

***Translation and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission: translating images,
translating cultures, translating Québec**

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In December 2010, the *National Post* published an article discussing the rather costly enterprise of state-sanctioned official bilingualism in Canada. According to statistics provided by the Fraser Institute (2006), translation and interpretation represented 15% of the total federal government budget spending allocated to bilingualism, a cost that many Canadian commentators deemed “unnecessary.” Shifting demographics and diverse immigration flows (Census data, 2011) are also having a significant impact on Canada’s linguistic landscape, forcing policy-makers to consider whether the Official Languages Act (and thus translation) would benefit from innovative reform. Using this contextual backdrop as its main impetus, this dissertation argues that translation, as defined and practiced in Canada, needs to be broadened for a number of reasons, including accounting for technological advancements, for the increasingly web-based dissemination of translated materials, and for the reality of evolving markets. Tymoczko (2008) has championed *translation as an open-cluster concept, a theoretical perspective that has found resonance in this project, given that the notion is the central premise upon which three additional conceptualizations (i.e. *translation sub-types) are founded. The first sub-type, **intersemiotic translation**, is explained at length and constitutes the focal point of the project. Instead of using a Peircean approach, the dissertation develops a model based on visual social semiotics in order to facilitate the application of intersemiotic translation in not only professional settings but research contexts as well. The second sub-type, **cultural translation**, builds on insights from the 1980s and 90s cultural turn, with a specific focus on the relationship between the representation of Canadian micro-cultures and intersemiotic translation. In other words, the **effects** of these translation processes will also be analyzed. Finally, **civic translation** is proposed as a third *translation sub-type, which offers a potential framework for multicultural management in democratic countries facing the challenges of globalization. A case study using content from the 2006-2008 debate surrounding **reasonable accommodation**—with specific attention given to the activities of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (also known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission)—is woven through each chapter, illustrating all three sub-types of

¹ As per Tymoczko’s usage, the term “*translation” refers to an open-cluster concept.

*translation. The case study provides compelling examples of why translation practices in Canada should move beyond verbal and state-sanctioned definitions. The novelty and contribution of this research project are manifold: it transcends traditional verbocentric approaches in TS; it responds to other scholars' claims that there is a lack of case studies that involve text-image relationships and/or explore the role of translation in the news media in a Canadian context; it explores multimodality and its significance for TS in an era of increased Web presence; it showcases a Canadian case study; and, finally, it explores cultural representation through a translation-based framework.

Keywords: *translation; intersemiotic translation, cultural translation, civic translation, cultural representation; translation effects.

De la *traduction² et de la Commission Bouchard-Taylor : traduire les images, les cultures, le Québec

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En décembre 2010, paraissait dans le *National Post* un article sur le coût plutôt exorbitant du bilinguisme d'État au Canada. Selon les statistiques de l'institut Fraser (2006), traduction et interprétation représentent 15 % du budget fédéral total consacré au bilinguisme des dépenses que bon nombre d'observateurs canadiens jugent « inutiles ». Les tendances démographiques et les divers flux migratoires (données du Recensement de 2011) ont aussi des retombées importantes sur le paysage linguistique canadien, ce qui pousse les décideurs à se demander si la *Loi sur les langues officielles* (et, partant, la traduction) bénéficierait d'une réforme novatrice. Dans un tel contexte, cette thèse propose l'idée selon laquelle la traduction, telle que définie et pratiquée au Canada, doit couvrir un spectre d'activités plus diversifiées en raison, des progrès technologiques, de l'utilisation de plus en plus systématique du Web comme outil de diffusion de données traduites et de l'évolution des marchés entre autres. Maria Tymoczko (2008) pense la *traduction comme un concept en agglomérat ouvert (*open cluster concept*), angle théorique qui a trouvé écho dans notre projet, puisque cette notion est la prémisse qui sous-tend trois autres conceptions (c'est-à-dire sous-types de *traduction). En ce sens, nous expliquons en détail le premier sous-type, la **traduction intersémiotique**, qui constitue la pierre angulaire de notre projet. Plutôt que d'adopter l'angle de Peirce, nous élaborons un modèle fondé sur la sémiotique sociale visuelle pour faciliter l'application de la traduction intersémiotique non seulement au milieu professionnel, mais aussi au contexte de la recherche. Le deuxième sous-type de traduction, la **traduction culturelle**, s'appuie sur les perceptions du tournant culturel des années 1980 et 1990, en accordant une attention particulière au rapport entre la représentation des micro-cultures canadiennes et la traduction intersémiotique. Autrement dit, nous analyserons également les **effets** des processus traductionnels. Enfin, nous proposons comme troisième sous-type de *traduction la **traduction citoyenne**, qui offre la perspective d'un cadre de traitement multiculturel dans les pays démocratiques aux prises avec les enjeux de la mondialisation. Pour illustrer les trois sous-types de *traduction, chaque chapitre s'appuie sur des données d'une étude de cas

² Selon l'usage que fait Maria Tymoczko du terme « *traduction », il renvoie à un concept de regroupement ouvert.

utilisant le contenu des débats qui se sont déroulés entre 2006 et 2008 autour des **accommodements raisonnables** — en accordant une attention particulière aux activités de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles (également connue sous le nom de Commission Bouchard-Taylor). L'étude de cas fournit des exemples incontestables du bien-fondé des pratiques traductionnelles au Canada qui doivent transcender les définitions verbales et motivées par la raison d'État. Les contributions de notre projet de recherche novateur sont multiples : il dépasse d'abord les approches verbocentriques traditionnelles ayant cours dans le monde des études en traduction; puis il répond aux chercheurs selon lesquels rares sont les études de cas qui intègrent les rapports entre le texte et l'image ou analysent le rôle de la traduction dans les nouveaux médias en contexte canadien; de plus, il se penche sur la multimodalité et sa signification pour les études en traduction à l'ère du Web quasi-omniprésent; il présente ensuite une étude de cas en contexte canadien et, enfin, il analyse la représentation culturelle à travers un cadre de travail axé sur la traduction.

Mots clés : *traduction; traduction intersémiotique, traduction culturelle, traduction citoyenne, représentation culturelle; effets de la traduction, accommodements raisonnables.

Thank you...

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List of Abbreviations:

BTTM: Baldry and Thibault Transcription Methodology

CAD: Critical Discourse Analysis

CCAPRCD: Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference

TS: Translation Studies

ST: Source Text

TT: Target Text

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Introduction

Backdrop (assessing preliminary soft data)

In the 1990s, the Canadian Translation Industry Sectoral Committee was tasked to assess the Canadian translation market (education, supply, demand, market distribution, expected growth, etc.) and provide conclusions and recommendations for development and policy. Though the report was published in 1999, nearly fifteen years ago, it could be argued that the definition, status and practice of translation have hardly changed since, despite innovative research within Translation Studies (TS). Indeed, since 1999, the number of publications addressing the need for "translation to go beyond"¹ or for translator empowerment, to name only these two areas of probing research, has proliferated. And yet, the impact on the **Canadian** market and mainstream perception, I argue, has been rather limited. The following excerpts from the Final Report of the Canadian Translation Industry Sectoral Report can serve as a starting point to illustrate the discrepancies between the definition of translation as it appears in this white paper and the research being conducted in TS in the last decade:

¹ Interestingly, the Final Report makes a similar call "to go beyond" current definitions, practices and understandings: "Currently focussed on the official languages and especially on translation and terminology, research in Canada **must broaden its scope** to include linguistics and multilingualism" (p. 30; my emphasis).

Not well known, not highly valued

Clients know little of the Canadian translation industry, translation technology and industry difficulties. Moreover, the professional status of certified translators is not widely valued. Translation is often viewed as a cost that must be kept at a minimum. It is one of the last activities to be done in a production process, and delivery deadlines are often very tight. If no professional translators are available at that point, clients look for someone else, and non-official suppliers begin to look attractive: surely any bilingual person can translate! It also happens that not all translators have a knack for marketing, and there are no business associations promoting their services. In the end, companies need to gain a fuller appreciation of the importance of translation in the success of their products and services.

Revolves around the public sector

Direct demand from the public sector, which we evaluate to be about \$165 million, represents a significant proportion— more than 35%— of the total Canadian market. The federal government alone accounts for between \$100 and \$120 million of this market, and this does not take into account in-house translation work done by the departments themselves or the work included in the acquisition of goods and services (e.g., translations done as part of the frigate construction project). What is more, demand from the private sector is spurred on by the legal requirements in Canada (*Official Languages Act* and *Charter of the French Language*). This situation, coupled with Canada's low industrial density, explains the importance of public sector demand in the total demand for translation across the country. (p. 12-13)

These specific excerpts are of interest for two particular reasons: first, they highlight the fact that translation was, at the time of publication, undervalued and misunderstood, while also underscoring that translators may have been to blame ("not all translators have a knack for marketing"); second, it acknowledges that translation in Canada has been largely supported by a legislative infrastructure (the *Official Languages Act* and the *Charter of the French Language*), indicating that the discourse **on** translation in Canada is premised upon a very precise (and perhaps limited) definition of translation. Because of its legal tenor, this definition is likely perceived as being immutable. This of course also has an impact on shaping the Canadian translation market, both in terms of supply and demand. Taking into consideration the research in TS since the publication of this report, the research questions I have raised in relation to

these *soft data*² are: has the mainstream perception of translation changed? Has training evolved to meet new market demands? Is the legislative framework that stimulated most of the translation activity in 1999 under scrutiny in contemporary Canada? And, most importantly, can Translation Studies provide any insight or recommendations to grapple these issues and questions?

In addition to official white paper reports, I wanted to assess whether similar restrictive perceptions of translation were also harboured by the Canadian mainstream. To find a tentative answer, I consulted national press articles on translation. While these articles may not be of academic tenor, the rationale for consulting the mainstream press was to better gauge the perception of translation in *everyday* discourse. In December 2010, the *National Post* published an article titled “The Sacred Cow of Bilingualism” in which the primary focus was the rather costly reality of state-sanctioned bilingualism—which included a rather tacit scrutinizing of the laws that shape the Canadian translation market. The article included data from the 2006 report conducted by the Fraser Institute on behalf of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, which indicated that the federal government’s total spending on bilingualism was estimated at \$1,843,000,000 with \$279,000,000 (or roughly 15%) allocated to translation and interpretation services for the federal administration and Parliament³. The *National Post*’s headline asked its readers: “Is it worth the price, and is the money well spent?” The article suggested that while the initial goals of the *Official Languages*

² “*Soft data* (i.e., words, sentences, photos, symbols) dictate qualitative research strategies and data collection techniques that differ from *hard data* (in the form of numbers) for which quantitative approaches are used.” (Neuman, 2011, p. 135)

³ Blaze-Carlson, Kathryn, Jonathon Rivait and Richard Johnson, 2010, p. A5.

Act (enacted in 1969) were laudable, given the current economy (which is facing complex challenges) and the shift in Canada's demographic makeup (increasingly multilingual), the viability and relevance of institutionalized bilingualism (and by extension that of translation and interpretation services) needed to be called into question. Fundamentally, the *National Post's* coverage (which included reader responses and editorials) indicated that the Canadian *mainstream* was arguing in favour of *adapting* the legislative framework that supports public sector translation (the largest and most influential market sector for this profession) in Canada. This market context led me to ask the following subsidiary questions that largely frame the direction taken and the research conducted in this dissertation: given that translation in Canada has largely benefitted from a legislative framework that is now being debated by Canadians, how can translators and translation stay relevant? Could some of the research being conducted in Translation Studies be implemented in the Canadian workforce as a means of redefining translation, translation practices and the role of the translator in an era of increasingly web-based, multilingual and multicultural communication?

While some language service professionals, including translators and interpreters, have always expressed concern with regard to new technological developments that could potentially threaten their careers and livelihood, ultimately, it is unlikely that technology will be the profession's kiss of death (as the 1999 Final Report and the 2006 Fraser Institute findings indicate, despite significant technological advancements, translation is still an important market segment in the Canadian economy). Indeed, the Canadian Translation Bureau has increasingly found ways to

adapt the language service professional's⁴ job description and tasks in order to take into account various technological and communicative shifts⁵— though the argument could be made that these specific amendments largely focus on *translation* technologies to the detriment of other technological competencies. Therefore, while technology is changing, it is rather unlikely that the professional translator will be replaced by automated machine translation—at least not in the near or immediate future.

Yet, given the rather tepid discourse on official bilingualism in Canada, I contend that the time has come to seriously question what would happen should the *Official Languages Act* and *Charter of the French language* be amended, substantially modified, or even repealed. I would venture to say that the translator's demise is far more likely to be the result of the negative discourse on the relevance of state-sanctioned French-English/English-French translation at a time when more and more Canadians and neo-Canadians come from divergent linguistic backgrounds, and as English continues to dominate as the world's *lingua franca*⁶ than from the impact of newer technologies.

⁴ It is important to note that “language service professional” is not always used synonymously with the term “translator”.

⁵ This information was relayed from Prof. Annie Brisset (from the School of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Ottawa) who attended a recent meeting of the Canadian Association of Schools of Translation (CAST) during which there was discussion pertaining to new positions within the Federal Translation Bureau that would require a set of technological skills relevant for language service professionals.

⁶ Here I would like to make the distinction between *global English* and *English as lingua franca*. The former implies that there is such a thing as a “homogenous English”, spoken and understood in the same manner on a global scale. Evidently, the idea that any language, whether at local, national or global level is spoken and understood in exactly the same fashion can at best only be a myth; as Jon Solomon suggests: “officially sanctioned state languages in the modern age (there are only 225 of them today) are not the autonomous, organic creation of a “people”, but rather the arrested result of an essentially transnational governmental technique aimed at population management (2009, p. 54).” Louis-Jean Calvet expresses similar observations by claiming that languages need to be understood within a larger framework which consists of social, political and cultural factors (c.f. Calvet, 1999; 2004). While “Global English” is not “officially sanctioned” by a state, it could be said that its sanctioning comes from the framework of capitalism in which speaking “Global English” is one way to partake in capitalist expansion. This is why I have chosen to refer to English as a “lingua franca” rather than a “global

However, this is not to suggest that the consequences of newer information and communication technologies need not be addressed in translation training and in professional translation alike, a topic Deborah Folaron (2012) has recently broached in TS⁷. In other words, the debate on the relevance of translation does not seem to be centered on whether technology will one day *replace* the translator, or whether it would be wholly more cost-efficient to automate all of Canada's translation output, but rather, whether the types of translation practices taught and practiced, the languages translated into and out of, are still appropriate in Canada's current economic situation.

In regard to the role of newer forms of information and communication technologies and their impact on professional translation practice and translation training, the predominant role of the "screen" in daily interactions has become so seamlessly ubiquitous that it is often all too easy to forget just how much communication is being filtered and mediated, cropped and photoshopped and presented on multimodal platforms. Yves Gambier (2004) summarizes this reality aptly:

language", because I believe the term lingua franca better describes the 'English' I refer to in this thesis (i.e. I would rather not get into the relationship between the use of English and capitalist expansion as such discussion is not the focus of my research); 'English as lingua franca' means a language that is systematically used in exchanges where interlocutors do not share the same mother tongue, but not to the detriment of regional or personal specificities. A lingua franca does not necessarily imply that regionalisms, accents, etc., need to be "invisible" or "inaudible"; consequently interlocutors of the lingua franca can simultaneously speak "the same" (same overarching language) and "different" (for e.g. regionalisms).

⁷ "How languages and cultures intervene and intersect through technologies, translation, and localization at different levels of the computer, ICT, Internet and Web world, in all its complex dimensions (computational, technological, sociological, cultural, legal, political, economic, and cognitive), will be a source of reflection for many years to come. Learning to read and interpret the global digital world through the eyes of translation—through difference—not only provides us with a more profound understanding of our interactive human-technology relationships and our participation in the discourse of machine. It also, dialectically, gives us insight into the nature of our own social interactions, provoking us to reflect on what it really means to be human." (Folaron, 2012, p.27)

Chaque jour nous sommes devant un écran. Un écran d'ordinateur pour rédiger, calculer, projeter, vérifier, contrôler, se renseigner, échanger; un écran de télévision pour s'informer, se divertir, se former; un écran de cinéma; un écran qui reçoit des vidéos domestiques, d'entreprises, des jeux, etc. Grands et petits, ces écrans diffusent des nouvelles reflètent des cultures, manifestent des comportements, orientent nos idées et sensations, nous ouvrent à d'autres langues, à d'autres valeurs... (p. 1)

In fact, as a subsequent chapter will address, the visual nature of communication and the role of “the visual” in Translation Studies have become increasingly popular topics in the past ten years with a growing number of conferences and publications discussing the matter (c.f. Oittinen and Kaindl, 2008; Sturge, 2007; Torresi 2010, 2008; Tymoczko, 2007; etc.). As such, technological shifts certainly have a place in the analysis and discussion of current and future professional translation praxis in the Canadian context. Specifically, in this dissertation, I wish to further explore the relationships between multimodality, semiotics, and translation in the context of web-based content as means of answering some of the previous research questions.

The 1999 Final Report of the Canadian Translation Industry Sectoral Committee also addressed the need for more specialized training to better prepare trainees for the marketplace that awaits them; this was a foretelling part of the report. Having been a student of all three undergraduate and graduate training levels within one of the most reputable translation schools in the country, having translated professionally, and having researched in TS for nearly a decade, I have had a rather interesting vantage point from which to address translator training in Canada's National Capital Region. While I have witnessed significant improvements in translator training over the last decade, I have also been privy to some of the weaknesses of *current* translator training,

notably the lack of media literacy training, the lack of market adaptability, and the lack of training in regard to web-based competencies. The lack of market adaptability, I would argue is not the translator's fault as the 1999 Report suggests, but rather the product of training that focuses predominantly on 'translating the text' as opposed to espousing a more holistic approach to translator training, that is to say with an increased focus on simulating the translation project from start to finish (i.e. from negotiating the client brief to producing final output or deliverables). Though some TS scholars such as Kiraly (1995; 2000) and Kelly (2006) have argued in favour of more holistic approaches, it has been my experience that translator training still has some way to go in terms of implementing some of these published recommendations.

The previous paragraphs serve to illustrate some of the challenges and complex issues facing professional translation in Canada. Inevitably, professional practice cannot be separated from training and theorizing in the field, as such, these challenges are also relevant in TS. As such, this dissertation is situated somewhere along the spectrum of exploratory and descriptive (qualitative) research (Eid, 2011, p. 4). Indeed, if Canadians are calling into question the cost and relevance of institutionalized public sector translation, and if technology may be forever altering the translation marketplace, then perhaps the time has come to start thinking of reconceptualising translation and translation praxis in Canada by creating models that can speak to web-based competencies, media literacy, and multilingual competencies (these latter elements constitute the more 'exploratory' part of the dissertation).

Whether an admitted goal or not, work carried out in Translation Studies (TS) since the 1980s has pushed the boundaries of the objects and practices labelled as 'translation', both within the field itself and in other disciplines as well. First, within Translation Studies, "translation" now extends to practices that include non-verbal modes of communication and representation. It is widely acknowledged within TS that these various translation practices can generate probing social consequences such as: cultural representations; perceptions of "Self" and "Other"; access to or denial of cultural and symbolic capitals; the creation of inter-cultural and inter-linguistic 'bridges'; and, unfortunately, conflicts as well. Second, in various other academic disciplines and professional circles, "translation" continues to act as a key concept⁸. Disciplines ranging from Ethnography to Cultural Studies have mobilized insights from TS to explain a diverse and broader set of transformative practices: anthropology has "translated cultures" (Rubel & Rosman, 2003); Cultural Studies have used the figure of the translator and the process translation to discuss the "space in-between" or "third-space" (Bhabha, 1994); Postcolonial Studies have considered representations of "Selves" and "Others" as forms of translations (Young, 2003) and have focused predominantly on the asymmetrical power imbalances involved in such representations; Civil Rights Studies, Social Sciences and Conflict Studies have considered translation as a form of alternative dispute resolution (ADR), akin to mediation but with an added emphasis on inter-cultural and inter-linguistic factors (Howard-Hassman, 2003); Ethnographic Studies have looked to translation praxis and theory to inform new methodologies with regards

⁸ Snell-Hornby, 2006.

to representing cultural others across semiotic modes (Sturge, 2007 and Wolf, 2002); and finally, within the field of Health Sciences and Epidemiology, “knowledge translation” has been used to talk about the “dynamic and iterative process that includes synthesis, dissemination, exchange and ethically-sound application of knowledge to improve [...] health [...], provide more effective health services and products and strengthen the health care system”⁹.

Unfortunately, while TS scholars and scholars from other disciplines have produced this vast body of work illustrating translation’s various “incarnations” and practical applications, there is no doubt, particularly in light of the *National Post* article, that translation, as it is understood by the Canadian general public, and in some cases even professional translators and scholars as well, is *hardly* influenced by these newer developments. Nonetheless, I contend these developments have the potential to help justify translation’s relevance and cost in different socio-political contexts, especially when the profession is being faced with criticism. However, the lack of communication between academia and the workforce is a common and regrettable reality, particularly when it comes to research conducted in the Humanities (Fulford, 2011). Moreover, it is certainly not a reality exclusive to Canada. As previously discussed, translation continues to be construed as an administrative obligation—a result of the country’s long-standing cultural and linguistic ‘dualism’¹⁰ and of the *Official Languages Act*¹¹. Maria Tymoczko, a

⁹“About Knowledge Translation”, 2009.

¹⁰ While some versions of Canadian historiography tend to purport that the country was founded by two language communities, revised accounts tend to counter this historical claim by stating that Canada has always been ‘pluralist’ (versus ‘dualist’) given the presence of Aboriginals prior to British and French colonization. According to David Robertson Cameron “Canada has wrestled with, and has been profoundly shaped by cultural pluralism since

prominent figure in TS, argues that this perception of translation is also chiefly due to the way translation has evolved in the Western tradition, of which Canada is a part.

Almost as an echo of the *Final Report of the Canadian Translation Industry Sectoral Report*, she states:

If asked to define *translation*, most ordinary people and even most translation experts would probably say that the answer is straightforward: a translation is the process or result of transferring one text from one language into a text in another language. That is, as it is conceived in ordinary language, translation involves the presence of source and target texts and transmission between two languages. In a sense, this is where the history of thinking about translation begins in the Western tradition and perhaps in many cultures as well (2007, p. 54).

In addition to Canadians' increasing tendency towards questioning state-supported bilingualism (Steyn, 2010¹²), Tymoczko's remarks lead me to argue that it is

its inception [...] The divide between European settlers and aboriginal peoples was effectively extruded from the body politic; once the power equation had altered definitively in favour of the Europeans, aboriginal people were effectively pushed to the side (2007, p. 74). Sunera Thobani (2007) further discusses how aboriginal peoples have largely been dismissed both tangibly and symbolically in her compelling account on Canadian citizenship and nation-making/nation-branding and how this omission has served the "two founding nations" myth that partially informs the Official Languages Act.

¹¹ "Sur le plan fédéral, l'adoption, en 1969, de la Loi sur les langues officielles du Canada, qui met les deux langues officielles du pays (l'anglais et le français) sur un pied d'égalité, a donné aux professions langagières et à l'industrie de la langue l'envol qui a donné lieu à l'essor qu'on connaît aujourd'hui. Au Québec, l'adoption de la *Charte de la langue française* en 1977, la loi 101, qui fait du français la langue officielle de la province, représente un autre moment clé de la consolidation des professions langagières tant au Canada qu'au Québec. Comme on peut le lire dans le *Rapport final du comité sectoriel de l'industrie canadienne de la traduction*, grâce à la législation existante en matière linguistique, l'industrie canadienne de la traduction s'est placée pendant longtemps comme « la référence » dans le monde (Echeverri, 2010, p. 234-235)."

¹² In an editorial titled "As Bilingual as it Gets", the National Post argues that the Official Languages Act has hardly affected bilingualism rates in Canada. "Canada has had two official languages for more than 40 years and all the billions spent trying to make us bilingual have achieved is to make the federal bureau slightly more fluent. [...] When the Official Languages Act was passed in 1967, 98 % of Ontarians worked daily in English. Four decades later, that percentage has fallen to only 97% - and most of the change is due to the increased use of Mandarin and other non-official languages. In Québec, where 23% of residents claimed to work "most often" in English in 1967, 17% purport to now. However, 23% of Quebecers still admit to using English "regularly" in the workplace. The change

imperative to revamp translation's perception among Canadians and among the many fields dealing with multiculturalism, inter-cultural communication, representation, and civil rights—fields whose terminology and concepts find overlap with TS. A revamped understanding of translation's applications in settings that go beyond the traditional translation approaches would give the practice a much needed facelift and would likely create resonance with a broader audience. Moreover, favouring a more “open” or malleable definition of translation would better serve translators and TS scholars alike. Indeed, translators are often pigeonholed and asked “what languages do you speak” versus “what fields do you specialize in”; they are often framed as administrative assistants rather than subject-field/language specialists; their work is often undermined and misunderstood, especially in terms of its complexity and its pressures (Gouadec, 2007), which leads to a lack of recognition, whether symbolic and/or economic. Moreover, given the influx of technologies that “mimic” part of the professional translator's skill set (e.g. translation memory software; free translation applications on mobile platforms; etc.), more and more Canadians find themselves wondering about the

hardly seems worth 40 years of social strife and public subsidy. In our centennial year, nearly 7% of Canadians professed to being bilingual. Almost 50 years later that figure is up to not quite 10% (“As Bilingual as it Gets”, *The National Post*, 27 May 2010. Web. 28 May 2010).” An op-ed piece titled “Shutting Out the World” by Marianopolis College's (located in Montreal, Québec) director general Len Even states that “Québec's obsession with linguistic purity has systematically eroded Québécois' economic opportunities (*The National Post*, 4 Jun. 2010. Web. 5 Jun. 2010).” He argues that state (Québec) funded initiatives to preserve French limits the overall economic growth of the province. In other words, while he understands the underlying reasoning for state-funded and –initiated language programs (preservation of culture, avoiding language decline, etc.), he doubts their actual effectiveness (e.g. Francophone students unable to attend English secondary schools will still choose to go to English-language CEGEPS to better their odds in the international marketplace) (CEGEP is the acronym for ‘Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel’ and refers to post-secondary institutions in the province of Québec that either act as springboards to university education or to professional certification). This line of thought runs parallel to, and is another example of, the debatable relevance and necessity of bilingualism, translation and other forms of linguistic efforts put forth by both the Canadian Federal governments and the provincial governments.

return on investment of professional translation when “translation applications” offer similar services for a significantly cheaper rate^{13 14}.

However, it would not be entirely accurate to suggest that these newer forms of translation have been favourably accepted throughout TS; as stated previously, even within TS, there are researchers and experts that continue to have a very limited definition of translation. This makes sense, especially for a certain generation of translation scholars, because historically the study of translation was housed in linguistics departments, modern language departments, or within the field of ‘Literary Studies’ which meant that translation was directly related to the study of verbal

¹³ “iTunes App Store: Word Lens for iPhone by Quest Visual” <http://itunes.apple.com/ca/app/word-lens/id383463868?mt=8> 2010. Web. 12 July 2010. Interestingly, in the comments section of the Word Lens page, some of the customers complain that the \$10 fee for each language direction is unreasonable, which illustrates the widespread frustration clients have with paying for “translation/interpretation services”, whether automated or human.

¹⁴ This observation is not meant to downplay the significant developments achieved within the area of automatic and machine translation (MT); however, in certain fields like advertising and marketing, in which implicit meanings and cultural references are numerous, it is clear that MT can at times come up short. In its 2007 Holiday campaign, Second CupTM most likely relied on some form of automated translation for its coffee cup sleeves. While the English version, albeit a bit lengthy, read perfectly, the French version was terrible. And while such a small omission or mistake, such as the one on a coffee cup sleeve, may seem innocuous, the public did respond; for instance, pro-French activists at the University of Ottawa decided to boycott the local Second CupTM shop. This example illustrates one of the repercussions poor translations can have for a business’ reputation and profit-margins – though it may have seem like a “smart” business decision to forgo professional translation services in lieu of automation and expediency, the result probably wound up costing the company more than had it chose to hire a professional (e.g. having to retranslate/correct the erroneous sleeves; fixing a damaged brand; losing sales at a local franchise; etc.). If there is any doubt left, Second CupTM clearly realized its mistake as the sleeves produced for subsequent Holiday campaigns have all been translated idiomatically, sometimes even with slight cultural adaptation. Second CupTM realized that poor translation could literally translate into poor customer perception of the company, and as such, the value of ‘good’ translation was reaffirmed. [2007 campaign source text: “From all the Local Café owners at Second Cup, we wish you warm memories this holiday season”; 2007 campaign target text: “Tous les propriétaires des cafés Second Cup de votre quartier pour vous souhaiter une période des fêtes des plus magiques”. 2009 campaign source text: “Warmest holiday wishes from all of us at Second CupTM!” / 2009 campaign target text: “Toute l’équipe de Second Cup^{MC} vous transmet ses meilleurs vœux en cette période de fêtes.”]

languages and literature¹⁵—not the fields of communications or media studies. This partially explains why most initial TS inquiry was “verbo-centric” (Torresi, 2008, p. 64¹⁶; Brisset, 2005, p. 44). Tymoczko (2005) emphasizes: “[...] early research on translation centered on linguistic aspects of translation, exploring the nature of translation in relation to language and linguistics” (p. 1084). When TS finally became a field in its own right¹⁷ during the 1970s, other aspects of translation finally started to garner more attention and research shifted away from primarily linguistic concerns: e.g. social effects of translation; the role of translation in shaping national identities; the relationship between translation and gender; the ethics of translation, etc. Thus, while we have witnessed ‘cultural’, ‘literary’, ‘social’, ‘political’ turns within TS (Snell-Hornby, 2006), perhaps what some translation theorists (Venuti, 2013; Tymoczko, 2006, 2007), myself included, are hoping for is a “translational turn” in other fields, certainly, but also a widespread acceptance of a malleable definition of translation *within* TS. This would also suggest translation moving from the margins into the centers of previously cited

¹⁵ “There is even a marked tendency to link translation studies with the (comparative) study of literary translation, maybe because many among those who use the label happen to be affiliated with departments of literary studies and are for that very reason supposed to deal with matters of literature (only) [...]” (Lambert, 1991 in Delabastida, 2006, p. 77).

¹⁶ “This verbal-only approach to translation is not unmotivated—rather, one must admit that it is backed by very practical and sensible reasons. First of all, it provides teachers and students with a clear focus, reducing at the same time the textual variables that would require separate, or special treatment. In other words, defining text genres by linguistic means alone, focusing on the verbal dimension, makes things much easier. For instance, in a module devoted to short stories, analyzing the illustrations that were with one or more editions of the source text, and reflecting on how the target text might be illustrated, would take up precious time. Moreover, somebody might argue that it would “distract” the students from the primary skills they will be required to use on the translation market, which leads us to a second very reasonable argument in favour of the verbal-only approach to translator training: the division of labour” (Torresi, 2008, p.64). While Torresi’s assessment is largely fair and accurate, in Chapter 1, I will further elaborate on this topic and suggest that this is in fact a rather artificial way of training translators, given the fact that they *are* being called upon to collaborate in multimedia, multisemiotic projects, a fact that dispels the second part of Torresi’s argument.

¹⁷ Most TS scholars would agree that this took place shortly after the publishing of Holmes’ Map of Translation Studies in 1972.

areas of investigation, for instance within the social sciences and within cultural studies. To state matters differently, translation could become a **paradigm** for thinking about and explaining social, political and cultural phenomena (Basalmah, 2010; 2012). This line of thought runs parallel to Doris Bachmann-Medick's (2009) claim that "[...] only when the conceptual leap has been made from [sic] and 'translation' is no longer restricted to a particular object of investigation, but moves right across disciplines as a new means of knowledge and a methodologically reflected analytical category, will we be able to speak of a "translational turn"" (p. 4).

Encouraging a view of translation as a paradigm **both within academia** – luckily this is a conversation that has already started – **and outside it**, might give TS more currency in both these areas as well. Once Canadians, particularly those in the language services industry, alongside researchers, start using translation in broader terms, that's when "translation as paradigm" will have truly acquired the currency I believe some TS scholars are seeking to give it – read: a value outside of the so-called "Ivory Tower"; one that speaks to Canadians and their tax dollars, and that elucidates the social, political and cultural phenomena that surround them. Bachmann-Medick (2009) claims that "turns" in the Humanities generally arrive after three stages: expansion of the field; metaphorization; and methodological refinement (p. 4). TS has, in my estimation, gone through all three of these stages. However, in order to avoid producing 'theory for the sake of theory', I would also argue that a fourth stage is necessary: that translation understood as paradigm be included in public, civil and non-academic discourse. Bachmann-Medick briefly alludes to this fourth stage in her concluding remarks:

“[u]ltimately, the move from what is still an ivory tower of theory and research onto the hard ground of social and political relationships in “global communication across cultures” would, in Mary Snell-Hornby’s words, be a “truly revolutionary ‘translation turn’ (Snell-Hornby, 2009, p. 50)”” (p. 4).

I contend that one of the most effective strategies to move discourse on translation in Canada ‘beyond’ its current verbocentric definitions would be to use concrete, telling and most importantly, **current** illustrations¹⁸ of translation’s evolution and versatility as a communicative concept, practice and analytical lens (this part of the dissertation, i.e. the use of a case study, constitutes its more “qualitative” elements). As any convincing and successful salesperson, or reputable advertising firm will assert, the best way to convince a potential “buyer” to commit and “buy in” is to create a need for something the buyer did not initially realize he/she needed or that could be useful to them. The intention here is not dubious or covert; rather, it is about creating a view on translation that is relevant for Canadians. Thus, in addition to earlier questions in relation to updating definitions and perceptions of translation in Canada and in terms of exploring newer information and communication technologies in relation to translation, I would also like to explore the role of translation in relation to cultural representation and shifting demographics. Besides from the financial concerns expressed earlier, broadening current understandings of translation in Canada is relevant because translation can be a lens through which we can explain and analyze the challenges

¹⁸ “In a qualitative study, we rely more on the principles from interpretive or critical social science. We speak a language of “cases and contexts” and of cultural meaning. Our emphasis is on conducting detailed examinations of specific cases that arise in the natural flow of social life.” (Neuman, 2011, p. 135)

brought forth by globalization, which would include positioning translation within the frameworks of intercultural communication, the mechanisms behind cultural representations and stereotyping, cultural mediation, etc. Though it is true that the average Canadian may not be looking for overarching solutions to work out Canada's multicultural dilemmas, Canada's governing bodies certainly are. If there is doubt that the debate surrounding multiculturalism has waned in light of other political and economic crises, the fact remains that Canada is the country with the highest average per capita immigration on the planet and Canada's current minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, Jason Kenney, has been reforming multicultural policy since the beginning of his mandate in 2008¹⁹. As such, newer definitions of translation may provide fruitful insight for federal and provincial administrations; definitions they may not have yet considered but may come to realize are particularly effective for fostering multilingual, multicultural communication. As Franz Pöchhacker (2006) asserts, it is *imperative* for governing bodies to address the challenges brought on by globalization, stressing the need for new intercultural/multilingual models to come to the fore:

[...] [G]lobalization of course also applies to the movement, or migration, or people, which manifests itself in increasingly multi-ethnic and linguistically diverse societies. As witnessed in recent decades, **public institutions** in host countries [like Canada] are thus faced with **a growing need for intercultural communication** [which includes mediation, translation and community

¹⁹ For example, some reform has included amendments to the Citizenship Act (2009, 2010), to the more recent revocation of Canadian citizenship for some 1,800 people in July 2011 (CBC News. "Ottawa targets 1,800 in citizenship crackdown". 20 July 2011. Web. 20 July 2011.

interpreting], or, more generally, for policies to ensure access, regardless of language or cultural background, for those entitled to their services or under their jurisdiction (p. 201; my emphasis).

Canada is indeed facing complex challenges brought on by significant demographic shifts (immigration/emigration; low birth rates) which have led to an increasingly pluralized and at times dissonant social space. Contrary to the first waves of immigration, which were generally of Western European origin, the current influx of immigrants to Canada come from all corners of the world, which has meant an amalgamation of increasingly divergent cultural backgrounds, languages, religions, customs, etc²⁰. These cultural ‘confrontations’, which are at best benign and easily resolved, or, at worst, grossly exaggerated by the media and appropriated by opportunity-seeking politicians, have undoubtedly forced many Canadians to rethink the applicability and validity of their idealized forms of multicultural/intercultural management (for example, the oft-cited Canadian “mosaic”). Precisely because cultural differences are part of Canada’s historical and legal make-up, debates surrounding cultural pluralism and accommodation are likely to resonate with a significant portion of the population, as a brief survey of recent Canadian current affairs will attest, and as

²⁰ “With the elimination of racial bias from Canadian immigration policy in 1967, the pattern of immigration shifted dramatically. Prior to this policy change, something like 80% of Canadian immigration used to come from Europe or from countries of European heritage, such as the US. In 2005, however, the US provided just over 3% of Canada’s immigrants, and the UK & France, just over 2% each; today, there are fewer French immigrants than there are Iranian. The top 4 countries make 41% of the total 2005 Canadian immigration of 262 236, and all of them are in Asia (China, India, the Philippines and Pakistan). The phenomenon of visible minorities has become much more significant; moreover, the cultural, racial, religious and linguistic distance between these new communities and the existing Canadian population is greater by far than was the distance between the resident Canadian population and the earlier migration of people, primarily from Europe and the US. Today, less is shared among communities at the outset, and much more ground has to be covered by both sides to close the gap between them” (Cameron, 2007p. 84-85).

such, constitute a compelling context in which to reframe translation in new, increasingly relevant and dynamic ways. In this regard, I agree again with Bachmann-Medick who claims that using the “perspective[s] of concrete translation processes to examine issues like a global, transnational historiography that takes into account ‘entangled histories’ (Randeria, 2002) [...] [is imperative] in the question of re-evaluating universals in transcultural traffic” (2009, p. 10). And transcultural traffic is certainly something Canada grapples with, both metaphorically, as Sherry Simon’s (2006) work on cosmopolitan and bilingual Montreal has convincingly shown, as well as tangibly (the metro cars of Montreal’s subway system; the OC Transpo buses in Ottawa; Metro Toronto’s TTC; Vancouver’s TransLink system; etc.—all good examples of “trans/multicultural traffic”).

In sum, Canada has a lot to gain from reconceptualising translation from public sector obligation and tax dollar drain, to an **overarching cluster-concept** that explains the social, political and cultural dimensions of intercultural contact, communication and co-existence. This dissertation will build upon the work carried out by TS scholars who have sought to push the boundaries of translation beyond verbo-centric understandings (notably Basalamah (2005); Jakobson (1959); Lambert (1997; and in Delabastida, 2006); Simon (2006); Sturge (2006); Tymoczko (2006 and 2007); etc.), not just in terms of translation’s products (for instance, analyzing a corpus of translated texts), or translation’s role in social settings (distribution and dissemination of knowledge through translated verbal texts), but in terms of the actual translation process as an **analytical lens** for human social interaction and representation. Additionally, Canada is remarkably

well-positioned to champion a broader understanding of translation: world-renowned for being a translation hub (especially the National Capital Region, but also in what is also known as the Canadian *bilingual belt*²¹) and because of its post-secondary translator training programs, Canada has significant clout in the shaping, theorizing and practising of translation internationally. What better context to study the relationship between information and communication technologies and web-based content, multicultural management and representation in addition to translation than within a country considered at the vanguard of translation scholarship and multicultural policy?

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of four chapters that are inter-connected and co-dependent. The reader should take note that the overarching research design is **exploratory** (exploring definitions of translation; attempting to provide new concepts) and **qualitative** (describing and analyzing using a case study)²². Moreover, I have chosen to espouse a nonlinear path as well as apply logic in practice²³. In other words, because my research topic and questions were derived from a series of experiences, soft data and the evolving current Canadian context, it was difficult to follow a sequential research path; I wanted to design my research to be flexible and allow for unanticipated questions and answers to be considered. The nonlinear path “requires us to make successive passes

²¹ This term was coined by Richard Joy (1967).

²² “*Exploratory research* is conducted to obtain a rough sense of what is happening on a particular topic for which we do not yet have sufficient information. *Descriptive research* provides basic information describing the topic [...]” (Eid, 2011, p. 4).

²³ “Logic in practice: A logic of research based on an apprenticeship model and the sharing of implicit knowledge about practical concerns and experiences is characteristic of qualitative research.” (Newman, 2011, p.138)

through the steps. We may move forward or backward, and sideways before advancing again. It is more of a spiral than a straight staircase. We move upward but slowly and indirectly. With each cycle or repetition, we may collect new data and gain new insights” (Newman, 2011, p.138).

Using the introduction’s contextual backdrop as its main impetus (soft data), the research topic is primarily focused on effectively going beyond verbocentric definitions of translation. Translation, as defined and practiced in Canada, needs to be broadened for a number of reasons, not the least of which involves accounting for technological advancements, the increasingly web-based dissemination of translated materials, and the reality of evolving markets—**this constitutes the first research objective**. The first chapter comprises a literature review that not only overviews translation’s evolution in Canada, but also within the context of TS. The literature reviews starts from the premise of answering the call to “move beyond” verbo-centric approaches (i.e. debates pertaining to verbo-centric approaches are *not* the focus here), addressing more recent conceptualizations that seek to position translation as a multimodal, multisemiotic practice. Special attention will be given to the work of Tymoczko (2008): her work has championed that translation be henceforth conceptualized as an open-cluster concept. This theoretical perspective has found tremendous resonance in this project, given that it acts as the central premise upon which three ‘newer’ conceptualizations (*translation sub-types) are founded. The first sub-type, ***intersemiotic translation*** is explained at length and constitutes the project’s focal point in terms of exploratory research. **The conceptualization of a model for intersemiotic translation (i.e. a model that accounts**

for the transformation of non-verbal modes of communication) is the second research objective. In Chapter 2, instead of using a Peircean approach, the dissertation constructs a model for intersemiotic translation based on visual social semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). This model departs from other scholars' attempts (notably Gorrée, 1994) and is meant to enable translators at all levels to work with multimodal, multisemiotic content. In other words, this is a model that can be proposed for *teaching, application, and analysis, i.e. as lens to study the production and construction of multisemiotic content*. Thus, the model is valid in professional contexts, training contexts and research contexts as well. The work of Jakobson, (1959), Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), Baldry and Thibault, (2005), and other social semioticians is of particular relevance as it provides the supplementary scaffolding needed to compliment insights from Translation Studies. In Chapter 3, through the use of a *specific* case study, the model is applied to show the ways in which intersemiotic translation can be positioned within the context of the construction of current events and narratives pertaining to cultural stereotyping. It is important to note that this by no means suggests that intersemiotic translation can *only* be applied in similar case studies; rather, this schematic, step-by-step conceptual model may be used by other researchers, trainees and professionals who could apply it to their own corpora. The specific case study on which I have chosen to build and apply my intersemiotic translation model is the web-based media coverage of the debate surrounding the crisis of “reasonable accommodation” and the ensuing Bouchard-Taylor Commission from October 2006 to June 2008. I have chosen this particular case study because it is a compelling example of where intersemiotic translation can take place: in

the construction of news and cultural representation in the Canadian mediascape. In light of this case study, I realized that other forms of translation practice also took place within the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. By assessing the data in the concluding section of Chapter 3, I suggest that cultural translation and civic translation are other forms of translation praxis that are relevant for the Canadian market at a time when multicultural and multilingual communication is increasing. This latter part of the dissertation is primarily descriptive and qualitative in its research design and approach.

In Chapter 4, the analysis provided in Chapter 3 is further assessed, this time by means of two additional translation practices: ***cultural translation*** and ***civic translation***. ***Cultural translation*** builds on insights from the 1980s and 1990s cultural turn, with a specific focus on the relationship between the representation of Canadian micro-cultures and intersemiotic translation. In other words, the *effects* of intersemiotic translation will be explored (descriptive and qualitative analysis), with a specific emphasis on the relationships between cultural representation and stereotyping in Canada. The fourth chapter also comprises a final section that focuses on ***civic translation***, a third translation practice. The intent of civic translation is to offer a potential framework for multicultural management in democratic countries facing the challenges of globalization (this research falls into the category of exploratory research). **This is the third and final research objective: to create links between cultural representation, translation, and shifting demographics in Canada (multicultural/intercultural policy and management).**

The case study I have chosen to analyze using intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation is the recent Consultation Commission on Practices Related to Cultural Differences (also commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission) that took place in the province of Québec. In my estimation, this ‘event’ allows me to look at novel forms of translation *in context*: **intersemiotic translation** as it occurred whenever verbal discourses pertaining to cultural differences were “translated” by representations created in other semiotic modes, notably visual ones (images whether static or dynamic); **cultural translation** as it occurred during the Commission’s public forums, whenever cultural parties would try to “translate” their ontological narratives and articulate them within the larger framework of Québec’s “Nous” narrative²⁴; finally, **civic translation** as a sort of “*projet en devenir*”—a framework I would like to suggest as a template for spaces and instances of “vivre ensemble” in an increasingly multicultural Québec.

²⁴ The narrative of the ‘Nous Québécois’ (‘Us’) is a recurrent theme in social discourse in Quebec. Brisset (1993) argues that the narrative of collective identity in this particular context can actually be viewed from a number of different perspectives. The idea of a ‘Nous’ (‘Us’) implicitly connotes a threatening ‘Eux’ (‘Them’ or ‘Other/Others’) which generally takes the form of either English Canada or neo-Canadians (immigrants) and echoes the dynamics of in-group/out-group theories. Interestingly, First Nations people are rarely portrayed as being much of a threat per se; if anything, they are ignored by this discourse or framed as being part of a larger set of social ‘problems’ which involve unemployment, education rights, substance abuse and land ownership. Thus, the ‘Nous’ discourse has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it is empowering for Quebecers because it frames them as a cohesive, homogenous and distinct group (which promotes a refusal of letting ‘Others’ into the in-group); but on the other hand, it also constructs the ‘Nous’ as being fearful of being persecuted by ‘Others’ (even if these ‘Others’ are effectively smaller micro-cultures within the framework of the province or country). Quebecers thus find themselves in a double-bind, torn between self-promotion and assertion, and self-doubt and victimization. In a section titled “Anxiety over Identity,” Bouchard and Taylor summarize the issue of collective identity in relation to the debate on accommodation as follows: “the so-called wave of accommodation clearly touched a number of emotional chords among French-Canadian Quebecers in such a way that requests for religious adjustments have spawned fears about the most valuable heritage of the Quiet Revolution, in particular gender equality and secularism. The result has been an identity counter-reaction movement that has expressed itself through the rejection of harmonization practices. [...] We can conclude that Quebecers of French-Canadian ancestry are still not at ease with their twofold status as a majority in Québec and a minority in Canada and North America” (p. 18).

I posit that conceptualizing translation as an open-cluster concept in Canada can be a way to facilitate broadening definitions and perceptions of translation, especially in regard to cultural representation. I use the sub-type of intersemiotic translation to study the creation of cultural stereotypes through verbal/non-verbal exchanges (for instance, the systematic pairing of the verbal collocation “reasonable accommodation” with a pictorial representation of an immigrant, religious symbol or cultural symbol). In addition, I use cultural translation, another translation sub-type, to explore how these intersemiotic translations yield power-relations between dominant and minority groups (for instance, intersemiotic translations create cultural translations of a “Quebecois Self²⁵” and a “Threatening Other”). Finally, I argue in favour of implementing civic translation, another translation sub-type, as a means of reverting some of these power imbalances.

Summary of Research Design, Research Questions, and Research Objectives

The scope of the dissertation is wide-ranging, in which a variety of disciplinary perspectives are integrated. While the structure does not include a chapter exclusively focused on methodology, I have integrated appropriated research design strategies. As I have indicated, this dissertation is comprised of exploratory, grounded theory and descriptive research. I have begun my research by analyzing soft data (the contextual backdrop provided in this introduction), followed by the formulation of various sets of research questions which relate to the research topic of how translation is defined and practiced in Canada, and how such definitions may have now become too narrow. As a

²⁵Generally francophone Québécois; « de souche ».

result, I have chosen to engage in exploratory research in which I have conceptualized a new model (intersemiotic translation) that might help resolve some of the issues raised in the discussion of the soft data in this introduction, i.e., how to effectively "go beyond" verbocentric translation approaches and definitions in Canada. This conceptual model, I would argue, can be integrated into larger communicative and cultural exchanges. This echoes the work of other scholars who have argued for a positioning of translation in such exchanges (Baker, 2006; Cheadle and Pelletier, 2007; Cronin, 2006; Simon, 2006; Tymoczko, 2007). The associated research questions are: If it can be said that translation can and should go "beyond" verbocentric definitions, what might these "newer" definitions encompass? What types of translation or models of translation could be conceptualized and deployed? What effects would these have in a Canadian context?

Chesterman (2012) argues that exploratory and descriptive research in TS should be corroborated with a sample of reality. This is why I have chosen to apply my conceptual model to a case study in Chapter 3 (the debate surrounding the Bouchard-Taylor Commission). However, my particular case study involved data that inevitably sparked new questions along the way (this exemplifies what is meant by a "nonlinear research path"). Given that my corpus uses content that pertains to the representation and discourse on Canadian micro-cultures in a highly sensitive debate, I felt it was warranted to discuss this point in greater detail. Additionally, much recent scholarship discusses the importance of assessing the effects of translation practices (Venuti, 1995; Baker 2006; UNESCO, 2009), thus I felt it was paramount to assess some of the effects or

real-world consequences of intersemiotic translation. This research element was the main impetus for Chapter 4, in which I introduce two other translation sub-types, cultural translation and civic translation, to further analyze the real and potential impacts of intersemiotic translation in this particular case study.

According to Neuman (2011), nonlinear research is sometimes met with criticism, but: “the absence of a standard method does not make qualitative study less valid; however, it often requires more time and a different style of thinking” (*ibid*, p. 137). To help the reader, I have chosen to include specific methodological strategies throughout each chapter; this will hopefully provide a sense of organization for those more accustomed with the rigor and linearity of quantitative or positivist research.

Finally, the dissertation’s main research objectives are then: **1)** to provide newer definitions of translation at a time when current definitions are deemed insufficient by the industry, by researchers, and by Canadian commentators (Chapter 1). This includes providing an applicable and transferrable model for a novel type of translation illustrated by means of a case study (Chapter 2); **2)** to examine translation in the context of the production and construction of web-based content (Chapters 2 and 3); **3)** to examine the effects of intersemiotic translation, including addressing the role of translation in the construction of current affairs and the shaping of cultural representations and discourses in Canada (Chapters 3 and 4).

CHAPTER 1: Beyond Verbal/Linguistic Understandings of Translation

Translation in Canada: norms and state-sanctioned translation praxis

In the introduction, I briefly alluded to the fact that translation is often pigeonholed in Canada as a public sector, administrative ‘obligation’, occurring most often between French and English, the country’s official languages²⁶. And while this perception is entirely justifiable, as it is indeed for the most part how translation is practiced, understood, taught and discussed in Canada, particularly in the National Capital Region²⁷, unfortunately it largely discounts the fact that ‘translation-like’ activity occurs in a variety of other ways and settings. I contend that this limited understanding of translation is the result of a legal/institutional/professional cycle that could be summarized and represented as follows:

²⁶ “In Canada, translation between the official languages accounts for 75% of translation revenue, and the English-to-French combination alone accounts for 48% of revenue.” (Association of Translators and Interpreters of Alberta, 2009-2012).

²⁷ This region is comprised of the Canada’s capital, Ottawa (Ontario) and Gatineau (Québec).

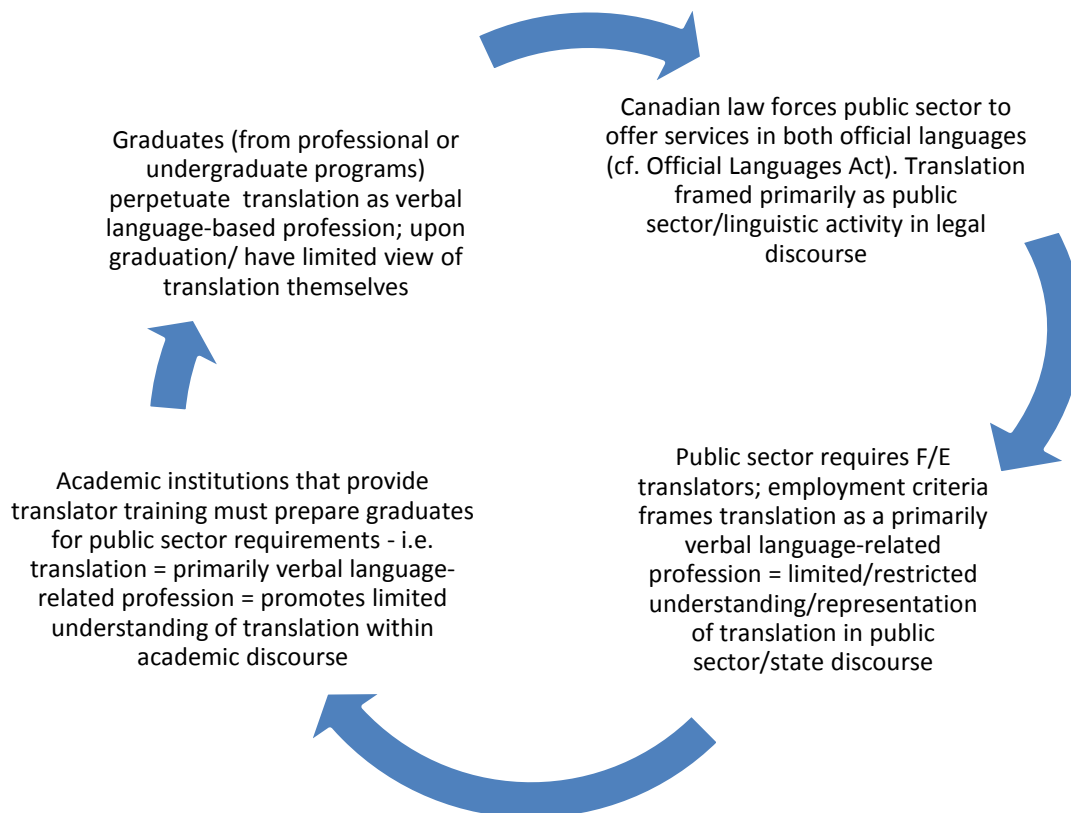


Diagram 1.1

This (unfortunate) reality can also be explained and justified in terms of past and current sociological Canadian norms. In the 1970s and 1980s, TS scholar Gideon Toury started to use sociological norms as a framework to circumscribe and analyze translation activity as part of the emerging field of Descriptive Translation Studies. In short, the analysis of sociological and linguistic norms offered insight as to what was being defined and considered as “translations” in specific social contexts (Toury, 1978; 1980; 1995). Additionally, these specific norms could also elucidate what was expected of translators; which translations were deemed “good” or “bad”; what translation techniques or strategies were seen as “acceptable” and which weren’t; what types of texts were most commonly translated (literary, technical, etc.), etc. The diagram illustrated above uses

Toury's key norms to illustrate the fact that Canadian legal, administrative and institutional norms largely frame what is defined as "translation". For instance, these three sets of norms suggest that translation is verbal, largely carried out in the public sectors, most often in bilingual cities (Official Languages Act), etc.; according to these observations, it is unsurprising that laypeople and even language service professionals do not immediately associate translation with other semiotic transformations or other inter-lingual/inter-cultural practices²⁸ (such as advertising, film dubbing/subtitling, audio-description, etc.).

As a corollary, the work of José Lambert (1997) is equally relevant in this context; in his essay "Problems and challenges of translation", Lambert discusses that professional practice often precedes the theorisation of practice. In other words, people practising translation (i.e. professional translators/ "communities of practice" comprised of translators/interpreters (Flynn, 2010) are likely to be the first to start producing discourse on, and theory pertaining to, translation. In Canada, discourse on translation is largely produced in two different spheres—or, to quote a term used by Flynn (2010) and other interested in "ethnographies of translation", two different "communities of practice": first, in the public administration (which employs or contracts work to most practising translation professionals—be it salaried professionals or freelancers who generally work for agencies—in the National Capital Region and within other translation hubs such as

²⁸Mary Snell-Hornby offers a similar observation: "[...] what has remained unchanged is the status of translators in society and the standing of the discipline of Translation Studies among the general public – and it is my opinion that the foremost task of translation scholars over the next few years to try and remedy this situation. **It is not the quantity of publications and conferences that is decisive, but their innovative quality and their degree of relevance for our society. In a time dominated by media and publicity, it seems strange that the vital significance of translation and its inherent complexities still remain a message that has not gotten across – either to the public as a whole or to those responsible for funding and promoting it** (2006:175; my emphasis)."

Montreal and Québec City) and, second, within academic institutions²⁹. As such, there are two dominant groups producing discourse on translation: practising professionals and translation scholars/researchers³⁰. Evidently, there can be overlap between the two groups³¹, but for the most part, they remain somewhat isolated from one another. Discourse on translation produced within the confines of the public administration generally tends to restrict translation to its denotative definition, that is to say the transfer of one verbal language into another³². Given that this is the way translation is sanctioned within the public sector, it is conceivable that more novel understandings or more challenging understandings of translation will find it challenging to gain significant currency. Tymoczko (2007) describes this professional reality as follows: “[...] insofar as a translator is taught to use a specific protocol for determining and transferring meaning [in this case, the civil service’s protocol], that protocol will narrow a translator’s choices and decision making; it will circumscribe the translator’s agency, and inscribe the translator within a dominant Western [Canadian] construction not only of translation but also of

²⁹ A third sphere would likely be the news media (in all formats), though generally the media will ‘recycle’ discourse produced by these other two spheres.

³⁰ A reality likely shared by other professions, such as medicine, law, dentistry, etc., in which there are practising professionals and professionals producing research or providing training.

³¹ For instance, some practising translation professionals are also part-time lecturers or guest-lecturers and also attend academic conferences. Similarly, some researchers attend professional workshops or do freelance translation work.

³² For instance, under its section “List of Services”, the Translation Bureau lists translation under the section ‘Linguistic Services’ and seems to make a clear distinction between what is translation and what is not (for instance, localization and multimedia teams appear isolated from translation teams). For a list of these services and how they appear on the website: Translation Bureau, (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.btb.gc.ca/btb.php?lang=eng&cont=263>. Interestingly, the Translation Bureau (TB) does offer multimedia solutions for its clients, but it does not frame it as a translation service per se. For instance, localization is separated and defined as a task that can be done by “localization specialists [who are] experts in human and computer languages [and have] the skills of language professionals and computer programmers all in one package”. Paradoxically, while these competencies are touted by one of Canada’s largest employers of professional translators, some training institutions, such as the University of Ottawa, still do not offer full localization streams or graphic design courses. As such, while some commercial institutions are slowly revamping and adding the parameters involved in the translation process, training still has some way to go.

what counts as meaning” (p.7). Paradoxically, the discourses being produced within the confines of academic institutions—Canadian or otherwise—have tended to push the envelope, especially since the field’s ‘cultural turn’ in the 1980s and since the impact of “developments in new technologies” in the 1990s (Snell-Hornby, 2006); Canadian TS scholars are now finding ways to link translation praxis with what may seem unlikely pairings; vice versa, scholars in other disciplines are looking to translation to elucidate areas of interest in their respective fields³³. However, because there is a larger number of practising professional translators than translation scholars³⁴, and likely because there is more contact between the general public and the public and private sectors, a limited definition of translation (verbal transfer) is far more likely to dominate over more

³³ For instance, examples of other recent projects that have paired insights from translation with other disciplines have included: the study of the relationship between translation and Canadian culinary identity (cf. the thematic issue of *Cuizine* “Food, Language, and Identity/ Cuisine, langue et identité” (2011)); the relationship between translation and cosmopolitanism (Simon, 2006); translation and the dissemination of health policy and information (knowledge translation) (Institute of Population and Public Health at the University of Ottawa); the link between translation and music (cf. the thematic issue of the *The Translator* “Special Issue: Translation and Music” (2008)).

³⁴ Precise data on the number of practising professional translators in Canada and in the Canadian public sector is difficult to provide, as translation can at times be carried out by bilingual employees (do these employees count as ‘translators’?) or other language service professionals. Moreover, the distinction between various language service professionals is not always clearly drawn in census-type data (for instance, are interpreters and bilingual technical writers categorized under ‘translators’?; conversely, are ‘translators’ categorized under ‘language service professionals’; the Common Sense Advisory Summary of Interpreting in North America states: “Most interpreters are also translators. Education and training for translators has long been seen as separate from that of interpreters, but this does not match the reality of the profession in North America either. We found that 79.7% of interpreters surveyed also provide written translation work (Kelly et al. & Common Sense Advisory. (2010). *An Overview of the North American Interpreting Market*. Washington, D.C.: Common Sense Advisory Inc.).

Data from the School of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Ottawa (Ottawa, Canada) has polled graduates pertaining to employment upon graduation. This data could be indicative of overarching trends since the STI is one of Canada’s premiere translation training programs and thus presumably one of main sources of translation graduates. According to this poll, a quarter of graduates work in the public sector (26%; 30% of that 26% at provincial level and 31% of that same 26% at federal level). A significant percentage of graduates found employment in “Education” which could perhaps presuppose work in academia/research, but according to a representative of the STI, “Education” refers to all levels of academic training from primary to post-graduate schooling. (“Where are our graduates”, 2003).

While it is also difficult to pinpoint the *exact* number of Canadian TS scholars (especially given the interdisciplinary nature of the field/work), given the limited number of schools offering graduate courses (MA and PhD levels), the likelihood of there being a smaller number of scholars versus practising professionals is a safe hypothesis.

‘challenging’ understandings of translation. As a result, if “translation is a phenomenon that cultures consider to be translation” and the dominant ‘translation culture’ in Canada is comprised of civil servant translators and housed within the Canadian public service, it is no wonder that ‘academic’ definitions of translation are marginalized. Generally, an asymmetrical relationship between dominant and marginal norms is sustained so long as dominant norms are produced and implemented by institutions of power. Canada’s dominant translation norms are not exempt from this tendency.

But as Lambert (work produced in the late 1990s) and Snell-Hornby (2006) astutely observed, while prevailing norms may confine translation to the realm of verbal languages, combined developments in communications, advancements in mobile information and communication technologies³⁵, and an increased push in a number of fields to redefine “language”³⁶, have forced professional translators, laypeople, and even ‘conservative’ translation scholars to review their definitions and understandings of

³⁵ Lambert talks about new forms of speech recognition in his 1997 essay and it seems he was only predicting what was to become even more novel forms of language recognition. For instance, within the context of mobile technologies, there are now applications that not only recognize speech but also printed words (cf. Footnote 9 in the thesis introduction).

³⁶ “[...] the relativity of the various national standard languages is also at stake. It appears that languages do not simply exist as autonomous systems, but rather as the result of institutionalization. The new media world simply pushes us into new experiments with verbal and communicational borderlines. Oral, written, standardized and experimental discourse are constantly submitted to reshuffling in our media world, and it is not clear where innovations will stop. The crisis of the exclusively written language is also the crisis of standard language and the crisis of verbal language. [...] Obviously, the question of translation is never simply a question of translation only (Lambert, 1997; in Delabastista, 2006:144).” Tymoczko also discusses the problem of defining translation using ‘Western’ concepts – one such concept being ‘language’: “Moreover, even the simplest definition of the concept of translation from ordinary language must be immediately problematized, because the concepts used to define translation are themselves problematic, including the concepts of language and text. Most people have an intuitive sense of what language is, but defining language is not at all simple. What is meant by “a language”? Are all communicative systems to be counted as languages? [...] There are even more questions about language that must be considered when we turn to human language. How do languages relate to semiotic systems in general, including codes and other systems of signs? (2007:54)”. Snell-Hornby makes a similar remark: “In general, we can say that during the 1990s new developments in technology **brought radical changes in the “language material”** (formerly understood globally as “text”) with which the translator works (2006:133; my emphasis).”

translation. And, certainly, this momentum is only starting. After all, in both practice and theory, as the cliché states: translation is never just a matter of “putting one language into another” (oft-repeated translation myth).

Translation: The (Quiet) E-volution

The preceding section sought to explain why translation continues to be understood and practiced according to a relatively ‘restricted’ (Canadian) definition, particularly with a focus on translation in the Canadian public sector. The following section will overview developments that have sought to expand and redefine ‘translation’, but this time, from an academic perspective (i.e. academic TS norms). However, though these developments may have been discussed within the context of academic research, they have largely been the product of the sociological and technological shifts happening **outside** the so-called “ivory tower”; as such research in academia is largely informed by ‘real world’ events and other institutional norms, though there tends to be a (fictional) discourse pitting the former against corporate and government organizations. In any event, while Translations Studies beginnings may have been humble, the field has gone through tremendous shifts, and can now be increasingly considered on the verge of becoming a paradigmatic lens for thinking about a variety of transformative practices.

In *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*, Maria Tymoczko sets out to map the field's beginnings in order to build-up an argument that supports defining translation as an open, cluster concept – key theoretical scaffolding for supporting a revamped understanding of 'translation' in Canada. First, Tymoczko (2007) argues that translation needs to be “de-westernized”, particularly because globalization has forced the Western world to come into contact and acknowledge non-western traditions and cultures. This is significant because other cultures may have differing translation norms, which inevitably create divergent translation practices. By avoiding navel-gazing, Canadian institutions that partake in translation activity could benefit from a broadened epistemological horizon. Tymoczko (*ibid*) observes: “When translators remain oblivious of the Eurocentric pretheoretical assumptions built into the discipline of Translation Studies, they not only play out hegemonic roles in their work, they willingly limit their own agency as translators” (p. 8). That said, Tymoczko is clear about her bias, which is far more 'political' than it is 'business-oriented': she considers herself to be a “politically engaged person interested in justice and equity in the world” as well as “postcolonial scholar” (*ibid*) interested in issues dealing with cultural exchanges, cultural heterogeneity, and evidently the power struggles that emerge in these types of encounters. Though not all translation scholars may agree or follow in Tymoczko's politically-invested point of view, the fact remains that her chapter outlining 'translation' as predominantly 'westernized' practice and concept is convincing and does make a strong case for enlarging the field to encompass non-western perspectives³⁷³⁸.

³⁷ Susam-Sarajeva (2002) suggests that the “Western” versus “Non-Western” dichotomy is at once impractical and

Moreover, Tymoczko's historical overview provides instructive links between real-world events and developments/research in academia, further disproving the production of isolated academic discourse. According to her overview, three succinct historical reasons explain why translation concepts and discourse are predominantly the product of "Western and Eurocentric" scholarship: **1)** in the context of WWII, translation was used by Western powers to acquire intelligence. Techniques developed and used at the time were largely influenced by Western military practices and strategies and they still inform translation praxis today (translation as means to "conquer" the 'enemy'; translation to "acquire a competitive edge"— i.e. symbolic capital—ideas that incidentally, and ironically, echo the post-colonial metaphoric notion of 'translation as cannibalism' discussed in post-colonial writing/research, for example in Brazilian 'cannibalistic translation'/ 'antropofagia' (Vieira, 1994)); **2)** the founding of the European Union (under the original titles of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and later the European Economic Community (EEC)), in 1958, has continued to act as a template for other international organizations and groupings dealing with multilingual communication - as such translating and interpreting in international contexts have largely been influenced by European models and frameworks (for e.g. interpreting at the United Nations/UN model; training schools; etc.); **3)** the power held by North American and

based on a rather faulty premise: "It is, in fact, rather difficult to work with the terms 'Western' and 'non-Western'. Any adjective describing it subject as a negation, as a 'non-x', is derived from the vantage point of 'x'. With the term 'non-Western', the majority of the world is being defined as a totality of 'non-x', although this majority does not define itself in opposition to the 'West' necessarily or exclusively" (p.193). She further substantiates by echoing Cronin (1995): "On the other hand, the same dichotomy renders 'the West' more homogenous than it actually is."

³⁸ Incidentally, in recent scholarship, Cheung (2005; 2006), Susam-Sarajeva (2002), Wakabayashi (2009) are but a few of the increasing number of scholars who have answered the call and contributed to an increasingly diversified discourse on translation.

European countries in the global economy (up until recently/time of writing) has often meant an imbalance in terms of the production and dissemination of cultural and symbolic capitals – the latter in fact includes the types of ‘knowledge’ that are produced and taught around the world³⁹. Translator and interpreter training around the world is also influenced by the dominance of North American business models and discourse on translation; for instance, if translation training materials are created in the Western hemisphere and purport that translation is a “carrying across”, a “leading across” or a “setting across”, then “[a]ll these words [inadvertently] privilege transfer as the basic mode of translation whether that transfer is in terms of transporting material objects or leading sentient beings (such as captives or slaves in one direction or soldiers and missionaries in the other) across cultural and linguistic boundaries” (Tymoczko, 2007, p. 6).

That said, while these three historical reasons do account for some of the more recent “Western” and “traditional” discourses on and pertaining to translation that still permeate the profession today, Steiner (1975) states that the post-war period (1960s onwards) also marked a crucial turning point in the history of translation and the theorization of translation. Indeed, the idea that translation could occur between non-verbal sign systems, for example, is an idea that dates back to this period⁴⁰. In a foundational essay published in 1959, Roman Jakobson argued that translation could be broadened to include not only the familiar category of inter-linguistic translation, but also

³⁹ Cf. the UNESCO World Report: “Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue” (2009), Part II, Chapter 3, Section 3.4 “Multilingualism, translation and intercultural dialogue” (80-85).

⁴⁰ Indeed, some scholars will attribute changes in information and communication technologies as being the main impetus for non-verbal understandings of translation when in fact military and intelligence operations can largely be credited to being the first to explore these ideas.

intra-linguistic and inter-semiotic translation. Jakobson's essay, revolutionary in that it modified contemporary thinking about translation, and that it is widely referred to in current scholarship, likely acted as an initial impetus for considering translational activity outside of the verbal realm. In short, his work made it conceptually possible to shift translation practice and theory from a strictly verbocentric perspective to a more encompassing semiotic perspective. Tangibly, his piece was also timely in that it fit with the wartime and immediate post-wartime practices of "cracking codes" (which weren't always verbal) as well as the creation and dissemination – often through translation – of political propaganda (e.g. the manipulation of images, colors, etc., as 'translation'). Perhaps for the first time, a scholarly article explicitly stated that translation was no longer an operation that **had** to occur between verbal human languages; a legacy that still has significant clout in contemporary TS. Though it seemed important to broach Jakobson's novel contributions at this juncture of the thesis, they will be discussed in more depth in the context of developing a working model for inter-semiotic translation.

The post-war period also marked a surge in Western 'consumer culture' and consequently the need for advertising – which directly and indirectly influenced translation theory and practice at the time, and still continues to do so today. Given the omnipresence of multimedia advertising, and given that more and more individuals are even branding **themselves** as a "thing" or "brand" to be consumed/viewed/desired (e.g. the new marketing trend of personal branding)⁴¹, it may be difficult to remember a time when advertising was largely exclusively print-media and corporate phenomena.

⁴¹ Cf. The Person as Object in Discourses in and Around Organizations (Cheney & Carroll, 1997).

Moreover, it may be tempting to think that this “Golden Age” of printed advertising no longer resonates with or interests the media-savvy, mobile-carrying consumers of today. Yet, precisely the opposite is true: television shows like AMC’s *Mad Men* have seen their ratings soar largely because today’s viewership is nostalgic for the days when conjuring theories pertaining to the relationship between language, image, persuasion, audience and consumption seemed new and exciting. Indeed, while most viewers may not realize it, this televised representation of the 1960s gives a glimpse into the historical period during which *functionalist theories* were burgeoning. Functionalism, whose main theoretical tenet was that all communication, advertising included, was premised upon the ultimate end-goal of a given communicative situation. As such, if the goal of a text was to sell a product, then how that text would be ‘constructed’ verbally, visually, and maybe even kinaesthetically, would be done with that specific communicative/persuasive goal in mind. Functionalism eventually influenced thinking on translation as well, particularly during the 1970s and 80s (cf. Nord, 1997, 2010; Vermeer, 1987). Translation, a type of inter-lingual *communication* itself, began to be understood and practiced from this functionalist perspective, meaning that translators started paying greater attention to target communicative parameters (e.g. target audience; target cultural context; target communicative goal of translation; etc.)⁴². Additionally, this meant a break from previous thinking on translation in which paratextual, contextual, and visual elements were pushed

⁴² “*Skopostheorie* (and functionalism in general) was the answer to a language-oriented and equivalence-based concept of translation that was prevailing not only in Germany during the 1960s and 1970s. It drew the attention of Translation Studies to texts as communicative occurrences whose form is determined by the situation in which they occur and by the persons who use them as well as by cultural norms and conventions. It is therefore not concerned with language structures but with the conditions of communicative (inter)action and the needs and expectations of receivers, giving due consideration to the culture-specific forms of verbal and nonverbal behaviour involved in translation” (Nord, 2010, p.127).

to the side and not necessarily considered as an integral part of the “message” or “text” to be translated – prior to functionalism, thinking about these parameters was frequently deemed outside the realm of the translator’s field of expertise! Functionalist theories thus fostered a more holistic understanding of textual production, which accounted for these additional textual elements, integral in the meaning-making process, regardless of their semiotic makeup.

What’s more, functionalism played an indirect but crucial role in reshaping the translation *market*, particularly in terms of attempting to redefine certain client expectations such as what was understood as “faithfulness”. This key concept, along with its synonyms (e.g. “loyalty”, “exactitude”, “fidelity”⁴³) had to be nuanced: “exact in terms of what?”; “faithfulness according to what parameters?”; etc. For instance, in the context of advertising, was “faithfulness” to the source advertisement necessarily the *best* translation strategy in terms of fulfilling the ultimate goal of convincing the *target* audience—presumably an entirely different audience than the source text’s—to buy the same product? Campaigns created using non-indigenous cultural elements or poorly translated content rarely resonated with target audiences, which meant that bilingual copywriters and translators had to find increasingly agile ways of conveying the product’s virtues. Gradually, translators were given slightly more agency in the translation process: they could argue that it was possible to communicate similar content *differently*⁴⁴. In

⁴³ “The ethical aspect of [Skopostheorie’s application] is covered by the concept of loyalty. Therefore, functionalism fulfills the demands of professional practice with regard to responsible, competent translators, establishing the groundwork for a new and more positive image of the translating profession” (Nord, 2010, p.127).

⁴⁴ The idea of “equivalence in difference” (also known as “dynamic equivalence”) stems from Eugene Nida’s (1940s) work, particularly in the context of Bible translation. As such, this translation “theory” was not necessarily

short functionalism not only changed predominant perceptions on translation praxis (for e.g. precedence given to the source text), but also reshaped the way professional translators were perceived. Agency may indeed still be something some professional translators have to campaign for in today's market; nonetheless, functional translation theorists, as well as functionalism theory in general, did a lot to pave the way for a promoting a more complex representation of the figure of the translator⁴⁵ and that of translation in general.

To briefly summarize, the immediate post-war period marked two major shifts in discourse on translation and translation praxis (TP): first, translation was now seen as a form of *communication* that could take place not only between two verbal languages (inter-lingual), but even within the same language (intra-lingual) and between non-verbal languages (inter-semiotic) (Jakobson, 1959) – a shift that opened the door for potentially broadening the practices and products labelled as 'translations', particularly in 'Western' scholarship; second, the functionalist tradition encouraged a shift that no longer attributed precedence to the source text's form and content, but rather to other communicative parameters that had equal relevance and importance (e.g. the target users/consumers; the visual elements; the overarching context; etc.). These two shifts also laid the groundwork for examining translation outside the boundaries of comparative literature, modern languages, linguistics and other language-related disciplines. Finally, it should also be noted that it was around this same period that Translation Studies became

exclusive to functionalist thinking and there is some overlap between functionalist perspectives and Nida's work on the relevance of cultural context in translation.

⁴⁵ This can also be evidenced by a qualitative analysis of translator job descriptions/definitions.

increasingly crystalized as an independent area of study, with its own objects of study, methods and theories. Holmes' "Map of Translation Studies", whose first iteration appeared in the early 1970s, is often cited as the starting point for contemporary TS (Holmes, 1972/1988). Holmes' "Map" divides the areas of TS inquiry according to epistemological lens ("pure"/"applied", for e.g.) but, also, to an extent, according to object of study. This is relevant because it opens up the possibility of studying translation from a variety of perspectives, without stepping outside of TS. As such, even 'unexpected' or 'unusual' translation processes and products could easily be classified according to this diagram, creating an opportunity for TS scholars to broach topics such as inter-semiotic translation, cultural translation and translation as an over-arching trope or concept. Indeed, as the subsequent paragraphs will summarize, a number of other disciplines started incorporating the trope of translation in their disciplines' theories and writings, and, often, to positive effect.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the proliferation of persuasive texts was not only the result the rise of consumerism and emerging capitalism. Subsequent international conflicts (the Korean War (1950-1953); the Vietnam War (1960s-1975); the Cold War (post-WWII – late 1980s) combined with the mobilization of various human rights movements (e.g. women's movement; Black Power; etc.) also acted as the impetus behind the creation and dissemination another genre of persuasive text: political propaganda. As with advertising, the use of relevant cultural elements played a crucial role in the overall success of propaganda campaigns during this period. In order to sell (persuade), advertisers needed to be in tune with what spoke to the masses (picking up

on social and personal experiences and using these with the narratives of the ads); similarly, the production, dissemination and success of propaganda worked according to roughly the same principles. In order to convince the electorate, to generate support for a cause, or to mobilize the masses, propaganda had to take into account its key demographic. In other words, to get the ‘average propaganda consumer’ to take action, a campaign had to speak to that individual’s experiences; or, in the words of Mona Baker (2006) who uses narrative theory to elucidate translation practices in the context of international conflicts, campaigns had to utilize the tropes that were consistent with the ontological and public narratives familiar to the interlocutor (or to a specific group). Such strategies may have involved using identifiable cultural referents (visual or verbal), clichés, slogans, etc. At this juncture, it is possible to note a theoretical overlap between functionalism and disciplines such as anthropology, ethnography and, later, cultural studies. Indeed, from a functionalist perspective, the use of familiar cultural referents or stereotypes worked in creating ‘successful’ propaganda campaigns in terms of ***persuading*** individuals and collectives to take some sort of action. But propaganda also had secondary, perhaps more implicit, role: that of ‘standing’ in for a given culture; i.e. ***representing a given culture***. Propaganda and advertisements would use familiar values, norms, ideals, and stereotypes to communicate with the target audience, simultaneously cementing these values, norms, ideals and stereotypes as representative of the culture itself (another reciprocal relationship)—we can think of these representations as a sort of “mirror” reflection of a given culture. In the 1970s, cultural anthropologists, notably Clifford Geertz (1973), and, later, in the 1980s, ethnographers James Clifford and George

E. Marcus (1986) noted the relationship between “text” and “culture”. If texts could act as ‘stand-ins’ and represent certain cultural groups, such as the previous examples of propaganda and advertising sought to illustrate, then certainly this analysis could be reversed: cultures could be analyzed as texts. Not only did the work of these influential scholars have huge ramifications for anthropology, ethnography and cultural studies, but it set up an unprecedented link between translation and a new genre of text/language: culture (cf. Wolf, 2002; Bachmann-Medick, 2006). In a review of ethnographic approaches in TS and the ethnographies of translation, Flynn (2010) aptly summarizes:

Translation has been part of the ethnographic exercise from the outset both as a practice and as a metaphor (Sturge, 2007), as doing ethnography means researching communities and groups who speak other languages than those spoken by the community the researcher is reporting to. Malinowski’s notion of “context in situation” for example, stems directly from an awareness of the complexity involved in translating and hence representing other cultures, (Malinowski, 1935). Ethnographers’ awareness of the problematic role played by translation in meaning-making, and especially in representing other cultures, has been the subject of longstanding debate potentially crystallised in the world of Clifford and Marcus (1986)

Thus, translation in this particular theoretical context can be understood in two ways: 1) in a more ‘traditional’ way, that is to say as an integral step of the ethnographic method, or 2) in a slightly more abstract manner, that is to say translating cultures is essentially synonymous with ethnography itself. It is this latter understanding that is of particular relevance here, because, compounded with Jakobson’s work and functionalist theories, the idea that non-verbal entities—i.e. *cultures*—can be translated provides additional theoretical scaffolding in favour of further exploring inter-semiotic translation (i.e.

transfers/transformations/translations between *non-verbal* languages or modes of representation).

Likewise, the linkages between ethnography, cultural studies and translation that began to take shape meant that it was no longer possible to consider “representation” as abstracted from power. In the Western world, and more specifically, the Western social movements, and the cultural and political uprisings of the 1960s and 1970s⁴⁶, highlighted the impossibility of symmetrical/power-less textual, cultural and discursive production (cf. Foucault writings in the 1970s); in other words, the necessity of asking the question of who *can* speak suddenly became an area worthy of further investigation. Though advertisers and political organizations largely created their campaigns based on creating a sustained rapport with an intended audience, symbolic power and capital (Bourdieu, 1984) gave them the capacity to do so. In a similar vein, the production and dissemination of certain translation products—whether 'traditional' translations or the 'translated representations' as cited and explained previously—was equally entangled in power relations, from publishing houses choosing exclusively to favour 'mainstream' literary texts for translation (Venuti, 1998; 2008), to ethnographers 'mis-translating' cultures, to even the translators themselves not being able to 'speak' (i.e. lack of professional agency; translator's invisibility (Venuti, 2008))⁴⁷. Though initial observations of power ascription is

⁴⁶ These uprisings were largely exemplified by the American counterculture movements, which included the fights for women's rights, the anti-war movement, Civil Rights movement, the Free Speech movement, as well as the sexual liberation movement.

⁴⁷ These points are also relevant in terms of linking sociology and TS: “Questions like the kind of impact translation can have on a social change or the relationship of social factors of dominance to the selection and ultimately the shaping of translations have, so far, best been discussed and theoretically conceptualized by means of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms. According to his sociological epistemology, social “reality” can be seen as the sum of relations that both reflect the mutual dynamics of individuals within society and reveal the mechanisms of

TS were again chiefly concerned with verbal and linguistic translations, insights from ethnography, post-colonial inquiry and cultural studies concurrently influenced TS scholars to broaden their horizons to other modes of representation and consider translator agency in these newer contexts.

In fact, it was greatly due to the successive de-colonization of first-, second- and third-world nations that led scholars to increasingly question power imbalances created by colonialism legacy. In an ethnographic context, scholars questioned the role of colonial ethnographers and the representations they created of indigenous cultures and cultural practices. Vested post-colonial scholars increasingly tried to give 'voice' to cultures that had been rendered voice-less and devoid of agency. In Cultural Studies, the dichotomy of "center-periphery" became a lens for thinking about contemporary power imbalances in a number of social settings and cultural practices, from gender relations to cultural representations. These research avenues and these events had an impact on translation in a number of significant ways. First, in terms of inter-linguistic translation, translation scholars began to realize that the translation of foreign texts often acted as a sort of "homogenizing" filter, intentionally or unintentionally washing away alterity in favour of creating target versions that complied with mainstream or dominant publishing norms, or in favour of pre-existing assumptions about a given culture (Venuti, 1998). Second, the term "cultural translation" acquired additional clout as a lens or metaphor for post-colonial inquiry. As Robert J.C. Young (2003) explains:

how social agents are constructed. Bourdieu establishes an interrelation between these epistemological levels through the categories of field, habitus and capital, which, once they interact through their agents and agencies, result in what Bourdieu calls "social practice" (Wolf, 2010, p.338-339).

as a practice, translation begins as a matter of intercultural communication, but is also always involves questions of power relations, and of forms of domination. It cannot therefore avoid political issues, or questions about its own links to current forms of power. No act of translation takes place in an entirely neutral space of absolute equality. Someone is translating something or someone. Someone or something is being translated, transformed from a subject to an object (p. 14)

In short, these developments led and culminated into what Mary Snell-Hornby (1990) dubbed “the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies”, even though her initial paper on the term summarized the research being carried out by the German scholars of the late 1980s (Snell-Hornby, 2010). Succinctly, whether from the perspective of Toury’s norms, Vermeer’s functionalism, from the overlaps between ethnographic and post-colonial inquiry or from sociological insights, *culture* and more specifically, *cultural context* became central and common underpinnings in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS).

What, then, can be gleaned from these successive phases/turns of TS? In my estimation, it is possible to see that translation has *never* been just a question of language or verbal language transfer. From playing a role in wartime operations, to becoming central to the process of successful cross-cultural branding and marketing, to representing cultures, translation has incarnated and continues to incarnate many roles. Translation, in its broader understanding, has proven to be a useful lens for thinking about transformative and representational practices.

But it is not only in past theorizations that translation has gone beyond the verbal. Indeed, recent technological shifts, central to globalization, have increasingly magnified translation’s multi-semiotic and multi-modal relevance. Contemporary scholarship in TS has increasingly exemplified how translation processes can no longer ignore new

understandings of textuality, language and representation. Indeed, Snell-Hornby (2010) 368) states that:

Developments in telecommunication and the increased use of global English have made some forms of [traditional] translation obsolete [...] [and that] multimedia communication has created new text types (e.g. audiovisual or multisemiotic), where verbal signs interact with pictorial images or icons: this has already been discussed as the “iconic turn” (cf. Bachmann-Medick, 2007) (p. 368)

To this, Jeremy Munday (2010) adds:

In recent years [Jakobson’s definitions refer to ‘signs’ above and beyond the written or spoken word have] proven valuable as the interest of Translation Studies has extended to embrace many forms of intersemiotic translation (the role of the visual, the translation of music, comics and films, and many other forms of adaptation, etc.) including those which cross over with intralingual translation (e.g., sign language interpreting, audio description, intralingual subtitling) and interlingual translation (e.g. interlingual subtitling). (p. 422)

And here, the relationship between academia and the professional market are even more explicit: changes in the professional market, which include but aren’t limited to the uptake of new technologies to expedite translation processes and the dissemination of translation products, as well as the shift in the types of texts being translated (see Munday’s examples above) have forced the theorization of translation within academia to take note. In a way, one could describe the relationship as symbiotic rather than unidirectional, in that academic research has legitimized a new discourse on translation, which can be used in professional contexts to frame new translator competencies and processes as still being inherently linked to *translation* **and** *TS*, giving professional translators a discursive arsenal to fight against lack of professional agency and invisibility. Such realizations also give increased clout to the value added of viewing translation as a

cluster-concept (Tymoczko, 2007), a master-trope, or as I am arguing here, a paradigmatic lens for a wide range of communicative and representational practices.

In a similar set of observations, Göpferich (2010) has taken insights from the field of Transfer Studies to claim that, essentially, there is very little difference between an enlarged understanding of translation and the concepts transfer and transformation. She summarizes:

In [TS] there is no unified concept of transfer. What distinguishes transfer concepts from concepts of translation, however, is that 'translation' is frequently, but not necessarily, seen as a more constrained mode of transfer associated with equivalence or invariance requirements [...]. In contrast, transfer concepts include, apart from translations in a narrower sense, transformations of texts and other media produced with a functionalist objective, i.e., with the intention of obtaining a target text or medium that fulfills specific functions for its audience in the target culture (p. 374).

Thinking about translation in this way seems extremely advantageous, not the least of which being a way for translators to continue being relevant in terms of marketability and employment. Particularly in Canada, with dwindling employment opportunities in translation in the federal public sector (e.g. 2012 budget cuts), this 'revised' understanding of translation seems to open up the range of tasks a translator can carry out; translators can not only successfully transfer interlingually, but they can also become specialists of 'transferring' intercultural dialogues, modes of thought or discourses intended for a specialized audience to a lay audience (Göpferich, 2010), transforming one sign system into another, etc. While this may entail significant challenges in terms of translator training (how would a single school or department be able to carry out the training in such a varying scope of sub-specialities?), no doubt would such a change or

enlarging of perspectives be beneficial for graduates looking for prospective employment. Restricted definitions of translation not only hinder the field in terms of research, it limits the range of employment opportunities for Canadian graduates. Furthermore, one way to think about training to accommodate such a broad understanding would be to benchmark medical training programs. In Canada, medical specialists (specialized medicine and surgical specialities) must first go through “general” training (‘basic’ and ‘core’ concepts and techniques, including the study of anatomy and general medicine) and then, if they so choose, specialize in one of the approximately 60 current medical specialities recognized by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada through further and on-going training and accreditation⁴⁸. The same model could be applied to translation schools, in which translator trainees must take a core set of translation-specific courses, but then take a certificate course or opt for on-going training in the desired area of ‘transfer’ specialization (e.g. media studies for film translation; cyberculture studies for those interested in wiki-translation or collaborative translation; visual arts courses for those interested in museum audio description; etc.). While this may seem inherently labour intensive from a student’s perspective, we should be reminded of the fact that translation in university education has always been an interdisciplinary enterprise from the outset (e.g. comprised in English departments or comparative literature departments) and that for most Arts bachelor programs, a specific number of university credits are already assigned for electives; in sum, the obstacles are negligible compared to the return on the investment one would gain from a truly interdisciplinary

⁴⁸ http://www.royalcollege.ca/public/credentials/specialty_information

background. A final benefit would be the fact that translation departments and schools could attract a more diversified student clientele hailing from different disciplines.

To summarize, this overview has sought to show that in modern scholarship translation has always been more than just the ‘simple’ transfer of one language into another. Moreover, new information and communication technologies have shifted text production and dissemination, meaning that translation practitioners, trainers, students, clients and researchers have everything to gain by revamping their understandings of translation. Throughout the ages, in both the Western and non-Western world, forward thinking scholars have seen the tremendous value and opportunity by ‘opening up’ translation. As we have seen, each “turn” in translation has proved to be conceptually and tangibly relevant, particularly with regards to addressing social injustices, asymmetrical information flows, and cultural ‘mis-representations’. We have seen that translation plays significant roles in a variety of communicative settings, not the least of which are politically and economically-oriented. Specifically in a Canadian context, we would have much to gain from these insights in that no longer would translation be a political or legal “obligation” forced upon an already taxed public sector. It would have far more relevant uses, from constituting a paradigm for intercultural dialogue or a lens with which to understand the symbiotic relationships between varying sign systems on web-based interfaces. Translation has always evolved through its various “turns”—we are perhaps now even at the cusp of an *e-volution* of TS. However, whatever “turn” defines the current era, one thing is certain: we need to use insights from both past and present, from across disciplines, particularly if we truly want Canadian translation scholarship to

remain current in a Canadian marketplace, but also abroad. In what follows, I will demonstrate how intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation (all of which are sub-types that can be categorized under the overarching *translation as cluster-concept) can be applied to a Canadian case study in order to elucidate a number of transformative processes.

CHAPTER 2: Intersemiotic Translation and its Relevance in a Canadian Context

Introduction

With respect to the introduction and Chapter 1, it is important to state why intersemiotic translation is particularly relevant in a *Canadian* context and in an era characterized by globalization and an increasing technologization of both communication and representation. As Gaines (2010) observes: “As technological innovations develop, new forms of media expand our capacities for communication and change the ways people live and interact” (p.2)⁴⁹.

As previously stated, the enormous technological changes brought on in the last decade have markedly changed not only the 'language industry' but human interaction in the broadest sense; scholars in cognitive studies and in cyberculture studies have noted that even our ways of processing and understanding the most basic information have drastically changed in light of new information and communication technologies⁵⁰. In fact, it is often said that humans use language as their primary means of communicating, however, the very definitions of 'language' are *also* being revised⁵¹. New 'languages'

⁴⁹ “[G]lobalization’ [...] demands that the cultural specificities of semiotic, social, epistemological and rhetorical effects of visual communication must be understood everywhere, since semiotic entities from anywhere now appear and are ‘consumed’ everywhere” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.14).

⁵⁰ I have discussed this at greater length elsewhere (Desjardins, 2011) and cited, amongst others, the work of Prensky (2001): “It is clear now that as a result of this ubiquitous environment and the sheer volume of their interaction with it, (we) *think and process information fundamentally differently* (from our predecessors). “Different kinds of experiences lead to different brain structures,” says Dr. Bruce Perry of Baylor College of Medicine (...). It is very likely that *our (...) brains have physically changed* (and) we can say with certainty that their *thinking patterns* have changed (emphases in original).”

⁵¹ How we define ‘language’ has also become an increasingly probing topic; while certainly not an admitted goal of my research, the concept of “human language” versus “non-human language” is an engaging area of study, particularly as sentient technologies are increasingly being developed and theories of language continue to move beyond the human realm. Tymoczko (2007) briefly addresses this when she asks: “Most people have an intuitive

(visual, tactile, aural, and the combinations of these) are being acknowledged as having just as much communicative ‘power’ as verbal languages. One such example is the pervasiveness of ‘visual language(s)’ “which [are] controlled by the global cultural/technological empires of the mass media, which [in turn] disseminate the examples set by exemplary designers and, through the spread of image banks and computer-imaging technology, exert a ‘normalizing’ rather than explicitly ‘normative’ influence on visual communication across the world” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p .5).

With this in mind, we may focus more specifically on four major shifts occurring in the Canadian public sector (the predominant employer of translators in Canada, according to the 1999 Final Report of the Canadian Translation Industry Sectoral Committee) and in the Canadian market that are *significantly* changing the role(s) of professional translators, or the context(s) in which professional translators work:

1) multiplatform content design is becoming the norm⁵² in government departments (and *is* the norm in corporate and private sector translation); as a result, content requiring translation is intrinsically multimodal and multisemiotic⁵³. A translator who cannot work effectively with information and communication technologies and who cannot implement communication and marketing strategies extending beyond *basic* translation techniques

sense of what language is, but defining language is not at all simple. What is meant by “a language”? Are all communicative systems to be counted as languages? [...] There are even more questions about language that must be considered when we turn to human language. How do languages relate to semiotic systems in general, including codes and other systems of signs?” (p. 54).

⁵² “Of the diverse media and communication technologies that are available, there seems to be something for everyone among magazines, newspapers, radio and TV, film, digital audio and video, electronic gaming, mobile phones that integrate other innovations, convergent media, and services incorporating a range of new technologies, the Internet, and satellite communications” (Gaines, 2010, p. 3).

⁵³ A telling example of this trend is exemplified by the website for the Prime Minister of Canada official website. On this site, a multiplatform toolbar is located to direct viewers to social media sites (*Facebook*, *Twitter*), but also to video content and pictorial content (*flickr*, and video streaming).

and **baseline** translation technologies (e.g. translation memory software, term bases, etc.) will be ill-equipped to stay competitive, particularly in comparison to elite bilinguals specialized in multicultural marketing or in similar specialities. **2)** Shifting linguistic demographics due to an influx of ESL (English as a Second Language) or FSL (French as a Second Language)⁵⁴ immigrants has forcibly meant that government agencies need to rely on what are *perceived* as being universal modes of communication to either connect with immigrant audiences, or even with domestic audiences that, for whatever reason (medical, access to education/literacy)⁵⁵, may have difficulty reading verbal content. This has resulted in increased use of visual aids and markers (videos, pictograms, etc.) in website design but has also had an impact on how various public sector campaigns are designed across media platforms. For translators, this means that verbal content is increasingly *and intentionally* taking a backseat to other modes of communication (i.e. other sign systems). Ultimately, these (predominantly) visual modes can be and are being 'translated'; the problem, however, lies in the fact that it is usually a web design team or marketing team that carries out the work without the intervention of intercultural mediators or translators (be it specialists in intercultural studies, intercultural communication, multilingual branding, etc.). Translators should be looking at this market reality as an opportunity to showcase their multilingual and multicultural sensitivities and skills; after all, adapting visual content for multicultural, multigenerational and

⁵⁴ "Due to increased immigration since the mid-1980s, and the tendency of most immigrants to have a mother tongue other than English or French, the share of the allophone population has grown: from 18% in 2011 to 20% in 2006." (Statistics Canada, 2012).

⁵⁵ An example of this phenomenon would be "phonetic" websites that are being designed to be more 'user-friendly' for audiences who have difficulty reading and writing in both official languages, or who require accessibility accommodation. The City of Montreal's accessible website is one example of a phonetic website.

multilingual audiences largely involves the same application of the theories and the methodologies taught in general translation courses (e.g. a functional analysis of the source/target parameters leading to the development of a relevant target product). **3)**

The job market as it stands, particularly for anglophone translators (unidirectional FR→ENG) who are considering public sector employment in the national capital region, is looking rather grim. According to 2006 census data, over 98% of the Canadian population is, to varying degrees, “functional” or “proficient” in terms of fluency in one or the other official language. Ideological commentary asides, this would mean, hypothetically, that an overwhelming majority of Canadians **do not have to resort to translation services in order to understand or obtain information if it is already published in English or in French**. The argument is especially true for English, which continues to stand as the world's top hypercentral second-language (cf. Casanova, 1999; UNESCO, 2009). As such, the relevance of *into* English translation can be questioned. Therefore, translators, especially those translating *into* English in a Canadian public sector context, may want to consider the ways in which they can recycle their current skills, including in terms of transforming verbal signs (verbal languages) into other sign systems (visual, aural, tactile, etc.). Prospectively, it is not far-fetched to think that the current government (Conservative Government led by Prime Minister Harper) may eventually revise translation mandates within the public sector (proof of this has already started with the 2012 budget and reforms). This would likely result in job losses in the languages sector. If translators wish to find new job avenues in this context, they will have little choice but to consider marketing their transversal skills in other markets. They may also consider

adapting translation methods and theories in relation to the sign systems predominantly used in new media. This is again an argument in favour of training translators in related fields and for developing translation models that can be applied to different sign systems.

4) Regardless of the profession one practices, media literacy is an important skillset (Elkins, 2008; Gaines, 2010). Particularly and especially because Canadian translators often take part in the process of disseminating discourses to different audiences, the need to understand and analyze the effects of this activity is crucial. On this topic, Gaines (2010) states:

The need to develop media literacy is fundamental to an informed society capable of thinking critically about the issues and ideas affecting democratic decision making. [...] While most people understand the potential to create illusions for effects in action or horror movies, media producers employ more subtle and effective methods to persuade and convince audiences in other ways. Writers and programmers have the power to prepare information and entertainment knowing they will affect audiences, and they are careful to code their ideas using strategies and technologies designed to deliver an intended message. [...] In order to think critically about communication and media, the logical nature of communication processes must be understood. Not only is it essential to be able to recognize and distinguish speculations, opinions and beliefs from facts, but one must also know the differences between nature and socially constructed beliefs about the world. [...] Considering the pervasiveness of media in contemporary society, critical thinking and media literacy are essential to the education of an informed public in a democratic society. Understanding the processes and effects of media are necessary for critical analysis" (p.3-4)

The hypothesis is that understandings of *translation that limit its applicability exclusively to *words* is anachronistic in a contemporary workplace setting—even though job descriptions for translation positions often do describe the translator's task 'language transfer'. This latter description is hardly accurate when one considers the actual daily translation workflow which includes, but is not limited to, communicating with peers,

fact-checking, fostering and sustaining customer-relations/client-relations, ensuring quality-control and consistent output, etc. (Gouadec, 2007). However, while translators may indeed be carrying out these extra tasks, they do not receive the proper recognition, be it symbolically (e.g. “translators translate languages; that’s it”) and/or financially (lack of financial compensation). Integral, then, to the modernization of the translator figure in a Canadian context⁵⁶ (public, private and freelancing sectors) is the affirmation that translators do more than interlingual translation⁵⁷; in this sense, intersemiotic translation portrayed as a valid form of *translation extends professional practice from verbal, ‘text-based’ content to new horizons that are far more current and marketable. As a final remark, Torresi (2008) reminds us that a translator who can go “beyond the verbal” has significantly more clout than one whose training has focused exclusively on interlingual transfers:

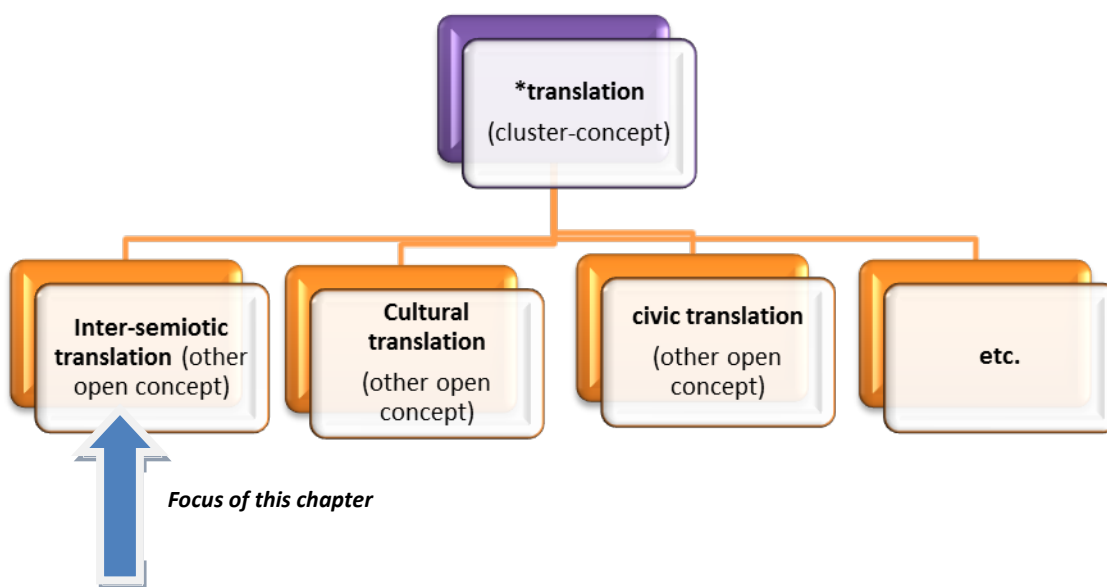
[...] a translator who is oriented towards the text as a semiotic whole rather than as an exclusively verbal phenomenon is not necessarily a competitor for other professional figures traditionally responsible for the visual and graphic rendering of the text (although a translator offering ‘turnkey’ solutions including translation and typesetting would surely find a better market for his/her services). Rather, a translator who is aware of the importance of nonverbal elements, and the resource they represent for translation, proves a more reliable team-worker and produces better target texts (p. 70)

⁵⁶ This statement is valid exclusively in a Canadian context; while professional translators are rarely called upon to be involved in graphic design, visual layouts and content design, this isn’t necessarily the norm abroad; indeed, international localization teams (videogames, software design, etc.) often account for translation and tend to integrate translators on taskforces that go beyond inter-linguistic transfer (cf. LISA – unfortunately defunct since the start of this project; Brisset (2008)).

⁵⁷ This falls in line with Iedema’s observations in the context of ‘post-Fordist’ workplaces and employment: “Workers must be multi-skilled, articulate and ‘self-steering’ ...[they] negotiate their jobs as members of ‘quality circles’ and consultative committees. This requires that workers are not merely capable of *doing* their work, but also that they are capable of talking and thinking about their work and its effectiveness (1994, p. 64).”

In Chapter 1, a review of 20th and early 21st century developments in Translation Studies contextualized Tymoczko's (2007) appeal for using *translation as a cluster-concept. Using a biological metaphor, it may be helpful to think of *translation as a *genus* and translation sub-types as *species*⁵⁸. Before delving more specifically into the first of *translation sub-type explored in this dissertation, i.e. intersemiotic translation, a diagram serves to better situate the reader:

Diagram 2.1



Indeed, an overarching cluster-conceptualization of translation is one way to expand on some of the disciplinary mapping undertaken by Holmes in the 1970s and expanded upon by Gambier and Van Doorslaer (2009). While this particular mapping is not necessarily meant to be subsumed or included as a part of Holmes' map, nor is it meant to replace it,

⁵⁸ Stecconi (2010) uses this same metaphor to relate semiotics to translation. In his view, translation could be categorized as a *species* of a broader semiotics *genus*. He contends that such an understanding of the relationship between translation and semiotics would curtail the issue of translation becoming a by-word for almost anything/any kind of transfer.

future research could seek to incorporate cluster-concept/sub-type diagrams (Diagram 2.1) in an effort to account for new and increasingly interdisciplinary research being conducted in Translation Studies, particularly since the ‘turns’ (cultural, audiovisual/visual/iconic/, social, etc.) of the 1980s to early 2000s⁵⁹.

Diagram 2.1 is useful to show the reader a mapping of the translation sub-types of most concern in my research, but it does not, however, provide the reader with the theoretical and methodological scaffolding necessary to effectively “translate intersemiotically”; as means of amending this, the focus of this chapter will be to provide supplementary theoretical grounding to create a conceptual intersemiotic translation model. As previously explained, from a Translation Studies perspective, and more precisely since the publication of Jakobson's (1959) seminal essay, the idea that translation can occur between non-verbal languages is not necessarily a novel or very recent contribution. Indeed, some translation scholars interested in the transfer of non-verbal languages have sought to expand on the idea of intersemiotic translation founded upon an application of Peircean semiotics, a model that dates back to the turn of the 20th century (cf. Goriée, 1994, 2003, 2004; Stecconi, 2010). In light of these translation scholars’ work—most of which has been carried out from the 1990s onwards—a question could be posed as to why the increased interest in semiotics? Why now? Given that Peircean semiotics (or, more broadly speaking, the field of semiotics altogether) and Jakobson's essay constitutes far from recent research, why are contemporary TS scholars

⁵⁹ For instance, research focusing on translation sub-types could be applied to some of the recent work of van Doorslaer and Gambier (2010) who have used topical and conceptual mapping to track new developments in the field.

'suddenly', and *more than ever*, interested in intersemiotic translation, the role of the visual/iconic in translation (Bachmann-Meddick, 2006, 2009; Oittinen and Kaindl, 2008), and non-verbal languages (*ibid*)? This trend is by no means impressionistic; Munday (2004) states: "the number of articles that have appeared over recent years also attests to a **surge of interest** in a broad range of what were previously considered 'non-mainstream' translation-related activities: advertising, audio-visual translation, localization, globalization, etc. (my emphasis)" (p. 200).

Through my research, I have identified two reasons that likely explain the marked interest in the links between semiotics (not just Peircean semiotics), 'the visual' and translation. First, translation scholars have taken stock of the fact that non-verbal 'transfers' and non-verbal languages have often been cast asides (Torresi, 2008), and, thus, they have explicitly stated the need for more research in TS focused on "'non-mainstream' translation-related activities" since the 2000s. This can be exemplified in the introduction of a recent thematic issue of *META*, edited by Riitta Oittinen and Klaus Kaindl (2008). The authors affirm: "far too often visual elements and visual literacy tend to be neglected, both in research on translation and interpreting and in translator training" (p. 5)⁶⁰—a reality also previously observed by Patrick Cattryse (2001) who notes:

multimedia] translation [...] is often understood as [just] the (verbal) translation of the linguistic part of the messages. This approach is problematic because it

⁶⁰ An observation and sentiment also noted by Yves Gambier (2006): "There is a strong paradox: we are ready to acknowledge the interrelations between the verbal and the visual, between language and non-verbal, but the dominant research paradigm remains largely linguistic. The multisemiotic blends of many different signs are not ignored but they are usually neglected or not integrated into a framework. Is it not a contradiction to set up a data base or corpus of film dialogues and their subtitles, with no pictures, and still pretend to study screen translation?" (p. 7).

isolates the linguistic part of the [multimedia] messages. Questions concerning the relations between the linguistic part and the rest of the [multimedia] message **are often not raised** (my emphasis) (p. 1)

But even more recently, despite the publication momentum garnered by the topic, Mersmann (cited in Bachmann-Medick, 2009) suggests that scholars keep up the pace because “visual [cultural] translation is **still** under-represented in translation theory (my emphasis)” (p. 12). What can be concluded is that a gap needed to be filled, and translation scholars answered the call, but there are still additional areas left to explore. This undoubtedly ties in with a second explanation: today’s technological context.

Indeed, our contemporary technological context is undeniably linked to the surge of interest in visual ‘languages’ and phenomena. Tymoczko (2005) aptly summarizes:

[...] because of the new technologies, a major growth area will be research about the translation of materials that coordinate text and image. Such materials have increasingly become the norm in many areas of life: the media (including film, television and the Internet), modes of disseminating information, advertising, business, and so forth. [...] One of the interesting theoretical implications of the growth of this branch of translation studies is that it will move translation interests increasingly away from interlingual translation toward intersemiotic translation, thus integrating Roman Jakobson’s (1959) category of translation more closely to mainline interests in translation studies and making it more central to translation research (p. 1089-1090)

Behind this latter assertion lie two important observations: 1) technology has evolved such that we are constantly consuming information (content) via screens (Gambier, 2004), which presupposes the idea of a ‘visual culture’ and a ‘visual literacy’⁶¹,

⁶¹ “Since the 1980s the rhetoric of images has become far more pervasive, so that it is now commonplace in the media to hear that we live in a **visual culture**, and get our information through images. [...] It is time to consider the possibility that **literacy** can be achieved through images as well as texts and numbers. [...] Our sense of self, both individually and collectively, is made and remade in and through the visual, and therefore it is fundamentally important to learn to understand images as social constructions rather than [mere] reflections of reality, instances

and 2) it is thanks to technological innovation and change that we are also able to document and study the impact of this very technology on our understandings of language, translation, communication, and mediation. For instance, in previous research (Desjardins, 2008), I had criticized preliminary intersemiotic translation case studies for not including more visual content in printed publications, such as academic journals. This criticism now strikes me anachronistic because I recognize these initial studies could only be carried out using the technologies and resources available at the time—and given the rapid succession of technological shifts, particularly since the start of the 21st century, these technologies have been renewed and modernized so tremendously that it would be difficult for *anyone* to stay abreast. In other words, given that most academic research was previously disseminated through traditional print media (read: paper), the inclusion of multisemiotic content (for instance sound clips or even seemingly benign colour photographs⁶²) was either an impossibility or represented a costly venture, notwithstanding the spatial constraints of a printed book or article. However, today, more and more academic journals are turning to web-based platforms to disseminate academic research, meaning that the inclusion of multisemiotic, multimodal and even interactive content is simplified and has less of an impact on production cost. The reality is the same for most traditional media as well: national newspapers such as the *Globe & Mail*, as well as the regional publications from the *La Presse* consortium are all looking to the Web and

of aesthetic pleasure, or marketing tools. Visual studies and media studies, in this view, can help to educate people to think and act responsibly in contemporary late capitalist culture (Elkins, 2008, p. 3-7; my emphasis)."

⁶² Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) go into greater depth with regards to the 'semiotics' of colour: they contextualize how colours evolved from a collection of pigments (Middle Ages) to a system (primary colours, etc.) to a semiotic system (or perhaps more accurately, as something to be analyzed within the context of semiotic analysis) (p. 225-228).

mobile devices (multiplatform approach) to attract current and new readerships, in addition to disseminating multimedial, multimodal, and multisemiotic content. This example is one amidst a plethora of other media outlets opting to do the same. These observations suggest that the current technological context lends itself *particularly favourably*⁶³ to research that is concerned with the 'non-verbal'. As Goethals (2001) summarizes, new information and communication technologies have created "unprecedented opportunities for the discussion of translation" (p.45).⁶⁴ As such, while semiotic theories and visual/non-verbal 'texts' (content) may have influenced translators for decades, it is perhaps only *now* that scholars can effectively explore the avenues of multimedial, multimodal and multisemiotic research, with fewer technological constraints or limitations.

Before making explicit the links between intersemiotic translation, semiotics and translation praxis, it is necessary to 'unpack' some key terms. In the previous paragraphs, the terms 'multimedial', 'multimodal' and 'multisemiotic' have all been used to describe the content consumed in contemporary society. In fact, even the word 'content' may warrant further definition. While I have previously used the word 'text' to refer to a cohesive instance of communication, I would argue that the term 'content' is more in line

⁶³ "Maybe the major shift in the new landscape of communication [...] lies in the increasing use of image, even in situations where previously writing would have been used. Consequently, an urgent task is understanding the different affordances of writing and image" (Kress, 2004).

⁶⁴ A similar observation is made by Snell-Hornby who states (2006): "The element of nonverbal communication has in my opinion more potential than hitherto assumed (or investigated) in Translation Studies, particularly in forms of translation "going beyond language" as for stage or screen. Conversely, traditional areas like hermeneutics have been given new vitality and immediacy by concepts like *scenes and frames* and by new approaches to the concept of text, and to the roles of author and reader" (p.164).

with contemporary terminology pertaining to visual culture⁶⁵ and web-based information. Today, when businesses and media institutions refer to the *multisemiotic information* they are relaying to their audience, they will often speak of 'content' (the word has also triggered the proliferation of derivatives: content aggregator; content analytics; content delivery; content management; etc.). Much like updated definitions of 'text'⁶⁶, that extend beyond written documents⁶⁷, 'content' has the benefit of being a boundary-less entity: 'content' can refer to written information as much as it can refer to visual information and because it does not usually infer the written word (the way that 'text' often does (cf. Delisle, 2002)), it is simpler to incorporate in research concerned with different semiotic systems across different media platforms (e.g. mobile smartphones, tablets, computers, websites, etc.); finally, there is a strong association with the Web, given that content is

⁶⁵ The term has been criticized (cf. *Words to avoid*, 2012), I still maintain that it has value in that it does not inherently connote a verbal or linguistic entity for a layperson. That said, the term should be used cautiously, as an area of critical inquiry has been labeled *content analysis*: "Content analysis is a methodology used by social scientists to develop hypotheses about a market or social group, track changes in social trends over time, and draw attention to underlying attitudes, values, and political tensions within a culture (Kassarjan, 1977); here, content takes on a slightly different meaning, modeled on collaboratively-generated meanings that take into account the new information era: "an abundant amount of well-presented subject information organized for interesting and useful access in a hypertext structure. (Retrieved from <http://searchsoa.techtarget.com/definition/content>, June 27 2012)."

⁶⁶ "Le mot « texte » en dépit d'une définition courante : « tout discours fixé par l'écriture » (Ricoeur, 1986, p.137), ne renvoie pas prioritairement à l'écrit. Opposer *texte écrit* à *discours oral* réduit la distinction au support ou média et dissimule le fait qu'un texte est, la plupart du temps *plurisémiotique*. Une recette de cuisine, un placard publicitaire ou un article de journal, un discours politique, un cours universitaire ou une conversation, ne comportent pas que des signes verbaux, ils sont également faits de gestes, d'intonations et d'images (photographies et photogrammes, dessins et infographies). D'autre part, il est préférable de distinguer **texte** et **discours** comme les deux faces complémentaires d'un objet commun pris en charge par la *linguistique textuelle* – qui privilégie l'organisation du cotexte et de la cohésion comme cohérence linguistique (Adam 1999, p. 40). Tymoczko also criticizes, to some extent, the use of the word 'text': "[s]imilarly one can problematize the concept of text that is assumed by *ordinary language definitions* of translation. What precisely is a text? Clearly it cannot be taken simply as a written document or else most translation events in the world past and present – namely instances of oral interpreting – would be eliminated. [...] But what other types of texts are to be included? Are we to understand images, paintings, films and music as texts? Where are the boundaries to be drawn [...] (2008, pp. 55-56; my emphasis)".

⁶⁷ For example, in the translation training manual *La traduction raisonnée*, Delisle, limits his definition of 'text' to: "écrit de longueur variable qui forme un ensemble du point de vue sémantique (2nd ed., 2003, p. 62)."

usually delivered electronically. Similarly, 'content' can be measured not only in 'textual terms' and in 'semiotic terms' (e.g. a sentence; a paragraph; a picture) but also in electronic increments (a byte; an MP3; a file; a pixel; etc.); 'text' does not connote these measurements or these understandings as readily. Moreover, 'content' is a term that is applicable regardless of the media platform on which, or more precisely, *through* which it is consumed and experienced: a mobile device, a computer, a television screen, a book, etc. 'Content' can also be performative, such that even 'real-world' events can be construed as such (for example, a live theatre performance could very well be defined as 'content'). For this reason, and particularly because this dissertation is concerned with web-based content, I will generally use the word 'content' over 'text', unless stated otherwise. It should be noted that "content" can also be understood along the lines of Saussure's sign, a welcomed perspective given the link being made with semiotics: just as Saussure's linguistic sign requires a dual 'reading' of both signifier and signified, 'content' also requires such a dual reading. The *form* (signifier) that content takes (a webpage, a theatre performance, an audiobook, a picture, a soundclip, or even an aggregation of all these examples onto one platform) is just as important in the meaning-making process as the content itself (the signified). These two entities cannot be separated—otherwise it becomes impossible to derive meaning from the content being 'consumed'. Content, just like the linguistic sign, can only 'make sense' provided that target readers use conventional systems of content production. However, *unlike* the *linguistic* sign, which is by definition linear, content does not have to follow a sequential, pre-determined reading path. De Saussure (1979) explains this by stating:

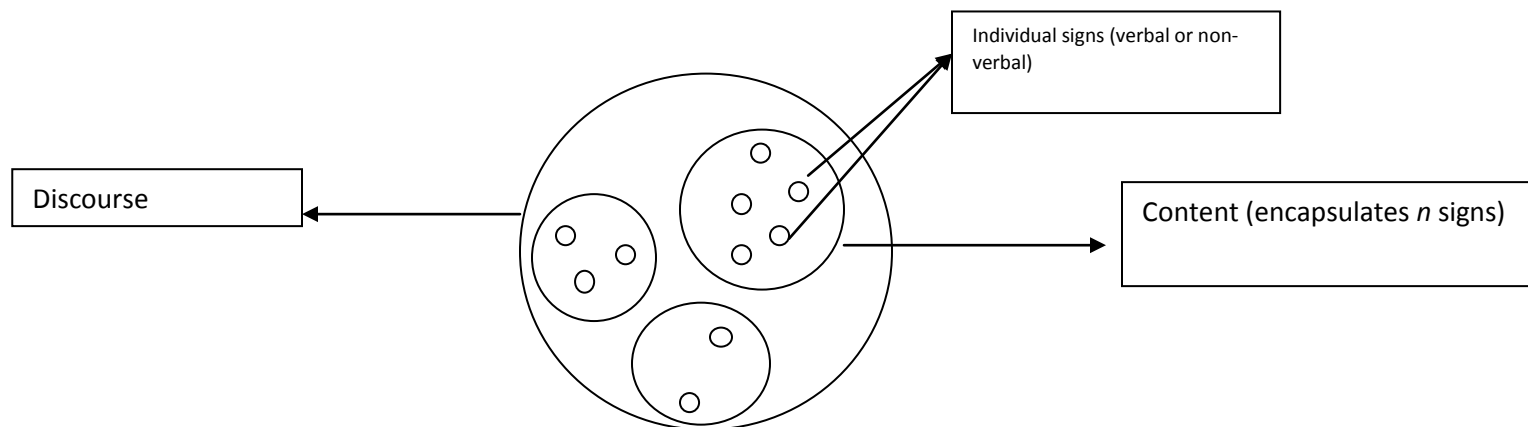
Tout le mécanisme de la langue en dépend [de la linéarité]. Par opposition aux signifiants visuels (signaux maritimes, etc.) qui peuvent offrir des complications simultanées sur plusieurs dimensions [I would add in fact all **multisemiotic signifiers**], les signifiants acoustiques (ou linguistiques) ne disposent que de la ligne du temps; leurs éléments se présentent l'un après l'autre; ils forment une chaîne (p. 103)

Another significant distinction is that content is inherently 'denotative': it can be observed or described as it is given, without taking into consideration the underpinning ideological infrastructure (in a Marxist sense) for its production, dissemination, and interpretation. However, once content, like a (or any) sign, is interpreted and analyzed *in context*, i.e. in a connotative context, then it can be taken as a discursive entity (i.e. as discourse⁶⁸), and analyzed through the lens of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Schematically this can be represented as follows:

⁶⁸ The term "discourse" will appear in subsequent sections of this thesis, however, a definition can still be of use to further pinpoint the differences between 'text', 'content' and 'discourse': "'Discourse...refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However...we may go on to discuss the constructive and dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. In this sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation (Candlin, 1997: iix)". Jaworski and Coupland add that definitions of discourse "consistently emphasise 'language in use'. But there is a large body of opinion that stresses what discourse is *beyond* language in use. Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society. This is the key factor explaining why so many academic disciplines entertain the notion of discourse with such commitment. Discourse falls squarely within the interests not only of linguists, literary critics, critical theorists and communication scientists, but also of geographers, philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists, and many others [including translators]. Despite important differences of emphasis, discourse is an inescapably important concept for understanding language itself (2nd ed., 2006, pp. 2-3)."

Diagram 2.2



Finally, an important caveat: while some scholars refer to 'content' as a set of data, and thus use *content analysis* as a methodological framework, such is **not** the case here.

Three additional terms requiring 'unpacking' are: *multimedial*, *multimodal* and *multisemiotic*. The latter term, multisemiotic, will be more thoroughly explained in a subsequent section on semiotics. Thus far, Snell-Hornby (2006, p. 86) is one of the few translation scholars to offer a comprehensive list of terms and definitions in this area of research. Her list comprises four key terms: "multimedia", "multimodal", "multisemiotic" and "multimedial", which she defines as follows:

- 1) *Multimedial* texts (in English usually *audiovisual*) are conveyed by technical and/or electronic media involving both sight and sound (e.g. material for film or television, sub/surtitling);
- 2) *Multimodal* texts involve different modes of verbal and nonverbal expression, comprising both sight and sound, as in drama and opera
- 3) *Multisemiotic* texts use different graphic sign systems, verbal and nonverbal (e.g. comics or print advertisements)
- 4) *Audiomedial* texts that are written to be spoken, hence reach their ultimate recipient by means of the human voice and not from the printed page (e.g. political speeches and academic papers) (*ibid*).

For my research, I have chosen to omit Snell-Hornby's latter term, *audiomedial*, not for lack of linkages with newer understandings of *translation, but rather because it is not of direct relevance here. Using the remaining terms from Snell-Hornby's list as a template, I have chosen to slightly modify and 'update' her definitions, so to better suit my research questions and research objectives. I have also used insights from the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) to supplement Snell-Hornby's initial terminological mapping. Thus, what follows are my revised definitions:

- **Multimedial:** *Media* or *medium* refers to the hardware, software or channel used to access, consume and interpret content. Media therefore can be print (newspapers, magazines, printed photographs) and/or electronic (web-based, television). Electronic media can arguably be a simultaneous mix of both "print" and "electronic". For example, an e-book is a hybrid: while the dominant media may very well be an electronic device (the e-reader) which uses electronic software (that converts data into readable text), the end-content consumed by the reader/recipient is akin to that of traditional print media (the traditional book). However, it's important to note that the *medium* should not automatically

be conflated with the intended or interpreted meaning of the **content**⁶⁹. Finally, **media**, in this context, simply denotes the plural of **medium**; therefore, one should not confuse **media** with the mainstream media outlets (e.g. television chains, news consortiums, etc.). Should media be used in this latter sense, the reader will be advised.

- **Multimodal:** Multimodal content is inherently composite in nature; it is comprised of elements that require the use of different perception/sensory channels, as well as the knowledge of different semiotic codes. Kress and van Leeuwen simply define the term as “any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code (2006, p. 177).” While largely in agreement, I would add that in today’s increasingly mobile and connected world, most multimodal content is consumed using not only two or more semiotic “codes” (visual codes, linguistic codes, etc.), but also two or more perception/sensory channels, e.g. touch (tactile screens), sight (looking at a screen; reading a printed newspaper), and sound (audioclip). This is a small but significant difference with Snell-Hornby’s definition: multimodality should not be limited exclusively to content that is consumed through sight and sound – more and more, recipients are meant to fully engage with content, which ostensibly engages tactile channels. Arguably, content has *always* been multimodal (we may think of how we judge books by their visually appealing covers, which entails the use of sight, but also requires the interpretation of visual codes and linguistic codes that co-exist on a given medium); this topic is further explored by Vandendorpe (1999) who explains that hypertext/electronic content is not as revolutionary as it claimed to be – the assumption is somewhat illusory.

⁶⁹ In the work of Marshall McLuhan (particularly in the 1964 edition of *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*), the phrase “the medium is the message” has often been used to refer to the symbiotic relationship between the medium and the recipient’s interpretation/understanding of the message. From a communications standpoint, the **type** of medium (akin to Jakobson’s term *channel*) utilized to transmit a message would presumably be influential on the recipient, to a certain degree. However, this field of inquiry vastly falls out of the scope of this project. Omission of the linkages between type of medium and recipient action/interpretation is thus not an oversight but a deliberate choice.

- **Multisemiotic:** Evidently, the terms *multimodal* and *multisemiotic* overlap, in that both inherently suggest the occurrence of at least two semiotic codes on a shared interface. Multimodality more specifically connotes the use of human sensory channels, whereas multisemiotic refers more directly to the semiotic composition of content. For instance, content might be composed of visual elements using different visual codes (the visual code of colours; the visual code of salience; the visual code of spatial positioning and framing; etc.) in juxtaposition or in conjunction with linguistic codes (linguistic codes such as verbal languages), as well auditory codes (for example, music, sirens, onomatopoeia, etc.), and finally, tactile codes (buttons, tabs, keys, etc.).

The other term that warrants further explanation and contextualization is "semiotics", including its derivatives, which include, but are certainly not limited to, intersemiotic, multi/plurisemiotic, semiosis, etc. However, unlike some of the previous terms (*multimedia*, *multimodal*, *multisemiotic*), a single definitive definition is relatively unachievable, given that the field of semiotics is expansive and multipronged, and, much like translation, is defined either restrictively or broadly. How semiotics is defined and used as a theoretical lens largely depends on the school or branch of semiotics one chooses to adhere to. Therefore, much like the various understandings and definitions of translation presented throughout recent history in Chapter 1, a brief overview of semiotic history justifies why I have chosen to select certain aspects of semiotic theories over others.

A map of semiotics could start with the pioneering work of both Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce, the former a linguist and the latter a philosopher

and semiotician. The field of semiotics has, much like translation, gone through a series of shifts and/or turns⁷⁰, summarized by Petrilli and Ponzio:

linguistic (Saussure, Hjelmslev); linguistic-anthropological-cultural (Jakobson, Lottman, Greimas, Barthes); psychological (Freud, Bühler, Vygotsky); philosophical (Peirce, Welby, Husserl, Ogden and Richards, Wittgenstein, Morris, Cassirer); literary critical (Bahktin); biological (Romanes, Jakob and Thure von Uexküll, Jakob, Monod); mathematical-topological (Thom). (Petrilli and Ponzio 2007, n.p.; cited in Stecconi, 2010, p. 314).

While each of these individual ‘shifts’ have considered semiotics in different applications, a common underpinning lies in the fact that “on any level, semiotics is ultimately a theory of how we produce, interpret and negotiate meaning through signs (Stecconi, 2010, p. 315)” and that semiotics ultimately “extend[s] the laws of structural linguistics to the analysis of verbal, visual, and spatial sign systems (Oswald, 2012, p. 1).” Eco (1979), a prominent semiotician, positioned semiotics as a productive analytical paradigm because “semiotics extends to all aspects of culture”— by extension, if branches of TS consider “culture” as something that is created, constructed and disseminated through translated discourses, then ultimately, investigating the ways in which semiotics and translation form symbiotic relationships is warranted. Stecconi (2004) aptly observes:

When confronted with media-rich environments, translators become acutely aware that they need to look beyond words to carry out their tasks and make sense of what they are doing. Multimedia translation shows the limitations of theories based on verbal language and calls for a general theory of translation that overcomes the distinction between verbal and non-verbal signs. ... Translation is not something we do *only with* words, but something we do *to* words *and* other signs as well (pp. 17-18)

⁷⁰ These terms seem to be used interchangeably in some contexts, while not in others. This is why I have chosen to include both; in TS “turn” certainly infers the work of Mary Snell-Hornby, while shift is perhaps used more broadly to refer to a succession of events or developments.

An initial link between semiotics and translation studies is generally attributed to Jakobson, who used Peircean semiotics to explain “the translatability of all signs into other signs (Steconni, 2010, p. 315)”⁷¹, a postulate that informed the “intralingual”, “interlinguistic” and “intersemiotic” taxonomy. This may explain why Peircean semiotics figure particularly prominently in research pertaining to intersemiotic translation (cf. Gorrée). The prominence of Peircean semiotics has seemingly cast aside other branches of semiotics informed by Saussurian structural linguistics and subsequent branches. While a great debt is owed to Peirce’s contributions, I have chosen to focus more specifically on branches of semiotics that emerged from structural, cultural and social paradigms as opposed to pragmatics⁷². I share Oswald’s observations (2012, p. 10) that explain the limitations of Peirce’s approach, and therefore justify the intentional omission of Peircean semiotics⁷³ (or, at the very least, that justify a focused and intentional change of perspective). Oswald’s observations are as follows:

- [...]Peirce suggests that the conventional or codified aspect of semiosis is limited to certain types of signs, rather than identifying the code as a fundamental property of semiosis as a cultural activity
- As a result, Peirce’s theory does not account for the dialectical structure of meaning, which implicates any particular sign or statement in broader cultural discourses such as myth

⁷¹ “Translation is fundamentally a semiotic process” (Aguar and Queiroz, 2004).

⁷² Most of which emerged from Saussure’s work: “Saussure viewed semiotics as part of social psychology” [...] Before Saussure [...] there was an almost naïve assumption in philology that language was a given, the natural legacy of our ancestors, rather than a form of **social** and **cultural** production. There was very little study of the structure of language- its “synchronic dimension” and its roots in **culture** and **cognition** (my emphasis; Oswald, 2012, p. 10).”

⁷³ This is not to say that Peirce’s work will be completely ignored; some insights are absolutely relevant; simply, I have not chosen to use Peirce’s semiotic triad as my overarching framework.

While some scholars have found ways of creating models for intersemiotic translation using the Peircean triad (cf. Aguiar and Queiroz, 2004), I contend that without a solid grasp of the concepts that underpin this triadic model (sign, object, interpretant) and a firm command of pragmatics, translators may find the application of this theory difficult to transfer to professional practice, which would be counterproductive given that an objective of the research is to create a conceptual model that could find resonance in professional application. The creation of a model that has relevance for both researchers and practitioners would indeed be ideal. The benefit of using theoretical perspectives that utilize terms such as “social”, “cultural”, and “visual” is that they are already familiar terms for researchers, translators and trainers.

The point of departure is then Saussurian structural semiotics and Jakobson’s essay, from which I will then move on to more contemporary semiotic strands developed by Roland Barthes (“cultural”), Claude Lévi-Strauss (“anthropological”/“cultural”), Michael Halliday and Norman Fairclough (social/functional linguistics/critical discourse analysis), and finally, by Kress and van Leeuwen (“visual”/“social”). While this selection may initially seem disparate, the common denominator is they have all departed from (mostly) Saussurian principles⁷⁴ to develop theories that consider sign-making and meaning-

⁷⁴ It is important to note that there are discrepancies between these different ‘semiotic schools’. For instance, a major distinction between the Paris School of the 1960s and 1970s (Saussure and his successors) and the more contemporary ‘social semiotic’ approach of the 1990s-2000s, from which Halliday and Kress and van Leeuwen draw their principles, is the idea of “sign motivation”. For structuralists, state Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), signs are comprised of a pre-existing conjunction of a signifier and a signified – for instance, if one wants to talk about the signified ‘tree’, he or she will have no choice but to use the word and sounds ‘tree’ to communicate and be understood within a language community. Social semioticians argue the opposite; for them “the process of sign-making” is largely contingent on a sign-maker *choosing* to pair a given signified and a given signifier. In other words, a sign-maker could very well choose to represent the signified ‘tree’ by *any other means* (the colour green; a branch; a pile of leaves; the sound of a tree falling after being cut down; etc.) and is not bound to a pre-set convention. In my mind, this distinction doesn’t really put both schools of thought at odds; rather, from my

making in socio-cultural contexts, and, ultimately, how these signs interact in discursive formations. As a result, the definition of semiotics in this project is two-fold: 1) indeed, it is the study of signs and the meanings they produce, but it is also 2) the study of this process embedded in cultural, social and discursive contexts and this process' intended or unintended *effects*. As a brief example, we may think of how visuals (photographs, videos, graphics) are juxtaposed/combined with verbal texts in online press (or on any other platform), acting, in short, as 'translations' of one another. These pairings work together to create supplementary levels of meaning and nuance and they also add to the larger, overarching discourse in which it is imbedded. As to the effects, they can vary: creating visual/verbal representations of news events/current affairs; reinforcing social and political narratives/myths; creating and disseminating stereotypes; marketing a corporate or political brand, etc.

Understanding semiotics is then essential to conceptualizing intersemiotic translation as well as how to analyze and interpret the effects of such translation praxis. In many seminal essays and research pertaining to semiotics, including the work of Jakobson and Peirce, the term *semiosis* often refers to the process in which one sign 'transforms' or 'is transformed' into another. Initially, this struck me as problematic, as this definition overlapped with aspects of my conceptualization of intersemiotic translation—how would the two terms be differentiated and why would it be useful to

understanding, it is more a question of *code* and *convention* and the importance we give these two parameters. We can still use structural semiotics to understand how signs are made (after all, the Paris School did define the terms "signified" and "signifier" on which many subsequent strains of semiotics were premised), but whether and how one chooses to consider the idea of "convention" and "wanting to understood within a community of common language speakers" is ultimately up for debate. This is why I have chosen to fuse insights from the Paris School and from Anglo-Saxon schools (cf. Halliday), because I find this is a way to consider structural but also social, cultural and power-related parameters.

have two seemingly synonymous terms designating the same process? Here, Anthony Pym (1992), a TS scholar, provides a succinct, yet pointed observation: “for Jakobson semiosis *is* translation” (p. 233; my emphasis). However, the problem resides with the discourse *on* translation. While semiosis, by definition, pertains to signs (and thus, by extension all sign systems), when ‘translation’ is used to describe this same process, the verbal sign system usually supersedes other sign systems; outside of academic discourse, the term translation does not connote “sign” or “non-verbal language”. Therefore, I contend that the qualifier “intersemiotic” is imperative for two reasons: 1) because it is more encompassing than “intralingual” or “interlingual” translation and 2) because it forces the client/end-user to acknowledge that translation can be a process that extends beyond interlinguistic transfer and that translation can be a relevant lens for conceptualizing such processes. Certainly, the argument could be made that this is simply “renaming a rose by a different name”, but I assert that such a rebranding underscores the malleability not only of translation, *but of semiotics as well*. The following example demonstrates this: though communications and marketing are key sectors in the business world, be it in the private or public sector, rare are that communications or marketing specialists would readily use the academic term “semiosis” to describe how they construct branding or marketing strategies—and it is also highly unlikely that the term would resonate as effectively with clients. *Translation*, on the other hand, is somewhat of a more commonplace word; to varying degrees, people understand that ‘translating’ means, involves transfer and transformation. And, translation is associated with verbal languages, the leap to non-verbal transformations is much easier from the vantage point

of ‘translation’ than from the more abstract *semiosis*⁷⁵. In *Marketing Semiotics*, a book designed for both marketing professionals and academic, Oswald (2012) uses *translation* (both interlingual and intercultural) to describe effective marketing of brands in different linguistic and cultural contexts. In a chapter titled *Mining the Multicultural Brandscape*, she states:

In previous chapters, I demonstrated the use of semiotics, the science of signs and meaning in cultural context, to grow brand equity. I showed the importance of mapping a Consumer Brandscape to guide the integration of the brand legacy (logo, icons, stories, advertising messages), the consume target, and the cultural context in all brand-building decisions. In this chapter, I extend this principle to brand management in multicultural contexts, where consumers may speak a common language, but view the world through unique social and cultural lenses associated with their ethnic subculture. ***Multicultural brand strategy relies on semiotics to “translate” brand values from one cultural context to another.*** (p. 125; my emphasis)⁷⁶

This excerpt illustrates that ‘translation’ is used to elucidate the idea of *semiosis*, even though both may very well refer to similar transformative process. Another example of using “translation” as a practical stand-in for semiosis can be exemplified in the work of social semioticians Kress and van Leeuwen who state: “this incessant process of **‘translation’**, or ‘transcoding’ – transduction – between a range of semiotic modes represents, we suggest, a better, more adequate understanding of representation and

⁷⁵ I would be tempted to make the same argument with regards to the use of “translation” as trope for an area of study called “transfer studies” and/or “knowledge translation” (cf. Göpferich, 2010).

⁷⁶ Interestingly, Torresi considered the translation of advertisements in a rather similar fashion, much earlier than the research published by Oswald. Torresi makes the argument that “splitting a text into its several dimensions is a completely artificial procedure (2008, p. 1) and that the interplay between all semiotic elements of a text cannot be ignored by marketers *and* translators. Her case study focuses on the translation and localization of advertisements (what Oswald would call multicultural brand management) with a particular emphasis on visual elements and how the related to cultural contexts. Torresi uses intersemiotic translation as a means not only to explain how an advertisement campaign is localized visually and verbally to cohere with cultural contexts and values of various target cultures, but also, as a lens to analyze each advertisement in and of itself. Torresi’s main contribution is that she makes a strong case that not only aptly shows the theoretical merits of intersemiotic translation, but also its practical applications in a professional setting (again, much like Oswald does with marketing semiotics).

communication (2006, p. 39; my emphasis).” To summarize, Jakobson’s definition of intersemiotic translation is still very relevant and applicable in a contemporary context⁷⁷.

In Jakobson’s taxonomy, intersemiotic translation is defined as something that must necessarily occur between a verbal language and a non-verbal language. It is unclear whether or not he intentionally omitted non-verbal to non-verbal exchanges, but it suffices to say it seems logical that such transformations be included under this category. In contemporary society, verbal languages have often been put on a pedestal as the ultimate means of structured communication. While the reasons for this have varied through the ages (some of which have been explored in the introduction of this chapter), the notion that humans communicate predominantly (and exclusively) through verbal means is, to the say the least, inaccurate. Though this assumption can be disproved by evoking today’s visually pervasive culture, it is important to consider the historical reasons that elucidate the predominance given to verbal literacy⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ As a reminder, Jakobson’s (1959) definition of intersemiotic translation: “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.”

⁷⁸ Indeed, Kress and van Leeuwen argue that ‘written language’ (i.e. verbal language) “has been the most highly valued, the most frequently analyzed, the most prescriptively taught and the most meticulously policed mode in our society (2006, p. 34).” They add: “The dominance of the verbal, written medium over other visual media is firmly coded and buttressed in conventional histories of writing. [...] Language in its spoken form is a natural phenomenon, common to all human groups. Writing, however, is the achievement of only some (historically, by far the minority of) cultures. At a particular stage in the history of certain cultures, there developed the need to make records of transactions of various kinds, associated usually with trade, religion or (governing) power. [...] Alphabetic writing developed, it seems clear, out of iconic, image-based scripts. [...] Over time, in the use of the script by different groups, speaking different languages, the image of the object came to stand for the name of the object and then for its initial letter. [...] All present alphabetic scripts, from India to the Middle East to Europe, are developments of that initial step from Egyptian (or possibly Sumerian) iconic hieroglyphic representation to the Phoenician alphabet, and from there westward to the Greek-speaking world, and eastward to the Indian subcontinent, or, in the region of its origin, developing into the Arabic version of the alphabet. [...] This is indeed an impressive cultural history, impressive enough to have stood as the accepted historical account of the achievement of (alphabetic) writing, unquestioned for centuries. Within this account, all cultures with forms of visual representation that are not directly connected to language are treated as cultures without writing. (*ibid*)”

To summarize: in an effort to situate the reader, I have explained why it is important to consider intersemiotic translation in TS research and even more so in a Canadian context. Succinctly, daily communications largely take place in a world dominated by screens and images (Jay (1993) dubbed this ‘visual culture’ *ocularcentric*), such that *visuals* are very much perceived as a dominant sign-system. As a result, translation-like activity can easily be situated in this context, because visuals/images are signs, and by definition, signs can be transformed into other signs (semiosis/translation). I have also sought to define three specific terms—multimedial, multimodal, multisemiotic—by building upon Snell-Hornby’s mapping (2006) in order to provide updated definitions that taken into account newer information and communication technologies. Finally, I have identified the branches of semiotics (stemming from Saussurian theories) that have specifically informed my understanding and definition of intersemiotic translation (inevitably, these branches also influence my understanding of “text”, “sign”, “discourse”). I have also explained why intersemiotic *translation* is a better term compared to *semiosis*.

At this juncture, a final caveat is necessary: Chesterman (1997) has been criticized for making the claim that ultimately “all writing is translating” – which essentially takes the idea of “all signs being translatable” to an inevitable extreme⁷⁹. Some, like Octavio Paz, have argued that the moment a thought or an idea is transcribed into words on paper, translation occurs (incidentally, this example could be considered intersemiotic

⁷⁹ I wish to thank Prof. Brisset for the commentary and constructive criticism she gave during the evaluation of the initial stages of my project. She remarked that extending the limits of translation may have a negative impact, similar to debates from the 1980s when scholars started pointing out the irony in calling “duplications” *translations*. As a corollary, translation as a term and process lost significant clout as a valid operational paradigm.

translation). While Chesterman's and Paz's accounts of translation do not particularly pose a problem from the standpoint of translation visibility (i.e. everything is translation), it is understandable that critics and deterrents would make the argument that if translation "is everything" then it is also "nothing", gutted of any distinguishing traits and providing little novel contribution⁸⁰. Given the scope of the current project, I will limit my argument to stating that though intersemiotic translation does push the boundaries of translation praxis and theorization, this does not mean that intersemiotic translation is liberated from all defining characteristics that make it a *particular* kind of writing and a particular kind of translation. Indeed, it is precisely the *intentional and transformative* nature of this type of writing that makes it *translation* – there is, via a subjective entity (institutional; individual; social; cultural), a desire to *transform*, to *recontextualize*, to *transmit* (we see here both the idea of transform/transfer, positioning translation as a process that *displaces* but also *reshapes/reconfigures*). In short, the impetus motivating translation is different than that of writing. Stecconi (2010), for instance, explains that translation is inherently underpinned by relations of *similarity, difference, and mediation*, whereas writing **does not always** involves all three of these parameters. He states:

[...T]hree existential characters [...that are] constitutive of the foundation of translation [are] similarity, difference and mediation [...]. Translating cannot occur if these conditions do not hold; however, when translations do appear, it is thanks to a series of event determined by historical contexts and regulated by the prevailing translation norms. Telling a translation from a nontranslation, therefore, requires considering three levels at once: existential conditions, actual events, and socio-cultural norms (p. 318).

⁸⁰ Brisset observes that a number of parameters had to be identified in order for one to speak of 'translation' otherwise "les limites de la notion sont étendues au point que celle-ci perd sa raison d'être, privant alors le concept de toute valeur opératoire."

The second part of Steconni's observations is indeed important and warrants analysis. While translations are *similar* (the idea of *transferring* at least some of the source text's content into the target text), *different* (sign-transformation from source to target text, be it intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic translation) and *mediated* (by an agent, such as the translator, but also by the institutions that house these agents, for example state institutions, academic institutions, religious institutions, etc.), what can be and are considered translations are also very much the product of prevailing norms, as discussed previously in the context of Toury's norms⁸¹. Thus, not all writing is translation as not all writing necessarily involves establishing a set of *similarity, differential and mediated* relations between a source and target. Though it can be said that end-users of a translation may not always *know* that they are dealing with translated content (and thus they would consider the translated content a *source text*), for analytical and operational purposes, it is important to maintain the distinction between writing and translation. Also, not all translation can be equated to writing simply by virtue of current professional and legal discourse on translation. In the first case, in most professional translation circles, as discussed in the first chapter, translation is largely confined to one, limited understanding: interlingual *transfer* (which cannot be equated to 'all writing' in that interlingual transfer is not a *creative or primary process*). In the second case, legally, translation is always a *secondary* operation, bound by an author-translator relationship

⁸¹ Tymoczko (2003) similarly remarks: "[...] *translation* in a singular culture at a single point in time is usually governed by a cultural prototype encompassing both product and process, notwithstanding the fact that such prototypes have varied widely through history, from close linguistic transfer to free adaptation, from fluency to radical abridgment, and so forth, as we have seen above. Thinking about transference or transmission can remind translation studies scholars of how varied cultural mediation can be in process and product, helping to move their thinking beyond their own particular cultural presuppositions and prototypes about translation."

that gives precedence to the source content and to the source author. This legal understanding of translation also illustrates the way in which translation cannot be equated to 'all writing', due to the 'existential' *and legal* condition of translation being secondary or post-writing (writing being primary). As such, if intersemiotic translation is to be considered a valid form of translation praxis in the context of today's prevailing norms, then it ought to be understood and defined as an operation characterized by current professional and legal norms and also by the traits that characterize other forms of translation praxis. It may seem contradictory to say, on the one hand, that today's norms need to be updated, and, on the other, to say that intersemiotic translation needs to fit in these very norms. While I do argue that prevailing norms need to change, I also recognize that this change cannot happen overnight; as such, if there is a way of integrating intersemiotic translation in the current normative paradigm, then this one way to begin implementing change and reviewing previous assumptions and methodologies.

Intersemiotic Translation: A Conceptual Model

In previous paragraphs, the work of Jakobson, and by extension, that of Peirce and Saussure, was heralded as the stepping stone that paved the way for the discussion and creation of contemporary intersemiotic translation models and theories. While most scholars interested in translation and semiotics have improved and built upon Peircean models and theories, for reasons previously explained, I have chosen to depart from this

strand of semiotics. Specifically, I have looked to Roland Barthes (*Image, Music, Text; Mythologies*; and *Critique et vérité*) as well as social semioticians Kress and van Leeuwen, whose work is largely a framework inspired by insights from Saussure, Barthes and Halliday. In my estimation, Kress and van Leeuwen *operationalized* many of Barthes hypotheses and propositions. Thus, in a sense, the model I am proposing is not entirely novel in that many of the ideas that underpin it have been circulating for decades; however, for whatever reason, they have not seem to come together in a translation model. This is curious given that one of Barthes most seminal essays on semiotics (*The Photographic Image*) uses many premises that are used in discourse on translation.

Because this research project is concerned with exploring intersemiotic translation in the context of image-text relationships on web-based multimodal interfaces (i.e. web pages), a strategic point of departure was looking for scholarship that had previously explored the topic. Barthes' essay *The Photographic Image* is perhaps one of the first essays of this kind (or at the very least, one of the most well-known); he aptly explained how the text⁸²-image relationship could be analyzed, using the photographic image, specifically the press photograph, as the object of study. Perhaps because "social semiotics" had not yet been coined, Barthes used Saussurian concepts (e.g. denotation/connotation; signified/signifier) to analyze press photographs. Interestingly, much of what he hypothesizes (the link between text/image and the social impact, the audience's reception, and the tie-in with cultural context) constitute the foundations of

⁸² While Barthes' never explicitly states this, I would assume that 'text' in this particular context always refers to the *verbal, linguistic* text; this is not to be confused with previous arguments in the literature review that legitimize other forms of textuality, in which 'text' could had larger applications.

social semiotics, and in a way, also constitute some of the underpinnings that relate to translation theory (concept of the 'original', of textual representation, etc.). Unfortunately, Barthes' observations and propositions remain as guidelines for analysis without a model per se. Nevertheless, I would argue that a great deal is owed to Barthes because he did effectively build upon Jakobson's abstract concepts by providing real-world examples and analytical guidelines.

While Barthes never explicitly uses the word *translation*⁸³, his essay *inferred* translation-like activity in many cases, and this is interesting because it provides more scaffolding for establishing an operational model for intersemiotic translation. Barthes hypothesizes that press photographs can be analyzed according to three 'dimensions'⁸⁴:

- 1) according to a social dimension (the 'location' of the photograph/***channel of transmission*** – Is it in a newspaper? In which newspaper, specifically? Where is it located within this newspaper?; the cultural context/***point of reception***);
- 2) according to an internal structure (i.e. the 'composition' of the photograph itself; the *analogon*⁸⁵); and
- finally 3) given that the press photograph is rarely published in isolation, it can also be analyzed in terms of its *relationship* to its accompanying text, whether in the form of the detailed article, the headline, or the caption. The first two dimensions are certainly

⁸³ Granted, I have used Stephen Heath's English translation of *Le message photographique* (*The Photographic Message*), so it is possible that the word crops up in the original or in other English versions, however, I have not come across a single occurrence of the word 'translation' in the versions I have consulted.

⁸⁴ "[...] it can readily be seen that in the case of the press photograph the three traditional parts of the message do not call for the same method of investigation. The emission and the reception of the message lie in the field of a sociology: it is a matter of studying human groups, of defining motives and attitudes, and of trying to link the behaviour of these groups to the social totality of which they are a part. For the message itself, however, the method is inevitably different: whatever the origin and the destination of the message, the photograph is not simply a product of a channel but also an object endowed with a structural autonomy (1977 translation, pp. 15-16)."

⁸⁵ "Certainly, the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph (1961; 1977 translation, p. 17)."

pertinent here, but I will momentarily put them asides to focus more specifically on this third dimension: *the co-operative, yet independent structures that are the image (press photograph) and the text*. Upon an initial reading of Barthes' essay, I immediately thought of translation: do we not explain the relationship between a source and a target text much along these same lines? The source and the target text are *co-operative* and in some ways even *co-dependent* (one cannot be created without the other), yet they are still separate, stand-alone entities that can be understood and analyzed *individually*. This assertion can be linked to Stecconi's previously cited observation that translations are at once similar and different (i.e. connected but also dis-connected). In short, Barthes may not have been explicit, but what he seemed to suggest was that the text-image relationship can very much be understood using the lens of intersemiotic translation. In so doing, he legitimizes the praxis. It is possible then to set-up the first step of a conceptual model:

- 1) Texts and images (multimodal content), provided that they occupy a same 'space' and exist in a co-operative relationship, may be seen as being intersemiotic translations of one another.**

However, Barthes is clear: before being able to explore this co-operative relationship (i.e. seeing which "units" translate one another to create another level of meaning), one must be able to analyze each 'structure' (i.e. the verbal text and the image): "Hence, although a press photograph is never without a written commentary, the analysis must first of all bear on each separate structure; it is only when the study of each structure has been exhausted that it will be possible to understand the manner in which they complement

[i.e. *translate*] one another (1961; 1977, p. 16)." Barthes provides five techniques used to create photographs and meaning within the photographic space: *trick effects*, *pose*, *objects*, *photogenia* and *estheticism*. Unfortunately, there are no corresponding *images* used to illustrate these techniques; as such, Barthes relies on written *verbal* of itself). Moreover, though understandable given the era during Barthes was writing, these techniques, do not take into account all of the newer forms of 'trickery' available to readers/viewers today; techniques which have significant impact on how photographs are analyzed, 'read' and understood (e.g. extreme photo-editing through software programs such as *Photoshop*; personally cropped, self-edited and self-narrated photo albums available on photo-share web sites such as *Pinterest* and *Tumblr* and on social media platforms such as *Facebook*; 3D cinematography; and the added dimension of 'interaction' provided by 'tactile' platforms, e.g. being able to zoom-in and zoom-out as one chooses to for any photograph (content) being consumed on a device that enables the user to do so). This is where the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), as well as Baldry and Thibault (2005) is especially useful. Barthes asserted that both text and image needed to be understood independently in order to understand how they co-operate to create new meanings/representations, yet he only provides *five visual techniques* to understand the autonomous structure of *images*, many of which discount contemporary framing techniques and modes of dissemination. As a result, two major components for an actual model are missing in Barthes' work: a) a repertoire of new(er) techniques, technologies and dissemination modes (platforms) so as to provide an updated list of techniques in line with today's image-making industry; and b) a supplementary analytical

structure that could be added on to the visual analysis would allow for the thorough analysis of the *verbal text*. I would suggest that more current models developed in the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) are more suited to the analysis of verbal texts. Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar used in conjunction with Baldry and Thibault's work would remedy point a): Kress and van Leeuwen significantly expand on Barthes five techniques by creating a "grammar of visual design" which accounts for significantly more visual techniques, even delving into the realm of 3-dimensional visuals. They also provide the reader with printed, *visual* examples of these techniques, making it easier to understand how these techniques actually work and how they might be applied in other contexts. In short, Kress and van Leeuwen's "grammar of visual design" provides a comprehensive analytical framework for analyzing the "image structure". However, this still leaves one apparent problem: that of transcription. Whenever a given corpus of elements (data) is to be put under an analytical 'microscope' to be investigated and subsequently published, the researcher needs a thorough and coherent means of *transcribing* what it is that he or she is seeing and analyzing. Elinor Ochs argues that transcription is inevitably a "framed" version of raw data (1979) as such, transcription methodology is intimately tied to interpretation and analysis of data. Without a foregrounded transcription methodology, the researcher runs the risk of relying on a sort of "intuitive" transcription model, which can in turn have detrimental effects or lead to unintended and unfounded conclusions. The lack of a robust transcription model may also lead to discrepancies resulting in inconsistent analyzes. Jakobson, Barthes and Saussure do not provide explicit *transcription* methods for understanding and analyzing

the structure of multimodal content; Baldry and Thibault (2005) do, and they largely use a terminology and theoretical framework (social semiotics) that echoes the techniques explained in the work of Kress and van Leeuwen, and to an extent, Barthes as well. As a result, I would argue that while European semiotics (semiology) and Halliday-inspired social semiotics, of which Kress and van Leeuwen are disciples, diverge on a few key points (notably with respect to Saussure's arguments on the motivation of signs and the 'dependent' relationship of text and image argued by Barthes in *The Photographic Message* and in *The Rhetoric of the Image*⁸⁶), the two can be adjusted so as to create an operational model for intersemiotic translation; in short, from what I have seen, taken simultaneously, the work of Barthes, Kress and van Leeuwen, and the transcription methodology of Baldry and Thibault provide a *comprehensive* framework for the *contemporary analysis of images*. As such, additional steps may be added to the model:

- 2) The autonomous analysis of each type of semiotic content (visual/verbal) must be transcribed in a coherent and logical way so as to facilitate such analysis. (cf. Baldry and Thibault). This step will be further detailed in Chapter 3.**

- 3) The autonomous analysis of different content must use a current, analytical lens suited to the specific type of content being analyzed (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar for visual content; critical discourse analysis (CDA) for verbal content).**

⁸⁶ I somewhat disagree with Kress and van Leeuwen on this point. From my understanding of Barthes' work, I do think he suggests that images can function autonomously by that in *everyday instances* they rarely do in actuality. Even something as purely "aesthetic" as a work of art is often accompanied by some form of text, whether in the form of an audio-guide, a guided-tour (verbal description/explanation by an in-person tourguide), an informational plaque providing such contextual details as the artist's name, date of birth, and the name of the piece, all constitute "added-on" verbal text. So while Kress and van Leeuwen try to disassociate verbal text and image, I do not know they do so very convincingly or successfully. This however is matter that would warrant further theorization and analysis that this project cannot account for.

- 4) The *relationship* (set of links that anchor the reciprocity between verbal content and visual content) that ensues may then be analyzed using intersemiotic translation as a lens.**

Step 4 of the model warrants a more detailed explanation. Given that Barthes has more or less already addressed the potential relationships between text and image, what, then, does intersemiotic translation add? To this point, I would refer back to my previous introductory statements, but would also argue that there are overlaps with Barthes three analytical dimensions. Why not put a label to Barthes conceptualization of the text-image relationship? This would allow researchers to analyze text-image relationships using insights from translation studies, potentially adding for new dimensions of analysis, notably with regards to the creation of stereotypical representations and the effects of systematic image-text pairings. This leads to the final steps of the model:

- 5) After a detailed analysis and transcription of how intersemiotic translation takes place and creates a “third” layer of meaning in multimodal, multisemiotic content, it is possible to proceed to hypothesizing the potential *social and cultural effects of intersemiotic translation*.**

To summarize, the model for intersemiotic translation conceptualized here has many advantages: first, the model uses a solid transcription framework; second, the model incorporates the insights of two strands of visual semiotics in order to provide a comprehensive analytical lens for visual content; third, the model suggests using critical discourse analysis to analyze the internal structure of verbal content; fourth, to explain how visual and verbal content "come together" to create new content and new meaning, intersemiotic translation offers a potentially rich paradigm seeing as there are overlaps between semiotic theory and translation theory; fifth, from this model, entire corpora of visual and verbal content pairings can now be analyzed through intersemiotic translation, leading to potentially novel research avenues. In the next chapters, I will follow the lead of Kress and van Leeuwen and demonstrate *visually* and *verbally* how this model can be applied to specific case study examples.

CHAPTER 3: Intersemiotic Translation: Case Study

Introduction

The previous chapter sought to explain why teaching, practicing and using intersemiotic translation was relevant in a contemporary Canadian context. The final section listed a numbered set of "steps" acting as a 'skeleton' for a conceptual model. In this Chapter, an expanded version of this schematic model will be drawn out in order to show the reader (and prospective users of the model) how to apply the conceptual model to a case study. As such, the structure of this chapter is two-fold: first, the reader will be provided with a more thorough overview of Baldry and Thibault's (2005) transcription methodology (BTTM). However, because Baldry and Thibault's work focuses more exclusively on the *transcription* and less on the *critical analysis* of the content⁸⁷, this overview will be complemented by insights from visual social semiotics (notably Kress and van Leeuwen) as well as by the influential work of European theorists Barthes, Foucault, and Bourdieu (who have all examined and theorized semiotics and discourse analysis). The addition of these latter perspectives compliment the transcription methodology by providing a more detailed and nuanced presentation of the data. Second, in order to illustrate how this model might be applied, concrete examples from a case study will be provided. This section will be preceded by a brief *mise en scène* to contextualize the overarching case study context as well as the individual examples used in the analysis. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the findings, which will act as a bridge with

⁸⁷ It should be noted that they do provide limited critical analysis, but much of it is directly tied to specific case studies (web sites, movies, soundtrack and other corpus materials of their choosing) and is of more or less value here. The *transcription method* is significantly more useful than the analytical content.

what follows in Chapter 4, i.e., studying the *effects* (social, political, cultural), both positive and negative, that intersemiotic translation can and does have (here, perspectives from cultural studies, anthropology and ethnography will be used in the analytical discussion). Before proceeding, the reader should be reminded that intersemiotic translation is a process that is at once an *action* (e.g. a translator could decide to translate a picture by a particular chosen set of words in a way akin to ‘traditional’ interlinguistic translation), a *product* (the result of this *action*), and an *analytical lens*. In what follows, the focus is directed more exclusively on the latter two descriptors – intersemiotic translation as a product and as a lens for the analysis of web-based content. To my mind, by proceeding in this fashion, prospective translators looking to translate intersemiotically may better understand the linkages between verbal and visual content, and thus be better suited to effectively translate intersemiotically. Therefore, intersemiotic translation can be conceptualized as a *process* that can produce new content (new translations) but also as a means to analyze multimodal, multisemiotic content as well. In this regard, there is an overlap with Descriptive Translation Studies where both the process and the products of translation are studied.

Part 1: Multimodal/Multisemiotic Transcription and Analysis: rationalizing the use of web pages and developing a conceptual model for analytical transcription

Rationalizing the use of web-based content (web pages)

As discussed in Chapter 2, multimodal and multisemiotic content is not exclusive to the online realm. Indeed, even the ‘traditional’ printed book is as much a multimodal and multisemiotic entity as an online news release consumed on a mobile platform such as mobile phone or tablet^{88 89}. That said, a corpus comprised of web pages acts as a potentially rich locus of intersemiotic translation precisely because technological change has meant a mass media migration from more traditional platforms to online platforms, which inevitably impacts content dissemination and consumption, with popular proclivity in favour of mobility and accessibility⁹⁰. Concurrently, as stated in Chapter 2, professional translation practice is also migrating to these platforms and to the production of this type of content, which means that imparting web-based skills (e.g. learning how to translate hypertext without disrupting underlying coding; understanding how web pages function

⁸⁸ “[...] in actual fact, no text is, strictly speaking, monomodal [...] and that the multimodal principle is pervasive in *all* texts to a greater or lesser extent, we need to recall that this view is not necessarily the prevailing view in linguistics at the present time. Indeed, transcription practices still focus on spoken discourse privileging the linguistic dimension of the text’s meaning-making resources [...]” (Baldry and Thibault, 2006, p.20).

⁸⁹ “However, the web page goes beyond the printed page because of its *hypertextual nature* and the *action potential* that this affords” (Baldry and Thibault, 2006, p. 104). In terms of *action potential*, Baldry and Thibault are referring the way(s) in which web pages incite readers to take a course of action, such as click on a tab, view a video, etc. “A hypertext object has an ambivalent status: it is a visual image at the same time that it is more than that. The fact that the term *object* is used is in no way fortuitous. [...] [For example,] a *linked object* on a web page has a potential for action [...] [E]verytime we click on an object, we get a new set of objects and a new set of relationships which link both backwards and forwards to previous objects and to relationships in the past and in the future” (*ibid*, p. 446).

⁹⁰ Though mobility and accessibility are two factors that certainly affect how content is disseminated and consumed, given the scope of this project, a detailed analysis of these parameters is not a central argumentative component here.

to incite readers to take action; etc.) is increasingly necessary (Gouadec, 2007), and, certainly, lucrative. Also, some scholars, such as Deborah Folaron (2010), have clearly stated that research exploring the Web through the lens of Translation Studies is timely: “The young and growing corpus of literature contextualizing the Web as a complex social construct has not yet been analyzed through a Translation Studies perspective, although various aspects have been dealt with in professional and academic studies in relation to website localization”⁹¹ (2010, p. 447). In addition, Folaron (2012) adds:

“Learning to read and interpret the global digital world through the eyes of translation – through difference – not only provides us with a more profound understanding of our interactive human-technology relationships and our participation in the discourse of machines. It also, dialectically, gives us insight into the nature of our own social interactions, provoking us to reflect on what it really means to be human” (p. 27)

Additionally, web pages are worthy of study because, increasingly, news releases circulate far more rapidly (*speed*) on online media platforms compared to traditional platforms, and this rapid dissemination ties in with audience reception and audience action — two parameters related to the *effects* produced by intersemiotic translation(s).

⁹¹ Folaron (2010) expands on the need for more research that incorporates Web studies and Translation Studies: “The confluence of Web studies (or Web science) and Translation studies potentially constitutes a rich field of serious academic inquiry. Understanding the robust site of these practices entails comprehending the Web both in its technical and social dimensions. By striving to understand, technically, how the Web is machine-programmed and –programmable, designed for interactive engagement with humans, and socially, how humans actually use, innovate and transform machine design to better suit their needs and objectives, we can understand more profoundly what it means to be human. As the Web increasingly becomes the platform of communication for fundamental aspects of lives, and as communication globally becomes more linguistically and culturally rich and diverse online, we can better comprehend the role of global translation. Questions of global communities, citizenship, access to technologies, representation and governance may well converge on the ethics and human right to translate and be translated” (p. 449) It should be noted that this project, though not necessarily focused on the programming dimension of the Web, does seek to speak to and address some of the points Folaron highlights, notably how cultural difference is translated online through intersemiotic translation and how such activity can have social effects (which tie in with discussion pertaining to translation ethics).

This point warrants further explanation: *speed or rate of dissemination* influences how audiences receive and interpret content because proliferation often entails *contagion*. Here, Dan Sperber's (1996) concept of *contagion des idées* (the contagion of ideas) is particularly perceptive. Applying his rationale, it is possible to hypothesize that the more a web page is cited, consulted, viewed and forwarded, the more influential its 'ideas' become (i.e. the more these 'ideas' have *staying-power*). In a critical summary of Sperber's work, Robert Crépeau (1996) summarizes: "L'objet principal de l'épidémiologie des représentations est de tenter d'expliquer pourquoi et comment certaines idées sont contagieuses, c'est-à-dire qu'elles présentent une vaste distribution dans une population humaine donnée qu'elles envahissent de façon durable" (p. 137). As such, one could argue that some ideas have become mainstays because they have so widely and so rapidly circulated on the Web. In short, web pages constitute a locus of contagious 'hot topics'.

Web pages are also particularly interesting from an analytical perspective because, as state Baldry and Thibault (2005): "[The Web] is a technology that is especially good at merging disparate entities, at crossing and realigning the boundaries between diverse discourse genres, social activities and domains, and, [...] at constantly *relocating* and *recontextualizing* agents and objects that we would expect to find in one setting or category into others" (p. 103; emphasis in original).⁹²

⁹² The authors supplement this claim in a latter chapter dedicated to web-based content: "Internet and the *World Wide Web* afford the integration of texts and meanings across space and time on a previously unprecedented scale. Internet and the networked multimedia personal computer together provide the technological infrastructure for new forms of accumulation of knowledge and experience through the integration of individual experiences, individual meanings and actions on a scale that no individual alone can possibly attain. In very many different domains of human social and cultural life, the web integrates many diverse experiences, knowledge

In short, these previous arguments adequately substantiate the rationale for exploring intersemiotic translation online, particularly in the form of web pages. As stated in the list of the previous chapter, corpus and content selection is the first step in the transcription process. Ideally, corpus selection should be founded upon a set of criteria, such as theme, chronology, intended audience, etc⁹³ (these parameters will be discussed in greater detail shortly). Therefore, in terms of corpus selection, finding and selecting web-based content was the first step in regard to the transcription process. Different types of multimodal and multisemiotic content will also largely define which transcription methodology is best. By selecting web pages from the outset, I have already restricted and delineated a transcription methodology (i.e. web page transcription and analysis cannot be conducted in the same fashion as transcription of a soundtrack, or play, or movie, all of which are also multimodal and multisemiotic content).

Transcription and Intersemiotic Translation

After selecting a corpus, the next step in the transcription process is to *understand* how online content is structured. By understanding the structure of web pages, readers and researchers may pinpoint linkages between verbal and visual *objects* (Baldry and Thibault's term) and/or components more easily (these two terms are understood and

gained, texts created of events that have occurred, geographical journeys undertaken, as well as experience and knowledge of the web itself and the virtual journeys which it affords in the hypertext environment [...] At the same time, the web is embedded in and is a further transformation and evolution of already existing socio-cultural genres, practices and meanings whilst also bringing into existence newly evolving genres, practices and meanings (*ibid*, pp. 162-163)."

⁹³ In *Visual Methodologies* (2007), Rose discusses some of the criteria normally used for selecting a 'visual corpus'. She suggests that an analyst curate a selection of 'texts' (content) based on the criteria of conceptual relevance, of newsworthiness or topicality, of recurring themes, and, in the case of moving beyond 'strict semiotic analysis', of the potential for creating social effects (pp. 78;150-164;177-178;226-231).

used synonymously). However, the main obstacle involved in transcribing and understanding the structure of a web page is that there is no pre-determined, fixed, or clearly delineated *reading path*^{94 95}. Unlike a printed news article or book, which normally requires that the reader abide by a set of general principles (i.e. reading chronologically or sequentially, from the first page to the last; in English, reading from left to right; etc.), or a movie played in a theatre (in which the viewer must follow a sequential stream of images), a web page can be 'read' in a rather arbitrary manner, without losing the overarching meaning conveyed (i.e. a user can 'skip' the home page and proceed directly to a personalized search or they can choose to target specific objects that incite them to take action, such as clicking on a tab or icon). This is not to suggest that all of these general reading principles are inapplicable in a web context; rather, the idea is that *some* of these principles can be disregarded or amended because of the leeway of the medium. Initially, this may seem to undermine the idea that there *is* an actual 'structure' underlying web based content. Yet, establishing a *reading path* is one method that can help readers create internal web page structures for analytical purposes. To create a reading path, a researcher may use visual salience as a guide. Visual salience directs a

⁹⁴ What hypertext brings to the fore – some might say *celebrates* – is that there are no *a priori* structures that cause or guide meaning-making activity from start to finish. Instead, there is a multiple, parallel, open-ended, backlooping interplay of texts, genres, semiotic modalities, technologies and the user's perceptions and actions. It is the interaction among all these factors that gives rise to stable solutions in time (Baldry and Thibault, 2005, p. 118)."

⁹⁵ Baldry and Thibault (2005) also use *genre* to understand the organization of different web pages: "In any approach to the study of websites and its component parts, such as web pages and the multimodal clusters of objects and images found on the web pages, it is important to understand the overriding significance of *genre* as an organisational principle. Genres regulate and mediate the ways we interact with each other in society, and websites and web pages are no exception. The website as a whole has generic features at the same that it comprises many more specific genres. For example, the *home page* is a functional component within the larger-scale structure of the website as a whole. The home page also has the characteristics of a *superordinate genre* in its own right at the same time that many of its component parts are themselves distinct *mini-genres* – linguistic, visual, musical and so on" (p. 113)

viewer's eye from one component (object) to the next. According to Baldry and Thibault, groupings of visually salient components are known as *clusters*. By 'deconstructing' a web page into *clusters* various reading paths can be established and subsequently organized and transcribed into scalar levels for further analysis. Prior to explaining these terms more concretely, I state that while I use the same terminology as Baldry and Thibault, I have adapted some of the transcription methodology in order to *simplify* it in an effort to make it more accessible to translation audience. Whenever a significant departure from the original transcription method is suggested, the reader will be notified.

Baldry and Thibault use the term *cluster* to define "a local grouping of items, in particular, on a printed or web page (but also other texts such as manuscripts, paintings and films) (2005, p. 31)." Clusters can be homogenous or heterogeneous in composition; in other words, they can be exclusively visual, verbal, aural – and perhaps even tactile as well – or, they can be a composite (for example, a company logo in which there are both visual and textual components is still considered as one, coherent super-cluster that could potentially be broken down into smaller, sub-clusters). Clusters can vary in size and in colour saturation and thus, in *salience*⁹⁶. The cluster's spatial position will also often define its importance in relation to other clusters. Individual clusters can be internally intelligible (i.e. have their own semantic relevance independently of other clusters – the logo example is equally applicable here: a logo 'makes sense' in and of itself, in other words, it has its own 'meaning'), but they can also (and should) be analyzed in terms of

⁹⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen define salience as an integral part of a multimodal/multisemiotic text's composition: "Salience [constitutes] the elements [...]made to attract the viewer's attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement, in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour), differences in sharpness, etc." (2006, p. 177).

how they function *in relation to one another*. Using the same example, a logo coupled with verbal text might add a supplementary level of meaning, thus *translating* each other and adding new semantic dimensions to the overall meaning. For instance, a University logo on a letter of recommendation might add 'institutional credibility' to the verbal content of the letter). Baldry and Thibault name the analysis of these relationships *cluster analysis*, and while I agree to an extent, I argue that the relationships can be better understood through the lens of intersemiotic translation. On this particular point, Baldry and Thibault state that analysis of multimodal texts 'cannot be reduced to the sum of their parts' (2005, p. 18). Therefore, symbiotic relationships are important. Thus, clusters, while independently functional, are *also* interdependent/interconnected the moment they are juxtaposed on the same interface. This co-existence on a single shared interface enables a multiplicity of potential meanings and inferences. In other words, clusters that are related either by proximity, by frame, or by direct reference can be seen as source texts and target texts, adding a decidedly *transformative* (going from one sign system to another) and dynamic aspect to the meaning-making and interpretive processes. Let us consider another example: a verbal cluster might comprise a headline, which would have its own denotative (out of context) and connotative meaning (contextualized meaning). However, if the headline is in proximity of or in juxtaposition with another cluster, for example a visual cluster such as a video or photograph, the headline becomes an interpretation or a *translation* of that visual cluster, simultaneously adding supplementary meaning(s) to the initial verbal cluster. Moreover, these additional meanings can prospectively create intended or unintended effects. The same could be

said of the visual cluster: the visual cluster (e.g. the photograph) has denotative and connotative meaning when considered independently; i.e. it can be understood within its own spatial constraints (a frame or border, for instance). As such, the reader or viewer does not *require* a verbal cluster to ‘decipher’ the visual cluster. However, the verbal cluster adds a transformative layer of meaning; i.e. it *translates* the ‘original’ visual cluster.

If this process sounds somewhat familiar, it should as it very closely echoes Barthes’ idea that various verbal and visual elements are simultaneously co-operative but independent⁹⁷. The relationships between clusters – defined here as intersemiotic translation – mimics the dynamic between source and target texts in interlinguistic translation, though interlinguistic source and target texts are not normally conceived in such abstract terms (i.e with intersemiotic translation, the source and target texts do not necessarily ‘appear’ in a successive manner as with interlingual texts; rather they can co-appear simultaneously within a web page interface). Though one might be tempted to argue that in order for a target text to be conceived as a translation, it has to be readily identifiable as such, a counterpoint would be that in reality, most consumers of translated texts are usually unaware of the fact that the content they are consuming *has been translated*. It is possible to illustrate this principle using the example of audiovisual translation. If we consider subtitling, which is in fact a very obvious form of intersemiotic translation (because subtitles not only translate the verbal dialogue, they also have a dual

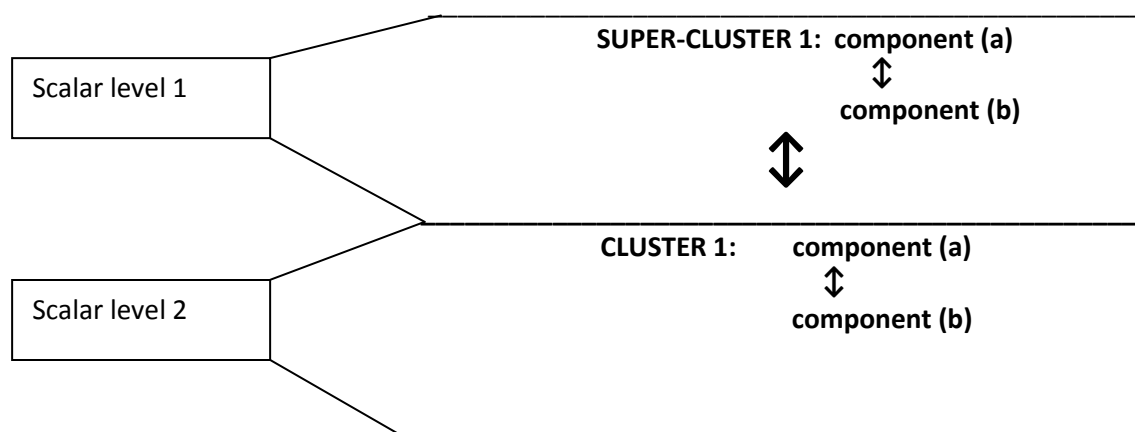
⁹⁷ “These two structures [clusters] are co-operative but, since their units are heterogeneous, necessarily remain separate from one another: here (in the text) the substance of the message is made up of words; there (in the photograph) of lines, surface, shades” (Barthes, 1977, p. 16).

function: *translating the motion picture*), the relationship between ‘source’ and ‘target’ is akin to what occurs in web pages. Succinctly, web page ‘source’ and ‘target’ clusters can function autonomously (much like a subtitle can be understood in isolation from its audiovisual analogue), but analyzed in tandem, they effectively *translate* one another to produce additional layers of meaning(s).

In attempt to make these abstractions more concrete, I have reduced this first step of the transcription process to its basic precepts and drawn a visual diagram:

- **The transcription process can be summarized as follows:** transcription begins after a web page has been selected for analysis (if an analyst is working with a corpus, each individual web page should ideally be analyzed and transcribed in this manner). The reader/analyst must then establish a ***reading path*** which can be done by identifying individual ***clusters*** (which can vary in semiotic make-up) and classifying them in a ***hierarchically*** (based on visual salience, size and action potential) – this hierarchical classification according to Baldry and Thibault’s terminology is known as “***scalar hierarchy***”⁹⁸ comprised of “scalar levels”. Below, a decontextualized skeletal diagram serves to show how this step can be visualized (without being applied to a particular web page).

Diagram 3.1: Cluster Analysis using Scalar Levels



⁹⁸ “It is useful to talk about [multimodal and multisemiotic] texts in terms of different *scalar levels* of organisation. A text or a discourse event is a system of scalar levels, or it can be ***analytically reconstructed*** as such. In theory, the system of scalar levels could continue indefinitely in any given direction, though, in practice, there are always limits on the number of levels that the analyst needs to work with.” (Baldry and Thibault, 2005).

Corpus Selection for Illustrative Case Study and Application of Model

Corpus selection was the most problematic and challenging part of the research design and process, not because selection is an inherently complicated matter, but because web-based corpora, regardless of its semiotic make-up, are transient and ephemeral. For instance, if web content is not archived by the site's host, it may be difficult to consult certain pages in 'real-time' after they are no longer timely or relevant. As such, for projects looking to analyze content produced in years past, the use of the web pages can lead to some unforeseen challenges. And, even if the content is archived, sometimes the original form (layout) in which it was initially published or disseminated may be altered (for example, visual content, whether in video or still image format, are often given less visual salience once the web page is archived; in some cases, multimedia and multimodal content is altogether deleted or omitted). Even if a researcher chose to personally archive their selected corpus – by saving the data in an electronic file format, or by using screenshots – they would still run the risk of analyzing content that has the potential to change (virtually) overnight, meaning that what the researcher has consulted, archived and analyzed will not necessarily coincide with what another viewer may find *a posteriori*. As such, given that this particular case study is based on a selection of web pages that were published online from 2006 to 2008, the reader should note that the URL used in a present-day context would likely lead to archived, and thus *modified* (perhaps even deleted) content, and not what is reproduced here for analytical purposes. In other words, the visual clusters and verbal clusters reproduced in the context of this project

have been, to a certain extent, cropped and archived differently from their 'original' or 'current' incarnations (in the cases where the content is still available online). This is by no means an intention to mislead the reader, nor is it meant to serve a hidden ideological agenda; it is strictly due to the ephemeral nature of the medium.

Another contentious issue is that of subjectivity, particularly for researchers accustomed to a positivist paradigm where randomization, large sample sizes/large corpora and controlled trials constitute standard 'objective' research methodologies (Hennink et al., 2011, pp. 8-12; Neuman, 2011)⁹⁹. However, this dissertation situates itself in a qualitative research paradigm (Eid, 2011; Neuman, 2011) that posits itself alongside traditions that welcome a calculated dose of subjectivity, such as interpretive traditions and semiotic/discursive traditions, which are also characteristic of qualitative research. However, it would be erroneous to suggest that empirical paradigms and qualitative paradigms are absolutely antithetical, or that calculated subjective assertions diminish the validity of qualitative research; Denzin and Lincoln (2008) assert: "All research is interpretive [subjective]; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (p. 31). Therefore, while raw quantitative data may point to a certain trend or correlation, as soon as there is an *interpretive* analysis, a certain degree of subjectivity enters the equation; in other words, interpretation is needed to elucidate the '*how?*' and the '*why?*' behind a trend or a correlation suggested by the empirical data/hard data. Therefore, though I have tried to

⁹⁹ In contrast, qualitative researchers "focus on how the sample, or small collection of cases or units, illustrates the key features of a universe; the goal is to collect cases, events or actions that clarify and deepen understanding. Therefore, qualitative researchers tend to use *non-probability* or *non-random sampling*, which means that each unit of analysis in the population" (Eid, 2011, p. 10)

remain at somewhat of a critical distance, I cannot claim that parameters such as “social relevance” or “conceptually relevant” (cf. Rose, 2007) are wholly separate from my own subjective understandings and interpretations of what constitutes “socially relevant” or “conceptually relevant”. As result, the filtering of the soft data, the triage of images and verbal clusters, and the subsequent transcription of these specific salient clusters (and by extension, the transcription of web pages altogether) is not fully objective, as arguably any interpretive act (such as ‘reading’ and ‘transcribing’) requires that an analyst or researcher *choose*, which cannot, by definition, be an unmediated act. On this particular point, Eid (2011) states:

Qualitative researchers are more interested in authenticity than in the idea of a single version of the truth. Authenticity means providing a fair, honest and balanced account of social life from the perspective of someone who lives it every day. They are less concerned with matching an abstract construct to empirical data than with giving a candid portrayal of social life that is true to the experiences of the people being studied. (p. 7)

Neuman (2011) also discusses the need to address subjectivity in a way that is integral to research ethics:

One technique is to become highly sensitive to our own views, preconceptions, and prior assumptions and then “bracket” them, or put them aside, so we can see beyond them better. Instead of trying to bury or deny our assumptions, viewpoints and values, we find that acknowledging them and being open about them is best. We can then recognize how they might influence us. We try to be forthright and candid in our involvement in the research setting, in dealing with the people in the study, and with any relevant issues that arise. We do this in the way that we conduct the study and report on the findings. (p.138)

That said, I contend that the previous caveats do not undermine the *value* or the *validity* of the data or of the trends analyzed in this dissertation. Given that a research objective of this project is to show how intersemiotic translation can be conceptualized and how it can be relevant for translation professionals and researchers, the subsequent critical analysis of the *effects*, *trends*, and *social repercussions* constitutes, in a way, a supplementary level of research. To put this differently, defining and conceptualizing intersemiotic translation can occur and can be construed as a central research premise; as a *corollary* research objective (i.e. as something that emerged during the central research, which is characteristic of nonlinear research), I deemed it necessary to investigate the potential *effects* of intersemiotic translation in this case study and analyze its social impact, precisely because there was an indication that intersemiotic translation, like interlinguistic translation, has *tangible ramifications* in political and social arenas (Chapter 4).

Though the intersemiotic translation model I propose could have been applied to a corpus comprised of web pages of any type (for instance, online advertising sites, company profiles, personal blogs, etc.), I have chosen to analyze **news-based** material (current affairs) from official channels for two particular reasons: first, because there is a need for more case studies that look into the role translation (in all of its manifestations) plays in the news media (cf. Baker, 2006; Kelly, 2006, p. 5; Darwish, 2006, p.54), particularly the *Canadian* news media (little research exists using Canadian case studies), and, secondly, because it is important to demonstrate how intersemiotic translation, much like interlingual translation, can have significant social repercussions (whether

symbolic or tangible). I have opted to put together a corpus of news web pages that have covered the **Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (CCAPRCD)** (and also known as the “Bouchard-Taylor Commission”)¹⁰⁰, with a particular focus Québec media, but also, to an extent, the accompanying national debate^{101 102}. These web pages were taken from four prominent Canadian news outlets, *Radio-Canada*, *CBC*, *LCN* and *Maclean’s* (online platform). These Canadian outlets were chosen based on the accessibility of their content (including, but not limited to: archived material, ease of accessibility, scope of intended readership, etc.) as well as their perceived credibility and confirmed popularity with the Canadian public¹⁰³. Moreover, though some researchers have analyzed printed press news articles pertaining to the same debate, they have also indicated a lack of studies focusing on content disseminated online; as Potvin (2008) states:

Il importe de rappeler que durant ces mois les plus intensifs [Jan.-March 2007] dans la couverture médiatique desdits « accommodements raisonnables », les médias électroniques, avec leurs séries de reportages, d’entrevues, d’émissions d’informations et de tribunes libres, ont largement relayé ou alimenté la presse écrite, bien qu’il nous soit impossible ici d’en mesurer les effets combinés. Nous

¹⁰⁰ For more information on the Commission’s mandate: CCARPCD retrieved from <http://www.accommodements.qc.ca/index-en.html> 10 Nov. 2008.

¹⁰¹ Though for the most part the focus will be on the Québec context, I do want to incorporate reflections and discussions that were carried out in the rest of Canada, particularly in order to compare and contrast how different parts of the country view “cultural difference” and frame the notion of “reasonable accommodation”.

¹⁰² Another reason that supports my choice of corpus rests on a purely utilitarian premise: as per the requirements of the pluri-disciplinary program (Translation Studies and Canadian Studies), I am required to work with Canadian data.

¹⁰³ Though statistics are available for televised broadcasts, finding statistics for online consultation of news was more challenging. CBC arrives in third place behind GLOBAL’s and CTV’s national news televised broadcasts, however CBC’s website remains one of the most frequently consulted by Canadians in order to obtain online news. That said, there is another reason for choosing CBC and Radio-Canada: it is possible to see whether or not content was cropped and catered to cohere with intended Canadian audiences (for example, based on linguistic and cultural differences) and how that might play a role in the construction of news.

pouvons toutefois mieux cerner, à l'aide de ces quelques données, l'ampleur de la participation des médias dans ce débat. (p. 66)

As such, analyzing web content serves to fill a partial void in the news analysis of the reasonable accommodation debate. Finally, these specific web pages were also chosen because they satisfy the criteria listed by Rose (2007) in regard to selecting a 'relevant' corpus. According to Rose, projects looking to bridge semiotic, discursive, anthropological (cultural/social) perspectives should look to build corpora with a specific set of criteria. Though Rose (*ibid*) explains these criteria in greater detail, allocating separate chapters for each point, I have summarized them as follows:

Main corpus selection parameters (based on a summary of methods outlined in Rose's *Visual Methodologies*):

➤ **Semiological parameters:**

- Find content¹⁰⁴ that is conceptually relevant
- Find content that illustrates analytical points
- Because semiological inquiry tends to be detail-oriented rather than focused on establishing regularities, generally a smaller corpus is preferable (see footnote 92)

➤ **Discursive parameters (i.e. Discourse Analysis):**

- Find content that illustrates trends or commonalities by noting repetitions either in words or visuals
- Find recurring key themes or visual patterns;
- Locate these key themes in given contexts (social, temporal, spatial)
- Be aware that 'invisible' themes or 'unspoken' information speaks just as 'loudly' as prominent themes (pinpoint implicit meanings)¹⁰⁵
- A careful reading of paratextual material may help elucidate historical and social context of the corpus

¹⁰⁴ The use of "content" is my own. Rose (2007) tends to use the words "images", but I found this to be too restrictive for my purposes. Content suits the multisemiotic nature of the corpus much more adequately.

¹⁰⁵ Similar approaches are promoted in TS: "For translation scholars, the analysis of translation is made increasingly difficult by the acknowledgement of the fragmentary nature of discourses and the configuration of the power that they exert. One must analyze not only the part of the source text and source culture that are present in translated texts, but also the **parts that are left out**. Lawrence Venuti offers a model for such an approach, calling for an analysis of the "remainder," a term he has borrowed from Jean-Jacques Lecercle's *The Violence of Language* (1990). The *remainder* is that part that exceeds the transparent use of language and that may in fact impede communication (Venuti, 1995, pp. 216) (Gentzler and Tymoczko, 2002, p. xx)".

➤ **Anthropological parameters:**

- Find images that are not necessarily meant to be interpreted compositionally to reveal their meaning, but rather, look for images that create social effects, such as cultural representations (this may involve selection criteria such as a time span or specific type of content)
- In order to analyze potential effects, the researcher must consider: the materiality of the content; what is done to it in a particular location; where this content can travel (dissemination); and considering the overall effect (sum of effects analyzed globally)¹⁰⁶

Case Study Context

The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, which officially started its mandate in 2007, is not only a unique and singular event in Canada, but also in an international context. Though the manifold challenges brought forth by globalization have forced countries throughout the globe to tackle unprecedented and complex issues pertaining to national identity, multicultural policy, human rights, inter-cultural communication, etc., and the political and civic strategies used to discuss these issues have varied tremendously (Cronin, 2006; Steger, 2009). Canada is certainly no exception; the influx of immigrants on which its demographic viability has always depended—it should be noted that Canada has the highest per capita

¹⁰⁶As of the time of submission, Rose has since published a 3rd version of *Visual Methodologies*. In addition, she has a didactic webpage that sketches a similar breakdown of the book's main areas of investigation. (Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies* <http://www.sagepub.com/rose/default.htm>. Retrieved 24 November 2012.)

immigration rate in the world¹⁰⁷)—has required perceptive multicultural policy-making based on various programs and strategies that have involved democratic participation and citizen involvement. And though Canada's multicultural policies and their promotion have also met a fair share of criticism (Thobani, 2007), it should be noted that they continue to stand as models for other countries looking at ways to effectively manage and navigate the many challenges posed by mass migration. Indeed, most Canadians¹⁰⁸ do tend to express an open attitude towards cultural difference and would generally cite the “multicultural mosaic” as one of the cornerstones of ‘*Canadiana*’. However, although the Canadian multicultural mosaic has had a laudable history and reputation¹⁰⁹, as of late, it has received increased criticism because the realities of racism, xenophobia, gender inequality and fear of cultural difference continue to be at the forefront not only in

¹⁰⁷ Dolin, B., & Young, M., Law and Government Division, Library of Parliament. (2008, September 10). *Canada's Immigration Program* (Report No. BP-190E). Retrieved on September 12, 2009 from <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/bp190-e.pdf>

¹⁰⁸ “According to a SOM survey conducted in September and October 2007 on behalf of *La Presse*, 71.7% of Quebecers whose mother tongue is French surveyed found our society overly tolerant of accommodation, compared with 35.2% of Quebecers whose mother tongue is a language other than French. This finding is obviously somewhat imprecise because English-speakers are not separated from allophones (Bouchard and Taylor, English translation, 2008, p. 67)”. However, this is not to say that French-Quebecers were the **only** Canadians who expressed dissatisfaction with cultural accommodation.

¹⁰⁹ “Respect for the diversity and cultural pluralism became emblematic of the Canadian national character with the adoption of multiculturalism as state policy during the tenure of the flamboyant and immensely popular prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The liberalization of immigration policy and citizenship in the 1960s and 1970s that has been discussed in previous chapters was transforming the pattern of immigration into the country. As immigration from the South overtook that from European source countries, the resulting demographic shift compelled a significant – and perhaps irreversible – transformation of the nation's characterization of itself. The adoption of multiculturalism enable the nation's self-presentation on the global stage as urbane, cosmopolitan, and at the cutting edge of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance among western nations. This redefinition of national identity was said to signify the nation-state's commitment to valuing cultural diversity. The policy is considered even now by its official proponents as ‘one of our finest achievements.’ It is lauded for having ‘helped bring us international recognition and opportunity.’ (Thobani, 2007, p. 144)”

headlines and political discourse (cf. Mackey, 2002; Thobani, 2007), but also in everyday interactions between citizens¹¹⁰ of differing and even similar micro-cultures¹¹¹.

Thus, in essence, what globalization has created for most host countries, including Canada, have been spaces of constant cultural negotiation¹¹². Evidently, the role citizens play in these negotiations largely depends on the prevailing ideologies and the political climate of the host countries. And it is this particular characteristic of policy-development and policy-making, i.e. citizen involvement, which sets the Québécois Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference (CCAPRCD) apart. In other words, in the process of multicultural policy-making (or the drafting of recommendations in order to shape future policies), rare are the cases that have used the framework of the “citizen forum” to encourage citizen participation and engagement. And yet, this is exactly what the CCAPRCD did – it engaged a whole province (Québec) to stand up and candidly discuss not only the pros of multiculturalism but also the negatives in a public and transparent setting. In this sense, the Commission acted not only as a ‘grassroots’-style strategy for discussing multiculturalism in general, but also as a space of cultural negotiation; of cultural translation and even more specifically, *cultural*

¹¹⁰ These “mundane” events between clashing citizens were in fact what sparked the Liberal government in power to launch the CCAPRCD’s activities. As such, though they may have seemed like isolated events, cumulatively, they constituted a social issue that could no longer be ignored. Many of these events were discussed in some of the full-length article submissions presented to the Commission.

¹¹¹ I follow the line of thought proposed by Ulf Hannerz (1992) that suggests that “micro-culture” is a more suitable way of describing smaller cultural groupings within a larger context because it avoids the notion of an inherently subsumed culture within a larger, possibly dominant culture (which is not always the case when two micro-cultures come into contact). In other words, suggesting that Canada’s diverse demographic make-up is made of “micro-cultures” avoids falling into a simple and often misleading dichotomy of majority/minority which will and does shift in accordance with the geo-demographical space under study (e.g. a dominant micro-culture might not always be a majority in some cases).

¹¹² Negotiation should not be seen as being solely pejorative; in some cases it can be a positive driving force towards transformation and change.

translation in action¹¹³—another sub cluster-concept derived from *translation (see diagram in Chapter 2). The previous characteristics, which I argue are singular, constitute the main reason for choosing to explore *translation, and more specifically intersemiotic translation, in this specific context.

The latest debate pertaining to cultural difference in Québec began to take shape in mid-2006¹¹⁴, when the collocation “reasonable accommodation” began to permeate Québécois mainstream media discourse in the context of an upcoming provincial election¹¹⁵ to be held in 2007. Though the term ‘reasonable accommodation’ has been used in a legal context since 1985¹¹⁶, during the campaign coverage leading up to the 2007 election, the term came to take on new, non-legal connotations; connotations at times even inconsistent with the original legal definition¹¹⁷. In short, the term ‘reasonable accommodation’ went from being a legal concept in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* meant to ensure that institutions and employers would not discriminate based on an individual’s personal circumstances (e.g. marital status, pregnancy), permanent

¹¹³ This type of translation will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Potvin, 2008.

¹¹⁵ For example, as part of his political platform and rhetoric, Mario Dumont, then head of the ADQ, would often use the term “reasonable accommodation” to refer to agreements held between private parties. Acknowledging that this did indeed blur the understanding of the term for the general public, he demanded that the term be revised by means of a commission.

¹¹⁶ It should be noted that although the term “reasonable accommodation” has recently garnered more attention from the media, it is not a new term nor is it a new phenomenon in Canada. In the Canadian context, the term “reasonable accommodation” was first used in its legal sense in 1985 in the Ontario Human Rights Commission (O’Malley) v. Simpson-Sears [1985] 2 S.C.R. 536 (Gauthier, 2007, p. 16) and was also used in the terminology of workplace policy to “describe the integration of the mentally and physically handicapped into the workplace” (Patriquin, 2007).

¹¹⁷ For instance, in its legal definition, groups or collective entities cannot demand a “reasonable accommodation”; only individuals can request said accommodations from their employers/institutions. Despite this proviso, on multiple occasions, groups were portrayed by the media as requesting “reasonable accommodations” (i.e. term being used to designate a non-legally binding agreement between two parties). “The public was obviously hardly aware of the notion of accommodation and its various dimensions when the media began to extensively examine this question. Moreover, one might consider that the media have not always properly explained the nature, purpose and scope of this legal provision (Bouchard and Taylor, English translation, 2008, p. 67).”

traits (e.g. disabilities, skin colour) or socio-cultural background (e.g. religion, language, etc.) (cf. Bouchard and Taylor, 2008, pp. 64-66), and whenever possible to “accommodate” these practices and traits, to a term used to designate any form of cultural “accommodation” in the public sphere (Geadah, 2007, pp. 16-18), for instance in classrooms, restaurants and community centers (i.e. accommodations *not* in the legal sense, but rather as agreements between private parties)¹¹⁸.

In January 2007, following a series of events that stereotyped ‘reasonable accommodations’ negatively (as a sort of unjust demand) and as a demand made mostly by immigrants¹¹⁹, the ‘accommodation wildfire’, or more aptly in a Canadian context, the ‘accommodation snowball’, hit a small rural town in Québec named Hérouxville. Having followed the media frenzy surrounding the debate on “accommodation”, the municipal counsellor of the town, André Drouin, with the general support of his township, decided that he would proactively draft a code of “conduct” for newcomers who wanted to move to the small rural community (Thompson, 2007). Based on a survey in which the townspeople had answered a number of questions relating to their daily activities, cultural practices and religious beliefs (named “current norms” in the survey), Drouin drafted a code entitled *Mode de vie* (“Way of Life”) that stated a set of norms by which newcomers (with an emphasis on foreign immigrants) to Hérouxville would henceforth have to abide. Drouin argued that the code would avoid some of the problems encountered in Canada’s metropolitan areas because immigrants would have a clearly

¹¹⁸ Indeed, the media played a tantamount role in the skewing and distortion of 15 key events (cf. Bouchard and Taylor, 2008, pp. 67-73) pertaining to accommodation (in the broad sense of the term) in Québec. A chronology of these events, along with their stereotyped and factual renditions, is provided in the final report of the Commission.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Bouchard and Taylor, 2008, pp. 67-73.

defined set of rules prior to moving to the small municipality, thus enabling them to make “an informed decision prior to moving to Hérouxville”¹²⁰. Drouin also argued that he was simply acting on behalf of the electorate, listening to their input and taking into consideration what they deemed tolerable and acceptable in terms of accommodating cultural differences. In a sense, it could even be argued that Drouin *translated* Hérouxville’s norms and beliefs in clear, plain language so that these norms could be easily conveyed to newcomers with differing belief systems. Evidently, the goal of Drouin’s ‘translation’, that is to say the code itself, was not necessarily to provide an intelligible and explanatory document intended for audiences with divergent cultural and belief systems (though it may have fulfilled this goal nonetheless), but rather, to impose a specific public narrative (Baker, 2006) over the ontological narratives of newcomers.

Evidently the publication of this document led to numerous reactions as well as substantial media coverage across a variety of outlets (television, printed press, online media, etc.). On the one hand, Drouin was seen as a hero, standing up for the “Nous” (“Us”) Québécois as well as this group’s traditional beliefs and values¹²¹; on the other

¹²⁰ My translation of a section of the document “*Municipalité d’Hérouxville. Publication des normes en place*” excerpted from *Le syndrome Hérouxville ou les accommodements raisonnables* (Thompson, 2007, pp. 49-50).

¹²¹ The narrative of the “Nous Québécois” (“Us”) is a recurrent theme in social discourse in Québec. Brisset (1993, pp. 120-123) argues that the narrative of collective identity in this particular context can actually be viewed from a number of different perspectives. The idea of a “Nous” (“Us”) implicitly connotes a threatening “Eux” (“Them” or “Other/Others”) which generally takes the form of either English Canada or neo-Canadians (immigrants). Interestingly, First Nations people are rarely portrayed as being much of a threat per se; if anything, they are ignored by this discourse or framed as being part of a larger set of social “problems” which involve unemployment, education rights, substance abuse and land ownership. Thus, the “Nous” discourse has a dual purpose; on the one hand, it is empowering for Quebecers because it frames them as a cohesive, homogenous and distinct group (which promotes a refusal of letting “Others” into the in-group), but on the other hand, it also constructs the “Nous” as being fearful of being persecuted by “Others” (even if these “Others” are effectively smaller micro-cultures within the framework of the province or country). Quebecers thus find themselves in a double-bind, torn between self-promotion and assertion, and self-doubt and victimization. In a section titled “Anxiety over Identity”,

hand, he was ridiculed and shunned for being simple-minded, xenophobic and closed-minded¹²². However Drouin might have been perceived as a municipal figure or person, the notoriety of the Code cannot be denied. The events that took place in Hérouxville were not the only ones to trigger a province-wide debate pertaining to cultural differences, but they were certainly the most provocative and a likely rationalization of the steps leading up to the creation of an official state-sanctioned commission in February 2007.

The CCAPRCD was called for by provincial premier Jean Charest (Liberal Party of Québec) and was to be presided by two notable scholars, Gérard Bouchard (historian and brother of former Québec premier Lucien Bouchard) and Charles Taylor (prominent philosopher and McGill University professor). The CCAPRCD's mandate can be summarized as follows: "to take stock of accommodation practices in Québec (legal and civic); analyse the attendant issues bearing in mind the experiences of other societies; conduct an extensive consultation on this topic; and, formulate recommendations to the government to ensure that accommodation practices conform to the values of Québec society as a pluralistic, democratic, egalitarian society" (CCAPRCD Commission Report, 2008). The mandate was carried out in three stages:

Bouchard and Taylor summarize the issue of collective identity in relation to the debate on accommodation as follows: "the so-called wave of accommodation clearly touched a number of emotional chords among French-Canadian Quebecers in such a way that requests for religious adjustments have spawned fears about the most valuable heritage of the Quiet Revolution, in particular gender equality and secularism. The result has been an identity counter-reaction movement that has expressed itself through the rejection of harmonization practices. [...] We can conclude that Quebecers of French-Canadian ancestry are still not at ease with their twofold status as a majority in Québec and a minority in Canada and North America (2008, p. 18)".

¹²² The public's reaction to Drouin and his actions falls in line with the dichotomous discourse mentioned earlier; those who chose to be open to cultural differences opposed him, suggesting that he was limiting the possibility of change and transgression in Québec, while others lauded him for wanting to preserve Québec's inherent identity.

- 1) The organization of the consultation and other activities (March to August 2007);
- 2) The public consultation (September to December 2007)—this stage involved conducting hearings (or “citizen forums”) in 17 cities¹²³ throughout the province of Québec, the study of perceptions of harmonization practices, the conducting of other focus groups, and the conducting of provincial forums held in collaboration with the Institut du Nouveau Monde in Montreal. The overarching goals of the forums were to inform the Commission of the viewpoints of Quebecers of different generations, backgrounds and regions of Québec on the management of diversity and Quebecers’ shared values; [to] create a spirit and a forum conducive to dialogue between Quebecers of different origins; [to] encourage reflection in the main communities concerned (CCAPRCD);
- 3) The drafting of the final report (January to March 2008).

In sum, because of the Commission’s unique mandate and rather novel methods (i.e. the citizen forums and public consultations), media coverage of the events was ubiquitous. Though this brief contextualization presents only specific facets of the chronology of events, I believe it provides sufficient background information on the topic; indeed, the events surrounding the CCAPRCD, as well as the events directly related to Commission itself, constitutes compelling corpus for the study of different translation practices because of the variety of texts (in the broad anthropological sense of the term). In other words, using this particular corpus for my case study, it is possible to locate at

¹²³ The 17 cities are: Montreal, Montreal Côte-des-Neiges, Sherbrooke, Laval, Drummondville, Saint-Georges, Québec, Trois-Rivières, Longueuil, Saint-Hyacinthe, Bonaventure, Rimouski, Joliette, St-Jérôme, Sanguenay, Sept-Îles, Rouyn-Noranda, and Gatineau.

least three *translation sub-types: intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation (see diagram Chapter 2).

In addition to some of the methodological strategies and concerns cited throughout this chapter, I have chosen to implement Rose's (2007) corpus selection parameters. They are as follows:

- ✓ **Time Period:** Rose (2007) suggests that a corpus be selected according to a specific timeframe or period. With the events and debate surrounding the CCAPRCD, soft data is available from late 2006 until the present (2012). However, due to limitations in relation to sample size, and also in order to focus on the more climatic moments of the debate, I have chosen to select content that was made available online from October 2006 until June 2008¹²⁴. Limiting the corpus scope has the added benefit of facilitating a more detail-oriented analysis which is consistent with semiological methodologies. Finally, the corpus can be located in a given social, political and geographical context, which is recommended for discursive analysis.
- ✓ **Materiality:** Rose (*ibid*) stresses that materiality is a key parameter from an anthropological perspective, meaning that it is important to consider how the *medium* can impact the dissemination, interpretation, and location of visual (or multisemiotic) content. As previously discussed, the Web constitutes a central point of convergence for most contemporary communication, which is why online news web pages were a logical

¹²⁴ According to Potvin (2008), January and February 2007 marked the height of the debate: "En janvier-février 2007, le débat atteint son apogée".

choice. Content (and by extension, knowledge) is transmitted, interpreted, and disseminated at such a rapid pace online that the ensuing effects are quasi-immediate; this includes: real-time commentary (user-generated forums and comment posts), repostings and link sharing (e.g. through personal social media outlets, such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*), reactionary writing and online activism (e.g. online petitions, reactionary blogging, etc.). As previously stated, news translation is still considered to be under-researched in Translation Studies (cf. Kelly, 2006 p. 5 and Darwish, 2006, p. 54), particularly in a Canadian context, and as such, the analysis of a web-based current affairs corpus fills this particular void. I have selected four news outlets based on their use multimodal and multisemiotic elements, accessibility to their content (free, archived, and user-friendly content and the added feature of a search engine), and because they constitute some of the main news outlets in Canada. These websites are: *Radio-Canada* (RCAN) and the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (CBC)¹²⁵, *Le canal des nouvelles* (LCN/TVA)¹²⁶ and *Maclean's* (online version; *MAC*)¹²⁷. In earlier iterations of the dissertation, *Maclean's* was not part of the original corpus. However, because pan-

¹²⁵ As per the latest highlights featured on their website, www.cbc.ca can boast traffic of 5.8 million unique users each month. Radio-Canada "is also enjoying impressive growth in monthly traffic" (CBC/Radio-Canada. "Our History" <http://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/explore/our-history/> Retrieved 22 October 2012.). As such, inclusion of the CBC in my corpus is justified on the basis of national coverage, bilingual coverage, and on viewership statistics.

¹²⁶ LCN (*Le Canal Nouvelles*) is a specialty channel distributed by TVA Group. It is a channel that provides round-the-clock news reporting in French. Though it is available to a pan-Canadian audience (depending on their cable service provider and digital service package), the majority of LCN's viewers and readers are Québécois. TVA is also a multiplatform distributor (online and traditional outlets). (Canadian Communications Foundation. "History of the TVA Network". http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/networks/networks_TVA_Television.html Retrieved 22 October 2012.)

¹²⁷ In terms of its Canadian viewership and scope, *Maclean's* claims: "Maclean's is Canada's only national weekly current affairs magazine. Maclean's enlightens, engages, and entertains 2.4 million readers with strong investigative reporting and exclusive stories from leading journalists in the fields of international affairs, social issues, national politics, business and culture." *Maclean's* "About Us" <http://www2.macleans.ca/about-macleans/> Retrieved 22 Oct. 2012.

Canadian debate is of interest, I felt it necessary to include further commentary originating from a pan-Canadian outlet, instead of focusing exclusively on texts that were most likely created by a provincial Québec media outlet and destined for a Québécois audience. I was particularly motivated to include six articles (and analyze two in greater detail) published in Maclean's magazine (which are also available online). Though the accompanying visuals are unfortunately no longer available on the archived online versions of the web pages (these web pages were added to the corpus in latter iterative phases), the discourse on reasonable accommodation echoes many of the key themes under analysis and provide further insight on national commentary pertaining to the Commission. Additionally, given that one of my research objectives is to broaden limited understandings of translation in Canada, examples that are taken from a Canadian context will likely have more resonance with audiences living outside of Québec. Finally, pan-Canadian responses to the Commission also give insight as to how such topics were discussed, represented and translated *outside* of Québec and whether or not such issues would warrant further investigation from a TS perspective.

- ✓ **Finding Key Themes:** Not wanting to restrict the number of returned hits from a search query, I thought it best to avoid using the Commission's title as my main search query term. As such, I chose to use the compound/collocation "reasonable accommodation" and "accommodement raisonnable" (in both singular and plural form, in English and in French, case depending) to launch my search query. Because this collocation acts as a semantic unit and as a thematic classification on press websites, I hypothesized that it

would return hits for exact matches but also for related matches that still pertain to the debate (this is akin to a “fuzzy match” in terminological research). The initial data that was returned from these searches are as follows:

- **Entire Corpus: total of 72 hits (web pages) across three websites (RCAN, CBC, LCN)**
 - **Breakdown by media outlet, based on multimodal/multisemiotic content (i.e. video, static visual images, verbal texts, aural/oral content) using search query “accommodement(s) raisonnable(s)” or “reasonable accommodation”¹²⁸:**
 - CBC = 16 web pages
 - RCAN = 25 web pages
 - LCN = 31 web pages
 - **Breakdown of supplementary online coverage (in this case, visual images in printed version, but no longer accessible through *Maclean’s* online archives)**
 - *Maclean’s* (MAC) = 6 web pages¹²⁹ (2 specific magazine covers will be used for corpus analysis; they were featured online)
- **Total hits used in transcribed analysis: 31 TOTAL**
Breakdown:
 - CBC = 1 web page
 - RCAN = 14 web pages
 - LCN = 14 web pages
 - MAC = 2 magazine covers

Due to the complexity of analyzing this type of multimodal and multisemiotic content and the time required to transcribe each individual analytical component (cluster), I have had to limit my analysis to specific pages as opposed to transcribing and thoroughly analyzing each individual web page of the corpus. I do not believe this negates the overall findings, as per Rose’s guidelines. In prospective research,

¹²⁸ Some of the original accompanying multimodal and multisemiotic content are no longer accessible online. Analysis is based on previously saved archived content, not the current content (as it would be found after 2012).

¹²⁹ It should be noted that some additional web pages used the terms “reasonable accommodation”, however, these occurrences or “hits” didn’t specifically relate to the Commission or the debate surrounding reasonable accommodation per se. Instead, in the context of these articles, “reasonable accommodation” was used tangentially or peripherally and was in no way part of the central argument. It is also interesting to note that while few hits were returned during the selected time period (January 2007 to June 2008), *Maclean’s* published quite a few stories post 2009 on the topic of reasonable accommodation. It may be warranted for future research to explore how the debate on reasonable accommodation continued in the ROC post-commission, and, in some ways, may have grown, whereas the debate seems to have, to some extent, died down in Québec.

particularly statistical research based on empirical data, a broader analysis could be conducted.

✓ **Recurring Themes**

Some of the recurring themes or commonalities I am looked for were representations of cultural difference; representations of Canadian multiculturalism or Québécois interculturalism; representations of ideals of national identity and finally cultural stereotypes. In regard to intersemiotic translation, I was interested in seeing how many times the same visuals were translated by the same verbal texts¹³⁰ (or vice versa) and how these specific ‘target texts’ disseminated some of the aforementioned recurring themes. Finally, I wanted to analyze the ways in which these recurrent themes affected the social sphere. I wanted to know which words generally collocated with “reasonable accommodation” and “accommodement raisonnable” and how these pairings might impact the audience’s interpretation/understanding/perception.

¹³⁰ For instance: how many times is “reasonable accommodation” translated with a visual of a visible Canadian minority? Or, conversely, how many times is “reasonable accommodation” translated with a visual of a Canadian majority (Caucasian/European)?

PART 2: Transcription and Analysis

Using the principles of scalar transcription based on visual salience and reading trajectory (Baldry and Thibault, 2005, p. 116), I have selected clusters that ‘work together’ as intersemiotic translations. Though it is not always obvious whether the visual or the verbal cluster acts as the source text or target text, this is not inherently problematic as the point of departure in intersemiotic translation can be the visual text or the verbal text. At times, visual salience might indicate that the *viewer/reader* might attribute more importance (and thus precedence/originality) to the verbal or the visual cluster. For analytical purposes, it is also advised to think of the reader’s probable *trajectory* (web page user’s ‘pathway’) when establishing a scalar hierarchy between clusters:

The multimodal analysis and transcription of such trajectories can reveal the ways in which the trajectory integrates diverse semiotic resources to itself as it develops and unfolds in time. Possible trajectories are afforded by the resources – both technological and semiotic – of websites. By the same token, the recording and analysis of trajectories will provide insights into the way in which users experience websites and their possible meanings [and I would add *effects*]. It will also be able to show the extent to which trajectories have *generic* and *individual* characteristics in their semiotic make-up (Baldry and Thibault, 2005, p. 116).

The web pages I have chosen to analyze are unique in that they do not necessarily fall into one specific *genre* category (e.g. ‘the homepage’); rather, these web pages are what the search engines of each individual current affairs page returned after querying for “reasonable accommodation” in both official languages. As such, these returned web pages could simply be classified under the umbrella category “information/current affairs

websites” (the website being the entire information/current affairs site; the web page being the page that pertains to a specific topic/theme within that website).

CORPUS ANALYSIS

CBC

1 <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/kirpan/>

The screenshot shows the CBC News website interface. On the left is a sidebar with a 'NEWS »' section containing links to World, Canada, Politics, Health, Arts & Entertainment, Technology & Science, Business, Sports, Weather, and Your Community. Below this is a 'SERVICES »' section with links to Membership Sign-up, Breaking News Alerts, E-mail Newsletters, Video, Podcasts, Mobile/PDA, RSS Feeds, and Free Headlines. The main content area features the 'CBCnews' logo at the top. Below it, the article title 'INDEPTH: QUEBEC KIRPAN CASE' and 'Timeline: The Quebec kirpan case' are displayed, along with the date 'CBC News Online | March 2, 2006'. The article text begins with 'Twelve-year-old Gurbaj Singh Murtani had no idea that when he accidentally dropped his ceremonial dagger in his schoolyard in 2001 that the incident would touch off a dispute that would eventually wind up in the Supreme Court of Canada.' A photograph of a young man wearing a turban is shown. The right sidebar contains an 'IN DEPTH' section with a 'MENU' and 'MAIN PAGE' link, and a 'MORE:' section with links to 'Print this page', 'Send a comment', and 'Indepth Index'. Two callout boxes are present: box 1 points to the 'Your Community' link in the sidebar, and box 2 points to the 'Indepth Index' link in the right sidebar.

1

2

SCALAR LEVELS (INACTIVE CLUSTERS) Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 & 2 dominant	
Super-cluster 1: Title, headline and date ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-repetition of words “Quebec”, “kirpan” and “case”; serves to reinforce and solidify “problem”; “in-depth” connotes thorough analysis of “complex” issue -no explicit reference to ‘reasonable accommodation’, but page referenced in search query (interlingual translation between “reasonable accommodation” and “kirpan case”)¹³¹ -representation of participant in a timeless essence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:79)
Super-cluster 2: Visual; static image	-Instead of depicting a kirpan, the object referenced in the headline, a picture of Gurbaj Singh Multani is used. The person thus becomes a stand-in for the object that constitutes the point of contention. -representation of participant in a timeless essence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:79) -In terms of composition, Gurbaj Singh Multani is placed at the centre of the framed visual, such that he is “presented as the nucleus of the information to which all other elements are subservient (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:196)”. The figure of ‘alterity’ thus becomes prominently salient and impacts reader interpretation; his gaze does not meet with viewer’s creating and reinforcing a disconnection (<i>ibid</i>:117) -The turban, another object linked to ‘alterity’ figures prominently in the visual composition -The individual is cropped from the background; it is thus impossible to ‘contextualize’ the visual beyond what is represented -viewer positioned as passive; not belonging to visual composition; reinforces “Otherness” of represented individual

¹³¹ It should be noted that Multani’s case has been deemed by some scholars as one of the key events leading up to the “reasonable accommodation crisis” (“*la crise des accommodements raisonnables*”): “Le débat sur les «accommodements raisonnables» a commencé son ascension et sa cristallisation à partir du jugement de la Cour suprême sur le port du kirpan à l’école québécoise (arrêt *Multani*) en mars 2006.” (Potvin, Maryse et al. (2008) “Les discours d’opinion à l’égard du jugement sur le port du kirpan à l’école dans la presse québécoise” in McAndrew et al. (Eds.), p.241-270).

RCAN

1 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/16102006/78791.shtml>

Le 16 octobre 2006

L'accommodement raisonnable à l'école

Exprimez-vous sur le sujet | consultez les commentaires du public



Le kirpan, le foulard islamique et le turban sikh à l'école sont autant de signes extérieurs qui choquent parfois certaines personnes.

Il y a de plus en plus de demandes particulières qui viennent heurter les susceptibilités des uns et des autres. Dans bien des cas, on cherche des accommodements raisonnables, mais évite-t-on toujours les affrontements?

Québec vient de créer un comité chargé de définir les balises en matière d'accommodement raisonnable dans les écoles. Ce comité fera le point sur l'intégration des jeunes issus de communautés culturelles, religieuses et linguistiques dans le milieu scolaire. Il se penchera aussi sur la gestion de la diversité au moyen d'accommodements raisonnables.

Pierre Maisonneuve s'entretient avec **Bergman Fleury**, président du Comité consultatif sur l'intégration et l'accommodement raisonnable en milieu scolaire.

EXTRAITS AUDIO

L'entrevue avec Bergmann Fleury

[Écoutez l'extrait>>>]

HYPERLIENS

Écoles du Québec : pour un bon ménage entre lois et diversité culturelle
[Article de Radio-Canada.ca - 11 octobre 2006](#)

Communiqué du ministère québécois de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport
[11 octobre 2006](#)

Radio-Canada n'est aucunement responsable du contenu des sites externes

ACCUEIL

QUI SOMMES-NOUS?

RECHERCHE

Chercher

SOMMAIRE du 29 septembre 2009

Notre nouveau site!

PARTICIPEZ À LA TRIBUNE TÉLÉPHONIQUE
du lundi au vendredi,
dès 11 h 30
597-3700 (Montréal)
1-877-597-3700 (extérieur)

Les tribunes sont ouvertes

SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 prominent; clusters 2 and 3 less prominent but frame interpretation and user-action	
Super-cluster 1: Static visual image (inactive cluster); visually prominent ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Conceptual structure (object is presented instead of a participant; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:79) -Object emphasized by means of composition; object placed centrally and decontextualized providing viewer with little context to ‘interpret’ visually, without verbal text -viewer passive -object equated to “a reasonable accommodation” even though a weapon represented in this way would normally be understood as a threat (iconography similar to a gun holster or sword holster)
Cluster 2: Date and headline (inactive headline)	-provides contextual information helping in the interpretation of visually salient super-cluster; dagger = object of alterity that should be “accommodated”
Cluster 3: self-activating clusters that respond to mouse click	-while self-activating clusters aren’t the main analytic focus, it should be noted that they involve another level of multimodal interaction on behalf of the viewer; in this sense, the viewer is no longer passive but invited to provide insight, feedback, and commentary.

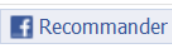
2 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/Quebec/2006/12/29/002-accomodement-raisonnable.shtml>

Les Québécois trop tolérants

Mise à jour le vendredi 29 décembre 2006 à 16 h 01 HNE



0



2



Des Juifs hassidiques de Montréal ont demandé plusieurs accommodements controversés.

L'année 2006 aura été riche en événements, mais c'est peut-être le débat entourant l'accommodement raisonnable qui aura réussi à soulever le plus les passions et à en incommoder plusieurs.

Près de six Québécois sur dix pensent que leur société est trop tolérante quand il s'agit de trouver des accommodements raisonnables pour les minorités religieuses.

En effet, 58,6 % des Québécois pensent que la société est trop tolérante en la matière, selon un sondage SOM-La Presse. 26,6 % des répondants croient que le Québec est juste assez tolérant alors que 14,8 % estiment qu'il ne l'est pas assez. À Québec en particulier, c'est près de 64 % des répondants qui expriment des réserves face aux accommodements raisonnables. La proportion est de 55 % à Montréal.

SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 (headline) prominent; clusters 2 (visual), 3 (visual's caption) and 4 (verbal text)	
Super-cluster 1 – Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Thanks to typographical elements (bolded font, large font), the headline is particularly visually salient; it's positioning also guides the reader's/viewer's reading trajectory, as such working as a 'framing device' and 'verbal translation' of other semiotic elements, such as the static visual. -Declarative sentence frames the statement as fact, as opposed to another device, such as the rhetorical question, that would serve to hypothesize rather than assert -Québécois: functions to set up a clear "us" vs. "them" dichotomy; "trop tolérants" suggests a limit has been surpassed and that the in-group¹³² is now 'bending backwards' to accommodate a minority or out-group and, as Clusters 2-3 showcase, <i>religious</i> minorities or out-groups. Québécois in victimized position ("we are too accommodating"; "accommodation impractical")
Cluster 2 – Static visual (Hassidic Jews) ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Grouping of individuals (generalized representation of participants in a timeless 'essence'; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:79) reinforces implicit idea that "problem" is proliferating (group dynamic vs. isolated/single individual); centrality of group in composition suggests they constitute "nucleus of information" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:196) -Only one religion depicted; reinforces implicit idea that Judaism constitutes a 'bigger social problem' than other religious beliefs or denominations, as it is the only one depicted accompanying the article
Cluster 3 – Verbal caption below static visual	-Verbal caption reinforces implicit visual meanings by explicitly translating how the visual should be seen and interpreted; whereas the static visual could be depicting the group in any number of innocuous social situations, the caption frames the interpretation: this group (Hassidic Jews) has asked for <i>numerous controversial accommodations</i> (implicit verbal connotation: unreasonable).
Cluster 4 – Key words/segments in verbal text	-Plusieurs: the referent is the in-group (Québécois) referenced in the title -Use of statistics to legitimize information that may otherwise seem anecdotal or hypothetical¹³³; reinforces in-group/out-group dynamic (only in-group is polled; out-group unable to state their opinion with regards to accommodation practices)

¹³² "An in-group is a social unit an individual belongs to, interacts with, and shares a sense of "we-ness" with. An out-group, on the other hand, is a social unit or group of people that an individual neither belongs to nor identifies with. The construction and maintenance of boundaries (physical or symbolic) are the primary ways by which groups establish what it means to be "in" and, by contrast, what it means to be "out." The basis of in-group identity, then, is socially constructed through symbolic markers (boundaries) such as narratives, creeds, rituals, and social practices. Moreover, sociologists view such boundaries along a continuum of permeability (open) and impermeability (closed), which influences group member entrance and exit processes. (In-groups and Out-Groups. (n.d.) In *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology Online*. Retrieved from http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/subscriber/uid=1192/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_yr2011_chunk_g978140512433115_ss1-48&authstatuscode=202)"

¹³³ Though Bourdieu used statistical data in his own research, he denounced their fetishism in the social sciences. His comments, I would argue, largely resonate with the present analysis, even if the statistics weren't necessarily collected by social scientists: "Statistics ceases to be the instrument of rational research to become an incantation for unveiling hidden reality. Thus what we have to renounce is not the use of statistics by the fetishism of statistics...This fetishism leads some people to think that only those things which can be measured are worth consideration instead of attempting to measure what deserves to be known...It does not follow that statistics is the measure of all things. It does not follow that things which, in the current state of methods at our disposal, cannot be measured are not worth being known and that intuitive knowledge or plain description are consigned to irredeemable indignity...the fact that behaviours or opinions have a statistical frequency does not mean that they are thereby more intelligible; or the fact that behaviours or opinions are more intelligible equally does not imply that they must occur with more statistical frequency (1994, p. 8-9; cited in Grenfell and James eds., 1998, p. 172)."

3 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/Quebec/2006/12/30/001-reactions-accommodements.shtml>

Les Québécois pas si ouverts

Mise à jour le samedi 30 décembre 2006 à 11 h 35 HNE



Les réactions au sondage SOM-La Presse sur les accommodements raisonnables ne se sont pas fait attendre. Selon les résultats de ce sondage, 64 % des gens de Québec considèrent que la société est trop tolérante en la matière.

Marie McAndrew, **Chaire de recherches sur les rapports ethniques de l'Université de Montréal**, estime que la société québécoise a encore beaucoup à faire en matière d'intégration.

Marie McAndrew, de la Chaire de recherches sur les rapports ethniques de l'Université de Montréal, estime que le sondage reflète surtout l'influence qu'exercent les médias sur l'opinion publique, et que le récent battage médiatique qui a entouré les histoires d'accommodements raisonnables fausse les perceptions.

SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 (headline) prominent; cluster 2 (visual), cluster 3 elements of main verbal text	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Use of declarative sentence instead of other potential stylistic devices (assertion rather than hypothesis) -Reversal of ‘blame’; here, in-group (Québécois) is framed in headline as being ‘closed-minded’, yet, simultaneously (see cluster 3) ‘too lax’ when it comes to accommodation policy. Though seemingly contradictory, the message is the same: the Québécois believe they have been too lax and would prefer less “open-mindedness” (i.e. less tolerance) when it comes to accommodation practices
Cluster 2: Static Visual image	-Generalized representation of participants that relies on trope of ‘Canadian political correctness’ (i.e. the use of ‘visible minority imagery’¹³⁴) -Lack of token ‘Québécois’ participant(s); reinforcement of in-group/out-group dynamic by excluding in-group representation (only “outsiders” understand/communicate adequately with other “outsiders”) -Unfolding and nature of event depicted is semantically ambiguous to viewer/reader (viewer/reader can only make assumptions on interaction based on participant interaction; no contact with viewer/reader; implicit educational context could infer the need to ‘instruct’ ‘Others’.
Cluster 3: Use of statistical/empirical data	-Use of statistics legitimizes information that may otherwise seem anecdotal or hypothetical; reinforces in-group/out-group dynamic (only in-group is polled; out-group unable to state their opinion with regards to accommodation practices)

¹³⁴ Derry, Alex. "Political correctness gone mad?" *Maclean's* 10 Aug 2011
<http://www2.macleans.ca/2011/08/10/political-correctness-gone-mad/> Retrieved 15 August 2012

4 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/31012007/82734.shtml>



ACCUEIL

QUI SOMMES-NOUS?

RECHERCHE

Chercher

SOMMAIRE du 29 septembre 2009

Notre nouveau site!

Le 31 janvier 2007

Hérouxville fait des petits

1



Le maire de Saint-Roch-de-Mékinac envisage l'adoption d'un code de conduite pour les nouveaux arrivants, qui serait semblable à celui d'Hérouxville.

Ces normes, qui n'ont aucune valeur juridique, ont fait la manchette ces derniers jours. Ainsi, à Hérouxville, il est maintenant interdit de lapider les femmes, de porter le voile dans les lieux publics ou d'avoir un kirpan à l'école.

Le maire du petit village de la Mauricie, Claude Dumont, étudie actuellement ce code de conduite, adopté dernièrement par Hérouxville. Il compte proposer l'adoption d'une résolution semblable au conseil municipal vendredi.

EXTRAITS A

L'entrevue
Dumont

[Écoutez l'

HYPERLIENS

Hérouxville
accommod
raisonnabl
Sujet traité
en direct le

Laïcité et a
raisonnabl
Dossier de

SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 (visual)	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Use of Hérouxville as a referent or synonym for debate pertaining to reasonable accommodation -Fixed expression “faire des petits” frames static visual image and full-text article in two ways: 1) suggests that Hérouxville model is being implemented elsewhere, thus acting as a potential ‘model’ for managing reasonable accommodation cases, but also 2) “faire des petits” juxtaposed with static visual infers, to a degree, that reasonable accommodations involving ‘foreign’ religions (e.g. Islamic faith/Muslims) are proliferating and becoming a social problem in need of control (i.e. the Hérouxville code of conduct) -social problem (“faire des petits” → need for more codes of conduct to disseminated normative behavioural practices) equated with image (another object could have been chosen, for instance the code of conduct itself, or, an image of Hérouxville; these options would have been slightly more ‘neutral’ in that they do not represent a specific individual participant or group of participants)
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-representation of single participant in a timeless and generalized essence (i.e. the veiled Muslim woman) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:79); -the participant’s eyes and gaze do not meet with the viewers creating a disconnect/social distance (reinforces “Otherness”, even if only on an imaginary level) (<i>ibid</i>:117); -Oblique angle of participant’s gaze creates a sense of detachment (<i>ibid</i>:148) -Colour of veil also fulfills a semiotic function¹³⁵; in North America, black can be associated to any number of qualifiers, but usually when black is the colour of clothing, it is associated with mourning or a threat. The choice of a woman with a dark veil as opposed to a light veil may also impact the reader’s sense of distance from the represented participant.

¹³⁵ “Any specific instance of colour can be defined as a combination of specific values on each of these scales [light to dark; saturated to desaturated; etc.] In the lives of all human beings light and dark are fundamental experiences, and there is no culture which has not built an edifice of symbolic meanings and value systems upon this fundamental experience – even though different cultures may have done so in different ways (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:233).” The authors also expand on colour and its meaning-making potential in terms of value, saturation, purity, modulation, differentiation and hue (*ibid*: 234-235).

5 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/06022007/82976.shtml>

ACCUEIL

QUI SOMMES-NOUS?

RECHERCHE

Chercher

SOMMAIRE du 29 septembre 2009

Notre nouveau site!

PARTICIPEZ À LA TRIBUNE TÉLÉPHONIQUE
du lundi au vendredi,
des 11 h 30
514 597-3700 (Montréal)
1 877 597-3700 (extérieur)

Le 6 février 2007

Affaire Hérouxville : doit-on modifier les chartes des droits?



L'affaire Hérouxville prend de plus en plus d'ampleur. Cette municipalité de la Mauricie a adopté récemment des normes de vie controversées pour les nouveaux arrivants. Le Congrès islamique canadien et le Forum musulman canadien ont annoncé qu'ils déposeraient une plainte contre Hérouxville à la Commission des droits de la personne du Québec cette semaine. Ces deux organisations accusent la municipalité d'incitation à la haine et au racisme.

Par ailleurs, sans adopter un code de conduite comme celui d'Hérouxville, plusieurs villages de la Mauricie demandent une modification des chartes des droits et libertés du Canada et du Québec pour empêcher les accommodements raisonnables. C'est notamment le cas de Saint-Roch-de-Méchinac.

Pierre Maisonneuve s'entretient avec **Lucien Montgrain**, maire de Trois-Rivières, et avec **Marc-André Dowd**, vice-président à la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.

EXTRAITS AUDIO

L'affaire Hérouxville : doit-on modifier les chartes des droits?

[Écoutez l'extrait>>>]

Accommodements raisonnables : cinq villes s'inspirent d'Hérouxville
[Article de Radio-Canada.ca - 5 février 2007](#)

Laïcité et accommodement raisonnable
[Dossier de Radio-Canada.ca](#)

Radio-Canada n'est aucunement responsable du contenu des sites externes

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SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 (visual), cluster 3 verbal excerpt from main, full-text article	
Super-cluster 1 Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-use of rhetorical question as a stylistic device works to engage readership in placing their opinion; -Hérouxville referenced in direct connection with the reasonable accommodation debate ("affaire" = social problem/polemic)
Super-cluster 2 Static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-generalized representation of an individual participant; lack of exposed facial features and bowed head imitate the posture of an individual being arrested (so while image has nothing to do with someone being arrested, and while verbal text does nothing to frame or translate the image in this manner, it is inferred simply by means of the compositional elements); bowed posture also connotes a sort of subservience or submissiveness (inferiority) -there are other participants in the background which suggests the image has been cropped and decontextualized (meaning that objective reality has been manipulated and decontextualized for reader/viewer; e.g. the woman could be bowing because she is praying as opposed to arrested) -dark colour scheme and saturation plays on colour semiotics to connote mood (somber)
Cluster 3 keyword in full-text article juxtaposed with static visual image (serves as a quasi-caption)	-the words "nouveaux arrivants" placed in juxtaposition with headline (Affaire → social problem), but <i>especially</i> next to static visual image strongly infers that depicted Muslim woman <i>must</i> be part of out-group (new immigrants) and thus, equated to social problem. It is plausible that the woman depicted is in fact Canadian (factually), but all verbal translations of the image frame the interpretation to suggest that she is a stand-in for cultural otherness in the context of the debate on reasonable accommodation

6 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/02092007/83154.shtml>



SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1 Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-explicit reference within headline of reasonable accommodation (usually, a euphemism or stand-in tends to be the preferred way of addressing the debate) -"commission" infers that problem/debate has reached a point warranting institutional inquiry and evaluation
Super-cluster 2 Static visual image	-Composition highly significant; subjective representation of two participants acting as "poles" (i.e. reasonable accommodation is a debate opposing dark and light) -Colour serves to heighten opposition between two participants -Here, a woman wearing a what appears to be a religious veil (it is not quite clear which denomination and whether the ambiguity is relevant/intended) is depicted, and unlike the examples of veiled Muslim women present in most of the corpus excerpts, she looks serene, quiet, and tender. Her veil exposes her face, whereas in the case of the depicted Muslim veils, the women's faces are shadowed, partially hidden, or entirely hidden. The fact that the viewer can see her facial features serves a means of 'connecting' the viewer and the depicted participant despite the lack of direct gaze (i.e. she is relatively more trustworthy than the second participant). The use of white colouring also creates visual salience, making the woman more prominent compositionally. -The left-hand participant has his back to the view, creating disconnect and distancing. Some visual cues (religious iconography) suggest participant is part of Hassidic community (hat, dark clothing, braid). Because the viewer cannot see participant's facial features, this may instill a sense that participant has something to hide or turn away from -Again, this visual dichotomy creates a representation of an in-group/out-group dynamic, in which one participant appears to be 'faceless', while the other participant is framed using quasi-angelic iconography/symbolism.

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A circular inset portrait of Cardinal George Pell, an older man with white hair and glasses, wearing a black clerical shirt with a white collar. He is looking slightly to the left.

Photo: Martin Labbé

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↕ *intersemiotic translation*

↕ *intersemiotic translation*

8 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/28112007/94473.shtml>

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SCALAR LEVELS Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Explicit mention of “reasonable accommodation” (one of the only headlines to do so) -Contextualization by means of “Montréalais”; Montréalais connotes in-group rather than out-group -The phrasing of the headlines almost seems to suggest an opposition or struggle between Montrealers and (those seeking) reasonable accommodation (juxtaposition of two elements)
Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-generalized representation of participants; in terms of composition, single individual participants are not salient, thus no single micro-culture is stigmatized or lauded through compositional features -generalized representation could potentially connote a positive coming together (i.e. the citizen forum as a place of constructive cultural dialogue) -unlike other inter-semiotic translations in the corpus in which the verbal cluster was translated by a visual cluster negatively framing the debate or representing/associating a specific micro-culture with a social problem, this visual is relatively innocuous in its connotative associations

9 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/Montreal/2007/12/12/009-bt-suite-memoire.shtml>

Intégration et accommodation

1

Mise à jour le mercredi 12 décembre 2007 à 18

accommodation: (No result) [Disable](#)



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La commission Bouchard-Taylor a entendu, mercredi, les représentants de l'Assemblée des évêques catholiques du Québec. L'Assemblée défend la nécessité de maintenir la place de la religion dans l'espace public, et se prononce pour une société axée sur une laïcité ouverte. Mgr Jean-Claude Turcotte s'est demandé si les accommodements posaient autant de problèmes qu'on le dit. Il trouve exagérée la position de ceux, par exemple, qui proposent d'enlever la croix du mont Royal. Il s'agit d'un symbole, dit-il, comme il y en a tant à Paris, Rome ou en Afrique.

2

La commission Bouchard-Taylor entend l'Assemblée des évêques catholiques et l'organisation juive B'Nai Brith. Les évêques ont surtout parlé d'intégration, B'Nai Brith de l'élargissement du concept des accommodements raisonnables.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1:verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Interestingly, the word “intégration” permeates the corpus texts about mid-way through the chronology of events; there seems to be a discrepancy between the terms “intégration” and “accommodation” based on the verbal juxtaposition in the headline -Note that use of the term ‘intégration’ rarely appears in web page headlines in which specific micro-cultures are being depicted as ‘social problem’ or equated to ‘social problem’ of accommodation practices (which are usually deemed unreasonable) -Both terms can be connoted positively and negatively, thus their decontextualized use creates semantic ambiguity (accommodation can be positive provided both parties share equal rights and that the relationship dynamic is symmetrical e.g. this would be akin to constructive compromise; in a similar vein, “intégration” can be positively construed if the person or group integrating is doing so voluntarily and of their own agency and desire to adapt/integrate. However, in both cases, integration and accommodation can be negatively construed if agency, compromise and symmetry are not part of the exchange).
Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-Specific representation of three participants (who are compositionally prominent) which are later identified by a subsequent verbal cluster (bolded text in full-text article) -The contextualized image of the represented participants grants them authority and credibility (visual salience, distinguishable features, verbal identification, they have agency as they are speaking, etc.); their features are easily recognizable (viewer can easily distinguish physical traits, and though the participants’ gaze is not necessarily directed at viewer, the positioning still enables a ‘connection’ to be made) -Here, the debate on reasonable accommodation isn’t represented by a threatening ‘Other’ (Christianity stands in as an ‘Other’ but still a cultural ‘Other’ that is more ‘palatable’ by the ‘Nous’/in-group), but rather by what appears to be civil dialogue and exchange. Thus, there seems to be a distinct dichotomy between the social problem of reasonable accommodation (i.e. how these accommodations are perceived/negotiated in everyday life) and its actual discussion in the context of the Commission (fairly civil, organized, sequential, fair, etc.). In other words, this visual does not connote a threatening ‘Us’ or a threatening ‘Other’. Visually, it would appear that the Commission fosters civilized exchange.

10 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/20122007/95258.shtml>

The screenshot shows a web page from Radio-Canada. On the left is a navigation menu with links like 'ACCUEIL', 'QUI SOMMES-NOUS?', 'RECHERCHE', and 'PARTICIPEZ À LA TRIBUNE TÉLÉPHONIQUE'. The main content area features an article dated 'Le 20 décembre 2007' with the title 'Un fond de racisme chez les Québécois?'. A photograph of a group of people is shown, with a callout '2' pointing to it. The article text discusses the Bouchard-Taylor Commission's findings on racism. A callout '1' points to the article title, and a callout '3' points to a sub-header 'La commission Bouchard-Taylor a-t-elle révélé un fond de racisme chez les Québécois?'. On the right, there are sections for 'EXTRAITS AUDIO' and 'HYPERLIENS' with various links.

1

Le 20 décembre 2007
Un fond de racisme chez les Québécois?
Exprimez-vous sur le sujet | consultez les commentaires du public

2

La commission Bouchard-Taylor sur les accommodements raisonnables a publié une étude statistique des propos tenus lors des 22 forums de citoyens tenus dans tout le Québec. L'analyse tient compte des interventions faites par les Québécois francophones.

L'étude démontre que la majorité des déclarations, soit 85 %, étaient modérées ou pluralistes. Cependant, une intervention sur six véhiculait des préjugés, du racisme ou de la xénophobie.

3

La commission Bouchard-Taylor a-t-elle révélé un fond de racisme chez les Québécois?

Les invités de **Frédéric Nicoloff** : **Stephan Reichold**, directeur général de la Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes, **Rachad Antonius**, professeur au Département de sociologie de l'UQAM et directeur adjoint du Centre de recherche sur l'immigration, l'ethnicité et la citoyenneté (CRIEC), et **Jacques Beauchemin**, professeur titulaire au Département de sociologie de l'UQAM.

EXTRAITS AUDIO

La commission Bouchard-Taylor a-t-elle révélé un fond de racisme chez les Québécois?
[Écoutez l'extrait>>>]

HYPERLIENS

À la fois raisonnables et accommodants
[Article de Radio-Canada.ca - 19 décembre 2007](#)

La commission Bouchard-Taylor
[Dossier de Radio-Canada.ca](#)

Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

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Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image; cluster 3 verbal text (bolded, rhetorical question)	
Super-cluster 1: headline + Cluster 3 ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Use of rhetorical question directly engages readership (for in-group “Nous”, question addresses cultural sensitivity towards “Others”; for out-group, question may instill fear that host in-group not as accommodating/accepting as previously assumed) -This type of rhetorical question also serves as a leading question (suggestive interrogation or persuasive question-asking¹³⁶) for which in-group and out-group members might find themselves questioning something or assuming something (e.g. a pattern, behaviour, etc.) they hadn’t previously considered. Unlike previous corpus examples in which statistical data was used to support an assertive claim about Québécois’ racist or xenophobic tendencies, the use of the rhetorical question without supplementary statistical evidence leaves the viewer/reader to self-evaluate depending on their relationship to the social issue (i.e. “Am I racist? Xenophobic?”) -The use of the word “fond” is also interesting; it attenuates the lexical choice “racisme”, which is a semantically-loaded word (generally associated with a pejorative connotation). The attenuation doesn’t seem to be innocuous (consider the previous examples in which no attenuation was used, where racism was asserted as opposed to hinted); it is as though the author is trying to imply that the debate surrounding reasonable accommodation may have to do with a lack of open-mindedness of behalf of the in-group, attributing <i>responsibility</i> to this particular group, instead of placing the ‘blame’ (so to speak) squarely on the out-groups or ‘Other’ micro-cultures that have requested accommodations. The ‘fond’ also suggested something ‘lying beneath the surface’, as though racism and racist tendencies are integral to the “Nous” in-group (implicit notion of “transmission” from generation to generation).
Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-The visual cluster reinforces the ambiguous tone of the headline. While some visuals starkly delineate a “Nous” and an “Other”, or isolate visual cultural stereotypes (usually a depiction of a foreign culture, immigrant culture, etc.), the fact that all the represented participants have their back turned to the viewer is telling: who is “Nous” and who is “Them” in this particular visual narrative? The visual is blurring the lines by doing away with a front-facing composition and lack of identifiable traits.

¹³⁶ Kellerman, Kathy. *Persuasive Question-Asking: How Question Wording Influences Answers*.
<http://www.kkcomcon.com/doc/KPQA.pdf> Retrieved 15 October 2012

Super-cluster 2 (continued from previous page)	-The sole figure that stands as 'Other' would (once again) be the veiled woman who stands at the bottom right corner. While any number of visuals could have functioned to represent a multicultural grouping of individuals, it seems as though the default icon to differentiate the 'Nous' from 'Others' is the Muslim veil. No other participants are represented with such significantly distinctive clothes or distinguishing features. Unfortunately, this serves to reassert that the debate surrounding reasonable accommodation is more a debate about the place of Muslims (predominantly) and religion (more broadly) in the Québécois (and Canadian) landscape.
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11 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/societe/2008/04/09/004-rapport-bnaibrith.shtml>

B'nai Brith s'inquiète

Mise à jour le mercredi 9 avril 2008 à 17 h 04 HAE



Recommander

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Pour une deuxième année consécutive, l'organisation juive B'nai Brith Canada recense un nombre record d'actes antisémites au Canada en en 2007.

« Le harcèlement des juifs au Canada augmente, la communauté subit des menaces de mort, des agressions, de l'intimidation », c'est ce qu'affirme l'organisation dans son rapport annuel, qui relève un nombre record d'actes antisémites au Canada.



L'organisation a dénombré 1042 cas de menaces, d'agressions et d'intimidations contre des juifs ou des institutions de la communauté l'an dernier au pays, une hausse de plus de 11 % par rapport à 2006.

B'nai Brith affirme que le nombre d'incidents antisémites a pratiquement doublé en cinq ans au pays et quadruplé en 10 ans.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image; cluster 3 verbal text (bolded + statistical information)	
Super-cluster 1: Headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Use of present tense and declarative sentence suggests that sentiment of threat/fear/worry (all implied by “inquiète”) is <i>currently</i> present for this particular micro-culture/religious organization -Interesting to note that while there is no particular mention of reasonable accommodation in the title, nor in the subsequent full-text paragraphs, the article was still returned on a ‘reasonable accommodation’ query.
Super-Cluster 2: static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Here, the image transforms the sentiment of threat into a concrete anti-Semitic act (anti-Semitic vandalism); thus, the worry expressed in the headline is validated – this group is no longer uniquely facing <i>threats</i> but actual acts of vandalism (which can escalate, creating more fear). -The use of Nazi symbolism is also poignant, positioning anti-Semitic behaviour in Canada in a contemporary context, and within the debate on reasonable accommodation in Québec, thus evoking images of the Holocaust. This has repercussions for both in-group and out-group participants, none of which figure or are represented in the visual, but that the reader can conjure.
Cluster 3: statistical information/data + official statement from out-group organization	-The statistical evidence serves to validate the worry expressed in the headline and represented in the static visual image. -Statistical evidence, coupled with visual, may persuade audience to express empathy towards this particular group (real threat vs. imaginary threat). It could be argued that this particular corpus example acts as a ‘bridge’ to connect two (supposedly) opposing groups (violence/vandalism seen as negative and reprehensible behaviour regardless of group membership or cultural background).

12 <http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/Ontario/2008/05/20/002-Bouchard-Taylor-Hijab.shtml>

La question du hijab 1

Mise à jour le mardi 20 mai 2008 à 9 h 38 HAE

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Le port du voile en classe est considéré comme un accommodement raisonnable.

Le rapport final de la commission Bouchard-Taylor sera finalement rendu public jeudi, alors que *The Gazette* et le *Journal de Montréal* dévoilent de nouveaux détails du rapport.

Gérard Bouchard et Charles Taylor souhaitent que les Québécois comprennent que le port du voile est un choix personnel et qu'il ne menace en rien les valeurs communes québécoises. C'est ce que révèlent de nouvelles fuites du rapport de la Commission attendu jeudi. 4

3 révèle que le document affirme qu'il n'y a aucun problème avec le foulard islamique, qu'il n'est pas une véritable menace aux valeurs québécoises et que la plupart des femmes le portent par choix.

Les Québécois devraient accepter le hijab et passer à autre chose, selon l'ébauche finale du rapport Bouchard-Taylor. Le quotidien *The Gazette*

Le rapport Bouchard-Taylor devrait indiquer, selon ce que nous apprend le quotidien, que la société québécoise aura beaucoup à perdre si elle confine le port du voile islamique à la maison et aux lieux extérieurs.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image; cluster 3 verbal caption; cluster 4 bolded verbal text in full-text article	
-Super-cluster 1: verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-The headline frames the Muslim veil as something to be questioned and debated in the social sphere; interestingly, the use of “hijab” immediately identifies the specific veil in question (it could be posited that the headline focuses on veils in general in women’s dress; instead, the use of ‘hijab’ immediately frames the rest of the article, meaning that only a <i>specific</i> garment is up for debate) -In contradiction with subsequent segments of the full-text article (see cluster 4), in which it is explicitly stated the ‘hijab’ should not be seen as a threat (however, it should be noted that the lexical choices in cluster 4 are in somewhat of an opposition – the choices being somewhat neutralized: e.g. ‘voile’ vs. ‘hijab’; ‘choix personnel’) -Many readers, particularly in an era in which many studies have shown readers’ attention to be particularly limited¹³⁷, will limit themselves to just reading the headline, thus associating (even though the article ultimate arguments otherwise) and equating the ‘hijab’ as a ‘problem’ or form of questionable accommodation (note the caption, cluster 3, fulfills this communicative and semiotic function as well)
-Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-As with other corpus examples, the chosen static image is again a stereotypical representation (though its selection can somewhat be justified since it does depict the object – ‘hijab’ – referenced in the headline) -However, it is the composition that serves to reinforce certain semiotic interpretations: first, both women’s gazes do not intersect nor engage with the viewer. This serves to posit the women as ‘objects’ to be consumed/viewed by the readers/viewers. Their decontextualization (i.e. it is not immediately clear where they are or what they are doing) does not lend itself to a necessarily positive interpretation of the visual content (if, conversely, the women had been portrayed amongst ‘Western’-dressed women or engaging with ‘Western’-dressed women, then the reader could have inferred some sort of common ground between the referenced micro-cultures). -The women’s facial expressions and body language are telling: they are somewhat somber, their gazes unmet (by an interlocutor – for example a professor or peer). It is possible that this body language plays into popular Québécois beliefs (cf. cluster 4) that Muslim women are ‘repressed’, ‘unhappy’, or ‘submissive’ (these are all terms that were brought up over the course of the Commission, cited in both preliminary and

¹³⁷ Weatherhead, Rob. *Say it quick, say it well – the attention span of a modern internet consumer*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media-network/media-network-blog/2012/mar/19/attention-span-internet-consumer>
Retrieved 15 October 2012.

↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	final drafts of citizens submissions, citizen contributions during the public forums, as well as press reports and press articles). -It is also worthwhile mentioning is the semiotic significance of the representation of <i>two</i> women (i.e. numerous participants in the composition) versus a single, veiled woman (single-participant composition). Because it is unlikely that <i>all</i> women in a Québécois or Canadian classroom (cf. cluster 3 for spatial context) would wear a veil, to represent more than one veiled woman in the context of this article is to suggest that the veil and its appearance in social settings is <i>on the rise</i> or, at the very least, becoming increasingly present in specific social situations (i.e. in the classroom or other public areas) – so much so that it is warranting debate/questioning (cf. super-cluster 1) in social and political spheres (i.e. in the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (cf. cluster 4))
-Cluster 3 verbal caption below static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-The caption serves an additional framing technique and, more specifically, as another translation of the static visual image. While the headline already partially frames the viewer's interpretation of the visual content, the caption only serves to reinforce the conflation of 'hijab' + Muslim faith/micro-culture = instance of accommodation practice +/- reasonable (connoted by the words 'question' in headline) -Though the image is somewhat decontextualized, the caption serves to locate the women: they are in a classroom. Other than the desks which may arguably <i>suggest</i> a pedagogical context, the viewer, without the caption's translation, is left to imagine the spatial location of the veiled women. Thus, the spatialization of the women suggests that the 'problem' is equated to the presence of veils in the classroom. Why the veils are inherently problematic isn't immediately clear in the information provided by both the headline and the caption (which presumably are the two immediate verbal clusters – according to Baldry and Thibault as well as Kress and van Leeuwen - a reader would rely on to 'translate' the visual cluster beyond his or her own individual and subjective interpretations). -The use of the verbal phrase "est considéré" is also worth of analysis because it suggests that there is a social norm that assumes the presence of veils in the classroom as a 'reasonable accommodation'. That said, the sentence is void of an explicit agent who considers what is and isn't a reasonable accommodation. Based on the information collected by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission and its final report, the veil had never been formally banned in classrooms and as such, it is odd to suggest that its allowance is an accommodation since it had never been formally proscribed by the Ministry of Education or other overarching governing body.
Cluster 4: Bolded verbal cluster excerpted from full-text article	-This particular excerpt stands in somewhat of a contradiction with the message conveyed by Clusters 1,2, and 3. These former clusters construct the 'hijab' as something that is <i>tolerated</i> and is <i>considered</i> an accommodation (even though no governing bodies have regulated this in a pedagogical

Cluster 4 (continued from previous page)	context; see Cluster 3 analysis), and as a social problem (“la question”). However, cluster 4 explicitly states that the hijab is not a threat and that it does not interfere with nor does it contradict in-group beliefs and norms. However, this information isn’t included in any of the visually salient clusters (headline, static visual, caption). In fact, without the bolded typeface, a reader skimming the headline and visual may overlook this information. -The reader is thus faced with contradictory clusters. -It should also be noted that while this cluster posits the ‘hijab’ and by extension both Muslim women (and Muslims in general) in a positive light, the fact that the term “valeurs communes québécoises” is used continues to reinforce the dichotomy between in-group members and out-group members.
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13 http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/abitiabi/2008/05/23/003-reax_PQ_BT_n.shtml

1

Un rapport qui évite l'essentiel, selon le PQ

Mise à jour le vendredi 23 mai 2008 à 12 h 11 HAE



Pauline Marois

La chef du Parti québécois soutient que la commission Bouchard-Taylor a mal compris la « réhabilitation du nous », qui fait partie du discours de la formation souverainiste depuis qu'elle en a pris la direction, il y a un an.

La chef souverainiste Pauline Marois déplore que la commission réponde « de façon bien mince à un problème de société qui est beaucoup plus large ». Elle défend sa conception d'un « nous » inclusif.

2

Réagissant aux mises en garde de Gérard Bouchard et Charles Taylor contre la tentation de penser le débat selon un rapport majorité/minorités, Pauline Marois a réitéré son plaidoyer pour un « nous » qui n'est pas source de division.

« Ce nous est inclusif et il s'inscrit dans l'interculturalisme qui doit viser l'intégration. C'est un nous québécois, peu importe les origines. Nous avons dit qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'être né ici pour être passager de notre histoire. Mais il faut d'abord bien vouloir monter dans le train », a-t-elle fait valoir.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image; cluster 3 bolded excerpt in full-text article	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-The headline suggests that the conclusions of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission have failed to consider essential points, according to the PQ. This headline thus somewhat undermines the value of the report and its recommendations in terms of accommodation practices. For voting demographics that usually vote or align themselves with the PQ, this headline may influence their interpretation of the report, even though they may not have read the document. The idea that ‘essential’ issues have not been analyzed also suggests that the debate will continue as consensus and agreement has not been achieved on this front.
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-The image depicts very clearly Pauline Marois, head of the PQ. The use of her picture grants credibility and authority to the headline and provides a “face” for the PQ. As such, comments criticizing the final report can be equated with an “official PQ position”. -The Québec flag in the background is not innocuous. Though its presence can be explained rather easily (the conference was likely given in Québec; part of the PQ’s iconography and symbolism relies on the use of the Québec flag), it serves another, perhaps unintended purpose: it continues to perpetuate the “Nous” vs. “Them” dynamic (here, it is possible to recall the associated term “société distincte”). During the events of this debate, rarely has a figure of authority from an immigrant, Aboriginal or faith-based community been framed with the Québécois flag (as the examples in this corpus further proves). As such, the PQ and proponents of the “Nous” ideology have, arguably, appropriated the Québec flag as an object that serves to divide and further in-group/out-group distinctions. (Conversely, the Canadian flag has often been used as an icon to infer multiculturalism and unity in most of Canada; in Québec, however, it is considered at times intrusive).
Cluster 3: verbal cluster excerpted from full-text article	-The use of direct and indirect quotations serves to add credibility to the assertions included in the title and throughout the full-text article. An isotopy can be noted within this particular cluster: “société”, “nous”, “defend” all recall separatist and militant terminology (terminology that was previously used to fight another “Other”, the Anglophones within Québec and Canada at large that were the PQ’s target during the 60-70s leading up to the first referendum, and again in the mid-1990s leading up to the second referendum).

14 http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/Quebec/2008/05/27/003-ligne_accommodements.shtml

1-800-accommodements

Mise à jour le mardi 27 mai 2008 à 10 h 41 HAE | Radio-Canada avec La Presse Canadienne



Recommander



Partager



Dans la foulée du dépôt du rapport Bouchard-Taylor, le gouvernement du Québec a confié à la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse le mandat de mettre sur pied une ligne téléphonique d'information sur les accommodements raisonnables.

Le gouvernement du Québec souhaite créer une ligne 1-800 pour aider les enseignants, fonctionnaires et commerçants à solutionner les questions d'accommodements raisonnables qui se posent au quotidien.

(archives)

Selon ce qu'a appris La Presse canadienne (PC), la Commission doit regrouper une équipe d'avocats et de spécialistes pour offrir ce service d'ici la fin du mois de juin. Les sources gouvernementales consultées par la PC n'ont pas révélé le coût de ce nouveau service ni le nombre de personnes qui y travailleront.

« L'idée, c'est d'aborder les demandes au cas par cas, en informant les gestionnaires, tant du secteur public que du privé, de même que l'ensemble des citoyens, de leurs droits et obligations en matière d'accommodements raisonnables. Les conseillers seront en mesure d'offrir un éclairage précis et au cas par cas sur ce qui est raisonnable et sur ce qui est déraisonnable », a déclaré une source proche du dossier à la PC.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image; cluster 3: verbal caption; cluster 4 bolded excerpt in full-text article	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-This fictional number uses a stylistic effect (a rhyming technique) to engage the reader. Though the effect is tongue-in-cheek, it could be argued that it somewhat trivializes the repercussions of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. The fact that citizens would require an official hotline post-Commission in order to negotiate accommodations indicates that the social <i>malaise</i> with regards to cultural and religious accommodation persists (i.e. citizens unable to figure out for themselves what constitutes reasonable or unreasonable accommodation practices, or, more importantly, what constitutes illegal or legal practices).
Super-cluster 2: static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Since the headline uses a phone number (or plays on the idea of a hotline), a ‘neutral’ object could have been chosen to translate the verbal text, e.g. a phone, a number keypad, a hotline operator, etc.). Instead, the recurrent theme of cultural alterity is once again the default visual content: three men wearing turbans are depicted. The effect is once more an equation/conflation of “accommodation” and “immigrants”/ “cultural Others”. The turbans also work to evoke <i>past</i> debates (e.g. the case involving the kirpah) pertaining to accommodation practices, suggesting that it is the <i>same</i> groups that are causing or part of the accommodation debate/problem. -The beards, dark clothing, and lack of direct gaze are all compositional elements that serve to distance the reader from the represented group.
Cluster 3: verbal caption	-The use of the word “(archives)” is significant: it suggests that the editor or journalist (or any other agent involved in the image selection process) chose this picture from a corpus of archived photographs/images. As such, the selection was not arbitrary. This calls into question the agent’s ethics and journalism ethics (and by extension translation ethics): the use of a specific photograph or image that is ‘loaded’ with culturally, socially and politically-charged content can frame the viewer’s and reader’s interpretation. These questions must be considered when selecting visual content. Here, it would appear there was <i>intent</i> to focalize on a particular cultural group.

LCN

1 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070113-074547.html>

NATIONAL

Enquête TVA - *Le Journal de Montréal*
Les Québécois sont-ils racistes?

Première publication 13 janvier 2007 à 07h45
Mise à jour : 13 janvier 2007 à 07h49



Crédit photo : LCN



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image (extract from video)	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Here, like other examples in the corpus, the use of the rhetorical question is used to engage the readers/viewers. However, the rhetorical question also functions as a leading question, implying (whether intentionally or not) that Québécois are racist. However, the use of visuals that portray a “threatening” Other usually works to attenuate the accusation.
Super-cluster 2: static visual (excerpted from video but used as static visual image on web page)	-The men wearing turbans exit a building; context is unclear without watching the video (which presumably not all readers/viewers will do). Though they wear “Western” garments, their turbans immediately set them apart from the onlookers located at the left of the picture. -The facial features of the men are obscured by beard and dark glasses or shading (light saturation), thus playing on a colour scheme that evokes ‘darkness’ and ‘stranger’. The fact that none of them directly into the camera also furthers the distancing between the represented participants and the viewers. -Interesting to note that though the headline references the in-group (“Québécois”), it is the out-group that is represented in the static visual image.

2 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070115-130256.html>

NATIONAL

Enquête sur la tolérance

Un résultat qui ne surprend pas les Québécois

Première publication 15 janvier 2007 à 13h02



2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: verbal headline	-Euphemism/equation of “reasonable accommodation” and “tolérance” (tolerance). -Un résultat – suggests another poll has been conducted though it’s not immediately clear from the headline what the poll or survey was about specifically. -Québécois acts again as the <i>subject</i> of the poll (i.e. they answer) while ‘Others’ are the object (depicted in the static visual image, but also the ‘object’ about which Québécois are polled).
↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	
Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-As with other corpus examples that usually default into using one of three “token” ‘Others’ (the veiled Muslim woman, the Indian man, the Hassidic Jewish man), this static visual depicts a Hassidic man walking down the street. His facial features are hidden and his gaze does not meet the reader’s/viewer’s (distancing). -The dark colour of his garments also serve to connote a sense of ‘darkness’ and ‘threat’ (even though these colours likely have a religious symbolic value within the Hassidic community).

3 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070115-214553.html>

NATIONAL

Les Québécois se disent racistes
La faute de l'actualité?

Première publication 15 janvier 2007 à 21h45

1

En video

2

Crédit photo : LCN

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Assertion that Québécois describe themselves as being “racist” (here the part of speech is significant; there is a slight nuance between using the adjectival racist to describe a group as opposed to using the plural noun—the latter suggesting that individual Québécois are racists (the nuance between the use of an adjectival which suggests a <i>description or trait</i> versus a fundamental <i>assertion</i>, i.e. “We are” vs. “we’d describe ourselves as). Though this may seem innocuous, it isn’t: the ability to speak and qualify oneself is indicative of an underlying power dynamic. Note that the in-group gets to speak for <i>itself</i> and assert itself, even if the comments are negative. The “Other” or out-group cannot always do this, and is rarely provided the editorial voice to do so.
Super-cluster 2: static visual image (excerpted from video and used in full-text article on web page)	-Much like other examples drawn from the LCN website, though Québécois are the subject of the headline, they are rarely the <i>object</i> of the static visual image. -A ‘token’ figure of alterity is once again used as the default stand-in for the out-group. -The composition of this particular image is quite different from other corpus examples. Here, the viewer is positioned below the represented participant, which creates a visual angle that creates a spatial asymmetry. For an in-group viewer/reader that would tend to associate themselves with the group described in the headline, the composition creates a role reversal that instills further <i>malaise</i>. The spatial hierarchy may connote the idea that Others are gaining some sort of symbolic power; that they constitute a legitimate threat; and that they are intimidating because they are different. -The traditional Muslim dress, though white, serves as a distinctive feature that may further distance a local audience. -Islamic religious symbols also serve to contextualize the image

4 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070115-075156.html>

NATIONAL

Enquête sur la tolérance

Six Québécois sur 10 admettent être racistes!

Première publication 15 janvier 2007 à 07h51



Crédit photo : LCN



En vidéo



1

2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Playing on a similar theme that is recurrent within the corpus (particularly in the examples drawn from the LCN corpus), this polling of Québécois, suggests the headline, indicates that 60 % (“six sur 10”) would describe themselves as “racist”. -Lexical choice “tolérance” instead of “accommodation” or “intégration” (implicit idea that immigrants/Others are to be “tolerated” vs. “accommodated”). -headlines of this nature play into two narratives: on the one hand, a narrative that continues to purport in-group/out-group dichotomy; and on the other hand, a narrative that continues to place fear at the center of the debate (Québécois fearful of ‘threatening’ Others/Others fearful of ‘racist’ Québécois)
Super-cluster 2: static visual image (excerpted from video and used as static visual image on web page)	-Just as the headline oscillates between two narratives, the image is equally ambiguous. Is the woman (individual represented participant) depicted covering her face with her hand because she is scared? (Her eyes appear to be fearful, looking out diagonally though not directly to the viewer/reader; she also seems to be protecting children that stand almost outside of the frame). Or, is she a figure of ‘Otherness’ that should be feared – hidden face (hidden identity/facial features) ties in with uneasiness/apprehension Québécois seem to express towards Islamic faith and traditional Islamic dress (including the Muslim headscarf)? -Implicit verbal/visual equation between racism in Québec context and Muslim communities/individuals

5 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070116-141144.html>

1

Enquête sur la tolérance

«Les Québécois ne sont pas plus racistes que les autres»

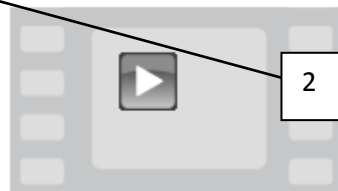
Première publication 16 janvier 2007 à 14h11



Crédit photo : LCN



En vidéo



2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-Another headline that discusses Québécois racist tendencies. In this case, this headline stands in contrast to some of the previous examples in which declarative sentences, polling and survey statistics, as well as rhetorical questions all served to assert that Québécois are racist or express racist tendencies, as it cites a direct quote (presumably from an interviewed 'expert') that suggests Québécois may indeed be racist (no claim to suggest otherwise), but that they aren't any worse than other groups (though the specific groups are not mentioned).
Super-cluster 2: static visual image (excerpted from video and used as static visual image on web page)	-Though racism is a recurrent thematic trend in the corpus, generally the cultural and religious groups (micro-cultures) represented in the visuals were either of Judaic, Muslim or Hindu faith. This particular visual differs in that, for the first time in the corpus, a Black man constitutes the represented participant. This recalls some of the debates of the 1980s, in which Blacks were often stigmatized and associated to violence and crime. In this particular case, the represented participant seems to be lending his voice as an authority as opposed to being represented as a perpetrator. Though this can be construed as a positive way of contextualizing the man, it should be noted that the quote essentially implies that micro-cultures are <i>still</i> often discriminated against and that Québécois do not <i>fare better or worse</i>. -The represented individual is given credibility and agency compositionally by being the central focal point of the visual image, by being identifiable (facial features and traits can easily be seen by the viewer), his dress (tie, jacket, clean-cut, etc.) seems to connote that he is a professional/figure of authority or cultural/community leader—incidentally, though there is no caption to indicate his title, the represented man is in fact Dan Philips of the Black Coalition of Québec¹³⁸. This representation thus works against visual narratives that may have been internalized by audiences that have come accustomed to seeing Black males as loosely associated with a perceived escalation of violent acts.

¹³⁸ Conseil d'administration. (2011) La Ligue des Noirs. Retrieved from <http://www.liguedesnoirs.org/>

6 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070117-223058.html>

NATIONAL

Sondage

Les Québécois disent non aux accommodements

Première publication 17 janvier 2007 à 22h30



Crédit photo : LCN

En vidéo



2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline	-In this headline, though the theme of the poll is again present, the subject has been reframed from forthright accusations of racism or racist tendencies to the euphemized “disent non aux accommodements”. Ultimately, the premise is the same, but the wording is attenuated (instead of the words “racisme” or “racistes”, the word “accommodements” is used which is in fact a decontextualized antonym).
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image ↕ <i>intersemiotic translation</i>	-As with many other examples, instead of representing ‘token’ Québécois participants, the visual frames a group of generalized participants: veiled Muslim women. Their individual features are not easily decipherable, but what are clearly represented are their headscarves. Once more, the juxtaposition of the Muslim headscarf with the word “accommodement” cements the idea that reasonable accommodation often has to do with allowing the Muslim veil and ‘accommodating’ participants from this particular religious micro-culture. For the Québécois viewer who initially did not associate headscarves with reasonable accommodation, this type of verbal/visual repetition serves to create a link between the two signs. In other words, the visual translation for “reasonable accommodation” becomes “Muslim headscarf”, even though there is not explicit mention of this equation either in the headline or in the visual image. -Compositionally, the number of participants also conveys meaning. Again, an isolated individual may suggest less of a threat to the in-group, whereas several participants suggest the threat is ‘multiplying’ (accompanied by implicit idea of invasion, dominance, overtaking, etc.)

7 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070117-201614.html>

NATIONAL

Médias et police Les immigrants disent ne pas être traités également

Première publication 17 janvier 2007 à 20h16



1

2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-The use of the word “immigrant” provides an immediate verbal framing of the visual image, despite it not being part of a caption. -The headline explicitly states that immigrants feel that they are being unfairly treated (presumably compared to their Québécois counterparts).
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-Published only a day after another corpus example depicting a Black man, this visual, unlike the former example, unfortunately uses signs that can be easily linked to stereotypical narratives associating Black men (especially youth) to crime (e.g. “the criminal black man” stereotype¹³⁹). The headline does indeed suggest that this framing is somewhat unfair (or at least the immigrants cited claim that the treatment towards them is unfair). However, the visual doesn’t help to attenuate assumptions and stereotypes. -For one, the juxtaposition of the headline (particularly the word “immigrant”) and the visual of handcuffed Black man suggests that the represented participant is indeed an immigrant. This, however, may not be the case. Black micro-cultures are not necessarily immigrants and many Black individuals have been born and raised in Québec. Unfortunately, this type of image purports that Black individuals are also part of the “immigrants” that should be feared and that should not be accommodated (or, that they are part of the immigrants that are supposedly incessantly requesting accommodations), whether or not this is factually accurate. -Moreover, the represented individual is not given visual agency; he is decontextualized, the viewer cannot see his facial features or distinguishable traits. In other words, he is a faceless ‘Other’ to be accused of committing a crime.

¹³⁹ Though these stereotypes were mostly born out of the media coverage of American inner city crime, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, the images and stereotypes likely resonate in a Canadian context as well; case in point, the static visual image used in the corpus example acts as one tangible illustration in a Canadian context. The concept of “Black criminal man” is explained in more depth by Katheryn Russel-Brown (Russell-Brown, Katheryn. (2008)).

8 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070117-080246.html>

NATIONAL

1

Enquête sur la tolérance

Les Québécois sont accueillants envers les immigrants

Première publication 17 janvier 2007 à 08h02



Crédit photo : LCN



En vidéo



2

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-Unlike the examples in which polling results suggest otherwise, in this example, Québécois are said to be 'welcoming' ("accueillants") towards immigrants. Though largely a positively connoted assertion, it should be noted that this headline serves to reinforce the idea that <i>immigrant</i> micro-cultures are the majority asking for accommodation and tolerance, even though the legal concept of accommodation extends to all Canadian citizens and residents. So while the initial reading of the headline may connote a positive relationship between in-group/out-group micro-cultures, a closer reading reveals the headline still places at odds immigrants and Québécois (as though Québécois being welcoming is something warranting a headline, i.e. something that is unexpected or unanticipated, or what the 'Nous' feels is a given needed to be repeated), and homogenizes both groups (though it is possible that some immigrants are in fact now Québécois).
Super-cluster 2: Static Visual Image	-The static visual image depicts a group of young participants. These youths are all male and appear to be non-Caucasian (difficult to decipher given the blurred facial features, lack of direct gaze and baseball caps). The central focus of the composition is created by a triad of men: two Black youths and what appears to be an officer (who incidentally is also Black, subverting the usual stereotype of the Black man as criminal). Because the image is decontextualized asides from the verbal headline, the viewer cannot glean the motives behind or explain the officer's presence and discussion with the two young men. Perhaps, in reality, the officer is asking the youths rather banal questions. However, because this visual possesses many visual cues from the "Black criminal man" narrative, the viewer may already assume that the two Black men are involved with some sort of criminal activity. -The use of this static image to translate the verbal headline is unfortunate as it diminishes the positive undertones of the verbal headlines. It serves, in other words, to reaffirm and disseminate more visual content associated to the "black criminal man" narrative/stereotype, simultaneously contributing to the notion of an 'Other' that should be feared by Québécois (or in-group members).

9 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/01/20070118-102601.html>

NATIONAL

Enquête exclusive

Dans la peau d'une femme voilée

Première publication 18 janvier 2007 à 10h26



En video



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-As part of an investigative journalism segment, a feature headline reads: “Dans la peau d’une femme voilée”. Denotatively, the idea is that the reporter is trying to <i>understand</i> the ‘Other’ by ‘walking in their shoes’. Paradoxically, contextually, the reporter is not asking veiled Muslim women to speak for themselves; rather, the reporter has donned a veil and is seeking to understand the ‘Other’ on her terms. This recalls the dynamic explored by Gayatri Spivak in <i>Can the Subaltern Speak?</i> (1988) in which she discusses the agency of the ‘Other’¹⁴⁰ and their ability to speak <i>for</i> themselves. The headline is thus misleading; a viewer might expect to hear the voice of the ‘Other’; rather, this voice is obscured and filtered through a mediator: the reporter who is likely framing the portrayal based on any number of parameters (bias of the news outlet; sensationalism to stir viewer interest/reactions; etc.) that may or may not coincide with the ‘Other’s’ actual <i>experience</i>. -The use of “femme voilée” is probing as it avoids qualifying both the woman and the veil as being related to Islamic faith (e.g. Muslim woman/Muslim headscarf). -“Femme voilée” becomes a verbal collocation associated with reasonable accommodations and the “debate on tolerance”; again, conflation of accommodation requests and Muslims (particularly <i>veiled</i> Muslim women). The juxtaposition of verbal clusters “femme voilée” and “accommodements raisonnables” further cement the association. -Veil Muslim woman becomes a curiosity; something to be understood (an object vs. a subject).
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-The verbal headline also appears in the static visual image, however, the punctuation changes. Though this shift is slight, the exclamation mark adds a layer of meaning: it connotes the exclusive and unusual nature of such coverage. -The reporter, central in the composition, is easily recognizable (distinguishable facial features, gaze facing outward, directly towards viewer/reader). For audience members familiar with TVA’s reporting team, they can immediately recognize that this woman is Julie Marcoux, a Québécois reporter, dressed as a Muslim woman (presumably Marcoux is not Muslim). She is wearing a veil in the context of a one-week investigative piece on what it is like to be a “femme voilée”. -Marcoux wears a black veil and other dark garments, which seems to indicate that she relied on the stereotype of ‘dark dress’ usually associated with some religious micro-cultures (comparatively, most veiled women in the corpus wear veils of various colours and fabrics). -Implied is the notion that a reporter can just “put on” a veil and “become” the ‘Other’. This undermines the fact that the

¹⁴⁰ Spivak, Gayatri. (1988) “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, London: Macmillan.

Super-cluster 2 (continued from previous page)	veil is associated with a spiritual/religious belief and extracts it from its original context. To suppose that an educated, Caucasian, Canadian, and Québécois woman (Julie Marcoux) can simply wear a veil and <i>understand</i> the 'Other's' plight, beliefs and spirituality is grossly misleading to the audience. It trivializes the 'Other's' cultural practices. In other words, the in-group appropriates as it sees fit (for instance, to garner more ratings and viewership; to sensationalize), without giving genuine interest to the roots and traditions that inform these cultural and religious practices. -Marcoux's smile is enigmatic: is she smiling because she is enjoying 'impersonating' the 'Other'? Is it because her experience has been positive? -If Marcoux's composition is contrasted with other depictions of veiled Muslim women in the corpus, it is important to note that their visual agency is completely different. Marcoux figures centrally, she engages her viewers/readers by facing the camera directly, and her stance is assertive. Comparatively, the other veiled women tend to be presented in groups (i.e. they aren't individualized), their facial features or eyes turned away from the viewer or they are not the central focal point of the composition. In other words, visual salience is granted on a sort of hierarchy associated with social status, professional status and in-group belonging. Julie Marcoux, even though she is veiled in this picture, possesses more symbolic and visual agency than other veiled women, simply because her veil is performative as opposed to effectively being part of her cultural or religious practices.
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10 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/lcn/infos/regional/archives/2007/11/20071113-221807.html>

RÉGIONS

Commission Bouchard-Taylor Les Lavallois de religion musulmane sont inquiets

Première publication 13 novembre 2007 à 22h18



En vidéo



Écoutez les explications de
Mathieu Belhumeur.

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-Instead of “tolérance” and “accommodements raisonnables”, the first appearance of the Commission occurs in this headline (TVA corpus) -In other corpus examples, the verbal content usually juxtaposes in-group and out-group signs. This example runs counter to the trend by placing “Lavallois” (an in-group reference) next to “religion musulmane” (an out-group reference). This indicates to the reader that some citizens are actually <i>hybrids</i>¹⁴¹, which disrupts and subverts other narratives pertaining to Muslims and immigrants in Québec (i.e. that Muslims cannot be Lavallois, or Québécois; rather, they are ‘Other’). -The use of the word “inquiets” warrants analysis. When this term is used for in-group members, it usually refers to an inherent <i>fear</i> of the ‘Other’, whereas when “inquiets” is used for out-group micro-cultures, it is usually because there has been an actual threat to their safety (cf. the corpus example that cites violence against Jewish people and communities) or because they worry about mounting <i>intolerance</i> towards them. The question then is about <i>threat perception</i>, which isn’t the same for in-group and out-group micro-cultures.
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-Here, it can be presumed that the represented participant is Muslim based on the information provided in the headline. Interestingly, in this case, the ‘Other’ is given a voice (he holds a microphone and he features prominently at the center of the composition). His facial features are distinguishable and he lacks any of the stereotypical religious markers or cultural markers usually associated with Islamic faith/Muslims (i.e. traditional dress, dark clothing, beard/facial hair, religious symbols of any kind, etc.). -His visual salience marks a contrast with other corpus examples. It should be noted his ability to speak is thanks to the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (explicitly mentioned in the verbal headline). As it is possible to note throughout the corpus, rarely are ‘Others’ given the chance to speak on their own behalf; they are often represented as bystanders.

¹⁴¹ Bhabha, Homi K. (1994)

11 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/sports/nouvelles/archives/2007/05/20070511-073509.html>

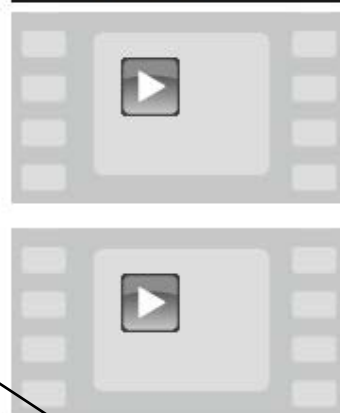
SPORTS

Mondiaux de taekwondo à Québec Le hidjab accepté en compétition

Première publication 11 mai 2007 à 07h35



En vidéo



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-Headline uses the word “hidjab” instead of “voile” (or any of its derivatives); perhaps this is because of the context (official institutional decision in sport) that warranted precise terminology. -The lexical choice “accepté”, though likely also chosen because of institutional ruling, has implications: there is a semantic difference between something being ‘tolerated’ and something being ‘accepted’.
Super-cluster 2: static visual image	-Strangely, even though the word “hidjab” is featured prominently in headline and even though it is one of the key words pertaining to this particular news story, the image does not represent any veiled Muslim women, whether centrally or peripherally. It could be argued that as with other corpus examples, though the ‘Other’ is referred to, he or she or they are not represented or given visual agency. This works to ‘silence’ the ‘Other’ by not granting them the same visual presence and salience as other in-group members.

12 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2008/01/20080121-114655.html>

NATIONAL

Accommodements raisonnables
Tolérants, mais pas tous...

Première publication 21 janvier 2008 à 11h46



1

2

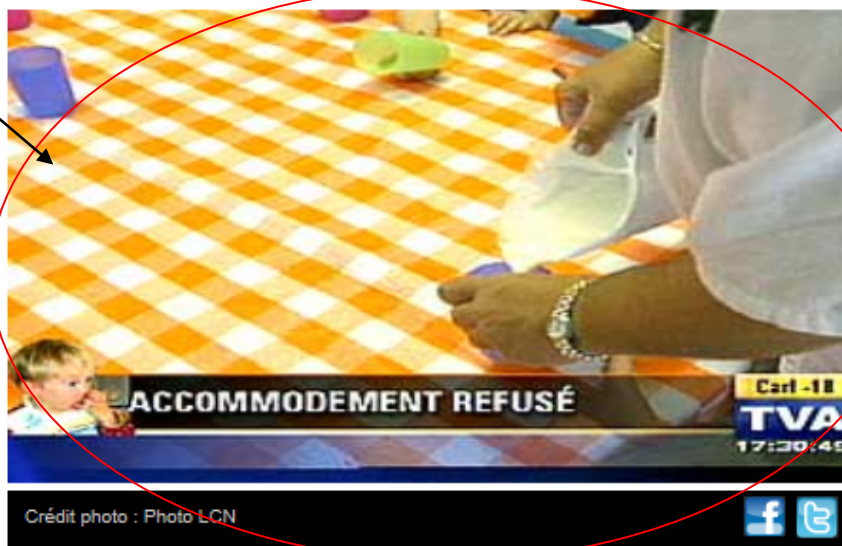
Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal Headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-Pairing of collocation “accommodements raisonnables” and “tolérants” functions to position the debate surrounding accommodation practices as an issue of “tolerability” and “tolerance”. -The headline suggests that some people are tolerant while others not, but it’s not explicitly clear who the referents are in each case. However, by inference and based on a reading of previous corpus examples, it would be reasonable to posit that while Québécois are “tolérants”, some aren’t (i.e. the “racists” or those who manifested racist tendencies from the polls/surveys). -The ellipsis functions to engage reader by implying that more information will follow/that this is not the whole story.
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-The question may be asked: “What are Québécois tolerating?” The answer is provided in visuals such as these. In this composition, two Hassidic men appear centrally (focal point). They wear traditional dark clothing and have beards. The dark clothing and facial hair are even more contrasted due to the light concentration created with the juxtaposition of the white snow in the picture. -Hassidic Jews constitute another ‘token’ out-group, often used to illustrate which group needs to be tolerated or accommodated. -The men are decontextualized (it is not clear what actions they are carrying out), and as such, seem to be standing around, passively (no action vectors are present; their gazes do not seem to converge towards a specific point). It is thus impossible to ascribe positive social attributes that may attenuate stereotypes and assumptions normally associated with this particular micro-culture.

13 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2008/01/20080125-194646.html>

NATIONAL

Accommodements raisonnables Un CPE de Montréal refuse de modifier son menu

Première publication 25 janvier 2008 à 19h46



En vidéo



Regardez le reportage d'Yves Poirier. Partie 1.



Regardez le reportage d'Yves

Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline ↕ <i>Intersemiotic translation</i>	-The juxtaposition of the collocation “Accommodements raisonnables” and the latter part of the headline, “Un CPE de Montréal refuse de modifier son menu”, frames the actual event in a new light. Whereas food intolerances and allergies are often part of health policy and educational policy discussions¹⁴², they are now being discussed in the context of cultural accommodation. In other words, the reader is left to infer that in a childcare center, someone made a request that had to do with food-related cultural or religious accommodation. This shifts the focus away from a health perspective to a debate on cultural and religious practices, which are often framed in a very negative light. From the headline alone, it is not clear who is asking for accommodation (unclear grammatical referent), but it is clear that it will not be accommodated by the CPE (<i>centre de la petite enfance</i>), which is likely (in the Québec context) comprised of in-group childhood educators. Presumably, based on the fact that reasonable accommodations have usually been framed by the media as being demanded (emphasis here on the word ‘demand’ versus a more neutral lexical choice) by immigrants or minority micro-cultures, and based on the fact that this type of assumption has been recycled into public narratives on the topic of reasonable accommodation, an in-group reader/viewer might <i>automatically</i> infer that the request is being placed by an out-group member without there ever being an explicit reference in the verbal cluster.
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image + cluster: verbal text (“accommodement refuse”)	-The visual does not elucidate the headline’s referents (i.e. the subjects of who is asking/who wasn’t accommodated). The orange tablecloth and various cups indicate that the non-represented participants are about to share a meal or snack. The only food item that can be clearly identified is a bag of milk. A food intolerance generally associated to milk is lactose intolerance. Milk and lactose intolerance are usually not part of the list of food items and intolerances associated with religious or cultural beliefs (to the exception of those who have a vegan diet, but this does not seem to be cited or part of

¹⁴² Health Canada has issued an official press release on the topic of food allergies in the classroom: “Reminding Parents of School Lunch Allergen Safety” http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/ahc-asc/media/advisories-avis/_2011/2011_118-eng.php Retrieved 22 Oct. 2012.

Super-cluster 2 (continued from previous page)	the discourse). The visual would have probably been more provocative had it depicted a particular food associated with a very particular cultural or religious micro-group. -However, at the bottom left of the composition, there is the face of a small, Caucasian child. The participant is decontextualized and is not part of the tablecloth/meal time visual cluster (in other words, this child's face could be considered a cluster in and of itself; however, the visual salience is far less prominent, so I have chosen to include it within the visual super-cluster). The child's face juxtaposed with the words "accommodements refusés" could be interpreted using two different narrative strategies: • It is possible to infer that the accommodation request was in fact made by an in-group member (the supposedly homogenous and Caucasian Québécois parents) and that it was refused (verbal cluster), thus creating a potential problem for the Caucasian child; OR • It is possible to infer that the accommodation request was made by out-group members (supposedly insistent religious and cultural out-group members/micro-cultures) and that it impacted, in some way or another, the represented child, and, that for whatever reason, it had to be/was refused (verbal cluster). In both narrative scenarios, it is important to note that by positioning reasonable accommodation within the childhood classroom (particularly by emphasizing formative years using the visual trope of the child), the debate takes a shift from something that would potentially only affect adults to something that has social consequences for small children and their education. -This example is also one of the only ones in the corpus to position children and youth as part of the debate, to the exception of the debate pertaining to the <i>hidjab</i> in sport (in which young, teenage girls were the narrative actants). This is interesting, because the question of legacy and heritage was a prominent point of discussion during the citizen forums.
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14 <http://tvanouvelles.ca/infos/national/archives/2007/02/20070206-160252.html>

NATIONAL

Accommodements raisonnables

Un sujet délicat pour une campagne électorale

Première publication 6 février 2007 à 16h02



Crédit photo : LCN



En vidéo



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 verbal headline prominent; super-cluster 2 static visual image	
Super-cluster 1: Verbal headline	-This particular headline fuses the political, the social and the cultural. The reader can contextualize the referent of “sujet délicat” thanks to the thematic descriptor presented over the main headline (“accommodements raisonnables”). As such, it is relatively easy for the reader to equate: “sujet délicat” = “accommodements raisonnables”. Furthermore, the reader can infer that this “hot topic” can also have a direct bearing on a political campaign (second part of the headline: “pour une campagne électorale”). The “campagne électorale” refers to circulating rumours in early Feb. 2007 that Premier Jean Charest was about to call a provincial election in spring 2007¹⁴³. In this way, Premier Charest was quite strategic in launching a formal Commission related to accommodation practices just prior to calling an election. All of these contextual parameters serve to further contextualize reasonable accommodations as a point of political and social contention, as a political and electoral ‘hot topic’, and as an urgent need for “multicultural management” in Québec (which, more or less, can be equated to finding ways of ‘dealing with’ immigrants and ‘Others’).
Super-cluster 2: Static visual image	-Though the represented participant is identifiable (Gurbaj Singh Multani)—central in the composition and facing outwards towards the viewer (facial traits are distinguishable)—his presence only serves to illustrate a token ‘Other’. There is no indication in the verbal headline that references Multani or his case specifically; thus, for those who might be unfamiliar with both the participant and his specific case (encyclopaedic and cultural baggage of LCN viewership/audience), he simply looks like ‘any other immigrant’ – dark features, token religious or cultural accessory/dress to illustrate foreignness, indirect gaze, beard, dark skin. The viewer may thus infer: reasonable accommodation = contentious political issue = largely because of immigrants as depicted in visual image. Here again, visual elements serve to help the reader/viewer <i>translate</i> and interpret certain implicit meanings connoted in the verbal text.

¹⁴³ The official campaign was called on February 21 2007 (CBC News. “Quebec election set for March 26” <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/quebecvotes2007/story/2007/02/21/charest-election-070221.html?ref=rss> Retrieved 22 Oct. 2012.). Speculation began early February 2007.

MAC

Though one of the corpus criteria was that content needed to be web-based, I deemed the two following *Maclean's* covers to be quite compelling in terms of analyzing the intersemiotic translation of verbal discourses and visual discourses on reasonable accommodation. Though these two examples are in fact printed covers of the magazine, they can equally be found online on a number of platforms, including the official *Maclean's* website, but also on more informal, social media platforms. For example, using the social photo-sharing site *Flickr*, some users have uploaded electronic scans of the *Maclean's* covers over the years; in fact, *Maclean's* even has its own photostream¹⁴⁴. So while it is correct that these texts are not web pages *per se*, they have been disseminated online, in multimodal and multisemiotic contexts. Furthermore, I would suggest that it is worthwhile to include examples that originate from a national, English-language media outlet, thus providing commentary/insight from yet another Canadian perspective (as opposed to analyzing Québécois content exclusively).

Though the focal point of these analyses is not to address the discrepancies or the commonalities between French- and English-language content, this is not to say that such nuances don't exist. As Fairclough (2001) indicates, verbal language is an essential tool in the construction of shared representations between individuals, groups, businesses and institutions. Fairclough, however, does not address the ideological differences *between* different verbal languages explicitly; rather, he emphasizes the potential for verbal languages to either support or resist what he calls the "new world order" (pp. 204-205). Undoubtedly, language plays a paramount role in circulating information and knowledge and the critical

¹⁴⁴ *Maclean's Magazine Photostream* http://www.flickr.com/photos/macleans_magazine/ Retrieved 22 October 2012.

discourse analysis framework used in this dissertation attempts to directly speak to this point. That said, studying the ideological differences between English and French verbal texts (a study that would undoubtedly be relevant in the context of a Descriptive Translation Studies project) falls outside the scope of this dissertation's structure. Rather, I wish to emphasize the relationships between verbal and visual texts. In future research, the differences between verbal languages could be addressed.



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 static visual image; cluster 2 Bolded and large-front verbal text/headline (“Do Immigrants Need Rules?”); cluster 3 caption “A Tiny Quebec Town Ignites a National Debate on the Limits of Tolerance”)	
Super-cluster 1: Static visual image	-The composition of the <i>Maclean's</i> cover varies from the composition found on the corpus' other web pages; in the examples drawn from the <i>RCAN</i>, <i>CBC</i> and <i>LCN</i> corpora, the clusters were rarely depicted or compositionally arranged in a concentric fashion, which is, in fact, the case here. The reading trajectory thus varies: with a linear composition (<i>RCAN</i>, <i>CBC</i>, and <i>LCN</i> examples), a reader must proceed from cluster to cluster to interpret the overall message (i.e. all of the content on the web page). A concentric composition organizes all clusters in such a way that all the information becomes central and thus “presented as the nucleus of information” (thus, the other ‘peripheral’ elements, such as the top banner, become secondary or almost invisible to the viewer/reader) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:177 and 196). In other words, intersemiotic translation is even more <i>obvious</i> in a case like this one because the visual and verbal clusters (or ‘syntagms’, according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s terminology) are superimposed rather than juxtaposed; said otherwise, the visual and verbal clusters exist in a symbiotic relationship, and mutually translate each other to produce a <i>third</i> iteration of textual meaning (the first = visual alone; the second = verbal headline/caption alone). -Unlike the veiled Muslim women represented by the other news outlets, <i>Maclean's</i> veiled woman is not represented as a passive participant: her gaze is directly focused outwards,

Super-cluster 1 (continued from previous page)	towards the viewer. Her look is almost defiant, countering the assumed norm that Muslim women are inherently subservient to men¹⁴⁵ (a characteristic that is then projected onto these women as an inherent trait). The visual narrative can thus be interpreted in two ways (if the verbal text is ignored): on the one hand, the viewer can infer that Muslim women are simply seeking the same kind of empowerment and agency as their North American female counterparts; on the other hand, this visual utilizes many of the fear markers present in the visuals that represented <i>male</i> participants in the rest of the corpora. As such, for a reader that associates the veil (cultural alterity marker/'threat of Islam'), dark-coloured or black clothing ('darkness') and a defiant gaze ('rebellious') as markers of a threatening 'Other', this woman serves to represent precisely that: a threat to domestic micro-cultures/in-group. Paradoxically, by giving a Muslim woman visual coverage as opposed to a man, <i>Maclean's</i> is (inadvertently?) giving 'the token veiled woman' agency.
Cluster 2: Verbal Headline "Do Immigrants Need Rules?"	-The verbal headline immediately guides the reader's narrative choice; it is highly unlikely that, with such a verbal translation of the visual super-cluster, a reader would be tempted to interpret the represented participant as "<i>empowered</i>"; instead, the viewer/reader will likely defer to the second narrative, that is "the defiant Other" in perhaps need of "rules". As with other verbal clusters in the <i>CBC</i>, <i>RCAN</i>, and <i>LCN</i> corpora, the use of a leading question functions on two discursive and semiotic levels: 1) the use of the rhetorical question engages the reader to answer the question for him/herself (and by choosing to represent a 'defiant Other' that contradicts the 'Muslim woman as submissive' myth, the reader/viewer may consciously or unconsciously default into answering affirmatively without doing any further reading to guide their decision); 2) the use of the word "immigrant" categorizes the represented participant, suggesting, implicitly, that all veiled women not only need rules (which, incidentally plays into the submissive narrative decried by so many women), but that they are all immigrants (which is not necessarily the case, given that many first and second-wave immigrants have Canadian-born

¹⁴⁵ "Female subservience as an essential Muslim characteristic is a myth. (Kahn, Sheema. "Muslim Men: Stop blaming women." *The Globe and Mail (Online edition)* 11 Sept. 2012 <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/muslim-men-stop-blaming-women/article4533925/> Retrieved 10 Oct. 2012.

This sentiment is also expressed by Muslim women through social media outlets (i.e. Muslim women speaking for themselves, as agents—not subjects or objects—of the discourses that represents them); of particular relevance is the an example drawn from the blog *New Muslim(ah) Walking Around*, which is written by a Canadian convert to Islam. Cervantes, the blog's author, writes: "It is not difficult to notice that within both Muslim and non-Muslim circles the idea of the Muslim woman as a subservient wife is still prevalent. On the one hand, Muslim women are perceived as weak, oppressed and incapable subjects. (E. Cervantes (2011, May 13) We, Muslim Women, as the Subservient Wives: Converting to Islam and Fighting the Assumed Gender-Roles [web log comment].

	children who have reached the age of majority; as such, it is plausible that a Canadian-born Muslim woman is in fact the represented participant on this cover). In other words, the use of “immigrant” further translates the visual cluster, adding another level of connotation: immigrants = veiled Muslim woman = who need rules.
cluster 3 caption “A Tiny Quebec Town Ignites a National Debate on the Limits of Tolerance”)	-Referent of “Tiny Quebec Town” = Hérouxville. It is likely that the editors (or whichever agent in charge of the formatting of the magazine cover) chose to modulate and use “Tiny Quebec Town” so as to help a national audience locate the origin of the debate. Furthermore, the term is derogatory (small town = small-minded). -The lexical choice of “ignites” further frames the visual; though a usual collocation of “debate”, “ignites” implies a heightened level of urgency and tension. A more “neutral” term could have been “start”, for example. -“the limits of tolerance” infers “the limits of reasonable accommodation”; throughout the corpus, the lexical choice “tolerance” has often been used as a non-legal synonym for “reasonable accommodation”. “Limits” also ties in with the idea that there are in fact limits/boundaries that can be or can’t be crossed; a ‘defiant Other’ suggests that immigrants have gone beyond tolerated limits when it comes to acceptable cultural and religious practices.



Trajectory: Super-cluster 1 static visual; cluster 2: verbal headline “VEILS”; cluster 3 headline caption “Who are we to judge”	
Super-cluster 1: Static visual	-In this visual, two represented participants are depicted: on the left, what seems to be a veiled Muslim woman (since we cannot know with undeniable certainty whether this woman is <i>truly</i> a devout Muslim, nor can we identify whether she is effectively an immigrant, i.e. an ‘Other’. She could very well be a Canadian-born convert or simply a model posing in costume). And, on the right, a Caucasian woman who appears (one could presume, entirely) naked, to the exception of a censure bar that appears over her eyes (to preserve anonymity, presumably) Again, it is difficult to pinpoint this woman’s origin; though she is Caucasian, she could very well be an immigrant and may not even be a Canadian citizen; interestingly, we as viewers are likely to associate her with the in-group solely because she ‘looks’ familiar to what is often represented as ‘Canadian’. Both women are equally salient, but the oblique, sideways glance of the veiled woman on the left creates a reading trajectory (the glance creates directionality in terms of the composition) which the reader will likely follow. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest that information value can be ascribed to the compositional position of visual clusters (in the terminology of Baldry and Thibault)/visual syntagms (in Kress and van Leeuwen’s terminology). Generally speaking, clusters positioned to the left of a composition are equivalent to “given” information (i.e. “something the reader is assumed to know already, as part of the culture, or at least part of the culture of the magazine (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:180)”; in other words, veiled Muslim women standing in as a trope for

	modest dress, religious modesty, submissiveness, etc., has come to be a recurrent theme in Canadian visual press. Information that is visually salient on the right of a composition is deemed to be “new” (<i>ibid</i>). Thus, the ‘novelty’ in this visual is that there is now critical commentary on the representation of Caucasian women/sartorial choices of Caucasian women in <i>Maclean’s</i> (represented by the quasi-nude woman on the right-hand side of the visual). -The veiled woman recalls the one that appeared on the 2007 <i>Maclean’s</i> cover (featured in the preceding example). Much like her visual predecessor, the woman depicted here is clothed in dark, traditional dress, with only her eyes showing. Yet, her expression is quite telling: the glance is analyzing the woman who stands at her side. This in fact subverts the general “gaze” that normally runs in the opposite direction; instead of having an “Us” (“self”) that critically assesses an “Other”, the “Other” subverts the “gaze” and assesses the “Us” (“self”). -There is also an interesting visual “part/whole” transformation. The slit (‘negative space’) that allows the Muslim woman to peer from out her veil evokes the censure band that covers the Caucasian woman’s eyes. The colour of the black censure band evokes the darkness of the Muslim woman’s attire. Through these associations, the women thus become visually intertwined, such that the overall message cannot be understood if each represented participant is analyzed as a separate visual cluster. -The idea of ‘consuming’ (images of) women can also be considered in light of this static visual image. Veiled Muslim women are ‘consumed’ as exotic/threatening “Others”, their bodies largely a mystery to the “Western” “Self”. On the other hand, the narrative that can be associated with the represented Caucasian woman (and, also, presumably, the North American woman) is that beauty ideals as well as the idea that women’s emancipation comes through the <i>choice</i> of being scantily clad. Interestingly, the juxtaposition of these two supposedly antithetical participants/narratives begs the question: can oppression and submission not come in many forms? Is the “Other’s” clothing/appearance/veil inherently more oppressive/oppressed or submissive/submitted than the naked woman’s body? How does hiding one’s body necessarily translate to submissiveness when presumably North American women disrobe to become ‘objects’ of desire or ‘objects’ to be consumed? -The fact that the Caucasian woman represented is (seemingly) young (no sagging skin or wrinkles), physically fit, thin, without any apparent flaws (e.g. skin lesions, moles, scars, physical deformities or physical handicaps) complies with North American beauty ideals, thus perpetuating unachievable or unsustainable beauty norms. Though not a Muslim veil (which,
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	as the corpus has suggested, connotes “oppression” and “threat”), this “ideal” is oppressive and significantly detrimental to body perception and acceptance ¹⁴⁶ .
Cluster 2: verbal headline “VEILS”	-In this particular headline, though printed four years after the release of the Commission’s final conclusions and recommendations, it is possible to posit that reasonable accommodation and religious symbols are still garnering interest (or at least <i>Maclean’s</i> would have its audience assume so). Evidently, the Muslim <i>niqab</i> is used as an arbitrary verbal representation for <i>all</i> the issues pertaining to tolerance, reasonable accommodation, women’s dress, and women’s rights. As such, the lexical choice “VEILS” is semantically, but also politically and ideologically, loaded. -The capitalization and white typeface serve to isolate and emphasize the word, drawing the viewer’s gaze inwards; the word is also positioned at equal distance between the women. As seen with other examples, “VEILS” is positioned centrally, meaning that it becomes the informative nucleus of the composition, i.e. the central “focus” of the debate that is depicted. “VEILS” also shifts and focuses the debate on one particular aspect of women’s appearance: the ‘choice’ of covering or revealing the body/head.
Cluster 3: verbal caption “Who are we to judge”	-This caption is interesting in its use of pronouns. Here, the referents aren’t clear. In this sense, the pronouns are also deictic, meaning that they can only be understood if interpreted using certain contextual elements. It is possible to infer that “we” = <i>Maclean’s</i> national readership, but more specifically, a <i>homogenous</i> readership that likely excludes “Others”. The use of “we” also recalls quite explicitly the use of “Nous” in Québécois discourse on national identity. -“Who” (i.e. the use of the rhetorical question) calls into question power relations: given that North Americans have their own oppressive and normative beauty/body ideals, how can they look to “Others” and ascribe value judgments to their dress, religious symbols, body appreciation? The rhetorical question, if read aloud, positions the reader as part of the “we”. -Intersemiotically, it is thus possible to conclude that “we” excludes the represented Muslim woman. Thus, it can be inferred that “we” = Caucasian woman/North American beauty ideals, and also that “we” have judged “VEILS” (i.e. beauty/body/sartorial norms/ideals of ‘Others’).

¹⁴⁶ Wolf, Naomi. (2002) *The Beauty Myth: how images of beauty are used against women*. New York: Harper Perennial.; Halprin, Sara. (1995) *Look at my ugly face: myths and musings on beauty and other perilous obsessions with women’s appearance*. New York: Viking.

Intersemiotic Translation: Post-Analysis Discussion

Prior to providing further commentary and analysis pertaining to the social, cultural and political *effects* of these intersemiotic translations, certain trends can be noted with regards to how intersemiotic translations are created. First, intersemiotic translations (product) need to be understood as *symbiotic*¹⁴⁷. By this, I mean that unlike interlingual translations that can function independently from their source texts (i.e. some target readers are completely unaware that they are reading translated content; for instance, when they read foreign press releases that are largely the product of a series of translations) intersemiotic translations require a certain degree of interdependency. Intersemiotic translation often occurs within a shared interface and this is because two different semiotic codes must be present, which is the case for web pages. However, intersemiotic translation could, arguably, also take place between disconnected texts (i.e. texts that do not ‘co-exist’ on the same platform or that aren’t necessarily part of the same content).

It is possible to argue that intersemiotic translation, then, resembles the process of adaptation. According to Milton (2010), adaptation is defined as follows:

“Adaptation” is a term widely used in films, television, the theatre, music, dance and other media. Indeed, the terminology of the whole area of adaptation is extremely confusing. [...] A working definition of “adaptation” comes from Julie Sanders: an adaptation will usually contain omissions, rewritings, maybe

¹⁴⁷ By analogy, using the definition provided in *The Canadian Oxford*: “Symbiosis: **1a** an interaction between two different organisms living in close physical association, usually to the advantage of both; **b** an instance of this; **2a** a mutually advantageous association or relationship between persons; **b** an instance of this”. Etymologically *symbiotic* comes from the notion of companionship, from the Greek *sumbios*.

additions, but will still be recognized as the work of the original author (Sanders2006, p. 26 passim) (p. 3)

Consequently, as it is defined and understood here, intersemiotic translation is **not** synonymous with adaptation. Intersemiotic translation does not necessarily “add”, “omit” or “rewrite” in order to comply to some sort of brief/set of constraints (e.g. we may think specifically of a novel being *adapted* for the screen or the stage, which undeniably results in *necessary* omissions and additions). Nor is intersemiotic translation’s primary goal to re-present the work of an original author. Decidedly, the definition of adaptation suggests that some sort of creative legacy be preserved as an initial translation parameter. This is not the case for intersemiotic translation. Intersemiotic translation *transforms* one semiotic code (*in*)to another. Succinctly: whereas an adaptation is an *overt* and *intended* transformation, with the intent of acknowledging a creative or artistic origin, intersemiotic translation may be, at least in my estimation, more a more subtle process. Intersemiotic translation happens or can happen when various semiotic codes are juxtaposed. For example, in the case study, it is not possible to claim that the images of Canadian micro-cultures were “adaptations” of the accompanying verbal text or headline. The visual content and the verbal content are distinct but co-dependent. They are translations of each other because of their inter-dependence, proximity and ability to create supplementary levels of meaning. It should be noted there is some overlap between the concepts of adaptation and intersemiotic translation. For instance, adapting a novel into a film undoubtedly involves various forms of intersemiotic translation; but the opposite cannot necessarily be said: intersemiotic translations are not the result of various forms of adaptation.

In addition, Baldry and Thibault's transcription methodology and cluster-analysis resembles analytical frameworks proposed for interlingual translation analysis. For instance, in the textual analysis of interlingual translations (source text/target text comparative analyses), researchers/analysts compare *translation units*¹⁴⁸—a term that usually designates verbal units of semantic meaning—and in so doing are able to better identify interlingual translation shifts¹⁴⁹ from ST to TT. However, thus far, interlingual comparative analysis has largely dismissed multisemiotic content as an integral part or integral set of translation units (cf. Chapters 1 and 2), and this is why I argue that *cluster-analysis* might be more apt than *translation unit analysis* in the context of intersemiotic translation.

Though some might argue that analyzing intersemiotic translation constitutes an activity that falls beyond the interlingual translator's capabilities, I would argue that both types of analyses (interlingual/intersemiotic) largely involve similar skillsets. An interlingual translator who already understands how to 'deconstruct' a verbal text into analytical 'units' can easily interpret and apply Baldry and Thibault's transcription and cluster-analysis; in essence, the only *major/significant* difference is that the intersemiotic

¹⁴⁸ In the entry dedicated to "unit of translation", Malmkjaer, citing Lörscher, 1993, p. 209) defines the term as: "the stretch of source text on which the translator focuses attention in order to represent it as a whole in the target language (1998, p. 286)." Throughout the entry, there is nothing that leads the reader to conceive the *unit of translation* as anything other than a verbal entity. However, towards the end of the entry, Malmkjaer does speak to the necessity of considering other textual dimensions: "Finally, it needs to be stressed that momentary attention to units of fairly fixed sizes during translating and during comparison of source and target texts does not preclude the translator or analyst from considering the text as a whole. The translator will be influenced by his or her familiarity with the text as a whole, as well as with language, cultures, genre conventions, and perhaps other works by the source-text writer, in making decisions about equivalence within the units s/he is translating, even though, in the actual translation process, these units are considered one at a time. Selective attention does not mean attention to units in isolation from the rest of the linguistic, cultural, or textual world in which the units are situated (*ibid*, p. 288)." The term was also previously used by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958).

¹⁴⁹ "The term **shifts** is used in the literature to refer to changes which occur or may occur in the process of translation (Baker & Malmkjaer, 1998, p. 226)."

translator has to be 'fluent' in another semiotic code as opposed to possessing verbal language proficiency in any given language pair exclusively. Proficiency in visual literacy would then constitute a fundamental skill in order for translators to carry out projects similar to the one conducted in this dissertation. Visual literacy for translators is rarely addressed in the literature pertaining to either adaptation or intersemiotic translation. Since the publication of Jakobson's seminal essay, there has been increased and constant interest in expanding the "translation" concept, with a particular emphasis on concepts that go beyond verbal languages, such as intersemiotic translation. However, what often fails to be addressed in most exploratory research on this topic is the lack of training available to translation trainees and TS researchers interested in this type of work. As it is possible to note in the analysis of this corpus, visual literacy was absolutely paramount in understanding how the static images (visual content) "functioned" internally and in conjunction with the verbal content. Intuition can only go so far; as Kress and van Leeuwen have exemplified—and theirs is one of many visual methodologies and frameworks available—understanding and interpreting how visual content is constructed and how it functions goes well beyond 'guesswork'. Composition, spatial configurations, visual salience, foregrounding, colours schemes, directionality, etc., are all meaning-making strategies that would likely escape the translator attempting to work on intuition alone. Evidently, a distinction needs to be made between the intersemiotic translator as researcher/analyst and the professional intersemiotic translator. Presumably, a translator looking to conduct research in this area would be able to acquire the necessary analytical skills through further reading and research in semiotics, critical discourse analysis and

visual literacy. However, the professional translator would likely not follow the same training path as his or her research-focused colleague. Consequently, I argue that if TS and translator training really seeks to ‘go beyond’, it will be necessary to broaden translator training as well. This might include expanding the undergraduate curriculum and teaching visual (or other semiotic) literacy, and implementing some of the theoretical and practical scaffolding exemplified here. In other words, the conceptual model I have constructed could be integrated into translation courses and workshops that discuss localization, audiovisual translation or professional translation in general. A professional intersemiotic translator could easily “start” from either a visual or verbal source text and analyze the clusters to see how best (depending on client brief, end-goal of translation, medium, etc.) to translate them into a target text. In a second iterative phase, they could use a comparative cluster-analysis to assess intersemiotic shifts, for example, to assess the translation quality, potential shifts (and their larger implications, if the need is warranted), and revise their work. Thus, while I have decided to use intersemiotic translation an *analytical framework/lens* to assess the verbal/visual translations of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (CCAPRCD), this is not to diminish the value of such a framework in translation training and professional translation practice. Furthermore, the fact that such a *translation-focused model* could serve to elucidate media manipulations has significant potential for future research. First, translation could thus be seen as central to *communication*. Second, in terms of potential employment, translators that would possess a larger media literacy skillset could help them vie for jobs in the communications market far more competitively than translators who would not

command these additional skills. Furthermore, a translator understands the various, multifaceted and symbiotic relationships that exist between source texts and target texts, whether unilingual or bilingual, verbal or visual, and these perspectives can certainly also give translators a leg up on potential competition from communications specialists who aren't familiar with translation theories and methodologies.

Basic Summary of Findings (SoF)

In this section, I will summarize some of the *key* findings from the case study analysis. The summary of findings (SoF) is meant to showcase some of the predominant trends that emerged from intersemiotic translation in the context of the online media coverage of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. The conceptual aspects of intersemiotic translation have largely been discussed; as such, the objective of this section is to start pinpointing some of the recurring trends so as to enable a more thorough discussion of intersemiotic translation's potential effects. Moreover, the summary of findings can serve a bridge between the soft data found and analyzed in Chapter 3 and the discussion of other types of *translation relevant in this case study in Chapter 4.

This summary is by no means comprehensive, meaning that the previous discussion of the subjective nature of corpus selection and analysis still holds here. For the most part, the interpretation of the soft data is second-order; in other words, it is a collection of “qualitative interpretations from the point of view of the researcher who conducted the study” (Neuman, 2011, p. 147). However, there is also a degree of first-order interpretation (i.e. “interpretation

from the point of view of the people being studied” (*ibid*)¹⁵⁰, given that I attended three of the citizens' forums and participated in some of media polls referenced in some of the corpus examples.

First, it should be noted that search terms used for data collection are indicative. In my data collection, I entered the search terms “reasonable accommodation” or “accommodement raisonnable”¹⁵¹. As such, I never prompted the search engines to yield specific objects or micro-cultures (e.g. “veils”; “immigrants”; “kirpan”; “religious symbols”; etc.). However, the returned data was largely comprised of visuals that represented these objects and micro-cultures. Therefore, we may note first systematic intersemiotic translation process in this context: the term reasonable accommodation was *translated* rather often by visual content that included specific micro-cultures and religious symbols. For example, out of the 31 specific examples included in my corpus, no less than 21 represent what would be called “visible minorities”¹⁵². Moreover, 10 of the web page examples comprised visual content that portrayed, in some way, the hijab or the veiled woman; 4 included visual content depicting Indian men with turbans; 4 included visual content depicting Orthodox Jews; 3 included visual content depicting black men. In other words, of the 31 cases, nearly two-thirds of the corpus yielded by the search query

¹⁵⁰ My participation and involvement in the Bouchard-Taylor Commission’s activities was not based exclusively on research motives. Having been a resident of the province of Québec for more than ten years, and largely identifying with Québécois cultural norms and practices, I felt compelled to participate in the Commission’s activities in order to obtain direct access to the debate and obtain a first-hand account of the events that were being reported in the news. Thus, my second-order interpretation cannot help but be informed by my own personal first-order involvement.

¹⁵¹ It should be noted I entered these words using Boolean operators so as to ensure a maximum return of hits.

¹⁵² “**Visible minority** refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group as defined by the Employment Equity Act and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs. The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”. The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and Korean.” (Government of Canada, 2013).

<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/concepts/definitions/minority-minorite1-eng.htm>

“reasonable accommodation”/ “accommodement raisonnable” comprised depictions of visible minorities.

Given that many people who consult the web tend to enter search queries to find relevant content, it is alarming to note that the verbal collocation "reasonable accommodation" does not yield nuanced visual representations. It is possible to suggest that this trend could be observed on a much larger scale (a statistical model exclusively for visual content could be developed, akin to the one proposed by Potvin (2008)). In other words, those who search for "reasonable accommodation" in their search query of Canadian news are very likely to fall upon similar visual target texts. Inevitably, this will start to inform, or continue to shape, their understanding of the debate and the associations they make between this verbal search query and the visuals returned.

Another finding was the recurrent pairing of verbal super-clusters (mostly headlines) that represented the dominant micro-culture (the "homogenous" Québécois) as being either too tolerant or intolerant alongside visual translations, that is to say visual super-clusters that, paradoxically, *did not* represent this specific group. While it is true that many immigrants would call themselves “Québécois” and identify with this group, the discourse analysis reveals that there are clear delineators between Québécois in the sense of "true" ("*de souche*") and the “Others”. Therefore, the reader of the verbal super-clusters is left to 'imagine' what Québécois might look like, while being provided with a clear visual depiction of what the “Other” looks like or is supposed to look like. In an era of increased migration, and fragmentary identities, this is problematic, because cultural identity and belonging are not fixed.

A third finding is the predominance of *religious* symbols and practices in comparison to general cultural practices (such as sport, food, art, dance, folklore, etc.). Of the 31 examples, only 2 cases clearly depict sport and food; for the most part, the visual-super clusters translate "cultural practice" by "religious practice" which may lead a reader to think that the entire debate was largely about religion, when in reality religious accommodation was *not* the exclusive focus of the Commission itself.

The predominance of the Muslim veil was also a key finding. Far more than any other object, the Muslim veil came to be a "stand-in" (a quasi-perfect translation equivalent) for all religious practices and accommodations. Some of the most visually salient intersemiotic translations of the corpus are those that represented the Muslim veil (e.g. the two *Maclean's* covers). The predominance of the veil and its systematic inclusion in both the verbal and the visual clusters representing the debate on reasonable accommodation made it seem as though the Muslim veil was somehow the root cause of the problems, even though this causal relationship cannot be made.

The previous key findings suggest that another form of *translation is at play in this context. While intersemiotic translation could have been easily explored in the context of another corpus (advertisements, food packaging, product labels, etc.) the particularly sensitive nature of this debate made it all the more interesting to analyze. Studying intersemiotic translation in the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission illustrates very clearly that links can and should be made between this practice and other forms of translation such as cultural translation. Moreover, given the news media context of the corpus, it would also be interesting

to find links between TS scholarship discussing translation ethics in conjunction with journalism ethics. Given that cultural representation is at stake, and that real-world decisions are being made in light of what is being presented in the media, the issues of asymmetrical power structures, representational power, knowledge dissemination and professional and civic ethics cannot and should not be ignored. In Chapter 4, I will address some of these aspects in greater detail, drawing notably from the work of Basalamah (2005), Cronin, (2006), Elliott (2008), Potvin (2008), Simon (1997), Sturge (2006), and Venuti (1995).

Conclusions

In this Chapter, I have sought to provide scaffolding for a conceptual model that would help translators *translate intersemiotically* and analyze intersemiotic translations post-facto. Therefore, the proposed model has a dual-function. Though I have relied on Baldry and Thibault for both the transcription and the framework of cluster-analysis, other transcription methodologies might also prove to be useful in different ways. As technological advances continue to create unprecedented ways of communicating and disseminating information, what may be a viable contemporary framework today may not be in five years. Therefore, a cautionary disclaimer is necessary: as technology improves and evolves, translator and communication specialists should try to innovate upon pre-existing models. As such, while the proposed model seems tenable at the time of publication, I certainly believe it can (and should) be improved upon and further developed as research progresses in visual studies, TS, and ICT studies, and especially as our mediascape evolves. Likewise, though I have incorporated Kress and van Leeuwen's

grammar of visual design, theirs is one of the many visual literacy texts available. Consequently, the work of other visual, social semioticians should not be ignored in future research. Prospectively, it could be interesting to compare and contract visual literacy paradigms to see which analytical models are most efficient and effective in relation to current translation methods and practice.

The corpus serves a dual purpose. First, each example illustrates how linkages can be made between visual and verbal clusters to create meaning, and how these linkages can be construed and understood through the concept of intersemiotic translation. The corpus analysis was initially intended to ground some of the theoretical concepts (original research design). Given the nature of the selected corpus, I found myself forming new research questions and objectives that emerged as the research progressed. In other words, I demonstrated that intersemiotic translation could be conceptualized with the creation and construction of current affairs. Second, the corpus also exemplified the fact that intersemiotic translation, much like interlingual translation (and perhaps even intralingual translation), can produce meaning that goes beyond the confines of the 'text'. Indeed, several analyses demonstrated that the choice of visual target text served to reinforce, nuance, attenuate, mediate, represent, translate, etc., discourses pertaining to cultural accommodation practices in a Québécois, but also, pan-Canadian context. These discourses, whether visual or verbal, impact social, political and ideological discourses and undoubtedly have real-world effects, which inevitably influence the articulation and construction of Canadian/Québécois national identity and multiculturalism policies. Such

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social effects will be the focus of the final chapter, in which two additional iterations of
*translation (cultural and civic translation) will be addressed.

CHAPTER 4 Cultural and Civic Translation within the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference (Bouchard-Taylor Commission)

Introduction

In Chapters 1 and 2, I overviewed *translation as open cluster-concept and illustrated how *translation encompasses a variety of transformative operations, i.e. *translation sub-types. Also in Chapter 2 but particularly in Chapter 3, I sought to illustrate by means of a conceptual model how one particular *translation sub-type, intersemiotic translation, could be used within professional, training, and research contexts. In this fourth and final chapter, two other *translation sub-types will be defined and discussed: *cultural translation* (which will be broken down into 'static' *cultural translation* and *cultural translation in action*) and *civic translation*. In addition, I will show how these two other sub-types are also intrinsically connected to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission and the debate on reasonable accommodation. Previous chapters predominantly focused on the 'mechanics' of intersemiotic translation, and less on its social, cultural and political *effects*. It is important to consider intersemiotic translation's reach beyond the Web, because what is produced online invariably has connections to what happens offline. These 'omissions' were not oversights; I wanted to first develop a conceptual model with detailed theoretical and methodological scaffolding prior to discussing the potential effects of intersemiotic translation. As such, my rationale for a tri-phasic research design (conceptualization; case study application; discussion of summary findings and effects) is primarily to show the reader that the conceptual model can be

applied to a variety of other multimodal and multisemiotic texts, but that the critical discussion included in the latter part of the dissertation is very specific to its case study.

In Chapter 3, a summary of findings (SoF) presented some of the main and recurrent empirical trends collected from the initial corpus analysis. Indeed, these findings indicated that there were cultural tensions between various micro-cultures in Québec. However, the SoF did not address some of the larger, real-world implications of these specific intersemiotic translations (understood here as the result, or product, of a translation process). Chapter 4 thus analyzes in greater detail the social, cultural and political real-world effects of intersemiotic translation and provides other translation conceptualizations to address these effects. Thorough descriptive analysis of the corpus data fits within the paradigm of current TS scholarship, in which TS scholars are encouraged to examine the relationships between translation practices and the social realm. Translation output, regardless of its semiotic make-up, contributes to the production and dissemination of discourses, notably in regard to representation¹⁵³; in the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission media coverage, intersemiotic translation contributed to the production of specific cultural representations that served to reinforce

¹⁵³ “Note the significance [...] of representation for the understanding of translation. As a representation, a translation offers an image or likeness or another thing. It exhibits that thing in a tangible manner. It has symbolic significance. It is a statement intended to convey a particular aspect of a subject so as to influence its receptors. A representation has a formal standing in society, presenting evidence or argument for a particular purpose, and translations must be considered in this light. Translation is also involved in achieving mental clarity. A translation standing in place of another entity and has authority to substitute or act in place of that entity. These statements capture only some of the implications that follow from regarding translations as representations. [...] The definition of *representation* and the use of representation as a frame of reference for translation make manifest some of the reasons why translation itself is so powerful an act, why translations have played significant and transformative roles in many cultural contexts throughout history. [...] Using representation as a frame of reference is also suggestive of many issues pertaining to the ethics of translation, including the commissive aspect of translation.” (Tymoczko, 2007, p. 113).

specific discourses disseminated by the media and other institutions. This latter point is directly relevant in regard to the cultural turns of the 1980s-1990s.

Given that representations are fundamental discursive and narrative building blocks, by understanding the ways in which *translation, and more specifically intersemiotic translation, plays a role in culture we may also come to grasp how discourses and narratives crystallize and exert power in the social sphere. The relationships between translation and cultural representation largely inform how I have come to conceptualize the links between intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation in a Canadian context and more specifically in the context of the media coverage of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission and in the context of the Commission itself.

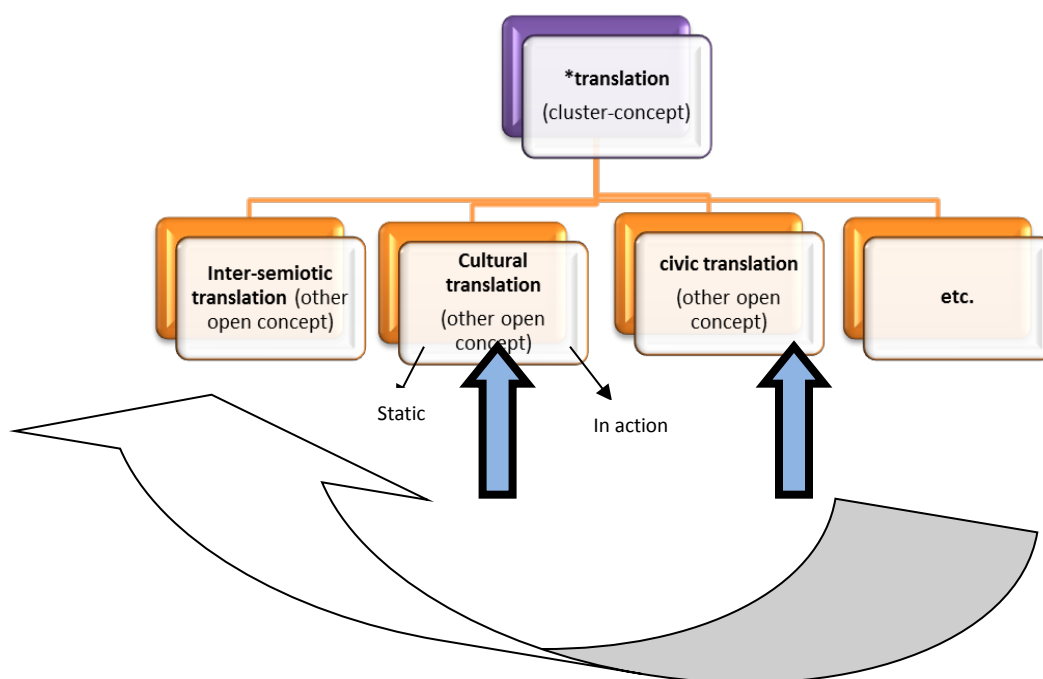
This chapter is divided into three main sections: first, the connections between intersemiotic translation and other forms of *translation within the context of the CCAPRCD will be explained. This initial section will also provide definitions of the terms cultural translation, and more specifically, **‘static’ cultural translation** and **cultural translation ‘in action’**. In a second section, Chapter 3’s summary of findings will be expanded upon, using Potvin’s (2008) mechanisms. The concepts of intersemiotic translation and cultural translation overlap, particularly in a case study such as the one I have chosen to investigate. In short, intersemiotic translation can yield target texts that create, maintain and sometimes contradict existing cultural representations, and can then be seen as contributing to overarching discourses and narratives pertaining to cultural identities. In a third and final section, I will revisit the idea of **cultural translation in**

action. The main idea is that the Bouchard-Taylor Commission was a precursor in terms of multicultural management and policy-making in that it fostered an environment conducive to civic engagement (i.e. **civic translation**). Succinctly, I argue that civic translation constitutes a potentially viable working solution for addressing cultural contestations and potentially reverting some of the insidious and negative effects of intersemiotic translation. If Canada were looking to export multicultural management strategies to countries facing similar cultural challenges (integration, tolerance, cultural diversity, defining human rights, etc.), civic translation could be a potential strategy. However, the importing countries would have to share similar democratic infrastructures in order to support and foster civic engagement, a discussion that will be expanded upon towards the end of this chapter.

I argue that such further discussion and analysis is warranted, especially in the context of a project that not only uses the CCAPRCD as its corpus, but that is also seeking to exemplify how novel forms of *translation occur in everyday, real-world situations, particularly in a Canadian context, where multicultural management and translation policy (official bilingualism) are forefront issues. Canadians regularly face challenges that speak to multicultural mediation and tolerance on a daily basis, and by placing *translation at the heart and center of a prominent Commission investigating long-held and oft-propagated national narratives (e.g. the multicultural mosaic), the term “translation” can garner increased currency in areas that are not only the concern of the language services industry but also of diplomacy and multicultural policy-making. The repercussions of this are significant for the future of Translation Studies and for

undergraduate programs and professional training alike: it broadens research avenues and may open up the professional translation market beyond the language services industry. I contend that *translation is a key concept in the shaping of national and cultural discourses. Discussions broached in this chapter will seek to place translation in a variety of socio-cultural practices, far beyond the ‘costly’ state-sanctioned translation activities exposed by the Fraser Institute (cf. Introduction).

The Link with Intersemiotic Translation: terminological/conceptual mapping



Focus of this Chapter

Diagram 4.1

In Chapter 1, TS’s successive “turns” (Snell-Hornby, 2006) were presented in the form of a historical panorama that concluded *translation could be conceptualized as an open-cluster term under which other translation sub-types could be classified. Intersemiotic translation constitutes one sub-type, but other sub-types also fit under

*translation. Using similar arguments in support of intersemiotic translation, these other sub-types need not necessarily involve verbal languages per se. For instance, building on the cultural studies and anthropological definitions of 'text' and 'culture', cultural translation and civic translation are two other possible *translation sub-types. Further, I will explain how these specific *translation sub-types can be inserted into the framework of the media coverage of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission but also into the Commission itself. Given that intersemiotic translation has already been conceptualized and discussed at length, it is, rather, the effects of intersemiotic translation, along with cultural and civic translation that will be the primary foci of this chapter.

It should be noted that, in fact, the CCAPRCD encompasses *at least* five different sub-types of *translation. I will outline and define each of these sub-types, and locate them within the context of the CCAPRCD. First, I will map out each of the *translation sub-types. I will then focus more specifically on the interconnectedness of specific sub-types, notably: intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation. I posit that intersemiotic translation can produce cultural representations, and, as such, this should be further explored by using the concept of cultural translation. Because cultural representation often relied on stereotypes in my case study, I suggest it is crucial to consider the implications of both intersemiotic translation and cultural translation. Civic translation will be the final translation sub-type to be addressed, with particular attention given to the necessity for newer models of intercultural communication. Because *translation is at the heart of so many cultural exchanges in Canada, and more specifically in the context of the debate on reasonable accommodation and the Bouchard-Taylor

Commission, the necessity of analyzing the role *translation (and its sub-types) plays in the construction and dissemination of discourses on what it means to be “Québécois” and/or “Canadian” is all the more relevant.

Identifying additional *Translation Sub-types in the Context of the CCAPRCD

First, as part of the Commission’s mandate, all official, final documents had to be translated in both Canadian official languages. Inarguably, this means that **interlingual translation** (from English into French, and vice versa) occurred. Thus, interlingual translation is the first sub-type of *translation¹⁵⁴ that can be associated with the CCAPRCD, notably in regard to the production of the Commission’s final report and recommendations, its website and its advertising. While the study of the linguistic and semantic shifts created by interlingual translation might be worthy of further scholarship¹⁵⁵, it escapes the research parameters of this project. Nonetheless, while the previous chapters championed a more encompassing definition of translation, this should not be to the exclusion of interlingual translation, which certainly played a key role in disseminating the CCAPRCD’s activities to a pan-Canadian audience. In this regard, further research could investigate to what extent interlingual translation impacted the proliferation and interpretation of CCAPRCD-related content beyond Québec’s geographical borders—a subject that would tie in with another recent trend in TS that

¹⁵⁴ It should not be forgotten that interlingual translation is indeed subsumed within the overarching *translation. This runs parallel to Jakobson’s (1959) typology and Tymoczko’s (2007) proposed classification.

¹⁵⁵ In my assessment of the documents, I did not identify any significant discrepancies, linguistic or otherwise, that would warrant a hypothesis implying major differences between the French and English versions of the Commission’s final report. That said, further investigation could be valuable, particularly in the case of translation into minority languages (for e.g. how the report was translated for out-group micro-cultures and if any significant shifts occurred as a result, and if so, what is their nature/impact).

positions translators and translations as 'agents' that are part of broader, overarching systems/networks¹⁵⁶.

In addition, the role of interlinguistic self-translation should not be wholly dismissed in this context. Here, self-translation refers to "the act of translating one's own writings into another language and the result of such an undertaking" (Grutman, 2009). I would suggest that writing is relatively restrictive, but the general idea behind self-translation is that of one person translating herself. For many micro-cultures, Census data (2012) shows that English and French are not the languages spoken at home nor are they the first languages of many Canadians and permanent residents. However, the Commission carried out many of its activities in the two Canadian official languages, meaning that many citizen participants likely had to self-translate their contributions. Self-translation here would go 'beyond' the written document and also speak to one's thoughts, which presumably would be produced in the participant's native or mother tongue. Self-translation of forum contributions would be an excellent case study to analyze the challenges allophones and immigrants may have in ensuring they were understood by the Commission's co-chairs and their fellow participants. In a sense, this builds on an observation made by Cronin (2009) in regard to the fluidity of cultural identities, the dominance of culture in our societies, and policy-making discussed in the work of Lentin (2004); Cronin (*ibid*) remarks:

When migrants are asked to translate themselves into the dominant language and value system of the host community, they do so from a vantage point which is almost invariably structurally defined by categories of class and race, yet these

¹⁵⁶ A recent 'turn' in TS is to find links between actor-network theories and translation (cf. Tyulenev, 2011; eds. Wolf and Fukari, 2007).

structural conditions or contexts for the translation process [...] are rarely made explicit as such (p. 217).

The second *translation sub-type that can be associated with the CCAPRCD is **intersemiotic translation**. Though I have chiefly focused on online verbal/visual content in specific Québec and Canadian media, this is only one small area in which intersemiotic translation occurred. As stated in earlier sections, if texts now escape the confines of the printed page and go beyond other similar traditional understandings and definitions, then intersemiotic translation could also be located in the following CCAPRDC examples: the translation of oral or verbal exchanges at the citizen forums into visual content such as news photographs (either printed in newspapers, magazines, or posted online); the translation of oral verbal exchanges into empirical data, which could be used for statistical measurement¹⁵⁷ (for the Commission's reports and findings¹⁵⁸). Suffice it to say, future research projects could investigate other examples drawn from the CCAPRCD (and by extension the debate on reasonable accommodation, in Québec and Canada, but in other countries as well) in which intersemiotic translation occurred. Likewise, the conceptual model I have developed could be applied to other corpora that involve other multisemiotic texts in the construction of current affairs.

The third *translation sub-type that can be associated with the CCAPRCD is **cultural translation**. As outlined in the historical overview in Chapter 1, the 1970s marked the beginning of interdisciplinary exchanges between TS and anthropology, ethnography

¹⁵⁷ This point also speaks to the notion of *knowledge translation*. In future studies involving *translation, researchers could develop a project that considers the links between intersemiotic translation and knowledge translation.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Research Projects CCAPRCD. <http://accommodements-quebec.ca/documentation/projets-recherche-en.html> Retrieved 15 October 2012

and cultural studies. The foundational premise was that cultures (in a broad sense) could be seen as texts, and that, by extension, they could be translated (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Tying this into the CCAPRCD's context, in essence, what globalization¹⁵⁹ has created for most host countries, including Canada, have been spaces of constant cultural negotiation¹⁶⁰. Evidently, the role citizens play in these negotiations largely depends on the prevailing ideologies and the political climate of the host countries (i.e. the country's political infrastructure, normative permissiveness, and level of civic involvement/engagement). It is this particular characteristic of policy-making, i.e. citizen involvement, which sets the CCAPRCD apart. In other words, when broaching the topic of multicultural policy (or the drafting of recommendations in order to shape future policies), rare are the cases that have used the framework of the "citizen forum" to foster personal and direct civic engagement in policy-making. And yet, this is exactly what the CCAPRCD did – it engaged a whole province (Québec) to stand up and candidly discuss not only the pros of multiculturalism and interculturalism but the cons as well (cf. Cronin, 2006), in a public and transparent setting. In this sense, the Commission acted not only as

¹⁵⁹ Here, globalization specifically refers to immigration/emigration flows that have largely impacted Western capitalist nations. Immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America look to the 'West' as a potential opportunity to participate in competitive markets and economies, bringing with them their own sets of cultural practices and belief systems. This has resulted in the fragmentation and even the erosion of 'domestic' traditions and cultural practices, leaving Western societies to grapple with these new complex cultural landscapes. Fragmentation is not inherently problematic in cases where the impact is relatively innocuous (e.g. more 'ethnic' restaurants; 'foreign-food' grocery stores; etc.), but it tends to create discord when 'core' beliefs are in stark opposition (e.g. religious/cultural freedom versus human rights). This is precisely why multiculturalism has come under fire in recent years; the concept tends to focus on 'superficial' or 'surface-level' practices (like food or dress) and the notion that living 'harmoniously' in pluralistic/plurivocal space is wholly achievable, as opposed to addressing the power structures that effectively construct and subsequently diametrically oppose different cultural traditions.

¹⁶⁰ Negotiation should not be seen as being solely pejorative; in some cases it can be a positive driving force towards transformation and change, more along the lines of alternative dispute resolution (ADR). According to the ADR Institute of Canada, "Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is a term used to describe a basket of procedures outside the traditional litigation process, usually entered into voluntarily by parties to a dispute in an attempt to resolve it. (FAQ <http://www.amic.org/> Retrieved 30 November 2012)."

a 'grassroots'-style strategy for discussing multiculturalism in general, but also as a space of cultural negotiation; of cultural translation and, even more specifically, of **cultural translation in action**. The term and concept "cultural translation" began to increasingly circulate in the 1980s and 1990s, a period during which TS underwent what is now called the 'cultural turn': "The cultural turn in translation studies has begun the process of examining the ways in which translation is nourished by—and contributes to— the dynamics of cultural representation" (Simon, 1997, p. 464). In a similar vein, anthropology and cultural studies began to take note of the insights originating in TS. This interdisciplinary dialogue between TS and anthropology and cultural studies has since created a contentious debate. While the term "cultural translation" has widely circulated, a clear and singular definition has not been met with consensus in TS. This may very well be because the concept of "culture" is itself difficult to define¹⁶¹. Simon states:

But what is often missing from translation studies accounts is a clear definition of what "culture" means. While culture is recognized as one of the most difficult and over determined concepts in contemporary human and social sciences, it often appears in translation studies as if it had an obvious and unproblematic meaning. (1997, p. 6).

Globalization also complicates defining a fixed understanding of culture; Simon (*ibid*) elaborates: "The definition of this relationship is further complicated by increasingly mobile boundaries of culture itself. Where once cultures were principally defined in

¹⁶¹ "Qu'est-ce qu'une culture? Même les anthropologues, dont c'est pourtant le fonds de commerce universitaire, hésitent sur la question. Les individus modernes – et *a fortiori* postmodernes – que nous sommes devenus, baignent-ils dans une culture unique ou ne naviguent-ils pas entre plusieurs champs culturels, auxquels ils puisent un peu à la manière des convives devant un buffet? Une culture relie, mais en même temps elle distingue, car il n'est pas de communauté qui ne repose à la fois sur un processus d'inclusion et d'exclusion. Et qu'est-ce qui compose une culture : des institutions, une langue, une mémoire, des pratiques sociales, un peu de tout cela? Nul ne saurait déterminer avec certitude, d'autant plus que la culture est un champ de forces et d'affrontements pour l'hégémonie, comme l'a bien fait remarquer Gramsci." (Gervais, Karmis and Lamoureux, 2008, p. 3).

reference to clearly circumscribed "national" or "ethnic" realities, it is the very boundedness of culture which now becomes problematic" (p. 472). Cronin (2006) also discusses the challenges in regard to defining culture which echo Simon's remarks. However, Cronin proposes an interesting conceptualization with nuances between what unifies and distinguishes cultures:

Similar culture, then, is what all human beings have in common as cultural beings or language animals (in this sense, culture can be represented as foundational) but pluralized cultures are what make us different. Culture allows us to translate and cultures make us translate. In a world of extensive flows of images, information, people and commodities, the difficulty is that ideas of bounded immutable cultures are increasingly difficult to sustain (p. 47).

As the activities of and media reporting of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission clearly attest, Canada, and here, more specifically, Québec, is grappling with what happens when new cultural communities arrive and when it is no longer possible to assume that previous understandings of national culture will stand. Cronin (*ibid*) suggests that there are different ways of conceptualizing differences and reacting to them and translation might be one way to address these issues. Therefore, I have espoused Wolf's (2002, p. 190) conceptualization of cultural translation in my research. Wolf defines cultural translation as a cultural reframing, in short, as "more than a transfer between [languages or linguistic systems]" and rather as a form of intercultural and social action. This ties in with definitions of cultural translation in the work of Bhabha (1994), Buden (2006), and Sturge (2007). This particular part of the dissertation, i.e. the examination of cultural translation as a by-product of intersemiotic translation, inscribes itself into the

larger corpus of recent scholarship that has placed “cultural translation” as a legitimate object of study. On this particular point, Simon (2009) notes:

Translation (and not transfer) names the complexity of these processes [circulation, dissemination] englobing geography and textuality. This recognition has led to ambitious research projects as well as new transdisciplinary masters’ and doctoral programs which use the broad term “cultural translation” as a centre of inquiry into meaning creation, focusing on the political geographies of displacement (p. 209).

Simon ends this paragraph by asking “how then do multilingual situations, where communities share a common geographical space—or compete for it—inflect the process of cultural translation?” (*ibid*). Simon chooses to explore cosmopolitan cities to answer some of these questions, whereas here, it is my view that the CCAPRCD constitutes a particularly evocative example of cultural translation. Cronin (2006) states there are different ways of responding to cultural difference and subsequently different ways of addressing these differences through the lens of translation; asymmetrical power, hierarchies and emotions, moreover, must also be taken into account. The media coverage used in Chapter 3 clearly suggests a more insidious form of cultural translation: the intersemiotic translations of Canadian micro-cultures presented most often immutable and essentialist stereotypes (cf. SoF in Chapter 3), leaving scant possibilities for discussing or exploring the complexity of cultural identities in Canada. Therefore, it is possible to establish a link between intersemiotic translation and cultural translation: the results of the former are part of the latter process. Mary-Louise Pratt (1992, p.6) has also discussed the relevance of exploring “contact zones”, i.e., according to Simon (1997) “place[s] where cultures, previously separated, come together and establish ongoing relations” (p. 464). While Simon and Pratt perhaps conceptualize these “contact zones” as

specific geographical areas, the CCAPRCD itself is, I argue, a very representative example of another type of contact zone—a Commission that brought cultures together to negotiate new understandings of nationhood, cultural identity, belonging, all while informing policy-making. As Buden (2006) states: “[Cultural translation...] brings around social change and [can open] new spaces of emancipation. It [changes] everyday social relations”. Kate Sturge (2007) adds and suggests even more radically that: “translation must happen, [and] that, however difficult, it is a necessary move and an assertion of our common ground in being human” (p. 4). However, the literature on cultural translation indicates that to date few scholars have addressed the fact that cultural translation practices can be quite different in that their final end-goals—be it the museum exhibit or the televised documentary or the CCAPRCD’s activities, to name only these examples. Cultural translation is often the result of *different* communicative strategies and approaches, and yet these different processes are still categorized under the umbrella term of “cultural translation”. For instance, it is not possible to claim that the power structures and dynamics (in the Foucauldian sense) are the same in cultural translation processes in which both “Self” and “Other” are both physically present, share the same (or levelled) agency, and are provided an opportunity to self-translate, compared to other cultural translation processes in which this is not the case (note that in Chapter 3, some of the depicted micro-cultures very likely did not “ask” to be included in these images, nor did they have much agency in deciding what verbal content would translate the visual content). In addition, synchronicity is an important factor to consider; is the cultural ‘translator’ able to have direct contact with the cultural ‘text’ he or she is translating? Is

cultural translation about translating contemporary cultural practices, or cultural practices of the past? In an attempt to address these issues, I have chosen to define and explore two specific approaches to cultural translation: one that I have chosen to label **‘static’ (fourth sub-type)** and another that I have chosen to qualify as **‘in action’ (fifth sub-type)**.

Like intersemiotic translation, cultural translation occurred in many areas of the reasonable accommodation debate. ‘Static’ cultural translation can be defined as a practice that entails the negotiation and the transformation of cultural texts¹⁶² between two different ‘subjects’ (individuals, groups, etc.). What distinguishes ‘static’ cultural translation is the fact that the ‘negotiating’/‘translating’ subjects may be positioned in an asymmetrical power relationship and that the translation process itself is *asynchronous* as opposed to happening in real-time. To exemplify what is meant by ‘asymmetrical power relationship’ and ‘asynchronous’, one might consider Sturge’s example of the contemporary ethnographic museum. Museums portray and explain cultures (e.g. the Mayan culture; the Inuit culture; the Japanese culture) by means of carefully curated sets of cultural artefacts. In other words, the museum’s curators *translate* a culture for a consuming audience¹⁶³ (i.e. the museum goer)—an audience that is likely to be a

¹⁶² In the anthropological and cultural studies sense of the term.

¹⁶³ The museum as a representation of a cultural ‘Other’ to be *consumed* by a domestic ‘Self’ is a provocative research topic, though it unfortunately escaped the limits of this current research project. Briefly, the intent of museum goers can vary tremendously; however, most museum goers tend to want to acquire some form of “knowledge” that would otherwise be inaccessible. Thus, the museum experience is a means to acquire symbolic capital (in the Bourdieusian sense) and social prestige, relegating the ‘Other’ as a ‘product’ that is consumed for the ‘Self’s’ benefit. Unfortunately, the museum experience is often quick forgotten, meaning that the domestic museum goer might quickly forget the ‘cultural contact’ with the ‘Other’, and ‘dispose’ of the knowledge acquired. In short, the ideas of cultural translation, conspicuous consumption and “the disposable” (e.g. disposable fashion, disposable exhibits, disposable information, disposable ‘Others’ etc.) appear to be interesting themes worthy of further research, particularly in such contexts as the museum, the Web, the media and other spheres of cultural

domestic audience. However, this selection or curation¹⁶⁴ also implies that the *exhibited* culture (usually a cultural ‘Other’) is not *necessarily* choosing or selecting the artefacts on its *own* accord. In this particular regard, there is a power dynamic, often asymmetrical, in that the exhibited culture is not, ostensibly, *self-translating*, i.e. *self-representing*. In a similar vein, when ‘foreign’ artefacts are ‘translated’, be it through explanatory labels or audio-guide narratives, an institutional ‘voice’ (the museum’s curators, administrative bodies, and presumably the funding bodies as well) is thrust upon the exhibited culture. The museum goer is thus not obtaining the ‘Other’s’ real-time account or self-translation, but rather the museum’s *version* of the exhibited culture. In a way, this forces a dominant or normative institutional narrative (Baker, 2006; Sturge, 2007) over the museum goer’s own personal interpretation of the exhibit, which creates a dual exertion of power: institutional/authoritative power over the represented culture, as well as power over the museum goer.

A similar example of ‘static’ cultural translation can be taken from the realm of Food Studies, a field that has gained ground in the social sciences and humanities, especially in last ten years. In Elliott’s (2008) astute account, she considers how ‘Others’ are exoticized through the process of food labelling, using the Canadian brand *President’s*

production. Horkheimer and Adorno (1944/1972) investigated similar themes in their work on cultural production and film; however, at that time, the notions of “disposable culture” and “culture of disposal” probably did not exist (the terms have only recently started to circulate). Including these concepts into a framework/case study similar to Horkheimer and Adorno’s would probably make such research far more current and would probably add a new dimension to the idea of the power relation (i.e. the ability to easily and efficiently “dispose” of an “Other” once it is consumed). These ideas also tie in with Baudrillard’s reflection on consumer society (cf. Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, 1970/1998).

¹⁶⁴ This is a term used in Museum Studies, Museology and Cultural Heritage Management. Though it is not used commonly in everyday situations, with the advent of “online curation” in the context of social media and new types of content (e.g. new media; performance art) being collected, its usage seems to have increased (cf. Graham and Cook, 2010).

Choice as her corpus. Her study shows that there is a imbalance in terms of representational power in that 'exotic' and 'foreign' foods are 'foreignized' not by cultural 'Others' themselves, but rather, by a Canadian food company—which unlike the state museum, is likely focused on marketing the 'Other' with financial incentive in mind. In other words, while some products may seem completely innocuous to most Canadians (i.e. unlikely to be labelled "exotic" spontaneously by the consumer), they have been branded as such to cater to a domestic audience that grows increasingly keen on 'consuming'—the double entendre is intentional—the 'exotic' 'Other'. Moreover, such 'exotic' food labels purport that these food items and products come from a foreign place, despite perhaps being produced by domestic manufacturers and farmers. It is also possible to hypothesize that these 'exotic' products are not even consumed by the 'Others' the President's Choice brand is trying to represent; if anything, it is an appropriation and *consumption* of the 'Others' foods to suit the needs and wants of a domestic audience (this is a process very similar to a specific postcolonial take on translation, whereby Brazilian writers use the concept of "anthropophagy" to discuss the coming into contact with the "the cultural values of industrialized countries" and "devouring them" to then, reabsorb them into the indigenous culture (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p.50). Interestingly, in Elliott's example, we may note a reversal in the dynamic, in this case, it is not a postcolonial country that is 'nourishing' its indigenous heritage; rather, it is an industrial country 'consuming' the 'Other'). Like the museum example, the idea is not so much about *actually* engaging with the 'Other' but consuming an 'ideal', a representation that is most likely created by and for the domestic gaze.

In my conceptualization of cultural translation, these examples are evocative of ‘static’ cultural translation in that the exchange does not occur in a ‘time-space’ where both ‘Self’ and ‘Other’¹⁶⁵ can *interact* in real-time¹⁶⁶. Specifically with respect to the museum example, if the exhibited culture is no longer existent—essentially belonging to the past (e.g. in the case of Mayan culture)—then the cultural translation process can also be described as *asynchronous*. That said, as Sturge (2007) explains, museums have now consciously moved away from such asynchronous traditional curation paradigms in an attempt to give the ‘represented’/‘exhibited’ ‘Others’ a voice and a role in the construction and curation of the exhibit (cf. Marincola, 2002). For instance, museum curator boards now try to group members that are not only museum experts, curators and artists, but that are representative of the various cultural groups involved and translated in the exhibit. A museum board might seek to consult Aboriginal or Indigenous cultures in the context of an exhibit pertaining to Canada’s national history; such contemporary strategies are more likely to ensure the inclusion of important cultural groups in such exhibits.

Much like Sturge’s and Elliott’s examples, the *press coverage* of the CCAPRCD was a form of ‘static’ cultural translation in that the verbal and visual texts (i.e. intersemiotic translations) *re-presented* micro-cultures at times in an asymmetrical and asynchronous

¹⁶⁵ “Western ontologies have long been based in binary constructions with the self being constituted in relation to its excluded [or exotic] Other (Thobani, 2007, p. 5).”

¹⁶⁶ This is not to be misunderstood with the idea of the interactive museum. Interaction, here, means the coming together, in real-time, in the same space, of both ‘Self’ and ‘Other’, in which discussion and dialogue can effectively occur. This is not *always* the case with interactive exhibits, which, in my estimation, only offer a *simulacrum* (Baudrillard, *Simulacres et simulations*, 1981) of intercultural contact.

power structure¹⁶⁷. After all, these translated texts effectively acted as “stand-ins”, or what Baudrillard (1970/1998) called *simulacra*, for real individuals and cultural groups. This is akin to some of the cases studied by anthropologists, cultural studies scholars and TS scholars, who have studied novels, films, advertisements and other textual artefacts as narratives that disseminated and fueled perceptions of national identity and national culture. Though cultural translation can at times serve laudable end-goals (e.g. a film that would help two antithetical groups reach cultural understanding; a “fusion”-style restaurant helping a domestic audience acquire a taste for a new type of cuisine), it can also act insidiously (cf. Venuti, 1998; Baker, 2006; Sturge, 2007) in reinforcing existing cultural tension, even creating new conflicts or ‘typecasting’ a group for commercial purposes (cf. Elliot, 2008). In the case study corpus, most of the individual instances of intersemiotic translation and cultural translation portray negative cultural representations, i.e. representations that play on negative or detrimental stereotypes, erroneous or skewed cultural and religious assumptions as well as asymmetrical distributions of power between in-group and out-group members—at times to commercial, institutional or political benefit with little consideration with regard to the impact on the *represented* subjects (who are ostensibly transformed into ‘objects’)¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁷ “Echoing the Hegelian dialectic of the self and Other, master narratives of Canadian nationhood define the national’s character relationally. [...] Exalted through such narrations, which are inscribed into the juridical order and shape state policies and practices, the national subject is not only existentially but also institutionally and systematically defined in direct relation to the outsider. Such exaltations function as form of ontological and existential capital that can be claimed by national subjects in their relations with the Indian, the immigrant, and the refugee (Thobani, 2007:5).”

¹⁶⁸ “D’une part, la course aux profits, nécessaire pour survivre dans un système hyperconcurrentiel, entraîne des conséquences importantes dans la production de l’information. Le marché libre pousse la majorité des médias dans les mains de quelques groupes de presse. La concentration de la propriété poserait aux nouveaux joueurs plusieurs barrières « d’entrée » et homogénéiserait les contenus diffusés. La présence lourde de la parole publicitaire pousserait aussi les médias à standardiser leurs informations et à systématiser leurs contenus culturels

However, despite political, institutional or commercial incentives and ‘spin’, it is equally important to question whether the media indeed *create* these points of contention by (intentionally) *mistranslating*, or whether they are simply mirroring an already contentious and complex debate, in which tolerance and intolerance have equal clout. Maryse Potvin (2008) considers this question through the angle of ‘intent’: “Les médias ne font-ils que refléter les tensions et les contradictions présentes au sein de la société ou les provoquent-ils?” (p. 12). In other words, are the media purposely creating a discourse that would encourage dissonance between Canadian micro-cultures? And if so, what is the incentive or rationale? As most TS scholars continuously acknowledge, and as some professional translators would also acknowledge, translation *is* at once (re)creation *and* mirroring. However, regardless of the individual translation strategies chosen during the translation process—i.e. whether a translator chooses to domesticate/foreignize, omit/add, skew/paraphrase, etc.—, none are wholly *neutral*, meaning that translation inevitably shifts the end-product (target ‘text’), sometimes unintentionally, while also impacting the target audience’s interpretation.

One of the main strategies used in the online media coverage of the debate on reasonable accommodation to translate culture according to the ‘static’ understanding was that of stereotyping. In some cases, it could be argued that cultural stereotyping was a form of mirroring. Along this line of thought, recourse to stereotypes (or target texts

et informatifs. De plus, la dépendance des médias envers le profit et l’entreprise privée subordonnerait la recherche d’information au critère de rentabilité, ce qui inciterait la production d’informations divertissantes et aisément accessibles. La distinction entre information et divertissement deviendrait de plus en plus floue, laissant plutôt place à l’*infotainment*. [...] Les objectifs des propriétaires des grands médias seraient donc moins fonction de leur mission de responsabilité sociale et civique que de leur fonction commerciale (Potvin, 2008, pp. 25-26).”

that create and/or reinforce stereotypes) is necessary and justified in order to facilitate rapid cognition, especially in the context of the information era:

modern social life is hurried and multifarious, with little time or opportunity for intimate acquaintance [...h]ence stereotypes [what I have called '*helpful stereotypes*'] represent schemas which simplify perception and cognition and *help to process information* about the environment in a uniform and regular fashion (Rapport and Overing, 2007, pp. 392, my emphasis)

However, when detrimental stereotypical target texts are created and used in the context of complex social interaction (for instance, the reshaping of narratives of national identity due to immigration, migration and globalization), they oversimplify and gloss over particular details which could otherwise foster social cohesion (*vivre-ensemble*) as opposed to fragmentation:

stereotypes [what I have called '*detrimental stereotypes*'] [also] allow simplistic and fantastic claims to be made about a group's manifold membership, claims which are all the more ambiguous and gross the higher the societal level to which the collective label is applied [...] they are the root cause of misconception, and thus of intractable and oppressive sexism, racism and classism (Elfenbein, 1989, p. xiii); of misdirected and xenophobic aggression, warning and pogrom (see also Lea, 1978) (cited in Rapport and Overing, 2007, p. 392).

Similarly, Tymoczko (2007) adds:

[w]ords and cultural concepts bring with them charged cultural associations and potentially charged cultural assertions that have political implications. Some of those implications have a life-or-death magnitude in the current geopolitical context, and they are implications that translators [inter-semiotic translators] ignore at their peril. Cultural wars are currently being waged between nations and within nations in part because contemporary media have made cultural differences more perceptible and hence potentially more objectionable than ever before (p. 244)

And finally, Cronin (2009) aptly summarizes the problem of essentializing cultures in this fashion:

That is to say, the cultural categorization of society as made of recognizable types designated by labels, "dyslexic", "epileptic", "Paddy", "gay", "Muslim", reduces the

multidimensional complexity of humans to one defining trait. Once someone is described [translated] using one of these labels, that is all you need to know about them. They become transparent (p. 218).

Bringing these assertions into the context of the CCAPRCD, I argue that the media's tendency to reframe and re-crop cultural translations into immutable and often detrimental (essentializing) stereotypes demonstrates how media can shed negative light on various cultural and religious practices, or label and frame in a certain way, *mistranslating* the represented objects or subjects in question. Such mistranslations are *especially* nefarious in a context such as the CCAPRCD and the debate on reasonable accommodation, where most individuals of either in-group or out-group membership relied on the news media to provide insight into a rather complex social and cultural situation. Nuanced and plural representations are necessary in these contexts precisely to avoid falling into the trap of generalizing and essentializing cultures and individuals.

The link between 'static' cultural translation and intersemiotic translation can thus be resumed along the following lines: due to the intersemiotic translation of verbal and visual news content pertaining to the CCAPRCD and reasonable accommodation, certain cultural translations were created, and in the process, these cultural translations formed stereotypes and cumulated into discourses about Canadian and Québécois micro-cultures, including, but not limited to, specific cultural, religious and ethnic groups.

Cultural translation also occurred elsewhere in the context of the CCAPRCD, but in a slightly different manner and this is where my second conceptualization of cultural translation comes into question. In this case, the result is somewhat more heartening

from the perspective of cultural understanding. In the previous paragraph, I used the word 'static' to qualify instances of cultural translation in which the represented object/subject is *translated* in and by the news media, much like cultures are *translated* in and by museum exhibits or by food labels and food packaging. In these 'static' scenarios, one party is deprived agency, meaning that it is the agent in power (institutional power; commercial incentive or commercial power; political power; news outlet bias and journalistic power; etc.) that *represents and translates*, as opposed to the agent that does not have power and thus does not translate. Yet, there exists *another* kind of cultural translation, one that I have tentatively named ***cultural translation in action***. In this latter conceptualization of cultural translation, both parties (here, the subjects would have to be sentient individuals, capable of communicating) attempt to translate one another *for* each other, much like intercultural communication but with an added emphasis on finding frames of references that are intelligible for both interlocutors despite their divergent cultural backgrounds. This does not necessarily mean that the outcome is always favorable (i.e. the idealistic 'bridge-building' that is often evoked in TS or the simplistic and often criticized Canadian narrative pertaining to the multicultural mosaic), but at the very least, the distribution of power between 'Self' and 'Other' is substantially more balanced (i.e. increased equal opportunity to "speak for oneself"¹⁶⁹ (Spivak, 1988)). As Simon (1997) states: "Instead of serving as a bridge between already given cultural entities, translation becomes an activity of cultural creation. The bridge, in other words, brings into being the realities which it links" (p. 472). Thus cultural translation in action is

¹⁶⁹ That said, it is important to note that escaping one's personal ideology and worldview is hardly an easy feat. Inevitably, individuals are also likely to frame *themselves*.

about *creating* new opportunities for shared intercultural engagement and communication.

While it could be argued that cultural translation in action did occur to some degree in a few corpus examples (for instance, in the example in which a Caucasian Canadian woman attempts to “translate” Muslim women/the hijab for a presumably non-Islamic audience), the exertion of power was predominantly asymmetrical, falling more into the category of ‘static’ cultural translation. Thus, the most compelling instance of cultural translation **in action**, where the distribution of power was in some ways more evenly distributed, was not located in the press coverage of the CCPARCD, part of which was included in Chapter 3’s corpus, but rather in the Commission’s ***citizen forums***. The Commission’s forums (“citizen forums”) consisted of hearings in 17 cities¹⁷⁰ throughout the province of Québec. The overarching goals of the forums were to “inform the Commission of the viewpoints of Quebecers of different generations, backgrounds and regions of Québec on the management of diversity and Quebecers’ shared values; [to] create a spirit and a forum conducive to dialogue between Quebecers of different origins; [to] encourage reflection in the main communities concerned¹⁷¹”. Each citizens’ forum followed a three-step procedure: 1) the Commission co-chairs presented the forums’ themes and discussion topics to the participants (a mix of various micro-cultures), 2) followed by participant contributions, and finally, 3) concluding remarks about the exchanged ideas were given by the co-chairs. Evidently, the key themes up for discussion

¹⁷⁰ The 17 cities are: Montreal, Montreal Côte-des-Neiges, Sherbrooke, Laval, Drummondville, Saint-Georges, Québec, Trois-Rivières, Longueuil, Saint-Hyacinthe, Bonaventure, Rimouski, Joliette, St-Jérôme, Sanguenay, Sept-Îles, Rouyn-Noranda, and Gatineau.

¹⁷¹ CCPARCD <http://www.accommodements.qc.ca/consultation-publique/finalite-en.html> Retrieved 10 Nov. 2008

largely revolved around notions of assimilation, tolerance, accommodation, stereotyping and misconceptions about cultural differences, gender equality, human rights and other related issues. Citizens who chose willingly to contribute their experiences, opinions and observations, were given approximately 2 to 3 minutes of “air-time” and were allowed to express themselves on any topic relating to accommodation and cultural differences provided that they were “tempered and civil”¹⁷². In some rare and unfortunate cases, the forums received bad press for being a soapbox opportunity for the voices of xenophobia, racism, sexism and intolerance. For example, during the citizens’ forum in Québec City, a woman blatantly stated that she would never send her child to a school that tolerated the *kirpan*, claiming that “on a bad day, students [wearing the kirpan] would certainly use it as a weapon”, while a second participant, this time an elderly man, claimed that he found it “unfair that grocery stores favoured Jewish clients by providing a wide-range of *kosher* products, which consequently raised the prices of other products for the average non-Jewish consumer”¹⁷³. In the end, both of these contributions were tempered by the co-chairs (and in the case of the comments on kosher products, dismissed completely as being anti-Semitic and empirically unfounded). Though these examples reveal a more reprehensible side of cultural translation in action (much like the trivialized hijab ‘documentary’ excerpted from the corpus), it is still important to note that the citizen forums were unique *and* remarkable in that they gave nearly *every* citizen, regardless of

¹⁷² <http://www.accommodements.qc.ca/consultation-publique/finalite-en.html>

¹⁷³ I witnessed these contributions in person seeing as I attended the Québec City citizens’ forum as part of my doctoral research. The original contributions were in French, and the English quotes provided here are my translation. However, the quotes were largely taken up by the Québécois mainstream media, for instance: <http://www.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/National/2007/10/29/004-cbt-quebec-lundi.shtml?ref=rss>.

cultural background or social status, the opportunity to *have* a voice; to translate and represent *themselves*; to translate *their* value and belief systems *for* other individuals, in a real-time setting—the exact parameters that qualify the citizen forums as an example of **cultural translation in action**. The parameter of “face-to-face” (Lévinas, 1985), i.e. real-time contact between ‘Selves’ and ‘Others’ who are actually in each other’s presence, is equally significant: when people communicate in face-to-face settings, they tend not only to be more self-aware but they also tend to be more aware of the ‘Other’ (cf. Basalamah, 2005, p. 63). Psychologically and ethically, this fact might impact how ‘Selves’ translate ‘Others’ as well as how ‘Selves’ and ‘Others’ self-translate as well. When trying to be understood, participants were more likely to use metaphors and analogies that made sense to other participants present in the audience. Undeniably, the opportunity to self-translate to and for others was certainly a positive factor for smaller micro-cultures who generally did—and still do not—have a “voice” in the context of larger mass media institutions largely responsible for so many of the detrimental stereotypes of “Otherness” disseminated over the course of the 2006 to 2008 case study period. However, the previous statements should be nuanced; though the distribution of power was certainly more evenly distributed, it is necessary to take into account the role of the presiding co-Chairs of the Commission. While this point cannot be fully addressed given the scope of this chapter, future research in respect to similar Commissions mustn't neglect the fundamental role played by those *mediating* citizen contributions.

Returning to cultural translation, in terms of both conceptualizations, but especially for cultural translation in action, it is possible to align interlinguistic translation

strategies with some of the strategies used by participants in their in-person contributions and written contributions in the context of the CCAPRCD. The strategies used by 'cultural translators' (ostensibly the citizen participants) during cultural translation in action generally followed the same common trends found in interlinguistic translation (an observation that can also be applied to 'static' cultural translation, as illustrated with the museum curation example): either there appeared to be a very conscious and concerted effort on behalf of many citizens, regardless of origin, to discuss diverging cultural practices and beliefs in frames (Goffman, 1974) that could be intelligible for both interlocutors (i.e. a desire to encourage and foster understanding, akin to a sort of 'common ground', or, a desire to be understood, *heard*), while on the other hand, other participants refused to try and 'mediate' their beliefs, opting for a more uncompromising stance (which to some extent may correspond to a sort of resistance, or refusal to find "common ground").

Another novel aspect of cultural translation in action is the fact that the translation of cultural practices was not carried out by a single, exclusive and authoritative 'translator', but rather, in a succession of contributions by 'citizen-translators', ranging from community leaders (e.g. Cardinal Marc Ouellet; Max Gros-Louis), scholars (e.g. les Professeures et chercheuses de l'Université Laval; la Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions de l'Université de Montreal), individuals, spiritual leaders (e.g. Assemblée des évêques catholiques du Québec; B'nai Brith Canada), politicians or representatives of political parties (e.g. Bloc Québécois, Liberal Party, NDP, etc.), and representatives from a wide range of social organizations (e.g. Conseil

québécois des gais et des lesbiennes; Fédération des femmes du Québec; Muslim Women of Québec; Association québécoise des professeurs de français; etc.).

Cultural translation ('static' and 'in action') can therefore be linked to intersemiotic translation, because by 'translating cultures', inevitably different sign systems are transformed. For instance, a participating citizen might translate cultural iconographic content by verbal means, carrying out at once cultural translation (explaining the cultural elements in intelligible terms for his or her interlocutor) and intersemiotic translation (describing iconographic/visual content using a verbal code).

To summarize, the previous section has sought to list, define and provide succinct examples/explanations of four sub-types of *translation that occurred during the CCAPRCD or that are linked to its activities/surrounding debate (i.e. the larger debate on reasonable accommodation). These four types are, again, **interlingual translation**, **intersemiotic translation**, **'static' cultural translation** (asymmetrical power dynamic; asynchronous), and **cultural translation in action** (synchronous cultural translation between sentient individuals). Though interlingual translation is of less concern here, it is still important to acknowledge its role in the dissemination of CCPARCD-related texts and official documents. Intersemiotic translation and cultural translation (both types) are often invariably linked, and it is this relationship that will be further analyzed in the following section using the corpus examples of Chapter 3.

The Effects of Intersemiotic Translation: Cultural Translations and Negative Cultural Stereotyping

The study of media representations is not a novel area of academic inquiry. In the 1980s and 1990s (roughly coinciding with TS's cultural turn and newer immigration waves in the Western world), cultural studies and media studies began to increasingly analyze the ways in which media outlets exerted representational power. The mediation of cultural reality inevitably involves, as in the case of the museum, the careful selection of images, viewpoints, news stories, headlines, etc. The fact that news outlets can sift through large volumes of content and select what they consider newsworthy¹⁷⁴ grants them tremendous social clout. The media plays an omnipresent role in shaping opinions and understandings of reality—a role that for a long time went unquestioned and unchallenged, until the more recent advent of online social media which has given rise to the citizen voice by means of blogging, micro-blogging, instant photo messaging, etc.

Newman (2009) observes:

In the news and information sphere, the dramatic street protests, following the Iranian elections of June 2009 provided just the latest example of how these new internet tools like YouTube, Facebook and Twitter have begun to change the way media is produced, distributed and consumed. The role of participatory and social media in Iran and earlier examples such as the Mumbai attacks in 2008 have caused New York academic and blogger Jeff Jarvis to argue that 'the witnesses are taking over the news' that we are witnessing a historic shift of control from traditional news organisations to the audience themselves. (p. 4)

¹⁷⁴ "[...] la dépendance des médias d'information envers les sources privilégiées survalorise le point de vue des autorités publiques (gouvernement, police, armée, etc.) et celui des organisations disposant de services professionnels de relations publiques. Ils exercent un rôle « d'arbitre » quand à « l'accès à l'existence sociale », distribuant les droits de parole ou d'accès à l'espace public et décidant quel individu ou groupe est *reconnu* ou *exclu*, *crédible* ou non. Ce pouvoir de faire exister des idées, des représentations et des groupes, ce « monopole » sur la production des représentations communes, » selon Bourdieu, pourrait signifier un « détournement du politique » (Potvin, 2008, p. 27". Cf. Bourdieu, 1996.

However, though there is an increasing shift of power from media conglomerates to citizen voices in the context of this predominantly Web-based information era, the ‘institutional’ reporting of current affairs still informs a significant percentage of the Canadian population. During the 2006 to 2008 period surrounding the debate on reasonable accommodation and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, seldom were the days when the collocation “reasonable accommodation” (*“accommodement raisonnable”*) failed to make appearance in Québec daily news coverage. The Québec press fervently tackled and discussed all angles of the topic. And though this project did not pool data from all press outlets and platforms, my analysis of specific web-based content¹⁷⁵, Potvin’s newspaper analysis (Québec French-language dailies)¹⁷⁶, and statistics provided by *The Gazette*¹⁷⁷, would seem to corroborate the quasi-omnipresence of “reasonable accommodation” discussion in Québec press during this period. Given the media’s influence in terms of creating and sustaining discourses on the relationships between Canadian micro-cultures¹⁷⁸, in conjunction with the widespread coverage of the reasonable accommodation debate over a two-year period, the ways in which the media represented different Canadian micro-cultures, the ways in which they went or did not go about including a plurality of voices (not just across racial and cultural lines, but across

¹⁷⁵ My initial corpus comprised 72 web pages; 31 of which are analyzed and transcribed in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁶ “Nous avons recueilli un total de 1105 articles de presse, soit 451 articles de type événementiel, 263 éditoriaux, chroniques et lettres d’intellectuels, 391 lettres de lecteurs, du 1^{er} mars 2006 au 30 avril 2007. Nous avons divisé ces articles en deux catégories : ceux qui portaient sur les « accommodements raisonnables » en général [...] et ceux qui portaient spécifiquement sur les 12 cas sélectionnés et analysés (527 articles). De plus, 734 commentaires sur les deux blogues ont été recueillis. Au total **1839** textes ont été analysés (Potvin, 2008, p. 59).”

¹⁷⁷ According to *The Gazette*, an English-language Montreal daily newspaper, over 900 international press articles discussed the Hérouxville code of conduct (Potvin, 2008; “Charest Right to Move on Reasonable Accommodation” http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=7f4b5c8c-73c2-41fa-8cad-fb1fc399a676&sponsor Retrieved 30 November 2012)

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Guillaumin (1972).

social strata as well), the extent to which they spoke on behalf of both the “Nous Québécois” (“Us) and “les Autres” (“Them”), and the ways in which they may have magnified existing cultural tensions resulting in *increased* intolerance of difference are all compelling research avenues. These questions are quite similar to those developed in cultural studies and media studies analyses, but here, I will seek to supplement the critical analysis with insights from TS, perhaps providing a ‘fresh’ approach to news analysis in a Canadian context.

In Chapter 3, I have conceptualized the 31 transcribed web-page examples as intersemiotic translations, meaning that the relationship between the visual content and the verbal content is not *simply* the result of a selection process (i.e. the editor informally choosing a photograph to illustrate a verbal text), but rather, the product of multiple symbiotic semiotic transformations. When visual and verbal content is juxtaposed, their individual meanings and interpretations have the potential to shift tremendously from reader to reader. For instance, in the 31 examples, most of the visual content depicts people of various cultural and racial backgrounds carrying out rather mundane tasks: walking around town, standing outside, sitting at a desk, etc. Isolated from the verbal ‘translation’ (verbal content), the visual content can be interpreted in a variety of ways, most of which I would argue are likely innocuous, unless the reader-viewer has had a previous negative encounter or experience (i.e. personal experience) with the represented micro-culture (individual or group). In other words, the reader is ‘free’ to understand the visual content however he or she wishes, given that there is no ‘institutional’ voice to provide translation. In a similar vein, without the pictorial

elements, a reader is 'free' to form whatever mental visual representation of the verbal text they wish. For example, let us consider a headline from the corpus: *Les Québécois ne sont pas si ouverts* (Québécois not so open-minded¹⁷⁹). In the interpretation of this headline, it is rather likely that readers would piece together substantially different mental images (i.e. create a 'visual translation' in their minds that would depict the headline). For instance, a victim of xenophobia and racism might create a mental image of a Caucasian, French-speaking Québécois, playing on some of the common descriptive common denominators of the "Nous" narrative as the headline utilizes the words "Québécois", "pas si" (negation), "ouverts" (open-minded) (equation: a person who is Québécois, who is not open-minded = X mental image). However, another reader might construct a far more abstract mental representation, drawing from encyclopaedic or situational knowledge (for example, this reader might think of Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, as the 'faces' of the debate surrounding tolerance and reasonable accommodation). And though readers are *always* 'free' to interpret content in this way, the translating 'institutional voice' necessarily affects interpretation, perhaps giving precedence to the institutional interpretation (i.e. what the media *wishes* the reader to infer in order provoke certain reactions). Thus, interpretation is a variable that is contingent on two elements: encyclopaedic or situational knowledge, past experience and the degree of intersemiotic translation provided by the media¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁹ My translation.

¹⁸⁰ "[...] comme une représentation mentale, ou comme un modèle construit par les [lecteurs] à propos d'une telle situation (Potvin, 2008, p. 54)"

In the corpus examples, the process of intersemiotic translation has often resulted in the use of stereotypical representations of cultural 'Otherness' (e.g. the Muslim woman who wears a hijab; the Orthodox Jew wearing traditional garments; the Black man framed as potential criminal) to translate certain lexical units, for instance the words 'tolérance' (and its derivatives), 'accommodement raisonnable', 'racistes', 'immigrants', 'Muslims', etc. A notable effect of this kind of 'systematic' (i.e. recurrent and indicative of a trend) intersemiotic translation is that the reader is constantly confronted with a 'static' cultural translation of the represented micro-cultures. Like the museum artefacts and the food labels previously discussed, the visual content that portrays the 'Other' is not necessarily selected by the 'Other', but rather *for* the 'Other', providing only a limited look into different belief systems and cultural practices that may be 'behind the scenes'. Potvin (2008) has identified eight specific discursive 'mechanisms' to assess how power structures and cultural representations are created in the media to support the hypothesis that the media did indeed exacerbate cultural tensions between micro-cultural in-groups and out-groups in the context of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission coverage. The eight mechanisms are: negative dichotomization (*dichotomisation négative*; creating in-group/out-group boundaries); devaluation (*infériorisation*); homogenization (*homogénéisation*); victimization (*victimisation*); worst-case scenarios (*catastrophisme*); demonization (*diabolisation*); political legitimizing (*légitimation politique*); and wish to oust the 'Other' (*le désir d'expulser l'Autre*). Incidentally, Potvin's mechanisms resemble many of the translation techniques discussed in TS, particularly in

literary contexts or in postcolonial research, which I argue only strengthens the argument of positioning translation as a lens for analyzing cultural representation in the media.

In all of the corpus examples, the eight mechanisms were consistently deployed. In-group/out-group boundaries were reinforced simply by virtue of the 'Nous' rarely being represented visually and 'Others' being represented visually in a systematic way (cf. Chapter 3, SoF). Out of the 31 corpus examples, only a select few portray stereotypical (Caucasian; Western dress) Québécois, most of which are in fact political figures (e.g. Pauline Marois), or socially recognizable figures (spiritual leaders such as Cardinal Marc Ouellet). In short, whenever a headline decries that the in-group is being intolerant, racist or xenophobic ("*Les Québécois se disent racistes*"), on no account is this group visually represented. Instead, the 'social problem', i.e. the cause of Québécois' racist tendencies, is generally what is depicted by the intersemiotic 'static' cultural translation (negative stereotype) provided by the media (e.g. visual content of a visible minority micro-culture). Moreover, given that the images are often more visually salient than the headlines, it is possible to suggest from the outset that readers will generally latch onto the visual content as opposed to focusing on the verbal sub-clusters. In other words, a reader is more likely to equate the visually translated 'Other', i.e. "'Other' = problem", as opposed to granting more attention to what appears in the verbal content).

The second mechanism, devaluation, consists in trivializing, ridiculing or minimizing the importance of cultural, religious, linguistic practices specific to out-group micro-cultures. The corpus comprised two telling instances: the first example is the 'exposé' on 'being' a Muslim woman ("*Dans la peau d'une femme voilée*"), and the second

are the examples that equated the kirpan with a weapon as opposed to legitimizing it as a devotional item (e.g. “Timeline: The Quebec kirpan case”; “*L’accommodement raisonnable à l’école*”). In the case of “*Dans la peau d’une femme voilée*”, the hijab is implicitly portrayed as a ‘costume’, something that one ‘puts on’ to become Muslim, abstracting any of the religious and cultural tenets that may be associated to it (e.g. modesty; piety), and, as a result, trivializing what it may mean to some women. In the case of the kirpan, though the media never explicitly translated the devotional item as weapon (e.g. “the kirpan *is a weapon*”), it nonetheless focalized on its resemblance to a dagger, particularly in the visual content of “*L’accommodement raisonnable à l’école*” (pointy, sharp edge; robust handle; placed in a holster) (cf. RCAN, #1 in Chapter 3).

The third mechanism, homogenizing, tends to amalgamate differences or distinguishing cultural markers into single overarching groups (Potvin (2008) provides “immigrants” as an example). Thus, an ‘Other’ is no longer an individual in their own right, but simply a token of a larger group from which they cannot be disassociated, which ties in with Cronin’s (2009) previous remarks. In the corpus, examples intersemiotic cultural translations of “les immigrants” (“*Les immigrants disent ne pas être traités également*”) depict specific individuals (**a** black man; **a** Muslim woman, **a** Jewish man), and yet, they are grouped together under the umbrella term “immigrants”—in this example, instead of the image or visual being “worth a thousand words”, the word can invoke a number of different visuals. Furthermore, in suggesting that all “immigrants” are the same, and that by extension they must all share the same ‘flaws’, the media creates an essentialist/stereotypical cultural translation of ‘Other’ micro-cultures. Interestingly,

generalization was not strictly applied to 'Other' micro-cultures. In fact, in a few verbal headlines, the word "Québécois" appears to designate a supposedly homogenous group as well (here, again, the 'Nous' narrative). The qualifiers "tolérants" and "racistes" are used interchangeably (which is problematic because they are antonyms) to describe this group, and yet the same argument can be made: *Québécois* does not refer to homogeneous group, but rather, a heterogeneous group of individuals who live in and share the same social/geographic spaces. Generalizing both groups as "immigrants" and "racists" simply reinforces existing cultural tensions or creates new ones, in turn promoting discourses that pit domestic readers against potential newcomers and recent immigrants. Consequently, such stereotyping mechanisms do not do justice to micro-cultures, nor do they foster an environment in which cultural understanding—however minimal—could occur.

With regards to victimization, the fourth mechanism, interestingly, the corpus did not comprise many examples in which the in-group was represented as a victim through the process of intersemiotic translation (i.e. the verbal/visual transformations between headlines and visually salient content did not represent Québécois as victims, though many of the full-text articles did uptake this theme). In fact, the opposite trend occurred: in two examples, "*Les Lavallois de religion musulmane sont inquiets*" and "*B'nai Brith s'inquiète*", it is the out-groups that are portrayed as being the victims of vandalism, threats and slander. One example, "*La faute de l'actualité*", even makes a point of accusing that the in-group online media might for some of the cultural misunderstandings associated with reasonable accommodation practices. This runs counter to

Potvin's (2008) definition of victimization, which she states usually involves a role reversal: "La victimisation comporte un renversement des rôles et son auto-justification: c'est l'Autre qui est raciste en ne respectant pas « Nos normes », par exemple ; celui qui se positionne comme victime estime qu'il doit assurer (et justifier) sa « légitime défense »", (p.56).

In regard to worst-case scenarios, two examples are particularly evocative: the headlines "Hérouxville fait des petits" and "Affair Hérouxville: doit-on modifier la Charte des droits?" both imply that if things are to continue as they are (at press time), then the in-group will have to 'deal with' multiple instances of Hérouxville-like debate or a revision of current law. Presumably, this would only serve to exacerbate already existing tensions and perceived social problems. Such change also evokes uncertainty which would destabilize the current status quo (i.e. what does it mean to change "our" laws to accommodate "them"? Would "we" be negatively affected? Why must "we" change "our" ways because of "them"?). But worst-case scenarios can also occur in discourse generated by out-groups; the idea of being "whitewashed" (i.e. 'Others' modifying voluntarily, or out of necessity, traits that are conceived as 'flaws' by the dominant group into traits that are seen as 'normal' by the dominant group: e.g. erasing physical markers of difference such as skin colour, hair texture and even adjusting one's wardrobe) is evoked by some minority groups to suggest—accurately or inaccurately, depending on the case and context—that the dominant group is exerting pressure to conform to their norms, effectively 'erasing' markers of 'Otherness'. For an individual or group trying to latch onto a sense of authenticity, this can represent a worst-case scenario, given that

they are essentially losing their 'Self. Interestingly, even in cases where 'Others' adapt voluntarily, this may threaten or instill fear in the in-group micro-cultures in that the 'Other' is now 'hidden' amongst the 'Selves'.

In terms of demonization, the corpus examples point to an interesting trend: in the headlines, the Québécois are demonized, alluded to as being “racistes” and “intolérants”. Yet, this is offset by an equal number of other headlines claiming just the opposite: e.g. “Les Québécois sont-ils trop tolérants?”. If we consider the visual trend instead of the verbal trend, the opposite occurs: **visually**, it is the other micro-cultures that are demonized. The micro-groups are not represented in their diversity, but rather in essential differential traits. For instance, while veiled Muslim women constituted a recurrent visual cluster (and here the veil is a stand-in for not wanting to ‘reveal’ oneself, i.e. manipulation/complicit behaviour working within the framework of demonization), in no case was the viewer presented with a visual representation of a Muslim woman who was not veiled (given that the veil is a choice, ostensibly there are ‘unveiled’ Muslim women). In other words, visual content that would run counter to the dominant trend and account for group diversity was limited. Thus, viewers are likely to essentialize these ‘Others’ as homogeneous entities as opposed to being open to the possibility that ‘They’ are not all ‘the same’.

The corpus comprises a few examples of political legitimizing. A particularly telling example is the juxtaposition of the headline “Les Québécois ne sont pas plus racistes que les autres” which is translated visually by a picture of Dan Philips, president of the *Black Coalition of Québec (Ligue des Noirs du Québec)*. Here, as a sort of reassurance, a minority

leader claims that Québécois are ‘no worse’ than other dominant micro-cultures, and, in a way, legitimizes the notion that Québécois (“Nous”) are right to fear the ‘Other’ and refuse to accommodate cultural difference¹⁸¹. Incidentally, other political figures and community leaders are represented in the corpus, but for the most part, both visually and verbally, these representations are of in-group leaders. Once more, though they exist and did take part in the Commission’s activities, community leaders representing minority groups were for the most part eclipsed in visually salient clusters, the only exception being the man framed as the “Lavallois de religion musulmane”, who was not identified personally.

Finally, the desire to oust the ‘Other’ constituted another implicit mechanism in the corpus. By focusing on differential markers (dress, religious symbols, skin colour, etc.), visually salient clusters inevitably differentiated what was deemed ‘normal’ (acceptable, tolerable) and what was not. Perhaps this was not an overt exiling of cultural ‘Others’, but in terms of social effects, the visual discourse reverberated in everyday social practices (Muslim women being ostracized because of their choice to wear the veil; men of darker skin colour assumed to be criminals, violent, oppressive towards women or even potential terrorists; discriminate screening practices in airports, courts, embassies, etc.).

Though it might be difficult to collect correlation and causation statistics (cf. Potvin, 2008, p. 58) pertaining to the effects of these intersemiotic cultural translations in both mundane occurrences and exceptional situations, the relevance of

¹⁸¹ “[...] banalisation du discours d’intolérance et récupération politique par certaines personnalités publiques ou autorités, afin de construire un enjeu et de légitimer une situation aux yeux d’une partie de la population, qui peut y trouver l’occasion d’exprimer son exaspération” (Potvin, 2008, p. 57).

such analyses should not be underestimated. Studies that ‘deconstruct’ these mechanisms to reveal patterns and trends may provide insight as to how to counter and resist the media’s *mistranslations*¹⁸².

It is here that another *translation sub-type finds its relevance: **civic translation** can act as a useful concept to help policy-makers and cultural mediators to think of multicultural management and civic engagement. Civic translation, a term proposed by Basalamah (2005), can be defined as a practice that involves ‘citizen translators’ that work to revert or dispel cultural *mistranslations*, with ethical intent. The term ‘citizen translator’ can be defined along the lines of Howard-Hassman’s (2003) term ‘civic leaders’:

I call the people I interviewed civic leaders. By this term I mean leaders of civil society at the local level. [...] These individuals both reflected and led public opinion [...] Most of them were or had been active in numerous civic associations. [...] most had very long and complex histories of civic activism. Many had been instrumental in identifying and fulfilling mandates for reform in various social and political sectors. Finally, many had been responsible for raising funds and distributing benefits in a wide variety of service and charitable organizations (p. 5).

In regard to civic *translation*, Basalamah (*ibid*) explains more thoroughly that:

Ni mercenaire, ni objet sacrificiel de l’exigence commerciale, le traducteur [civique] est bel et bien plutôt cet agent de médiation «transculturel» (Nouss, 1997, p. 262) qui, prenant acte de ses responsabilités envers toutes les cultures auxquelles il appartient, prend la liberté de traduire en affirmant la cohésion entre son individualité et sa fonction traductive. [...] Du traducteur professionnel, l’on passe au traducteur engagé. Le critère essentiel n’étant plus de «coopérer» avec le client pour amortir les investissements de temps et d’argent de part et d’autre, mais de pousser jusqu’au bout le rôle de « conseiller en communication » ou d’ « expert en relations interculturelles » (p.62).

¹⁸² “This brings us back to the requirement of situating the discourse into a broader social discourse universe as means of understanding the utterances themselves, but adds to it *the task of positioning these utterances into a larger socio-historical framework* for adequate interpretation” (Barsky, 2000, p. 58).

Within the case study framework, civic translation may be seen as having occurred during the CCAPRCD when citizens presented their contributions during the citizens' forums. Indeed, in an attempt to amend negative stereotypes or to explain the rationale behind a reluctance to integrate or tolerate, citizens effectively *translated themselves to each other*. Though they perhaps never admitted consciously that they were at times countering the press' representations of the debate, these citizens *resisted* cultural translation that had a commercial incentive (i.e. the press wanting to perhaps capitalize on a 'hot topic' debate; the press instigating and abetting cultural tensions borne out of systematic stereotyping, as well as disseminating detrimental cultural *mistranslations*). **Civic translation** is thus a form of cultural translation in action that rather than creating dissonance between groups, seeks to identify points of convergence within spaces of divergence, i.e. is a process that looks to identify the *tertium comparationis*¹⁸³ (or what others have called 'the universal'¹⁸⁴) between divergent micro-cultures. From a TS perspective, Cronin (2009) explains astutely:

¹⁸³ The concept of *tertium comparationis* is central to studies that seek to compare and contrast. It has particular resonance in the field of comparative linguistics, where linguistic possibilities are compared and contrasted, so that ultimately a choice can be made based on finding a sort of 'common denominator' (cf. Jaszczolt, n.d.). Jaszczolt explains that the *tertium comparationis* is essentially a platform of reference, where different elements can find commonality/common denomination (whether syntactically, lexically, or semantically) (p. 2)

¹⁸⁴ I am reluctant to use the word 'universal' as I do feel it falls prey to criticism that would suggest its utopian connotation. The concept of universalism has also been criticized, particularly given the often asymmetrical distribution of power between those who claim what is to be universal and those who do not have the power to make such claims. However, studies in psychology may provide other ways of circumscribing the notion of 'universal'. For instance, Maslow's hierarchy of needs may be one such direction TS could take when evaluating the actions of translators (whether linguistic, cultural, intersemiotic or civic translators), or that translators could consider when trying to find a '*platform of reference*' or '*tertium comparationis*'. Maslow's 'needs' are physiological, safety, belonging, esteem and self-actualization and are central to the development of humans' cognitive competency—from my understanding of Maslow's work, it is thus difficult to suggest that these 'needs' are not 'universal', since they stem from physiological, psychological and cognitive development. That said, critics have argued the use of a pyramid or hierarchical structure to classify each stratum of needs. Incidentally, Maslow

The reason is that in translation we have the creation of some form of shared sense, some degree of commonality, which gives substance to the idea of translation as not the uncovering of a universal substrate, waiting to be revealed, but the contingent construction of a *bottom-up commonality* [my emphasis]. It is in this conflicted sense that translation can provide a way of thinking about contemporary multilingual and multicultural societies that moves beyond universalism and schismatic relativism. Christopher Prendergast, drawing on the work of Victor Segalen, claimed that we "are never 'closer' to another culture (and hence liberated from the raps of ethnocentrism) than when we fail to understand it [...]"(p. 219).

In this sense, civic translation is akin to a form of alternate dispute resolution (ADR): the civic translator—a community leader, a group representative, or any individual with an interest or stake in the debate—translates the needs, the feelings, the emotions, of one party in hope not necessarily of finding some utopian middle-ground or trivial universal, but rather to find a sufficient number of *bottom-up* commonalities with shared cultural relevance in order to transgress the conflict or reassess prevailing stereotypes. In other words, a civic translator (and by extension, civic translation) would, at the very least, attempt to portray seemingly incomprehensible cultural practices into more comprehensible ones using strategies that come from individuals not necessarily from top-down institutions or policies. Therefore, civic translation, understood as form of *alternative* can also be described as a *choice* within a system of communication: within an endless possibility of actions (e.g choosing to understand, choosing not to understand, choosing to mediate, not to mediate, etc.) in a given system (in this case the system of multicultural management and policy-making, as well as the system of

never used a hierarchy or pyramid to classify each category. Though this debate falls largely out of the scope of this research, what is of particular relevance for translation, translators and TS is the fact that this list of needs can be used as a framework to translate across cultures, acting as a template for a provisional 'platform of reference' or '*tertium comparationis*' (cf. Maslow, 1943; Simons, Irwin and Drinnien, 1987).

Canadian/Québécois press), a civic translator can opt for *maybe* (Westley et al., 2006). In their work, Westley, Zimmerman and Patton (*ibid*) suggest that when it comes to fostering *radical* change, be it reverting shoddy business practices, attempting to implement more strategic and ethical epidemiological studies, managing multicultural complexities or simply acknowledging the good in everyday social practices, perhaps the barometer should not be fixed at ‘success’ but rather opening up spaces of ‘maybe’. In translation, spaces of ‘maybe’ can be compared to all the potential target texts that may be derived from a single source text. Westley et al. (2006) state:

It is a pivotal time. We need to be change-makers—and very capable ones at that. Over the past two hundred years, human society has developed exceptional ingenuities, proficiencies, organizations and systems of the task of making *things*—from steam engines to microchips. Going forward, we must learn to be equally adept at the task of making *change*. It's an essential modern competency. In fact, the challenge of change has begun to draw an interesting and diverse assortment of players, and their numbers have been growing over the last few years. [...] The recent growth in the field has been astonishing to observe. It is evidence of the urgency we face and an indication that social change has move from the margins to the mainstream. But how can we move the dial on our most complex and seemingly intractable social problems. How can we be more than just anxious critics of the status quo or wishful thinkers about a better future, and become actual and effective agents for large-scale transformations? These are the questions that *Getting to Maybe* sets out to address. There are no simple formulas—serious and significant social change necessarily involves recognizing and dealing with complex systems, which seem to operate with a logic and life of their own, and far from inert, and battle (like the living organisms with which we are more familiar) for their own preservation. But if you're willing to open your mind to the *nature* of these systems, you will discover a world of possibilities. (p. ix)

In this sense, civic translation is not about finding the ‘in-between’—Tymoczko (2003) and Brisset (1997) have both shown why translation and the translator cannot be placed or conceptualized as being ‘in-between’. Further, this process does **not** imply neutrality on behalf of the civic translator, as neutrality is a myth that has been disproved in both the

disciplines of translation studies and conflict studies (cf. Venuti, 1998; Baker, 2006). As a corollary observation, Tymoczko (2003) explains:

This is also the direction that anthropology and ethnography have taken: these disciplines have come to acknowledge that an ethnographer or anthropologist can never stand in a neutral or free space between cultures, but of necessity operates within some cultural framework, notably the constraints of his or her own primary cultural system. [...] Indeed, it is only by recognizing the position that the investigator [translator] holds within a system, that one can understand the ideological contingencies and presuppositions of the investigation itself. (p. 196)

Indeed, instead, the civic translator admits his or her subjectivity from the outset, and remains open to the possibility of questioning that subjectivity. Civic translation is thus about opening up a possibility of dialogue between divergent entities within systems that are facing complex challenges. Shifting demographics, globalization, multicultural policy-making all constitute sub-systems in which civic translation can act as a viable mechanism for change, echoing the claim by Buden (2006) in regard to cultural translation bringing about social change. Enabling citizens to 'translate' their cultural frameworks, their ideologies, their cultural practices and their *needs* (in Maslow's conceptualization of the term), to position citizens as civic translators in spaces like the CCAPRCD's forums, does not forcibly create successful 'cultural understanding' but works towards creating *potential* platforms of reference. While the citizen forums of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission are one example of a space that fosters these types of exchanges, Basalamah (2010) proposes that these kinds of citizen forums become mainstays in Canadian culture:

Concrètement, il s'agira de créer, de manière systématique mais indépendante de l'État, une sorte d'*agora citoyenne* organisée simultanément partout au Québec [and I would argue in Canada] en partant des quartiers, des municipalités, des régions et ainsi de suite par délégation jusqu'à la province. Dans ce forum public,

et autrement que dans la [Commission Bouchard-Taylor] où on devait s'adresser qu'aux seuls commissaires, les citoyens seront appelés à *se parler directement* et à mettre périodiquement sur la table des « questions qui fâchent », des problèmes épineux et des demandes d'explication relatives aux différences culturelles dans le cadre d'un projet social commun à la fois global et inclusif. (p. 31; emphasis in original)

After all, change can only occur in a system that enables it to come to fruition.

Moreover, civic translation can be conceived as a form of 'positive' cultural translation in action; indeed, it is a more ethical way of managing cultural dissonance in that it refutes the *systematic* cultural translation conducted by institutions of power, such as the press media. When power is given to the citizen, such as it was given in the context of the CCAPRCD, and even more so in regard to Basalamah's proposition of on-going forums, an *alternative* set of public narratives and national narratives can come forward. While the press was certainly convincing in its depiction of 'unreasonable accommodation' and 'unreasonable Others', it failed to completely obscure and silence some of the more encouraging narratives of citizen co-existence provided during the citizen forums in which citizens shared ontological narratives of shared cultural experience, suggesting that far from being strictly divisive, intercultural contact was likely far more *transgressive* than the Québec and Canadian press would have the general public (its readership) believe. Again, the goal was not forcibly utopian bridge building, but rather, granting power back to citizens who can translate their own experiences and narratives instead of being incessantly *translated*.

The CCAPRCD citizens' forums are a prime example of what civic translation is about: citizens coming together, in a context that tried (though it may not have always

succeeded, i.e, it 'got to maybe') to level the playing field and give voice to all micro-cultures, not just 'Others' but 'Selves' as well. The participating citizens could translate themselves, challenge the public narratives disseminated by the press, all without the first-line constraints of commercial incentive to which the media often fall prey. Consequently, civic translation is a social movement; more still, it is *radical* in that power is taken away from the institutions which are usually responsible for the circulation and dissemination of cultural representations and thus discourses on national cultural cohesiveness. In the introduction to a series of essays dedicated to Québec civic culture, some observations provided by Gervais, Karmis and Lamoureux (2008) overlap with the definition of civic translation proposed here:

[...] la prise en compte du caractère complexe, hétérogène et conflictuel des communautés politiques constituent le point de départ de la réflexion sur la diversité dans les démocraties libérales. [...] C'est donc pour renverser des relations de domination et des positions subalternes que les nouveaux mouvements sociaux ont contribué à créer des positions émancipatrices qui prennent le registre de positions identitaires. [...] les mouvements sociaux permettent ainsi à des segments marginalisés des communautés politiques d'acquérir une voix et, par conséquent, contribuent à l'inclusion sociale. [...Ce sont] les trois enjeux posés par le «vivre ensemble» et qu'abordent les nouveaux mouvements sociaux : l'inclusion, la non-monopolisation du pouvoir, et l'égalité dans la différence. (p. 11-12)

Prospectively, the citizen forums, the 'site' for civic translation, could be construed as an operational model for multicultural management (Basalamah, 2010). If more democratic, civic opportunities were created to give 'voice' to all micro-cultures, perhaps debates surrounding cultural accommodation and tolerance would never escalate to the level of media frenzy witnessed in Québec during the months leading up to the CCAPRCD. Unfortunately, the optimism must be somewhat attenuated, given that it cannot be said

that the CCAPRCD eradicated all or even most of the cultural tensions in Québec or in the other Canadian provinces. Since the end of the CCAPRCD's activities, notably its forums, a number of other press articles on reasonable accommodation and intolerance have been published, using precisely the same detrimental mechanisms outlined here (*Maclean's*, for instance, is one such current affairs magazine that has published such articles). However, having witnessed some of the citizen forums in person, I argue that they nonetheless constituted a viable starting point for bringing cultural differences around the proverbial 'table' to unpack the increasingly complex challenges brought on by an ever-changing demographic and linguistic landscape. Further, Canada has everything to gain by defining *translation, or specifically **civic translation**, in this manner. As an effective multicultural, multilingual, multisemiotic communicative practice, it can ostensibly serve *all* Canadians. Moreover, civic translation could act as a counterpoint to the media given that commercial success is not the primary goal of the process. In a country that prides itself on *welcoming* (note the lexical choice) immigrants, it seems counterintuitive that some of the main press outlets would choose to systematically stigmatize its new citizens, especially when Canada's economic growth is dependent on immigration. Part of the civic translation model should include ways of integrating civic translators into everyday practices (not just 'one off' citizen forums), such as mainstream journalism, pop culture events, and policy-making. And here, I must be clear: I am not suggesting that civic translation be a synonym for the cosmetic 'multikulti' discourse of the 1980s; the *intent* of civic translation, as it is understood here, is precisely to offset cultural binarism and superficial appropriations of Otherness (cf. Cronin, 2006; 2009). To

use some of the discussion and research being conducted in Food Studies, the idea here is not to simply 'consume' the 'Other' (i.e. eat foreign foods, use 'exotic' culinary terms, and ephemerally 'visit' the 'Other' in an 'exotic' restaurant), but to foster a *dialogue* geared towards the self-actualization (platform of reference) of both interlocutors or groups engaged in the civic translation process. What are often considered antithetical processes often have communal end-goals; civic translation is about managing the process to get towards *maybe* (Westley et al., 2006) reaching that communal end-goal. Culture is not a homogenous, unmalleable entity; it is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated, and the CCAPRCD citizen forums partially exemplify this.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I started by mapping the five *translation sub-types involved in my analysis of the CCAPRCD online media coverage. I then analyzed in greater detail the *effects* of intersemiotic translation through the lens of two other *translation sub-types (cultural translation—static and 'in action'—, and civic translation) as well as through Potvin's (2008) mechanisms which I have likened to interlinguistic translation strategies. Specifically, I considered how interlinguistic translation, intersemiotic translation, cultural translation and civic translation all play a part in the representation of Canadian micro-cultures; in a sense, these practices are all intrinsically linked and all play an integral part in the shaping of discourses and narratives on what it means to be a 'Self' and an 'Other' in Québec and in Canada.

Further, I illustrated how *translation can be deployed as a paradigm for analyzing various aspects of a single case study, particularly in a Canadian context: interlingual translation for linguistic/verbal discourse; intersemiotic translation for the analysis of multimodal, multimedia and multisemiotic content; cultural translation for understanding and interpreting cultural translation; and finally, civic translation for prospective multicultural management and policy-making. In my estimation, the overarching analysis comprising a number of *translation sub-types provided in this chapter makes a compelling case for refuting restrictive definitions of translation in Canada, which related to the initial research objectives outlined in the introduction.

Conclusions: The Visibility of Translation in Canada...

As a practicing professional translator, translator trainer and Translation Studies researcher, I have found the polarizing debate surrounding translation's visibility/invisibility a seemingly inevitable topic. In the early stages of my doctoral research, I had advocated translator/translation visibility without necessarily considering the implications of what 'being visible' really meant. Comparatively, professional translators in Canada fare very well in terms of visibility, particularly those who work within the public sector. Due to the Official Languages Act (OLA), translators are an *integral* part of the federal government's activities. Professional translators are solicited by a number of government entities to ensure that documents, whether of administrative, legal or commercial tenor comply with the OLA's provisions and standards. Public sector translators are generally salaried, can benefit from a certain degree of job security, and avoid many of the minefields associated with freelance translation or literary translation (far less job security, for instance). Thus, in the sense that translators in Canada *can* (and presumably will *always* be able to) find work within the public sector because of the OLA, the 'fight' for visibility rings somewhat hollow. Certainly the plight for visibility in a Canadian context is markedly different than in war-torn or poverty-ridden countries, or, even in countries without *institutionalized* translation; in places where access to information in one's language is not an enshrined right and in places where the translation of certain documents become a matter of life and death...

In the context of this project's concluding observations and comments, I would like to consider translation visibility from another angle: that of the very visible yet undermining description of what it means to translate in Canada. What we have in Canada is a paradox: translation is visible, but it is visible not necessarily for the reasons some translators and TS scholars would wish. Visible yet unrecognized, as it were. For all of translation's necessity in a Canadian context (cf. 1999 Sectoral Report), the relationship we have with it runs along the lines of the following cliché: we love to hate translation and we hate that we love translation. Canadians value translation so much so that they have created provincial and federal organizations to sanction the professional competencies of translators (visibility!); they stand in admiration of translation students who are bilingual and reward these students' academic achievements with accredited translation programs (more visibility!); they consider bilingualism and translation as core elements of the overarching narrative on what it means to be Canadian (Repeal the OLA? Never!)... And yet, official bilingualism—and by extension translation—is the perennial thorn that irks many Canadians: translation slows down government projects; translation is costly; translation is never 'accurate' or 'good'; moreover, according to Census data, the languages we are officially translating into and out of are no longer the languages spoken by many Canadians. Even beyond the confines of the public sector, translation is seen as an added and costly activity, particularly for international companies looking to sell their products across Canada. A product doesn't have the mandatory bilingual label? Unfortunately, it cannot be placed on the shelves. So indeed, translation is very visible—

perhaps too visible, given the fact some commentators would prefer seeing the OLA abolished rather than ‘deal with’ translation. Would invisibility then be the answer?

Instead of proposing that translation ‘disappear’, in the pages of this dissertation I have, in fact, implicitly argued the opposite. I have shown that translation is at the very heart of communication and intercultural contact in Canada. In other words, conceptualizing translation as a multipronged analytical and communicative lens might be a way to open up new avenues for professional translators, especially in the current market; indeed, a way of showing that interlinguistic translation is only *one* type of translation in the Canadian market, and that other sub-types of translation can be implemented in areas such as the construction of current affairs, the creation of multicultural policy, and civic engagement. Further, in terms of research outcomes, I argue that this thesis can impact translation, in a broad sense, in **three significant areas**. First, translation construed as a multipronged analytical and communicative lens suggests that translating (and by extension, translation) is not just a matter of practical knowledge (*savoir-faire*) but also of a “horizon” of transversal skills and competencies (*savoir*). This has ramifications not only in terms of how we define translation but also how we teach and practice translation in Canada and abroad. Logically, the second area, then, is revising and revamping translation curricula in light of some of the observations and confirmed hypotheses posited in this thesis (see Introduction and Chapter 1). Curricula that account for new market realities, new definitions of translation, and new demographic and linguistic realities are essential in modernizing translation praxis and ensuring that translators have an edge over other elite bilinguals who have training in related fields

such as communications and media studies. Third, in terms of prospective research, I contend that the theoretical scaffolding provided in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 can serve as a model for other research projects that would like to explore *translation and other sub-types. In the future, this might also mean adding to and supplementing Holmes' map (1972) to account for new translation *sub-types and research, a direction that follows the work undertaken by Gambier and van Doorslaer (2009). Succinctly, research outcomes of this project impact translation practice, translation pedagogy/training /on-going professional development, and future research in Translation Studies.

In the Introduction, I presented soft data that indicated the need for translator training, professional translation practice and definitions of translation 'to go beyond' traditional verbocentric understandings. The main research questions aligned with the three major research axes of the dissertation's research design. First, I addressed the need for new definitions and new models such that the practice and profession of translation would remain relevant in an era of web-centric communication. Specifically, I chose to conceptualize intersemiotic translation as a relevant form of translation for the construction of news-based content. Second, to test the exploratory and conceptual research, I applied my model to a corpus of web-based news content, using the 2006 to 2008 online media coverage of the debate surrounding reasonable accommodation and the activities of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. Third, to answer the call in TS to examine the real-world effects of translation practices and products, I mobilized two additional *translation sub-types, cultural and civic translation, to investigate how cultural representation, multicultural management and civic engagement could all be

addressed through the lens of translation. As a result, this research suggests that translation can and does occur at every level of Canadians' lives, from the translation of official documents, to the construction of cultural representations and identities, to the dialogue that occurs between divergent micro-cultures...translation in Canada is not just visible, it is *omnipresent*, even in hitherto unexpected places such as official consultation commissions and policy-making.

Further, I contend that if it is possible to *demonstrate* translation's omnipresence (rather than its visibility/invisibility) and conceptualize *translation sub-types in various communicative instances (as I did in Chapter 2 and 3 with regards to intersemiotic translation), then there is no reason not to advocate for a broader definition of translation within official Canadian discourse on bilingualism and translation. Admittedly, some translators might be reluctant to broaden the definition of translation as their professional identity and own personal definitions of translation may not coincide with some of the propositions made here. In a way, this reluctance is warranted as the implications of a broader definition are relatively unknown. Increased professional recognition? More training? Considerable amendments to professional accreditation? These are only a few of the questions that will have to be answered should an official, broader definition of translation be effectively legislated or accredited in Canada. On this latter point however, very little scholarship exists. While Tymoczko (2007), notably, and others have put forward theoretical work arguing that translation *go beyond*, very few seem to ask or worry about the professional and legal ramifications. Unfortunately, I cannot say that I have the answers, but I do think that translator training is certainly a

logical starting point. If translation is taught exclusively as interlinguistic transfer, then there this is very little opportunity for training translators specialized in other *translation sub-types. Because professional translation praxis is increasingly becoming collaborative and “digitized” in nature, and because translation projects require a full command of digital competencies, I contend that translator training must impart media literacy and web-based competencies as integral translation skills. This implies far more than the skills required to use translation technologies (e.g. translation memory software) or to localize web content; rather, what I am suggesting is a comprehensive understanding of the underlying logic of a wide range of online media platforms, including but not limited to web pages, RSS feeds, online social media, virtual learning environments, etc. Translation trainees who can work with these platforms, understand their relevance and their structure in the context of today’s information era, will become professional translators far better suited to translate in the competitive Canadian market. The intersemiotic translation model I have developed in this dissertation could be integrated as part of translation curriculum with respect to web-based translation praxis, fitting into the larger framework of translator training. As Diagram 1.1 in Chapter 1 illustrates, the broadening of any discipline or profession is premised upon its corollary discourses in legal, political and institutional spheres. Thus, by changing and broadening translator training, inevitably, other discourses are impacted.

Moreover, it is essential not to undermine the value that a paradigmatic understanding of translation can have with regards to multicultural management in Canada. Here, a brief return to the notion of civic translation is warranted. Janice Gross

Stein (2007) outlines three core challenges that pertain to multiculturalism in Canada

today:

- 1) It is important that we join in the discussion of equality rights and cultural difference with explicit attention to the overlay of social and economic inequalities. Multiculturalism is shallow when social and economic inequalities reinforce and strengthen cultural difference and then fuel a sense of victimization within an impoverished minority. From this sense of grievance can grow frustration, anger and occasionally, an explosion of violence. [...] It is cold comfort to new immigrants that we in Canada are interested in their songs and food when they cannot find jobs. Multiculturalism, whatever else it is about, also has to be about successful entry into the Canadian economy.
- 2) Deep multiculturalism builds bridges across cultures, while shallow multiculturalism strengthens each culture within its own boundaries. [...] But one community does not necessarily learn about another, and then multiculturalism can have perverse effects. It can strengthen the fences around each community and, in so doing, help to seal one community off from another.
- 3) We need to make more robust the meaning of “culture” in our experience of multiculturalism. We have to make explicit the contradictions between cultural or religious traditions and the rule of law in Canada, when such contradictions exist. [...] We have to begin the uncomfortable and difficult discussion of the conflict between values and work very hard to find an appropriate balance. Communities that systematically discriminate against women and gays, whether they are cultural [...] or religious, may find legal protection in the freedom of religion but they should not find it in multiculturalism, where the law currently is silent. That the Charter applies only to public space does not vitiate the broad support Canadians today give to equality rights, not only public but in private life as well. (pp. 19-21)

In my estimation, the framework of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission’s citizens forums is precisely the kind of ‘bridge building’ Gross Stein is alluding to, though I am slightly more reluctant to use the same term. When Gross Stein discusses highlighting contradictions and finding appropriate balance, I find resonance with the notions of ‘platform of reference’, ‘*tertium comparationis*’, but especially with Cronin’s (2009) ‘bottom-up commonality’. Again, the novelty and forward-thinking of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission’s citizens forums and how such forums fostered civic engagement cannot be undermined. Furthermore, this speaks to the

challenges of multiculturalism faced on an international scale; on this point, I share Gagnon's (2010) observations on the Bouchard-Taylor Commission's activities:

Les démocraties contemporaines sont aux prises avec une désaffection citoyenne et un épuisement des lieux traditionnels de délibérations publiques (les institutions législatives, les médias) et le Québec ne fait pas exception. À contre-courant, la Commission Bouchard-Taylor fut l'un des rares lieux de mobilisation et de délibération à l'échelle de la nation. La possibilité de débattre ouvertement et démocratiquement est un héritage et un privilège; nous n'en reconnaissons pas suffisamment les acquis. En attendant la suite du rapport, nous pouvons statuer que la Commission Bouchard-Taylor, malgré les critiques formulées à son endroit, a fait la démonstration que le Québec dispose d'une capacité collective à débattre avec sérénité et respect d'enjeux aussi cruciaux pour sa destinée collective. C'est peut-être maintenant au tour du politique de traduire en acte les fruits de ces délibérations. (23)

Gagnon's use of "traduire" is particularly interesting. Though Gagnon might have only been using translation as a trope, I argue that translation, indeed, has a place in the larger discussion of multicultural management and civic engagement. Civic translators are precisely the social and cultural actors who seek to facilitate, enable and mediate the "difficult discussions" (Gross Stein, 2007) Canadians must have in relation to cultural practices, values, belief systems, human rights, and the law. Civic translators are those individuals within our communities who are able to create spaces of cultural convergence where dissonance previously reigned; like the interlinguistic translator who makes sense of the 'foreign' or 'unintelligible' source text, the civic translator can mediate between cultural groups who refuse to see that what might be setting them apart is perhaps what actually makes them similar...what makes them human.

One of the dissertation's objectives has been to position translation at the center of Canadian and, more specifically, Québécois communication, news-making and multicultural policy-making to argue in favour of a definition and view of translation that effectively 'goes beyond'. In Chapter 1, I sought to explain why translation is defined as it is in Canadian discourse. I also showed how developments in Translation Studies serve as a theoretical foundation on which to expand limited definitions. In Chapter 2, I conceptualized a particular *translation sub-type, intersemiotic translation, by using theoretical scaffolding from semiotics and discourse analysis. In Chapter 3, I effectively illustrated how the model for intersemiotic translation could be applied and used as an analytical framework within a particular case study, which paves the way for others wanting to conduct similar case studies. And, finally, in Chapter 4, I sought to provide the reader with a more comprehensive discussion in relation to case studies findings. Throughout each of the chapters, I have exemplified the links between intersemiotic translation and news-making; cultural translation and cultural stereotyping; interlinguistic translation and the dissemination of news; and, finally, civic translation and multicultural management in conjunction with civic engagement. The dissertation, I argue, provides compelling examples of why translation practices in Canada not only *should* but *must* move beyond verbal and state-sanctioned definitions.

The novelty and contribution of this research project are manifold, especially in terms of Canadian scholarship in Translation Studies. First, it transcends traditional verbocentric approaches in TS. Second, it responds to other scholars' claims that there is a lack of case studies that involve text-image relationships and/or that explore the role of translation in the news media in a Canadian context. Third, it explores multimodality and its significance for TS in

an era of increased Web presence. And, finally, it explores cultural representation through a translation-based framework. Succinctly, the project makes a compelling argument for the implementation of *translation in a Canadian context and welcomes further research that will answer the call to implement intersemiotic translation, cultural translation ('static' and 'in action') and civic translation in academic, professional and institutional contexts.

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