大学本科翻译研究型系列读本

丛书主编　张柏然

翻译资源与工具读本

Resources and Instruments: A Reader for Translators

主编　刘华文

南京大学出版社

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大学本科翻译研究型系列读本
大学翻译学研究型系列教材

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总　　序

张柏然

到了该为翻译学研究型系列教材说几句话的时候了。两年前的炎炎夏日，南京大学出版社责成笔者总揽主编分别针对高等院校翻译学本科生和研究生学习与研究需求的研究型系列读本和导引。俗话说，独木难撑大厦。于是，笔者便千里相邀"招旧部"，网罗昔日在南大攻读翻译学博士学位的"十八罗汉"各主其事。寒来暑往，光阴荏苒，转眼两年过去了。期间，大家意气奋发，不辞辛劳，借助网络"上天"，躲进书馆"入地"，上下求索，查阅浩瀚的文献经典，进而调动自己的学术积累，披沙拣金，辨正证伪，博采众长，字斟句酌，终于成就了这一本本呈现在读者面前的教材。

众所周知，教材乃教学之本和知识之源，亦即体现课程教学理念、教学内容、教学要求，甚至教学模式的知识载体，在教学过程中起着引导教学方向、保证教学质量的作用。改革开放以来，我国各类高校组编、出版的翻译教材逐年递增。我们在中国国家图书馆网站上检索主题名含有"翻译"字段的图书，检索结果显示，1980至2009年间，我国引进、出版相关著作1800余种，其中，翻译教材占有很大的比重。近些年来，翻译教材更是突飞猛进。根据有关学者的不完全统计，目前，我国正式出版的翻译教材共有1000多种。* 这一变化结束了我国相当长一段时间内翻译教材"一枝独秀"的境地，迎来了"百花齐放"的局面，由此也反映了我国高校翻译教学改革的深化。

但是，毋庸讳言，虽然教材的品种繁多，但是真正合手称便的、富有特色的教材仍属凤毛麟角。教材数量增多并不足以表明教学理念的深刻转变。其中大多都具有包打翻译学天下的纯体系冲动，并没有打破我国既往翻译教材编写从某一理论预设出发的本质主义思维模式和几大板块的框架结构。从教材建设看，我国翻译理论教材在概念陈设、模式架构、内容安排上存在着比较严重的雷同化现象。这表明，教材建设需要从根本上加以改进，而如何改则取决于我们有什么样的教学理念。

有鉴于此，我们组编了"大学翻译学研究型系列教材"和"大学本科翻译研究型系列读本"这两套系列教材。前者系研究生用书，它包括《中国翻译理论研究导引》、《当代西方翻译理论研究导引》、《当代西方文论与翻译研究导引》、《翻译学方法论研究导引》、《语言学与翻译研究导引》、《文学翻译研究导引》、《汉语典籍英译研究导引》、《英汉口译理论研究导引》、《语料库翻译学研究导引》和《术语翻译研究导引》等10册；后者则以本科生为主要读者对象，它包括《翻译概论读本》、《文化翻译读本》、《文学翻译读本》、《商务英语翻译读本》、《法律英语翻译读本》、《传媒英语翻译读本》、《科技英语翻译读本》、《英汉口译读本》、《英汉比较与翻译读本》和《翻译资源与工具读本》等10册。这两套教材力图综合中西译论、相关学科（如哲学、美学、文学、语

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* 转引自曾剑平、林敏华:《论翻译教材的问题及编写体系》,《中国科技翻译》, 2011年11月。

此为试读，需要完整PDF请访问：www.ertongbook.com

言学、社会学、文化学、心理学、语料库翻译学等）的吸融性研究以及方法论的多层次研究，结合目前高校翻译教学和研究实践的现状进行创造性整合，编写突出问题型结构和理路的读本和导引，以满足翻译学科本科生和研究生教学与研究的需求。这是深化中国翻译学研究型教材编写与研究的一个重要课题，至今尚未引起翻译理论研究界和教材编写界的足够重视。摆在我们面前的这一课题，基本上还是一片多少有些生荒的地带。因此，我们对这一课题的研究，也就多少带有拓荒性质。这样，不仅大量纷繁的文献经典需要我们去发掘、辨别与整理，中西翻译美学思想发展演变的特点与规律需要我们去探讨，而且研究的对象、范畴和方法等问题，都需要我们进行独立的思考与确定。研究这一课题的困难也就可以想见了。然而，这一课题本身的价值和意义却又变为克服困难的巨大动力，策励着我们不揣浅陋，迎难而上，试图在翻译学研究型教材编写这块土地上，作一些力所能及的垦殖。

这两套研究型系列教材的编纂目的和编纂特色主要体现为：不以知识传授为主要目的，而是培养学生发问、好奇、探索、兴趣，即学习的主动性，逐步实现思维方式和学习方式的转变，引导学生及早进入科学研究阶段；不追求知识的完整性、系统性，突破讲授通史、通论知识的教学模式，引入探究学术问题的教学模式；引进国外教材编写理念，填补国内大学翻译学研究型教材的欠缺；所选论著具有权威性、文献性、可读性与引导性。具体而言，和传统的通史通论教材不同，这两套系列教材是以问题结构章节，这个“问题”既可以是这门课（专业方向）的主要问题，也可以是这门课某个章节的主要问题。在每个章节的安排上，则是先由“导论”说明本章的核心问题，指明获得相关知识的途径；接着，通过选文的导言，直接指向“选文”—— 涉及的知识面很广的范文，这样对学生的论文写作更有示范性；“选文”之后安排“延伸阅读”，以拓展和深化知识；最后，通过“研究实践”或“问题与思考”，提供实践方案，进行专业训练，希冀用“问题”牵引学生主动学习。这样的结构方式，突出了教材本身的问题型结构和理路，旨在建构以探索和研究为基础的教与学的人才培养模式，让年轻学子有机会接触最新成就、前沿学术和科学方法；强调通识教育、人文教育与科学教育交融，知识传授与能力培养并重，注重培养学生掌握方法，未来能够应对千变万化的翻译教学与研究的发展和需要。

笔者虽说长期从事翻译教学与研究，但对编写教材尤其是研究型教材还是个新手。这两套翻译学研究型教材之所以能够顺利出版，全有赖各册主编的精诚合作和鼎力相助，全有仗一群尽责敬业的编写和校核人员。特别值得一提的是，在这两套系列教材的最后编辑工作中，南京大学出版社外语编辑室主任董颖和责任编辑裴维维两位女士全力以赴，认真校核，一丝不苟，对保证教材的质量起了尤为重要的作用。在此谨向他（她）们致以衷心的感谢！

总而言之，编写大学翻译学研究型教材还是一项尝试性的研究工程。诚如上面所述，我们在进行这项“多少带有拓荒性质”的尝试时，犹如蹒跚学步的孩童，在这过程中留下些许尴尬，亦属在所难免。作为教材的编撰者，我们衷心希望能听到来自各方的意见和建议，以便日后再版修订，进而发展出更好更多翻译学研究型教材来。

是之为序。

二〇一二年三月二十七日

撰于沪上滴水湖畔临港别屋

前　言

我们正处于一个信息化迅速发展的时代，计算机技术、互联网以及语料库技术冲击着传统的翻译理念和翻译方式。无论是翻译的实践者还是翻译的研究者都共同面对如何有效地使用信息化手段从而更好地从事翻译实践和翻译研究的课题，尤其是翻译者更应该适时有效地运用各种语言资源与翻译工具来提高自己的翻译效率和质量。具体地讲，信息时代的翻译资源和工具包括：机器翻译系统、互联网上的语言翻译资源、CD－ROM 上的语言翻译资源、计算机辅助术语管理系统、双语对应语料库、翻译记忆软件和本土化软件工具、机助翻译系统。眼下这部教材的编纂就是旨在在这些方面向学习者介绍翻译与信息资源和工具的关系，使他们对信息时代下的翻译实践有一个较为全面的认识，帮助教材使用者掌握一定的信息资源和工具，提高翻译实践的质量，开拓翻译的研究空间。

本教材共分为八章。第一章旨在帮助学习者认识如何建立有效掌控的个人计算环境，培养其使用专业软件处理与语言和翻译相关的复杂任务的技能，帮助他们熟悉自然语言处理和语料库语言学的基本原理，并学会使用这些领域里的专门知识和技术工具从事语言和翻译专业的实践与研究，帮助他们了解机器翻译和计算机辅助翻译的原理和机制，对主要的机译和机助翻译系统拥有初步的认识。第二章围绕在翻译中可使用的电子工具，介绍了网络工具、桌面词典、在线翻译、机器辅助翻译等电子工具的形态，并且试图回答如何充分利用电子工具提高翻译质量以及电子工具对翻译研究范式有何影响等诸如此类的问题。第三章主要介绍电子词典作为工具在翻译中的地位和应用。随着智能手机、平板电脑等设备的普及和不断升级，翻译工作者可资使用的电子工具愈来愈多，与传统的翻译工具相比携带更为便捷、存储量也更为庞大，在有效的使用状态下可以大幅度提高翻译速度和翻译质量。第四章转向了翻译的网络资源。不断发展的网络信息技术为翻译提供了无限量的可用资源，诸如在线词典、搜索引擎、翻译软件、双语文献资源、在线机器翻译、翻译网站等都可以被翻译者利用起来，无论是对翻译实践、翻译教学还是翻译研究都极具利用价值。第五章集中探讨了在信息环境下资源的储存形态同翻译的关系，介绍了三种翻译记忆系统，即翻译记忆模型、翻译记忆检索、翻译记忆编辑环境。第六章针对基于语料库的翻译实践和研究展开了翻译

资源及其工具利用方式的讨论。以语料库语言学为先导的语料库技术和翻译的结合对包括句法词法分析、编纂词典和参考书籍、外语教学、机器翻译及文本校对等在内的领域都有着积极的意义。第七章介绍了人工智能、机器翻译理论的起源和发展、国内外研究现状，并就其存在的问题及发展方向作了分析；此外还提出了机器翻译系统的设计框架，包括电子词典的设计方法、电子词典的存储结构、语料库的建立、规则库的建立、语义的消歧系统及跨语本体映射与匹配技术等。第八章以将翻译看成一种跨文化、跨学科的活动为出发点，探讨了如何综合开发和利用翻译资源和工具的课题，揭示了将机器翻译系统、互联网语言翻译资源、计算机辅助术语管理系统、双语平行语料库、翻译记忆软件和本土化软件工具、机助翻译系统等整合为统一的翻译资源环境的意义和方式。

本教材的每一章都包括“导论”、“选文”、“延伸阅读”和“问题与思考”四个部分。导论部分对一章的内容做大致的介绍，后面的延伸阅读为使用者提供进一步认识该章内容的阅读书目或文章，而在每一章最后附上的问题与思考则可以帮助使用者考察对每一章所涉及内容的把握程度。

本教材是我跟南京工程学院的叶君武和刘性峰两位老师共同编纂的，对他们的热情协作我深表谢意。

刘华文
上海交通大学
2014 年 9 月 30 日

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第一章　绪论：翻译与信息环境

导　论

在今天这样一个多语言网络的信息化时代，传统的手工翻译已经难以满足日益增长的翻译需求，如何有效地使用现代化手段来突破人们之间的语言障碍，成为翻译界共同面临和应对的问题。译者很有必要在自己的翻译工作中使用各种语言资源与翻译工具来提高自己的翻译效率和质量。信息时代的翻译工具有：机器翻译系统、互联网上的语言翻译资源、CD－ROM上的语言翻译资源、计算机辅助术语管理系统、双语对应语料库、翻译记忆软件和本土化软件工具、机助翻译系统。本章旨在帮助学习者认识如何建立有效掌控的个人计算环境，培养其使用专业软件处理与语言和翻译相关的复杂任务的技能，帮助他们熟悉自然语言处理和语料库语言学的基本原理，并学会使用这些领域里的专门知识和技术工具从事语言和翻译专业的实践与研究，促使他们通晓机器翻译和计算机辅助翻译的原理和机制，对主要的机译和机助翻译系统具有专业化的认识，使他们熟悉计算机术语管理的原理，并掌握、创建和使用作为一种翻译工具的机读术语库的技巧。在信息化时代，计算机科学和信息通信技术发展迅速，语言与翻译领域的新技术、新产品层出不穷，译者如掌握了这些新技术和新资源，就可以大大地提高翻译的效率，满足信息时代对翻译的迫切需要。鉴于目前语料库语言学的蓬勃发展态势，本章将初步介绍在信息环境下如何思考翻译与信息技术、翻译与工具之间的关系，帮助学习者认识信息环境的概念，思考信息环境与翻译的关系，认识这两者之间发展的历史以及现状。

选　文

选文一　Technology and Translation (A Pedagogical Overview)

José Ramón Biau Gil　Anthony Pym

导　言

本文研究了几十年来翻译工作转变的几个新维度，指出这主要归因于翻译技术的进步和

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全球化的进程。随着所需翻译的信息大幅度增加，翻译记忆工具的可用性进一步增强，译者的工作流程及他们与客户的关系都发生了变化。本文概述了以上这些发展和变化、翻译记忆的原理、翻译工作中信息对象的“非线性”属性、本地化工具的使用和机器翻译的角色等内容。

本文指出，虽然翻译技术会增加译文的前后一致性，但也会造成翻译成本和学习费用的增加，使劳动力市场进一步分化等，而解决这些问题的关键在于更好地掌握翻译技术。

Technology extends human capacities. The monkey uses a stick to get a banana, and that stick is technology, in this case a simple tool. More general technologies are collections of tools. Some of them affect our communications, and thus translation.

The use of books rather than scrolls, for example, made it easier to retrieve and cross-reference texts. Concordances were written for complex texts like the Bible, and translations thus had to render the whole text, not just isolated phrases so that the references would work. Similarly, the move from parchment to paper, which was generally cheaper and more transportable, meant that more written copies were made, revised and distributed. And since written culture was more easily re-written, translations were commonly re-translated. Not by chance, the use of paper coincided with the translation schools in Baghdad in the ninth century and Toledo in the thirteenth. Or again, the use of print technology from the fifteenth century supported the ideal of the definitive text, hence the definitive translation, and thus notions of equivalence as a relation between stable, fixed texts.

What might we say now that our key technologies are electronic? Texts on the web are constantly being updated, as is our software. We are sometimes called on to render no more than the updates or adaptations. Our translations might thus be expected to move away from the ideal of equivalence between fixed texts, becoming more like one set of revisions among many. In the fields of electronic technologies, translators are less commonly employed to translate whole texts, as one did for the books with concordances. Translation, like general text production, becomes more like work with databases, glossaries, and a set of electronic tools, rather than on complete definitive source texts.

Here we shall be looking at a series of electronic tools that extend human capacities in certain ways. These tools fundamentally affect (a) communication (the ways translators communicate with clients, authors, and other translators), (b) memory (how much information we can retrieve, and how fast), and (c) texts (how texts now become temporary arrangements of content). Of all the tools, the ones specifically designed to assist translators are undoubtedly those concerning memory. But we shall see that electronic technologies affect all aspects of the translator's work.

1 Translator-client Communications

In our digital age, electronic formats concern not just our texts, but also our communications with clients and other translators. Thanks to the Internet, professionals from all over the world can be in regular contact by e-mail or various forms of instant messaging. Work can be sent and received electronically, across national and cultural borders. This has several consequences.

First, in theory, you can work for clients anywhere in the world. The market for translations need not be your city or your country. A source text received at 5 p.m. in Tarragona can be sent to a translator in New Zealand, who will return the translation before 9 a.m. the following morning, Tarragona time. Time zones can thus be used creatively, and work can thus come from companies that are very far away. All you have to do is list your name, language combinations and areas of specialization on one of the many websites that aim to put translators and clients in touch with each other. One would expect this process to lead to a situation where the fees paid for translations will become virtually the same all over the world, in keeping with theories of a global market. This, however, is very far from happening. Translation is still a service that depends on a high degree of trust between the translator and the client. Little constant high-paid work will come from unseen clients; the fees paid in different countries still vary widely; the best contacts are probably still the ones made face-to-face and by word of mouth.

A second consequence of electronic communications is the increased security risk. Translators quite often work on material that is not in the public domain, and this is indeed one of the reasons why relations of trust are so important. When sending and receiving files, you will have to learn various forms of zipping, secure FTP, or other company-specific forms of encoding, with all their corresponding passwords.

A third consequence is that electronic communications make it relatively easy to distribute very large translation jobs between various intermediaries. The client may want to market their product in 15 European languages. They hire a marketing company, which hires a language-service provider, which hires a series of brokers for each language, who give the work to a series of translation companies, who pass the texts on to translators, often freelancers. In this kind of system, the client may be paying as much as four times what the actual translators are receiving per translated page. But each link in the chain is revising, coordinating and producing the various translation products, adding value as they go. This means the text the translator produces is commonly not the same text as the one actually used, and there can thus be little question of copyright over the translator's work. It also means that translators are sometimes very far removed from the end client and the overall context of the texts they work on. Translators in projects like software localization quite often see no more than lists of phrases, along with glossaries that are to be respected. The resulting work can be quite isolating and dehumanizing.

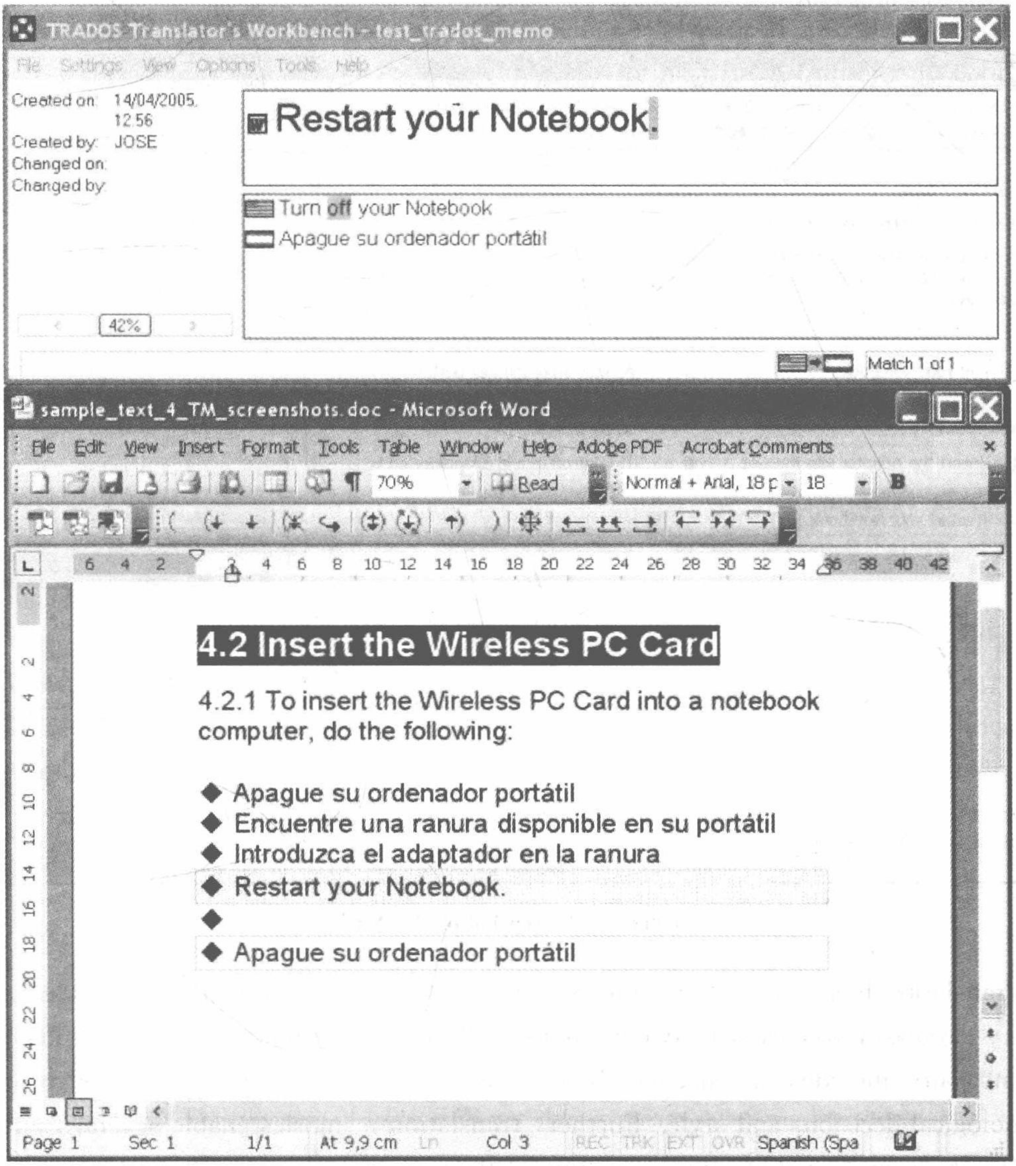
Electronic communications have also been used to enhance communication between translators, especially through Internet forums for professional translators. These are usually classified by topics and/or language pairs. Some may be open, in others participation is restricted to registered members. The traffic (number of e-mails) in each group varies from a few e-mails a month to hundreds a day. In these forums translators are very willing to exchange advice, give tips, and generally discuss their work. Simply by reading the posted messages, students and novice translators can learn about translation and see the kind of support that professionals give each other. Discussion lists for professionals usually have their own communication guidelines, and so new participants see a specific way of interacting among professionals. For example, when asking about terminology, professional translators usually send a short message in which they give the term, some context, suggested translations and the consulted sources. This model gives valuable hints about terminology mining and teamwork skills. Or again, by reading messages about a specific computer tool, novice translators often discover that the program is in constant evolution and has functions they would have otherwise overlooked. These forums thus build a valuable bridge between students and the professional world. They also put paid to the stereotype of the professional translator somehow isolated behind a wall of dusty dictionaries.

2 Translation Memories

Translation memories (TMs) are programs that create databases of source-text and target-text segments in such a way that the paired segments can be re-used. These tools are invaluable aids for the translation of any text that has a high degree of repeated terms and phrases, as is the case with user manuals, computer products and versions of the same document (website updates). In some sectors, the use of translation memories tools has speeded up the translation process and cheapened costs, and this has led to greater demands for translation services. The memories do not put translators out of work; they ideally do the boring routine parts of translation for us.

Translation memory tools re-use previous translations by dividing the source text (made up of one or several files in electronic format) into segments, which translators translate one-by-one in the traditional way. These segments (usually sentences or even phrases) are then sent to a built-in database. When there is a new source segment equal or similar to one already translated, the memory retrieves the previous translation from the database.

An example of the Trados Workbench translation memory suite can be seen in Figure 1. Here we are translating the segment "Restart your notebook" (highlighted in gray); the memory has proposed "Apague su ordenador portatil" as a translation, based on the translation of a previous segment (in fact the one translated just three segments earlier). But "apague" means "turn off," and here we need "restart." This is where translators either type a new target sentence or modify the result from the memory database. In this case, we would accept the suggested phrase but change "apague" to "reinicie" (restart). We do not have to rewrite the rest of the phrase.


TRADOS Translator's Workbench - test_trados_memo
File Settings View Options Tools Help
42%
Match 1 of 1
sample_text_4_TM_screenshots.doc - Microsoft Word
File Edit View Insert Format Tools Table Window Help Adobe PDF Acrobat Comments
70%
Read
Normal + Arial, 18 p
18
B
Page 1 Sec 1 1/1 At 9,9 cm Ln Col 3 REC TRK EXT OVR Spanish (Spa

Created on: 14/04/2005 12:56
Created by: JOSE
Changed on:
Changed by:

Restart your Notebook.

Turn off your Notebook
Apague su ordenador portátil

4.2 Insert the Wireless PC Card

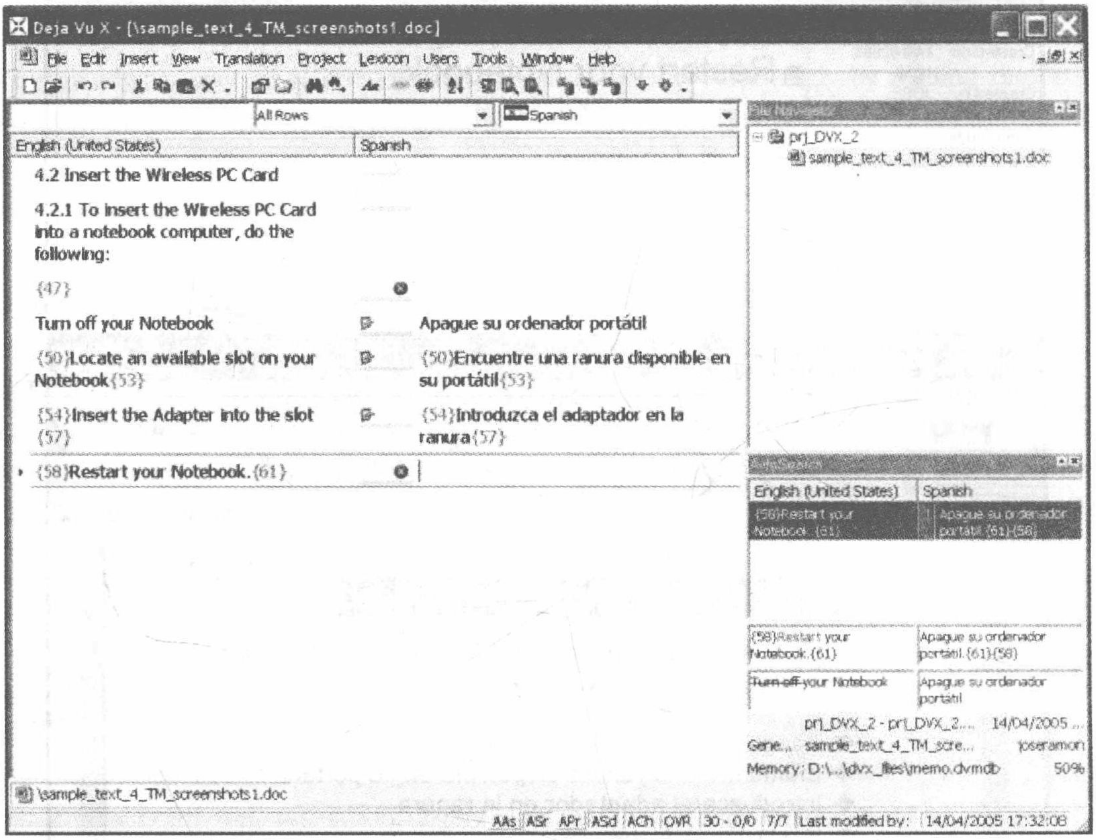
4.2.1 To insert the Wireless PC Card into a notebook computer, do the following:

◆ Apague su ordenador portátil
◆ Encuentre una ranura disponible en su portátil
◆ Introduzca el adaptador en la ranura
◆ Restart your Notebook.
◆
◆ Apague su ordenador portátil

Figure 1　Screenshot of Trados and MS Word

At the top of the screenshot we see that Trados Workbench has highlighted the differences between each segment and reminds us about the language combination with a flag system. With Trados, we can translate Word documents using the Word itself, but files with other formats need to be translated using specific built-in translation environments.

The platform used by most other translation memory suites (DejaVu, SDLX, Star Transit) is quite different. Figure 2 shows the user interface of DejaVu X. Here we have the source text in the left column and the translation in the right one. The suggestions made by the translation memory are in the bottom right corner of the screen. In this system we do not see the document layout, since all the formatting is represented by the bracketed numbers. Formatting is thus protected. This means that translators cannot alter it by mistake. It also means they cannot edit it consciously.



Deja Vu X - [\sample_text_4_TM_screenshots1.doc]
File Edit Insert View Translation Project Lexicon Users Tools Window Help
All Rows
Spanish
prj_DVX_2
sample_text_4_TM_screenshots1.doc
\sample_text_4_TM_screenshots1.doc
AAs ASr APr ASd ACh OVR 30 - 0/0 7/7 Last modified by: 14/04/2005 17:32:08

English (United States)	Spanish
4.2 Insert the Wireless PC Card	
4.2.1 To insert the Wireless PC Card into a notebook computer, do the following:	
{47}	
Turn off your Notebook	Apague su ordenador portátil
{50}Locate an available slot on your Notebook{53}	{50}Encuentre una ranura disponible en su portátil{53}
{54}Insert the Adapter into the slot {57}	{54}Introduzca el adaptador en la ranura{57}
{58}Restart your Notebook.{61}	

English (United States)	Spanish
{58}Restart your Notebook.{61}	Apague su ordenador portátil.{61}{58}

{58}Restart your Notebook.{61}	Apague su ordenador portátil.{61}{58}
~~Turn off~~ your Notebook	Apague su ordenador portátil

prj_DVX_2 - prj_DVX_2... 14/04/2005 ...
Gene... sample_text_4_TM_scre... joseramon
Memory: D:\...\dvx_files\memo.dvmdb 50%

Figure 2 Screenshot of DejaVu X

Translation memories change the way translators work. If you are provided with a memory database, you are usually expected to follow the terminology and phraseology of the segment pairs included in that database, rather than write the text using your own terminological decisions and style. Further, translation memories enable several translators and revisers to participate in the production of the same translation. While this is needed to meet industry deadlines, it may lead to a translation with no cohesive style, made up of a set of sentences put together. The result can read like a "sentence salad" (cf. Bedard, 2000).

The possibility of re-using previous translations means that clients ask translators to work with TM systems and then reduce the translator's fees. The more exact and fuzzy matches there are (equal and similar segments already translated and included in the database), the less they pay. This encourages translators to work fast and often uncritically with the previously translated segments, with a corresponding decline in quality. When higher-quality work is required, special emphasis must be put on revising the outputs of translation-memory tools.

An associated complication of translation memory software is the ownership of the databases. If you sell your translation, should you also sell the database of matching segments that you have created while doing the translation? Should you sell that for an added fee? Then again, if you have used the work of previous translators by importing a database (or receiving one from your client), can we say that the translation is really all yours to sell? These are ethical questions that escape the parameters of traditional copyright agreements. The possible legal frameworks vary from country to country (cf. Megale, 2004). In practice, however, translators receive and deliver databases without paying or charging fees, thus according effective ownership to the clients or language-service providers they work with. At the same time, most translators are used to keeping copies of the databases, or integrating them into their own. To our knowledge, no law has yet been used against them.

This practice, though, will almost certainly die out with the use of the online memories. This system is highly appreciated by clients, since their texts and memory databases remain on a secure server rather than being copied and scattered to translators' personal computers all over the world. Moreover, the owner of the database server (the client or language vendor, never the freelance translator) is the only owner of the memory, as there are no other copies. This means that when these technologies become widespread, translators will not have access to their own previous translations, and project managers will be the only masters of the reference materials translators have access to.

The industrial applications of translation memory tools are based on the idea that translation is a word-replacement activity. On the other hand, translation theories since the 1980s have tended to see translators as communicators whose duties go beyond the replacement of source-text words; translators are employed to provide meaningful communication. Translation memories make this difficult. Indeed, they move translators back to the linguistic equivalence paradigms of the 1960s. Worse, now that texts commonly comprise not only written words but also images, videos and layout (think of any website), translation requires a division of labor. Thanks to our tools, translators are commonly only expected to deal with written words; they are invited to forget about the other elements configuring the text. This division of labor may not always create satisfying long-term employment.

3 Texts Without Ends

The way translators work is also being affected by the nature of the texts we work on. We are all familiar with texts that have automated cross-references (links) to other documents, which enable the reader to jump from one text to another. The most common examples are the links in websites. The use of these links means that there is now no clear beginning or end to texts, and that readings are no longer expected to be linear. Indeed, we now talk about "users" rather than "readers." While this is nothing fundamentally new

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