

Revisiting Translator's and Interpreter's Role after *the Arab Spring*

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Abstract

The perception of translators (and interpreters) as enablers of communication, bridge-builders, or linguistic and cultural mediators has recently been challenged, especially after the socially- and politically-motivated anti-government protests swept the Arab world after 2009. As social actors, they (i.e. translators and interpreters) could be consciously or unconsciously engaged, in one way or another, in these ideological conflicts to legitimize their people's interests and delegitimize those of the other group. The present study examines the role they play during this period of unrest dubbed in the media as 'the Arab Spring'. Relying on Maria Tymoczko's approach of activism (2000;2010) and Mona Baker's narrative theory(2005;2006), it suggests that translators (and interpreters) could be social and/or political activists . They reshape or reframe the texts and utterances they are processing throughout systemic deletions, additions, and unacceptable substitutions. The evidence obtained here is useful to ordinary people (to have a better understanding of translators' and interpreters' role) and translation and interpreting theorists and practitioners (to justify such subjective performance and offer workable remedies).

Keywords

Arab translators and interpreters Arab Spring activism narrative theory

1. Introduction

Research in translation studies has started within the previous two decades to pay careful attention to the subjective agency of translators and interpreters. Words such as ‘rewriters’ (Lefevere, 1992), ‘mediators’ (Hatim and Mason, 1997), ‘manipulators’ (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999; House, 2008), ‘interventionists’ (Munday, 2007), ‘re-narrators’ (Baker, 2006a), or ‘activists’ (Tymoczko, 2000) have become part of the tradition describing translators and interpreters. The justifications behind such recognition are miscellaneous. Lefevere (1992:14), for example, assumes that ‘translations are not made in a vacuum’ because the way translators and interpreters ‘understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate’. Alvarez and Vidal (1996:5) also agree that ‘the translator’s (and interpreter’s) conduct will never be innocent’. Tymoczko (2006:453) adopts a similar position, emphasizing that ‘translators and interpreters shape their words to the needs of the moment’, that is to say, they are ‘translated in the processes of translating texts (Elliot and Boer, 2012:1)’. As social beings, therefore, their beliefs may consciously or unconsciously drip into the texts and utterance they are processing which will, in turn, influence the quality of renditions they provide. Of course, determining the positivity or negativity of these interventions varies. Ethically, translators and interpreters are advised to transfer messages faithfully. But, morally they may feel they are obliged to intervene to support their people or institutions. Here, the texts and utterances will be charged with extra messages that may influence audience’s reactions, especially at times of conflict. For example, the winds of unrest sweep the Arab World from 2009 onwards have serious consequences on Arabs, translators and interpreters in particular. The role they play in these exceptional circumstances, therefore, has to be investigated. It is expected that they engage with other activists from different fields in the socio-political conflicts. That is to say,

because of the narratives in circulation around them, translators and interpreters may be effectively mobilized to participate with individuals of different ethnic, political, social or cultural backgrounds in the active promotion or challenging of specific ideologies. In what follows, we are going to examine the validity of this last assumption using Maria Tymoczko's model of activism in translation and Mona Baker's narrative theory with special reference to Arabic/English translation and interpreting in the media.

2. The Translator/Interpreter as a Socio-political Activist

One of the most innovative ideas brought by the sociological turn is the treatment of translation/ interpreting as a form of 'activism' (or 'political engagement'). This correlation was first introduced by Maria Tymoczko (2000) in her article *Translation and Political Engagement* on Irish Literature translated into English. After in-depth observation, she (2000: 26) concludes that 'translations act in the world and have an activist aspect', this aspect, moreover, 'rouses, inspires, witnesses, mobilizes, incites to rebellion, and so forth' but it is determined by a number of factors. These factors are listed below (ibid: 41-42):

1. For a translation movement to be effectively engaged, it needs a clear set of shared goals and values.
2. Political effectiveness is most likely if there is a group of translators acting in concert and if the translators as a group operate within the context of a larger cultural and political movement, which might include the production of other textual forms (theatre, literature of various types, pamphlets, speeches, manifestoes, and so on), as well as diverse forms of activism and direct community organization.

3. There should be a defined audience large enough to initiate and support cultural shifts, such as the integrated, popular audience in Ireland at the turn of the century.
4. Texts must be chosen for translation with political goals in view, and, if need be, there must be a willingness to manipulate the texts in translation, so as to adapt and subordinate the texts to political aims and agendas. The intent to transmit the texts closely, in and for themselves, must in many cases – perhaps even most – be abandoned. It is important to flag this point for this type of radical manipulation of texts is usually inimical to most people whose primary orientation is to the integrity of texts *per se*.
5. Translators should be ingenious and varied in their approach to translation. No single translation approach or strategy is likely to suffice – whether it is literal or free, “domesticating” or “foreignizing”. Instead, as the Irish translations show, multiple strategies should be deployed and maximum tactical flexibility maintained, so as to respond to the immediate cultural context most effectively. It may even be desirable, as in the Irish case, to have multiple and complementary representations of the same set of texts. Trying to prescribe a single translation strategy is like trying to prescribe a single strategy for effective guerrilla warfare. What is required instead is a certain opportunistic vitality that seizes upon immediate short-term gains as the long-term goal remains in view.

Although this approach of activism was first designed to postcolonial contexts such as Ireland, it has been extended to account for translator’s and interpreter’s role at zones of geopolitical conflicts. Some of these areas have been richly addressed at the First International Forum entitled *Translation, Interpreting and Social Activism* held at University of Granada, Spain on 4-5 April 2007. Since then, the tradition of translation or interpreting as an active tool in geopolitical conflicts has notably increased. To date, however, the activism of translators

and interpreters during the recent upheaval in the Arab World has not been thoroughly investigated. Undeniably, Mona Baker (2016) is the pioneer in this area, but her attempts need to be more comprehensive because the ethnic, ideological, social and political overt and covert conflicts in the area are much more complicated. This complexity is simply reflected in the use of the expression ‘*Arab Spring*’ by Arab media: it is associated with upheavals or revolutions such as in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria while the demonstrations in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain are underestimated or even overlooked. For reasons that will be mentioned below, the present study, on the contrary, views all these calls for change, and therefore translator’s or interpreter’s interventions, as activism. To elaborate on this aspect; let’s examine the live simultaneous interpreting provided by the three well-known Arabic speaking media Al-Hurrah, Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya of two excerpts from Barack Obama’s speech to the Arab world on May 19, 2011. In the first excerpt, the speaker, i.e. Obama, asks the Syrian government to respect the human rights of its people. But, all of the three renderings indicate interventions that could imply an activism:

ST: The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests. It must release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests.

Al-Hurrah

على الحكومة السورية ان تتوقف عن اطلاق النار على المتظاهرين وان تسمح بالتظاهر السلمي وتطلق
صراح السجناء السياسيين و تتوقف عن حملة الاعتقالات.

Back Translation

The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests. It must release political prisoners and stop ... arrests.

Al-Jazeera

الحكومة السورية يجب ان تتوقف عن اطلاق النار على المتظاهرين وتوقف العنف ضد المحتجين السلميين. يجب ان تتوقف عن الاعتقالات العشوائية.

Back Translation

The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and stop violence against peaceful protesters. It must stop random arrests.

Al-Arabiya

الحكومة السورية عليها ان تتوقف عن اطلاق النار على المتظاهرين الذين يبحثون عن الديمقراطية ولا بد لها ان تقوم بأطلاق كافة السجناء.

Back Translation

The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators who search for democracy. It must release all prisoners.

As can be noticed above, Al-Hurrah's interpreter obstructs, through omission, the transference of the word 'unjust' that characterizes the arrests that need to be stopped. In other words, it seems that she has intruded because she, like many Syrians and non-Syrians, believes that all arrests are unjust. Similarly, Al-Jazeera's interpreter may show an anti-Assad position, because his decisions to overlook 'release political prisoners' and substitute 'unjust' by 'عشوائية' ('random') do not seem to be accidental. Al-Arabiya interpreter's sympathy with the demonstrators may be clear as he inserts his own judgment 'الذين يبحثون' (who look for democracy) to define them. To compensate for such addition, he omits 'political' and 'stop unjust arrests'. It could be suggested, therefore, that the three interpreters, though work for different institutions, share one common goal, which is, supporting calls for change in Syria. Of course, such conclusion may not seem reasonable at this early stage of the argument,

but the image will hopefully be clearer when more evidence is provided. Let's now have a look on the interpreters' rendering of a subsequent excerpt addressing the protests in Bahrain taken from the same speech.

Source Text: *The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue, and you can't have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail.*

Al-Hurrah

الطريقة الوحيدة الى الامام هي عبر حوار بين الحكومة و المعارضة ولا يمكن ان يحصل حوار حقيقي عندما يسجن بعض قادة المعارضة.

Back Translation

The only way forward is through a dialogue between the government and opposition, and there can't be a real dialogue when some of the leaders of the opposition are in jail.

Al-Jazeera

السبيل الوحيد الامام هو ان على الحكومة و المعارضة ان تتخرطا في حوار و لا يمكن ان يكون هناك حوار حقيقي عندما يكون هناك بعض المحتجين السلميين في السجون.

Back Translation

The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue, and there couldn't be a real dialogue when some of the peaceful protesters are in jail.

Al-Arabiya

الطريق الوحيد في المستقبل بالنسبة للحكومة و المعارضة هي الانخراط بحوار حقيقي لكن هذا الحوار لن يحدث اذا ما كان احد الاطراف في السجن.

Back Translation

The only way in future for the government and opposition is to engage in a real dialogue, but this dialogue can't take place if one of the parties is in jail.

A careful examination of these versions shows that none of the interpreters has produced an intervention-free rendering. To begin with, Al-Hurrah's interpreter appears to deny the peacefulness of Bahraini opposition as she does not provide an equivalent for 'peaceful'. Likewise, Al-Jazeera's interpreter intrudes at the same position: he acceptably renders 'peaceful', but replaces 'opposition' with 'المحتجين' (protesters). The interpreter does not seem to have difficulty neither in understanding nor in providing the rendering for 'opposition' because he acceptably renders it at the beginning of this utterance as you can see. So, why does he fail at the second time? It seems that he wants to divert the audience's attention from the speaker's focus on the oppositions' imprisonment to the protesters' imprisonment. That is to say, he may be willing to underestimate the Bahraini opposition and views them as protesters only, which is inadequate as the opposition was already active in the Bahraini scene even years before these protests (see Shehabi and Jones 2015). Surprisingly, Al-Arabiya's interpreter is strongly present at the same position: he shifts 'parts of the peaceful opposition' into the indefinite 'احد الاطراف' (one of the parties). We may argue, therefore, that these interventions aim to diminish the speaker's evaluation of the opposition and its role. That is to say, unlike the previous interventions set to support calls for change in Syria, the present ones are set to deform the legitimacy of the calls for change in Bahrain. Such performances may be viewed as acts of socio-political activism because all the factors that determine the interpreters' engagement (the shared goals and values, the operation within a larger cultural and political movement, the defined audience, the choice of translation with political goals, the variation in translation strategies) suggested above by Tymoczko (2000) seem to be present. Before we move to exhaustively

investigate Arab translators' and interpreters' activist acts in the following subsection, we need to reflect on a very important aspect, which is the consciousness or unconsciousness of these acts. Of course, Tymoczko provides valuable insights, but because the data she uses is confined to written texts we need a more productive theory that accounts for interpreters' acts, especially in simultaneous interpreting. That is why we're going to rely on Mona Baker's application of narrative theory in translation studies to illustrate this aspect. Baker (2006a: 105) believes that translator's and interpreter's intervention is not always deliberate; it could be unconscious, and is employed to create, negotiate, and contest social reality. Her justification is mainly based on an in-depth understanding of narrative as 'public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour (Baker, 2005:4)'. That is to say, the simultaneous interpreters' intervention in the above mentioned examples, i.e. their behaviour, could be either conscious or unconscious. It is crucially motivated by the interpreters' subscription, i.e. engagement, in two important narratives or stories around them, which are the legitimacy of calls for change in Syria and illegitimacy of these calls in Bahrain. Definitely, these narratives are not personal, but public as they are adopted by communities. Because 'no one can stand outside all narratives, and there can be no narrative-free perspective on the world (Baker, 2006b:12)', the Arab translator's and interpreter's involvement in socio-political activism is inescapable. Their involvement is materialized in the text and utterances throughout de/selectivity recognized in 'patterns of omission and addition designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative encoded in the source text or utterance, or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which it is embedded(Baker, 2006a:114)'.

3. Data Analysis

The Syrian crisis has a great impact on the Arab world, the Middle East in particular, as it has led ideological conflicts among the different ethnic, social and political groups to spring up. Its story, i.e. narrative, circulates in different versions, for example, while some legitimize the Syrian uprising, others delegitimize it. We are going to investigate translator's and interpreter's socio-political activism with respect to this issue. The data will be Al-Ittihad's (an Arabic language newspaper) translation of Jackson Diehl's 'Syria Now the Backdrop for a Sectarian Showdown' published in the Washington Post on February 2, 2012 and Daniel Byman's 'After the hope of the Arab Spring, the chill of an Arab Winter' published on December 1, 2011 and Al-Jazeera's live simultaneous interpreting of Hilary Clinton's speech on fighting ISIS on November 19, 2015. Let's start with the excerpt below taken from Diehl along with its translation:

Source Text: *The central drama in Syria is now a sectarian showdown, one that has been gathering force around the region since the U.S. invasion of Iraq.*

Target Text:

فالدراما المركزية في سوريا اليوم في رأيي عبارة عن مواجهة تحشد الزخم عبر المنطقة منذ الغزو
الامريكي للعراق في ابريل ٢٠٠٣

In this excerpt, the speaker, i.e. Diehl, evaluates the situation in Syria as 'a sectarian showdown' (مواجهة مذهبية حاسمة). Nonetheless, Al-Ittihad's translator drops this description wherein s/he diverts the audience's attention to the indefinite 'مواجهة تحشد الزخم' (confrontation of gathering force). As it appears, his/her decision to alter the sectarian aspect of the conflict is socio-politically motivated. S/he may be convinced that the speaker's evaluation is inadequate as the 'drama' is the product of a democratic movement carried by people of all sects to call for the displacement of an illegitimate leader. Surprisingly, this

same narrative may be found in the newspaper's translation of Byman's article (whether or not the two articles are translated by the same person is unclear). No translation is offered to the Byman's emphasis on 'sectarian motives' of Arab Sunni monarchies, such as the United Arab Emirates:

The Emirates say their goal is Syrian democracy — but their motives are purely sectarian. Their target is not Assad but Iran, the Persian Shiite enemy of the Arab Sunni monarchies.

Indications of this public narrative, i.e. of the Syrian uprising as being non-sectarian, can be traced in simultaneous interpreting. Examine Al-Jazeera's rendering of the excerpt below taken from Hilary's speech on fighting ISIS:

Source Text: *On the Syrian side, the big obstacle to getting more ground forces to engage ISIS beyond the Syrian Kurds, who are already deep in the fight, is that the viable Sunni opposition groups remain understandably preoccupied with fighting Assad, who, let us remember, has killed many more Syrians than the terrorists have. But they are increasingly under threat from ISIS as well, so we need to move simultaneously toward a political solution to the civil war that paves the way for a new government with new leadership, and to encourage more Syrians to take on ISIS as well.*

Target Text:

وفي سوريا علينا أن نعزز القدرات القتالية على الأرض للتصدي لقوات ومقاتلي تنظيم الدولة وخصوصاً عندما ندرك حقيقة إن المقاتلين في سوريا هم منهمكون ومنشغلون في قتال نظام الأسد. لكنهم هم مهددون من تنظيم الدولة لذلك علينا أن نعمل وبشكل متوازن ومتزامن نحو الوصول إلى حل سلمي لإنهاء الصراع في سوريا وبما يمكّن من توحيد الجهود ضد تنظيم الدولة.

As is clear, 'the viable Sunni opposition groups' (مجاميع المعارضة السورية الفعالة) is unacceptably transferred into 'المقاتلين في سوريا' (fighters in Syria). Moreover, 'civil war' is turned into the general 'الصراع' (conflict). One may argue that the

failure to provide acceptable alternatives may be attributed to interpreting errors. But, such claim may be overruled when further evidence emerges. In a subsequent occasion, the interpreter intervenes to extract the description of the conflict as ‘a multi-sectarian civil war’ and insert ‘لكن هنالك فرصة’ (but there is an opportunity):

Source Text: *Of course, we’ve been down plenty of diplomatic dead ends before in this conflict, but we have models for how seemingly intractable multi-sectarian civil wars do eventually end.*

Target Text:

لكن نحن لا ننكر بأننا وصلنا إلى طرق مسدودة في عديد من المرات، لكن هنالك فرصة.

4. Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion, the study arrives at the following:

1. The recent uprising spreading across the Arab world has a noticeable impact on the Arab translator and interpreter. It has driven them to consciously or unconsciously support certain group’s rights or interests through modifying the texts and utterances they are supposed to transfer transparently. The decision to intervene or not stems from their socio-political activism. This activism can best be revealed by examining the patterns of deletion, addition, and unacceptable substitutions in the target texts and utterances.
2. The activism practiced by Arab translators and interpreters seems to serve their employing institutions’ agendas. That is why there has been neither an edited version of, for example, Al-Jazeera’s simultaneous interpreting of Hillary Clinton’s speech on fighting ISIS nor has a statement by the outlet declared to justify the interpreter’s intervention underlined above.

In other words, the institutions themselves are socio-politically engaged in the ideological conflicts in the area. The transparency of texts or utterances translated or interpreted by these institutions is thus questionable.

3. The active socio-political engagement of the Arab translator and interpreter suggests that there is a weak, if not an absent, role for translation and interpreting monitoring institutions in the Arab world that can take serious actions to stop or minimize such kind of agenda-motivated intervention. Of course, condoning this engagement can bring serious consequences. Much time and effort should, therefore, be devoted to tackling this issue by translation and interpreting independent researchers and professionals.

Suggestions for Future Research

The analyses presented above have identified translator's and interpreter's activism in rendering political discourse. In terms of future projects, it would be useful to widen the scope of analysis to examine different kinds of texts such as literary or religious. It could also be significant to investigate the activism of sight and consecutive interpreters as well. On the other hand, directionality of translation or interpreting may have an impact on the decrease or increase of socio-political engagement, so texts or utterances translated from Arabic into English may possibly require an in-depth inspection.

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إعادة النظر في دور المترجم التحريري والمترجم الفوري بعد الربيع العربي

الخلاصة

تم في الآونة الأخيرة تحدي التصور السائد لدى الجمهور بأن المترجمين التحريريين (والمترجمين الفوريين) يعملون كممكّنين للتواصل، أو بناء الجسور، أو وسطاء لغويين وثقافيين، خاصة بعد أن اجتاحت الاحتجاجات (ذات الدوافع الاجتماعية والسياسية) المناهضة للحكومات العالم العربي بعد عام ٢٠٠٩. كممثلين اجتماعيين يمكن لهم (أي المترجمين التحريريين والمترجمين الفوريين) أن يشاركوا بوعي أو بغير وعي ، بطريقة أو بأخرى ، في هذه الصراعات الأيديولوجية لإضفاء الشرعية على مصالح شعبهم ونزع الشرعية عن مصالح المجموعات الأخرى.

تبحث هذه الدراسة الدور الذي يلعبه المترجمين التحريريين والمترجمين الفوريين خلال فترة الاضطرابات التي يطلق عليها الإعلام "الربيع العربي". تقترح أن المترجمين (والمترجمين الفوريين) يمكن أن يكونوا نشطاء اجتماعيين و / أو سياسيين يعيدون تشكيل أو صياغة النصوص التي يقومون بترجمتها من خلال عمليات الحذف والإضافة النظامية والاستبدال غير المقبول. والأدلة التي تم الحصول عليها يمكن ان تكون مفيدة للناس العاديين (لفهم دور المترجمين والمترجمين الفوريين بشكل أفضل) وللمختصين في الترجمة (لتبرير هذا الأداء وتقديم المعالجات العملية).