French cars in Brazil, how two different worlds (Industry and Translation Studies) are (to be) linked[1]

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Abastract:
As a push toward the "real world", "specialized" meetings such as the 2014 Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance (TRIG) conference represent an excellent opportunity for discussion about direction and research methods in Translation Studies. In this article we make use of the case of the automotive sector in the Brazilian market to understand what kind of language(s) and translation issues are at stake in this globalized industry. We initially outline some of the difficulties in building partnerships with "non-academic institutions", mainly due to different agendas: those of Translation Studies, University and Industry. We then analyse successful examples of partnership formed between other disciplines and a few industrial sectors and propose that Translation Studies reposition itself on a more strategic level in relation to potential partners. We finally describe situations and methods representing a potential starting point for directly involving Translation Studies in issues related to "non-academic institutions". Where and how translators – not always with this name – are playing their role? It obviously depends on the actual organization of languages and communication. What would be the best way to get them prepared for action? It is a matter of real – and not only of future – worlds.

Keywords: Translation Studies, industry, organizations.

Autos franceses en Brasil: como dos mundos diferentes (la industria y la traductología) son (están) relacionados

Resumen:
Diversas reuniones temáticas que tienen como objeto de discusión la relación de la academia con el "mundo real", como es el caso de conferencia TRIG (*Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance*), representan una gran oportunidad para preguntarnos sobre el rumbo y los métodos de investigación de la traductología. A partir del caso del sector automotriz brasileño, en este artículo se busca comprender qué idiomas y cuestiones relacionadas con la traducción están en juego en la actual industria globalizada. Se hace hincapié en la dificultad de construir alianzas con instituciones "no académicas", principalmente debido a agendas divergentes: la de la traductología, la universidad y la industria. Se analizan ejemplos exitosos de alianzas entre otras disciplinas y algunos sectores industriales. Se propone que la traductología busque un reposicionamiento más estratégico con relación a sus socios potenciales. Por último, se describen situaciones y métodos que podrían ser empleados en la traductología como un potencial punto de

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[1] This paper was presented at the TRIG (Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance) conference (http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time/TRIG_2014). It is related to my doctoral research on languages, translation and multinational companies, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. José Lambert, at UFSC, Brazil.

partida para nuevas investigaciones sobre las relaciones con las instituciones "no académicas". La posición y el papel exacto de los traductores (o de aquellos que desempeñan esa función) varían de acuerdo a la organización de las lenguas y la comunicación que se adopta en las empresas. ¿Cuál es la mejor manera de preparar a estos traductores? La respuesta a esa pregunta está directamente ligada a la investigación en el "mundo real".

Palabras claves: Traductología, industria, organizaciones.

Automóveis franceses no Brasil, como dois mundos diferentes (a indústria e os Estudos da Tradução) (ainda não) estão ligados

Resumo:
Encontros temáticos discutindo a aproximação da academia do "mundo real", como é o caso da conferência TRIG (*Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance*), representam uma ótima oportunidade de nos questionarmos sobre o rumo e os métodos de pesquisa dos Estudos da Tradução. A partir do caso do setor automotivo brasileiro, procuramos levantar algumas problemáticas ligadas à questão das línguas e da tradução na indústria globalizada. Frisamos inicialmente a dificuldade de construir parcerias com "instituições não acadêmicas", em razão de agendas divergentes entre os Estudos da Tradução, a Universidade e a Indústria. Analisamos a seguir exemplos bem sucedidos de parcerias entre outras disciplinas e alguns setores industriais. Propomos então que os Estudos da Tradução se reposicionem a um nível mais estratégico perante os seus parceiros potenciais. Por fim, descrevemos situações e métodos que poderiam ser utilizados pelos Estudos da Tradução como ponto de partida para novas pesquisas sobre "instituições não acadêmicas". A posição e o papel exato dos tradutores (ou dos que desempenham essa função) variam em função da organização das línguas e da comunicação efetivamente adotada pelas empresas. Como esses tradutores deveriam ser formados? A resposta a essa pergunta está direitamente ligada à pesquisa sobre o "mundo real".

Palavras-chaves: Estudos da Tradução, indústria, organizações.

Les automobiles françaises au Brésil: comment deux mondes différents (l'industrie et la traductologie) sont liés

Résumé:
Des rencontres thématiques, comme la conférence TRIG (*Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance*), dont le sujet est le rapport université et « monde réel », représentent une occasion propice de nous interroger à propos de la direction et des méthodes de recherche de la traductologie. Prenant en compte le cas du secteur automobile brésilien, dans cet article nous voulons comprendre quelles langues et questions liées à la traduction sont en jeu dans l'industrie mondialisée actuelle. On met l'accent sur la difficulté de construire des alliances avec les institutions "non académiques", en raison de, principalement, différents objectifs de la traductologie, de l'Université et l'industrie. On analyse des exemples d'alliances entre autres disciplines et des secteurs industriels qui ont eu du succès. Nous proposons que la traductologie se positionne de manière plus stratégique par rapport à leurs partenaires potentiels. Finalement, on décrit des situations et des méthodes qui ont un futur dans la recherche en traductologie concernant le rapport entre celle-ci et les institutions « non académiques ». Le rôle joué par les traducteurs ou par ceux qui réalisent ce métier, dépend de l'organisation des langues et de la communication adoptées par les entreprises actuellement. Quelle est la meilleure façon de former ces traducteurs ? La réponse à cette question est directement liée à la recherche dans le « monde réel ».

Mots clés: traductologie, industrie, organisations.

1. TRIG conference: Translation Studies going for the "real world"

The TIME project (Translation Research Training: an Integrated and Intersectoral Model for Europe) and the Translation Research for Industry and Gouvernance (TRIG) conference are initiatives by a group of people who represent various kinds of networks: CETRA (Centre for Translation Studies at KU Leuven), the European Society of Translation Studies, and also Translation Studies (TS) as such. The list of initial questions distributed, together with the TRIG program, reflect central questions about the relationship between TS and non-academic institutions, but largely from within TS as a form of self-interrogation. This is certainly symptomatic of a (first) unilateral movement. The discipline now feels a certain necessity to come closer to the "real world".

A rapid analysis of the (recent) "prehistory" of TS might help us contextualise this movement. When, between the end of the 1950's and the mid-70's, concepts such as the "science of translating", "machine translation" and "translation theory" were fashionable among the first theoreticians, as they were called at that moment, the academic world had kept translation outside its walls until it had taken a more academic and polyvalent nature under the (English) label "Translation Studies". Nowadays, the new discipline is expending at a steady pace worldwide, but translation scholars sometimes hesitate between translation training and more "fundamental" research. And while TS is constructing, little by little, its repertoire of canonized areas –as congresses, courses and theses illustrate– a few self-critical voices have been reflecting a clear dissatisfaction with canonization processes. Publications such as "Is Translation Studies too Literary?" (Lambert 2005), "Is Translation Studies too much about Translation?" (Boyden 2008) or "Translation Studies at a cross-roads" (Bassnett 2012) are symptomatic of the desire for a greater impact by TS on other fields. Thus, TRIG's questions could be simply reformulated as: "Do we really go for the real world? And how?"

It is obviously not the first time ever that translation scholars wonder about the role and position of *translation* –or about the position of *translators*– in "real world" environments. The fact is that the translation phenomenon happens to function everywhere in many international (business) organizations, though not necessarily along the lines that have been designed within Translation Studies. And a lot of people are involved in such tasks, all around the world. It would require many explicit research projects to circumscribe their activities. And one can wonder how they have (not) been prepared. How they can be prepared now for activities in areas that do not yet belong to the vocabulary of TS is supposed to be an issue for the applied branch of the discipline (first?). But TS as a whole will have to discover similar innovative areas of translation. And how to participate in them, since decisions about such matters obviously are not in the hands of Academia? It is almost predictable that partners who enrol here from the "the real world" will not identify themselves to a great extent with the worries expressed in this list of questions (see the announcement of the

Conference), since "Translation Studies" does not belong to their everyday concerns: "*TS? What do you mean exactly?*"

In this article, based on an actual case study (our own thesis research), we intend to illustrate a few difficulties that researchers from TS face when they approach industry and some possible ways of overcoming them.

2. Multinational companies, language(s) and translation issues: French cars in Brazil as an illustration

Due to internationalization, translation and multilingualism are unavoidable for multinational companies (MNCs). A simple look at their external communication (e.g., websites and local advertising) will confirm their full acceptance of using a wide range of languages in order to reach their clients. Even when "one" corporate language is officially chosen for internal communication worldwide (between the headquarters (HQ) and subsidiaries or between subsidiaries) one may suspect that, when communication with local suppliers or employees at local plants is needed, another language must be used. Therefore, at one level of the communication chain, going from strategic to practical levels (and vice versa), someone (who and with what kind of competence is another question) translates messages and information. The analysis of a concrete situation, the French automotive industry in an emerging market (Brazil), sheds light on our discussion. The company under observation, PSA Peugeot Citroën, could be called a quintessential contemporary MNC. Headquartered in France, it has 12 plants in 6 countries and employs 108,895 people of 124 nationalities (PSA 2014, p.256). Its presence on the Internet is guaranteed by more than 100 commercial websites, following the world's variety of languages in all the markets where the company's products are available. The international corporate website is bilingual (French and English), but other corporate sites (in Brazil and in Argentina, for example) make good use of translation to reproduce some of the international information together with local information. Translation is also required for other types of documents (e.g. the internal Code of Ethics, owner's manuals, commercial brochures, etc.). There is actually no clear borderline between multilingualism on the one hand and translation on the other, since translation functions also within the apparent multilingualism.

But the simple fact that companies make massive use of translation does not exclude that topics related to language and translation are a matter of serious misunderstanding between industry and TS. Part of the disagreement is easy to explain: language is indeed not supposed to be an issue for industry. Another source of misunderstanding is the academic approach to industry (in this case on behalf of TS). Many concrete questions related to language and translation emerge spontaneously from practical situations within industry, but only insiders have access to the parameters needed to understand their real causes and the actual capacity to verify their hypotheses. From outside company walls researchers have very little chance of working efficiently on

industrial topics. Unfortunately, when MNCs feel the need for academic support and accept cooperation, they do not look to TS (in principle). Academic and industrial agendas are not in tune.

3. Different agendas

There are many different agendas separating the potential partners: (1) University and Industry, (2) TS and University and (3) TS and Industry.

3.1. University and Industry agendas

For many years, when academics have discussed MNCs, they have theorized about organization (see, for example, Bartlett and Ghoshal's (1989) analysis of different possible types of MNC organizations) or, at best, about culture(s), but without evoking language issues. One of the most famous cultural models (Hofstede 1991) deals with countries and cultures but not at all with language(s).

The University's general reluctance to engage in more cooperative studies with MNCs might be due to an implicit taboo: money. Is it the role of University to contribute to business success? Each discipline might have its own answer. In Brazil, it is common to find junior enterprises inside the federal (public) university system. Most of them work in direct relation with real businesses and the industrial world, but they are located within (the hard) science disciplines almost by definition. TS's reluctance to deal with business issues may be linked with its connections to the humanities, and one can imagine that if the discipline had initially been located within business schools (in international marketing, for example), the "ethical" preoccupations would be different. The final question on the preparatory list for the TRIG meeting ("*As academic research is pushed towards non-academic institutions, what are the threats to our independence? Can we still voice radical critiques?"*) is representative of the discomfort that some corners of the University may feel when concrete industrial or business issues must be treated as research questions. On the other hand, no one can deny that MNCs represent one of the most complete situations of language contact and translation issues. Hence, it is difficult for the University and its intellectuals to simply ignore such a huge amount of real cases, which involve both potential conflict situations and the pragmatic solutions that have been found for them, or to refuse the challenge of providing a better model for understanding the panorama of globalizing communication.

3.2. TS and University agendas

Even within the University, TS has not achieved the status it warrants. The globalization movement, the multiplication of language contacts and the multidirectionality of communication are not sufficient for TS to be emancipated from its linguistic and literary roots within philology and to create a successful interdiscipline within the University. However, strong cooperation with departments

such as Economics, Communication, Sociology, International Relations, etc. seems to be the condition for a broader understanding of actual communication networks. Some TS researchers already lamented that TS borrows more from other disciplines than the contrary (Bassnett 2012 is one example) and have argued for an urgent involvement of the new discipline in others. It is significant that even in its own university environment, the knowledge and expertise of TS are not requested when language policies are at stake (Lambert and Iliescu Gheorghiu 2014). How many University language policies or websites have been built only after contact with the TS department? Even when the competence is available and (practically) free, decision-makers ignore it. In such conditions, why would industry act differently?

3.3. TS and Industry agendas

It must also be admitted that TS has not produced much about industrial issues. Its main focus has been situated elsewhere. In Brazil for instance, where TS has grown at a steady pace, over the last ten years (2004-2013) a single postgraduate program in TS, the PGET (Federal University of Santa Catarina - UFSC), added 190 theses and dissertations[2] to the previous ones (95 already published on translation issues at the end of the 1990's according to Pagano and Vasconcellos (2003). And 3 other postgraduate programmes have now joined PGET and participate actively in research on translation issues. But analysis of the most recent meeting of the Brazilian Association of Translation Researchers (ABRAPT) demonstrates that industry questions are still quite peripheral. Among the 658 papers presented at the XIth ABRAPT congress in October 2013 (abstracts collected in Costa et al. 2013), only 8 (1.2 %) dealt with "non academic institutions" (e.g., the translator in the world of non-governmental organizations, medical interpreting, forensic interpreting, automatic translation and translator productivity). In Brazil, the main interests of the discipline are not aligned with the global dynamics of translation in business and are more representative of the TS's literary origins (past-oriented) than of the globalization of communication (future-oriented), maybe because researchers trained within linguistics or literary centres are reluctant to conduct research in industrial environments at deeper, broader and more strategic levels than those of localization or advertising.

Neither in Europe, apparently, is business communication a priority for TS. Not many European translation scholars have devoted articles to language(s) in companies, except in the area of didactics (translation training), which is not really the central issue for companies. And Anthony Pym's recent list of "problems to work on" (2014) only mentions non-business issues (e.g. translation for foreign language teaching (p.192), the need to simplify the translation process within the European community (p.199), etc.).

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[2] See: http://www.pget.ufsc.br/curso/teses_e_dissertacoes.php

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If, generally speaking, TS does not see "non-academic institutions" as a priority and does not really know how to approach them, how much certain is that there are any fundamental language needs at stake among potential partners? The language issue is generally hidden by "cultural" aspects, quickly solved (corporate language) or outsourced to specialists (e.g. for localization). In no case is translation identified as a real strategic issue, which means that researchers from TS will not be targeted for consultation.

In Brazil, as elsewhere, the industry regularly produces documents analysing international business. These documents help us understand how the companies see (or do not see) language issues in international exchanges. In the most recent report produced by the Federation of Industrial Companies of Santa Catarina (FIESC 2014) language is not identified as a difficulty for either importation or exportation. Companies are obsessed by excessive bureaucracy, transport costs and exchange rates, but language appears nowhere in the list of ten possible "external barriers" (FIESC 2014, p.53). Some "internal barriers" (idem, p.52) may involve language questions but are not directly identified as such in the list, which only mentions things like knowledge of foreign countries' legislation, cultural differences and costs linked with international commercial promotion.

Along the same lines, large scale studies (Dyer; Kale; Singh 2004) suggest that about half of companies' alliances or acquisitions fail, but do not identify the language issue as one of the possible reasons, even though case studies have already insisted, for example, on the human resource implications of common corporate language decisions (Piekkari et al. 2005).

When companies make decisions about language issues, they do so with a stupefying (apparent) serenity. At PSA Peugeot Citroën, the explanation given for the corporate language shift from French to English in 2010 was surprisingly simple: "As the Group takes on an increasingly international profile, more non-French members will join the management teams and English will become the day-to-day working language" (PSA 2011, p.168). Nevertheless, there are serious possible consequences in terms of communication quality and even quantity (Piekkarri et al. 2005). Thus, language researchers might wonder on the basis of what kind of empirical research such major changes are pre-evaluated, decided upon and evaluated.

External observers are sometimes more careful than MNCs with the language question. European companies are also monitored by the European Commission and two recent reports provide us with some new figures: the ELAN Study (CILT 2006) alerted small and medium companies (SMEs) about the risk of losing opportunities due to weak language skills; the PIMLICO report (European Commission 2011, p.21) also demonstrated that language management strategies implantation often results in increased turnover. Moreover, when asked directly,

expatriate managers mention that the language question is fundamental for success in personal and professional life (Janssens 1992).

But for companies, the language (and translation) question is hidden by other concrete problems. MNCs seem to have some difficulty in identifying it clearly, so it might be useless for TS to wait to be approached with clear questions. The language questions of companies ought to be almost predictable: "Which language should we choose for the best internal communication results?", "How could we improve our employees' language skills?", "What is the best method for checking translation quality?"and "How could we reduce translation costs?"

TS lacks immediate answers for these questions, sometimes because the subject is more complex than the company might think and sometimes because broader studies are needed. But this is by no means a reason to abandon attempts at cooperation. Companies merge, grow, enter new markets and have to constantly adjust their language policy – and, consequently, their translation policy, since "there is no language policy without a translation policy" (Meylaerts 2010, p.229). The inescapable presence of these issues turns cooperation between TS and MNCs into an obligation.

4. Some bright spots: possible cooperation

The misunderstanding described above does not, in principle, represent a source of great optimism. We suggest it as a preliminary diagnostic, necessary for new short-term and long-term planning. A few examples of existing partnerships, initiated in other disciplines, sometimes using atypical models, might inspire new strategies for approaching industrial realities.

The first model for cooperation between the academic world and industry is borrowed from meeting points limited to specific themes. One example from the automotive area is the GERPISA group[3]. This dynamic and multidisciplinary research group (composed of researchers in economics, management, history and sociology, all studying the automobile industry) works in fields of great interest to automotive companies (e.g. strategic analysis, industrial models, globalization, environment), and enjoys noteworthy openness from MNCs. Some of its research projects are also supported by the European Union.

A second type of cooperation has been initiated by the MNCs themselves. PSA, for instance, has built partnerships with 30 educational institutions worldwide (including universities in Brazil and in China and uses the concept of "Extended University" to characterize these relationships and shared laboratories (PSA 2014, p.238). The Renault foundation (created in 2001) also proposes third cycle partnerships in different areas with universities, including an MBA in International Management (750 students from more than 50 universities in 12 selected countries where Renault has a presence

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[3] See: www.gerpisa.org

since 2001). In this case, the research subjects are obviously defined by the industry and the cooperation is supposed to be all the more complete since the company will be the first to benefit from the research results.

A third type of collaboration can be observed, largely in northern Europe. The European Group for Organizational Studies[4], spanning various disciplines, including some TS sectors, have worked out, in relation to MNCs, models and projects where the language issues –translation and multilingualism included– have a central position. Many of the papers presented during the 2013 EGOS meeting, especially in the roundtable *The Power of Language(s): A Linguistic Perspective on Organizational Realities*, are of great interest for TS and demonstrate a high capacity for observing companies from the inside. A few of the presentation titles indicate what kind of research has been planned within the group so far: "Leadership and language: a research agenda", "Re-considering language from a cosmopolitan understanding: Towards a multilingua franca approach in MNCs" and "Organizational language boundaries and the dynamics of language change: three case studies in a French MNC". This area and its researchers seem to be one (or several) steps ahead TS with respect to corporate language issues. Their production confirms that, being constantly and consistently interested in organizational questions, they progressively migrate from language (Marschan et al. 1997; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999b; Vaara et al, 2005; Neeley et al 2009) to translation issues (Steyaert and Janssens 1997, Piekkari et al 2013). These researchers have already examined the consequences of changes in corporate language in terms of human resources when companies merge (Piekkari et al. 2005). Recently they produced an impressive study (Harzing and Pudelko 2013) based on the responses of more than 800 subsidiaries (operating in 13 different countries) to questionnaires, mailed locally in collaboration with local universities. These figures indicate, beyond the enormous scope, an idea of the kind of networks that researchers in other areas are capable of mobilizing for a single project.

A possible (opportunistic?) strategy for creating new links between TS and industry would be to participate in the existing meetings of groups such as EGOS and the French based GEM&L (*Groupe d'Etude Management et Langage*, which characterizes itself as "an association of scholars and professionals focused on issues of language and communication in the world of business and organizations[5]"), in order to benefit from their dynamics and the contacts they have inside companies, as well as to cooperate in building theoretical and methodological support for translation issues.

It is worth noting that, within TS, a few attempts have already been made at cooperating with researchers of economic and organizational backgrounds (Janssens et al.'s article published in 2004 in the *Journal of World Business*, with an important contribution of José Lambert is still one of the most cited of its type

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[4] See: www.egosnet.org
[5] See: http://geml.eu/en

today, for example). However, it cannot be argued that it has represented the beginning of a new tradition within TS.

Besides the above-mentioned, individual research is also possible, even in situations where no strong tradition of interaction between research and industry is visible. A recent example of unusual and impressive openness in a highly competitive industrial area is the doctoral study of Jérôme Saulière in France[6]. This researcher worked on the use of English in French companies and was allowed by one of the largest car manufacturers in the world to conduct interviews among its employees and observe its international meetings. It is worth noting that Louis Schweitzer, the former CEO of Renault, was a member of Saulière's doctoral jury (which also included Yves Gambier, a well known TS scholar). The fact that he was able to explore how MNCs function at a very deep level should be motivating for those involved in TRIG.

Disciplines that have been more successful than TS in establishing links with industry have two characteristics: (1) they benefit from prestige and status within the business/economics community and (2) are apparently more and more active in the field of language. For TS, if improving the second item is just a question of priorities, the first item, likewise, is not so tricky and can easily be transformed in an advantage. To accomplish this, we need to think in terms of complementarities. People from Business Administration/Organization Studies are basically interested in the organization of the translation process and its impact on company performance. They work with surveys and interviews but are not equipped for analysing discourse, or its position and repercussions within whole complex communication systems. TS could contribute to this in a major way by analysing concrete data: texts of the most diverse genres (e.g. annual reports, sites, advertising, emails, technical reports, etc.). No other discipline has such expertise in dealing with linguistic-cultural materials. TS has already proven to be a valuable partner for Sociology and History. We can imagine that researchers from a number of backgrounds (Economics, Psychology, Organization Studies) working in business would be fascinated by some of the tools of TS. Cooperating with researchers and partner disciplines may represent an intermediate stage to reaching industry, which is not fully open to TS alone at the moment. Furthermore, from a selfish point of view, there is little doubt that more openness to business issues and new partnerships with organizational and business disciplines would bring spectacular results for TS. Moreover, focusing on themes such as the globalization of communication could be a great opportunity for TS to guarantee its future (and even its long term survival) in the overall competition between academic disciplines.

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[6] See: https://pastel.archives-ouvertes.fr/pastel-01020979

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5. Practical or strategic level

As soon as one of the two partners decides to move toward the other, an adequate level of cooperation must be defined. The challenge (for TS) is in not being reduced (or reducing itself) to technical questions, but in trying to deal with more strategic ones. The TIME project's objectives, as they appear on the website of the European institution, are very clear:

> Many industrial and governmental organizations do not view translation as a key element in their communication strategy: they [...] tend to see translation as an expensive ad hoc method of communication rather than as a long-term investment,
> [...] TIME aims to:
> [...]Provide insight into the benefits for private/public institutions of a long-term strategic approach to translation and multilingual/multimedia communication
> (http://eu-researchprojects.eu/time/Statement-objectives)

TS has to deal with strategic questions.

TS is undoubtedly already fully involved in practical aspects of language in companies. Translators are trained, corpus linguistics is used for producing bilingual glossaries, translation memories have been developed to improve translators' productivity and their competence proves useful on a daily basis, whether in adapting manuals for local costumers or in translating corporate news. All these activities are what Toury (2012 p.12) calls "applied extensions" of TS and certainly not the "core" of the discipline. Hence the trouble of almost all the universities with that "type" of TS ("Is it really TS? Should it be done within TS programs?").

In certain sectors, the globalization of communication offers new opportunities for translators to become visible and generates discussion about their position within a company. Some consider, for example, that translation is not simply a (small) part of localization (one of the most spectacular areas involving translation in the global market), and that the whole process (design, language, juridical and cultural aspects) can be understood as a translation problem, which promotes the translator's competence and position in a company's communication chain. However, in his discussion on localization and translator training, Pym (2013) argues that translation is still treated by industry as a sub-task within localization and not at all as a strategic activity. He states that:

> Translation is commonly seen as a part of the localization process. It is just one in a series of steps, and it is probably not the most important step (internationalization is the real revolution, and bad scheduling can cost more heads than a bad translation, as can a lack of testing) (Pym 2013, p.5).

Industry tends to see translation as a set of technical and linguistic questions. From its perspective, management, human resources or marketing are in better position

than translators to solve intercultural questions. Decisions regarding corporate language, language choice for websites, the types of documents to be translated and translation outsourcing have so far been taken without consulting any language or translation specialist.

On the other hand, the orientation of many (sub)areas of TS has no positive impact on the cooperation between business and the discipline. Since TS discourse mainly addresses individual translators or language broker services responsible for execution and hardly ever examines decision-making at a management level, the discipline seems unable to offer any kind of power or prestige to business partners.

When looking objectively, however, TS descriptive methods are actually quite powerful. Some of the results obtained through studies in other systems (e.g. literature, or mass media) should encourage researchers to replicate experiences on new corpora in the corporate international communication. Comprehensive maps of language and translation uses could be useful for language management and furnish a better pragmatic basis for company policies. This should offer a future for TS competences, but not without the high level planning of interaction and cooperation.

Translator-centred debates, which attempt to convince companies of the "ideal" position of the translator, may not be the most pragmatic approach. To avoid being reduced to "technical" and low-level strategic questions TS should value its expertise and present elements that pique the interest of language management, refusing to go for immediate solutions. Ideas on similar situations (different companies, different internationalization configurations, different industrial and geographical areas –already a respectable research agenda) and possible options for language and translation policies (those mentioned in Janssens et al 2004; more particular ones may be adapted from Organization Studies models of corporate internationalization, e.g.Bartlett and Ghoshal 1989) are absolutely required before any strategic meeting with MNC top managers. The main role of TS would then consist of clearly presenting the issues and consistently asking for answers and decisions. As experts, its members should evaluate the feasibility of solution and help implement them.

As Gideon Toury observed, translations should "be regarded as fact of the culture that should host them" (2012, p.18). If we consider a specific market as a target culture we must admit that TS researchers have no power over MNCs' disrespect for some texts. What can be said when the localization of automobile owner's manuals are "badly" done? MNCs sometimes have their own rules and it is their responsibility to evaluate why some translations must exist or not and whether providing a "good" (and maybe expensive) translation is needed or not. Of course TS researchers may have to revisit their criteria in order to understand those of industry, which are limited by very restrictive barriers (budget, time and usefulness).

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If TS establishes itself first as a strategic interlocutor and only subsequently as a technical one, and also adapts its habits (more than its, already well adapted, essential tools) to the paradigms of its new partners, there is no reason it could not create new relationships with "non-academic institutions" on an interesting level.

This is especially true since other recent academic partners of the industry (Organizational Studies, for example) trying to deal with language issues have opened the door to language issues, but lack of specific tools to approach discourse. Of course, it would be astute to propose academic cooperation rather than interdisciplinary competition and present a united front to industry.

6. New situations, new methods

There is a real opportunity for TS to re-evaluate its aims and better position itself toward industry without selling its soul. Through a rigorous selection of emblematic situations and new methods, the discipline could become an unavoidable partner for MNCs. Of course, before presenting itself to possible partners, preliminary studies must be engaged. But where should we start our preliminary research? Analysis of existing situations could lead to a better understanding of the new international corporate polysystem. A map of world languages used by and within MNCs would help clarify where and when translation is used. The international position of all countries is in constant evolution. Who would have included the BRICS as major players in the world business map fifteen years ago? The globalization process modifies the relationship between neighbours. One company (or one country) can overcome regional tensions through long distance partnerships. MNCs have their own strategies and can dynamically focus on government projects, opting for loyalty over complete independence, thus putting, in a way that very few organizations can do, countries in direct competition for their services and employment opportunities. The industrial world is actually a privileged object of study in view of a redefinition of language and communication, where translation has a chance to be recognized as unavoidable.

If a specific MNC is to be chosen for study, some preliminary considerations should help optimize the selection. A global player has more well-established practices, as far as language is concerned, than a regional company, which might settle for ad hoc, idiosyncratic solutions. The economic sector has its importance. We suggest that observing companies from the industrial sector who produce relatively complex goods of high diffusion in the global population will provide us with a more complete spectrum of discourse (from a wide range of consumers to suppliers, etc.) than, for instance, the banking sector, which has been largely explored by other disciplines. It is also important that these companies have plants in several language zones (and not only produce in one place and export to several regions) in order to maximize internal communication across languages and hierarchical levels. When possible, the choice of a strategic sector, implying a relationship with governments, is recommended. If the focus goes to a specific country, we suggest an emerging one. Consolidated and

familiar markets are probably not those where new translation trends will be observable first. Economic growth perspective is an important factor for stimulating innovation in business communication.

The methods needed for observing MNCs are well known within TS (and specifically within Descriptive Translation Studies): empirical observation on both the macroscopic and microscopic scales, combined with diachronic and synchronic mapping. Of course, the Internet represents an open window on the life of MNCs. The globalization process of the companies' communication is now available in our computers; this would have been a researcher's utopia before the Age of the Internet. In order to reach their clients or shareholders MNCs have multiplied their channels (e.g. corporate sites, commercial sites, on-line magazines, B-to-B sites, foundations' sites, social networks), which has, in turn, multiplied accesses for researchers. Of course it is more difficult to access to internal communication, but even this type of communication often leaves remarkable traces on the Internet.

The automotive industry in Brazil may indicate how new fields of research are offered to us. The case of PSA is a good example of how companies can change their language patterns in response to international competition, coping with multilingual communities. PSA used French as a corporate language until 2010, when it shifted to English. On the Internet, the languages featured on the company's international corporate site changed from French and English to French, English and Spanish in 2002 (the Spanish version "reflecting the group's international profile"), then went back to French and English in 2012. Two different main approaches coexist simultaneously: one corporate site (one international bilingual site in French and English and some local corporate sites in the local language, e.g. in Brazil and Argentina) and many commercial sites (one in each country where the company is present, with localized versions mainly based on the French site, as well as some completely local sites).

Before engaging any serious dialogue with industry representatives, we would recommend large investigations of MNC communication patterns, in a broad range of sectors. A very detailed analysis of just one specific type of communication (e.g. advertising or press releases) is not so relevant. It would, at best, lead to a conversation with the company's responsible people in that area. Once general tendencies are observed and, as much as possible, compared with other situations (competitors in the same geographical areas, from the same branch of industry and from others), MNCs can be approached with a greater chance of success. This may happen through personal contact or, for instance, through the participation in key meetings of local representations of industrial association. The last option is certainly an opportunity to understand priority tasks and to begin a discussion about language. University conferences about language represent also a good opportunity to invite colleagues from other departments/disciplines to join forces and resources and prepare for future studies. At UFSC, a meeting about language(s) and companies was organised by TS

scholars in June 2014, with the participation of researchers from other disciplines (Business Administration, Organizational Studies) and government representatives. The organization of such events is a reaction against isolationism, which is a threat to TS, particularly in interaction with MNCs. In a broader perspective, the participation of TS scholars in international events dealing with the use of language(s) and translation within MNCs would be very useful for establishing new alliances.

7. Conclusion and Implications

Industry and companies are complex organisms. They deal with so many aspects (hiring, development, advertising, etc.) that reaching a comprehensive and global understanding of them might not be accepted as a realistic goal. For people studying translation (a phenomenon so complex that its own definition has already been pronounced as problematic), who are not intimidated by subjects such as "the reception of [one national literature] in [another country] in the 19th century", the challenge is fascinating. However, we can wonder to what extent the very broad type of analysis requested is really accessible to individual researchers. It seems that larger, institutionalized and multidisciplinary research is a *sine qua non*. Whether this is achievable within the current configuration of TS is another question. But at least, and from different perspectives, we can call for the beginning of a diagnosis among TS scholars. We cede the last word to Susan Bassnett, whose position is fully compatible with ours:

> We need new circuits, that encompass more disciplines, more ways of reading the ever-more intercultural writing that is being produced today. I believe we inside translation studies need to look outwards, to promote some of the excellent research in translation studies more effectively to our colleagues, to engage more in interdisciplinary, collaborative projects (Bassnett 2012, p.23).

The reader who is convinced by our exploration of so many and such influential virgin areas might conclude: action is needed. However, we first ought to focus on research matters, since it would be counterproductive to recommend any action that is not supported by –fundamental and applied– research.

Whatever the actual goals of the didactic traditions in translation training may be, there are strong indications about the non-participation –so far– of TS in the business environments. Training people and competences is one thing, initiating them into the particular goals and options of business communities –or other organizations– is another thing. Any basic attempt into a better integration of "the translator" into business activities will be conditioned –in its efficiency– by previous research. One of the fundamental questions is to what extent the people-focused approach to translation –as it is promoted so far– will be a sufficiently convincing basis within organizational frameworks. The possibility of any active participation of translation/language experts in the everyday dynamics of "Communities of Practice" (Wenger 1998) will depend on the willingness to function within organization as

such. The question "Who decides?" has been avoided –so far– within TS. Maybe it has become central at least in theoretical terms since the norms issue has been recognized, but its implications in terms of decision making and organization have not been explored, at least not within TS. Before being acceptable as partners in business, translators and translation experts need to function in harmony with the goals of –particular– organizations. By assuming the opposite, translation experts will position themselves outside of real life translation.

The actual priorities in TS tend to exclude heavy participation movements in "real world" strategies. For the centres that claim to prepare translators for their job, the future is already behind us: so far our translation experts are hardly involved at all. How the experts in training and education have handled and will handle their new responsibilities is up to them. But without new kinds of research their efforts have good chances to fail.

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