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Exploring a conceptual space for studying translation and development

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Exploring a conceptual space for studying translation and development

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Abstract: This article argues that the field of translation studies would benefit if scholars expanded their linguistic, comparative literature and individualist biases to include the social, in particular the development of the social. It does so by founding its argument in complexity thinking, arguing for an approach that is hierarchical, non-linear, paradoxical, and non-equilibrium in its assumptions. The article links with arguments about the semiotic substructure to the emergence of social reality, arguing that it provides translation studies scholars the theoretical keys to theorising their work in terms of development studies. Development, as one of many cases of intersystemic interaction, thus falls within the ambit of translation studies. The article closes with an agenda for future research in this regard.

Introduction

What would the conceptual space need to be to make it possible for translation studies scholars to study the role of translation in the development of society at large? Alternatively, what are the conceptual tools needed for studying the constraints imposed on and possibilities offered to translators by developing contexts? Put differently, what are the conceptual conditions which would make it possible for translation studies to extend to the notion of development (Arduini & Nergaard, 2011: 9–10)?

These questions assume that translation studies has been enclosed within a particular paradigm of thought which makes it, if not impossible, difficult for scholars to think about translation and development. It would be unfair to claim that translation studies have not dealt with matters of development, examples of which would be Baker (2006), Gentzler (2008), Milton and Bandia (2009) and Tymoczko (2006). However, the perspectives of translation studies scholars have been limited by its links, on the one hand, to linguistics and comparative literature, causing them to think about translation from the perspective of language and high literature or high culture. Those, like Mona Baker, who did break with the bias of linguistics and comparative literature, are biased, on the other hand, by their link with cultural studies and/or critical theory. For instance, if one were to count the articles in readers compiled by scholars such as Baker (2010) and Venuti (2005), the number of articles that focus on literary texts is in the majority. Furthermore, though significant work has been done on sociological approaches to translation (see Wolf, 2009, 2011, 2012 as examples; and also the special edition of *The Translator* on the sociology of translation that was published in 2005 and the MONTI edition on Applied Sociology in Translation Studies published in 2010), even so-called sociological studies of translation tend to focus on the translation of literary texts (Heilbron, 2010) and on 'the' translator (singular) and not on the role of translators and/or translations in the social. Tyulenev (2012) and (unpublished) is correct, in my view, when he argues that much of what is regarded as sociology of translation is in fact psychology of translation.

The bias that I pointed out above means that translation studies cannot enter into a dialogue with development studies because the two fields of study do not use the same conceptual framework. For such a proposed dialogue to take place, translation studies will have to be freed from its bias towards either language or high culture/literature as well as its cultural studies bias and the singularity of its unit of study. Translation studies scholars should become well versed in the theories of economics, sociology and politics which underlie development studies. In this article I suggest a conceptual space or perspective from which one could look at translation phenomena and their relationship to development.

I think that translation scholars will need to be able to do three things in order for them to think about development. The first thing is to clarify their notions of causality, that is, how is the social existence caused or how does a society develop? The second thing is that they should be able to conceptualise the relationship between the individual and the social, being able to explain how these relate to one another and how societies develop out of this relationship. In other words, what are the relationships between agents and structures? The third thing is that translation studies scholars should become conversant with the theories of development. They need to know enough about the field to be able to dialogue with development studies scholars so that they can come to a better understanding of the role of translation in development and vice versa.

In the next section, some ideas about complexity as an alternative to reductionist causality and the limited (or unacknowledged) philosophical underpinnings of translation studies will be put forward. In 'Emergent semiotics', the relationship between the individual and the social will be accounted for with the help of the notion of emergence. In 'An ontology for translation', I shall work out the implications of the above in a proposed conceptual space for translation studies, and in 'Conceptualising development', adjusted theoretical perspectives of development studies will be briefly outlined. I shall close the article by linking these three aspects together in a proposal for an agenda for future research on translation and development.

Complexity philosophy

One of the matters that have caused the narrowing of perspective in translation studies is its tendency towards using a causality of reduction. In this regard, it was merely following the rest of the Western scientific paradigm (Cilliers, 1998; Mitchell, 2009; Sawyer, 2005). Recently, however, the reductionist assumptions of the scientific endeavour have been questioned, and one of the alternative solutions to the epistemological problems in science is complexity theory or a philosophy of complexity (Morin, 2008). This philosophy of complexity wishes to overcome reductionism by following and recognising the complexities of reality, refusing to subsume – and thus mutilate (Montuori, 2008: ix) – them under a rational unity or simplicity. With reductionism also came the idea of determinism. If everything could be reduced to simple causes, everything could be predicted on the basis of those causes, which means that everything has been determined (Prigogine, 1996: 1–7). Not only in the natural sciences but especially in the social sciences, such an assumption has proved to be untenable. The complexity perspective thus also focuses on the connections between nodes rather than on the existence of the nodes only. It focuses on the movement of these connections which creates reality – social and natural (Latour, 2007). It is thus a philosophy of change and stability rather than only stability (Prigogine, 1996: 4) or, in Holland's words, an attempt to understand 'coherence in the face of change' (1995: 4). For complexity theorists, reality is thus hierarchical, non-linear and paradoxical, and it unfolds in non-equilibrium.

To become more specific, Emmeche's list of a number of features of complexity (2004: 31–32; for a detailed discussion on complexity see Marais, 2014) is presented here:

- Complex systems assume a hierarchical ontology.
- Simple laws may generate complex behaviour, and vice versa.
- Complex systems self-organise (Kauffman, 1995: 15, 24).
- Open systems theory sees the introduction of history in hard science, that is, negentropy (Mitchell, 2009; Prigogine, 1996).
- Complex phenomena exhibit emergent properties, which could not have been predicted from knowledge of their constituent parts.
- The behaviour of complex systems is difficult to predict, which means that a small change in initial conditions could lead to a large change in the eventual outcome.
- Emergent properties exert downward causation on the parts from which they emerged.
- Complex phenomena can be simulated on a computer (Epstein & Axtell, 1996; Miller & Page, 2007).
- Biological complex systems reflect the genotype-phenotype duality (Kauffman, 1995: 151).
- Complexity is a historical phenomenon with the logical implication that open systems are non-reversible and thus historical in nature.

- In complex living systems, one finds relationships between natural selection, developmental constraints and self-organisation.
- Complexity occurs at the edge of chaos, indicating that complex adaptive systems do not function at equilibrium (Kauffman, 1995; Miller & Page, 2007: 129–140).
- Complex systems are characterised by self-organised criticality, having evolved into a poised, 'critical' state, out of balance, where minor disturbances may lead to events of all sizes (Bak, 1996: 1).
- Complex systems require explanations other than reductionist ones (Miller & Page, 2007: 14–21). It is a philosophy of change, movement, connection, construction or, as Bruno Latour, following Callon, calls it, translation (for example, Latour, 2007).

The implication of a complexity philosophy underlying my thinking in translation studies and in the relationship between translation studies and development studies would be that it adds non-linear logic and emergence as conceptual tools. Translation could be viewed simultaneously as an emergent phenomenon, having emerged from but not being reducible to a number of substructures (see the next section), and as a substructure or factor in the development of society, being one of the factors from or through which society emerges without society being reducible to translation. This ontology of translation makes clearer the agency role of translators in the emergence of social reality.

Emergent semiotics

In social sciences, the relationship between part and whole is a hotly debated topic. Sawyer (2005) provides a balanced overview of this issue, indicating that emergence in social sciences is related to the view that both individual and society should be kept in mind when theorising the social. Over the years, the debates on the nature of the social have tended to favour only one of them, resulting in either social realism, which claims that only the social exists, or ontological individualism, which claims that only individuals exist. Methodological individualism is a position that tries to mediate between the extremes, claiming ontological priority for neither individual nor social but starting with the individual as a methodological choice (Sawyer, 2005: 93). In this view, the social emerges from the symbolic interactions of individuals (see Sawyer, 2005, for an overview of the history of symbolic interactionism).

Searle (1995, 1998, 2010), whose linguistic philosophy of speech acts claims to explain how symbolic interactions contribute to the construction of social reality, tries to explain reality as one in which the social is related to the natural (2010: 3). He asks how it is possible to live in a world of physical and chemical phenomena and, at the same time, have mental, psychological and social phenomena (Searle, 1998: 1–6). As the social has no physical properties, how can one say that it exists? Searle (2010: 13) answers the question by asserting that human beings create the social by means of language, in particular speech acts. Human beings use status function declarations, that is, declaring something to be the case. In representative statements, humans fit their statements to the world. In declarative statements, humans make the world fit their words (Searle, 1998: 29). Thus, when a judge says, 'I find you guilty', her words change the world for the guilty one (Searle, 1998: 12). Or if the Reserve Bank of South Africa writes on a piece of paper with Nelson Mandela's face on it that this piece of paper is worth two hundred rand, they have changed reality by turning a virtually worthless piece of paper into money which can be worth quite a lot.

Though Searle's philosophy is enlightening, it is augmented by enlarging his focus on language to a focus on semiotics as has been done in symbolic interactionism. It is not only language that contributes to the creation of social reality but semiosis and all forms of semiotic or symbolic interaction. Underlying the semiotic is the logical movement of substitution, taking A as B, paper as money. Thus, any conceivable material object can be semiotised and thus become constructed as part of the social (Latour, 2007: 63–86).

In this view, the semiotic is instrumental in forging and maintaining the links or associations between actors or nodes in the social. It is one of the transformations or translations that have to take place, turning the material into the social. In this sense, the semiotic is a boundary phenomenon. It exists on the boundary between the physical-chemical-biological-psychological and the social. For the creation of the social, one needs inter-ing movements, that is, movements across the boundaries of systems, or translations.

An ontology for translation

On the basis of the arguments above, the argument now proceeds to suggest an ontological basis for thinking about translation. Elsewhere (Marais, 2014), I presented an extensive argument on the need for clearer thinking concerning the epistemological and philosophical underpinnings of translation studies. While the current scepticism against grand narratives are well known, I am also convinced that scepticism itself is a grand narrative and that it does not solve the problem that all scholars think from within a particular conceptual framework or frameworks.

This overview will be presented with the aid of some schematic figures. The first schematic representation, Figure 1, represents my view on ontology which will serve as a basis for the following discussion. Reality is seen here as consisting of hierarchical levels, the one emerging from the other, starting with the physical and ending with the social. Thus, there is one world that is intricately linked, and any form of dualism or trialism is to be rejected. The dotted lines of the semi-circles represent the complex relationships and open boundaries between the systems and the arrows represent the relationships of emergence and downward causation that hold between the systems. One of the implications of having an open-systems view of reality is that all systems are linked and are of a hybrid nature because they all partake of one another in some way.

In Figure 1,¹ a bold dotted line indicates the semiotic as the boundary or frontier or bridge between the physical-chemical-biological-psychological, on the one hand, and the social, on the other hand. The semiotic is thus both a connecting system and a separating system, that is, a boundary system. In this conceptualisation, the boundary, the in-between is turned into the object of study, thus providing a philosophical foundation for translation and its role in another boundary phenomenon, development. Figure 1 also shows that the semiotic is not just a boundary or border but a system in itself, which can be studied in its own right. This opens the way for studying the semiotic as the system that connects the psychological with the social (Searle, 1995). Moreover, as Figure 4 indicates, the different aspects of the social are connected by means of, among others, the semiotic.

As Figure 1 shows, the links or connections or transformations or translations between systems can be studied as a field of interest in its own right. This is what I referred to in the previous section

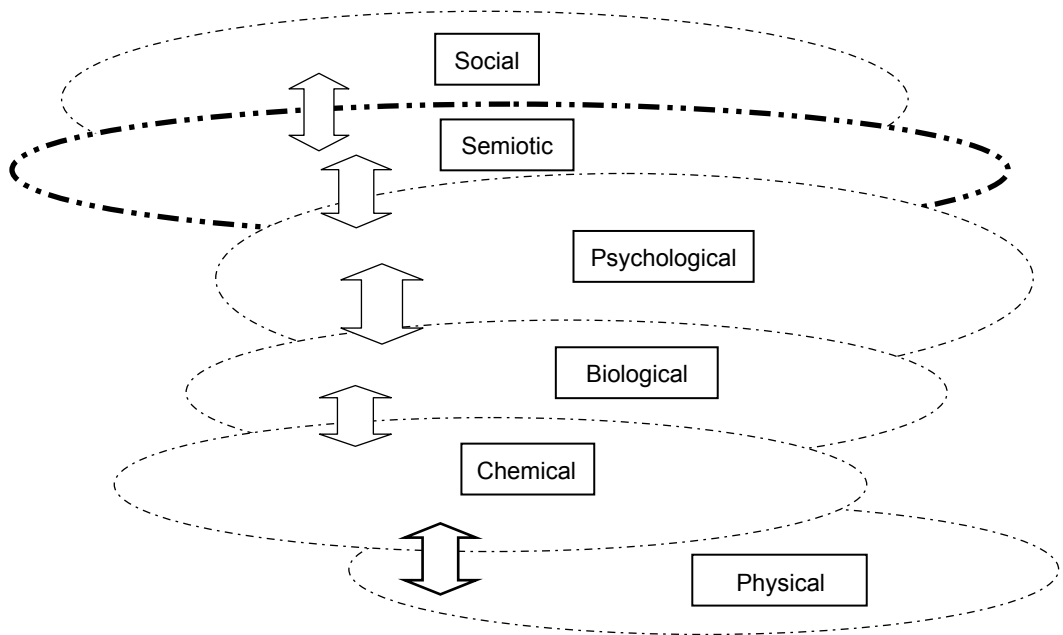


Figure 1: The emergent semiotic

as inter-ness or inter-ing. Currently, translation studies is mostly interested in linguistic translation and sometimes in semiotic translation. However, translation studies could and should broaden its scope to be a field of study focusing on all intersystemic transfer or movement or contact, in the way Latour (2007) has conceptualised it. Interlinguistic and intersemiotic translations are then only two instances of the larger category of phenomena which can be called translation. I hope in future to look at this intersystemic translation at the levels of physics, chemistry, biology and psychology. Also, much work needs to be done to understand the role of translation in the various social fields of interest, for example, economics and law.

Figure 2 is a schematic illustration of the complex inter- and intrasystemic translations that one can find in or amongst a number of semiotic phenomena. Therefore, as has been suggested in semiotics (Petrilli, 2003), Jakobson’s (2004) definition of intra- and interlinguistic and intersemiotic translation needs to be expanded. It can further be suggested that one should distinguish

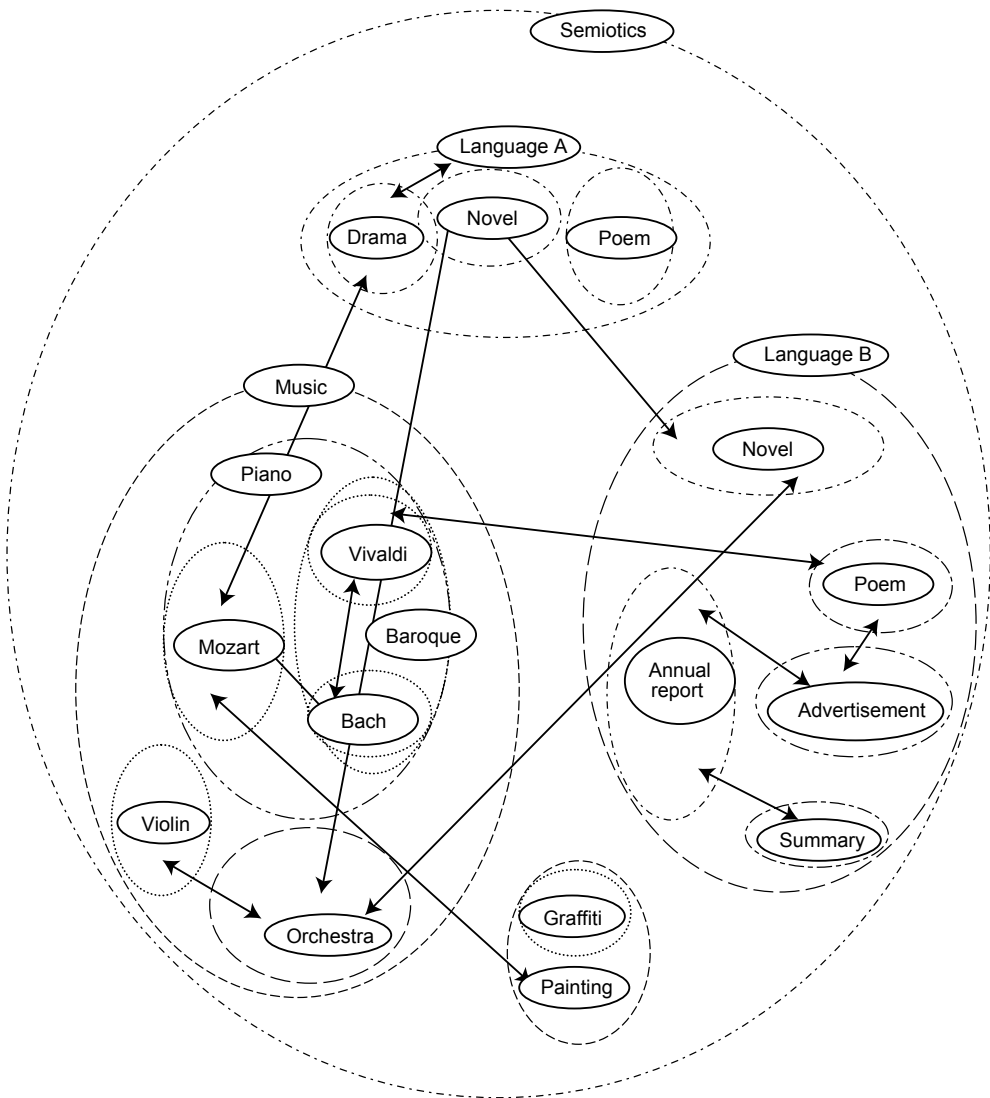


Figure 2: The complexity of inter- and intra-semiosis

only between inter- and intrasystemic translations and that these are not fixed either, as will be explained below. Translations can take place between subsystems of a system, which qualifies it as intrasystemic translation. Also, translations take place between systems, which qualifies them as intersystemic translation. The problem is that, with systems thinking, what is intrasystemic at one level may be intersystemic at another as systems always have subsystems and are themselves subsystems of larger systems. So the definition of translations will always be relative to the systemic level one is discussing. It may in some cases be important, for whichever reason, to draw finer distinctions to be able to narrow down the particular inter- or intrasystemic translation that one talks about. Thus, Jakobson's distinction between inter- and intralinguistic translation is valid if you take the level of analysis as language. From the level of semiotic systems, inter- and intralinguistic translations are both intrasemiotic translation. For the moment, I shall refrain in the conceptualisation to draw more distinctions as I am concerned about being too hasty to put reality and its complex forms into these logical distinctions. Even the distinction between intra- and inter- is superfluous to some extent. If one takes as one's object of study the connection between two systems, it is only intersystemic relationships to which you refer. It is only from 'higher' levels of observation that these become intrasystemic.

Thus, Figure 2 illustrates that one could have a novel in language A which you can translate into a novel in language B. If the systemic level is defined as languages, this is intersystemic translation, or as it has become known, interlingual translation. However, one can translate that same novel in language A into a drama in language A, which makes it, at the level of language, an intrasystemic translation, but at the level of genre, it is an intersystemic translation. Similarly, Mozart could have taken that novel and turned it into a piece of music for piano. Then one would consider it an intersemiotic translation as it changes semiotic systems. Someone could then translate Mozart's piano piece into a piece for orchestra or violin, which is again intrasystemic translation at the level of semiotic system but intersystemic translation at the level of the instrument used and the codes that hold for that instrument (see Figure 2).

In this way, one could continue indefinitely. Thus, it is better to defer categorising translations and rather opt for now for the very wide category of intersystemic-ness or intersystemic-ing. In this conceptualisation, translation is the name we give to all intersystemic-ness or intersystemic-ing. Note that I include both stasis and movement – the -ness and -ing – as I do not want to pre-empt the nature of the intersystemic relation. This theorisation makes it possible to conceptualise translation as the connection or movement between any two systems or agents or nodes, as Figure 4 shows. While some scholars may want closure on a conceptualisation of translation, I think I have given it and not given it. At the broadest conceptualisation, translation can be defined as intersystemic inter-ing and inter-ness. On the level where most of translation studies currently operates, that is, language, I defer from defining because translation studies should entail much more than mere language inter-ing. Translation studies should be able to think of development, where two cognitive, material, value, cultural, etc. systems interact, with the help of translation.

What is more productive is a new, transdisciplinary way (Nicolescu, 2008) of looking not at systems, at whichever level, but at the relationships between systems. The inter-, the link, the association should thus be the focus of the field of study called translation studies. Having read complexity theories of various kinds and sociologies of the likes of Latour, this looks like a general tendency. The science project seems to have changed its focus from things to the study of relationships between things and patterns that connect (Bateson, 2002).

Conceptualising development

I contend that the linguistics and comparative literature bias in translation studies, with its concomitant connection to cultural studies and critical theory, has lead translation studies scholars to fix their focus on culture and commonly 'high culture', that is, literary texts, and the formal economy, that is, the translation of written texts used in communication between formal institutions (Chen, 2007). With the exception of scholars working on community interpreting, very few translation studies scholars have included issues of development in their purview. This bias means that translation studies has not had in its view the development of social phenomena such as

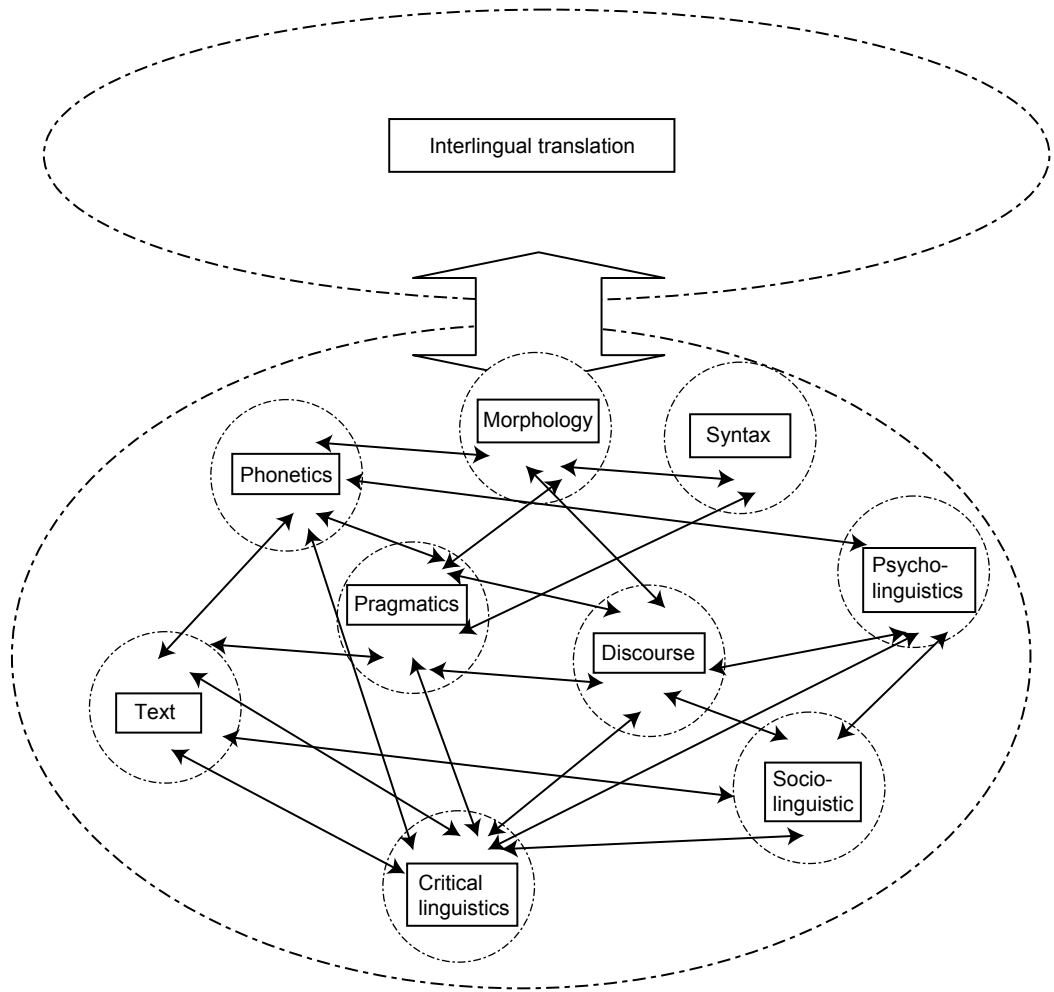


Figure 3: The emergence of translation

development policies and practices, politics, agriculture and the informal economy in general and the role that translation plays in these and other areas of development. Research has been done on legal translation, medical translation and scientific translation, to name but a few, but not with the particular focus on these forms of translation in development contexts or with the focus on the constraints that development places on translation in development contexts in particular. In particular, the informal economy is ignored because of the epistemological bias in translation studies (Chen, 2007; Marais, 2014). The next task is then to gain some insight into thinking in line with development studies, which should create some space for an interdisciplinary dialogue between translation studies and development studies (for a detailed discussion see Marais, 2014).

Broadly speaking, development studies can be explained as a field of study in which economics, political science and sociology are involved in an interdisciplinary attempt to think about development. For an overview of this field and its history, the reader can peruse Coetzee *et al.* (2001), Hayami and Godo (2005), Haynes (2008) and Rist (2002). Definitions of development, into which I shall not venture because of limited space, have varied over the decades, with the United Nation’s ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ as one of the most recent (IISD, 2012).

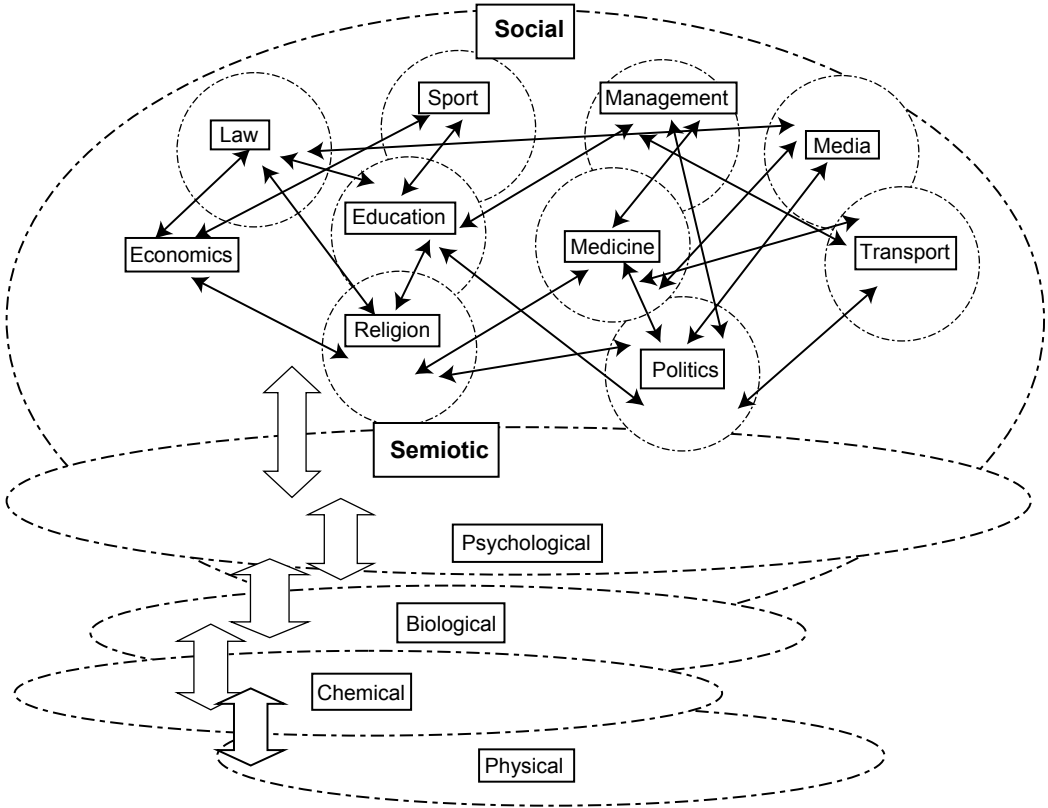


Figure 4: The role of translation in the emergence of social reality

In general, one could group the approaches to development in two broad categories, that is, macro- and micro-approaches. The first group includes macro-economics, -sociology and -political solutions and assumes that development is enhanced by means of a top-down approach in which the macro-environment has to be put in place for development to be able to take root. The second group of approaches is of the opinion that development has to take place in a bottom-up way. They are despondent about the lack of success of macro-approaches, and they focus on local groups and participatory models of development. Somewhere in between, one finds approaches, most noticeable the human capabilities approach, which argue that human (that is, individual) development should be the central focus of development, but they do not shy away from tackling this problem on macro-levels as well. I should also point out that some of the latest macro-approaches are sensitive to the complexity of development and thus propose a complex set of macro-solutions to developmental problems (for example, Brett, 2009).

In development studies, the macro-debate has touched in its first phase on modernisation theories, which claimed that all countries would follow the trajectory of the West and catch up soon. Coetzee *et al.* (2001: 29) provide a list of the deep-rooted assumptions behind the modernisation theories of development:

- a single, linear time-frame, within which it is possible to improve the quality of life;
- social reform founded in a strong conception of the past and its contribution to the present;
- the inevitability of the future, including aspects of hope and expectations regarding the future;
- the controllability of welfare, stability, equality, freedom, peace, and justice;
- a reciprocal relationship between rationalism and idealism; and

- confidence in the autonomous contribution of future generations.

When this did not materialise, a debate, known as the dependency debate, ensued. Proponents of this point of view claimed that the structure of the world economy was such that it kept developing countries dependent on developed countries. During the 1980s, developing countries were advised (or forced) to make structural adjustments to their economies as the solution to their development problems. This has led to major economic crises in many developing countries. Since the 1990s, neoliberalism is the main ideological driving force behind development thinking at the macro-level (Brett, 2009).

On the micro-level, the failure of macro-approaches has lead scholars to look elsewhere, and they have found some promising ideas in approaches that claim that people have to develop themselves and at their own time. These theories are a blend of cultural relativism, deconstruction, critical theory, micro-sociology and participatory action research, and they claim that development is about people and by means of people. In these types of approaches, the notion of human capital has come to play a major role. The argument is that development cannot take place, no matter what the macro-environment, where people do not have the skills to develop. Contributing from the field of anthropology, Olivier de Sardan (2005) argues for the hermeneutic nature of development, claiming that, whatever the structural provisions, development is a process that 'goes through' the understanding and symbolic universe of individuals. It is a value-laden process, and it always requires the negotiation between a new set of values and interests and an existing set of values and interests. Thus, it cannot happen generally and quickly but as a slow, local and hermeneutical process. Seen from the viewpoint of the topic of this article, development is a process at the border, where people from not only different languages but also different cultures, symbolic universes, value systems and intellectual traditions meet and where new, hybrid social forms need to be negotiated. It is a point intersystemic interaction, that is, a translation (Latour, 2007; Lewis & Mosse, 2006). If the field of translation studies does not move out of its current epistemological bias, the development of much of the world (the Global South) will pass it by without scholars blinking an eye.

Micro-approaches have since the 1990s been strengthened by the human development approach with its focus on human capabilities and the benefits of development for human interests broader than the economy. Nussbaum and Sen are two of the most prominent proponents of this approach. Below, Nussbaum (2011: 101–102) lists the capabilities for which development should provide:

1. *Life*. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length [...]
2. *Bodily health*. Being able to have good health, [nourishment and] shelter.
3. *Bodily integrity*. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault [...]; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Senses, imagination and thought*. Being able to use the senses, think, and reason – and to do these things in [...] a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education [...] Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice [...] Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression [...] Being able to have pleasurable experiences and avoid non-beneficial pain.
5. *Emotions*. Being able [...] to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety [...]
6. *Practical reason*. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about planning one's life [...]
7. *Affiliation*. (A) Being able to live with and toward others; to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another [...] (B) Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation [...] This entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.
8. *Other species*. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
9. *Play*. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. *Control over one's environment.* (A) *Political.* Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life [...] (B) *Material.* Being able to hold property [...], and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure [...]

Scholars like Rist (2002), Said (1993, 1994) and Rabbani (2011), to name but a few, have launched scathing attacks on the concept of development. For Rist, the questions being asked in development studies are the wrong ones. Rather than asking why some people are poor and how one could make them richer, he suggests that the question in development studies should be why some people are rich and how one could make them poorer. Thus, unless development studies addresses the suction power of capitalism at its heart, it will never solve development problems, claims Rist. Said is of the opinion that cultural and racial biases have been so entrenched in Western thinking that they maintain the uneven distribution of resources. Like Rist (2002: 230–232), Said questions the evolutionist assumptions behind development thinking and points out that the flaw in all human projects, that is, selfishness, often leads to the destruction of development projects. Said (1994: 1–13) seems to argue that development, which has to take place according to the models of the powerful, is just a sophisticated form of colonisation and thus suggests that historical relativism be included in the development debate (cf. Castells, 2000). Rabbani (2011) criticises both pro- and anti-developmentalists, claiming that they both argue in such a way that they maintain the status quo. Pro-developmentalists have an unwavering belief that they are right and therefore they keep on doing the same things. Anti-developmentalists believe that nobody can be right, that there is no truth and that nobody can tell anybody else how to develop, which in effect means that there is no debate and that the status quo in un(der)developed contexts is maintained. She (Rabbani) argues forcefully for a dialogic approach to the values and goals of development (as does Nussbaum) as the only workable solution to what the goal of development should be.

In conclusion, these critical points of view in development studies could strengthen the critical approaches in translation studies if translation studies scholars engaged in a dialogue with scholars in development studies.

Conclusion: Translation and development

The line of my argument has been that translation, seen as both the traditional interlingual translation and the expanded conceptualisation that I have explained, inevitably plays a role in the development of social reality because the latter is based on semiotic interaction between human beings. Because of its epistemological bias, translation studies is not able to engage with the very significant phenomenon in the largest part of the world, namely, development.

The first, obvious, point is that translation studies would be enriched by including development studies in its purview and by initiating a dialogue with scholars from development studies. This should free translation studies from its somewhat narrow focus on high culture and the formal economy. Apart from my argument that translation studies scholars need to study translation as it relates to development (among other things), my argument is also that development studies scholars should study translation in all its complexity if they want to understand development (see the books by Olivier de Sardan, 2005; and Lewis & Mosse, 2006 for more detailed arguments in this regard).

If translation studies scholars are interested in agency and the role of translation in society, as they are, development contexts offer them sites of contestation (Latour, 2007: 89) where societies are still under construction. Giving attention to these construction sites may provide valuable insight into the agency of translators in the construction of social realities. Also, a focus on development will force translation studies scholars to engage seriously with Tymoczko's (2006) arguments about the de-Westernisation of the field. They will hopefully be forced by new data to engage in new ways of theorising the data to counter the Western hegemony in translation theory (Susam-Sarajeva, 2002).

Even when translation studies scholars do not focus on high culture, they tend to obtain their data from the formal economy. In development contexts in particular, but all over the world, the informal economy (Chen, 2007; Hart, 1972) is growing and becoming a significant if not dominant part of

economic and social activity. Ignoring this feature of reality means that translation studies scholars have an extremely one-sided view of translational action across the world, which could be enriched by including the informal economy in their purview.

The proposed philosophical framework does not only invite a shift towards development thinking in translation studies. It also questions current definitions of translation and opens scope for interdisciplinary work with all disciplines, from physics to philosophy and theology. Studying the inter- could become the link that ties together all these different disciplines because they all have inter-type phenomena as their objects of study.

Notes

- ¹ Please note that in some figures the names of dotted ovals are put in rectangular blocks and in some, where more blocks would have seemed like overkill, without the blocks. It is merely a stylistic arrangement with no meaning for the model itself.

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