of human thinking and communication is a rather recent development. In the beginnings of the discipline, emotions were rarely in the center of interest of translation scholars. This was certainly linked to the theoretical influence of the classical cognitive paradigm, a paradigm prevailing in many disciplines for several decades and with an emphasis on rational processes in cognition. It may also be due to an unwillingness of this fairly young scientific discipline to link its object of study to what is often perceived as "irrational behavior", as this may appear to run contrary to scientific principles and, particularly important for a discipline with an applied orientation, may also be considered inappropriate in professional life. Some translation scholars, however, did not lose sight of emotional phenomena and provided increasing evidence for

the vital relevance of emotion for translation. The following seeks to provide a perspective on translation as a process, a product and a phenomenon, under the viewpoint of emotion. Given the heterogeneity of the discipline, this implies a synthesis of research that is rather heterogeneous in background, approach and methodology, reflecting the diverse approaches that exist to studying translation.

4.1 Emotion in the process of translating

4.1.1 Interdisciplinary approaches to studying the translation process

When we translate, we are not only describing an object or activity with different words and carrying across its meaning, we are rewriting an original text. All rewritings are influenced by their authors, who create new understandings of a text and provide different perspectives through which to view it. The process-oriented branch of translation research therefore puts the translator in the focus and studies the translation process from an interdisciplinary perspective that builds on knowledge from the cognitive sciences and psychological research. In Translation Studies, interdisciplinarity has long been a central concept and requirement (Gerver and Sinaiko 1978), and the integration of scientific paradigms and theory as well as the borrowing of methods from various other disciplines has played an essential role in the discipline's history and development. This tendency may be linked to the particular nature of the discipline's object of study, whose purpose lies in mediating between different languages and cultures and thus different perspectives (Thome 2004). Primarily, however, it was rooted in the belief that this fairly young discipline needed to integrate theories that were framed and methodologies that were developed in neighboring disciplines, to account for the complexity of its object of study and to strengthen the discipline's theoretical and methodological basis (Malmkjaer 2000).

Among its different neighboring disciplines, interdisciplinary work in translation research first focused on the closely related fields of linguistics and literary study (Lefevere 1987). Later, in the 1980s, when theoretical consideration was also given to the cognitive processes of the translator as a determining factor in the translation process (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984), this shift entailed an increasing interest in psychological research. Scholars started to investigate the translation process empirically and experimentally to obtain insight into the mental processes that underlie this complex cognitive activity, and several models of the translation process were developed (Hönig 1995; Padilla, Bajo, and Padilla 1999). In accordance with the cognitive sciences and psychological research, the first dominating paradigm in translation process research became what today can be considered the classical cognitive paradigm, with its emphasis on rational processes, regarding the human brain as a symbol-processing system and imputing computational functions onto cognitive processes (Barber 1988). While this paradigm allowed for an understanding of the basic elements and regularities of the translation process, it devoted very limited attention to the subjective experience of the world that accompanies and influences human thinking, such as emotion. In recent years, however, empirical evidence has been provided for the important role that emotion plays in the process of translating. Based on this empiri-

cal evidence, the following provides a perspective on translating that elucidates how emotion can have effects on translators' information processing and decision-making during the translation process.

4.1.2 Emotional stimuli in the translation process

In the translation process, the text that is translated is of central importance and, as was already mentioned in the preceding sections, it is an important emotional stimulus. Emotional responses to texts, both when reading and when translating, have to do with emotional responses to the text's content and style and with learning things about the emotions of people present in the text (Blanc 2006). Texts refer to extra-linguistic persons or things in the real world, and the reader then refers to these realities, codified linguistically in a way that is modulated by the intention and emotional attitude of the author. As, during reading, knowledge about these realities is accessed in memory, emotions related to this knowledge are activated, reminding us of our own experiences (Schwarz-Friesel 2007). In the practice of professional translators, the contents of a wide range of texts have the potential to provoke such emotional responses, ranging from humanitarian reports to legal documents. In addition, emotional reactions to texts can be related to aesthetic responses, for example when translating literary texts. Accordingly, Kneepkens and Zwaan (1994) distinguish two types of interrelated and overlapping emotions that are elicited in text comprehension: *fiction-emotions* and *artifact-emotions*. Whereas fiction-emotions are represented at the level of the situation model of the text and are linked to the contents, the protagonist, and the course of narrative events, artefact-emotions are elicited by the surface structure of the text and are directly derived from the way the text is written, for instance from the text's style or rhythm. If a text is unclear, faulty or not well formulated, however, artefact-emotions may also be negative. For example, as well as being moved by the fate of a person described in a narrative, a translator could get angry because of the poor style of a text.

Apart from text-related emotions, the translation process can also be influenced by emotions rather unrelated to the decisions at hand and elicited through other stimuli or events which are present in the translation situation (Durieux 2007). This will be illustrated in the following. In today's professional practice, translators are embedded in complex workflows and networks in which they are collaborating with multiple other actors. Translators usually receive the translation from a commissioner or, when larger volumes of texts are translated, from the project manager. At this stage in the workflow, they negotiate the time frame of the translation job and may request additional background information on the source text, to better understand the communicative situation and advise the client. During the actual translation process, translators then closely work together with colleagues who, for the purpose of quality assurance, revise their translations and provide feedback, which is then incorporated into the final version of the translated text. Once the finalized translation has been delivered to the client, translators remain available for questions, explanations or to validate translated texts in their final formatting. Hence, their professional practice involves communication with clients or colleagues as well as perfor-

mance assessments, for example feedback from revisers. These communicative processes need to be managed and are prone to elicit emotions of all kinds. Moreover, other factors, such as time pressure, irritating features in the language tools that translators use or the societal status of machine versus human translation can impinge on the translator's professional practice (Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2019) and invoke positive and negative emotions. Hansen (2006) explains with reference to Damasio's (1994) research that "be it in connection with [...] some themes or words, impulses in the form of images, experiences, associations, and emotions immediately emerge and influence the process and the decisions during the process. During the act of translation, emotions and earlier experiences [...] are activated and these have an impact on the actual decisions" (Hansen 2006: 76).

4.1.3 Influences of emotion on translators' decision-making and translation performance

One of the first empirical studies, aiming to "shed light on the affective side of translators' decisions", was conducted by Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen (1996: 45). They analyzed evaluative statements of professional translators in think-aloud protocols and compared differences between routine tasks and non-routine tasks. Based on their observations, they explain that "in a feeling of security" (Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen 1996: 50) in the routine task, the subject was more likely to assume the role of a communicator (Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen 1996: 56) and detach herself from the source text. Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen's findings provided insightful exploratory evidence, indicating that key aspects of performance in translation, such as detachment from the source text and idiomatic, audience-oriented reformulation, may be emotion-sensitive.

Acknowledging the potential significance of emotion for the translation process as well as the resulting product, Lehr (2014) conducted a larger-scale empirical investigation into the influences of translators' emotional states on decision-making. Her two-phase study involving 42 professional translators builds on the assumption that emotion may influence what people think and how people think, through its effects on the way information is processed. The first phase of her study focused on the former influence, studying a relation between fiction-emotions and the emotionality of a translated text; that is, the text's potential to prompt an emotional response. Based on the idea that this relation could be explained through emotion-congruence effects (Niedenthal, Halberstadt, and Setterlund 1997), translations from translators who had themselves experienced a more or a less intense emotional response to the text were rated for emotionality by readers and compared. Emotion-congruence effects rely on the assumption that emotion becomes a strong cue or prime for information that is associated with its experience and, as a consequence, during an emotional state, ideas and events that have been associated with the emotion are activated, their processing is facilitated, and they are more likely to be used in information encoding and retrieval (Forgas 1995).

The study did not find any evidence in support of the assumption that the emotional response of the translator influences the emotionality of a translation, rather indicating that more controlled language processing, such as professional translation, may be subject to other processes, for example intentions to overcome a bias. Nevertheless, in the influen-

tial *Interpretive Model*, based on the idea that all translating underlies the identification of sense and its re-expression, Lederer (2003) considers the translator's emotional reaction to the text a prerequisite for the translation of the text's emotionality. She argues that the emotionality of the text can only be translated if the translator feels the emotion of the text and experiences its "affective components" (Lederer 2003: 50). Presumably, both the identification and re-experience of the emotion of a text, and the controlling of one's emotions if they are too intense or interfering with the correct transfer of meaning, are part of being a good translator.

In the second phase of her study, Lehr (2014) examined the influence of emotional responses to positive and negative feedback on translation performance. Positive and negative affective states have been associated with different processing styles. As negative emotions are supposed to function as a warning signal, indicating that the environment is threatening and that these concerns must be addressed, individuals become more motivated to identify, alleviate, or eliminate the problem, resulting in increased attention to the details at hand and a more analytic, systematic processing strategy (Bohner and Schwarz 1993). Conversely, positive emotions signal that the environment is safe and promote creative processing as well as a tendency to explore, through broadening people's momentary thought-action repertoires (Fredrickson 1998). To examine the effects of positive and negative emotions on translation performance, Lehr compared translation evaluations by experts for accuracy and creativity. The comparison showed higher ratings for aspects of creativity in translation, such as idiomatic expression and stylistic appropriateness, in the group that had experienced positive emotions, and higher ratings for correctness of terminology after negative feedback, a criterion that can be attributed to accuracy in translation. Similar tendencies had already been observed by Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen (1996) and were later reported by Rojo and Ramos Caro (2016). To date, the above studies suggest that, in professional translation, positive and negative emotions of translators can have an influence on particular aspects of accuracy, fundamental for all translation activity, and creativity, which is necessary at certain points in the text to varying degrees, depending on the degree of non-literalness that is required.

More generally, other studies showed that the willingness to take risks in language choices (Pym 2005), stress under time pressure (Hansen and Hönig 2000) and translators' uncertainty with respect to their understanding of the source text (Angelone 2010) were not only influencing behavior and usage of reference tools during the translation process, but also translators' decisions about how to translate words and phrases of the original. These findings seem to corroborate that, as Chesterman (2002) put it, translators' emotions are a causal factor in translation that influences translational choices and, as a consequence, the translation process and translation performance. Moreover, Lehr's (2014) results indicate that the influence of emotion may be particularly remarkable in instances when there is a need for something "on top" of the basic routine processes, for example very careful scrutiny for terminology or finding a particularly idiomatic formulation. Effects of emotion may thus be particularly impactful when the task becomes increasingly difficult and translators cannot draw on routinized solutions. Also, her results indicate that decision-making in professional translation may only to a certain extent be susceptible to emotion effects, and that emotion effects in the translation process may be subject to routine

procedures and other controlled processes, for example motivations to be accurate. How emotions can have both a promoting and limiting influence on translation performance and how strong the effects are no doubt depends on numerous variables that remain to be further investigated. In line with this conclusion, translation process research has in recent years increasingly taken into account that humans differ from mere processing devices in that they are emotional creatures, and interest in studying the affective side of professional translation has grown steadily.

4.2 Translating emotions

4.2.1 Emotion and reader response in theories of Bible translation

Before the processes underlying the translator's choices increasingly awakened the interest of translation scholars in the 1980s (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984), for a long time in translation theory, the translator had been merely present through translational choices that were manifested in the translated text. Greatly influenced by linguistic approaches (Catford 1969), in its beginnings, research on translation adopted nearly exclusively a textual perspective, by comparing source and target text and analyzing the translator's choices on a linguistic level and their implications for the relationship of equivalence between the two texts (Newmark 1988). In this product-oriented, text-based strand of research, some scholars became interested in the role of emotion in translation already at a very early stage of translation theory.

Nida and Taber's *Theory and Practice of Translation* (1969) was one of the first scientific attempts to assist the translator by providing systematic suggestions of translation procedures. In their theory, which was oriented towards Bible translation, Nida and Taber moved beyond semantic and syntactic considerations and, similar to their famous predecessor Luther, included pragmatic ones that account for implied meanings. They considered that, in the context of Bible translation, the emotional reaction of the reader takes center stage and explicitly granted emotion an important role in reader response, as illustrated by their definition of message as "the total of meaning or content of a discourse, the concepts and feelings which the author intends the reader to understand and perceive" (Nida and Taber 1969: 205). According to Nida (1969), fully translating a message involves three tasks: the analysis of the meaning of the source language, including its emotive meaning, the transfer of the analyzed text from source language structures to target language structures, and the restructuring of the target language in order to make the text acceptable in the receptor language and to achieve the appropriate response in the reader.

Moreover, Nida generally acknowledges that for the translation of emotionality, the connotations of words are of great relevance. Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) measured the connotative meaning of words, using the semantic differential technique, which asks people to rate words on a scale anchored at two bipolar adjectives. They postulated that this meaning space can be accounted for by three major dimensions: valence, which is the degree of pleasantness of a word's content; arousal, which is the emotional intensity provoked by the content of a word; and potency, the degree of control exerted by it. Words

that are apparent equivalents in two languages can differ on these dimensions and, as a result, have different connotations. As other languages and cultures may connect different feelings with a word, these variations have to be taken into account when translating, to elicit the intended emotive response in the reader of a translation. In user-centered translation, information about characteristics of target text readers is gathered and guides translators' perspective-taking when imagining the emotional reaction of the audience. More specifically, translators use fictive archetypes of users based on empirical evidence, for example on age groups or differences between geographical areas, or they consider features that can be found in the text, such as how the writer addresses the reader, to imply information about the reader (Suojanen, Koskinen, and Tuominen 2015).

4.2.2 The relevance of emotion for functionalist approaches to translation

Not only when translating the Bible can emotional responses play an important role in text perception. In contemporary translation theory, a highly influential strand are so-called functionalist approaches to translation (Nord 1997). These theories are based on the assumption that texts are produced and received with a specific purpose. Therefore, the starting point for translation, which guides the translator's approach and focus, is the purpose of the target text (Schäffner and Wiesemann 2001). Functionalist approaches situate the text in a communicative and cultural context and attach particular importance to all aspects that are relevant to achieve the text's purpose in the target language and culture. To varying degrees and depending on the text type, emotions can be relevant to maintain the function of a text in its translation. Advertising texts, for example, often achieve their goal to encourage consumption by triggering particular emotions in the reader. The translated text then has to fulfill this emotional purpose in the target culture. To preserve the text's impact and impression, a high degree of cultural awareness is required and the translator's strategy can go beyond the actual linguistic translation of the text and necessitate an adaptation to the target culture and market. This form of text localization is less bound to the source text and can involve the creative transfer of idioms, imagery, word plays or rhymes (Cruz-García 2018) which communicate the intended affective meaning in the translation.

4.2.3 Attenuation of emotion in the translation of literary and pragmatic texts

In addition, fiction-emotions and aesthetic emotions play a key role in the experience and interpretation of literature (Lombardo, Saetre, and Zanetta 2014). In literary works, changes and shifts may have a particular impact when they concern emotive language. For example, Coromines i Calders (2010) compared the anger-like feelings in the novel *Unkenrufe* by Günter Grass between German as well as Spanish and Catalan. She argues that Grass' masterpieces are particularly relevant examples of the emotional dimension of a literary text, since they usually show a strong relationship between the emotion that is experienced by the protagonists and the macrostructure of the novel. Based on her analysis, Coromines i Calders (2010) comes to the conclusion that while in the Catalan translation, the same

intensity of anger-like feelings seems to be conveyed as in the German original, the Spanish translation shows some attenuating changes. As expressions such as *verdammt* become *maldita sea* (Coromines i Calders 2010), the narrator in the novel conveys less intense anger feelings, and the reader has a less negative view of the fictional world. Readers of the Spanish translation thus might not look upon the characters as negatively as readers of the German source text, and as they follow the plot, the degree of suspense could be lower.

In a different context, the translation of emotive language has also been studied by Rega and Magris (2008). They focused on debates of the European Parliament in which emotions are expressed to reinforce the speaker's ideas and to be convincing, sometimes used as strategic means without accurately mirroring the experience of those who express them. Based on their analysis of interventions of German- and Italian-speaking delegates in the proceedings of the European Parliament from 2007, they conclude that the translation of emotional impact does not only depend on words but also on the indirect expression of emotion through rhetorical emphasis and semantic prosody. Complementing Coromines i Calders' (2010) observations, Rega and Magris find that in the translation, sometimes the emotional intensity of expressions is attenuated and may not have the same impact on the listener or reader. For example, while an emphasis is created through an entire separate sentence in German with *Das ist sehr schockierend*, the Italian translation only integrates *scandalose differenze* into the preceding sentence structure, thereby lessening the intensity of the expression.

4.2.4 Cultural differences in the expression of emotion

Literary or pragmatic, emotional experience is central for many texts. Evidence from psychological research suggests that emotional stimuli are given priority in information processing (Schacht and Sommer 2009) and the abovementioned examples illustrate how much readers can infer from the emotionality of a message and how central the description and expression of emotional experience is for a text. However, we have also seen that translating emotive language presents special challenges, and that shifts can occur in translated texts. Translating emotional experience is complex because the conceptualization and expression of emotion differs across languages and cultures. Each language conceives and organizes the lexical grid of emotion in a different way (Wierzbicka 1999), and emotion words that seem to be equivalent across languages can still differ in important nuances, such as the intensity they convey. In addition, situations that give rise to a particular emotion in one culture would be labeled with a different emotion word in another. For example, one dimension of cultural variability that has been studied in emotion research is the difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Hofstede 1983). Empirical evidence suggests that emotional experience is centrally mediated by how people define themselves and their relation to others in their environment (Mesquita 2001). In individualistic cultures, such as the US American, French or German culture, tendencies have been found for the independent self to be emphasized and self-expression and pursuit of individuality to be encouraged. By contrast, collectivistic cultures, such as the Chinese, Russian or Spanish culture, are thought to be rather characterized by a self-construal based on

interdependence. The latter is considered to favor thinking of people as being interconnected to one another and rather endorses the maintenance of social harmony and one's belongingness to a group (Markus and Kitayama 1991).

When translating emotions, translators need to be aware of these different tendencies to comply with cultural conventions and to assure successful and smooth communication. As an example, cross-cultural differences have been reported as to how individualistic and collectivistic cultures assess the emotion of pride (Ogarkova, Soriano, and Lehr 2012; Stipek, Weiner, and Li 1989). While in individualistic societies, personal achievement is a valued and socially rewarded goal and its overt manifestation is more acceptable, in collectivistic societies, self-esteem is thought to strongly depend on social harmony. The expression of pride is therefore generally more accepted and expected for an achievement that benefits others and not merely the individual. Due to the personal pride attenuation of collectivistic cultures, in languages such as Russian or Spanish, the most frequent labels found in emotional scenarios reporting personal success refer to mere satisfaction, whereas in English, French and German, the emotional scenarios reporting personal success are more often labeled by pride words. All of the above languages are official languages of international organizations, such as the United Nations or the European Institutions. Translators working in the large translation services of these organizations use and translate these languages every day, sometimes in diplomatic contexts where nuances can be decisive. They apply their awareness of intercultural differences in the expression of emotion to transfer emotional meaning without irritating the audience in the target culture. Given the differences in the conceptualization and expression of emotion across languages and cultures, translating emotional meaning can represent an enormous challenge. Although as professional communicators, translators are able to ensure interlingual communication, it may not always be possible to maintain all aspects of emotional meaning in a translation.

4.2.5 Are emotions translatable?

In view of the above, should we ask the question if emotions actually are translatable? Different emotion theories provide different potential answers to the question after the translatability of emotion. Basic emotion theories (Ekman 1999) focus on a set of emotions that they consider biologically and physiologically basic, such as fear, anger and joy. These theories would assume that basic emotions lead to a universalistic behavioral expression across cultures and thus also to the verbal labeling of the emotional state with a particular emotion word, whose meaning would be relatively stable across languages. Because of their universality, basic emotions should be rather easy to translate, and labeling an emotional state in another language would not change the emotional experience. This view would be rejected by the social constructionist approach to emotion (Feldman Barrett 2006), which assumes that language essentially shapes how we perceive and categorize an already existing reality and thus also the perception and experience of emotion. According to the assumptions of the latter theories, labeling an emotional state in another language should always lead to a different experience due to the constraints of word meaning, and the successful translation of emotion seems hardly feasible. The truth probably lies some-

where in between these two theoretical views, as is demonstrated by the work of the numerous professional translators who are translating emotional content every day. It is part of their expertise as intercultural mediators to analyze the communicative situation and to know how to get the emotional meaning or at least its most important aspects across in a different language, so that people with different language backgrounds can communicate and share emotional experiences.

4.3 Emotion in the perception of translation as a phenomenon and new technological developments

The third branch of translation research studies translation as a phenomenon itself and focuses on what is understood as translation and how translation is viewed by society (Munday 2011). In this branch of Translation Studies, emotions are relevant as they determine attitudes towards translation and those can have a range of implications. They influence the status translators have in the professional world and, for example, the degree to which they are consulted for and integrated into multilingual text production workflows. Also, the way translation is regarded by society has an impact on its status as a good and how much society is willing to pay for this service.

Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey (2019) point out that new technological developments which have become more and more relevant in the context of translation impinge on its societal status. More recently, developments in language-related artificial intelligence and ready access to freely available online tools have led to new practices in multilingual communication. A new level of quality of neural machine translation has had profound effects on the availability of translation as well as the use of it for the wider population. With instantly translated texts only being a click away, attitudes towards translation have changed as well and translation is increasingly perceived as a simple, straightforward process and freely available service. What the casual user may not realize, though, is that today many machine translation systems still produce output with errors, ambiguities and culturally inappropriate content. A careless attitude towards translation can thus lull people into blindly trusting flawed translation output that could contribute to risk and even result in legal consequences (Wahler 2018). To address these problems, the concept of machine translation literacy has emerged (Bowker and Buitrago Ciro 2019), which has to do with allowing people to make informed choices about the deployment of technology and includes knowledge about the capabilities and limitations of machine translation tools. As the digital transformation progresses, machine translation literacy can contribute to ensuring that society views language-related artificial intelligence in a positive but realistic way, and that translation is perceived as a valued phenomenon that requires both technological and human expertise.

4.4 Translation and emotional intelligence

How emotion influences translation in various ways and how strong the effects are no doubt depends on numerous variables. One of the factors that determine emotion processes

are inter-individual differences. These differences between individuals in the capacity to understand, identify, utilize and regulate emotions (Mayer and Salovey 1997) have been described with the terms *emotional intelligence* or *emotional competences*, defined as the ability "to optimally use the emotion mechanism as it has been shaped by evolution" (Scherer in Sander and Scherer 2009: 92). Evidence is pointing to the crucial role emotional competences play for all spheres of life, such as general well-being, job performance and adaptability to changing conditions (Nelis et al. 2011). In the preceding sections, we have already established that translators are supposed to identify emotions in texts, express them in a culturally appropriate way, regulate their emotions with respect to texts and authors, and use emotions to elicit particular responses in the text's audience. More recently, emotional competences have also received increased attention from the professional world of translation (Career Resource Centre Team, United Nations 2015) and their importance is illustrated by the core competences for translators defined by the European Master's in Translation (EMT) (EMT Network, European Commission 2017). Published by the translation services of the European Commission, the EMT is one of the leading reference standards for translator training and translation competence in both academic circles and the language industry. For translation professionals that fulfill the requirements for employability of the European Institutions, it defines the five areas of competence shown in Figure 78.1.

The competence framework of the EMT highlights the key role that emotional competences play in professional translation and how inter-individual differences in these competences can determine translators' performance. The first competence area *language and culture* encompasses "the general or language-specific linguistic, sociolinguistic, cultural and transcultural knowledge and skills that constitute the basis for advanced translation

Fig. 62.1: Competence framework of the European Master's in Translation, European Commission (2017).

competence" (EMT Network, European Commission 2017: 6). A high awareness of cultural conventions when it comes to the expression of emotion are a vital aspect of this competence. Further, the *translation competence* lies at the heart of the competences defined by this framework and includes strategic, thematic and methodological competences that are important for meaning transfer in translation. Identifying emotions in texts and understanding their role for the text's communicative purpose can occupy a central role in this competence area. More recently, the *technological competence* has gained importance in the EMT-competence framework. It comprises knowledge and skills required to use technologies, adaptability to new conditions and self-motivation to learn new skills. In a profession that is undergoing constant change due to technological progress, these skills are of crucial importance and they are greatly facilitated in individuals who are able to identify and up-regulate negative emotions, such as uncertainty. In the *personal and interpersonal competence*, the relevance of emotional competences is readily apparent as these competences include managing stress, working in teams and continuously self-evaluating and developing competences through personal strategies and collaborative learning. In a similar vein, the *service provision competence* includes communication and negotiation with clients, communicating with colleagues for project organization and complying with ethical codes and standards. As the aforementioned skills strongly depend on emotional competences, such as emotion regulation, they illustrate how centrally important emotional competences are to professional translation in today's working world.

This conclusion is empirically supported by Hubscher-Davidson (2018) who, in her study, found several interesting correlations between emotional competences and translation performance. She reports tendencies that emotion regulation skills are positively associated with the acquisition of literary translation experience and suggests that translators may develop their emotion regulation skills through literary translation work and the emotional aspects it involves. Hubscher-Davidson argues that the more they translate literature, the more translators engage in multifaceted emotional experiences and have opportunities to improve the way they handle these. Her results might have interesting implications for language classes in which translation exercises could be suitable to train emotion regulation and, one could assume, also other emotional competences that are required for translation, such as empathy and perspective-taking.

Further, Hubscher-Davidson finds a trend for translators' job success to be positively associated with trait emotional intelligence in emotion expression. In an attempt to integrate situational and personality-related affective aspects of translation performance, Hubscher-Davidson proposes that one could explain this result through the relation between positive emotions and creativity, addressed by other studies in translation process research (Lehr 2014; Rojo and Ramos Caro 2016). She points out that as individuals who are capable of expressing their feelings to others tend to experience more positive affect, which is conducive to a more creative processing style, these translators may have more instances of creative expression and be able to produce more translations of a higher quality. Her explanations demonstrate that situational and personality-related affective aspects are closely interlinked and that both play an important and influential role in translating.

5 Summary and future perspectives

In this chapter, we have outlined how emotion has influenced thinking about translation since its very beginnings. In the pre-scientific period of thinking about translation, famous writers, poets and philosophers have already been aware of the importance of emotion for successful communication and the complexity of transferring emotional meaning into another language and across cultures. Their approaches to translation were often characterized by their own feelings and, in the last decades, the scientific study of translation has provided empirical evidence for the impact emotion has on translators' performance and how it is linked to crucial aspects of translation quality, such as creativity. While in the last decades, Translation Studies has been mainly dominated by the approach of Western science, in recent years, activity in translation research in China has risen and has become an important contributor to this research field. When continuing to study the role of emotion in translation, it will be important to devote increasing attention to Chinese perspectives in this growing area within Translation Studies.

Many new questions are raised by recent advances in language-related artificial intelligence. Can machines translate emotions in the same way as humans can? Are emotions a uniquely human feature that will play an important part in defining what machines can do and what humans have to do, to ensure successful communication? To answer these questions, a new type of translation product, machine translation output, needs to be studied under an affective perspective. In addition, post-editing of machine translation output has become an integral part of translation work and differs from translation in that it includes revising machine-translated texts instead of creating a translation from scratch. What are the emotional differences between translating and post-editing? Can translators still grasp the emotionality of a text in the same way as they did before? Creating a better understanding of the impact of machine translation on human cognition and communication, including its affective aspects, will constitute a major research agenda for translation research in the future.

In a globalized and increasingly interdependent world, the language industry is ever-growing and Translation Studies should further investigate the role of emotion in all forms of multilingual communication, in the practice of multilingualism and the training of language professionals. In doing so, research in this field can make a relevant contribution to the study of language and emotion. As a complex, situated communicative process, translation provides a meaningful way to learn about the relation between emotion and language. It offers an insight into how emotion shapes ecologically valid communication processes which involve two languages and cultures and which will undergo intriguing developments as digitalization progresses.

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