Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers (eds)

TRANSLATION TODAY

Trends and Perspectives

MULTILINGUAL MATTERS

Translation Today

Other Books of Interest

About Translation
Peter Newmark
Annotated Texts for Translation: English – French
Beverly Adab
Annotated Texts for Translation: English – German
Christina Schäffner with Uwe Wiesemann
'Behind Inverted Commas': Translation and Anglo-German Cultural Relations in the Nineteenth Century
Susanne Stark
Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation
Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere
Contemporary Translation Theories (2nd Edition)
Edwin Gentzler
Culture Bumps: An Empirical Approach to the Translation of Allusions
Ritva Leppihalme
Literary Translation: A Practical Guide
Clifford E. Landers
More Paragraphs on Translation
Peter Newmark
Paragraphs on Translation
Peter Newmark
Practical Guide for Translators
Geoffrey Samuelsson-Brown
The Coming Industry of Teletranslation
Minako O'Hagan
The Interpreter's Resource
Mary Phelan
The Pragmatics of Translation
Leo Hickey (ed.)
The Rewriting of Njáls Saga: Translation, Ideology, and Icelandic Sagas
Jón Karl Helgason
Translation, Power, Subversion
Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (eds)
Translation and Nation: A Cultural Politics of Englishness
Roger Ellis and Liz Oakley-Brown (eds)
Translation and Norms
Christina Schäffner (ed.)
Translation-mediated Communication in a Digital World
Minako O'Hagan and David Ashworth
Time Sharing on Stage: Drama Translation in Theatre and Society
Sirkku Aaltonen
Word, Text, Translation: Liber Amicorum for Peter Newmark
Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers (eds)
Words, Words, Words. The Translator and the Language Learner
Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers
Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation
John Corbett

Translation Today

Trends and Perspectives

Edited by

Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers

MULTILINGUAL MATTERS LTD

Clevedon • Buffalo • Toronto • Sydney

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Translation Today: Trends and Perspectives/Edited by Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Translating and interpreting. I. Anderman, Gunilla M. II. Rogers, Margaret
P306 .T74375 2003
418'.02–dc21 2002015680

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1-85359-618-3 (hbk)

Multilingual Matters Ltd
UK: Frankfurt Lodge, Clevedon Hall, Victoria Road, Clevedon BS21 7HH.
USA: UTP, 2250 Military Road, Tonawanda, NY 14150, USA.
Canada: UTP, 5201 Dufferin Street, North York, Ontario M3H 5T8, Canada.
Australia: Footprint Books, PO Box 418, Church Point, NSW 2103, Australia.

Typeset by Wayside Books, Clevedon.
Index compiled by Elizabeth Ball.
Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Ltd.

Contents

Acknowledgements

A number of people have helped to make this collection of papers a reality. Above all we would like to thank Peter Newmark who, following the October 1999 symposium held in Guildford in his honour, provided us with the opportunity to gather together additional contributions to a volume bearing his imprint. As a result, this new publication has been shaped, not only by Peter's own vision of the role of translation in the new millennium, but also by that of friends and colleagues with whom he has worked closely. However, for all the contributors to be accommodated, speed of production had by necessity to be sacrificed. We are very grateful for the contributors' patient acceptance of the time it has taken for us to bring the work to fruition. In addition, we owe a debt of gratitude to Multilingual Matters for allowing us sufficient time to ensure that a maximum number of Peter's friends were given the opportunity to participate. We are pleased too that Rob Dickinson agreed to give us a helping hand with the copy editing. Last, but certainly not least, our thanks as always go to Gillian James not only for her attention to detail, persistence and patience but also for her enthusiasm and initiative in bringing the work to its completion. We hope the result is a fitting testimony to an enjoyable and informative occasion.

Gunilla Anderman
Margaret Rogers
Guildford
January 2002

Contributors: A Short Profile

Gunilla Anderman is Professor of Translation Studies and the Director of the Centre for Translation Studies. She teaches Translation Theory on the Diploma/MA in Translation in the School of Arts at the University of Surrey, UK.

Stuart Campbell is Associate Professor and Head of the School of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Western Sydney, Australia.

Jorge Díaz Cintas received his PhD in Audiovisual Translation from the University of Valencia, Spain. He is Senior Lecturer in Spanish at the University of Surrey Roehampton and also works as a freelance translator and interpreter. He has recently published a book on subtitling.

Ann Corsellis OBE is Vice Chairman of Council of the Institute of Linguists and a Director of NRPSI Ltd, the National Register of Public Service Interpreters UK, as well as co-ordinator of the first EU Grotius project to establish equivalencies of standards and practice for legal interpreters and translators in member states.

David Graddol is a lecturer in the School of Education at the Open University, UK and has chaired and contributed to a wide range of multimedia distance taught learning programmes in language schools. He is the managing Editor of *AILA Review*.

Sandra Hale is Senior Lecturer and Head of the Interpreting and Translation Program at the University of Western Sydney, Australia.

Juliane House, Professor of Applied Linguistics at Hamburg University and its Research Center on Multilingualism. She is principal investigator of a project examining how English influences texts in other languages via processes of translation.

Piotr Kuhiwczak is the Director of the Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Warwick, UK.

Gunnar Magnusson is Senior Lecturer in German at Stockholm University, Sweden, specialising in contrastive studies of German and Swedish lexical syntax.

Kirsten Malmkjær is Professor of Translation Studies and Head of the Centre for Research in Translation at the University of Middlesex, UK.

Gerard McAlester is a professional translator and lectures in Translation at the Department of Translation Studies, Tampere University, Finland.

Raquel Merino teaches translation English–Spanish at the University of the Basque Country where she is co-ordinator of the TRACE (Censored Translations) project. She is the author of a number of articles as well as a book on theatre translations English–Spanish.

Marshall Morris has an M.Litt. in Social Anthropology from Oxford and taught translation at the University of Puerto Rico for 30 years. He is now engaged in freelance translation and editing.

Albrecht Neubert is Professor Emeritus, author and lecturer on Translation Theory and Applied Translation at the University of Leipzig, Germany.

Peter Newmark is the author of many books and articles on translation. He contributes regularly to *The Linguist* and lectures frequently on aspects of translation in the UK as well as abroad.

Margaret Rogers, Reader in German, is the Deputy Director of the Centre for Translation Studies and teaches on the Diploma/MA in Translation in the School of Arts at the University of Surrey, UK.

Martin Weston is Head of English Translation in the Registry of the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg.

Chapter 1
Introduction

GUNILLA ANDERMAN and MARGARET ROGERS

On the afternoon of Friday 1 October 1999, the day immediately following St Jerome's day, scholars of Translation Studies from around the world assembled at the University of Surrey to participate in a symposium to pay tribute to Professor Peter Newmark and his work. Following the presentation of Peter Newmark's keynote paper entitled 'No global communication without translation', the proceedings continued with an at times very lively Round Table discussion, as Peter Newmark jostled with translation theorists and scholars, answering their questions related to the paper, and in turn challenging their responses. The event concluded with a dinner and the presentation of a *Liber Amicorum – Word, Text, Translation* including contributions from scholars and friends engaged in the field of Translation Studies.

The present volume, *Translation Today: Trends and Perspectives*, owes its origins to this event. It consists of the keynote paper, a record of the Round Table discussion, and contributions to the discussion on the eight topics chosen by Peter Newmark for consideration as translation issues in the new millennium and of particular interest to him. The topics selected and discussed in this volume are: 'The nature of translation'; 'Types and kinds of translation'; 'Valid and deficient texts'; 'English as the lingua franca of translation'; 'Social translation and interpreting'; 'Later modes of translation'; 'The assessment of translation'; and 'The university and the market'.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part contains the kick-off summary by Peter Newmark of his keynote paper, as well as a record of the ensuing Round-table discussion. Participating in the discussion were the following contributors to the *Liber Amicorum* as well as two colleagues from Multilingual Matters, Mike Grover and Tommi Grover:

Gunilla Anderman, University of Surrey , UK (Chair)
Reiner Arntz, University of Hildesheim, Germany
Simon Chau, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong
David Connolly, translator and translation consultant, European Educational Organization, Athens, Greece

John Dodds, University of Trieste, Italy
Piotr Kuhiwczak, University of Warwick, UK
Hans Lindquist, Växjö University, Sweden
Sylfest Lomheim, Agder College, Norway
Gerard McAlester, Tampere University Finland
Albrecht Neubert, Emeritus Professor, Leipzig University, Germany
Peter Newmark, University of Surrey, UK
Monica Pedrola, postgraduate student at the University of Trieste, Italy
Margaret Rogers, University of Surrey, UK
Mike Shields, The Translators Association
Gideon Toury, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Contributors to the volume absent on the day were Patrick Chaffey, University of Oslo, Norway; Jan Firbas, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic; Viggo Hjørnager-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen, Denmark; Eugene Nida, University of Michigan, USA; Eithne O'Connell, Dublin City University, Ireland; and Mary Snell-Hornby, University of Vienna, Austria. Janet Fraser, University of Westminster, UK was able to attend in the evening. Members of professional organisations attending included Graham Cross of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) and Eyvor Fogarty, ITI and Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT), with Henry Pavlovich, Institute of Linguists, joining after the Round Table discussion.

The second part of the book starts with Peter Newmark's full-length keynote paper, followed by contributions on each selected topic by participants attending the symposium as well as scholars and practitioners invited to contribute. We are grateful for this further opportunity to include papers from Peter's many friends and colleagues previously unable to contribute to *Word, Text, Translation*. In addition, in order to extend the discussion of 'English as the lingua franca of translation', a chapter by David Graddol has also been included, reproduced by kind permission of AILA and the author.[1]

It is our hope that the present volume will have retained some of the liveliness of the discussion on the day, and that the views expressed by the participants and assembled authors will in years to come provide an interesting record of a cross-section of views on trends and issues of concern in Translation Studies at the beginning of the new millennium.

The nature of translation, the first topic ambitiously tackled in Peter Newmark's paper, is a heading under which most writing on translation could be accommodated. The papers in this section tackle broad issues, ranging from a reassessment of semantic/communicative translation, Peter Newmark's well-known concepts, through an intriguing view of the source text-target text (ST-TT) relationship, and an experiential view of literary translation informed by a number of other disciplines, to the reception of texts as translations or original works. A common theme is the creative aspect of translation, seen from different perspectives.

Engaging with Peter Newmark's widely-acknowledged distinction between semantic and communicative approaches to translation, Albrecht Neubert views the translator (cf. also Kuhiwczak (this volume)) as both interpreter/critic *and* creator; he argues that, rather than being two *types* of translation, semantic and communicative translation (for which he prefers to use the semiotic label *pragmatic*) constitute two complementary methods within one type, although operating at different levels. Semantic translation is concerned with procedures, communicative with intentions, the latter acting as a filter for the former. Neubert also challenges Newmark's claims about the untranslatability of certain English words on the basis of his work in corpus studies, pointing to the importance of context and meaning potential for words. Referring to an English word such as *privacy*, considered by Newmark as 'untranslatable' in some languages, Neubert shows how the translator might make expert use of the context in the TT, just as the ST contextualised its meanings; this in turn enables Neubert to render *privacy* in German in a number of different ways. Newmark's point, however, is that in certain situations context may not always be readily available to allow easy transfer of individual lexical items from ST to TT. Evidence supporting this claim may be gleaned from the fact that *privacy* has now been borrowed into Italian as 'la privacy' (cf. John Dodd's comment in the Round Table discussion).

Attempts to define 'translation' are legion and various, often reflecting specific aspects of the social and ideological contexts of their provenance. In describing translation as 'a dynamic reflection of human activities', Peter Newmark allows us a tantalising glimpse of a more universal world. In her contribution 'Looking forward to the translation: on a dynamic reflection of human activities', Kirsten Malmkjær attempts to elaborate this view from the perspective of philosophical semantics, at the same time engaging with one of the most challenging ideas to emerge in Translation Studies in recent years, namely Toury's 'Source Text Postulate' (1995: 33–4). What is challenging is the fact that a ST has to be postulated at all rather than presupposed. Malmkjær concludes – unsurprisingly but for novel reasons – that one of the factors distinguishing translations from monolingual communications is indeed the influence of the ST on the TT, a view which she nevertheless argues is consistent with Toury's TT-oriented view of equivalence. Central to Malmkjær's argument is the so-called 'forward-looking nature' of human communication, according to which a translation can be seen as a future but, in some sense, still shaped response to the original text. In other words, translations can be understood as being at the confluence of two dimensions: temporal (past and future language use) and linguistic (source and target languages). Translations are therefore distinguished from monolingual communications not only by the obvious bilingual factor, but also by the realisation of the less predictable, temporal perspective in an instance of language use which cannot be fully anticipated. It is in this interaction between the ST, an aspect of the past, and the TT, a text (to be) created in the future, that Malmkjær sees a truly 'dynamic reflection of human activity', as envisaged in Newmark's paper.

As readers of *The Linguist* and Peter Newmark's books will know, the style of writing which he uses often manifests itself in concise to-the-point observations on aspects of translation, frequently wide-ranging and, often, stimulating and highly personal. Similarly, in his equally very personal contribution, Marshall Morris seeks to stimulate the thoughts of fellow literary translators by pointing to different sources of inspiration which, he argues, can support and enlighten the translation process. In presenting his thoughts 'With translation in mind', Morris refers to sources in linguistics, psychology, history, philosophy, sociology and social anthropology. The emphasis throughout is on the experiential aspects of translating, a perspective which may often be lost in more rationally-based analyses.

At times throughout history the dividing line between translation and adaptation has been difficult to draw, as for instance in the United Kingdom during the Victorian Age (cf. Hale, 2001). In her analysis of a number of Spanish translations of Washington Irving's *The Alhambra*, Raquel Merino illustrates how the boundary between translation and adaptation becomes hard to identify in the context of a popular text which is reproduced in both the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) in a number of versions. 'Tracing back (in awe) a hundred-year history of Spanish translations: Washington Irving's *The Alhambra*' describes an ongoing study to (i) compile a bibliographical catalogue of Spanish versions of the Alhambra text, and (ii) trace the texts themselves. Based on the texts so far identified, Merino chooses a number of characteristics which she then uses as a basis of comparison between STs and TTs; in addition she also compares individual STs and TTs. A study of these characteristics, including the sequence of the tales, the number of tales, and the text of selected opening paragraphs, leads to the provisional conclusion that some texts presented as translations are more likely to be adaptations.

Questions raised in relation to the second topic, 'Types and kinds of translation', move us along the continuum of questions about translation from the general to the more specific, on the one hand to consider the hermeneutic and creative aspects of translation in the context of literary translation, and on the other to consider the relative importance of typological and stylistic factors in translation.

Piotr Kuhiwczak's pithy and coolly-evaluative chapter sets literary translation in the context of literary criticism and creative writing rather than that of Applied Linguistics. Literary translation, he points out (like the study of English literature), has a relatively recent provenance in the early twentieth century; it further develops, he argues, 'the characteristic features of both creative writing and literary criticism'. Having raised some consequent questions about the teaching of literary translation, in which a case-by-case approach is the norm and a now unfashionably evaluative framework based on text typology is recommended, Kuhiwczak goes on to discuss the translation of one of the types identified, namely highly-conventionalised texts. In so doing, he illustrates that a translation can sometimes improve stylistic aspects of the original, at the same time missing its poignancy and allusions. His conclusion invites us to consider whether the technical details of translation analysis enable us as readers to understand the nature of translation.

The second chapter in this section adopts a linguistic perspective. A recurrent issue in the assessment of contrastive phenomena is the relative weight of establishing, on the one hand, *typological factors*, and, on the other, *stylistic ideals*. Using Mark Twain's views as a starting point, Gunnar Magnusson's paper discusses typological differences and their effects on style and discourse in English and German. The contrastive topics selected for discussion are: gender, case, compounds, and separable verbs. Magnusson's discussion extends beyond formal comparisons to the use to which available structures are put in discourse, that is texts, the milieu of translators. The relative complexity of German is compared with English, both formally and stylistically, using numerous examples from Mark Twain's well-known essays on the German language. Magnusson ends with a radical proposal of his own, to which, he surmises, Mark Twain would not have been unsympathetic. If the capitalisation of nouns were abolished, as happened in 1948 in the case of the Danish language, the additional difficulties experienced in processing structures such as nominal embeddings would lead to formal as well as stylistic changes.

In his contribution on 'Meaning, truth, and morality in translation', Martin Weston, like Peter Newmark, adopts a view of translating and interpreting which prioritises language use over more abstract models. He does, however, disagree with Newmark about the translator's duty with respect to texts which are ethically 'deficient'. Which brings us to the third topic: 'Valid and deficient texts'. Weston sets out by re-examining the triadic model of interpreting and translating in which an intermediate stage of 'disembodied' meaning is interposed between the SL and TL. Basing his critique on the abstractness – and therefore inaccessibility – of the *pensée non formulée* or the deverbalised thought, as well as its implied but unjustified universality, he also rejects a four-part model, in which the intermediate stage is split into SL and TL meaning. Instead, Weston appeals to a Wittgensteinian notion of meaning as the use to which language is put, as articulated in the work of the linguist W. Haas. For the translator, the expressions with which he or she works are therefore the key to translating, not 'mythological entities and correspondences'. Clearly influenced by his professional experience in the Registry of the European Court of Human Rights, Weston challenges Peter Newmark's injunction for the translator to intervene in the interests of 'truth', arguing that the translator's duty is to the text at all times.

Asymmetry in translation, in particular literary translation, attracted the early attention of translation theorists of the Polysystem School. Accordingly, translation into English, as a global lingua franca, normally exhibits a greater degree of assimilation than translation into lesser used European languages. While this 'domesticating' tendency has been critically evaluated by some authors with respect to literary texts, Peter Newmark's remarks on the status of 'English as a lingua franca of translation' – our fourth topic – are practically motivated: English is accessible to the speakers of many languages. In his intriguingly entitled piece on English, 'The decline of the native speaker', David Graddol argues that in the future English, as a lingua franca, will be used mainly in multilingual contexts as a *second* language for communication between non-native speakers. Peter Newmark's examples of the inappropriate use of English in, for example, the context of tourism demonstrate the need for revision when translators are of necessity second-language users. Graddol's carefully analysed and evaluated statistics show a clear trend: more English, but in the context of growing multilingualism rather than at the cost of other languages. For translation, this implies a growing demand for translators working into English, increasingly to be met by non-native speakers; as a result, a growing training need for language two (L2) translators as well as language one (L1) speaker revisers may be anticipated.

The influence of English on other languages has been well documented, particularly from a lexical perspective, and is often perceived to be pervasive or even invasive. Yet Juliane House shows in her contribution 'English as lingua franca and its influence on discourse norms in other languages' that its influence stops short of changing the make-up of texts. House's results are reported as part of a larger study which aims to analyse discourse norms in German, French and Spanish texts in three genres: popular science texts, economic texts from global organisations, and software manuals. The data consist of three corpora: the 'primary' corpus of translations produced to appear simultaneously with the ST, a kind of 'covert' translation; a four-language 'parallel' corpus of texts from the same genres; and a further translation corpus from German, French and Spanish into English, again in the same genres. The three corpora are supplemented by other data such as interviews and background documents. Based on a subset of the German translation texts and a control sample of authentic 'monolingual' German texts, House proposes that German texts cannot easily be categorised as strongly content-oriented, as previously claimed by authors such as Clyne. Using a Hallidayan framework to describe the functions of lexico-grammatical patterns (micro-context) supplemented by the concept of genre (macro-context), she shows that the German texts in her sample do not adopt anglophone strategies for involving the reader, including what House calls 'genre mixing' whereby an English text may start: *Suppose you are a doctor in an emergency room,* while the German translation starts with a statement in the third person. Other differences include the degree of explicitness in the presentation of information, the German texts being more explicit than the English texts analysed.

In cultures which are used to perceiving themselves as monoglot, the social relevance of translation and interpreting is often hard to establish. Anglo-Saxon cultures, such as that of the United Kingdom, are cases in point: the social marginalisation of translation and interpreting for groups which often have minority status has economic and legal consequences, often masked by social prejudice. Writing on our next topic, 'Social translation and interpreting', Ann Corsellis analyses the needs, obstacles, and possible solutions involved in the Cinderella field of public service interpreting and translating in the UK; the intersection of professional language skills and society is clearly apparent. In her challenging contribution we learn about the expectations and learning experiences of the three principal groups: public service personnel, linguists, and the potential users of the services. Corsellis's argument, arising from many years' experience and activism in the field, is that effective solutions lie in the relationships between these groups. Practical and realistic throughout, Corsellis gives us a unique insight into a system in evolution, in which a gradual process of acknowledgement, professionalisation, and action is emerging, more clearly so in the legal than in the medical field. The development of public service interpreting and translation in the UK may even be seen as a microcosm of social change. As Corsellis rightly remarks: 'Multilingualism is not a problem. It is a fact. It only becomes a problem when it is not responded to effectively.'

While public service translation and interpreting may be viewed as having a low social profile, largely hidden from the majority community, audiovisual translation is, in contrast, a highly visible area of translation. Both are, however, areas in which systematic training has been largely neglected, as Peter Newmark accurately acknowledges by including them for discussion, the latter under the topic, 'Later modes of translation'. While the use of surtitling for opera performances, the mode in which Peter Newmark expresses a particular interest, is now often extended to foreign language theatre productions, it is in subtitling that developments are at present taking place with breathtaking speed. In his informative survey, 'Audiovisual translation in the third millennium', Jorge Díaz Cintas outlines some of these developments and reminds us of the need for university-level training instead of on-the-job learning, as well as of the need for more diverse and empirically-based research to replace speculative or prescriptive approaches. Díaz Cintas sees audiovisual translation as an increasingly important part of Translation Studies, itself a fast-evolving discipline. Indeed, the theme of Díaz Cintas's contribution is change: an increase in the demand for audiovisual translation, including subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing; changing preferences in so-called 'dubbing' or 'subtitling' countries; the simultaneous production not only of subtitled *and* dubbed films, but also of versions in several languages for the new DVD technology; and the exploration of audiovisual media (film with voice-over) to present information disseminated by the EU in 11 languages. One of the potentially most interesting developments is the different viewer/listener behaviour which some of these changes may elicit, through, for example, the opportunity to actively compare not only dubbed versus subtitled versions of films, but also versions in different languages. Picking up an issue discussed elsewhere in this volume, namely the global influence of English (cf. Graddol; House), Díaz Cintas casts doubt on hypothesised future scenario ruling out the need even for subtitling in some European countries.

As new modes of translation emerge, the need to respond to Peter Newmark's call for more clearly formulated and uniformly applied methods of assessment of translation and interpreting competence, the penultimate topic discussed in his paper, will grow more urgent. In their contribution on 'Translation and interpreting assessment in the context of educational measurement', Stuart Campbell and Sandra Hale tacitly acknowledge Peter Newmark's call for action in this field by drawing attention to the largely intuitive basis of the majority of assessment in these areas, whether in an educational or a professional context. Campbell and Hale set out to survey the literature concerned with research in educational measurement, and in particular in language testing, using a checklist of criteria against which assessment procedures might be measured. They arrive at the conclusion that many items are already relatively well covered, including: the purpose of the test instrument (aptitude, placement, formative, summative, accreditation), competencies assessed (for example, L1 and L2 knowledge, transfer competence, speed, accuracy, memory, terminology, etc.), and form of the test (for example, timed translation, interpreting role play, multiple choice test, etc.). They note, however, that two crucial items in particular are notably absent from the research literature, namely validity (is the test measuring what it is supposed to measure?) and reliability (how consistent is the test?). Given that translation and interpreting are socially important jobs, Campbell and Hale plead for a more considered approach to testing, linking this ultimately to the relevance of the skills and the standard of performance for which translators and interpreters are accredited.

The final topic in Peter Newmark's paper, 'The university and the market', critically and polemically remarks on the influence of the market, not only on universities as institutions but also on Translation Studies as a discipline. In certain circumstances, the translator's decision to accept or reject a translation job may be an ethical one: if, for instance, the value system expressed in the ST conflicts with the translator's, what options are available? This is the problem that is confronted by Gerard McAlester in his contribution entitled 'A comment on translation ethics and education'. In arguing that translators should consider the option of *not* translating a text at all if they find it morally offensive, he adds to the options considered by Newmark, according to whom translators can, if in their opinion the text is liable to 'provoke or mislead', correct informative texts (how is not clear) or gloss historical or authoritative texts. The issue is then, for McAlester, to allow moral issues into the translation classroom, reflecting the truly *vocational* aspect of the profession as a calling, and balancing the market-oriented view. In contrast to Martin Weston, who argues that the translator's duty is to the text, McAlester concludes that the ultimate responsibility of the translator is to his or her conscience – opposing views, in some ways reflecting St Jerome's sentiments on the calumnies of his work: 'If I correct errors in the Sacred Text, I am denounced as a falsifier; if I do not correct them, I am pilloried as a disseminator of error" (Bobrick, 2001: 6).

These words of St Jerome were written more than 15 centuries ago. Just over the threshold of a new millennium, *plus ça change* …?

Note

1. Graddol, D. (1999) The decline of the native speaker. In D. Graddol and U.H. Meinhof (eds) English in a changing world, *AILA Review 13* (pp. 57–68). Catchline: United Kingdom.

References

Bobrick, Benson (2001) *The Making of the English Bible.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Hale, Terry (2001) Romanticism and the Victorian age. In P. France (ed.) *The Oxford Guide to Literature in Translation* (pp. 64–72). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Toury, Gideon (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Part 1

Chapter 2
Round-table Discussion on Translation in the New Millennium

Opening Address by Gunilla Anderman

First of all, then, welcome to everyone. I am particularly pleased to be able to welcome representatives of the professional organisations as well as colleagues from academia. So may I welcome Eyvor Fogarty from FIT (Féderation Internationale des Traducteurs) and the ITI (Institute of Translation and Interpreting), Mike Shields from the TA (Translators Association), and Graham Cross, Chair of the ITI. Henry Pavlovich of the IoL (Institute of Linguists) will be joining us later. I am also delighted to welcome: Reiner Arntz (University of Hildesheim, Germany), Simon Chau (Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong), David Connolly (European Educational Organization, Greece), John Dodds (University of Trieste, Italy), Kurt Kohn (University of Tübingen, Germany), Piotr Kuhiwczak (University of Warwick, UK), Hans Lindquist (Växjö University, Sweden), Sylfest Lomheim (Agder College, Norway), Gerard McAlester (University of Tampere, Finland), Albrecht Neubert (University of Leipzig, Germany), Gideon Toury (Tel Aviv University, Israel). We are very pleased that representatives from the professions as well as academics are with us today. So, thank you for coming and again welcome to everybody.

Professor Peter Newmark

If you don't mind, first I would like to say thank you very much for coming, in so far as you're coming for me – I'm very flattered. And, thank you very much also for organising this. Secondly, I have been told to 'keep it informal' – well, I usually am informal anyway. Now, my job is to introduce the sections, which might not exactly follow my paper. I have tried to give you a wide range of things to discuss. This is an invitation, but it is not in any way comprehensive, and I hope that you will discuss here the things that you are really interested in.

The nature of translation

So, the first section is 'Aspects of the nature of translation' and I'm going to talk very briefly. As you see, I don't think – unlike, for instance, Mary Snell-Hornby – I don't think translation changes in essence at all. There are three or four what I call 'dualities', rather than 'dualisms'; *dualism* suggests a certain opposition, *duality* simply two subjects which I want to mention, to bring out: on the one hand, a simplified message, and on the other hand the full meaning, and there is always this choice. Then, translation is partly a science and partly an art, I would say also a craft and a matter of taste. I think science is the search for truth – this is an old-fashioned word in Translation Studies. To me the scientific aspect is, above all, non-literary, it's about things, it's about reality, it's about facts, it's impersonal, and it's about objects. The other is the aesthetic, or, if you like, translation as an art, and this is imagination, which is so important. This is beauty, this is literary translation, this centres on people, as literature does.

Types and kinds of translation

We know translation is always an approximation – imagination brings it nearer. This is so, I think, in many types of texts. That is the secondary part of translation ('secondary' is the wrong word, but here it means secondary to 'Scientific Truth'). It applies to non-literary translation as well as literary translation, although in literary texts imagination, on the whole, has a far greater role, often the more important role. I transfer from this to the non-literary – which I now often call 'encyclopaedic', and literary is more 'dictionary'. *Non-literary* centres in names, in titles, in capitalised words (remember, these are big generalisations), while the *literary* is the dictionary, the world of the mind, what is here; the *non-literary* is more particular, the dictionary side is more general, as you see in my paper, it's 'lower case'. Then there's a different kind of contrast – between fresh language and clichés.

Increasingly, use of language is always very important in translation – 'writing well', I call it – and it needs definition, which I can't do exactly now; but a contrast between words that are so often used that they more and more lose their meaning, and words that are freshly used. This contrast, I think, again applies in all translation. These are only glimpses, but I think that's all I'd like to say here.

Valid and deficient texts

My next section is on the need for a terminology in translation, for certain words which are needed in translation, and for agreed meanings of them. Now, I just give you, as my examples, a 'valid' text and a 'deficient' text. A *valid* text is one that is, immediately, you might say, translatable. It's logical, it's accurate, it's ethical, and it's elegant. A *deficient* text is one that needs some kind of treatment, either within the text, or – if it's a historical text or a famous text (I often give *Mein Kampf* as an example here) – which needs some kind of gloss, normally on the part of the translator. Secondly, I give you a contrast between 'mistakes' which are due to ignorance (they are listed very briefly in my paper) and what I call 'deviations', which is where the translation follows some kind of idea about translation, as so many translators do, owing to what I call misguided teaching. The third point is what I call 'creative deviations', where the imagination, the creativity, of the translator is required, particularly in challenging texts, they are essential to any kind of imaginative translation.

In general for the first type, if one is assessing an exam (and I'll return to that), you would not normally penalise deviations as heavily as you'd penalise mistakes. In my paper I've a section here on the importance – if one is discussing translation or writing about translation – of examples of live, raw quotations creating the main link between translation practice and translation theory. Normally, the more examples and comments on examples, the more instructive – educative – such a text is.

Translating out of the language of habitual use

This is an important matter, because of translationese and false friends. I think I give five examples from Trier – I was writing this paper partly when I was in Trier – showing that these mistranslations, such as probably written, as I say, by a German (but might have been written by an English person), are fairly harmless, but they do stick out, and therefore any kind of municipal authority, I think, must have at least one reviser to ten service translators.

English as the lingua franca of translation

This section is self-contained, I hope. I'm suggesting that the role of English is now established. And I recount, I hope, an amusing incident in Brussels, suggesting that it was arrogance. It often is arrogance, but it's something that has to be recognised

Social translation and interpreting

Now to this concept – again, you may reject it – I hope I've defined it in my paper. With the decline of ideology, the realisation is increasingly important that, as I've put it, this is an age of migrations, public service translators, public service interpreters; I say that they come first, because *social translation* is centred on the poor and the disadvantaged, because they are in another country, because of the enormous amount of translation work that they require. I've also said that *social translation* comes between the other two, that is, *literary* and *non-literary*, because social translation, unlike literary translation, is centred on real people, and here I talk about the difficulties of words that represent human qualities, and I've pointed out that Tytler discussed this aspect of translation over 200 years ago: the fact that such words ought to be universal, but they are strongly influenced by culture, which is always the greatest barrier to translation. It relates also to acronyms and to institutional terms.

Later modes of translation

I leave it for somebody else to discuss Machine Translation. I feel I'm not qualified to do so. But in my paper I'm interested in surtitles, and the growing future of surtitles. I've defined the concept, so I'm not going to define it again; but most people even now, when I mention it, think I'm talking about subtitles – but it's not the same thing at all. It's the translation of opera texts projected above or alongside the stage which has also been extended to foreign plays and, soon I hope, will be to Lieder texts.

The assessment of translation

I've brought up again the matter of the assessment of exams – translation exams – because I think what goes on is that two or three people write about assessing translations, while many people don't believe in it at all and say that translation always works in its time and its place, and why introduce standards, or qualities, or values, into it. Well, it *is* essential, and again, there is my reference to *valid texts*. I've given you the four terms: valid texts, deficient texts, mistakes, and deviations – all these in a way are closely related to the matter of assessment of exams.

The university and the market

The last thing – and, in a way, the most important thing – is what I call 'The University and the Market'. Now that translation in many countries has become a discipline, there's a reaction: once it's in the university you say 'but this is not the real world; the real world is the market'. You know what I mean: we are facing the challenges of the market. I am not for a minute suggesting that the market should be ignored. It must be taken into account, but I'm suggesting that if you are in a university, there are other things: and I'm talking about the values embodied by universities – represented, if you like, by Cardinal Newman and by Wilhelm von Humboldt (but I think Alexander is, in a way, much more important): it's humanistic ideas, more general ideas, that are important, that language has been marketised in too many cases. Norman Fairclough has written well about this.[1] This is something that the translator has to guard against on the lowest level – simply on the matter of what I call 'P.R. language' or 'media language' – in other words, a mass of clichés; on a higher level, humane ideals and values, which is what Humboldt and Newman were talking about. To say simply the real world is a market, as is often done (and I'm particularly concerned with translation – what I've read about in Germany, but also in this country), is completely absurd, I think. The danger of the university ideal is that it is, certainly, generalised. As far as I remember, Newman, in his book *The Idea of the University* in 1854, suggested that you shouldn't have professional or technical subjects in the university. I don't agree with that, because I believe it's the examples that bring us into the real world, and I think the examples are very important. But these university values of humaneness, and the primacy of both society and the individual in any kind of activity, I think, are very important, and again it's regrettable, I think, that some proponents of Translation Theory are also talking about the customer all the time, the 'client'; the readership simply becomes 'clientèle', so anything the clientèle says must go. And this is the last point. I have written here words that I'll leave you with: the need to discriminate between an *important text* – and by that I mean a text that says important things, humane things – and the opposite, which the translator has to do.

I am suggesting – and this is positively my last sentence, which is a development, I think, from the paper – that if one writes about translation, it's aesthetics and ethics that are, simply, usually, neglected or completely misinterpreted.

The Discussion

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you Peter. Now, lets start with the first topic, The Nature of Translation. So, can I then, please, ask first Gideon, and then Albrecht and Piotr, who have indicated an interest, to make a contribution to the first section, to give us their views on this particular part of Peter's paper. So we'll start with Gideon.

Gideon Toury

I'm no longer sure that it's only Section 1: maybe it's a general overview which focuses on Section I, but it's not reducible to it – if you don't mind I'll do it that way.

Let me first warn you that what I am trying to do is put some basic reactions to the written version of Peter's position paper – but it is not too much removed from what we have just heard (and we have all read the written version) – in my non-native English, for some kind of English has certainly become the lingua franca, not only of translation itself, but of Translation Studies as well. So, some kind of English – that's what you have to expect, no more, no less. I will no doubt have produced what Peter has so emphatically called, more than once today, a deficient text, namely in stylistic terms. I did, however, try to make my text valid in all other respects, namely: logical, factually accurate, and ethically sound – or, at least, not too unsound. I'll be following just one thread out of many, hopefully, one that will result in a fair amount of 'fair' coverage of Peter's argumentation – that unique English word 'fair' that you have discussed in the written version but never referred to in the oral version.

As some of you may know, one of my concerns is that, when translation is discussed, very often hats are too easily changed, and levels that had better remain separate are too often mixed together, by which I mean the unholy trinity of the theoretical, the descriptive-explanatory and the ideologically motivated. Thus, when Peter says – and I'm quoting from the written paper, but you quoted it almost verbatim at the beginning of your presentation today – when Peter says that the nature of translation in its essence does not change, he must have in mind what human beings, when acting as translators, may in principle be doing, rather than what they are allegedly supposed, or are required to do, even less so, what a particular translator did, is doing, or will be doing at any particular moment, in any particular place, or with regard to any particular text. It is the initial potential that may be said to be unchanging, unless we accept – I don't, but maybe there are those who would accept it – unless we accept that the human mental apparatus itself is still undergoing changes – namely, changes of essence, rather than mere extent. For instance, that our memory was once different from what it is now, or that it will be essentially different in the future. Because, if this is the case, then the possibilities themselves of realising the general notion of translation may also change.

According to our assumption, changes do not occur in terms of the initial possibilities, but rather in the distribution of the actual realisations of those possibilities that are to be encountered in the world of our experience, as well as those among the realisations which, for one reason or another – or rather, for a combination of different reasons, would be regarded as preferable. Consequently, there is a lot of difference between talking about translation in terms of what it can initially be, and what it is, under this or that set of circumstances; what it is required to be, and what it tends to be. Each one of these question areas is legitimate, as well as interesting; and each one of us may choose an area to his or her own liking. Still, it should be realised that they belong to different domains of Translation Studies, and it simply won't do to mix them all in one neutral, or neutralising bag. Thus, saying that the mode of translation or the ensuing text is unacceptable is not the same as saying that it is impossible, or even non-existent. The first claim is normative (unacceptable), the second – theoretical, the third – descriptive. Looked at from a different angle, acceptability is a sociolinguistic notion referring to the cultural status of an initial possibility which itself is basically cognitive.

Finally, existence is just a raw fact which can be positive or negative, or even lack any value tag whatsoever. Peter always says that I don't give examples, so I decided to bring an example. This is an example that Peter and I have been arguing about, and disagreeing upon in the past. Take the *King James Version* of the Bible. In principle, this 1611 text could have been produced in 1999 too; however, I do not think it would have, in view of the dominant concept of translation. Moreover – and this is where we disagree – if it did emerge now, I don't believe it would have counted as a very good translation, not even of the Bible, if only, but by no means solely, because of the host of instances of interference it contains. 'A very visible translation indeed' – quote, unquote – today's culture critics would probably claim, which for them, but probably for them only, in the overall subversive frame of reference they entertain, would have counted as a coveted mode of translation, even though not necessarily as a real option, much less so a dominant one, certainly not in English. Had I had some more time, I would have started wondering aloud – and I'm picking out another example which is in the paper but which you have not quoted today – what Peter would have made out of the fact that there are some 40 Hebrew translations of the Goethe poem you cited at the beginning of the paper (of the written version), of the number of different translations, as well as the multiple concept of translation underlying them. However, I don't have that kind of time, and therefore I will do my wondering in silence. Thank you.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much. Any quick comments here?

Peter Newmark

One quick comment would be that the *King James Version* that was quoted by Gideon, I don't call it a quotation, that's an illustration. For a quotation, I must have a quotation. The only other point is that, as I've said with poetry, it's inevitable that there should be an enormous number of versions. There's nothing there that contradicts anything, because there are so many constraints, because imagination has played such a strong part; and it's simply not surprising, given that even in a concrete text, a normal non-literary text, no two translations normally are the same – not at all surprising.

Gideon Toury

But what I said is not just that the number was great, and not only that each one of them was different from the rest of them, but that they were representative of different approaches to what translation is at different periods of time. And this is something you keep skipping over – something which you seem not to like because it has been misused, or even abused – the historicity argument, but it doesn't make it any more wrong.

Peter Newmark

I accept that, but I also accept that language changes, and it's inevitable that there would be many different versions.

Gunilla Anderman

Shall we ask Albrecht at this point, and we can come back to this later.

Albrecht Neubert

Well, I haven't got such a nicely prepared contribution. I'll just react as I usually do to Peter's very stimulating talk, and his stimulating paper; and I must say at the beginning that what I have always appreciated about his work is that it is stimulating of thought and imagination. That's really the first thing, and it's always a little bit provocative: you put in certain things which you know are just for rebuttal and, most importantly, contradicting Peter is always raising the contradictor to a higher level – in other words it enhances the logical, cultural, philosophical and humane level of argumentation; that's, incidentally, also why I think Peter is so frequently quoted. Not that I support everything you say or write, but others make use of your work, your ideas, your examples – very often examples – let me make a comparison: when you climb a mountain, you know, you need something to hold on to on the way up, but still when you go on and leave it behind, you think you will reach the mountain top, although the mountain in Translation Studies is still in the clouds, as far as I can see. So, I think it will always remain somewhat in the clouds. But his words – sometimes snippets of an idea, neat, or witty, or caustic – may remain in our minds, reminding us of Peter's imaginative humane striving for enlightenment, and always of his contempt for the hackneyed, diseased, illogical, impure, fake rhetoric.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Albrecht. Peter, I think I would prefer to invite Piotr, and then that you perhaps respond to him and Albrecht, to ensure that we give everybody an opportunity to contribute.

Piotr Kuhiwczak

What I like about Peter's paper – and I would say, why I read Peter Newmark – is that he uses different language from that which one often comes across in theoretical writing about translation; and I like his human side, and his own personal terminology. And today he used three terms: good–bad writing, artistic–aesthetic, and I think the most important word for me in this context – taste. Now, obviously I am talking about literary translation, literary texts, and somehow this is the part of the study of translation which does not receive too much attention. Maybe because it is very difficult; maybe because, in universities today (as you said, there are some problems with universities), you are not supposed to discriminate between literary texts, or between any texts, and the very idea of talking about, and discussing, and teaching taste is very controversial. I would like to say this because you don't say it in this paper, which is rather unusual because – if I am not mistaken – not once do you mention the name of Leavis today.

Peter Newmark

It's no good mentioning Leavis when many people may not know what Leavis means.

Piotr Kuhiwczak

Well, that's exactly the problem isn't it? You see, I think with Newman it's slightly easier, he's been in the media recently, but I think Leavis hasn't been in the media a lot recently. Yet I think this is part of the discourse. Obviously, it's very unfortunate; maybe it's better not to mention the name, because it evokes rather negative associations today. If you say you are a Leavisite, or you say you read Leavis, you are not considered to be quite sane. And it's strange that being in the generation which does not remember Leavis, I was not taught by Leavis, I was not taught by the pupils of Leavis – but I still think there's a lot in Leavis which I think English culture – which created Leavis – has lost, which is a shame. So, I would end by saying that the notions, the words you have used, are very difficult to define, but I think it's essential that we look at them very closely, because translation is about discrimination, and literature is about discrimination. Now, unfortunately, in order to discriminate, one needs a lot of courage, and one may make mistakes. One should be prepared to pay the price for this, and I know that you are prepared to do that.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you. Any more general comments here? Kurt?

Kurt Kohn

What I find very interesting is your point, Peter, that translation in its very essence does not change. I agree that, as a practice, it doesn't change, in the sense of what translators do. But what does change is the way we look at translation, our models, our concept of what translation is, that changes dramatically, which in turn influences our practice. And here, I think it's extremely important to see the link between translation models, or Translation Theory, on the one hand, and models of language, Linguistic Theory, on the other.

The way we think and talk about language determines the way we think and talk about translation, and there is an obvious relationship between, say, structuralist theories of language, generative theories of language, and corresponding models or ways of thinking and talking about translation. This changed, for instance, with pragmatics and in the early 1980s, when discourse processing emerged as a research topic, something by the way which has been missing in our discussion so far. With these views on language, our views on translation, translating, translation processes, and translation strategies have changed yet again.

I find this extremely interesting, and let me give you an example: my first readings in Translation Studies, growing up with decoding, transfer, and encoding, were modelled on a structuralist approach to language. Now, from the perspective of discourse as process, comprehension, and production, I would say translation or translating a text may be viewed as nothing more than comprehension and production, but under adverse conditions. We have all learnt how to read and how to understand a text and we have developed different strategies for types of processing conditions. When it comes to translation, all we have to do is to understand and, on the basis of what we have understood, produce a text, but the processing conditions have changed, they are now different, and we have to adapt our reading/writing strategies, and this is what makes it so difficult for people to translate. They apply the strategies they are used to. This is something we could discuss at length. And I think that Peter's distinction between semantic and communicative translation is along the same lines.

Now, for example, the 'Rocky' text with which you are all familiar in the *Brown/Yule* discourse analysis book,[2] 'Rocky got up from the mat planning his escape, but the lock that held him was strong' and then there is something about Rocky's escape, and that he was able to break the lock. Now, depending on how you understand this, it could be a wrestling situation or it could be a gaol situation. The text is consistent with either interpretation and, depending on whether you take it as a wrestling situation or as a gaol situation, you understand it in a different way and hence you have to translate it in different ways. So, if you translate it into German, for instance, you end up with two different texts, because a word like *mat* is rendered differently: *Matratze, Pritsche* ('gaol') or *Matte* ('wrestling').

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you Kurt. Can I ask Peter to comment briefly and then we'll move on to the next section. Peter?

Peter Newmark

Thank you. I haven't disowned the concepts of *communicative* and *semantic translation*, but I no longer use them. I now talk about a *correlative* theory of translation, which I write a lot about but nobody ever comments. The point is, I've never suggested that it was *either* communicative *or* semantic, I point out, for instance, that in advertising, if you translate semantically, it needs notes. And if you translate Shakespeare properly, he needs notes, both for English and non-English speakers. And this is how a semantic translation is in a way, if you like, justified but needs notes, footnotes, prefaces, where such difficulties are much better explained. I welcome the word 'aesthetic' – you know I say right at the end of my paper, there is not enough aesthetic criticism. A last point – the paradox about translation – I think, is that while it does not change basically, it's difficult to define. Many dictionaries just cop out, they just say it means to render from one language to another, in other words, avoiding the word 'meaning'. The word *meaning* is the thing that is so difficult to define, and I mention this in the paper.

Gideon Toury

May I add a note to Kurt's example of 'Rocky'? He rightly enough said that I knew it very well, because I got it from him years and years ago, and he was talking about how such a passage could be translated, as well as how it *should* be translated and, you said, 'has to be translated'. If you carry out an experiment, you'll soon enough find out that, in most cases, you'll get a mixed translation. So, there are a lot of questions to be asked, but this is an illustration – not an example – of what I refer to as the descriptive-explanatory dimension in Translation Studies. And it calls for an explanation, which is what most translators would do.

Kurt Kohn

And I think I would explain this using Peter's concept of *mistake*. When something goes wrong, you'll get a 'mixed' translation, i.e. a translation that mixes two possible interpretations. This might happen when the translator takes a word-by-word or line-by-line approach, instead of having a full awareness of what he/she is translating; a holistic understanding of the text. I carried out an informal experiment with my students[3] where I split up the group – a lecture group of about 80 students – into three sub-groups. To one I said that this was a gaol situation, the second I told it was a wrestling situation, and the third group I didn't tell anything. And then they had to translate the text. The result was that all the 'gaol' people translated it consistently as a gaol story; and the second group translated it consistently as a 'wrestling' story. In the third group – and this is what's interesting – I found both versions, but the majority of students opted intuitively for the 'gaol' situation. That was in a way more familiar than wrestling, which is not a mainstream activity. Because of *Rocky*, people might think of boxing, but then the information in the text doesn't fit the 'boxing' frame and they notice this. So people's preconceived ideas influence the way they understand and translate, and if you show them before the experiment pictures of a gaol or of a wrestling situation, this will influence their interpretation and translation.

I'm not saying that this perspective is the only one, it's the one I'm interested in, and I think part of the controversy, if indeed there is a controversy, has to do with us trying to come up with just one model, while there are other possible models of language and translation as well, and we need different models of translation – we can't put it all in one.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, thank you Kurt. I think that Albrecht wants to make a concluding point before we move on to the next section.

Albrecht Neubert

Just one point. Peter, you said that you are no longer using the concept of 'communicative' and 'semantic' translation but in your paper you gave a wonderful example, what you called a *semantic* translation is, for the readership of advertising professionals, nothing but a *communicative* one. That's the only possible interpretation we can give it, because it serves the needs of these people, so it is communicative, but – you are perfectly right – the way it is done, in your terms it looks semantic, still it is no doubt communicative.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much Albrecht. Now moving on to the second topic, Types and Kinds of Translation, I believe you would like to make a comment Simon.

Simon Chau

There are three paragraphs in this section. I'll read from the second paragraph. I find it slightly amusing. It reads: I've noticed that many translation exam candidates, forgetting that translation is cultural as well as linguistic … Well, my experience is that it's not only the candidates, it's the examiners! Some years ago, I pointed out to the Institute of Linguists – I suppose most of us know that they are the authoritative body in the U.K. offering examinations in translation – that all candidates must be told what readership they are translating for. If I were a candidate, I wouldn't know, without being told, who is going to read it. But still even today, six years after my suggestion, nothing has been done. So I think that it's high time that all of us, as educators, stated very clearly, in every examination paper, where and under what conditions such texts – the translated texts – are to be used. Thank you.

Gunilla Anderman

Good. Simon, I think you also had a point related to the next topic, Valid and Deficient Texts. Would you like to continue please?

Simon Chau

Thank you very much. Well, I think that, as far as *sacred texts* are concerned, the same texts can be sacred on one occasion, and they can be non-sacred on other occasions. It's not the nature of the text itself, but Shakespeare, as well as Tony Blair, can be very sacred, when translated for a particular purpose. And, you know, these days we recite a complete work of Shakespeare[4] in 97 minutes. So, Shakespeare is no longer sacred, in that sense. Thank you.

Gunilla Anderman

Well, that was brief and to the point. Perhaps, we could then move on to the subject of English as the Lingua Franca of Translation. Could I now ask Reiner Arntz to come in here. And then after Reiner's contribution, perhaps you'd be kind enough to respond to the points that have been raised, Peter.

Reiner Arntz

I would like to select just one or two points from Peter Newmark's impressive survey – aspects which seem to me to be particularly important. By means of some extreme, but undoubtedly realistic examples, Peter Newmark shows us how truly deplorable translations can be, even today. I'm talking here about the Trier examples. In the face of such disasters, which, depending on your mood, may move you to laughter or plunge you into despair, it is hard to say who deserves more blame – is it the unfortunate producer of the text, apparently blissfully unaware of the true state of his or her English? Or is it the person who commissioned it, who, probably out of ignorance, but perhaps also eager to save money, set an incompetent to create something that may be a source of amazement to countless readers for years to come? And, should the unhappy producer of the text actually turn out to be a trained translator, well, a considerable portion of blame must then also be attached to those who trained that person, who taught him or her so little. In defence of our profession, I would hasten to add that in recent years a great deal has changed for the better. In most countries the way that translators are trained has become far more professional, and a lot of the credit for this must be given to translation theory, its occasional excesses notwithstanding. This and the increasing economic significance of technical translation have together resulted in a noticeable professionalisation of translating, and this trend will no doubt continue. We are in the middle of a process of globalisation that is encouraged and supported by the constant improvements in technical means of communication. Numerous translation agencies have linked up to form international networks, and it is now perfectly normal for translators to work in the country of their foreign language. Today it is really no problem at all to find an expert with native-speaker ability to look through the text that we have just translated into their language, or even to undertake the translation itself. These possibilities already exist, but they can only be exploited to the full if those who commission translations appreciate that quality is a decisive factor in the translation too, and that quality is not given away for free. As Peter Newmark's examples plainly show, there is still a lot that needs to be done in this respect. And it has to be said that university departments of Translation Studies have not, so far, done much to spread this particular message. Nobody today will deny that a good training in translation requires a solid foundation in translation theory, but at the same time it is vital not to lose sight of translation in the real world. And in particular the customers, who for the most part will have no acquaintance with translation theory whatsoever, and who will often have a grotesque lack of understanding of what translation involves. A great deal still needs to be explained, and explained in language that non-specialists can understand, and the translation theorists shouldn't feel that this is a task that is beneath their dignity. Peter Newmark's examples provide food for thought in another respect, in that they seem to me to confirm the fact that the complexity of lingua franca English has been hugely underestimated. Clearly, neither the person commissioning the translation, who almost certainly learned English at school, nor the producer of the text seemed to realise that they are both making themselves look ridiculous with such translations. There is nothing unusual about this; that abuse of lingua franca English in its various forms is a universal phenomenon – a fate that the language of such historical and cultural significance hardly deserves. Admittedly this disadvantage is compensated for by the enormous benefit that international communication and of course the English language community itself both derive from the lingua franca function of English. But this doesn't alter the fact that every lingua franca is a less than ideal solution. It is a step forward when French and German people today feel that they can communicate with each other in English. Real understanding, however, above and beyond the mere exchange of superficial pleasantries, requires, as it has always done, that one of the parties involved is competent in the language of the other. And, as a German who is specialising in the Romance languages, I can only say that this situation is not wholly unappealing. The speakers of the so-called lesser-used languages are well aware of this, of course, as developments in Eastern Europe in the last 10 years have clearly shown. The consequences of such developments have already made themselves felt in the translation market. The number of languages requiring translation is rising all the time. The volume of translations in languages that are actually without a significant translating tradition is also on the increase. Growing international competition for business has contributed to this quite considerably. Customers notice that they are being listened to, and so, for example, they demand operating instructions in their language, and not in some lingua franca. Yet the linguistic resources may not be completely adequate to meet these demands. Sometimes the necessary terminology may not be available, but more often what is lacking is experience in this kind of translating, and a sensitive awareness of the problems. And so the quality of the resulting translations often leaves much to be desired. Even so, the trend towards language diversity can be expected to continue, despite globalisation and despite English as the lingua franca. Translating in general, and the training of translators in particular, are therefore faced with an enormous challenge. As we move into a new century, we must create the right conditions for being able to produce high quality translations *from* as many languages as possible *into* as many languages as possible. And that this objective is not completely utopian is confirmed by the progress that has already been achieved, progress that, in my opinion, we owe in no small measure to work like Peter Newmark's. Thank you.

Simon Chau

Reiner, do you really mean that it's easy these days to find native speakers? You can walk for 3000 miles in China without finding a native speaker of English.

Peter Newmark

We're talking about the Trier …

Reiner Arntz

I am speaking about the situation in Europe … and for a translator in Trier, who translates into English, it's not difficult to find an Englishman to help, especially in those cases you quoted in your paper Peter. It is something that is read by thousands of people. I do think it might be possible to find someone.

Albrecht Neubert

It would seem that the whole development of English as a lingua franca has reached a certain stage. Following a conference last year I had to edit a series of contributions and I came across statements such as 'There is absolutely no reason to follow the idea or imagination of native speakers any longer. English no longer belongs to the English.' Actually, when these things happen in the world, well, they must be understood for what they are. When an Englishman says 'You couldn't say *that* …' now this is a jolt to the whole system, a change, whether we like it or not. When physicists in some faraway place – South Africa or the former Soviet Union – communicate about their field in English, that's one thing. But it is a far cry from what you legitimately demand as antithetic or logical or linguistically sound.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much, Albrecht. Maybe at some point we should have a conference on that subject. It certainly is a very interesting one, and more and more a topic of heated discussion. I could perhaps remind you at this point that the idea for this type of round-table discussion originated with Multilingual Matters, and Christina Schäffner has run and organised similar events at Aston. I think we want to pay our compliments to Christina for providing us with a model. On one occasion we had a very lively and interesting discussion at Aston following a paper given by Mary Snell-Hornby. Mary couldn't be here today, unfortunately, but you will find that, in the issue now in preparation for *Current Issues in Language and Society*,[5] this question is being discussed. Can I then ask Peter to briefly comment on Simon's, Reiner's and Albrecht's points, then we'll move over to the next Section. Peter?

Peter Newmark

Well, first: Reiner certainly overestimates the influence not just of me, but of translation theories, because I don't think they are interested in the type of text I was discussing produced by non-native speakers. I also think he overestimates the badness of these translations; I think they're quite amusing, and the delight of translation is always translationese. I also think that he underestimates, as Simon pointed out, the difficulty of finding a translator in Trier, when it is so much a town for tourists and there is so much translation to be done. I've suggested a solution here, at the end of the paragraph. The only point about Simon's 'sacred texts' is that, if the intention of the translator is the same as the intention of the writer, which after all is so in Shakespeare, then what I say about *valid texts* or *sacred texts* holds: that you can't play Harry in translating a speech. I use the word Shakespeare, but you know what I mean by that. Naturally, if it's for some other purpose – and I said so in my introduction – I say there that translation can be used for many purposes; if you change the purpose, then you treat it differently, that's all.

Gunilla Anderman

Eyvor?

Eyvor Fogarty

Yes. Peter has emphasised truth in this paper – the 'truth-seeking nature of translation'. This assumes that the translator can see or find the truth in the original. In this talk today and elsewhere, as in 'Paragraphs on Translation', you touch briefly on the five medial truths, the five medial factors in translation, and the one I'd like to refer to just now is the *moral* truth, based on the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. I wondered if you could say a few words about the appropriateness of this when translating documents in a contemporary and historical setting.

Peter Newmark

Well, I'll try to. When you say 'contemporary and historical setting', I assume you're referring to official texts of some nature and historical texts. It's not the translator's job to cross out a word such as *Untermensch* or whatever it is – as being a word of prejudice – but if he thinks such a text is going to mislead the reader, then the text must be glossed, one way or the other. I don't know if that answers your question.

Eyvor Fogarty

I suppose I was thinking of the rewriting of children's literature, for example.

Peter Newmark

Well, it depends what kind of children's literature it is. If it is something like Hans Christian Andersen, and there is something there that would offend the moral principles of today, I think you gently amend it, or you should at least tone it down, because false values are the last thing, I hope, that you would want to transmit to a child. I'm assuming such a text is in the public domain – in other words, no longer copyright. In that case, I would certainly modify it. At least, that's my first reaction. Have I answered your question?

Eyvor Fogarty

Yes, thank you.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you both. Perhaps we can now move on to our next subject, Translating out of the Language of Habitual Use which follows logically from our discussions on English as the Lingua Franca of Translation. I think that John would like to say something here. Perhaps you could start, John.

John Dodds

Well, at one point Reiner said that, with the new respectability that translation has achieved in the universities now, quality too is improving. But, I think this is relative, because in the country where I work, Italy, we have actually got universities who make agreements with clients – customers – to use first-year students with absolutely no translating or interpreting experience whatsoever to go into the booths, to do simultaneous conference interpreting work professionally. For this, industry pays the university; the students don't get paid one lira. So, I just wanted to start off with that. I think it depends a great deal, as always, on the university or the institution – unfortunately. It would be marvellous to say that all universities guarantee professional quality but I'm afraid that on many occasions this is not the case.

With respect to what previous speakers have said as regards native versus non-native speakers, I agree – certainly, in the Italian situation – we do have quite a job finding native speakers. I personally think that the point about using revisers – and this was in Peter's written text, but I think Kurt or perhaps Reiner also mentioned it – you can always find a native speaker who will just read through the text for you. I find revising texts extremely painful and usually it's more expensive for the client to use me as a reviser than to have paid me in the first place to do the translation – which I would have preferred to do, because I find editing extremely difficult. I don't think one can simply have a reviser there as somebody who is just going to have a look at the text and check that tense agreement is right, just a quick grammatical check, because I don't think you need a native speaker, necessarily, for that purpose. In Peter's paper, he makes a reference to the UNESCO General Conference in 1976, where at the time the debate was certainly very hot over the use of native and non-native-speakers as translators. In July this year, I was at The United Nations Inter-Agency Conference on Language Practice held in Rome. And it's no longer a debate about native versus non-native speakers, but about humans versus non-humans. I think the financial factor – 'the market', as Peter calls it – has become so important, and with the vast amount of translation work, the *millions* of pages of English that have to be translated, it no longer matters financially whether you're paying a native speaker or a non-native speaker, because they're both too expensive. And therefore we are now talking about translation-assisted programs, we're talking about computers doing a great deal of the work, we're talking about class-A and a class-B type translations; within the United Nations, they are now talking about internal documents done by computers and computer-assisted translations. And external documents *only* to be done by humans, without mentioning whether these humans are native or non-native speakers. So, the whole concept is changing – for financial reasons, for market reasons. The use of computers, obviously, is very important for some of the developments Peter touches on in his paper. Students (and here I agree with Simon – also teachers) aren't aware of the importance of encyclopaedic knowledge, etc., and obviously if you *are* doing exams or if you *are* doing a class with computers, you now *literally* have this information at your fingertips. I remember, at the time when I was Peter's student, he would say 'Bring in encyclopaedias', and, for the life of me, I didn't have the muscle to do so. I was lucky if I managed to get two or three different dictionaries and thesauruses into the examination with me. There was no way one would think of having access to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or whatever encyclopaedia, which you can have at a touch today, and this is important. So, I would also ask for a comment from Peter on this – computers taking over from the non-native speaker, giving us the distinction between human and non-human translation – rather than, almost 25 years ago, between native and non-native speakers.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, John. Mike?

Mike Shields

Yes, thank you very much. I'd like just to say something about the role of the reviser: I quite agree – it requires a great deal of tact, and I think one has to be constantly aware of the level of translation that is required. The temptation, of course, for the native speaker, is to make it sound as perfect as possible, and this is not always necessary. There seems to be the feeling that only something that is very close to perfection is acceptable. I'm thinking particularly of Christiane Nord's work, the Functional School, and the concern with the function of the translation, whom the translation is intended for. I don't think perfection , or even near perfection, is always necessary.

Gunilla Anderman

Interesting point. Kurt?

Kurt Kohn

Just a brief point on the question of native versus non-native speakers and having a native speaker at hand and a translation not having to be perfect: I think it has to do with the question of translation being an art or a science. I would say it's an art, definitely. With our students in Tübingen and in Heidelberg, I've found that it's not sufficient to know the language or to be a native speaker, but to be good, to have a good flare for handling texts. Not every native speaker has got it, not all are sensitive with respect to comprehension, and are creative, flexible, and versatile with respect to production. If they have it, then it only takes a crash course to tell them a few things that they need in order to avoid certain traps. They may need Translation Theory though for other purposes; but in order to be a good translator – those who don't have a flare for understanding and producing texts – they will never learn it, they will never become good translators, for all the amount of Translation Theory that you offer them. And this brings us back to revision and asking a native speaker if they will look at the text; but looking at a text, and revising it, is a different process. They may accept it, and say 'yes, OK, it's fine', but it's not OK, it's not fine on the stylistic level, with the right word in the right context.

Gunilla Anderman

Now, Graham?

Graham Cross

Yes, I just want to say that I agree absolutely with what Kurt has just said, especially about the pointlessness of trying to teach people who haven't got that particular spark which makes it possible to do a translation well – if that's not there, yes, you are flogging a dead horse. You cannot teach that. It is something which is inborn. God knows how or why, but it is. But I think, also, that this is the justification for the existence of the human translator, because, at the end of the day, the human translator is more cost effective, because the skilled and well-trained human translator can get the right – whatever that is – translation straight off, first time, much more cheaply – no reprocessing, no extra passes. It's a false economy to use mechanical means, even though they can churn out large volumes; unless it is something which merely has to be intelligible – rather than understandable – it is always, I think, in the last analysis, going to be cheaper to use a human being.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Graham. Gideon?

Gideon Toury

I think that's a good argument, but is it really true?

Gunilla Anderman

Albrecht, I think, and then John.

Albrecht Neubert

Just one point. I'm afraid it's even more complicated than that. I remember a number of cases – it was about 20 years ago – when our school in Leipzig was approached to do some translation work for the Ministry of Higher Education. I thought the best thing would be to ask some of our native speakers, who were actually teachers of translation, and they came up with, in my opinion, wonderful translations. But I was told off in no uncertain terms. The Minister himself said 'Impossible!' These Englishmen (our native speakers) wanted to make the translation as readable as possible for the normal Western reader in England. But this was not what the Ministry wanted. What I personally thought was good was not suitable for a particular purpose, in this case, higher government administration.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Albrecht. John?

John Dodds

At the United Nations they've made their own decisions, and quite clearly said that it is not economical to have humans translating all the time, for two reasons: one – most of the people working there don't need to read the translations carefully, they simply need to glance at them to get a rough idea what they're about; and the second reason is if everything is going to be translated, the final document for everybody being in English, I can see that they're going to want an English which isn't 'English-sounding' but as close to their own original language as possible. This means saying in Italian 'I have the possibility to …', rather than saying 'I'm able to …' or whatever, because the person who is not a perfect English speaker understands that better, and is able to translate more directly from his own language.

Graham Cross

I wasn't saying that the human translator is always going to outdo the machine. I have a colleague, for example, who has a program which will translate very satisfactorily for many commercial purposes from Dutch to English and from English to Dutch, and will do 20,000 words overnight – no problem. No human is ever going to compete with that. What I was saying was that there is always going to be quite a large chunk of the market there for the human translator.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Graham. Very briefly, Kurt, did you have a concluding comment?

Kurt Kohn

Yes, there is no problem, really, when we are dealing with texts which are not read by that many but there are texts like maintenance manuals for a Boeing, for instance, which have to be right! The thing is: how can the machine and the translator/human being interact in such a way that the task can be done faster, more cost-effectively and still be done well. I wouldn't want to do this kind of job as a translator. Using a machine, of course, helps enormously with regard to consistency. For such a document it's very difficult to achieve the same degree of consistency with a group of human translators – even professionals, even people who are used to working in groups.

Gunilla Anderman

Peter, would you like to respond to Kurt?

Peter Newmark

Thank you. Well, I think that the question of the computer versus the human … I don't think the computer will take the place of the human element with certain texts; I don't think there's been enough emphasis on types of text here. I think that manuals and instructions in general require a human – and that's where I would agree with what you've said, Kurt. But, for the kind of UN reports – what I call 'grey economic texts', or 'grey institutional texts' – I think this can be done roughly by computers, and then the right degree of accuracy achieved by post-editing. That's all.

Gunilla Anderman

Right. Thank you very much indeed. Can we move on to Peter's next topic, Social Translation and Interpreting. I know that both Sylfest and Albrecht would like to say something about this subject. Sylfest, would you like to start?

Sylfest Lomheim

Thank you. First I would like to join those who have already paid compliments to Peter. I agree. I'll speak to the extent of my expertise, so I will speak briefly. It has to do with the use of the term 'social translation'. As far as I can see, translation is dictated by the type of text: we have literary texts, we have non-literary texts. Do we have *social* texts? I would say all texts perhaps are social.

Peter Newmark

Can I say, I didn't mean social in that sense. I meant social in the sense of social responsibility.

Sylfest Lomhim

OK. That would explain it, because I was not convinced, when reading the paper, that we need the term 'social translation', as an in-between term between literary and non-literary.

Peter Newmark

Well that may be so, but …

Sylfest Lomheim

And another terminological question is the basic word itself. I started thinking about 'translation', the word – and it's not new, what I'm going to say now – but, we tend to use the word *translation* ambiguously, all the time. First, we use *translation* as the word for transfer – linguistic transfer – of meaning. Then, and of course Peter used that word earlier on – translation, the nature of translation. We also, all of us, use the word *translation* as written-text-transfer to written-text-transfer, which means that our basic word of use is systematically ambiguous. My simple question is: are we happy with that situation, or shall we do something about it? Margaret, you're the terminologist. Those were my two points.

Margaret Rogers

Well, Terminology itself is full of examples of that kind.

Kurt Kohn

But the problem differs from language to language. It's not as if this particular one or any other type of terminological problem exists in every language.

Sylfest Lomheim

I didn't say that. I was talking about English.

Gunilla Anderman

I saw Simon nodding over there. Were you nodding in agreement, or would you like to say something – was it the term Social Translation that you would like to comment on?

Simon Chau

The term Social Translation as used here can be misleading. Maybe with our collective wisdom we can invent a better one.

Gunilla Anderman

Right. Albrecht?

Albrecht Neubert

Well, it's not really about Social Translation but about your example Peter, in this section. When you talk about the untranslatability of 'privacy' – here, I think the translator does not really face a problem. I invoke my old theme: words are not alone in the source text – a fact I have to cope with in my lexicographical work. For the last ten or so years, I have had the experience that you're absolutely right in all these things, because in a dictionary you must find some sort of quasi-equivalent; and here it's very difficult to find a word for 'privacy', as well as for many other words. But, as far as translation is concerned, I must say that this is not a problem. Now, you mention Reagan here – that is, his sneer, that here the Russians are lacking on the lexical level. But you also say on another occasion 'Let's look for the meaning.' Now, I looked up the definition of 'privacy' recently, in the dictionary. And it gives the meaning as follows: if you have 'privacy', you are alone, or can be alone, or you can do things without other people seeing you or disturbing you. I'm not sure whether all native speakers will accept this definition, but I think it's a very good one. Now, let me give you a couple of examples from computer corpora – they are not invented. In the sentence 'He hated the lack of privacy in the dormitory', now, here's a perfectly good German translation: 'Er hasste es, *oder* es gefiel ihm gar nicht, dass er im Schlafsaal niemals allein war.' I don't think you can improve on that one. Next: 'I felt I needed privacy' : 'Ich fühlte, dass ich allein sein wollte *oder* musste.' Or: 'the privacy of your own home': 'die Unbestörtheit der eigenen Wohnung'; 'Perhaps you would like to take it home and read it in privacy': 'Vielleicht möchten Sie es gern nach Hause nehmen und in Ruhe lesen.' I could go on and on – these are all authentic examples, not just illustrations. The untranslatability of words, which you have to a very large extent in poetry, I have all the time – in fact every morning, when I do my dictionary work. But then again, it hasn't anything to do with translation, because whenever we use words to speak or write in our native language, there is always a risk that the person I'm addressing will not understand me correctly. They will misunderstand a German word or an English word I'm using, but this is a philosophical, or metaphysical, point, it's related to the question: Can we communicate at all? If we are talking on this level – fine. But normally we are not. However, if we are, I do think that there are untranslatable words. But, fundamentally, most texts are translatable.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much, Albrecht. Peter?

Peter Newmark

Regarding the last point, the point is that these are extracts from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; they are not the kind of colloquial uses of 'privacy' that Albrecht has quoted. And I'm simply showing that in that *Universal Declaration*, where *privacy* is an isolated concept, the translations are more or less inadequate That's all I'm trying to say. Of course, there are degrees of context, but in this case the context is much thinner than in the examples that Albrecht gives.

Albrecht Neubert

But I'm afraid then, you're talking about the *Declaration of Human Rights*, not about *privacy*.

Peter Newmark

No, I'm talking about how to translate this word.

Albrecht Neubert

Because actually, then it means that the *Declaration of Human Rights* cannot be translated adequately.

Peter Newmark

Well that's what I'm trying to say – that's my whole point.

Graham Cross

Can I comment here? I think this is a fundamental problem in translation. If one regards words as occupying a certain amount or representing a certain amount of semantic space, for example if one takes a two-dimensional model or a three-dimensional model, or a multi-dimensional model, you can say that a word maps out a particular area, volume, or hyper-volume in that system of coordinates. Those two spaces are not going to be directly comparable in any two languages – which is very obvious. But the less obvious fact – which is very important for translation – is that the semantic space occupied by any one word in any particular language is governed by the occupation of space in that language by other words. And where you have this sort of situation, where you have a concept which is wholly untranslatable as one word in another language, you have to approach the translation by arriving at the same conceptual space using the other language's words in a totally different way, and to try and actually translate 'privacy' is not what one has to do, and the examples you give …

Peter Newmark

But they had to do it here! And they did it inadequately.

Graham Cross

Yes, because they were attempting to translate the word, rather than going for the concept – which is what Albrecht's expressions – rather, illustrations – showed very well. And you also get the situation where you actually have antithetical concepts – for example, in French: the French will always, when they're looking at a tank of liquid, tell you how *full* it is. In British industry they tell you how *empty* it is. We have a concept 'ullage', which is the exact opposite of 'fullness'. So a tank which is 80% *full* has a 20% *ullage* – this is a very nice, neat opposite correlation between occupation of semantic space, but, as you become less and less close to physical reality, of course the boundaries become much more nebulous.

Gunilla Anderman

Kurt, could you comment very briefly, please, because I would then like to ask John, and then I think, if you don't mind, Peter, we'll close the discussion on Social Translation and Interpreting and move on to the next topic.

Kurt Kohn

Yes, I think Graham's reference to semantic concepts is very important, and I agree that it's always possible to find a means of expression in any language for a certain semantic concept, but here I think that what Peter had in mind was something else again. We are not just dealing with the word, the everyday word 'privacy' here, we are dealing with a legal term, in the way in which it has been used in a certain legal document for which there is no corresponding legal term in other languages. I think that is the problem here with 'privacy'. So, if I have to translate it, then I would prefer to keep the term 'privacy' or, somehow, just try to invent, which is of course the big problem with terms: you can't just invent terms. But that is another dimension; that's how I understood the problem that Peter pointed to.

Gunilla Anderman

Yes, that's a very good point. Can I please ask John to conclude.

John Dodds

Very briefly, a comment on the Italian situation; I think the problem is the question of when the *Declaration of Human Rights* was translated, because 'diritti dell'uomo' has become 'diritti umani' today in Italy, and 'privacy' has become 'la privacy'. We don't have problems any more in translating this text. In Italy today, *la privacy* is standard.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much. Now, for the next topic Later Modes of Translation, there are three speakers who have asked to make a contribution.

I have the good news that one of the speakers promised us some light entertainment. So perhaps we should start with Hans. Would you like to begin?

Hans Lindquist

Well, I hope I can live up to that! I'd like, perhaps a little bit light-heartedly, to go back to the arts. The nice thing, I think, about your writing and teaching, Peter, is that there's always an element of the fine arts, the pictorial arts or music. In Later Modes of Translation, you mention in your paper that we need translations of the lyrics to be able to fully appreciate music, like Lieder and opera, and you talk about surtitles. You also say that translation needs to be in your terms *semantic*, as I understand it – that is, you say 'the meaning lies entirely in the music', so we need the translation to get the meaning out of the music, somehow. I'm going to turn now to an artist whom you mentioned earlier on. So, let's have a look at some pictures … I'm going to ask you, Peter, what you think we need to do about the translation of texts contained in pictures, like the following one. You mentioned Magritte, and this is a famous Magritte picture containing a text, which, of course, your Italian visitors or Swedish visitors to this museum in Belgium perhaps wouldn't really understand. It is interesting that the titles of Magritte's art are also part of it, so this one is *La trahison des images* or, in English, *The Betrayal of Images*[6]; so there's a relation between the picture and the meaning. And then, I'd like to show another Magritte picture, which I think is Magritte's comment on translation, perhaps. The title of this one is, funnily enough, *La réproduction interdite* – *Not to be reproduced*, and it looks like this.[7] Is this a picture of translation – are we seeing the back, not the front side – the reverse – in the mirror? I don't know. The final point is that the book in this painting is the French translation of one of Magritte's favourite writers – Edgar Allan Poe – *The Adventures of Gordon Pym*, in French. So, any comments on this, Peter?

Peter Newmark

Well, any comment I have would be obvious. If you mean 'what caption should there be?', again, the Magritte pictures were displayed at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. Then you need a caption, giving the literal translation of those titles in three languages, notably, I would say, Flemish, English and, perhaps, German. I don't know whether this is the kind of comment you want.

Hans Lindquist

What about the text *in* the picture?

Peter Newmark

Well, you can't … the picture is the picture. All you can do is this kind of gloss on the picture. I wouldn't attempt to touch anything in the picture – you're not allowed to. You're not telling me that if you displayed any of these pictures in Stockholm, you would be allowed to tamper with Magritte's paintings?

Hans Lindquist

But they dub movies.

Peter Newmark

Yes, I know, but you can't …

Hans Lindquist

Dub a picture?

Peter Newmark

Certainly not, I would say. I mean, in a way, a subtitle would be the gloss. You know what I feel about the respective merits of subtitling and dubbing – it's only a non-serious film that ought to be dubbed. Any other kind of film ought to be subtitled – that's my view.

Hans Lindquist

Thank you.

Gunilla Anderman

Would anyone else like to comment? Kurt.

Kurt Kohn

I love these pictures. And I use them in discourse analysis to make my students aware of certain processes in connection with texts and pictures, or world knowledge and contextual information, and I think, in a way – in a narrow sense – there's no translation problem here whatsoever. Because if you *wanted* to translate *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* or *Une femme triste*, then you could just do it in a straightforward way, and there's no problem. The other thing is, of course, do we *want* to translate it? Well, it depends – that is a practical question, and then either you adopt Peter's approach and you work with a gloss, or you adapt it, you translate it, and the interesting thing here is that, if you translate it, then what Magritte wanted to say with his work of art stays the same. So the message is kept intact.

Albrecht Neubert

There's just one minor point, returning to the question of social translation. If somebody looks at this picture and hasn't the slightest idea of French, don't you think there's some justification in helping this person understand – whatever you call it, because after all, you *must*, because you make it impossible for non-French understanding persons to appreciate it. In my broader understanding of translation, this is part of it; and it's again what you would call 'communicative'. The way in which you do this, the way you make it possible for somebody to understand may be different. But whether directly or not, you should open a door – that's all you can do.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Albrecht. Gideon?

Gideon Toury

I have a follow-up question. Is there a point where this kind of thinking, or the decision making which has to do with it, must stop? For instance, in the case of the Magritte picture, most Hebrew speakers would not understand the French; but if you decide to have it in Hebrew, then the writing would go from right to left, but the picture would be still looked at from left to right. Should you then also reverse the picture, or not? This is already a real problem when translating cartoons.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you Gideon. I don't think we're going to solve a problem of this complexity now given the time we've got today. I think we have to move on and I also have Mike Shields down for this section.

Mike Shields

Well, as you know, I'm here representing the Translators Association, and it's slightly ironic that the organisation which is generally regarded as the association for literary translators is, in fact, currently chaired by a technical translator. Also, I should say that I've had virtually nothing to do with Translation Studies over the years, and I'm not an academic, so I'm perhaps the odd man out in this room. And for that reason I was particularly interested to read this paper, and I found it very informative, but don't feel I'm qualified to comment on most of it. But one area where I differ from you is that in a paper entitled Translation in the New Millennium, you dismiss, in a single paragraph, the one factor which will certainly have more effect on translation in the new millennium than anything else – which is of course the computer.

Peter Newmark

I'm sorry, I do not dismiss it. I say I'm not qualified – that's very far from dismissing it.

Mike Shields

I was going to say that. I'm sorry that I phrased it perhaps inadequately, but yes, I think that my feelings about the computer are probably similar to yours – that it's a kind of necessary evil. But it's certainly already affecting the way we work, and indeed, out there on the coalface where I hack my living, it's affecting *whether* we work, and if you don't have the right software, and if you don't have the right hardware, you just don't get jobs.

Peter Newmark

I love my computer!

Mike Shields

Yes, right, well I was just giving an example before, that Japanese companies have issued their employees with polystyrene baseball bats to hit their computers with when they don't perform properly – and they are such infuriating things that I really wish I had one at times. But there's no need for science fiction examples of what will happen twenty years from now. If we look at the last 20 years, and how things have changed, and where computers are now, compared to where they were 20 years ago, just about everything you do is affected by computers. You put your foot on the accelerator of your car and you're not opening a valve any more – you're telling a computer that you would like the car to go faster. And the computer will say 'Well yes, I know what you want, but, since the roads are a bit wet, we won't let you go quite as fast as you'd like, and we'll prevent the car from sliding.' And so on. And in translation it is getting to the point, even now – as I say, you don't need science fiction examples – … right now, I'm under considerable pressure from several of my clients – if you'll forgive the use of the term – to use translation memory systems. I don't know whether everybody's familiar with them, but, in effect, they are computer systems which store and memorise every word, sentence, phrase and paragraph that you translate, and constantly search the database of terms as you work on your translation, and when you come to a similar sentence, up pops the translation for you. You don't have to use it, but if you want to use it, you can immediately insert it into your text and proceed; and, in many ways, for many jobs, and in many contexts, it's very useful. And, you might think it's a great aid to translating all these boring manuals, something we have to do, but really the pressure for this is coming not from translators, but from the clients, from the companies, from the translation companies, from the engineering companies, or whatever. And the idea is not to save the translators' time or to allow the translators to earn a better living: the pressure is to save the company money, and that means costing the translator money. And, as Chairman of the Translators Association (TA), which, you might know, is part of the Society of Authors – and is for that reason a trade union, as well as a professional association – I'm very interested in translator rights .

It seems to me that in this area, translation work – for many, many translators – is going to be seriously affected, because, just as an example, most of us are paid per 1000 words or per page, or per line, and this is fine, so long as it represents an average of the hard bits and the easy bits. Everybody knows that in some translations you find a bit that you're very familiar with – particularly in things like technical manuals, you find yourself saying 'Oh yes, I did that bit before', and you can copy a whole paragraph down and get on with it. And then you find other bits where you're not quite sure what it means, or what the word means in this context, and you can spend an hour thinking about it. And what's going to happen is that all the easy bits are going to be taken out of translation, and we're going to be left only with the difficult bits. And if we're paid by the 1000 words at the same rate as we're getting now, then our rate per hour – which is what really matters – I mean, the rate per 1000 words is nothing; your bills come by the week, and pay per unit time is what's important – then our rate per hour is going to plunge, unless something is done about it. It's going to very seriously affect how people, certainly in my field, do their work. But I think, if you look at the rate at which computers have advanced, it can affect other areas as well. I can see novels being banged out in machine translation systems and handed over to ghost writers to turn them into as good English as is necessary, and completely wipe out translators – and even interpreters. It's already possible to dictate to a computer. Once the words are in the computer, it's already possible to translate them. It's already possible to generate a voice from a computer, and it's therefore not at all inconceivable that even interpreting could take place in 20 years, 30 years, at the rate of processing that we have now. With the size of memories that we have now, the access to memory that we have now, it's completely possible that this might happen. If you look at what was thought possible 20 to 25 years ago, and what is possible now, even science fiction writers didn't get it right. Someone did a survey of forecasts made respectively by laymen, scientists, and science fiction writers, and compared them with what really happened. Laymen tended to think things would go on more or less as they were, scientists tended to take a tangent to the curve, science fiction writers tended to take an exponential line, but in fact reality exceeded even that. So, when we think about what is going to affect translation in the new millennium, I think the computer is going to affect all of us in every possible way, and shouldn't – can't – be ignored.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much, Mike. Can we have some more brief comments, Eyvor?

Eyvor Fogarty

I think that in all this I am heartened by the memory that Julius Caesar sacked his interpreter and employed his cousin. What he was looking for was not the mechanised, perfect translation that the interpreter was giving him, but the person he could trust, who understood both sides, and made the role of the translator – as it has always been – some kind of mediator in all this.

Graham Cross

Yes, I'd like to make a couple of comments, both totally unrelated – the first being that the person who is currently selling Trados is finding that one of the greatest uses, or potential uses, of Trados is not in translation, but in technical writing, to ensure that the original document has the necessary consistency; and the second is, yes, computers are changing very much the manner in which translations are done and prepared, but I think – as Kurt pointed out earlier – that translation itself doesn't actually change – it's still the same old chestnut.

Gunilla Anderman

Peter, would you like to comment very briefly?

Peter Newmark

I've already made my comment.

Gunilla Anderman

OK, thank you very much. Kurt, very briefly, a concluding remark?

Kurt Kohn

I totally agree *and* disagree with you, Peter: I don't love my computer, I love my wife. I find my computer very useful, but interestingly enough so is my wife. But I agree with Mike, the same thought crossed my mind with respect to the title of this symposium – Translation in the New Millennium: I think the computer, in all its shapes, will have a tremendous impact, and I think it's also a very interesting development to study.

You mentioned the practical problems involved. In Tübingen we are involved in a research project together with a company in Munich, a videoconferencing company, and the idea is to develop a videoconferencing system with an integrated interpreting station: here the interpreter is not an additional partner in the conference, but has his or her separate track – very much a simultaneous interpreting situation. And we did the evaluation of all this, but it's interesting to look first at how the participants behave, communicate, under these conditions, and how the translators, the interpreters, cope with the situation; but when people talk about videoconferencing, communication, or interpreting in this context, they always emphasise the technology-mediated aspects which, as far as communication is concerned, they feel are very restricted and limited. I think it's just the other way round: I mean, we *are* able to communicate, we *are* able to translate and to interpret, but we do it *always* under certain conditions which, at the same time, make possible but also limit what we are doing.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you very much, Kurt. Now, on the subject of The Assessment of Translations, Peter specifically mentions Mac's work. We've got Mac here with us and as you know Mac has a particular interest in this topic. I think we would like to start off by hearing his ideas about Peter's views and about Assessment of Translations in general. So, could I ask Mac to start please.

Gerard McAlester

This sounds like a horrible responsibility! I've only prepared a few random comments here but it would seem to me that this is the area in which Translation Studies has its worst failure. A few years ago, I asked Gunilla to tell me how translations were assessed at Surrey, and she said she wasn't quite sure, and that she'd ask her teachers, or her lecturers, here how they assess their translations – which she did, and she sent their replies. Now, what I found was exactly the same situation as at my own university – that everybody did it a bit differently. And I have a feeling that a profession which can't define its own criteria of competence is, in a sense, in a bad way. I've a feeling that we ought to be able to – and, in a sense, this is an appeal of the same kind that Peter is making in his paper – agree on some guidelines, outlines as to how we should approach evaluation of translation. Now I use the word *evaluation* because what we're very often required to do is actually to place a value on a translation. Ultimately, of course, what we're trying to do is to place a value on the translator. But it's very difficult to do that without evaluating the actual work, and in one of his books or articles Peter once said – it won't be an exact quotation here – something like: 'Detailed schemes for the assessment of translation are dead ducks.' It may be …

Peter Newmark

I couldn't have said that!

Gerard McAlester

We should never quote to people what they have said in the past but I'll dig it out for you. I mean what we need is more of the kind of thing that Juliane House has produced. I'm very pleased now that what you say here Peter is an appeal for some kind of guidelines – which I think should preferably be done internationally – for what we're doing when we try and assess translations (whether in terms of an accreditation body, like the Institute of Linguists, or in universities); just what are we trying to do and what should we be looking for? I would suggest that such a task could start with some kind of classification of translation problems, because the text – that's the wrong word as I think Simon Chau pointed out – a translation is not just a text, it's actually a task which involves all kinds of phenomena quite apart from the text. I should say, by the way, that in my own university we're required to specify the audience and the purpose of the translation, for assessment purposes. We do need a set of guidelines for this. I mean, there are other activities where this has been done, perhaps none as complicated as translation. But, for goodness' sake, people compete in the World Figure Skating Championships, and judges actually have to give a numerical score for what they do. Surely we can gradually begin to do this; I mean, I do feel that also, having experimented with various norm referenced types of evaluation, that they're not good enough, and that they should in the end be criterion referenced. But, of course it's an enormous task, and extremely difficult to do, but I would just endorse Peter's appeal for this, and hope that we can set about doing it; I think that it would be an excellent task for the next millennium, for institutions like the Institute of Linguists.

Gunilla Anderman

Right, OK – Simon.

Simon Chau

Three points, very briefly. Point number one: I would like to recommend to everybody here the guidelines of the Institute of Linguists' Diploma Translation Examination. I think those guidelines are the best in the world. I've been using them for nine years, and I've never come across anything better. Second point: I have a colleague teaching translation and the two of us never agree upon anything related to Translation Theory.

But when we co-mark, double mark, our students' and the Institute's papers, we agree very closely – our marks are always very close. My last point is this: I think, as experienced professionals in the translating community, we have a kind of yardstick here – we'll take a look at a translation, and we will know instinctively whether it's OK or otherwise. I've just talked to Graham – I think we all know instinctively. We don't have to mark, to rate it with points, with very complicated schemes, and we all know whether this will work for our clients, or otherwise. Thank you.

Graham Cross

May I come in there? Yes, it leads on very much to what I was going to say originally but in connection with another aspect of Peter's paper. On the question of assessment let me just say where I'm coming from: I'm a practising freelance translator, although I'm also Chairman of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting. So I'm not a translation theorist, although I have my own ideas about it. I am working in the market – very much so, and, in connection with what Peter says about the market, I would just remind people that a market – any market – is a collection of separate stalls which all sell different merchandise in different ways. As a practising translator, I am producing a commodity, a product – a product which, in fact, is governed by the Supply of Goods (Implied Terms) Act in this country. And one of the requirements of the Supply of Goods (Implied Terms) Act is that goods must be fit for their purpose. Now, this is particularly pertinent to translation, because translation is not anything in isolation. Translation is, as Peter says – or rather, implies – in his paper, because he mentions it in the title, with the word *communication*, and he mentions it in the very last sentence, where he says 'every text serves its purpose in its time and its place' … translation is an act of communication, the text on which a translation is based is itself an act of communication. That communication was generated originally for a specific purpose, for a specific target audience. The translation itself is then generated for another specific purpose, which may or may not be the same as the original purpose, for yet a different audience. As Kurt and Albrecht mentioned earlier on, translation – or rather the message, the communication – is a multidimensional thing. It is not just concept, it is not just technical content, it is not just form of language, it is not just emotional affect, it is not just cadence and rhythm and that sort of thing – all these things are components. The original message, the communication, has a multitude of dimensions attached to it. It is the translator's task to know what the purpose is, or, in terms of literary translation, probably deciding himself what the purpose is, because the purpose is not set by the client; he himself decides what he wants to get over from the original – given that not everything can be got over in translation, he has to emphasise some particular aspect. Rather like in the Polynesian cultures: if you look at the Pacific islands, you appear to have a mass of very different cultures in different island groups in the Pacific; when you look at it more closely, you find, in fact, that they all have a common culture, which has a number of different elements, in which each group seems to have, by some means, concentrated on a particular aspect of the culture, taking it to a high level – like, for example, the statues on Christmas Island – that sort of thing. The translator is always making this kind of judgement, or has to meet someone else's criteria in making that judgement, and it is not an absolute thing, and it is not something which is universal – either in nature or in time; as Albrecht said, you have a cline, or a spectrum. If we just take one dimension, say, fidelity to the actual words in the text, you can go from one extreme – of total fidelity which you have to have, for example, in the case of patents – legal documents anyway, but patents even more so, where the text is actually defining the scope of the claim, the protection wanted, so you have to be very, very close there, as far as the target language idiom will allow, to the way in which it is actually phrased … completely to the other end of the spectrum, where translation is hardly any longer translation, but merging into adaptation, where, at the very end of the scale, say, for example, where you have an advertisement which is prepared for a different culture, there may be nothing of the original word message there, it may be just the image, and an equivalent in terms of emotional affect which will have the same result in the recipient of the advertising text as the intended recipient of the advertising text in the source country. The same end will be achieved by totally different means. What I think is an essential part of the translator's skill is to be aware of the multiplicity of dimensions, and of the spectrum within each of those dimensions, and, either to be able to match the requirements which have been set for him, or to set himself at a particular point in this spectrum and say: this is what I'm achieving by my translation. And in fact this is normally the case with literary translations – you'll find there's an extensive preface, in which the translator initially decides, and tells everybody, what he's trying to do. I feel that this is an essential element which must be taught in translation courses, in so far as this can be taught at all. And I think also it might be the answer to the assessment problem. If you ask the student not just to translate the text, but first of all to state what his intention is in doing a particular translation, and then assess his translation against his ability to satisfy the criteria he has himself set.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you, Graham. Now, can we move on to the last topic, The University and the Market. I think we might have some comments here and then, Peter, you could perhaps respond to the contributors to the last two sections.

Peter Newmark

Yes, but most of what Graham said would seem to relate to the topic coming up anyway.

Graham Cross

It was intended to, thank you.

Peter Newmark

I just want to say that I agree with most of what you said. But you haven't really got *my* point, which is that the danger is that the translation is only concerned with the consumer, the client, the customer, and that's all. Actually you made the same point I did, but you didn't put it in the way that I would – that there are such things as standards and values in translation, and it depends on what kind of text it is – that's what I mean by discriminating between texts – as to how you treat it. And to bear in mind that with certain texts – notably the kind of texts I was considering when I was talking about social translation – it is not enough to satisfy the consumer, the client and all the rest of it, and actually this is a criticism of society. That's about all.

Gunilla Anderman

Right. Now over to Mac, please.

Gerard McAlester

A couple of points. First of all, yes I agree about asking for comments on the translations. I think this is an excellent device, it's one that we use in my university. One then can assess the translation according to different kinds of criteria: one – as to how well the translator has managed to do what he set out to do, as expressed in his commentary; but another would be, was his strategy – his tactics – were they wise in this, was he setting out to do the right thing? This is a totally different matter. The other point is something that Simon suggested. I am much less confident that one really does know if this translation is good enough or if this translation isn't good enough. I have to be accountable to my students, to say: *Why* is this not good enough? How many mistakes can I make and it would still be good enough? And what kind of mistakes can they be? I don't know if this is true in all universities, but in mine my students can come up and ask me about this and say: 'What's wrong – why have I only got a C, instead of a B, or an A?' And I actually have to evaluate, in the sense of placing a numerical value on a translation, and it is for this kind of reason that I feel that some kind of guidelines are needed.

Gunilla Anderman

We've time for a very brief concluding statement.

Albrecht Neubert

Very briefly, I think we are in the situation of having the cake and eating it. I think a lot of what Peter says is irrefutable, if taken in a university context. If we teach translation, we can decide upon the parameters of the assessment, and we are the ones to speak – because we are responsible for the academic developments of our students – in fact, we all fundamentally speak as teachers. The other story – and that's what I meant when I said what I did about having the cake and eating it – is the real world. In reality it's different. If there is this consumerist society, deciding upon how the translator will earn his money, we can try to prepare our students to react to this in a sensible way. But most of what we say about Translation Theory is really based on our experience as teachers, and rightly so. We certainly incorporate aspects of the real world, but the university is *not* the real world, it will never be, and should never be. It's like we talk about medicine, there's a distinction between a practising doctor and a medical student. We can't have the same standard for the medical student but we can try, very subtly, in a number of ways, to train, to prepare him/her. In most of our discussions we are talking about what translation is, but actually what we mean is what translation is in the classroom, what we *attempt* to prepare the students for. And this is something which we tend to forget I'm afraid. And I know this, because whenever, at international conferences on some aspect of Translation Studies, the subject is brought up everyone looks the other way.

Gunilla Anderman

That's another topic we should have a conference about.

Peter Newmark

Many teachers *are* translators.

Gunilla Anderman

I think that John would like to say something.

John Dodds

OK, the classroom *isn't* the real world, but surely we are trying to simulate reality. This is the point which Mike Shields made. I don't know what the situation is in Britain or in Germany, but in Italy we've got 5% of our students who know how to use a computer when they come in the first year, and we're lucky if it's 20% of the students by the time they leave with a degree. Which means 80%, according to Mike, are going to be unemployed when they leave.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you. Peter, would you like to add something?

Peter Newmark

Well I said it! This thing about 'the real world': I think I've already said it – we're not living in the real world. It's an ivory tower we're living in, as academics I mean – there is some truth in this, although, unfortunately, people who are saying it don't even realise how true it is.

Gunilla Anderman

Thank you Peter. And I think that may be a good note on which to conclude the discussion on the subject of Translation in the New Millennium.

Notes

1. Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power.* Harlow: Longman.
2. Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983) *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
3. These were students of translation at the University of Heidelberg, Germany.
4. Reference to the play, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (Abridged)* at the Criterion Theatre in the West End of London.
5. *Current Issues in Language and Society* (1999) 6/2, pp. 103–20.
6. At this point Hans Lindquist shows Magritte's well-known painting with the French text *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* written underneath the picture of a pipe. *The Betrayal of Images/La trahison des images* (1929), Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
7. Hans Lindquist shows Magritte's picture of a man looking into a mirror, with the man's back rather than his face reflected in the mirror. The painting also features a book, the title of which is the French translation of an Edgar Allen Poe novel, *The Adventures of Gordon Pym. Not to be Reproduced/La réproduction interdite* (1937), Rotterdam Museum.

Part 2

Chapter 3
No Global Communication Without Translation

PETER NEWMARK

In this paper, I want to say something about the nature of translation, which in its essence does not change; the various new forms that translation takes, stimulated by technology, travel, and tourism; and, finally, how we may comment, criticise and assess translation, so that we can use it as a clean and incisive instrument which is not clogged in a mush of media and PR language, but as primarily a noble, truth-seeking profession.

My object is 'to make it new', as Pound said, 'to make you think', as Nietzsche said, to startle a bit … strange that two writers with some appalling ideas, Nietzsche on women, and Pound on Jews, but the second with infinitely more appalling and cruel ideas than the first, who was merely stupid in this and other respects, should have written so well, not least about translation …

> Time that with this strange excuse
> Pardoned Kipling and his views
> And will pardon Paul Claudel … (Pound, Nietzsche …)
> Pardon them for writing well …
> (In Memory of W.B. Yeats, W.H Auden)

The Nature of Translation

First then, the process of translation, originally perhaps engraved in stone or parchment, perhaps around the third millennium BC as Eugene Nida says, usually so poorly defined in the dictionaries: to convert … but what? words or texts or meaning? from one language into another … or from one language into the same language … or from one language into the one pure language, as Walter Benjamin would have it. Yet anyone can instinctively define translation, even though there is no one classical basic text that defines it; perhaps we can make do with: 'taking the meaning from one text and integrating it into another language for a new and sometimes different readership'. It sounds so simple, but the snag is in the concept of meaning, of which Ogden and Richards (1960) identified 24 kinds in their *Meaning of Meaning*, but which I summarise in two: first, the full sense, with all its richness, its denotations and connotations, all that the writer said, sometimes even modified by what she meant; and, secondly, the message, the pragmatic sense, what and how she wanted the reader(s) to act and feel and think; and so the full meaning and the message are at two ends of a long pole, and the translator whose entire activity consists in making a series of decisions has to hit on the precise *schwerpunkt* or emphasis there too, between the full meaning and the mere message.

As I have said, there is no such thing as one basic or classical text that defines translation, but instinctively, I know there are basically two kinds of translation. First, I get a written message and I want to know what it tells me to do: 'Tomorrow I'll see you at the entrance of Westminster Abbey at 10.25.' There are five facts here: *I, you, tomorrow, 10.25, the entrance.* The rest can be expressed in a 100 ways: *be, arrive, see, come, join, meet, find, go,* etc. How the message is translated is not important, but it should be clear and succinct. Inevitably, allowing for different idioms, and that's a big allowance, the translation will be fairly close, since the original is so concise. Secondly, I see a poem or a legal document. In all three text types – the message, the hypothetical legal document, the poem – I want to know exactly what it says and means, and in the case of the poem, a magical combination of all the resources of language, how it sounds. The transfer of all the sound won't be possible, but usually, the amount that is translated will be worth it:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch
(Goethe)

Over all the hill-tops
is peace,
In all the tree-tops
you feel
scarcely a breath

Note that in all three cases, including the imaginary legal document, translation is a worthwhile, truth-pursuing activity, but the translated truth in the third poetic case will be deeper, more comprehensive, even though it will only be a part of the truth.

Further, the form of a translation may change depending on its function. Thus an advertisement for soap may be translated in accordance with the different advertising style and conventions of the target language (TL) culture, for the purpose of persuading the new readership to buy the soap; in principle, this translation may look very different from the original, though in fact it does not usually do so. I used to call this a 'communicative' type of translation. On the other hand, the advertisement may be translated closely – simply to show a different readership, consisting of advertising professionals, how advertisements are produced, successfully or unsuccessfully, in the source language (SL) country, probably America if the captions have more to do with sex than with the product; this then would be a 'semantic translation'. Thirdly, if the TL readership is in a third or fourth world country, the translation may have to combine explanation with the transfer of the original meaning. Lastly, a dense and closely reasoned original may have to be interpreted as well as translated, outside if not inside the text, if the readership is going to be enlightened. These four types of translation, the first keeping the function of the original, three with changed functions, have always been possible and practised. Recently, Susan Sarčevič (1997) in her otherwise admirable book with its strange title, *New Approach to Legal Translation*, got very excited because she thought that Skopos theorists such as Vermeer, Reiss, Nord, Holz-Mänttäri, Kussmaul, Hönig had changed the face of Translation Theory by 'dethroning' the SL text and discovering constancy and inconstancy of function in translation; in fact Albrecht Neubert did this in the 1960s, but he never claimed to have dethroned the original.

Types and Kinds of Translation

Just as all writing can be divided into (a) fiction, the imaginative description of non-existent people and persons, and (b) non-fiction, the account of knowledge about the world, so translation, which is a dynamic reflection of human activities, can be divided into two categories, usually called literary and non-literary (technical, general translation, *Sachbücher* or 'thing-books' in the German parlance). The first describes the sphere of the mind and of language, the second that of reality and the world. Although most modern dictionaries (Collins, New Oxford, Encarta – all described as encyclopaedic dictionaries) are crossing the divide, it is I think useful for the translator to retain the distinction between the dictionary, the word in small letters, the general object or concept, and the encyclopaedia, the capitalised name or title, the singular, the particular, the individual. The word can be translated (*der Tisch* is 'the table'), the name can only be transferred or 'transonymised' (Venezia is Venice is Venedig is Venecia is, believe it or not, Czech Benatky); for personal names, transference is normally the translation procedure to be used, since

Jan translated to 'John' would change the man's nationality, negating the translation.

I have noticed that many translation exam candidates, forgetting that translation is cultural/referential as well as linguistic and stylistic, only bring in or consult dictionaries, thesauruses, and dictionaries of synonyms as reference books; they fail to bring their encyclopaedias, atlases, gazetteers, road maps, street plans, and dictionaries of quotations, modern quotations, biographies, and other knowledge books as well.

In respect of kinds of translation, these may range from full through summaries, précis, abstracts, partial translations, gists, 'the sum' (Shakespeare) to heads. Clearly with the increase of media waffle, the excessive gobbledegook already lambasted in *Hamlet* ('More matter with less art'), and the multilingual translations, many translations should become shorter.

Valid and Deficient Texts

I think that attitudes towards the source text (ST) are changing. All texts are no longer sacred in principle, nor is absolute fidelity due to them, in the sense that they were sacred to the one time doyen of interpreters at the League of Nations; Jean Herbert would have committed himself to the death to any kind of text provided he had signed the contract. Further, nor do I think, like the Skopos theorists, that texts have lost their inviolability because they are just a means to an end, which is determined by the initiator. When a text is deficient, it cannot be sacred, but a valid text is in principle to be respected. My concept of a 'valid' text for translation can only be an approximate one: such a text, in particular when it is non-literary, has to comply with four universal medial factors. I would define it as a text that is prima facie logical, factually accurate, ethically sound, and elegantly written. Where a text is deficient in one or more of these factors, and is liable to provoke or mislead its putative readership, the translator would be advised to correct it if it is an information text, or, if it is a historical or authoritative text, to gloss it, outside the text in a preface or, if within the text, briefly in square brackets with a [*sic*], to show she disowns it.

My definition of a valid text is in principle objective, though subjective factors do lie on the edges of moral and aesthetic principles.

However, and this is my first medial factor, words describing people such as *bent, broad, dusky, small, big, yid, lower class,* when used pejoratively, are usually clearly 'wrong', since they infringe the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and parallel Council of Europe and national statements.

Secondly, connectives relating to logic (I am not referring to their cohesive functions), a field which is always outside culture and ideology, such as *therefore, because, consequently, before, after, then,* sometimes patchily translated, since national languages have evolved in an 'illogical' or populist manner, so that words like *enfin* and *aussi, da* and *dann*, have more senses than they can reasonably be expected to carry; such connectives must be used appropriately in valid texts.

Thirdly, in non-literary texts, facts and events have to be accurate, but in fiction this will depend on the degree of fantasy of the text: authors such as Tolstoy and Jane Austen, Stendhal and Camus, can write in a dry impersonal style indistinguishable from impersonal, historical prose: 'Sir Walter Elliot, of Kellynch Hall, in Somersetshire, was a man who, for his own amusement, never took up any book but the Baronetage ….' (Jane Austen, *Persuasion*) which is in contrast to the unmistakable imaginative literary language of others (for example Anita Brookner) for which a counterpart is not always available in the TL: 'But most of the time I slept, deeply, greedily, voluptuously, as if slumber [*Schlummer*, but a blank in Romance languages?] were the only pleasure I could strive for.' (Anita Brookner, *A Family Romance*.)

Fourthly, the aesthetic level. It goes without saying that a valid text must first be rid of misprints, gaps, grammatical and lexical errors, inadvertent repetitions, redundancies, uncoordinated and ponderous paragraphs, the absence of which deficiencies some translation critics hail as evidence of a deep knowledge of a language. (*Il faut connaître sa langue*). But this is not the point at all. A valid text has to be elegantly written: the language, the writing must *skim* ('raser'), *hug* ('épouser'), *scorch* ('brûler') the thought, the content; it must be as neat, plain, nice (accurate) as possible. These three latter words are typical English golden 'untranslatable' monosyllables which symbolise the concision both of good writing and of translation. This is sound, healthy, fresh language, the opposite of what Kenneth Hudson (1978) has called 'diseased' language, which is the media-driven jargon and the gobbledegook that inflates and bloats the 'market' today: for marketing, 'export sales management control function'; for book publishing, 'works of such wit and wisdom that they illuminate the nature and meaning of life'; for art criticism, 'when art has to be fundamental, no distracting detail is possible'; for psychiatry, 'treatment goals are limited to the modification of specific behaviour patterns'; and above all for sociology, from which Translatology/Translation Studies so often steals its vocabulary, 'a factor of considerable importance in naturalistic socialisation contexts is the timing of punishment'. These are all snippets or scrap examples from the literature, assembled by Kenneth Hudson. Depending on the occasion, translation can either expose their sources with a close clean, sharp translation, or summarise them to demonstrate their authors' ideas. In fact, Kenneth Hudson calls these extracts 'diseased English', but many of them are

American English double-noun compounds deriving from German; diseased writing is bad writing in any language; it has nothing to do with 'the author being foreign', or knowledge of the grammatical and lexical mechanics of language, and, like translation, everything to do with sensitivity and intelligence.

English as the Lingua Franca of Translation

Magritte's house in Brussels at 135 Rue Esseghem is being converted into an attractive museum which includes several paintings, posters, and memorabilia. At present all captions are in French and Dutch only, and visitors are few. When I suggested to the proprietors that the captions should also be translated into English, two English old-style BBC visitors who were addressing each other loudly and self-consciously in French, protested at the arrogance of the English (me) wanting everyone to learn their language. So I asked them if they expected the Japanese or the Russians to learn French if they were keen on Magritte. Later the proprietor told me she would have the English translations done.

Clearly, and in particular for economic reasons, when one prospects the future of the translation business, one has to reconsider the subject of someone translating whose language of habitual use is not the TL, and who is therefore translating out of his/her first language. Gerard MacAlester from Finland and Stuart Campbell from New South Wales have written extensively about this subject, pointing out that it is not a matter of what ought to be, but of what must be, owing to the shortage in most countries of 'native' speakers required in the TL.

In 1976 the UNESCO General Conference at its meeting in Nairobi declared that 'a translator should as far as possible translate into his or her own mother tongue or into a language of which he or she has a mastery equal to that of his or her mother tongue'. Given the children of so many 'bilingual relationships', and so many early migrations, it is in many cases not easy to define a 'mother tongue', and 'language of habitual use' is a more realistic concept. Further, translating has become increasingly and intensively globalised and is an integral part of the expansion of travel, tourism, and the service industries, and translators often have to be found *in situ*. If, approximately following Bühler, one divides all writing into (a) literary/expressive, (b) persuasive/directive, (c) information texts, one might agree that (a) and (b) require a profound competence in the relevant TL and knowledge of its culture, and have to be translated by professionals who are competent to achieve functional or dynamic equivalence. The translation of information texts has to be as naturally and credibly written as a book, but is more often seen as a comic and deficient notice in a hotel corridor or bedroom or a tourist brochure or guide.

Looking for examples at the literature published by the German city of Trier in the Rhineland-Palatinate (transonyms Trêves, Treviri, Trevira, Rheinland-Pfalz), I have the impression that extensive and impressive as it is (all guides, brochures, notices, captions, and titles in museums are trilingual), it is all L2 translation. Thus: *Please stay in the ways* for 'Das Betreten der Anlagen ausserhalb der öffentlichen Wege ist nicht gestattet/Les visiteurs sont priés de ne pas quitter les chemins', a confusing notice, suggesting that visitors should at least keep to the public paths and avoid the public lawns or grounds, or whichever of the thousand meanings of the most protean of all German words (*Anlagen*) you care to choose, not forgetting Rupert Brooke's Grantchester, where you may remember *das Betreten's not verboten.* These are more examples:

> *Tidy and cheerful places of recreation refresh the visitor after all his efforts;*
>
> *The rococo wing materialises (verwirklicht?) the pleasure-loving period at its decline;*
>
> *The promenade to the Weisshaus is quite rewarding* (presumably, 'ein Spaziergang zum Weisshaus ist besonders empfehlenswert' – note that *quite* is entirely dependent on tone of voice for its meaning);
>
> *Witch hunting spread like the plague*; and
>
> *Jerusalem becomes invisible by the means of this interior's unreality.*

It is just possible that these sentences were translated by an excessively pedantic and literal minded English student, but it is more likely they were done by a so called service translator, a German with insufficient feeling for English (*Sprachgefühl*).

Admittedly such slightly deficient texts are unlikely to deter visitors and may amuse them, but a self-respecting municipal authority should not produce shoddy and deficient texts, and I suggest that it should hire one near-bilingual reviser to every five service translators, which would at least at last legitimise the status of service translation within information translation. Bear in mind, however, that intelligence and common sense in translation are always likely to be a greater value than naturalness of language.

Social Translation and Interpreting

In this age of unprecedented migrations and minorities, asylum seekers, flights, refugees, civil wars, the voluntary movements of gypsies, travellers and romanies, secessions, where a province splits off from a country and a dialect is abruptly declared to be a new language, accompanied by all the tortuous linguistic apparatus of philological scholarship to support an unproveable case, though the sceptics may say the province is too small to be viable as an independent new country (presumably like Andorra, Gibraltar, San Marino!), the call is first for interpreters, rather than translators, since the mass of the poor people immediately affected have to learn to speak a few words of their new language long before they learn to write it.

In fact the American National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators was only founded in 1991, followed in 1994 by the UK National Register of Public Service Interpreters, which is owned and operated by the UK Institute of Linguists on behalf of the public services. Their main call for employment is in the immigration offices, the law courts, the prisons, the schools, the local government offices, the general practices, the housing departments, the probation offices, the social services, the police stations, the hospitals, and may extend to citizens' advice bureaux and tourist information offices. The texts to be translated are government regulations, statutes, official reports, interviews with asylum seekers, statements by social service and health officials, CVs, applications for accommodation and services.

Social translation contrasts with literary and non-literary translation, which are as different as chalk and cheese, even if, like chalk and cheese, they sometimes look the same. Social translation, like imaginative literature, is essentially concerned with individuals and groups (and often brings home the moral of a literary allegory), but, like non-literature, its purpose is to describe them factually and accurately.

The peculiar linguistic features of a social text for translation are I think its institutional terms, including its acronyms, and its words (adjectives, adverbs, adjectival nouns, descriptive verbs) of human qualities. In such texts, the institutional terms to be translated have to be clarified, often by being transferred, given a TL cultural equivalent, and 'neutrally' glossed. Thus for *Ministre des participations de L'État,* 'the French minister for State holdings', 'French minister for State Investments'; for *Bundestag*, 'the German House of Commons', 'the lower chamber of the German Parliament'. Further, acronyms such as A & E (Accident and Emergency Department in hospitals) should be spelt out in the translation, unless there is an equally frequent and equivalent acronym in the TL. The tendency to use acronyms either to declare the importance of the object or to demonstrate one's membership of an 'in' group has to be resisted, unless the translator has a good reason for doing so, for example the universal convenience of abbreviation. Note also that some institutional terms merge with colloquial ordinary language and may not appear in special-language dictionaries; thus, *to sign on*, 'pointer au chômage'; *to be admitted* ('hospitalise') or *discharged* ('autorisé à quitter') from hospital.

There are three special factors that affect words denoting human qualities such as *nice, nasty,* and values, for example, *right* and *wrong*. First, as Tytler pointed out in 1790, words of quality like *nice* and *nasty* have no precise equivalents in most foreign languages, particularly when they are, like these examples, somewhat colloquial. Secondly, though many may originate from a common medieval Latin, and designate universals, they are affected in the course of time by cultural and regional factors, and sometimes change substantially in meaning.

Thus *virtue* originally meant physical courage, *candour* is *frankness* in English but *ingenuousness* in French ('candide'), *truculent* is *sullen* in English but *earthy* in French, *sincere* often becomes *true* in French, the Latin 'scurra' or *buffoon* turns to *ludicrous* ('skurril') in German but to 'wicked/coarse/obscene' in English. So here is where most of the famous false friends and deceptive cognates come from.

Thirdly, words of human quality veer between positive, sometimes neutral, and negative attitudes which define the whole tone of a text, and the translator has to sense the appropriate one. They tend to be more difficult to determine ('cerner') in foreign languages than in English with its abundance of synonyms of quality: thus *economical* and *thrifty*, *moderate*, and *careful*, and *mean* or *stingy*; *courageous* and *brave* or *foolhardy* or *rash*; *generous* and *extravagant*; *free* and *licentious*; *compassion* and *sentimentality*, as Nietsche perversely noted.

There are parallels in all languages; note the way that *toll* (German 'mad' to 'super') and French *extraordinaire*, 'extraordinary' to 'amazing', have gone. I use the term 'social' to indicate that these texts deal with the qualities (hence the adjectives) of persons as individuals or groups, from a point of view that is consonant with the principles of the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which is the reverse of subjective but is dynamic. These texts have lexical units denoting moral qualities (*free and equal in dignity and rights*) and illocutionary or connotative sentences disguised as existential statements (*'Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person'*) which the translator has to be sensitive to.

Looking at the epoch-making *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, more than 50 years after its publication, one notes that French and Italian still stick to the historical *Rights of Man*, which Canadian French has changed to Rights of the Person. The English version has the three classical untranslatable keywords *privacy*, *home* and *fair* (from fair play).

I propose now to review the official translations of these words, which have such powerful meanings outside their contexts.

President Reagan once sneered that Russian has no word for *privacy*, unaware that it is missing in nearly all other languages; these have to make do with French *vie privée*, Spanish *vida privada*, Italian *vita privata*, German *Privatleben*, and Russian *ličnaia i semeinaia zizn*. No language has a powerful single word except Czech (*soukromi*), while Russian replaces it with the weaker 'personal and family life'.

For *home*, there is French *domicile*, Spanish *casa*, Italian *domicilio*, Russian *shilishcha*, *dom*; only German keeps the full denotative and pragmatic meanings in *Heim* (watered down in *nach Hause*); the others alternate between general words and legal terms.

Fair, associated with cricket and fair play, is a 'classical' cultural term now appropriated by German; in the UN texts we have French *équitable*, Italian *equo*, Spanish *con justicia*, German *der Billigkeit entsprechend*, Russian *spravedlivi* ('just'). Again, the other languages shift to a more formal register, and the educated *Billigkeit* comes closest to the English. For the rest, note that *standard*, that is, a recognised level, is a unique and indispensable English word (other languages flounder with variants of *ideal* and even *task* and *target*).

Genuine and *echt* with components of *real* and *sincere*, are unique to French and German, and only English can make the brilliant distinction between 'historic' and 'historical'.

I close these fragmentary remarks on social translation with an inspiring quotation from Theodore Zeldin (1996): 'The aim now is increasingly going to be the exchange of respect between individuals, rather than the domination of one person or group by another.' So goodbye to ideologies, hidden agendas, post-colonialism, and conspiracy theories of history. (We should be so lucky.)

Later Modes of Translation

I am not qualified to discuss the various modes of machine or computer aided translation but it is evident that, unless a text consists mainly of standardised language, pre-editing in the SL and post-editing in the TL will always be required if the job is to become worth the money, which is a main consideration in a general text.

Terminology being standardised is closely related to MT (machine translation), and this field too is developing as fast as the computer generations.

The relative importance of words and music in opera, oratorio, cantata and song is always an issue. Normally, the words are the essential key to the meaning which lies entirely in the music. Thus the sound of the words and the quality of the writing are not as important as the straight meaning of the text or of the translation.

The frequent omissions of brochures in CDs and cassettes (previously LPs) and even concert programmes with texts and translations in preference to gossipy publicity about composers and artistes are always regrettable. Recently a BBC producer defended this omission on the ground that artists do not like seeing listeners with heads buried in programmes. Personally I do not think one can appreciate or understand vocal music of any kind without knowing the words and texts well.

A few years ago such appreciation was enhanced by the introduction of surtitles, the translations of opera texts projected above or alongside the stage; this has been extended to foreign plays, and I hope Lieder texts and their translations will soon appear on personal videos. They will need sensitive translators like Richard Stokes, who has already compiled admirable translations of German (selected by Fischer-Dieskau) and French songs.

Philip Glass's new Choral Symphony No. 5, Requiem, Bardo and Nirmanakaya, is a massive open-air entertainment in Ghent; the soloists sing in English while enormous bright surtitles light up the Flemish translation above the dais. Unlike other avant-garde composers, Philip Glass (cf. Gorecki) is the reverse of tedious, but it is not serious music. Nevertheless the audience would be lost without the surtitled translations.

The Assessment of Translations

Given the increase in types and quantities of translations throughout the world, and, lagging behind, the increased number of Schools of Translation with their degrees, postgraduate degrees, and diplomas, it is not helpful to continuously leave the subject of translation assessment to isolated individuals like Juliane House, with a few chapters in Hatim and Mason (1997), Dollerup and Lindegaard (1994), me, and one or two others. Even the examination marking scheme of the Institute of Linguists International Diploma in Translation is not generally known or it is ignored, and examination boards and examiners are not aware of the literature. In any event, what is required in this or that national educational system are separate conferences of literary and non-literary translators and teachers, with the participation respectively of publishers and employers, for the purpose of establishing some minimum areas of agreement on the assessment of exams. Questions to be discussed should include the definition and importance of linguistic and factual accuracy; the weight of text and word in various text-types; the relative importance of *trouvailles* (happy renderings) and various categories of mistakes (howlers, barbarisms, solecisms, faults, errors, slips) all in relation to the commonness of the word and its referential importance in the text; the context-independence of a translation; the fluency or stiffness of a translation.

Further, mistakes due to ignorance or carelessness have to be distinguished from deviations; in a deviation, an aberrant theory of translation is used: for instance, the translator deliberately avoids using a word (say *decide*) although it is closest in meaning to its SL cognate (French 'décider', Italian 'decidere' etc.) simply because the words resemble each other; secondly she unnecessarily tries to embellish or improve on the SL text, even though it is valid as it stands; thirdly she deliberately overtranslates or undertranslates, usually to flaunt her literary style. In general, deviations, which are usually due to misguided teaching rather than the candidate's ignorance, should be penalised more lightly than mistakes. Further, normal deviations should be distinguished from creative deviations, which are pluses to be regarded as *trouvailles*:

(1) Replacing any poor writing in information texts, technical reports instructions, and publicity by fresh writing. Here I think the creative deviation is mandatory.
(2) Inevitably, a fine poet translating a mediocre poem will make creative deviations.
(3) In general, in translating poetry, the more poetic constraints there are in the poem (rhyme, metre, assonance, alliteration, onomatopoeia, etc.) the more creative deviations, often by way of compensation, are likely to be required.

The University and the Market

In 1970s, the 1980s and the early 1990s, many translator institutes in Europe were seeking incorporation within universities (compare the polytechnics' 'academic drift' into the universities), mainly I think to enhance the image of their subject and no doubt to acquire more funds and better buildings. *The Idea of a University* (Newman), the university as 'a place of light, of liberty and of learning' (Disraeli), the university ideals of the Humboldts, of Matthew Arnold, and of Leavis, do not interest the universities now; academia is a word associated with ivory towers, translation resembles the production of an advertisement or of 'not innocent propaganda', and the readership is identified with the customer and the client, the patron and the commissioner; the idea of discriminating between the weight and importance of one text and another and one translation and another is unheard of in this consumerist society; every text serves its purpose in its time and in its place, and the supreme duty, rather than just one factor to be reckoned with, not ignored, is to be sensitive to the ever changing challenges of the market. It is time the imbalance is corrected.

Bibliography

1. Standard/imaginative literature

Auden, Wystan Hugh (1976) *Collected Poems.* New York: Random House.

Austen, Jane (1949) *Persuasion.* London: Zodiac Press.

Brooke, Rupert (1942) *The Collected Poems.* London: Cape.

Brookner, Anita (1993) *A Family Romance.* London: Cape.

Disraeli, Benjamin, Speech in the House of Commons of 11 March 1873

Leavis, Frank Raymond (1979) *English Literature in our Time and in the University.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newman, John Henry (1992) *The Idea of a University: A Reexamination.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

2. Translation

Benjamin, Walter (1968) The translator's task. In H. Arendt (ed.) *Illuminations* (pp. 69–82). New York: Schocken Books.

Bühler, Karl (1934/1982) *Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache.* Stuttgart/New York: Fischer.

Campbell, Stuart (1998) *Translation into the Second Language.* London: Longman.

Dollerup, Cay and Lindegaard, Annette (eds) (1994) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2: Insights, Aims, Visions.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Hatim, Basil and Mason, Ian (1997) *The Translator as Communicator.* London: Routledge.

House, Juliane (1977) *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment.* Tübingen: Narr.

Herbert, Jean (1952) *Manuel de L'Interprète.* Genève: Georg.

Hudson, Kenneth (1978) *The Dictionary of Diseased English.* London: Macmillan.

Neubert, Albrecht (1968) Pragmatische Aspekte der Übersetzung. In A. Neubert (ed.) *Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft.* Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.

Newmark, Peter (1988) *A Textbook of Translation.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall International.

Ogden, Charles Kay and Richards, Ivor Armstrong (1960) *The Meaning of Meaning*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Šarčević, Susan (1997) *New Approach to Legal Translation.* The Hague/London: Kluwer Law International.

Stokes, R. and Bird, G. (1976) *Fischer-Dieskau Book of Lieder.* London: Gollancz.

Tytler, Alexander (1978) *Essay on the Principles of Translation.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Zeldin, Theodore (1996) Translation and civilization. In J. Taylor, E. McMorran and G. Leclercq (eds) *Translation Here and Now, Now and Then.* Exeter: Elm Bank Publications.

Chapter 4
Some of Peter Newmark's Translation Categories Revisited

ALBRECHT NEUBERT

Semantic versus Communicative Translation

In his keynote paper Peter Newmark has again made a convincing plea for translation as a 'noble, truth-seeking profession'.[1] For him the nature of translation, its essence, 'does not change'. The 'form of a translation may change depending on its function' but the author's text and the meanings it puts into words cannot and should not be conjured away by whatever *skopos* translators or translation commissioners, for that matter, tend to think up under the concrete condition of particular translation assignments. Of course, the fidelity or, if you like, the loyalty owed to the original does not necessarily force translators to produce nothing but a mere copy. Even when a literal rendering is the demand of the target addressee, such as in the case of a word-by-word translation of a poem, notably from a language utterly unknown to the commissioning poet who wants to recreate (*nachdichten*) the original in the target language (TL), where his/her poetic imagination is at home, the 'pre-translator' endows the unfinished 'crib' with plenty of paraphrasing remarks about the meaning structures of the words and their interrelations in the source language (SL) poem. It is true the poetic quality of the original may, on the face of it, have disappeared. The *author* has certainly *not* disappeared. As much as possible of the *truth* of the *original* is kept, though in rough, unhewn shape to be subtly sublimated by the poet who transforms this raw material into new poetic grandeur. Yet translating poetry is never tantamount to producing something entirely new.

Similarly, though with quite a different effect, translations for primarily informative purposes may reflect SL features to an often excessive degree, seemingly marring TL conventions. If a firm wants to market their products in a country where advertising is markedly different from the firm's home territory, it is quite usual that an effective advertising campaign in the TL country may be preceded by making the prospective writers of advertising copy aware of just those unfamiliar marketing techniques so that they can gear their texts to the TL country, whether they are actually authored by translators or by natives on the basis of the expectations of the targeted buyers. They have to get a glimpse of the linguistic and stylistic usages familiar to their new customers by reading through the lines of the often literal translations of typical advertisements produced in the target area. The eventual texts distributed of the firm's advertisement in the home market (incidentally also literally analysed) follow the models of the envisaged market while being *true* to the firm's marketing intentions. It is perhaps a moot point whether the latter technique is, strictly speaking, still translating, or what Brian Harris, referring to prevalent practice in bilingual Canada, has called *co-writing* (Harris, 1983: 121).

Newmark's main point, as I see it, has to do with the translator's responsibility. However varied the tasks translators have to cope with in their profession, in the past as well as in the present, they are doing a service both to society and to individuals and groups with varying interests. And this service, bridging gulfs between speakers of different languages and members of contrasting cultures, puts translators in a double-bind. They have to serve two masters, though they often enough know only too well that one of the two, the SL author or the TL audience, may not always get an even share. But a share it is, whatever translators may think is their own achievement in the process. They are mediators who would not be needed had there not been an activating or motivating impetus from a source that, for whatever reason, calls for a target text (TT) in the context of another language. The consequence is a functional shift: a new need for an old text. Originals, however perfectly they may have served in their old environment, have to be redone, even at the cost of losing something. Reaching an entirely new audience that has cried out for them or that they are targeted to reach is made possible by the unique achievement of the translator. And it is precisely as a result of performing this multifaceted service that translations tend to vary in kind, but never in nature. The translator's job, perfectly done or poorly rendered, is not an original communicative act. Its creativity is derived. Like actors, translators act out a text, but theirs is a 'performance without a stage' (Wechsler, 1998).

For Newmark this acting out is constrained by two kinds of decision, which for him are antinomical: they are either intended to recover the '*full meaning*' of the source text or to deliver its '*mere message*' (my italics). He defines these two objects of the translator's mediating craft as follows: 'firstly, the full sense, with all its richness, its denotations and connotations, all the writer said, sometimes even modified by what she meant; and, secondly, the message, what and how she wanted the reader(s) to act and feel and think'.

As is well known, Newmark made this antinomy the starting point of his famous distinction between *semantic* and *communicative* translation, originally introduced, as far as I can see, in his seminal *Approaches to Translation* (Newmark, 1981). Although he has pointed out more recently that he would no longer use these two categorical terms with the original rigour, I think their conceptual core, i.e. their fundamentally antinomic frame of reference, still bears witness to his credo when he now states that 'instinctively, I know there are basically two kinds of translation'.

Notwithstanding the usefulness of negotiating between 'semantic meanings' and 'communicative effects' when deciding particular translation problems, the question, in my opinion, remains whether this actually implies that 'there are two basic kinds of translation'. Are there? Or have we not rather two ways of looking at basically one kind of translation demanding different *methods* to solve different translation problems within one particular translation?

Along with many scholars, I have been using Newmark's important distinction in my teaching and research. But I have always been a bit wary of its methodological stance. I think *semantic* and *communicative* are perfectly legitimate and necessary pointers to certain aspects of the translation process. But, and this is my point, they refer to quite different levels of analysis. In particular, *semantic* translation highlights the attempt of the translator to grasp the full meanings expressed in the source text (ST) and to render as much as possible into the TL version. Of course, this will always remain an approximation. Linguistic meanings, as was convincingly shown by Firth (1957; cf. also Palmer, 1968) and his many disciples – with regard to translation notably by Catford (1965) – are basically rooted in the language (system). Though contextualised by use, they are intricately linked to the total meaning potential held in store by the SL. Carrying meanings across and trying to recover them in the translation involves unavoidable losses because the new expressions are part and parcel of another semantic system. Jacob Grimm, more than 150 years ago, expressed this truth by a very telling nautical metaphor. Playing on the homographic potential of *übersétzen* (figuratively: 'translate') and '*übersetzen* (literally: 'carry over or across'), Grimm likens translation to a sea journey which ends on different shores:

> was übersetzen auf sich habe, läszt sich mit demselben wort, dessen accent ich blosz zu ändern habe, deutlich machen: übersetzen ist 'übersetzen, traducere navem, wer nun zur seefart aufgelegt, ein schif bemannen und mit vollem segel an das gestade jenseits führen kann, musz dennoch landen, wo andrer boden ist und andere luft streicht. (Grimm, 1847, quoted after Grimm, 1984: 44)

Semantic translation,[2] nevertheless, seeks to adapt the meanings carried over as much as possible to the new surroundings. Experienced translators have often worked wonders by using a vast repertoire of *procedures*, meant to reduce irrevocable semantic losses to a minimum. (For a survey of translation procedures available, see Vinay & Darbelnet, 1976; Neubert, 1984; Chesterman, 1997: 87–116.)

Communicative translation, by contrast, is not about procedures. Its conceptual status is on a much higher level of abstraction. Every text, whether it is a poem or a prosaic message, is a communicative event. Literary as well as non-literary translations have communicative intentions or functions. There is aesthetic communication, however; as Newmark would have it, 'the translated truth in the … poetic case will be deeper, more comprehensive even though it will only be part of the truth'. I would think, however, that *depth* or *comprehensiveness* are matters of degree, at least with regard to translation. Of course, the world of texts *per se* in any language (without regard to translation) represents an enormous range of types. And one can make a case that literary texts are in a way apart from all other text tokens because they are *mimetic*. They create a world of their own. Though they may be linked in many ways to the actual world of their creators, they are fundamentally fictitious, creations of the mind, subtle sublimations of reality outside and within us. Yet once materialised into spoken or written symbols, they communicate something, as a rule, to an audience or, if need be, only to their own creator, who had no other persons but just self-expression in mind. And it is as objects of communication that texts, any text, can be subjected to translation. All translations, in this sense, are communicative acts. Communicative translation, Newmark's alternative to semantic translation in this reading, turns out to be a tautology.

Of course, Newmark, in coining the term, had something quite different in mind. According to his original definition this 'type' of translation 'attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original' (Newmark, 1981: 39). Evidently, *communicative* was simply meant to indicate that the translation should *communicate* as easily as the original, or rather, it should give the impression of being a part of the 'normal' *communication* of and for target readers. And it should exhibit all the linguistic and stylistic features used by typical target *communicators*. In short, *communicative translation* should read like normal communication in the TL. Thus for Newmark, as far as I can see, *communicative*, just as *semantic*, denotes attributes of translations. They arise either from the translator's handling of the meanings of the original or from the attitudes adopted by the prospective users towards the translation. These are actually *semiotic* relations, having to do with texts and either meanings or users. This is why I used the semiotic terms *semantic* and *pragmatic* for just this important distinction, with *pragmatic* neatly covering the range intended by Newmark's use of *communicative* (Neubert, 1968).[3]

Such a semiotic reading would bring into focus an important aspect of translation endeavours. It does *not*, however, stand in opposition to the translator's attempt to recapture the contextual meanings of the original. The two approaches may rather be seen to be complementary. Semantic choices are filtered by communicative *qua* pragmatic intentions. Just as in the ST the meanings are the underpinnings of its communicative function, their reconstruction in the TT should serve the same purpose, provided the translation is supposed to have the same intent as the original. What Newmark rightly condemns is that poor or inexperienced translators often excuse their gross deviations from source meanings by referring to 'communicative' concerns, instead of trying harder to come closer to the semantic content of the original with the explicit aim of combining semantic *and* communicative, i.e. *pragmatic*, adequacy. A communicatively satisfying translation can just as well be semantically congruous. At least, there is always a scale applying to units of translation from single words to phrases up to the whole text. To render them into the TT translators negotiate semantic-cum-pragmatic choices. At the same time semantic deficiencies have to be consistently eliminated without jeopardising communicative effects, i.e. *pragmatic adequacy.* The practice of poetic translation as well as of non-literary or technical translation abounds in examples of how such *responsible* matching of semantic and communicative *qua* pragmatic concerns can be achieved.

The Role of Words in *Social Translation*

For Newmark *social translation*, a term rarely used in Translation Studies, 'like imaginative literature, is essentially concerned with individuals and groups, (and often brings home the moral of a literary allegory), but like non-literature, its purpose is to describe them factually and accurately'. He derives this translation type from *social texts*. He uses the term 'social' to indicate that these texts deal with the qualities (hence the objectives) of persons as individuals and groups from a point of view that is consonant with the principles of the UN *Declaration of Universal Human Rights.*

Evidently, Newmark isolates a general translation category from a particular genre of texts. Making statements about, for instance, the translatability of words (in these texts) can result in somewhat tenuous distinctions. After all, is there really a particular use of lexical items, such as of adjectives and nouns denoting a quality which is idiosyncratic? It goes, of course, without saying that translating a UN document has to take into account the relevant textual requirements. But this is the case with any other genre. A technical text, for instance, contains many technical terms, which demand from translators the technical expertise to render them into available technical equivalents. The need often arises that loans or technically acceptable paraphrases have to be used. Thus *technical terms* are an attribute of *technical translation*. Similarly, in the past poetic translation was characterised by *poetic diction*. But long since this has given way to practically every kind of word, everyday to highly abstract or even technical, being used in poetry and hence its translation. Actually, it is a moot point to assert that there is a restriction as to which words should be used in a particular translation type. *Social texts* do not, in fact, contain *'social words'* as such. Instead, the institutionalised among them certainly abound in *technical words*, typically employed in the various institutional settings, often historical or culturally determined. There are, however, many lexical items that have entered a *social text* from the vocabulary of the respective languages, whose (groups of) speakers the texts 'describe … factually and accurately'.

Making absolute statements about the translatability of those words is, I think, quite problematic. Quite apart from the implication that an irreconcilable lexical gulf could impair the universal validity of, say, the UN Declaration of Universal Human Rights, claims about the untranslatability of keywords cannot possibly be maintained. Besides *home* and *fair* Newmark singles out *privacy* as an example of a 'classically untranslatable' lexeme. Unfortunately, he does not supply the concrete context of the word in the *social text*[4] but refers to cumulative renderings in a number of languages, implying that *privacy* 'is missing in nearly all other languages'. Among his quasi-equivalents, which are all given out of context, he mentions German 'Privatleben', which is clearly not on a par with a 'powerful single word' such as English *privacy*. It is, actually, but a common dictionary equivalent, quite a poor rendering of the UN document. Furthermore, it accounts for just one sense of *privacy* out of three, namely, 'the state of being free from intrusion or disturbance in one's private life or affairs' with *the right to* serving as a prototypical collocation.[5]

The much acclaimed Collins *COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (1987: 1141), with the D referring to its computer database of 'real' and not 'invented' quotations, gets away with just one sense, claiming with its characteristic simplicity: 'If you have *privacy*, you are alone or can be alone, so that you can do things without other people seeing you or disturbing you.'[6] Have the compilers perhaps neglected all *social texts*, or else did they want to include sense 2 in their condensed definition, suggesting that a potential translation should take the text type into account.[7] If this is the case, the 'powerful meaning' of *privacy* as a *social word* can be effectively translated into German, i.e. into the German *social text*. Claiming that sentences cover up the seeming untranslatability of words should always be interpreted as a corollary of the context of the whole text and, for that matter, of the text type or genre. Translation can achieve this because the contextualisation occurs already in the original, with the translator making expert use of this pervasive feature of monolingual, in fact all, communication.

Notes

1. All quotations, if not further specified, are from Peter Nemark's paper, Translation in the new millennium: no global communication without translation, in this volume.
2. Cf. 'Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original' (Newmark, 1981: 39).
3. I still think that *pragmatic* is a more adequate term emphasising the concern with the translation users' relation to the TT. This loan from *semiotics* would also put the term on the same footing as *semantic*, facilitating the use of the two attributes as either meaning centred or user centred. Newmark (1981: 43) rejected *pragmatic* as 'confusing' because he thought the term, originally defined by Morris, had later been used in other senses, such as 'non-literary', 'technical' and 'practical'. But I am afraid *communicative* has acquired at least just as many meanings, which pair it rather inadequately with *semantic*, the latter being invariably involved in any *communicative* act.
4. I take it to be the *right to privacy*, which would be more adequately 'Recht auf Privatsphäre' or 'Recht auf persönliche Intimsphäre'.
5. Cf. sense 2 in *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (1987: 1540), the other two senses being: 1. the state of being private; retirement or seclusion; 3. secrecy (the latter, incidentally, omitted in most British dictionaries). In my own English–German dictionary (Neubert & Gröger, 1988), however, I ascribed three senses to *privacy* with 'Privatleben, -sphäre, Intimsphäre' as equivalents of sense 2, implying that 'Privatleben' is *not* the only choice.
6. Incidentally, the four attested quotations all translate easily into German: e.g. *I hated the lack of privacy in the dormitory* 'Ich hasste es [or: es behagte mir ganz und gar nicht], dass ich im Schlafsaal niemals allein war [or: niemals allein sein konnte]' … *I felt I needed privacy* 'Ich fühlte, dass ich allein sein wollte [or: musste]' … *the privacy of your own home* 'die Ungestörtheit deiner eigenen Wohnung [or: deiner eigenen vier Wände]' . . . *Perhaps you'd like to take it home and read it in privacy* 'Vielleicht möchten Sie es gerne mit nach Hause nehmen, um es (ungestört) in Ruhe zu lesen [or: und es (ungestört) in Ruhe lesen].'
7. This reading is corroborated by examples two and three, provided they occur in a *social text*. They should then be translated by 'Ich fühlte, dass ich meine Privatsphäre brauchte', 'die Privatsphäre deiner eigenen Wohnung [or colloquially: deiner eigenen vier Wände]'. Is there perhaps semantic overlapping between senses 1 and 2, which is not made explicit in the translation but is a consequence of the context supplied by the genre?

References

Catford, John Cunnison (1965) *A Linguistic Theory of Translation.* London: Oxford University Press.

Chesterman, Andrew (1997) *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation History.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

COBUILD English Language Dictionary (1987). London and Glasgow: Collins.

Firth, John Rupert (1957) *Papers in Linguistics: 1934–51.* London: Oxford University Press.

Grimm, Jacob (1984) *Reden in der Akademie. Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von W. Neumann und H. Schmidt.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Harris, Brian (1983) Co-writing: A Canadian technique of communicative equivalence. In G. Jäger and A. Neubert (eds) *Semantik und Übersetzungswissenschaft.* Übersetzungswissenschaftliche Beiträge 6 (pp. 121–32). Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.

Neubert, Albrecht (1968) Pragmatische Aspekte der Übersetzung. In A. Neubert (ed.) *Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft.* Fremdsprachen, Beiheft II (pp. 21–33). Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.

Neubert, Albrecht (1984) Text-bound translation teaching and the prototype view. In W. Wilss and G. Thome (eds) *Die Theorie des Übersetzens und ihr Aufschlußwert für die Dolmetsch- und Übersetzungsdidaktik* (pp. 61–70). Tübingen: Narr.

Neubert, Albrecht and Gröger, E. (1988) *Handwörterbuch Englisch Deutsch.* Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.

Newmark, Peter (1981) *Approaches to Translation.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Palmer, Frank Robert (ed.) (1968) *Selected Papers of J.R. Firth*. London and Harlow: Longmans.

Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1987) (2nd edn). New York: Random House.

Vinay, Jean Paul and Darbelnet, Jean (1976) *Stilistique comparée du français et de l'anglais.* Paris: Didier.

Wechsler, Robert (1998) *Performing Without A Stage: The Art of Literary Translation.* North Haven: Catbird Press.

Chapter 5

Looking Forward to the Translation: On 'A Dynamic Reflection of Human Activities'

KIRSTEN MALMKJÆR

Introduction

In his paper, No global communication without translation, Peter Newmark defines translation as 'a dynamic reflection of human activities'. The definition appears almost casually, as a part explanation of why it is that translation can be divided into literary and non-literary (because original writing can be either fictional or factual) but it strikes me as profound and rich in implication, the more so, perhaps, because in his paper Newmark leaves it dangling in a state of tantalising under-elaboration.

I take it that translation reflects human activity on several levels, but I intend to focus on the fact that a translation purports to reflect a source text (ST) (Toury's (1995: 33–4) Source-Text Postulate). To be sure, concomitant with this focus is another: a focus on the creative process by which the translation comes to exist as a (purported) reflection, and this must also be dealt with. But, in both aspects, the reflection of the ST seems to me the very basis of translation, a view which I know can seem reactionary. I think that it is not, though, once we sweep away a few particularly obscurant cobwebs from our notion of equivalence, and I think that careful consideration of the notions of meaning and of how communication with language proceeds in general might help us in this respect.

'Dynamic' is a word – as so many others – with several strings to its meaning-bow, arranged in varying orders of merit in different dictionaries and probably also in different persons' mental lexicons. In dictionaries, explanations like 'marked by continuous activity or change' (*Longman,* 1984) are likely to figure with some prominence, and the two notions, activity and the forward looking aspect, change, drew me, magnet-like, to Newmark's definition of translation. The combination, 'dynamic' with 'reflection', seems to me doubly effective in capturing two tensions that are inherent in translation: (i) between the constraints imposed by the need to reflect the ST and the creativity required to write beyond copying, as any translator of any text must do because of the obvious differences between languages and the well documented lack of isomorphism between language pairs; and (ii) between the essentially backward looking focus of the need to reflect the ST and the inherently forward looking nature of human language use. In the following section, I will reflect on this characteristic of language use.

The Inherently Forward Looking Nature of Human Language Use

It is obvious that in using language we rely on what we have learnt in the past. However, the extent to which we rely on the past, and the nature of what it is we rely on are both open to question.

The reliance on what we have learnt in the past cannot be exclusive, because exclusive attention to past performance could not enable us to cope with the unexpected in linguistic encounters, as we must so frequently do. And what we bring to each new encounter, however supplemented as the encounter progresses, cannot be a highly elaborated, fixed system which mature, adult speakers have acquired and which they then apply to each and every case thenceforth. Before every linguistic encounter, we adjust our expectations of what is to happen in light of what we know about the participants in the encounter and the circumstances in which it occurs. This understanding of the nature of linguistic interaction derives from Donald Davidson (1986); it can be formalised in Figure 5.1 (cf. Malmkjær, 1993):

	Prior Theory	*Passing Theory*
Speaker	What the Speaker believes the Hearer's Prior Theory to be	The theory the Speaker intends the Hearer to use to interpret the Speaker
Hearer	How the Hearer is prepared in advance to interpret the Speaker	The theory the Hearer actually ends up using to interpret the Speaker

Figure 5.1

Figure 5.1 illustrates that for each different speech encounter, a participant (interchangeably speaker and hearer) has two sets of expectations, here called theories to highlight the systematic interrelatedness of the different components of language. The speaker has expectations about how the hearer is prepared in advance to interpret him/her; and the hearer has expectations about how he/she is to interpret the speaker. These are the so-called Prior Theories held by speaker and hearer. To restate the inherently variable nature of these, using Davidson's words:

> It is quite clear that in general the prior theory is neither shared by speaker and interpreter nor is it what we would normally call a language. For the prior theory has in it all the features special to the idiolect of the speaker that the interpreter is in a position to take into account before the utterance begins … an interpreter must be expected to have quite different prior theories for different speakers.
> (Davidson, 1986: 170–1)

In addition, each participant may intend the other to use a somewhat different theory than the one they expect the other to be prepared to use. This phenomenon can be very visible in translational situations, when for example a translator carefully prepares a reader of a translation to understand a phrase which they might not be prepared in advance to comprehend fully. The following example comes from Høeg (1992) (ST) and the translations by Tiina Nunally (US) and F. David (UK):

> ST p. 20: En gang låner jeg *Rasmus Klump på indlandsisen.*
>
> Gloss: One time I borrow *Rasmus Klump on the Ice Cap.*
>
> US p. 15: One time I borrow the children's book *Rasmus Klump on the Ice Cap.*
>
> UK p. 12: On one occasion I borrow the children's book *Rasmus Klump on the Ice Cap.*

Here, the phrase, used in both the translations, 'the children's book', enables the reader to interpret the book title as the title of a *children's* book, information which the translator probably assumed not to be part of the reader's prior theory, but which s/he intended them to have in their passing theory for the term and which the use of italics alone would not provide.

Finally, each participant will end up using a theory to actually interpret. These last two theories are the so-called Passing Theories and of them Davidson has the following to say:

> A passing theory is not a theory of what anyone (except perhaps a philosopher) would call an actual natural language. 'Mastery' of such a language would be useless, since knowing a passing theory is only knowing how to interpret a particular utterance on a particular occasion. Nor could such a language, if we want to call it that, be said

> to have been learned, or to be governed by conventions. Of course things previously learned were essential to arriving at the passing theory, but what was learned could not have been the passing theory.
> (Davidson, 1986: 169)

What enables communication to succeed is the participants' ability to converge on passing theories: communication succeeds when the hearer uses that theory to interpret the speaker which the speaker intended him or her to use. This does not require the two to share a language, merely to share an understanding of current utterances, and we should 'give up the idea of a clearly defined shared structure which language-users acquire and then apply to cases' (Davidson, 1986: 174). This view may be less controversial than might at first appear. Consider that even the most insistent believer in the existence in the minds of mature language users of a steady state called 'grammar' which has been arrived at on the basis of a genetically determined initial state called 'Universal Grammar' (UG), after passing through a series of states in early childhood (Chomsky, 1995: 14), now limits UG to determining a set of 'principles', or possible forms of human language and a set of 'parameters' within which it is possible for them to vary (Chomsky, 1981). In this conception, 'the theory of language acquisition will be concerned with acquisition of lexical items, fixing of parameters, and perhaps maturation of principles' (Chomsky, 1995: 28). Whatever model will do for this will be some way from whatever is recorded in your average grammar and dictionary of English, Swahili, Inuktitut, or whatever, and it seems pretty clear that whatever type of reality we might care to assign to language systems, as recorded in dictionaries and grammar books, however pragmatically oriented and alive to issues of language in use they may be, we would be mistaken if we were to consider them sole or even significant guides, however implicit or subliminal their presence, in actual situations of language use.

What might happen in actual speech encounters can be theorised or modelled using the rather formal notion of the function, or the softer notion of the relationship. We might say, with Lewis (1983) that meaning is a function having as its integers the speaker, the hearer, a time, a place, and a more extensive set of circumstances; or we can say that meaning is a relationship that exists, momentarily of course, between all of these. In this view, meaning is used deferentially to future users, not to past users, and past usage becomes a background against which linguistic items participate in meaning relationships formed by the momentary fusion of speaker, hearer, and situation. Since these are ever new, language use is ever and inherently forward looking.

Notice that ramifications of this critique of the concept of the language system extend into corpus linguistics. *However* extensive the evidential base for a description has been and *however* accurately and thoroughly the base has been analysed, the analysis is still of past usage: next week's or tomorrow's or the next minute's usage, which is the one that speakers are actually faced with and which therefore matters for the moment, can *never* have been taken account of in the description. Not that this in any way invalidates corpus linguistics or the study of grammar and lexis; it merely invites us to reconsider the ontological status of their objects and products (cf. Malmkjær, forthcoming (a)).

What we need to know now is how all of this impacts on the theory of translation.

The Impact on the Theory of Translation

Most obviously, the view of human linguistic communication just propounded has implications for the notion of equivalence. If each instance of meaning is unique because it results from all of the features of the momentary speech situation, then it cannot be replicated whether in the same or another language. When we speak of translational equivalence, therefore, we cannot mean the kind of ideal notion which Toury (1980) in any case dismissed as unobtainable more than 20 years ago. Rather, something like his alternative notion of the actual relationship between target text (TT) and ST must be at issue. For Toury, the TT oriented approach to equivalence is argued mainly on pragmatic grounds. Unless we view equivalence thus, he contends, descriptive studies will end up having no objects to describe (if the ideal equivalence, which becomes the defining feature of translation, is unobtainable, then what we call translations are never real examples of the kind). In fact, since every instance of language use is unique and defiant of replication, the ideal view of equivalence gives way to Toury's TT oriented conception of equivalence on theoretical grounds also.

Further, whereas Toury (1980) insists that his TT oriented view of Translation Theory is not intended for application in translation pedagogy, I would suggest that it must be, if pedagogy is to prepare future practitioners safely for reality. The difficulty, of course, lies in devising exercises to prepare students for what we do not know they will meet; but we may at least assume that an emphasis on strategies rather than on pattern practice is more likely to be beneficial and that we should strive, for example, to use corpora to help students become creative translators rather than tell them that they will find in corpora patterns for emulation (cf. Malmkjær, forthcoming (b)). And we might try to create learning situations such as those described by Vienne (1994a,b) in which students practice situation analysis, research strategies, question asking, and other activities which are essential to translation and which might be expected to help them, as translators, to formulate Prior Theories for texts which they know they will need to translate.

Finally (for now), the conception of translation just outlined obviates the need for a Transfer Postulate (cf. Toury, 1995: 34–5) and this is desirable given the extreme difficulty associated with the transfer metaphor applied to linguistic studies (cf. Reddy, 1979). No such difficulties beset the Relationship Postulate (Toury, 1995: 35) according to which 'there are accountable relationships which tie [a translation] to its assumed original'; for the (assumed) original is clearly a factor in the function from intention to translation. We might, however, consider next how to understand these accountable relationships in light of (i) the forward looking nature of human communication and (ii) the relationship between translational communication and communication using what both/all participants consider one and the same language.

The Relationship between Translation and Non-translation

In Davidson's conception of language use that I relied on in a previous section, no distinction in kind is made between translation (or interpretation, as Davidson terms it) and non-translation:

> The problem of interpretation is domestic as well as foreign: it surfaces for speakers of the same language in the form of the question, how can it be determined that the language is the same? Speakers of the same language can go on the assumption that for them the same expressions are to be interpreted in the same way, but this does not indicate what justifies the assumption. (Davidson, 1973/1984: 125)

In Davidson's writings on philosophical semantics (theory of meaning), the case of interpretation is used to remind us that there is an assumption of sameness which needs justification and which is less easily forgotten in cases where two languages are overtly at play.

In Translation Studies proper, too, there exists a long tradition of considering translation to be different not in kind but merely in degree of complexity from non-translational cases of language use. For example, fairly early on, Nida (1964: 68–9) sees translation as a process of 'decomposition and recomposition' in which a 'simple model of one-language communication' is complicated with a 'transfer mechanism' (1964: 146). Somewhat later, Bell (1991: 15) considers translation 'a particular instance of a more general phenomenon (the exchange of information by means of language)'.

It seems to me perfectly legitimate to proceed in this manner, to describe translation as a special case of something else; only some effort ought then also to be expended in trying to establish exactly what it is that makes the translational case special, and here we have not done particularly well so far in Translation Studies (at least not in descriptive/speculative studies; the more experimentally minded researchers who use Think Aloud Protocols have done somewhat better). Nor, we might add, is the philosophical literature any help in this respect.

What Makes Translation Special

When it comes to discussing the transfer mechanism with which decomposition and recomposition are amplified to become translation, Nida has relatively little to say:

> If we understood more precisely what happens in this transfer mechanism, we should be better able to pinpoint some sources of the difficulty persons have in interpreting from one language to another. One thing we do know, however – that the translator must not only discover corresponding symbols with which to communicate the message in [the target language (TL)], but must also organize these symbols in the form required by the [TL]. Basically, we may describe translating as a process in which the concept is transferred, possibly in essentially 'kernel' form, and then the corresponding utterance in [the TL] is generated.
>
> (Nida, 1964: 146)

Advances in psycholinguistics and discourse and text analysis offer Bell (1991) a more sophisticated vocabulary and more elaborate models than were available to Nida (1964); but the basic understanding of what translation has that monolingual language comprehension and language production do not have has not altered. What distinguishes translation from other instances of (bilingual) information exchange is that, in translation, 'the representation of a text' that is the original is replaced 'by a representation of an equivalent text in a second language' (Bell, 1991: 6, quoting Meetham & Hudson, 1969: 713). Bell (1991: 44–60) models the translation process as a conjunction of text analysis and text synthesis. The analysis of the ST results in a semantic representation of the text, which constitutes 'the information to reverse the process' (1991: 68). In this process, Bell (1991: 72) identifies as crucial 'the ability to recognize the alternatives [of interpretation] that are available in the original, the choices that can be found in the TL and the realization that choices foreclose others'. He is of course aware that if some information required by the TL is missing from the ST, the translator must exercise inventiveness. But, that aside, the translator's activity mirrors the processes engaged in by any reader/writer in the two languages involved – though, in the case of a translator, one individual has the skills for both languages/cultures. Bell (1991: 35) quotes Newmark (1969: 85): 'any old fool can learn a language …. but it takes an intelligent person to become a translator', and there is no doubt that this is true. But I would like to think that it takes more yet than simple intelligence: that there is a special collection of skills and abilities which are specific to translators.

My own efforts to highlight factors shared by every translational situation (Malmkjær, 1994), neither shared by cases of monolingual communication or monolingual cases of overhearing nor arising directly from the nature of communication, managed to produce two: (i) the influences of the ST on the TT and (ii) the translator's knowledge of the aim/purpose/function of the translation, which is often not the translator's own, but typically more explicitly stated than those aims which inspire a writer of an original text. Needless to say these two factors are often in mutual conflict, and part of the translator's skill must reside in achieving a balance between the two. I now think that there is a third factor that is probably unique to the translational case, namely the need for the translator to control the interaction between the two sets of language habits he or she has formed in the past. Obviously, there is such interaction in the language-mind of every bilingual person in every linguistic encounter that they have. But in the translational case, the existence of a text in one language which has to serve as the basis for the creation of a text in the other language considerably increases the prominence in the translator's mind of one set of language habits over another. This prominence must be simultaneously exploited so that the fact of the other set does not inhibit understanding of the ST; and controlled so that it does not exert a detrimental influence on the creation of the TT. I assume that this ability can be enhanced by translator training and education.

It should come as no surprise that the fact of the ST is considered significant by many writers on translation when that activity is discussed in relation to non-translation, and indeed none of the efforts at accounting for what is special to translation discussed in this section is spectacular nor are the findings startling. In the next and final section I would like to consider whether the forward looking focus of which I have been extolling the virtues in the sections above will take us any further.

Looking Forward to the Translation

I think the speculations discussed in the previous section stress insufficiently the clear difference between language production as a result of an intention to communicate 'from scratch', and language production as a result of an intention to communicate on the basis of a pre-existing text.

When I sat down to write this paper, I had only a fairly inexplicit idea of what exactly I wanted to say in it. I had neither a series of clear concepts with clear relationships between them in mind, ready for expression, nor a full representation of a text readily available as information to create my paper (would that academic writing happened like that!).

In fact, it is highly unlikely that in many cases of translation a translator has such a clearly defined structure available, ready-made for the entire text. But a ST may provide the translator with a clearer discourse framework and a clearer set of expectations of what is to come in the TT than the somewhat vague stirrings of intent that guide a writer of an original; and it is possible that this framework and these expectations are very clearly, if momentarily, elaborated for those chunks of the ST which the translator processes as translation units.

The imposing presence that is the ST is obviously both liberating and constricting; but some past contemplation overemphasises the constriction and under-elaborates the liberation which the ST provides for the translator.

In enabling the translator to save on invention, the ST frees his or her creative abilities to write with the future in mind. The translator is given the luxury of being able to contemplate at some length the ST with all its levels and layers of significance and impact. This is a major advantage that the translator has over the original writer, and it may go some way towards compensating for the many difficulties involved in the control of language habits I discussed above. The ST is an important and particularly clearly defined aspect of the past that contributes to the creation of a prior theory for the language encounter to come: the creation of the TT for the future co-participants in that encounter. When a translator exploits this luxury to the full, a TT reader who also knows the ST often discovers aspects of it that past readings had not made available. This phenomenon, in turn, illustrates the forward looking nature of language use with particular poignancy. I think that this aspect of translation should be emphasised more to students, readers, and critics of translation as a phenomenon which makes it worthwhile, always and repeatedly, to look forward to the translation as a particularly dynamic, revealing reflection of and on an aspect of human activity.

References

Bell, R. (1991) *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice.* London and New York: Longman.

Chomsky, N. (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, N. (1995) *The Minimalist Program.* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Davidson, D. (1973) Radical interpretation. Reprinted from *Dialectica* 27, 313–28 in 1984, *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (pp. 125–39). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Davidson, D. (1986) A nice derangement of epitaphs. In R.E. Grandy and R. Warner (eds) *Philosophical Grounds of Rationality: Intentions, Categories, Ends* (pp. 157–74). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Høeg, P. (1992) *Frøken Smillas fornemmelse for sne.* Copenhagen: Munksgaard/ Rosinante. Translated by Tiina Nunally as *Smilla's Sense of Snow* (1993), New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux Inc. and by F. David as *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow* (1993), London: The Harvill Press.

Lewis, D. (1983) *Philosophical Papers Volume I.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malmkjær, K. (1993) Underpinning translation theory. *Target* 5/2, 133–48.

Malmkjær, K. (forthcoming (a)) Reversing a common notion: Translation and examples in contrastive linguistics. *Proceedings of the 14th Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics 20–22 April, 2000.* Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

Malmkjær, K. (forthcoming (b)) On a pseudo-subversive use of corpora in translator training. *Proceedings of CULT 2000: Corpus Use and Learning to Translate.*

Meetham, A.R. and Hudson, R.A. (1969) *Encyclopaedia in Linguistics, Information and Control.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Newmark, P. (1969) Some notes on translation and translators. *Incorporated Linguist* 8/4, 79–85.

Nida, E.A. (1964) *Towards a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Reddy, M.J. (1979) The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language. In A. Ortony (ed.) *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 284–324). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toury, G. (1980) Translated literature: System, norm, performance: Toward a TT-oriented approach to literary translation. In *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (pp. 35–50). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics. Reprinted in *Poetics Today* (1981) 2/4, 9–27.

Toury, G. (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vienne, J. (1994a) Towards a pedagogy of 'Translation is Situation'. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 1, 51–9.

Vienne, J. (1994b) Pour une pédagogie de la traduction en situation. In F. Pöchhacker and K. Kaindl (eds) *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Chapter 6
With Translation in Mind

MARSHALL MORRIS

Introduction

In what follows, I would like to share with you some of the insights that I have found helpful as I have read and thought about translation. They are not, for the most part, *my* thoughts, and they were not written about translation as such. They are instead about human communication, or language, or thinking, but they all bear on translation, particularly on understanding.

Some things are more basic than others. I consider those which are discussed here quite basic to the intellectual life of a translator. They were also quite exciting to me when I encountered them, and they still are. They were, in a sense, unexpected discoveries. I read and talked and listened with translation in mind, and it has been both stimulating and profitable to do so.

I should perhaps say that the relevance of the thoughts which I am presenting may not be immediately apparent. Consider them. See if they do not help you to get the process and the work of translation into perspective. And add to them. It is quite possible that the insights you have acquired from the practice of translation, and also from keeping translation in mind as you move through your days, will fill in some basic part of this picture.

Communication Precedes Language

In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Linguistics at Oxford University, Roy Harris made the claim that 'Communication precedes language' (Harris ,1978). It seems obvious enough, now, but when he said it, it was something of a shock for a particular community. Though he was addressing the scholarly community of Oxford University, he had in mind the much larger and more dispersed community of linguists, who attempt to study language scientifically. He felt that in their concern to have something measurable to deal with, scientific linguists had lost track of or had forgotten something fundamental, that language is part of a larger process in which human beings relate to one another, and that language forms shift and move according to human interests. This led him and others of similar intellectual disposition to consider the fluid, changing way language is used by people, consciously and unconsciously, to achieve their ends.

Beyond the Information Given

Jerome Bruner is associated, in my experience, with the idea that people bring quite complex theories of human behaviour and human values to all their interactions with others. He began with the study of babies learning language. They were not supposed to have anything in their heads – they had just arrived, after all – but they do. According to Bruner, their young minds are ready to receive and organise information about the world, and within a very short time they begin to develop strategies for understanding and manipulating experience. Bruner coined the term 'beyond the information given' – an early essay bears that title (Bruner, 1973) – and it has served him, and others in the field of cognitive psychology, in thinking about the whole process of communication, of which, I might say again, language is but one part and translation a smaller part still, but all elements form part of a process in which individuals think not only about what others say but what they mean and what they intend.

Clues

To my mind, Carlo Ginzburg, the Italian historian of the Middle Ages, has rendered an enormous service by showing how to focus on and think about minuscule clues to human meaning – marks, if you will – which people leave unintentionally on the things they do and say and write. He argues (Ginzburg, 1989) that certain ancient habits of human practice and thought – which he calls *venatic* (after the Latin *venari*, 'hunt') – are still central to the problem of making sense of experience, which consists of picking up the clues that the hunted animals leave behind, and making sense of the clues. The capacity which mankind developed to read the clues the animals unintentionally leave, he argues, has provided us with the ability to interpret many forms of human experience, specifically human experience, that we cannot ourselves have had or have observed first hand: what historians study, what paleontologists study, what psychologists study, and even what detectives study – experiences beyond our direct knowledge but accessible to us if we make use of both the clues unintentionally left in the record and our venatic, sense-making skills by which we can piece together again the elements into a story that makes human sense to us.[1]

Questions and Answers

R.G. Collingwood, the philosopher of history, was very concerned to learn how to discover what really went on at historical moments that were only ascertainable, apparently, from the broken and dispersed remains of archaeological artefacts. He devised what he called a 'logic of question and answer' (Collingwood, 1939) to work out the human experience that such artefacts record in fragmentary fashion. The idea is that whatever people were doing then, they were doing it with the same kind of minds and the same kinds of human needs and concerns that we would have had and still have today. That means that if you can just recreate the question or concern that was in the minds of the people of that moment and experience, if you can just get an idea of what they were trying to achieve, you can then make a sensible estimation of what they were doing with the resources at their disposal and what strategies they brought to bear on the problems they confronted. The artefacts take on meaning, then, in terms of the human issues of the moment. If you will, this is the argument against literalism in historical interpretation and in translation.

Reciprocity

The French sociologist, Marcel Mauss, whose work is considered fundamental today in the field of social anthropology, captured a universal of human relations, which is that human interaction is reciprocal (Mauss, 1967). It is not always that you give a gift if you are given one, but that somehow, some way, sometime, you find a way to reciprocate for the things done for you or to you – that is, for both positive things and negative things.[2] Mauss was speaking of the formal, ritual giving of gifts by one island people to another, and the eventual response, carried out across vast stretches of the Pacific Ocean, but the practice and its understanding applies to all symbolic acts and acts of communication, to language and to translation – a fundamental of human society.

Translation of Culture

E.E. Evans-Pritchard is a crucial figure in the development of social anthropology in the English-speaking world. He coined the term 'translation of culture' (1971)[3] to mean something like: making the experience of other peoples understandable to us, understandable without domesticating that experience or making it into something other than it really is for the people who live it (Evans-Pritchard, 1965). A great deal has happened in the field of social anthropology since Evans-Pritchard, but the fact that he struggled to convey the experience of the other people in ways that made grounded, human sense was really quite new and surprising. Before, much of the writing about other peoples was simply a collection of unexplained exotica: shocking rituals, strange practices, irrational behaviour of creatures not fully human. Since Evans-Pritchard there has been a concerted attempt to understand these same rituals, practices, and behaviour in such a way as to grasp the human experience, to see the human problems and perplexities, to reduce the false exoticism that prevents us from understanding people who are fundamentally like ourselves, but whose lives are shaped – both facilitated and constrained – by circumstances different from ours.

Translating Thought

I should perhaps try to show how these insights, from such diverse fields as linguistics, psychology, history, philosophy, sociology and anthropology, bear on translating.

- As 'communication precedes language', you need always to think that the text you are reading in order to translate is only part of a larger issue of human communication. It says only part of what is meant. It 'points to' the rest (as Manuel Alvar has also said[4]). You have to remember that you are reading a necessarily incomplete and imperfect rendering – and this only in language – of something that someone wanted to say to someone else, and probably did say in the many complex ways human communication is achieved. You translate the words and the text, but your words must point to the human experience to which the original words and text point.
- You are brilliantly fitted for understanding, and for the work of translating, by your fundamental biological disposition toward experience. You naturally go 'beyond the information given'. You do so, of course, in terms of your own language and society, so you must take care not to introduce that distortion into the translation, but if you exercise discipline and reason carefully about your own responses to what you see and read and to the texts you translate, you will come closer to the human truth of the experience on which the texts are based. You must still translate the words.
- People leave clues to their habits of mind, their concerns, and their intentions in everything they do, including in the texts which you find yourself translating. Look for those clues, see what patterns they form, and make use of them in your translation. Much that seems not to make sense on first reading can be resolved by paying close attention to the detail – what is included, what is left out, why this rather than that word was chosen. You leave such clues yourself. Make sensible use of those others leave.

- Texts are in a sense answers to questions that someone had, questions formulated in the language of some other person in some other society, perhaps at some other time. If you can grasp the human question or concern or need in the writer's mind, you can follow his logic and understand the sense his text makes, including much of what is assumed, and so not stated, but still present in his mind when he wrote. You will want these things to be present in your mind as you work, and if possible in the mind of the reader of your translation.

- It will help to remember that the text is one part of an ongoing, reciprocal relationship, in which someone is being addressed and someone will reply or respond. In the context of the original, there was something before and there will be something after the text you have in your hands. You are translating one step in something that stretches back in time and forward in time, and what you do should suggest that kind of human continuity, where people are speaking to other people about things that, for some reason, they have cared about.

- The text you are translating was written by people fundamentally like yourself, but whose experience of life is different and whose imaginative experiences and resources for expressing themselves may be very different indeed.[5] Their thinking should not come across as more exotic or more absurd than they are, or than you and your thinking would be, translated into their language and expressive forms.[6]

Conclusion

Practitioners of translation, perhaps more than most, live and breathe their profession. They live in language, they live with texts, and they live through human expression of all kinds. Translators must remain mentally, and I think also physically, alert to their own experience and expression as well as to that of others. This applies to all that they experience and hear and read. It is true that their work is in some senses normative – they must find translation solutions to the problems such that their readership will understand – but their disposition, I think, must be fundamentally receptive, empirical, integrative.

If translators reflect on these experiences, keeping translation in mind, I believe they will find that their understanding is sufficient for the task, and their experience of translating abundant and deeply satisfying.

Notes

1. It is, of course, not the case that all speakers and writers strain to speak truly or objectively. The translator frequently must ascertain not only what is said but the 'spin' the author has given the text. I have dealt with some aspects of this issue in Morris (1992).
2. R.G. Lienhardt (1975) provides a memorable example of negative reciprocity in his essay 'Getting your own back: Themes in Nilotic myth'.
3. The epigraph to T.O. Beidelman (ed.) *The Translation of Culture: Essays to E.E. Evans-Pritchard* is taken from Evans-Pritchard's *Theories of Primitive Religion.*
4. 'No transmitimos realidades sino sonidos que nos permiten descubrirlas y, en ocasiones, identificarlas.' (Alvar, 1979: 83).
5. Illustrative of these differences is 'Vivito y coleando: Alive and Kicking. Animals in the Figurative Language of Puerto Rico', a collection of expressive resources in Puerto Rican Spanish with their translations into both United States and British West Indian English, the product of research by Amanda Burr, Margarita R. Del Llano, Ivonne M. Gómez, Marshall Morris, Héctor Ortiz and Bernice Robertson. (A second volume, '¡Qué Vaina! Plants and Foods in the Figurative Language of Puerto Rico', has been produced by Wendy Bunker de Ruiz, Nydia L. Castillo, Yudit de Ferdinandy, Rolando Del Río, Marshall Morris, Héctor Ortiz and Illary Quinteros Meléndez.)
6. Professor Jan Pouwer's inaugural address on assuming the professorship at Wellington University was entitled 'Translation at Sight' and discussed the sense made by the people being studied of the anthropologists studying them.

References

Alvar, Manuel (1979) Del glosario al diccionario automatizado. *Boletin de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española,* VII/I.

Beidelman, T.O. (ed.) (1971) *The Translation of Culture: Essays to E.E. Evans-Pritchard.* London: Tavistock.

Bruner, Jerome (1973) *Beyond the Information Given: Studies in the Psychology of Knowing,* Jeremy M. Anglin (ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.

Collingwood, Robin George (1939) *An Autobiography.* London: Oxford University Press.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan, (1965) *Theories of Primitive Religion.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo (1989) Clues: Roots of an evidential paradigm. In *Clues: Myths, and the Historical Method*, translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Harris, Roy (1978) *Communication and Language. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 24 February 1978 by Roy Harris.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lienhardt, R. Godfrey (1975) Getting your own back: Themes in Nilotic myth. In J.H.M. Beattie and R.G. Lienhardt (eds) *Studies in Social Anthropology: Essays in Memory of E.E. Evans-Pritchard by his Former Oxford Colleagues.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press.

Mauss, Marcel (1967) *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Morris, Marshall (1992) What problems? On learning to translate. In George Wolf (ed.) *New Departures in Linguistics.* New York and London: Garland.

Chapter 7

Tracing Back (in Awe) a Hundred-year History of Spanish Translations: Washington Irving's The Alhambra

RAQUEL MERINO

> … there are … two views [on translation]. The first is relative: descriptive, historical, socio-cultural, it sees translation as a product of its culture and its time, as a component of another – the TL literature – written to meet the requirements of new readers … The second view of the product is critical and evaluative, and requires a continuous comparison of the translation with the original and a verification of correspondences.
>
> (Peter Newmark, 1991: 5)

Introduction

In this contribution I would like to recall my experience as a targeteer and a sourcerer ('targeteers lean towards ends, sourcerers towards means', Newmark, 1991: 4) in relation to Washington Irving's (1783–1859) *The Alhambra*, one of the most widely-published books after the Bible, *Don Quixote*, or *Hamlet* according to some publishers (Irving, 1998: 9). Both in its original English versions, and its numerous translations, *The Alhambra* (or *Tales of the Alhambra*, or *Legends of the Alhambra*)[1] has been repeatedly published for over a century in complete or abridged fragmentary editions. Quite a feat, and quite a challenge for translation studies (TS) targeteers and sourcerers alike.

In 1995 the Spanish publisher Editorial Cátedra commissioned a retranslation of Irving's book (Irving, 1996), on the grounds that a new Spanish version of his widely-known collection of tales was necessary. Both the publishers and the author of the introduction insisted that the 1851 Putnam edition, the last revision of the tales signed by Irving before his death, be the source text (ST) for this new translation. For J.M. Santamaría and myself, in our role as translators, the ST had been chosen, and the resulting target text (TT) would no doubt have to derive from it. Our source-oriented task was then clear: to render the revised edition of a book which has an 'impact on Spanish self-awareness to this day' (Bradbury, 1991: 94).

Although not at all unfamiliar as a concept, the mere reference to more than one English ST was to me, a targeteer of sorts, intriguing. Mainly because it opened up the path for myriad editions and translations, all bearing the same title but potentially different, or so one was led to assume. Already in my disguise as a targeteer, I immediately started looking for different editions of the ST, with a view to comparing them with our given ST. In parallel to this, I searched for Spanish editions and discovered a never-ending story. For every year (if not month) consulted in the various databases, new editions cropped up. Tracing back previous translations, and trying to find out where it all had started and how, was from then on my goal. In what follows, I report on this work in progress, showing how many of the Spanish 'translations' turn out to be reworkings or adaptations of other TTs, by-passing the various versions of the ST. All the original texts which were identified were considered important in the survey, simply because the diversity and varied typology of existing translations into Spanish was a reflection of the variety of originals, only amplified and heightened.

Source Texts: *(Tales of) the Alhambra*

Irving's collection of tales was first published in 1832 in London (Colburn & Bentley), Philadelphia (Carey & Lea) and Paris (Galignani). The first American edition differed in the sequence of tales, but the second American edition of 1836 reproduced the order of tales of the first British publication. The 1832 London and Paris editions (source text 1: ST1) included 31 tales and legends. The number and order of the stories, together with the year of publication, are from the first edition's basic criteria to discern which version one is confronted with. This first ST, with minor changes, has been reprinted for over a century.

Irving revised his works to be published by Putnam of New York in 1851 and decided to change once more the title from *Tales of the Alhambra* to *The Alhambra*. He revised, enlarged, and reorganised the book that would finally consist of forty-one tales. Most tales were rewritten, and only ten of them seem to have been reproduced with no changes with respect to the first edition (cf. Appendix 7.1). I will refer to this revised Putnam edition as ST2.

In 1896, Macmillan of London published an edition of tales, differing in order and number from ST1 and ST2, with illustrations by Joseph Pennell and an introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell (ST3). In the introduction to this edition we are told that the 'historical chapters' have been omitted anticipating 'the reader in the act of skipping' (Irving, 1986: xii). The 30 tales that were selected seem to have drawn both their order and their structure from ST2.

These three complete editions of the tales have coexisted for over a century and have been bought and read along with multiple fragmentary editions: adaptations for children and young people or for tourists. Sometimes just one tale has been reprinted, and often some quotations from the tales have been used in books of photographs about Spain or Granada. And at times a selection of texts by Washington Irving has been used for TV films or videos.

A long tradition of adaptations of Irving's *The Alhambra*, different in range and scope, can certainly be recorded and traced back. It seems that rather than replacing the first 31 tale edition (ST1), ST2 and ST3 had opened up the way for a new progeny of their own, deriving from either matrix. Unlike the more complete versions, the English adaptations, or fragmentary editions, have only rarely become sources for translations.

Target Texts: *(Cuentos de) la Alhambra*

The diversity of translated texts cannot be accounted for only in relation to the variety of originals. Quite the opposite. Once translated, the ST is no longer that influential in the target culture. In the present study it is the compilation of translations of *The Alhambra* that leads us time and again to seek different originals, not the other way round.

The first texts in Spanish of Irving's book date back to the late 1830s and were produced through intermediary French versions, still the main way of importing literature in nineteenth-century Spain. They are fragmentary editions, often selections of tales. The first complete edition of Irving's tales (ST1) was explicitly presented as such through the translation in 1888 by José Ventura Traveset, Professor at the University of Granada. This I shall refer to as Target Text 1 (TT1). To all intents and purposes this translation is, as the translator points out, a rendering of the first London edition (1832). It has been published and reprinted until today, virtually unchanged.[2]

José Méndez-Herrera's translation, first published by Aguilar (3rd edition in 1910), is our third target text (TT2). As the translator, quite a powerful literary figure at the time, clearly states in the introduction, he is presenting Putnam's 1857 revised edition to a Spanish-speaking audience. But since he has also chosen to reproduce Pennell's illustrations (from ST3) and the dedication to Wilkie (from ST1), it may well be considered a hybrid edition. Méndez-Herrera's translation consists of 37 tales, four fewer than Putnam's 1851 edition, but follows the order and structure of the tales in ST2. This translation has often been reprinted and on occasion offered to the public in exquisite expensive collector's editions.[3]

In 1951, Padre Suárez, a publishing house based in Granada, published Irving's work in English[4] and Spanish. In the introduction to both editions, the translator, Ricardo Villa-Real, a university professor, confirms that he has used Putnam's 1857 revised edition as the basis for his rendering into Spanish. This TT3 consists of 34 tales, but neither the sequence nor the structure of the tales reflects that of its declared original (ST2). It seems that TT3 is a translation of an as yet unidentified English edition – if indeed it is a translation.

In 1967 a commercially-oriented firm, Bruguera, published another translation of *The Alhambra* (TT4), also bearing the name of a University of Granada Professor, Fernando Serrano-Valverde. Again the Putnam 1857 revised edition is explicitly quoted as the source for the translation. And again just 34 tales are reproduced with minor changes with respect to the sequence of the Putnam revised edition.

In 1973, another mainstream commercial publishing house, Everest, issued a 41 tale text (TT5) of *The Alhambra* in Spanish in an edition clearly intended for tourists (soon afterwards followed by editions in English, German and French). Apparently this was the first time that Irving's revised 41 tale text had been made available in Spanish. The Cátedra edition (Irving 1996) and the1973 Everest edition can then be taken as the only complete renderings into Spanish of the revised edition, at least as regards the total number of tales and their sequence.

As we have seen, apart from hundreds of complete editions of *The Alhambra* in Spanish, there is a long tradition of fragmentary editions (selections of tales) which dates back to the late 1830s and continues until today. The first translations from French intermediary versions, which were reprinted and made available for a few decades (1830s–1880s), gave way to numerous adaptations of the complete editions available at the time (TT1 from 1888, TT2 from 1910, etc.). This plethora of fragmentary editions in Spanish ranges from one-tale editions to excerpts and adaptations for specific targeted audiences: children, tourists or bibliophiles.

The Catalogue of Spanish Translations of Irving's *The Alhambra*

As during my four-year search the number of Spanish editions of Irving's book found grew, it became clear that some kind of bibliographic catalogue, in database form, needed to be compiled. As a result, a database of approximately 400 entries is now available, each entry corresponding to an edition of the text in Spanish. The main sources used are: Palau (an inventory of Spanish editions of books), Index Translationum (since 1942 in book form, and from the 1990s in CD-Rom), Spanish ISBN, Spanish Public Libraries, and two previous compilations of Spanish editions (Williams, 1930; Gallego Morell, 1960). For the 1938–1985 period, which corresponds roughly with the period of Franco's regime, I have searched the official Spanish censorship archives and found 150 records relating to Irving's *The Alhambra* which have been integrated into a database of censored translations from that period.[5]

The information found was organised in such a way that a record for each given edition contains cross-references to the sources in which it was mentioned. Using bibliographical information (publishing house, place and date of publication, title, translator, label, etc.) a link was established between texts that had been published in different places at different times. Also a distinction was provisionally drawn between complete and fragmentary editions.

From Catalogue to Corpus 1

Although bibliographical information has its obvious uses it also has its limits and access to the text itself is of paramount importance. At an early stage it became obvious that locating every single text was not only difficult but a virtually impossible task; only some editions can be found in libraries, most of them having been lost. Hard as it may seem, the effort of trying to find the texts of those editions which appear to have had some impact, and thus have survived throughout the years, is certainly worth the trouble. On the other hand, any edition that now lends itself to easy access, including texts reprinted and currently available to the reading public, has also been considered a candidate for being a reprint of an old translation although seemingly a new text.

Having access to as many texts as possible (STs as well as TTs), enabled us to move from catalogue to corpus, for, once consulted, those published texts could be compared and their sources established, if only to confirm available information. Here the number and structure of tales was important, not only in deciding from which ST the translation derived, but also in establishing relationships between TTs. In actual fact no potential relationship can be ruled out as unlikely, as we shall see later. In Appendix 7.1, I have reproduced the title and structure of the main STs and TTs mentioned here.

Looking back at this history of *The Alhambra* in Spanish stretching back a century, we can clearly see that older translations (TT1, TT2) have been reprinted regularly every decade and that they have coexisted with new editions, sometimes even new translations. We can also observe that complete editions appeared as well as fragmentary editions, independent of earlier TTs. Various types of editions seem to have emerged to meet the needs and preferences of different types of readers (children, tourists, bibliophiles). In addition, hybrid editions (blending characteristics of different source editions in one) have been published. Finally, there is also, in the case of STs as well as TTs, both an American as well as a European textual-editorial tradition.[6]

Establishing Comparable Pairs: Corpus 2

Before I proceed, it should be pointed out that texts (STs and TTs) have been compared on repeated occasions from the start, every time an apparently new text was found. Such comparisons have not been left just for the last stages of the study, nor have they been restricted to ST–TT pairs only.

The larger the number of editions of *The Alhambra* analysed, and the more in depth the study of the different translations, the fewer are found to be completely distinct or independent of previous TTs. Ours is an open catalogue, which will always remain so, if only because every year new editions are entering the market (some allegedly new translations, some reprints of old TTs). As regards the textual corpus deriving from the analysis of the catalogue, some chains of texts have been established and potential pairs of comparable texts posited.

When outlining both the ST and TT textual corpus certain kinds of pairs (ST–ST, ST–TT, TT–TT) and chains of texts appear. They are highlighted by similarities and differences that group them together, or drastically change the course of the comparative study. No doubt , the first way of approaching a text such as *The Alhambra*, beyond bibliographical and editorial data, is by contrasting structure, number of tales, and final composition or make-up of those revised by Irving, without failing to consider textual comparisons of complete tales or fragments. Only by proceeding in this way is it possible to decide what type(s) of text(s) is (are) being studied and all potential relationships that may provisionally be established.

Thus, after the first comparisons between STs, guided by references and make-up of TTs, ST1 and ST2[7] were identified as the main, more often published and reproduced texts in English, and also as the more frequently mentioned sources for translations, and ST3 as an alternative intermediate British version of the tales.

After a thorough comparison, TT1 was immediately and undoubtedly coupled with ST1 (TT1–ST1).

The second obvious pair (despite the fact that both texts differed in a number of tales), is TT2–ST2. After random comparative sampling of fragments of TT1 and TT2, one further pair was established: TT2–TT1.

TT3, although different in sequence and number of tales from TT1 and TT2, seems to have drawn on both, and the most productive comparison seems to be TT3–TT1 and TT3–TT2, rather than directly with any source (TT3–ST2, or TT3–ST3). This is also the case with TT5 with respect to TT1 and TT2.

Another pair which has been firmly established is TT4–ST2, again in spite of the fact that individually they do not contain the same number of tales.

Fragmentary editions have not been dealt with in detail as yet, since they are likely to have been drawn mostly from Spanish complete editions (rather than deriving indirectly through translation from source fragmentary editions) and these, as we have seen, have not yet been fully explored. Finally, it should be stressed that all other potential pairs have been provisionally studied as they manifested themselves. But for now clear cases of outright plagiarism or misappropriation,[8] almost a textual tradition as regards this text, have been left out.

Comparing Pairs: Preliminary Results

As far as STs are concerned I have thoroughly compared, consulted, and analysed ST1 and ST2.The sequence and order of tales of both first and revised editions is reflected in Appendix 7.1. The Macmillan edition, not located, has not been integrated into the comparison as yet, but its sequence and number of tales, together with extratextual references, have led us to establish ST3 as a potential indirect source for some of our TTs.

Quite a literary rendering of ST1, TT1, the translation by Ventura Traveset, has been reproduced (reprinted, published once and again, and even copied) virtually unchanged for over a century. TT1 can be described, in a fairly evaluative tone, as a close rendering of the original, an adequate and successful version into Spanish of Irving's text. To our ear today it may sound old-fashioned, but no less and no more outdated than the original.

TT1 has been reprinted and issued under the name of Ventura Traveset by over 20 different publishing houses, from the more local firms in Granada to mainstream publishers such as Espasa. Sometime in the 1950s it entered the world of popular literature, both for adults and children, and was reproduced mostly in fragmentary editions ranging from selections of half of the tales or legends to just a few (even one) famous tale(s).

Usually, in these fragmentary editions Ventura Traveset's authorship was not acknowledged and many times a new target author using labels such as 'translator', 'adaptor', or even 'author of the version' would take over the translator's intellectual property. This translation has also been reproduced fully under other translators' names (Irving, 1959) and such cases of piracy, including word-for-word unacknowledged copy, have traditionally coexisted with reprints of TT1 acknowledging the translator's copyright.

Another translation which has frequently been printed since its first publication in the 1910s is Méndez Herrera's (TT2). In the introduction the translator states that he has chosen to translate the revised 1857 edition in order for the text rewritten by Irving to be known in Spanish. He also acknowledges inserting a few characteristics from other editions (dedication to Wilkie, Pennell's illustrations, etc.). Like TT1, TT2 has been reprinted and used as the source for further editions of *The Alhambra* since it was first published. Like that of Ventura Traveset, Méndez Herrera's Spanish version has not been revised or changed, resulting in modern editions still retaining the flavour of the language used at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike TT1, this second full translation has not proved to be the source of fragmentary editions or of cases of extreme plagiarism.

As is shown in Appendix 7.2, there are other texts which are found somewhere in the middle of the cline between acknowledged and unacknowledged target authorship. This seems to be the case with the translation bearing the name of Ricardo Villa-Real, apparently a new version in Spanish of the tales. Villa-Real adds some notes and an introduction to Ventura Traveset's text, adapts it, and makes it his own, but the source for his translation (most likely TT1) remains unknown, since Villa-Real explicitly quotes the 1857 revised edition as his immediate source. Obviously Villa-Real was aware of the existence of different English editions and tried to build up his text starting from TT1, resorting to TT2 where he knew Irving had introduced changes ('The Generalife' as a completely new tale). After thorough comparative sampling I decided to treat this text as an adaptation, a secondary derivation of Irving's English text, that is, through previous translations into Spanish (both TT1 and TT2), rather than as a direct transfer (primary derivation) from the original.

In similar fashion, some complete editions in Spanish of ST2 seem to have drawn heavily on previous published translations. That seems to be the case with TT5 (Everest edition) in relation to TT2, as can be observed briefly in Appendix 2.

The fragments chosen for the textual appendix (first paragraph of one of the most frequently reprinted tales that remained unchanged in both ST1 and ST2, and first paragraph of a new tale) are as representative as a short random fragment can be, and they therefore may not seem to be enough proof of a combined hypothesis of plagiarism-adaptation. Nevertheless a more extensive comparative study of TT1–TT2 (and TT2–ST2) shows that it is more than probable that Méndez Herrera consulted TT1 randomly. It seems clear that Villa-Real used TT1 as the basis for his text, and occasionally TT2 for those tales which did not appear in the first English editions or those that had been revised. In the same vein, TT5 seems to derive directly from TT2, but also uses other Spanish sources.

By the very nature of the intralingual process, we can thus see what I would very provisionally call *primary derivations* (a TT from a ST) and *secondary derivations* (TT from TT), or adaptations, including in this latter category extreme cases of plagiarism which hardly show any traces of adaptations and are better classified under *unlawful reproduction.*

A not yet finished study such as this, which will not be complete until all traceable texts have been found and submitted to close comparison, cannot lead so far to a set of final conclusions. Still, it can and must expose the complexity and diversity of descriptive studies, as well as show that there is a long way to go before retrieving translations and originals, coupling and comparing them.

Concluding Remarks: Towards the 'Third Remove'

Further research still remains to be done. More comparisons of texts must be carried out, as many as there are existing texts, but, more importantly, the analysis of what has been studied so far has not yet been fully completed. If I may borrow Peter Newmark's successful coinage, the 'third remove' lies ahead and we hope to resume it soon, at least for most Spanish texts of *The Alhambra*, quite a representative guided tour of the history of translations in twentieth-century Spain. Other corpora await compilation and analysis, but that is another story – the history of translations into Spanish, or parcels thereof, which some of us are trying to map out and have some time ago set out to uncover.[9]

I remain impressed witnessing how a centenary translation (Ventura Traveset's 1888) is succeeding in making its way into a new millennium,[10] dragging along its progeny. I hope to have outlined here how the first Spanish version of the unrevised English edition has become the most widespread and used text of Irving's *Alhambra*, and how a blend of fragments of secondary or tertiary texts are presented and read under the title *Tales of The Alhambra/Cuentos de la Alhambra.*

Having compared a large number of texts, I have been able to trace back interdependencies, acknowledged and unacknowledged relationships, even cases of outright plagiarism, or unlawful editorial practices. Still I prefer to look at it all in awe and with curiosity rather than in anger, for nothing can be done to change the past. But I certainly believe that better insight into the history of translations will help to avoid repeating what happened in the past. Although useful sometimes, labels and tags on people's hats do not help always, for I may be wearing my targeteer disguise today (and I'll be 'leaning towards ends' then?), and my sourcerer outfit tomorrow ('leaning towards means' only?), and would still be handling the same text(s) on both occasions. Yet this is not necessarily a contradiction, and should not be taken as such. There is, and indeed has to be, an obvious link, 'a sliding scale which eliminates any dividing line between the two contrasted approaches' (Newmark, 1991: 4),[11] a necessary bridge to make our efforts meaningful and useful.

Appendix 7.1

ST1 (1832 edition)	*TT1 1888 (Espasa Calpe, 1991)*
1. The Journey	El viaje
2. Government of the Alhambra	Gobierno de la Alhambra
3. Interior of the Alhambra	Interior de la Alhambra
4. The tower of Comares	La Torre de Comares
5. Reflections on the Moslem Domination in Spain	Consideraciones sobre la dominación musulmana en España
6. The household	La familia de la casa
7. The truant	El truhán
8. The Author's Chamber	La habitación del autor
9. The Alhambra by Moonlight	La Alhambra a la luz de la luna
10. Inhabitants of the Alhambra	Habitantes de la Alhambra
11. The Court of Lions	El Patio de los Leones
12. Boabdil el Chico	Boabdil el Chico
13. Mementos of Boabdil	Recuerdos de Boabdil
14. The Balcony	El balcón
15. The Adventure of the Mason	La aventura del albañil
16. A Ramble among the Hills	Un paseo por las colinas
17. Local Traditions	Tradiciones Locales
18. The House of the Weathercock	La casa del gallo de viento
19. Legend of the Arabian Astrologer	Leyenda del Astrólogo Árabe
20. The tower of Las Infantas	La torre de las infantas
21. Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses	Leyenda de las tres hermosas princesas
22. Visitors to the Alhambra	Visitadores de la Alhambra

ST1 (1832 edition)	*TT1 1888 (Espasa Calpe, 1991)*
23. Legend of the Prince Ahmed al Kamel, or the pilgrim of Love	Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el peregrino de amor
24. Legend of the Moor's Legacy	Leyenda del legado del moro
25. Legend of the Rose of the Alhambra, or the page and the ger-falcon	Leyenda de la rosa de la Alhambra o el paje y el halcón
26. The Veteran	El veterano
27. The Governor and the Notary	Leyenda del gobernador y el escribano
28. Governor Manco and the Soldier	Leyenda del gobernador manco y el soldado
29. Legend of the Two Discreet Statues	Leyenda de las dos discretas estatuas
30. Muhamed Abu Alahmar, the founder of the Alhambra	Mohamed Abu Alahmar, el fundador de la Alhambra
31. Yusef Abul Hagig, the finisher of the Alhambra	Yusef Abul Hagig, el finalizador de la Alhambra

ST2 (Putnam 1851 edition)	***TT2 JMH 1910 Aguilar edition***	***TT4 FSV 1967 Bruguera edition***
1. The Journey (Rev.)	El viaje	El viaje
2. Palace of the Alhambra (> 2 & 3)	El palacio de la Alhambra	El palacio de la Alhambra
3. Important negotiations. The author succeeds to the throne of Boabdil (> 1 & 6)	Importantes negociaciones. El autor logra llegar al trono de Boabdil	Negociaciones importantes. El autor hereda el trono de Boabdil
4. Inhabitants of the Alhambra	**El truhán**	**El fugitivo**
5. The hall of ambassadors (> 3 & 5)	**Los habitantes de la Alhambra**	**Los habitantes de la Alhambra**
6. The Jesuits' library (> 30)	El Salón de Embajadores	El Salón de Embajadores
7. Alahmar, the founder of the Alhambra (30 Rev.)	La biblioteca de los jesuitas	
8. Yusef Abu Hagig, the finisher of the Alhambra (31 Rev.)	Alahmar, fundador de la Alhambra	
9. The mysterious Chambers (> 8 & 9 Rev.)	Yusef Abul Hagig, el perfeccionador de la Alhambra	
10. Panorama from the Tower of Comares (4 Rev.)	Las cámaras misteriosas	Las habitaciones misteriosas
11. The truant	Panorama desde la Torre de Comares	Panorama desde la Torre de Comares
12. The Balcony	**El balcón**	**El balcón**
13. The Adventure of the Mason	**La aventura del albañil**	**La aventura del albañil**
14. The Court of Lions (> 3 & 12 Rev.)	El patio de los leones	El patio de los leones

ST2 (Putnam 1851 edition)	*TT2 JMH 1910 Aguilar edition*	*TT4 FSV 1967 Bruguera edition*
15. The Abencerrages (12 & N)		
16. Mementos of Boabdil (13 Rev., 12)	Recuerdos de Boabdil	Recuerdos de Boabdil
17. Public Fêtes of Granada (K)		
18. Local Traditions	**Tradiciones locales**	**Tradiciones locales**
19. The house of the weathercock (18 Rev.)	La Casa del Gallo de Viento	La Casa de la Veleta
20. Legend of the Arabian astrologer	**Leyenda del Astrólogo árabe**	**Leyenda del Astrólogo árabe**
21. Visitors to the Alhambra (22 Rev.)	Visitantes de la Alhambra	Visitantes de la Alhambra
22. Relics and genealogies (N)		
23. The Generalife (N)	El Generalife	El Generalife
24. Legend of the Prince Ahmed al Kamel, or the pilgrim of Love	**Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor**	**Leyenda del príncipe Ahmed al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor**
25. A Ramble among the Hills	*Un paseo por las colinas*	*Un paseo por los montes*
26. Legend of the Moor's Legacy	**Leyenda del legado del moro**	**Leyenda del legado del moro**
27. The tower of Las Infantas	**La Torre de las Infantas**	**La Torre de las Infantas**
28. Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses	*Leyenda de las tres hermosas princesas*	*Leyenda de las tres bellas princesas*
29. Legend of the Rose of the Alhambra	**Leyenda de la Rosa de la Alhambra**	**Leyenda de la Rosa de la Alhambra, o el paje y el halcón**
30. The Veteran	**El veterano**	**El veterano**

ST2 (Putnam 1851 edition)	*TT2 JMH 1910 Aguilar edition*	*TT4 FSV 1967 Bruguera edition*
31. The Governor and the Notary	**El gobernador y el notario**	**El gobernador y el escribano**
32. Governor Manco and the Soldier	**El gobernador manco y el soldado**	**El gobernador manco y el soldado**
33. A Fête in the Alhambra (> 22)	Una fiesta en la Alhambra	Una fiesta en la Alhambra
34. Legend of the Two Discreet Statues	**Leyenda de las dos estatuas discretas**	**Leyenda de las dos discretas estatuas**
35. The Crusade of the Grand Master of Alcantara (N)	La cruzada del gran maestre de Alcántara	La cruzada del gran maestre de Alcántara
36. Spanish Romance (N)	El espíritu caballeresco español	
37. Legend of Don Munio Sancho de Hinojosa (K)	Leyenda de don Munio Sancho de Hinojosa	Una expedición a la busca de un diploma
38. Poets and Poetry of Moslem Audulus (N)		Leyenda del soldado encantado
39. An expedidtion in quest of a diploma (N)	Una expedición en busca de un diploma	Mohamed Ibn Alahmar, el fundador de la Alhambra
40. The Legend of the Enchanted soldier (N)	Leyenda del soldado encantado	Yusef Abul Hagig, el rey que acabó la Alhambra
41. The Author's farewell to Granada (N)	El adiós del autor a Granada	El autor se despide de Granada

Key: Tales in **bold** typeface were *not* revised by Irving for the Putnam edition.
Tales in *italics* were revised to the extent of only minor changes.
An '**N**' indicates that the tale is new in ST2 with respect to ST1.
'**Rev**.' indicates that the corresponding tale or tales in ST1 were revised for the 1851 edition.
A '**K**' shows that the tale was first printed in Knickerbocker.
The symbol '>' followed by the number of the tale in ST1 indicates that the original ST1 tale or tales were rewritten or merged for ST2.

Appendix 7.2

Legend of the Prince Ahmed Al Kamel, or the Prince of Love ST1: 1228 and ST2 202
There was once a Moorish king of Granada who had but one son, whom he named Ahmed, to which his courtiers added the surname of al Kamel, or the perfect, from the indubitable signs of superexcellence which they perceived in him in his very infancy. The astrologers countenanced them in their foresight, predicting every thing in his favor that could make a perfect prince, and a prosperous sovereign. One cloud only rested upon his destiny, and even that was of roseate hue; he would be of an amorous temperament, and run great perils from the tender passion. If, however, he could be kept from the allurements of love until of mature age, these dangers would be averted, and his life thereafter be one uninterrupted course of felicity.

Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> ST1) TT1, 1888: 140
Había en otros tiempos un rey moro de Granada que sólo tenía un hijo, llamado Ahmed, a quien los cortesanos le pusieron el nombre de Al Kamel o El Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que notaron en él desde su tierna infancia. Los astrólogos hicieron acerca de él felices pronósticos, anunciando en su favor toda clase de dones suficientes para que fuese un príncipe dichoso y un afortunado soberano. Una sola nube oscurecía su destino, aunque era de color de rosa: '¡Que sería muy dado a los amores y que correría grandes peligros por esta irresistible pasión; pero que, si podía evadir los lazos del amor hasta llegar a la edad madura, quedarían conjurados todos los peligros y su vida sería una sucesión no interrumpida de felicidades!'

Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor (> ST2) TT2, 1910: 261–2
Había una vez un rey moro de Granada que solo tenía un hijo, llamado Ahmed, al que sus cortesanos añadían el sobrenombre de al Kamel, o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas muestras de superioridad que observaran en él desde su infancia. Los astrólogos las corroboraron con sus prediciones, vaticinando en su favor todo cuanto era susceptible de hacer de él un príncipe perfecto y un próspero soberano. Solo una nube velaba su destino, y aun esta era de rosado color: sería de amoroso temperamento y correría grandes peligros por causa de tan tierna pasión. Sin embargo, si lograba guardarse de la añagazas del amor hasta la edad madura, conjuraríanse otros riesgos, y su vida sería desde entonces una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades.

Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> ST2) TT4, 1967
Había una vez un rey moro en Granada que tenía un hijo único, llamado Ahmed, y a quien los cortesanos añadieron el apodo de Al Kamel o el Perfecto, a causa de las indudables muestras de dotes extraordinarias que habían podido observar en él desde su misma infancia. Los astrólogos los secundaron en su previsión augurándole todo aquello que podría hacer de él un perfecto príncipe y un soberano próspero. Tan sólo una nube pesaba sobre su destino y aun esa era de un tono rosado. Sería de temperamento amoroso y soportaría grandes peligros debido a esa tierna pasión. Pero si conseguía verse apartado de las tentaciones amorosas hasta la edad madura, estos peligros se evitarían y su vida, a partir de entonces, sería una ininterrumpida serie de felicidades.

Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino de Amor (> TT1) TT3, 1951
Había en otro tiempo un rey moro de Granada que sólo tenía un hijo llamado Ahmed, a quien sus cortesanos dieron el nombre de al Kamel o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que observaron en él desde su más tierna infancia. Los astrólogos las confirmaron con sus pronósticos, vaticinando en su favor todos los dones necesarios para ser príncipe perfecto y un dichoso soberano. Tan sólo una nube oscurecía su destino, aunque era de color de rosa: que tendría un temperamento amoroso y que correría grandes peligros por esta tierna pasión; pero que si lograba evadirse de sus halagos y seducciones hasta llegar a la edad madura, todos los peligros serían conjurados y su vida resultaría una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades [12]

Leyenda del Príncipe Ahmed Al Kamel o el Peregrino del Amor (> TT2) TT5, 1973
Había una vez un rey moro de Granada que solo tenía un hijo, al que llamó Ahmed, y al que los cortesanos le añadieron el sobrenombre de *al Kamel,* o el Perfecto, por las inequívocas señales de superioridad que observaron en él desde su misma infancia. Los astrólogos las corroboraron con sus predicciones, vaticinando en su favor todo cuanto puede hacer un príncipe perfecto y un próspero soberano. Sólo una nube oscurecía su destino, y aun ésta era de color de rosa: sería de temperamento amoroso y correría grandes peligros a causa de tan tierna pasión. Sin embargo, si se le pudiera guardar de los halagos del amor hasta llegar a la edad madura, estos peligros desaparecerían y su vida sería desde entonces una serie ininterrumpida de felicidades.

The Generalife (ST2)

High above the Alhambra on the breast of the mountain, amidst embowered gardens and stately terraces, rise the lofty towers and white walls of the Generalife; a fairy palace, full of storied recollections. Here is still to be seen the famous cypresses of enormous size which florished in the time of the Moors, and which tradition has connected with the fabulous story of Boabdil and his sultana.

El Generalife (ST2>) TT2, 1910: 257

Alzándose sobre la Alhambra, en el seno de la montaña, entre los emparrados jardines y suntuosas terrazas, se elevan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, un palacio de ensueño repleto de historiados recuerdos. Aquí se ven aún los famosos cipreses de enorme tamaño que crecieran en tiempo de los moros, y que la tradición ha relacionado con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y su sultana.

El Generalife (ST2>) TT4, 1967: 124

Por encima de la Alhambra y en el corazón del monte entre jardines floridos y suntuosas terrazas, asoman las altas torres y blancos muros del Generalife; lugar mágico, lleno de recuerdos históricos. Aquí todavía se pueden contemplar los enormes cipreses que florecieron en los tiempos de los moros y a los que la tradición ha relacionado con una historia fabulosa de Boabdil y su sultana.

El Generalife (TT2>) TT3, 1951: 156

Por encima de la Alhambra y en el seno de la montaña, entre floridos jardines y suntuosas terrrazas, se elevan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, palacio de ensueño, cargado de recuerdos históricos. Todavía pueden verse en él los famosos grandes cipreses que florecieron en tiempo de los árabes, relacionados por la tradición con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y la sultana, su esposa.

El Generalife (TT2>) TT5, 1973: 143

Muy por encima de la Alhambra, en el seno de la montaña, entre poblados jardines y suntuosas terrazas, se alzan las altas torres y los blancos muros del Generalife, un palacio de ensueño lleno de anecdóticos recuerdos. Aquí se ven aún los famosos cipreses de enorme tamaño que crecieran en tiempo de los moros, y que la tradición ha relacionado con la fabulosa historia de Boabdil y su sultana.

Notes

1. Irving's book appeared under various titles in English, but soon *Tales of the Alhambra* prevailed, so much so that the title he finally chose for the Putnam 1851 edition (*The Alhambra*) has been used, if at all, as a secondary title. In Spanish, both *Cuentos* ('Tales') *de la Alhambra* and *Leyendas* ('Legends') *de la* Alhambra have coexisted at times, being used alternately in reprints of the same translated text.
2. After the Civil War, this translation was published, as so many Spanish books, in Argentina by the same publishing house which had printed it in Spain before the war (Espasa). This publisher had established a branch in Argentina due to the political and economic situation. Books were usually imported from South America in the 1940s and early 1950s.
3. Méndez Herrera's translation was also published in Argentina. One of the most sought-after editions is that of 1947 by Luis D. Alvarez (editor), with prints by E. Delacroix and 24 colour illustrations by John Frederik Lewis, bound in leather.
4. The Padre Suárez English edition reproduces ST1, with an introduction by Villa-Real.
5. TRACE (TRAnslations CEnsored) is the core name of a research project and its database which comprises the catalogues of censored translations (of narrative, theatre and cinema) under Franco. Jointly developed at the University of León, supervised by Rosa Rabadán , and at the University of the Basque Country, under my supervision, the TRACE project group now has a dozen researchers. Cf. Rabadán (editor) 2000 for preliminary results. TRACE has been funded by the University of the Basque Country under projects UPV 103.130-HA 141/97, UPV 103.130-HA 003/98, and UPV 103.130-HA 083/99.
6. This tradition seems to be shared by virtually any kind of publication. Thus, if we look at the way theatre translations into Spanish have been produced, published and distributed in the last century, particularly after the Civil War, we can observe a very strong trend to import translations from South America, legally and illegally (plagiarism). Cf. Merino, 1994 and Merino, 1996.
7. Although Putnam's first edition of the revised text was published in 1851, in most translated texts we find 1857 quoted as the year of publication of the source edition used for the translation. The search for original English texts has proved to be much more difficult than locating the translations, and no 1857 edition has been found so far.
8. Two examples will suffice. A fragmentary edition (Irving, 1951), M. Rossell's adaptation is but a reproduction of 13 tales taken word for word from ST1. And a complete edition (Irving, 1959), the translation by Lecluyse and del Castillo is just a literal copy of ST1.
9. Under TRACE (translations censored) we have embedded ongoing studies like Irving's *Alhambra*. We have chosen to look at translations into Spanish in 20th-century Spain from the vantage point of Franco's censorship, a filter which was applied to all cultural products for half a century, and naturally left masses of contextual information and clear traces of the intermediary textual processes which took place before a text reached the public.
10. The Irving 1998 edition of José Ventura Traveset's translation is presented by the publisher as a 'jewel' dug up from dusty shelves in forgotten libraries. This edition is presented with a selection of prints by Eugene Doré on Spain.

Difficult to accept as a 'jewel' since this translation has always been available in bookshops in one edition or another, it is nevertheless symptomatic that it is considered so by the publishers and that they have selected Dore's prints to give their edition an antique air.

11. The full quotation is: 'targeteers lean towards ends, sourcerers towards means … my proposition is a sliding scale which eliminates any dividing line between the two contrasted approaches' (Newmark, 1991: 4).
12. Había una vez en Granada un Rey Moro que no tenía más que un hijo al que llamó Ahmed, y al que sus cortesanos le pusieron el sobrenombre de al Kamel, o el Perfecto, debido a las señales inequívocas de máxima excelencia que en él vieron desde su infancia. Los astrólogos con sus predicciones corroboraron que tendrían a su favor todo aquello que pudiera pedirse de un príncipe perfecto y de un próspero soberano. Sólo una nube ensombrecía su destino, e incluso ésta tenía un tinte rosáceo: sería de temperamento amoroso y correría grandes peligros por culpa de aquella tierna pasión. Pero si se le pudiera alejar de las tentaciones del amor hasta la edad madura, estos peligros podrían evitarse, y su vida sería en adelante un interminable camino de rosas. (Irving, 1996: 320, Cátedra edition.)

References (secondary)

Bradbury, M. (1991) Washington Irving's Europe. In S. González Y Fernández-Corugedo *et al.* (eds) *Studia Patriciae Shaw Oblata*, Vol. III (pp. 80–95). Oviedo: University of Oviedo.

Gallego Morell, A. (1960) 'The Alhambra' de Washington Irving y sus traducciones españolas. In *Revista Hispánica Moderna,* XXVI (pp. 138–42). New York.

Merino, R. (1994) *Traducción, tradición y manipulación. El teatro inglés en España 1950–1990.* León: University of León/University of the Basque Country.

Merino, R. (1996) La traducción del teatro inglés en España: cuarenta años de plagios. In P. Fernández-Nistal and J.M. Bravo-Gozalo (eds) *Perspectivas de la Traducción inglés/español* (pp. 75–89). Valladolid: I.C.E.-University of Valladolid.

Merino, R. (1997) Complejidad y diversidad en los Estudios Descriptivos de Traducción: *La Alhambra* de Washington Irving en España. In P. Fernández-Nistal and J.M. Bravo-Gozalo (eds) *Aproximaciones a los Estudios de Traducción* (pp. 51–70). Valladolid: S.A.E., University of Valladolid.

Merino, R. (2000) El teatro inglés traducido desde 1960: censura, ordenación, calificación. In R. Rabadán (ed.) *Censura y traducción inglés–español: 1939–1985. Estudio Preliminar* (pp. 121–51). León: University of León.

Newmark, P. P. (1991) *About Translation.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Rabadán, R. (ed.) (2000) *Censura y traducción inglés–español: 1939–1985. Estudio Preliminar.* León: University of León.

Williams, Stanley T. (1930) The first version of the writings of Washington Irving in Spanish. In *Modern Philology,* XXVII (pp. 185–201). Chicago.

References (primary)

English source texts

Irving, W. (1832) *Tales of the Alhambra.* Paris: Galignani (London: Colburn & Bentley; Philadelphia: Lea & Carey). ST1

Irving, W. (1851) *The Alhambra The Works of Washington Irving*, Vol. 15. New York: Putnam. ST2

Irving, W. (1986) (1896) *The Alhambra.* Introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell and illustrations by Joseph Pennell. London: Darf. ST3

Spanish target texts

Irving, W. (1951) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* Adapted by Manuel Rossell. Barcelona: Mateu.

Irving, W. (1959) *Leyendas de la Alhambra.* Translated by Mª Josefa Lecluyse and Francisco B. del Castillo. Barcelona: Editorial Iberia.

Irving, W. (1962) (1910^3) *Cuentos de la Alhambra* (7th edn). Translated by José Méndez-Herrera. Madrid: Aguilar. TT2

Irving, W. (1974) (1967^1) *Cuentos de la Alhambra* (Bruguera edition). Translated by Fernando Serrano-Valverde. Barcelona: Ramón Sopena. TT4

Irving, W. (1991) (1888^1) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* Translated by José Ventura Traveset. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. TT1

Irving, W. (1991) (1951^1) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* Translated by Ricardo Villa-Real. Granada: Miguel Sánchez Editor. TT3

Irving, W. (1995) (1973^1) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* León: Everest. TT5

Irving, W. (1996) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* Translated by José-Miguel Santamaría and Raquel Merino. Madrid: Cátedra.

Irving, W. (1998) *Cuentos de la Alhambra.* Translated by José Ventura Traveset. Granada: Comares.

Chapter 8
The Troubled Identity of Literary Translation

PIOTR KUHIWCZAK

A valid text must be elegantly written.
(Peter Newmark)

Establishing an Identity

Although translating may not have as long a history as writing, its tradition goes back at least 2000 years. Translation scholars emphasise this fact quite often, especially when they happen to be on the defensive. But the activity which has such old and noble origins has only recently been established as an academic field in a conscious way, and its position is by no means universally acknowledged. This discrepancy between its good historical pedigree and the short career of literary translation as an autonomous discipline raises a number of questions. The first one is, of course, why has the discipline emerged so late, the second one – more relevant, I suppose – is how have we managed to do without it for such a long time, that is at least 1950 years? Considering its short career in the academic environment, translation or rather Translation Studies has been doing rather well.

Within a period of only three decades or so, translation has managed to establish its theoretical foundations, or perhaps one should say a whole gamut of theories with smaller and greater claims to universality. It has also developed its methodologies: some of which read like the ten commandments, while others are more analytical than prescriptive. On top of these achievements translation has managed to enter academia and assume respectable institutional characteristics – and this has been happening very fast even if, some would say, not fast enough. There are research projects in translation, departments of translation, translation centres, academic degrees, publishing ventures, translators' associations, and a lot of more or less regular seminars, conferences, journals, and international networks. And last, but not least, there are schisms. The biggest one is between practitioners and theoreticians. But there are minor ones, as well: linguists fighting off culturalists, 'literalists', patronising 'non-literalists' and philosophers of translation showing contempt for the whole lot. The discipline has also produced a lot of its own buzzwords. So far we have had 'a manipulation school', followers of a Skopos theory, 'post-colonialists', a translation and gender group, and what I can only call 'visibilists', that is those concerned about the fact that translators are not visible enough either in the text or outside it.

One cannot deny that this is quite a lot for a recently-hatched academic discipline. And yet, all these achievements have not produced a feeling of warm satisfaction. While listening to the many voices representing the field, one predominantly senses rather a melancholy sadness and frustration. This mood, one must admit, is much more conspicuous in the English-speaking world than anywhere else. 'There are not enough translations' – they say. 'And those that appear, conform too much to the domestic taste' – goes another complaint. 'Translation Studies are not recognised, and translators are not as visible as they should be' – add frustrated academics. What is rarely discussed is how this lack of recognition is measured, and against what? What are the other activities and the other disciplines which literary translation and Translation Studies are using as a yardstick? One answer would be Linguistics, since this is where translation has often been located. But this coexistence has never been very comfortable since linguistics tends to view language in general terms while translation is particular and always lies on the border between languages. Even if linguists get down to specific languages, they tend to look more for what unites them rather than divides. Shifts from one language to another, and investigations of what happens in between, have never been central preoccupations in linguistics. It is fair to say that Applied Linguistics has been marginally more open to translation, but it seems to me that too often applied linguists turn to translation only if they have exhausted their thoughts on language teaching, language acquisition and bilingualism. This may explain why translation has never been acknowledged as one of the basic language skills, and still has a marginal status in many modern language departments.[1]

I believe that activities which are more relevant to literary translation and Translation Studies are creative writing and the study of literature. If we take this view on board at least for a while, we shall better understand where the present anxieties about literary translation come from.

Translation and Literary Studies

For partly irrational, and partly justified reasons, the inferiority complex of literary translation originates from the fact that many translation scholars compare themselves to literary critics, and some translators to writers. I am using the term 'irrational' here, because the noisiest arguments often have least justification. Let us look at some aspects of this comparison between the two activities and disciplines. The first one and the easiest to disprove is institutional respectability. As we have just seen, literary translation is a relative newcomer to academia, and as such feels like the younger partner of literary studies. Quite often this partnership is not very clear either at a formal or institutional level and the boundaries between the disciplines are either very strict or very fluid, but exaggeration, as we know, never helps to alleviate anxiety. It is understandable that in countries where literary studies have had a long and respectable history, often embroiled in social responsibilities and nationalist feelings, translation, as a newcomer to academia, may be viewed as a bit of an upstart. Yet, in England and other English-speaking countries, the story is entirely different. English as an academic subject took off only early in the twentieth century, because up till then English literature was not seen to be taken seriously, compared with classics. Cambridge and Oxford did all they could to keep English and modern languages at bay, and the first chair in English was established as late as 1920. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that English is like a volcano which has only just become extinct and still emanates a lot of residual heat.[2] But what English has done effectively, and literary translation has not, is acquire the signs of outward respectability. In just a century English has succeeded both in creating and subsequently challenging its own literary canon, and not only students but many scholars believe, I suspect, that the institutional habit of studying literature in England is at least as old as Shakespeare if not Chaucer. One could argue that English as a subject has benefited very much from that and the importance of the language itself and its status as a lingua franca, but there is no doubt that both critics and scholars have known how to exploit this good fortune.

Translation and Creative Writing

The other comparison, which puts both translators and translation scholars on the defensive, is that of translation and writing with respect to the vexed question of originality. There is no need to quote here the many self-defeating opinions of translators themselves. Just a few samples of common wisdom may suffice. Italians helped by their own language always wheel out the phrase 'traduttore–tradittore'. Others prefer to argue whether translation is art or craft, as if it could not be viewed as a mixture of both. Agonising disputes about faithfulness, or the lack of it, are still high on the agenda (cf. Snell-Hornby, 1988; Bassnett, 1991;

Gentzler, 1993). The comparisons of translation to women who are either beautiful and unfaithful, or ugly and faithful, are by no means limited to students' essays. To be or not to be source-oriented or target-oriented is also lively and well as a debate. What these binary divisions betray is the anxiety that a translated text, always having its *other* against which it may be compared, may be held up as a proof that translation is a parasitic activity. On a few occasions, the presence of the original texts has disturbed some translators so much that they have tried to obliterate the source texts by marketing their translations as the originals (cf. Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990, 1998). But the opposite movement is not unknown either. André Makine's novel *Le Testament Français*, for instance, was believed to be accepted by the publishers only because it was presented as a translation (cf. Tolstoya, 1997).

These ambiguous attitudes towards translation are not unlike the nineteenth-century European phenomenon of actually inventing relics of ancient poetry (cf. Gaskill, 1991; Stafford 1998). It is not a coincidence that, at the same time, during the Romantic Period, the concept of genius and originality acquired overwhelming prestige, and the formerly productive classical notion of imitation was given a pejorative meaning. Here is a telling quotation from Coleridge:

> In the course of my lectures I had occasion to point out almost faultless position and choice of words in Mr Pope's *original* composition, particularly in his satires and moral essays, for the purpose of comparing them with his translation of Homer, which I do not stand alone in regarding as the main source of our pseudo-poetic diction. And this, by the bye, is an additional confirmation of a remark made, I believe, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, that next to the man who formed and elevated the taste of the public, he that corrupted it is commonly the greatest genius. (Coleridge, 1907: 26)

This statement has been much discussed, and there is a convincing argument why Coleridge's judgement of particular lines from Pope's *Iliad* should not be accepted without serious reservations (cf. Shankman, 1983). But the damage the Romantics have done by proposing a schism between what is original and unoriginal, or what originates in genius and what is mere talent, has had far-reaching consequences for us all. What we have inherited from the Romantic Age is a belief that creative writing is always original and better than any other kind of writing – like criticism or translation, which we instantly link to imitation and classify as a secondary activity. It is quite astonishing to see how quickly this relatively new cultural construct has won the day in the teeth of our experience, which tells us there is plenty of creative writing based on crude imitation, if not plagiarism. The whole category of what we call 'popular literature', for instance, is little more than a dissemination of worn-out formulas, and the fact that this writing is in huge demand everywhere, tells us something important about the nature of popular taste – not about the difference between originality and imitation. Again, translators, unlike critics, have never been very effective in demystifying the supposedly special character of creative writing. But, perhaps, this is to their credit, since when more than two decades ago literary critics began to spread the news about the 'death of the author', it was clear that their intention was not to demystify creative writing, but to elevate the status of literary criticism to that of creative writing – to prove that criticism could also generate its ontological mystery.[3] Instead of liberating the text, as had been initially intended, structuralist and post-structuralist critics did not establish a kingdom of all writing without binary oppositions, but attempted to replace a monument to an 'original writer' with a monument to an 'original critic'.

The Translator as Writer and Critic

What we may ask at this point is, why should literary translators be concerned with all this? After all there are more urgent issues waiting to be solved: low fees, no royalties, and dishonest publishers. And quite often many readers do not really care that much whether the book they are reading is a translation or not. But even if they do, they have no choice but to assess the translation in the light of what they have read before in their native language, since in most cases readers of translations are monolingual, and will not compare the translation with the original.

Ezra Pound is reported to have said that there was no more thorough form of literary criticism than translation. What he did not say explicitly is that, unlike most of literary criticism, translation gets instantly tested by its readers in the same way so-called 'original' writing is tested. This means that translation combines the characteristic features of both creative writing and literary criticism. What follows from this is that translators are responsible for the quality of the texts both as writers and as critics. If we listen to translators carefully – though they are not very often listened to – we shall find that the best of them tell us that in order to translate well one needs to be both knowledgeable and inspired, meticulous and sympathetic. One needs to possess the critical as well as the creative faculty. A truly professional translator needs to know languages, but also the social norms, reading habits, and stylistic preferences of the culture from which he takes, as well as of the one to which he contributes. But even if these skills and talents have been built, there are still unpredictable factors which determine whether a transplanted text will be accepted at all. One of those factors is simply individual taste, which rarely gets discussed, either by critics or translation scholars. While talking about translation, we often forget that 'translation' is not a pile of homogeneous texts, but a collection of individual works with their disparate characteristics. This diversity means that literary translation will always remain a challenging task, perhaps sometimes more challenging than writing.

Teaching Literary Translation

If literary translation is so difficult and unpredictable, then how can we begin to understand its nature, and how can we teach it to students? There is no shortage of theories and models that describe literary translation, but they do not give us too many insights into what actually happens when a literary text is translated from one language into another. On the other hand, translators' own accounts of what they do are so diverse that it is difficult to draw from them any general conclusions. As a result the teaching of literary translation is firmly based on the study of individual cases, and it is hard to prove the link between this approach and the students' ability to translate well.

To my knowledge, so far there has been only one attempt to look at the nature of literary translation in the context of teaching. The model has been developed by Laura Salmon-Kovarsky of Bologna University. It is based on the work of Russian and Czech structuralists, and it takes the text typology as its theoretical foundation.[4] Salmon-Kovarsky looks at a variety of texts in relation to their translatability taking into account the degree of their stylistic as well as aesthetic complexity. What is so refreshing about this model is the assumption that, although texts display an infinite number of stylistic possibilities, they can be organised hierarchically. Salmon-Kovarsky arrives at this conclusion by means of adhering to formalist principles of modelling codes, yet her message is clear: in the world of texts there is no democracy. Some of them are much more accomplished and are better than others.

Although this model, as outlined in Figure 8.1, does not explain what happens when we translate, it tells us that the difficulty of translating is directly linked to the complexity of the text. The advantage of using a structuralist approach is that it helps us to understand that textual complexity is not only a linguistic issue but also an aesthetic and social one. Jan Mukarovsky (1977) made this very clear when he argued that only the assumption of objective aesthetic value gives meaning to the historical evolution of art.[5] Unfortunately, present-day literary theory is allergic both to objectivity and hierarchy, and not at all for ideological reasons, I suspect, but because it is much more difficult to establish the aesthetic value of the text than to fit it into some easy abstract formula. But what looks unacceptable to critics is probably obvious to translators.

TEXT TYPES AND THEIR TRANSLATIBILITY

A. Highly specific texts

Main characteristics:

- importance of information
- high proportion of specialised lexical items
- conventional form and expression

Pedagogic implications:

- Possible to teach and learn by means of extensive practice.

B. Literary texts 1 (written in literary language)

Main characteristics:

- contain some information that needs to be conveyed
- contain little or no specialised lexical items
- high degree of conventional form and expression (imitation and intertextuality)

Pedagogic implications:

- Teaching and learning difficult, but not impossible.

B. Literary texts 2 (written in the 'language of literature')

Main characteristics:

- based on the linguistic invention (*ostranenie*/estrangement effect)
- stylistically complex
- information not important
- novelty value

Pedagogical implications:

- Impossible to teach. Each time a new approach to the translation of the text is required.

C. Hybrid texts (combination of A and B)

Main characteristics as in A and B

Pedagogical implications:

- Translation difficult to teach and learn.

Figure 8.1 Text types as related to translation approach and pedagogy

It is hardly news to say that it is much easier to translate – let us say – Jeffrey Archer than Italo Calvino. There is no reason, of course, not to do both, and many translators do it in order to survive. However, the profession as a whole is quite straightforward and clear about what is one's life's work and what is a hack job. It seems to me that neither critics nor writers have a comparable clarity about what they are doing. At least, I have yet to meet either a writer or a critic who would admit that she or he produces pages of dire prose, not for personal satisfaction but for money.

But how can these assumptions, as well as Laura Salmon-Kovarsky's hypothesis be proved? Of course, to prove something like this properly, one needs to analyse a representative sample of texts. Here I can only look at a few illustrations. The first example I want to look at briefly relates to Salmon-Kovarsky's texts under category B2 – that is texts written in the 'language of literature'. The examples I have chosen represent a peculiar genre – aphorisms – which the Polish poet and translator Stanislaw Baranczak described as the richest possible contents packed in the smallest possible form. As it happens, one of the best aphorists of this century, and this is not only my opinion, is the Polish writer Stanislaw Jerzy Lec. He has been so widely translated that he is a household name in many countries. Let us look at some of his aphorisms and their German translations by Karl Dedecius (1986):

(1) Co kuleje – idzie.
Was hinkt – geht.

(2) Żyć jest bardzo niezdrowo. Kto żyje ten umiera.
Das Leben ist gefährlich. Wer lebt, stirbt.

(3) Ciemne okna są czasem bardzo jasnym dowodem.
<u>Dünstere</u> Fenster sind oft ein klarer Beweis.

(4) Zegar tyka. Wszystkich.
Die Uhr schlägt. Alles.

The English translations suggested by my students give some idea why the translation of these texts is so difficult:

(1) What limps gets there.
(2) Life is unhealthy. Who lives, dies.
(3) Dark windows can give clear evidence.
(4) The clock strikes. All.

Simply, the English language cannot supply a form which could gracefully contain the rich meaning of the original, and when the form is too elaborate, an aphorism loses its aphoristic nature. Each translation is a new linguistic as well as a logistic problem, even if an approximate cultural equivalent is easily available.

Literature in Translation

But not all literary texts, even good ones, are as stylistically complex as Stanislaw Jerzy Lec's. More often translators operate within a category of what Salmon-Kovarsky calls 'literary texts 1', i.e. those which are highly conventionalised. Let us look at the inherent possibilities and difficulties here, because this category comprises texts that most often land on the desks of professional literary translators. A peculiar feature of translation is the fact that a foreign reputation of a translated text is either higher or lower than the reputation of the original at home. Some translation scholars tend to investigate the cases when the text acclaimed at home remains unnoticed abroad. Successful cases are seen as self-evident and nit-picking is rarely encouraged. But how do books earn their hard-currency reputations, and what is the role of translation in these advantageous transactions? I suppose each story is different; here is just one example. A Polish journalist and writer, author of a book about Ethiopia, called *The Emperor* (Kapuscinski, 1983), scored another success with his travelogue about the collapse of the Soviet Union. Kapuscinski's Polish reputation as a journalist has always been high, but the Poles know that, although his books are fascinating, their style is somewhat journalistic and not beyond reproach. So, a pedantic reader could easily point to a number of stylistic blunders in his books including direct translations of English expressions into Polish. The question is what happens when the text is translated. Below is a short excerpt from *Imperium* (Kapuscinski, 1994) and its English translation. The scene takes place in the early 1990s during the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. A Russian parliamentary deputy – Mrs Starovoytova – appears suddenly in the front-line zone of Nagorno Karabach with an intention to negotiate between the warring factions.

> Była zmęczona i spięta, choć starała się zachować spokój i stworzyć pogodny, bezchmurny nastrój. Opowiedziała nam swoją historię. Otóż ledwie wyszła z samolotu, została aresztowana przez kilku oficerów – wysłanników głćwnego komendanta wojskowego Gćrnego Karabachu. Oświadczyli jej, że nie miała prawa *wlecieć* do Stepanakartu, i usiłowali nakłonić ją aby wróciła do Erewaniu.
>
> (Kapuscinski, 1993: 248)

> She appeared tired and tense, but attempted to remain calm and create a cheerful, cloudless atmosphere. She told us her story. She had barely left the plane when she was arrested by several officers – envoys of the military commander in chief of Nagorno Karabach. They declared that she had no right to *fly into* Stepanakert and tried to persuade her to return to Yerevan. (Kapuscinski ,1994: 246–7)

There is one point in this passage that deserves our special attention – the Polish *wlecieć* and the English *fly into.* A careful Polish reader will certainly stumble over this word, because the usage is unusual. Normally, one would say here either *przyleciec* – 'arrive', or more likely *wylądować* – 'land'. There is a standard Polish expression *pozwolenie na ladowanie* – the 'right or permission to land'. The choice of *wlecieć* is simply incorrect. One can *wlecieć* into something – a bird can *wlecieć* into the nest, that is into a restricted space or, staying with aeroplanes, one can *wlecieć w przestrzeń powietrzną* – 'enter someone's airspace'. What the translator has done here, and in many other places, is a real service to the author. To '*fly into* Stepanakart' is a perfectly acceptable phrase, so the English reader will not pause here wondering whether the choice of the word is appropriate or not. Thus, the net result is that the English Kapuscinski is a better writer than his Polish alter ego. To cheer up the Poles, we can say that if the English readers get *Imperium* written in a better literary language, they lose in other ways. And here is the proof.

Now we are in Siberia. Spring has arrived, the ground is thawing and mud is a major element of the landscape. Walking down the street, one afternoon Kapuscinski meets a woman cleaning the porch.

> Już dochodząc do ulicy Krupskiej, spotkaliśmy przy jakimś domku babcię, która dziarskimi ruchami próbowala miotłą zatrzymać potok wypełzającego na ganek blota.
>
> Ciężka praca, powiedziałem, żeby zacząć rozmowę.
>
> A, odparła wzruszając ramionami, zawsze wiosna taka straszna. *Wszystko płynie.*
>
> Zapanowało milczenie.
>
> Jak się żyje?, Zadałem najbardziej banalne i idiotyczne pytanie, ot, żeby jakoś podtrzymać rozmowę.
>
> Babcia wyprostowała się, wsparła ręce na trzonku miotły, spojrzała na mnie, uśmiechnęła się nawet i powiedziała rzecz, która jest samym sednem rosyjskiej filozofii życia: *Kak żywiom?*, powtórzyla y namysłem i dodała głosem, w ktćrym była duma i determinacja, i cierpienie, i radość – *Dyszym!* (Kapuscinski, 1993: 189)

> Nearing Krupska Street, we encounter an old woman outside a little house who is trying with energetic strokes of a broom to halt the muddy deluge crawling into the porch.
>
> 'Hard work', I say, to start a conversation.
>
> 'Ah', she replies, shrugging her shoulders, 'spring is always terrible. *Everything flows.*'

> Silence falls.
>
> 'How's life?' I ask the most banal and idiotic question, just to keep the conversation going somehow.
>
> The granny straightens up, leans her hand on the broom handle, looks at me, smiles even.
>
> *'Kak żyviom?'* she repeats thoughtfully, and then in a voice full of pride and determination and suffering and joy she offers in reply what is the crux of the Russian philosophy of life – *'Dyszym' (We breathe!)*
>
> (Kapuscinski, 1994: 185)

The obvious thing we notice here is, of course, the use of Russian in both the Polish and the English text. That English readers need to be helped with Russian, is obvious, and there is probably no better way of coping with this problem than a translation put in brackets. The Poles have the advantage here, since they understand the Russian phrase, and get the final point with much more poignancy than the English reader. But there is something else in this passage which a seasoned Polish reader will not miss. This is a phrase: *Wszystko plynie.* Some readers will quickly translate this seemingly innocuous phrase into the Heraclitan 'panta rhei', but others will go even further because they will remember an excellent novel about life in post-Stalinist Russia written in the 1960s by Vasilii Grossman. The title of the novel is precisely *Wszystko plynie (Vsio techot)* and its Polish translation sold in thousands of copies in the early 1990s.[6] We shall never know whether Kapuscinski's translator, Klara Glowczewska, decided to drop these associations consciously, or whether the allusions were lost on her. Grossman's novel appeared in English under the title *Forever Flowing*, and, quite surprisingly, had three print runs: in 1973, 1986 and 1988. But I suspect, that even so, one should not assume that Grossman's name would be recognised by more than a handful of readers here. For my own part, I would certainly hesitate before trying to replicate the cultural associations possible in the Polish context, so I would not like to judge the translator.

Conclusion

One wonders whether this last example illustrates the problem of translation at all. It all depends, of course, on what is meant by the term. My intention has been to show that translation, at least of literary texts, is a serious enterprise, not inherently less important than creative writing or literary criticism. If one accepts this point of view, the problem of translation's modern identity becomes irrelevant. But one may still ask –

'What is exactly happening when we translate?' I would reply via an analogy: our interest in how electricity is generated is only usually activated when there is a power cut. The moment the power comes back, we enjoy the warmth and light. We forget the technical details, telling ourselves that the mystery of electricity does not go further back than the light switch.

Notes

1. Linguistics is much less problematic in relation to translation and interpreting training. However, the objectives of these courses is not so much to reflect on translation, but supply the students with practical skills.
2. Two issues have been dividing English literature scholars: F.R. Leavis' legacy and the attitude to literary theory. Cf. Bell, 1988; Tallis, 1988; *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 1996.
3. The idea of the 'death of the author' was central to post-structural criticism in France and the United States (cf. Roland Barthes, 1982).
4. Laura Salmon-Kovarsky proposed the model in 1995 at a translation seminar held at the University of Warwick.
5. Only a relatively small part of Mukarovsky's work has been translated into English.
6. The book is listed in the bibliography to the Polish edition of *Imperium*. There is no bibliography in the English translation

References

Bassnett, Susan, (1991) *Translation Studies* (2nd edn). London: Routledge.
Bassnett, Susan and Lefevere, André (eds) (1990) *Translation, History and Culture.* London: Pinter.
Bassnett, Susan and Lefevere, André (eds) (1998) *Constructing Cultures.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Bell, Michael (1998) *F.R. Leavis.* London: Routledge. In D. Gervais, R.D. Gooder and H.A. Mason (eds) *The Cambridge Quarterly* (1996), F.R. Leavis Special Issue 25/4.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1907) *Biographia Literaria* (2 vols), J. Shawcross (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Gaskill, Howard (1991) *Ossian Revisited.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Gentzler, Edwin (1993) *Contemporary Translation Theories.* London: Routledge.
Grossman, Vasilii (1988) *Forever Flowing.* London: Harvill.
Grossman, Vasilii (1990) *Wszystko Plynie.* Warszawa: Wspolpraca.
Kapuscinski, Ryszard (1983) *The Emperor.* London: Quartet Books.
Kapuscinski, Ryszard (1993) *Imperium*. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Kapuscinski, Ryszard (1994) *Imperium*. London: Granta Books.
Lec, Stanislaw Jerzy (1982) *Alle Unfriesierten Gedanken.* München-Wien.
Makine, André (1997) *Le Testament Français.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.
Mukaroški, Jan (1977) *Structure, Sign and Function: Selected Essays.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
Newmark, Peter (2002) No global communication without translation. In G. Anderman and M. Rogers (eds) *TranslationToday: Trends and Perspectives* (this volume pp. 57–70). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Shankman, Steven (1983) *Poepe's 'Iliad'*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Snell-Hornby, Mary (1988) *Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Sontag, Susan (1982) *A Barthes Reader.* New York: Hill and Wang.
Stafford, Fiona (ed.) (1998) *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.
Tallis, Raymond (1988) *Not Saussure: A Critique of Post-Saussurean Theory.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Tolstoya, Tatyana (1997) *Love Story. New York Review of Books,* November 20, 4–6.

Chapter 9

Interlinear Translation and Discourse à la Mark Twain

GUNNAR MAGNUSSON

Introduction

When Mark Twain set foot upon German soil in April 1878, the author, holding the reputation of having an unusually inquiring mind, had already devoted some nine full weeks to studying the German language. He had ample opportunity to deepen his knowledge when travelling in the Rhine area round Frankfurt and Heidelberg with his friend Mr Harris.

Twain's ethnological observations during this journey, which later also included Switzerland and Italy, are just as amusing as his well-known views on the German language. The local people appear to him to be 'warm-hearted, emotional, impulsive, enthusiastic', 'their tears come at the mildest touch and it is not hard to move them to laughter'. The author marvels at their behaviour, how they 'hug and kiss and cry and shout and dance and sing'.

These characterisations are given in *A Tramp Abroad* (Vol. I: 76), two volumes about his travels in the Old World (1880). In part two we find Twain's most famous philological essay, 'The Awful German Language', an item quietly tucked away in an appendix (D). This circumstance does not diminish its importance, however, if we are to believe the author's own words, referring to Herodotus: 'Nothing gives such weight and dignity to a book as an Appendix'. This essay should not be confused, however, with the lecture he gave some 20 years later with an almost identical title, 'The Horrors of the German Language' (in *Mark Twain's Speeches,* 1910), less known but equally pointed and humorous.

How relevant are Twain's views on the German language from today's perspective? In this article I review his observations, suggestions, and plans for reform, not only in the light of our current knowledge of German but also of English. Although German is the focus of Twain's analyses, his native tongue, English, is the background against which he models his observations.

A recurrent issue in the assessment of contrastive phenomena is the relative weight of determining *typological factors*, on the one hand, and *stylistic ideals*, on the other. Current typological studies describe German as a 'Mischsprache' (Askedal, 1996: 369, Wurzel, 1996: 492) where *synthetic*, i.e. *inflectional* (predominantly) and *agglutinating*, characteristics are found side by side with *analytical* ones. English is indisputably an *analytical* language.

The foremost purpose of this paper is, with Twain's views as a starting point, to discuss the effects of typological differences on English and German style and discourse, respectively. In seeking to obtain interesting results in this contrastive field, *translation* may normally be trusted to provide an excellent tool. Twain makes frequent use of it to illustrate his ideas. The mode he has chosen is word-for-word translation in its most striking subspecies: *interlinear translation.* This 'method' has been appropriately described by Peter Newmark: 'The Source Language (SL) word-order is preserved and the words translated singly by their most common meanings, out of context. Cultural words are translated literally.' (Newmark, 1988: 45–6.)

Newmark's claim that 'the use of word-for-word translation is to understand *the mechanics* of the SL' (1988: 46; my italics) is fully congruent with Twain's purpose in examining the two languages in question. Twain's ideas have remained remarkably up-to-date, thus justifying, as I see it, the subject of the present paper; they also testify to the well-known notion that writers and artists have a seismographic capacity for registering complex matters, very often intuitively.

'Discourse' in our title primarily refers to the *microperspective*, i.e. the analysis of 'natural spoken or written language in context' (*Collins Cobuild*), especially the relation of successive utterances. In a *macroperspective*, I also take into consideration how texts are organised and how arguments are negotiated in a purposive fashion (cf. Clyne, 1987). Another macroperspective, especially prominent in the humanities in France and Germany (Foucault, Habermas), is not at issue here. An example of the latter would be the discourse analysis concerned with (delimited) problem complexes such as the *Historikerstreit* ('Historians' Controversy') about the Holocaust.[1]

I have rearranged the order of Twain's observations in order to adhere to the traditional division into morphology and syntax, choosing to conclude the discussion with such core discourse matters as information structure, parentheses, and digressions.

Accordingly, gender, case, and the inflections of adjectives are treated first, with word formation (*compounds*) and separable verbs forming the transition to syntax; the concluding section on the organisation of texts also takes up contrastivity in *lexis*, including Twain's notion of *overdescription* and *overprecision* as distinctive characteristics of German.

Twain ends his essay 'The Awful German Language' by suggesting reform plans for the language. In my epilogue, I will venture a radical remedy of my own, the abolition of capital letters with common nouns.

Gender

My rather extensive remarks on gender in German and English below may be justified by the emphasis it is given by Twain in 'Awful' – it occupies one sixth of the entire essay – but also by more recent increase in scholarly interest in the subject (see, for example, Köpcke, 1982; Köpcke-Zubin, 1984; Corbett, 1991).

An easily predictable target of Twain's criticism of the German morphological system is of course the animate gender system: der Regen – *er* (the rain – 'he'), die Hand – *sie* (the hand – 'she'), das Bein – *es* (the leg – 'it'). His illustration of this, the poem *Das Fischweib* (author unknown to me), reveals, however, more than the author's ridicule. Notice the poetic tenor of the excerpt from his English version of the poem. To someone with Swedish as their mother tongue Twain's faithful ('sexualised') translations of the German pronouns are reminiscent of the animate gender practice of medieval Swedish poetry:

> It is a bleak Day. Hear the Rain, how he pours, and the Hail, how he rattles; and see the Snow, how he drifts along, and oh, the Mud, how deep he is. Ah, the poor Fishwife, it is stuck fast in the Mire; it has dropped its Basket of Fishes …

Analysing this poem, Twain draws our attention to the foreign learner's well-known difficulty in 'persuading his tongue to refer to things as "he", "she", "him" and "her", which it has been accustomed to refer to as "it"'. Furthermore, this excerpt from Twain's (full-length) rendering of *Das Fischweib* illustrates two prominent issues in current German gender discussion.

Gender and generic reference

The exemplified German mode of reference is, as we know, extended to the entire pronominal system: der Tisch, der Lehrer > *er* ('he'), *sein* ('his'), *dessen* ('his', 'the latter's'), ***der****jenige* ('that', 'the'), *dies****er*** ('this', 'this one'). The strong connotations of male gender in instances like the use of '*der* Lehrer' for all teachers, complete with masculine anaphoric pronouns has led to a claim – and not only from feminists – that the so-called gender-neutral, 'generic' use of such occupational titles should be revised. An example to illustrate the problematic use of the generic masculine is given below.

The Spokesman (*sic*) of the German Parliament, Rita Süssmuth, refused to sign a regulation with the following wording (note the pronoun reference!): 'Wenn der Arzt im Praktikum schwanger wird, hat er Urlaub nach den Regelungen des Mutterschutzgesetzes; nach Inanspruchnahme des Erziehungsurlaubs kann er seine Ausbildung fortführen'.[2] Her motivation, here cited directly from the Proceedings of the Bundestag, was as follows:

> Ich fragte, ob ich das wirklich unterschreiben sollte. Man sagte mir, '*Arzt im Praktikum* ist eine geschlechtsneutrale Bezeichnung; das ist eine Institution' [*Allgemeine Heiterkeit*]. Ich antwortete: 'Aber Institutionen werden aller Erfahrung nach nicht schwanger.' [*Heiterkeit und Beifall bei allen Fraktionen*] Damit war es endlich geschafft, diese Regelung außer Kraft zu setzen und auch von *Ärztinnen im Praktikum* zu sprechen.[3]

A more general awareness of this problem has led to a significant increase in *feminisation*, primarily achieved by derivation ('Ärztin' etc.). In fact, there is nowadays a strong tendency towards a *grammaticalisation* of the moved form as a compulsory agreement marker (Jobin, forthcoming).

Another solution in combating masculine bias is the use of adjectival nouns, *die Lehrenden* ('the teaching staff') instead of *die Lehrer* ('the teachers'), or, when possible, formations with neutral second parts of a compound: Lehr*kraft*, Schreib*kraft*, Putz*kraft* ('cleaner'; *-kraft* literally 'power, force') (cf. Magnusson & Jobin, 1997).

There is, however, one decided *advantage* of the German gender system, namely its explicit reference-tracking capacity. In EU documents for example, the *agentive* reference with regard to committees, officials, etc. is clearer in German (signalled by *er, sie, es*) than in the corresponding Swedish ones (and presumably the English ones, too), where the indefinite pronoun *man* ('one') is used frequently (Jobin, forthcoming).

German shares with English, however, the problem of generic reference with pronouns like *everybody, anyone, no one.* The stylistically somewhat awkward English solutions 'he or she', 'she or he', '(s)he' have the counterparts 'er oder sie', 'sie oder er', but these are only infrequently used. The frequency of avoidance devices like recast sentences involving nominalisations, passives, or infinitive clauses in the respective languages has yet to be researched.

In English, some non-fiction writers use *she* throughout for generic reference to occupational titles etc. (Williams, 1990; Ellis, 1990).[4] This is hardly a viable solution in German, owing to the strict grammatical rules of agreement addressed by Twain, commenting on the 'Fishwife'. The teacher – *she* – is not a problem in English, whereas der Lehrer – *sie* – is an anomaly in German. A consistent *splitting* in 'der Lehrer und die Lehrerin' with anaphoric double pronoun reference is clumsy, to say the least.

Grammatical and semantic gender

A weakness of the rigid system of gender assignment in German, particularly of pronominal gender, can be illustrated by the group of nouns where grammatical and semantic agreement demands are in conflict. Twain draws our attention to this when *Weib* in the poem is referentially reactivated by *it*:

> In the German it is true that, by some oversight of the inventor of the language, a woman is a female, but a 'wife' (*Weib*) is not – which is unfortunate. A wife has no sex. She is neuter'. ('Awful': 260)

A 'Weib' may well have 'no sex' designated by its lexical gender, but there is a pronounced tendency today towards semantic referential agreement for nouns like *Weib* and *Mädchen*; the further away we move from the noun in the referential chain, the more likely is animate agreement.

Case

A major stumbling block for all foreigners attempting to learn German is its complicated case system, another of Twain's points of attack. As Hawkins (1984) has emphasised, case syncretism in English (seen as early as the ninth century) is the pervasive force that has moulded this language in a thoroughly different manner from German. The canonical SVO word order for all clause types that emerged from this development, with its rigid order necessary for reasons of clarity as to subject and object functions, favoured (or enforced):

(a) a reanalysis of impersonal structures as in:

θam cunge	licoden	pearen
INDIRECT OBJECT	VERB	SUBJECT
to the king	appealed	pears

'the king liked pears'

(b) a restructuring of the field of transitivity and intransitivity. Here lie the foundations for the astounding flexibility of verbal usage in English, compared with its continental cousins, including non-agentive subjects: 'the book sold 10,000 copies, this hotel forbids dogs, my guitar broke a string' (examples from Hawkins, 1986: 69, 72).

The fairly unique formal underspecification of English syntax, the decoding of which relies considerably on pragmatic and contextual clues, was of course almost certainly unknown to Twain, as the overspecified German system comes under his sharp attack. Contrary to the case of the syntax of its overseas cousin, the syntactic formulas of German were never blurred by the impact of William the Conqueror, German having retained a typically Germanic four-case system. In all essentials, in Modern German we still behold the Old High German paradigm (cf. Askedal, 1996: 378).

Twain criticises the 'superfluous' dative singular *-e* in masculine and neuter nouns. His request to do away with it has largely been granted. Its use today is dwindling; only in fixed combinations like *nach Hause* ('home'), *zu Pferde* ('on horseback') is it at all frequent, but we no longer say 'im Haus*e*' or 'mit dem Pferd*e*', as was the case in Twain's day.

Wurzel (1996: 514) predicts the death of all *case flexives* in German (!), which would include the dative *-n/-en* in the plural (*mit den Männer**n***; 'with the men') and the *-n/-en* in the oblique cases of the weak nouns: den *Spezialisten > den Spezialist*, *am Fahrkartenautomaten > am Fahrkartenautomat.* This change is slowly, but clearly, under way.

Communicatively unnecessary endings such as the above characterise the inflections of the German *adjective* in particular. It is easy for us to share Twain's resignation: 'I heard a Californian student in Heidelberg say, in one of his calmest moods, that he would rather decline two drinks than one German adjective' ('Awful': 258). Had he listened carefully to how people *talked* in the Rhine area, however, he would have noticed an almost total neglect of adjective endings. On the whole, German dialects are considerably less inflectional than the standard language, and case syncretism is very conspicuous indeed.

Compounds

In a paragraph in *Mark Twain's Speeches* entitled 'A New German Word' (1910: 55) the author presents us with a 'veritable jewel' in a telegram from Linz, Austria:

> *Personaleinkommensteuerschätzungskommissionsmitgliedsreisekostenrechnungsergänzungsrevisionsfund*

When Twain comes across such words, he adds them to his collection of rare items, 'putting them in his museum' (*A Tramp Abroad*, 1899–1900: 264), commenting: 'If I could get a similar word engraved upon my tombstone I should sleep beneath it in peace.'

Among the Germanic languages, German is considered to be the most flexible in compounding. Further illustrations that Twain provides, *Stadtverordnetenversammlungen* ('town councils') and *Freundschaftsbezeigungen* ('tokens of friendship') are by no means surprising.

Obviously, there is no weakening tendency in this type of word formation; frequency data (Augst, forthcoming) show a continually rising curve from 1900 to the present. According to Augst, the increase is only slightly offset by *acronyms*. He illustrates the stages of syntactic compression humorously: Gefahr durch lange und kurze Wörter? > Die *L*ang- und *K*urz*w*ortgefahr > LKW-Gefahr (Gefahr = 'risk', LKW = 'truck').

Interestingly, compounds are still a topical issue, not only among German linguists but also among journalists. The following title of a new law, issued by the ministry of agriculture in the federal government of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern caused a stir in the German press:

> *Das Rinderkennzeichnungs- und Rindfleischetikettierungsüberwachungsaufgabenübertragungsgesetz*

Obviously, BSE causes linguistic problems, as well.

Of course, these *Bandwurmwörter* ('tapeworm words') let the reader do the interpretive job; they are less reader-friendly than their explicit syntactic counterparts and, in the view of language critics, undemocratic. Corresponding unhyphenated constructions in English are, for the same reason, the target of stylistic criticism, too:

> *Early childhood thought disorder misdiagnosis* often occurs … This paper reviews seven recent studies of particular relevance to *preteen hyperactivity diagnosis* and to treatment modalities involving *medication maintenance level evaluation procedures.*
>
> (Williams, 1990: 42; my italics)

This type of syntactic compression is increasing in scientific prose according to Williams, but it is also found in headlines, for example 'Triple love-snatch boy is hunted', 'Torment of a love-tug mum' (Ljung, 1997: 136).

The last word goes to Twain, his fifth reform suggestion for German, which obviously has some relevance for English as well:

> I would do away with those great long compounded words, or require the speaker to deliver them in sections, with intermissions for refreshments. To wholly do away with them would be best, for ideas are more easily received and digested when they come one at a time than when they come in bulk. Intellectual food is like any other; it is pleasanter and more beneficial to take it with a spoon than with a shovel.

Separable Verbs

In his introduction to the volume *Deutsch typologisch*, Ewald Lang recommends 'The Awful German Language' as a well-tried appetiser to arouse students' interest in typology (1996: 9). The keynote for the discussion is often struck by the following quotation from Twain (unknown source):

> Whenever the literary German dives into a sentence that's the last you are going to see of him until he emerges on the other side of the Atlantic with a verb in his mouth.

The adjective *literary* can be seen as an indication that Twain has noticed that verb-final does not apply equally strictly to spoken language, where exbraciation ('Ausklammerung') is quite conspicuous. In principle, German has retained the Germanic verb-final word order (SVO in declarative sentences, though), whereas English switched to SVO in the course of the Middle English period. The role of case syncretism in this change has been discussed above. The new paradigm also affected pre- and post-modification in English.

SOV versus SVO word order in German is still debated among scholars, however (Askedal, 1996: 371; Eisenberg, 1991: 381f). A nice little example, quoted by Butzkamm illustrates how primordial the SOV word order still is in German. Two-year-old Natalie is being taught a children's rhyme by her mother. Not even an easily memorised rhyme and rhythm makes Natalie abandon what she obviously perceives as the 'normal' verb placement in German:

Mother	*Natalie*
Au schreit der Bauer	Aua aua Baua *schreit*
die Äpfel sind sauer	Äpfel sauer *sind*
die Birnen sind süß	Birnen süß
morgen gibt's Gemüs.	morgen Gemüs *gibt.*

(Ow, cries the peasant, the apples are sour, the pears are sweet, tomorrow we'll have veg.)

(Butzkamm, 1993: 117)

Another Twain metaphor for the 'tension' of German clauses is that of a *bridge*, equally as potent a characterisation as the famous 'Atlantic simile', as will be apparent from the following confession of the author in an address to the Vienna Press Club in November 1897:

> Meine häufige Anwesenheit auf den Brücken [Wiens] hat einen ganz unschuldigen Grund. Dort giebt's den nöthigen Raum. Dort kann man einen edlen, langen deutschen Satz ausdehnen, die Brückengeländer entlang, und seinen ganzen Inhalt mit einem Blick übersehen.

> Auf das eine Ende des Geländers klebe ich das erste Glied eines trennbaren Zeitwortes und das Schluszglied klebe ich an's andere Ende – dann breite ich den Leib des Satzes dazwischen aus.
>
> (*Mark Twain's Speeches*, 1910: 48)[5]

The bridge metaphor also occurs in modern German grammars for the brace in subordinate clauses: *Spannsatz* ('span clause'; cf. Ulrich, 1981: 73).

For this address in *German* the author provided an amusing parallel English interlinear version ('a literal translation' in Twain's own words ('Horrors')), where he disclosed his reform plans for German word order:

> I might gladly the separable verb also a little bit reform. I might none do let what Schiller did: he has the whole history of the Thirty Years' War between the two members of a separable verb inpushed. That has even Germany itself aroused, and one has Schiller the permission refused the History of the Hundred Years' War to compose – God be it thanked! After all these reforms established be will, will the German language the noblest and the prettiest on the world be. (pp. 47, 49)

German and English Style

A difference between German and English, determined by traditions but also by typology, is *left-branching* and *right-branching*, respectively, or in a more modern terminology, *pre-* and *post-modification:*

German:
Die von den Nachbarn übernommenen und weiterentwickelten **Bräuche**
left-branching

English:
The customs adapted and further developed by their neighbours
right-branching

Figure 9.1 Pre- and post-modification in German and English

Nominal blocks and extensive pre-modification have been a growing tendency in written German since the age of Humanism (von Polenz, 1995: 351). Today these features are especially prominent in elaborate journalistic prose and scientific jargon, being a distinctive integral part of the so-called *Imponierstil* (495).

The hydra *expanded attribute* (see Figure 9.1) does not escape Twain's keen observation. He does not know the term, of course, but he has recognised its features, apparent in the following parodying interlinear translation into English of a notice in a Mannheim newspaper:

> In the daybeforeyesterdayshortlyaftereleveno'clock Night, the inthistownstanding tavern called 'The Wagoner' was downburnt. When the Fire to the onthedownburning resting Stork's Nest reached, flew the parent Stork away. But when the bytheraging, fire surrounded Nest *itself* caught Fire, straightaway plunged the quickreturning Mother-Stork into the Flames and died, her Wings over the young ones outspread. ('Awful': 266)

Twain's capitalisation of the nouns is a nice gesture to his readers. In the discussion of German style he makes the following important remark: 'In German all the Nouns begin with a capital letter. Now that is a good idea.' How could we otherwise manage our way through the labyrinth of a piece of elaborate German prose? Anyone trying to decode a complex nominal chain must rely heavily on what I would like to call *the high and noble pines*, i.e. the capitalised nouns:

Die von den Nachbarn übernommenen, leicht modifizierten und weiterentwickelten Bräuche

Other stylistic features that strike Twain, the amateur linguist, are Pandora's box-sentences ('Schachtelsätze'), parentheses, and digressions:

> I have heard that sometimes after stringing along on exciting preliminaries and parentheses for a column or two, they get in a hurry and have to go to press without getting to the verb at all.
>
> ('Awful': 255; about journalistic prose)

This description still holds for certain genres.

Clyne (1987) looked at English and German texts on linguistics and sociology. He found that, in general, the first were linear and symmetrical, the latter digressive and asymmetrical. The English texts were more reader-friendly and personal, aiming at a dialogue on the subject matter, whereas the German ones were more theory-bound, deductive, and intended to impress. These differences, including the above addressed problem of pre- and post-modification, are repeatedly focused on in the newly published *Handbuch Translation* (see, for example, Snell-Hornby *et al.*, 1998: 67–8). An example from a German school book on history is a good illustration of these phenomena.[6] The author opens a chapter on Bismarck's Kampf gegen das Zentrum ('Bismarck's struggle against the Zentrum party') with the following heavily pre-modified sentence:

> Die Weichen, die ihn [so far unspecified] am Ende in die parteipolitische Ausweglosigkeit geraten ließen, stellte Bismarck [thank you] bereits unmittelbar nach der Reichsgründung, als er versuchte, in einem 'Kulturkampf' gegen den Ultramontanismus das Zentrum als politische Kraft in Deutschland auszuschalten.[7]

Twain summarises his views on German discourse practice:

> … with the Germans it is doubtless the mark and sign of a practised pen and of the presence of that sort of *luminous intellectual fog* which stands for clearness among these people. ('Awful': 255, my italics)

And yet, this would definitely be an unjust general description of how Germans look at standards of style and discourse today. My personal view is that German 'practised pens' in journalism and scientific domains write as clearly and elegantly as their English colleagues. In fact, there is no reason to question Erich Kästner's well-known words when he describes himself in the context of German philosophic tradition:

> A sworn opponent of the false depths that never fall out of fashion in the land of poets and thinkers, he [E.K.] is a great-grandson of the German Enlightenment, bound to and enamoured of the three inalienable demands: sincerity of sentiment, clarity of thought and simplicity in word and sentence.[8] (Kästner, 1959: 304)

In conclusion, Twain complains of the overprecision and overdescription of the German language ('Awful': 260). He exemplifies overprecision with morphology – *die Engländeri**n*** – but this characteristic is equally prominent in lexis, syntax and discourse. König (1996: 50) contrasts the open object specification of English *put on* (– jacket, glasses, tie, ring) with the diversification of verbs in German with regard to type of object: *die Jacke anziehen, die Brille aufsetzen, eine Krawatte umbinden, einen Ring anstecken.* This is particularly apparent in selection restrictions, for example for *meiden, vermeiden, ausweichen* versus *avoid* (Hawkins, 1986: 32), and in many other near-synonyms in German, which correspond to one English verb: *ändern, abändern, verändern* for *change*. In general, German verbs have more selection restrictions.

In bad German discourse, notably in sociology and linguistics, overdescription is conspicuous. In a context where 'the use of these words' would be a sufficient summarising expression, one might come across 'die paradigmatische, syntagmatische, pragmatische Realisierung von diesen Formativen'. Readers are not trusted to infer information from the context, they are invariably given all particulars.

Conclusion

As has been shown above, typological conditions as well as stylistic conventions are given pride of place in Twain's consideration of the differences between German and English. The typological differences are particularly apparent as regards gender, case, compounding, and the structure of the verb system, with case being the most prominent factor. While stylistic conventions are admittedly hard to break, they do not steer discourse phenomena such as attribution, parentheses, digressions, overprecision, and overdescription to the same extent as typological restrictions.

In his summary, Twain recapitulates in eight points his reform plans for the German language ('Awful': 269–71). Those that have been discussed in this article are: leave out the dative case, move the verb further up to the front, reorganise the sexes, do away with the long compounded words, discard the parentheses.

Two of Twain's requests have been granted: the communicatively irrelevant *-e* in the dative case has now been discarded, apart from fixed phrases; the verb, by way of exbraciation ('Ausklammerung'), is frequently moved further up the sentence, especially in spoken language. The problems of sex remain, as well as those of compounding. The use or non-use of parentheses depends largely on the proficiency and skill of those producing the texts.

Finally, I would like to launch a reform plan of my own, one hinted at earlier. Mark Twain in a splendid insight noticed that 'all the [German] nouns begin with a capital letter. Now that is a good idea' ('Awful': 258). He intuitively realised our risk of otherwise getting lost in the depths of German syntax. Without the nouns – 'the high and noble pines' – we would soon go astray in today's forest-like syntax in certain genres. We would not see the wood for the trees.

Doing away with the capitalised nouns (by law!) would probably mean that text producers in German would be forced to form sentences that are easier to grasp and absorb, a spelling reform (German: *Rechtschreibreform*) worthy of its name. The result would probably be shorter sentences and more relative clauses, making it easier for us to steer a correct course through the German syntactic landscape.

Is my reform plan for German nouns an impossible dream? By no means. Look at the Danes. To my knowledge, their capitalisation reform of 1948 has not led to a cultural decline and fall of the Danish language.

Twain concludes his essay with a sigh of resignation that his philosophical studies have convinced him that a gifted person needs 30 years to learn the German language. My suggestion for the abolition of capitalised nouns would reduce this period considerably. And German would avoid the gloomy destiny prophesied by Twain:

> If it is to remain as it is, it ought to be gently and reverently set aside among the dead languages, for only the dead have time to learn it.
>
> ('Awful': 271)

Notes

1. This branch of study is appropriately described by Busse, Hermanns and Teubert (1994: 14; my translation): 'A discourse consists of all texts that concern any object, theme, scientific problem complex or concept chosen as an object of research, which exhibit mutual semantic connections and/or involve a mutual declaratory, communicative, functional or purposive relation.'
2. 'If the doctor becomes pregnant while serving as a Houseman, he is granted leave of absence in accordance with the regulations of the Maternity Act; after completion of maternity leave he may complete his training.'
3. 'I asked whether I really should sign it. I was told: ''doctor … *serving as a Houseman* is a gender-neutral designation, it is an institution.'' [*General amusement.*] I replied: ''But all experience indicates that institutions do not become pregnant.'' [*Amusement and applause all round*.] And thus we were finally able to eliminate this rule and speak of *female Housemen*, as well.'
4. Ellis has a note on pronouns in his preface: 'In this book I have used ''she'' and ''her'' to refer generically to learners, teachers, researchers etc. … I have come to realise that the choice of pronouns is an important issue to many women and that, overall, less offence is likely to be caused by the choice of the female gender.'
5. Twain's interlinear translation: 'My frequent presence on the bridges [of Vienna] has an entirely innocent ground. Yonder gives it the necessary space, yonder can one a noble long German sentence elaborate, the bridge-railing along, and his whole contents with one glance overlook. On the one end of the railing pasted I the first member of a separable verb and the final member cleave I to the other end – then spread the body of the sentence between it out!'
6. Görtemaker, Manfred (1986) *Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*. Opladen.
7. 'Immediately after the Reich was founded, Bismarck chose the tracks which ultimately led him into a political cul-de-sac, as he sought to shunt the Center Party aside as a political force, by means of a ''cultural battle'' against the ultramontane forces of papist centralisation.'
8. 'Er [E.K.] ist ein Urenkel der deutschen Aufklärung, spinnefeind der unechten Tiefe, die im Lande der Dichter und Denker nie aus der Mode kommt, untertan und zugetan den drei unveräußerlichen Forderungen: nach der Aufrichtigkeit des Empfindens, nach der Klarheit des Denkens und nach der Einfachheit in Wort und Satz.' (Kästner, 1959: 304).

References

(1) *By and on Mark Twain*

Twain, M. (1899–1900) *A Tramp Abroad (*Vols. I–II). Leipzig: Tauchnitz.

Twain, M. (1899–1900) The Awful German Language. In *A Tramp Abroad* (Vol. II, Appendix D) (pp. 252–73).

Mark Twain's Speeches (1910) With an introduction by William Dean Howells. New York & London: Harper & Brothers.

Twain, M. (1910) The horrors of the German language. In *Mark Twain's Speeches* (pp. 43–51).
Illustrated Works of Mark Twain (1979) Selections and an introduction by Michael Patrick Hearn. New York: Avenel books.

(2) *Other*

Askedal, J.O. (1996) Überlegungen zum Deutschen als sprachtypologischem 'Mischtyp'. In E. Lang and G. Zifonun (eds) *Deutsch typologisch* (pp. 369–83). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Augst, G. (forthcoming) Gefahr durch lange und kurze Wörter? Die Lang- und Kurzwort-Gefahr? Die LKW-Gefahr? To be published in the series *Jahrbücher des Instituts für deutsche Sprache.*
Busse, D., Hermanns, F. and Teubert, W. (eds) (1994) *Begriffsgeschichte und Diskursgeschichte. Methodenfragen und Forschungsergebnisse der historischen Semantik.* Opladen: Westdeutsher Verlag.
Butzkamm, W. (1993) *Psycholinguistik des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. Natürliche Künstlichkeit: Von der Muttersprache zur Fremdsprache.* Tübingen and Basel: Francke.
Clyne, M. (1987) Cultural differences in the organization of academic discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 11, 211–47.
Corbett, G. (1991) *Gender*. Cambridge.
Eisenberg, P. (1991) *Grundriß der deutschen Grammatik.* Stuttgart.
Ellis, R. (1990) *Instructed Second Language Acquisition. Learning in the Classroom.* Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.
Görtemaker, M. (1986) *Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert.* Opladen.
Hawkins, J.A. (1986) *A Comparative Typology of English and German. Unifying the Contrasts.* London & Sydney.
Jobin, B. (forthcoming) Referentiellt eller lexikaliskt genus – om pronomenbruk i tyska och svenska EU-dokument. To appear in 'The Problem of Reference in Translation' (working title). *Reports from the Research Programme Translation and Interpreting as a Meeting between Cultures.* Stockholm-Uppsala.
Kästner, E. (1959) Kästner über Kästner. In *Die kleine Freiheit.* Gesammelte Schriften in sieben Bänden. Band V. Vermischte Beiträge.
König, E. (1996) Kontrastive Grammatik und Typologie. In E. Lang and G. Zifonun (eds) *Deutsch typologisch* (pp. 31–54). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Köpcke, K.-M. (1982) *Untersuchungen zum Genussystem der deutschen Gegenwartssprache.* Tübingen: Narr.
Köpcke, K.-M. and Zubin, D.A. (1984) Sechs Prinzipien für die Genuszuweisung im Deutschen: ein Beitrag zur natürlichen Klassifikation. *Linguistische Berichte* 93, 26-50.
Lang, E. (1996) Das Deutsche im typologischen Spektrum. In E. Lang and G. Zifonun (eds) *Deutsch typologisch* (pp. 7–15). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Ljung, M. (1997) The English of British tabloids and heavies: Differences and similarities. In J. Falk, G. Magnusson, G. Melchers and B. Nilsson (eds) *Norm, Variation and Change in Language* (pp. 133–48). Stockholm Studies in Modern Philology, New Series 11.
Magnusson, G. and Jobin, B. (1997) Gender and sex in German and Swedish. In J. Falk, G. Magnusson, G. Melchers and B. Nilsson (eds) *Norm, Variation and Change in Language* (pp. 143–74). Stockholm Studies in Modern Philology, New Series 11.

Newmark, P. (1988) *A Textbook of Translation.* New York & London: Prentice Hall.
Snell-Hornby, M., Hönig, H.G., Kussmaul, P. and Schmitt, P.A. (eds) (1998) *Handbuch Translation.* Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
Ulrich, W. (1981) *Wörterbuch Linguistische Grundbegriffe.* Kiel: Hirt.
Von Polenz, P. (1999) *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Band III, 19 und 20. Jahrhundert. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Williams, J.M. (1990) *Style. Toward Clarity and Grace.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Wurzel, W.U. (1996) Morphologischer Strukturwandel: Typologische Entwicklungen des Deutschen. In E. Lang and G. Zifonun (eds) *Deutsch typologisch* (pp. 492–524). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Chapter 10

Meaning, Truth and Morality in Translation

MARTIN WESTON[1]

Introduction

Let me say at the outset that I yield to no one in my admiration for the scope, scholarliness and sheer practicality of what Peter Newmark has written – and, happily, continues to write – on translation. He may perhaps take it as a particular compliment, coming as it does from a practising translator, if I add that throughout my professional career, already spanning over a quarter of a century, I have encountered no other theorist writing in English who has dealt so insightfully and helpfully with the real problems of day-to-day non-literary, informational translation. That achievement is in part due to his insistence on always illustrating the theoretical and pedagogical points he makes with concrete examples, the lack of which he rightly criticises in so many other writers (I hope he will forgive that lack in this paper, which is uncharacteristically abstract and philosophical). That he is also a kind man makes it all the greater a pleasure to pay tribute to him.

Against that background, and acknowledging my intellectual indebtedness to him, I may perhaps be pardoned for discussing in the second part of this contribution on 'meaning' a topic – probably the only one – on which it would seem we profoundly disagree, namely truth and morality in translation. I have done so because, like him, I regard it as a vital question both of principle and of practice and it is one to which he has repeatedly and insistently returned of late since first addressing it only (I think) comparatively recently. First, however, let us consider attempts to view meaning purely objectively as the material of translation.

'The Snag (with Defining Translation) is in the Concept of Meaning'

To say that 'it is generally agreed that *meaning* is important in translation' (Catford, 1965: 35, italics in the original) may be thought to be something of an understatement. There is a long-held and widespread view that effective translation (written and oral) presupposes a process of 'deverbalisation': extracting the meaning of the original – what the author intended to say – from the source language (SL) in which it is 'clothed' and 'reclothing' it in the target language (TL).

The Paris School model

This view has been propounded most consistently and frequently (but not exclusively) by the 'Paris School' of theorists founded by Danica Seleskovitch at the École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs. From the practitioner's point of view, I would not hesitate to say that she and her disciples have, like Peter Newmark, made some of the most substantial academic contributions to the practical understanding and teaching of translation, notwithstanding Jean Delisle's reservations (1982: 50) as to whether they strictly constitute 'theory' (does that matter?); and Delisle's own book *L'Analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction* is a monument by any standard. All these writings take the above three-term model (SL > disembodied meaning > TL) as axiomatic.

The model is postulated in Seleskovitch's very first major publication *L'Interprète dans les conférences internationales*, where she says (1968: 84) that interpreting is a triangular process and not a direct process from language to language: 'L'information reçue est réduite à son sens (stade de la compréhension) puis ce sens est exprimé dans une autre forme linguistique (stade de l'expression).' The image she then uses by way of illustration is a little subtler than the classic clothing image, since it would at least seem to allow for the possibility of conscious or unconscious componential analysis:

> Pour parler de manière imagée nous dirons, si l'interprète travaille de français en anglais, qu'il réduit en chiffons le vêtement français, le carde puis reconstitue à partir de la laine ainsi obtenue un vêtement anglais. En d'autres termes, avant de réexprimer ce qu'il entend, l'interprète transforme en pensée non formulée, la pensée formulée par autrui. Cela fait, rien ne s'oppose plus à ce qu'il exprime cette pensée qui est devenue sienne, aussi spontanément qu'il exprime ses propres idées en dehors de l'exercice de son métier.[2]

The trouble with the comparison, of course, is that whereas the wool could be analysed and a good deal said about it, nothing whatever can be said about the baffling 'pensée non formulée', let alone how and under what conditions it could be related either to an SL expression or to a TL one. Writing at almost exactly the same time, Eugene Nida was more careful in his choice of imagery to describe the transfer of meaning:

> In transferring the referential content of the message, one is not concerned primarily with the precise words or exocentric units (i.e.

> the idioms), but with the sets of components. In fact, one does not really translate words but bundles of componential features. The words may be regarded essentially as vehicles for carrying the components of meaning. In fact the words may be likened to suitcases used for carrying various articles of clothing. It does not really make much difference which articles are packed in which suitcase. What counts is that the clothes arrive at the destination in the best possible condition, i.e. with the least damage. The same is true in the communication of referential structures. What counts is not the particular words which carry the componential features, but the fact that the correct componential features are lexically transported.
>
> (Nida, 1969: 492)

Yet Seleskovitch too recognises in the same section of her book (1968: 45) that, 'Serviteur du sens, le langage oral est aussi porteur de ce sens', a statement seemingly of the blindingly obvious, but one which surely implies that the meaning of an utterance is not severable from the language that conveys it, contrary to the model she proposes.

In her 1968 work she is dealing, of course, with interpreters and interpreting, and it has been said (by her, among others) that the model put forward in it is obviously influenced by and suited to oral rather than written translation; clearly the circumstances of interpreting (or at least simultaneous interpreting) make the content of the message more important to convey than its form. But if *in practice* oral translation differs appreciably from written translation in the circumstances in which it is carried out and, accordingly, in its demands on the practitioner, it is not a different activity *in principle* (and I have never seen anyone try to maintain that it is): in both cases the meaning of a communication is being transferred as accurately as possible from one language to another. That being so, and despite the different input and output media, the translation process – what actually *happens* (but not necessarily either the practical or the psychological methods whereby the process is achieved) – must surely be describable in identical terms in both cases; in other words, a model postulated for one ought to apply equally to the other. And indeed, at most eight years later, we find that Seleskovitch has, like her followers, applied the model to written translation too:

> *Le schéma explicatif* que j'ai avancé à partir de mes observations pratiques est extrêmement simple : au lieu des deux seuls éléments que pose toute théorie linguistique de la traduction : la langue de départ et la langue d'arrivée, et de l'opération de transformation de l'une en l'autre qu'elle postule, je vois trois éléments : le discours en langue X, la saisie du sens hors langue de ce discours, et la réexpression de ce sens dans la langue Y …[3]
>
> (Seleskovitch, 1976: 65)

Even Delisle, who is perhaps, rightly, suspicious of such extreme simplicity and certainly more chary of overtly committing himself to such a clear-cut three-stage model, nevertheless states by way of (possibly inaccurate) recapitulation in the second, practical part of his aforementioned book (1982: 146): ‘Nous avons vu qu’avant de réexprimer un message, il faut en extraire le sens et que celui-ci est saisi sous une forme déverbalisée, c’est-à-dire libérée des signes linguistiques. La compréhension est un processus intellectuel non-verbal, les mots n’étant que les tremplins de la communication.’

The fallacy

Let it be admitted straight away, the three-stage model is at first sight intuitively attractive and psychologically very plausible. Illustrations to suggest that it is right are not lacking. What habitual user of two languages in everyday life and work, for example, has not experienced being unable to remember in which of the two he or she first heard or read a piece of information? What remains in the memory is the information alone. (But then that is perhaps as much or more a question of the nature of memory and information retrieval as of the nature of processing information and language.) Seleskovitch herself refers convincingly (1968: 48) to essentially the same phenomenon, though she is, it should be remembered, talking here of interpreting and interpreters only:

> Le souvenir qui reste [d’un discours de trois minutes] est celui du sens, détaillé et précisé parce qu’énoncé, mais redevenu en grande partie informe dans la mémoire. Celle-ci élimine la majeure partie des mots prononcés et la totalité des sons qui formaient le ton, pour ne retenir que le sens dont ils étaient porteurs. … Comparée à la perception visuelle du texte écrit, forcément répétitive et où par conséquent la forme reste aussi rémanente que le sens, la perception auditive présente ainsi la particularité de dissocier le sens de son expression …[4]

No doubt, too, the model is – subject to the proper warning as to its validity, which I fear is not given – very useful and helpful as a teaching tool; as teachers of translation often point out, it is extraordinarily difficult to persuade students that it is not the individual words in isolation that have to be translated but the meaning of the whole sentence in its context – a view, however, that itself needs qualifying, as Peter Newmark has often emphasised.[5] But the plain fact is – and I claim no originality in asserting it, though the few that have done so in the past seem to have gone unheeded, at least by the Paris School – that it cannot stand up to scrutiny. Indeed, a moment’s reflection shows it to be patently false.

A proposition of the kind postulated in this translation model (that linguistic meaning exists disembodied, independently of the language that conveys it) must in principle be applicable to any unit of translation; at all events, its validity is not expressly stated to be limited in any way. Yet it is, if at all, persuasive only at the level of a complete utterance (typically a sentence), where it seems plausible to say that one has 'got the idea or the (content of the) message' without too much attention being paid to the form. But one has only to consider the case of an individual word – *maison*, say – to see at once that there cannot possibly be a single 'deverbalised' concept that corresponds exactly to a single word (*house? home? Haus? Heim?*) in other languages. Even if one allows that in a contextualised utterance – an instance of *parole*, such as all real-life translation is concerned with, as opposed to *langue* – the reference or denotation of the word *maison* will usually be unambiguous, it is still not possible to say that a single concept underlies the two words *maison* and, as the case may be, *house* or *home*, *Haus* or *Heim*, since our knowledge of the language systems (*langues*) concerned tells us that the concepts of seemingly corresponding terms in different languages are never fully congruent (unless, like scientific terms, defined in advance to be so) and this must remain true even in instances of the actual use of the terms in context. Similarly, to take another example, used by Catford (1965: 40–1), there is no common underlying concept corresponding to English *yes* and French *oui* and *si*.

To suggest the opposite by proposing the three-term model is in fact not only wrong in principle but potentially pernicious in practice as it may reinforce another widespread misconception on the part of many language students (due, presumably, to general ignorance about language and languages, which school curricula do lamentably little to remedy), namely that there is a one-to-one correspondence of semantic equivalence between the words of different languages.

Haas's critique

At the very least, then, one would have to postulate a four-stage translation process: SL > SL meaning > TL meaning > TL. But in fact, this will not do either (and it leaves us where we were at the outset, with a still unexplained switch from SL concept to TL concept). Whatever it is, linguistic meaning is not something 'out there', detached or detachable from the words that convey it, but a property of language itself; and, moreover, the meanings of words are, as Lyons (1977: 238) emphasises, and as we have just seen, internal to the language to which they belong.

Haas (1968: 90) is 'concerned to show that the "of" in "meaning of" *cannot* be interpreted as a relation of correspondence between two orders of fact, and that translation is *not* an operation with three terms'. He points out that if there are such entities as are postulated in a dualist theory of sign and a triadic theory of translation – pure meanings or pure external facts – there is certainly nothing we can say about them. He thus directly addresses Seleskovitch's postulate *avant la lettre.* (In this connection, one may wonder, mindful of the charge of parochiality sometimes levelled against Parisian intellectuals, whether Seleskovitch ever read Haas or even – as Delisle certainly seems to have done – Catford, who similarly says that, in terms of the Firthian theory of meaning he applies, the view that SL and TL texts 'have the same meaning' or that 'transference of meaning' occurs in translation is untenable; an SL text has an SL meaning, and a TL text has a TL meaning. Oddly enough, there is no bibliography in Seleskovitch's 1968 work; but then, equally oddly, neither is there in Catford's 1965 book.)

Haas goes on to say that 'what an expression means' cannot be found as a separate entity beside the expression. Meanings are the use of expressions, the work that expressions do. Meaning includes and transcends the utterance, just as walking includes and transcends the legs. This instrumental view of meaning does not entail denying the existence of purely mental events. In this context, Haas interestingly refers to memory. There must, he says, be organised memories, since no single use of a word can establish it as significant – meaning, like skill, being an acquired property – and clearly the organised memories of a word's uses are what would ordinarily be described as mental events. What an inert physical expression may remind us of is not any unverbalised pure idea; what we remember is that same expression in past employments, both among other expressions and in contrast to other expressions. What an expression conveys is not a passenger from another world. Its meaning, a bequest from its past, is related to a given word in some such way as yesterday's walk is related to one's legs here and now. Ultimately, he concedes, it is, of course, some relation of linguistic expressions to other things that constitutes their meanings; but the question is, what sort of relation? It cannot, he repeats, be one between two distinct orders of thing: 'If we divide language from other things in this dualist fashion, both are dissolved in a general blur. It is only in their active interplay with one another that either assumes determinate shape; and it is this *interplay* – this active co-operation of utterances with things – that constitutes the meaning of utterances' (1968: 102). Of more direct interest for translation is the following observation:

> The meaning of different expressions is the same if, and only if, there is a correspondence between their uses. What we abstract from different expressions as 'similarity of sense' is a correspondence between

> their functions. Unless we succeed in thus explaining translation, the mystery of bare and neutral fact will continue to haunt us.
>
> (Haas, 1968: 104)

And, lastly, of more particular relevance to Seleskovitch's approach, he points out that the sounds and words of different languages (by definition) do not, on the whole, occur in a relation of one-to-one correspondence. Generally the only kind of unit which permits interlingual matching is the whole sentence; but as these are unlimited in number, we tend to despair of the task of explaining the actual operation of translation and are inclined to fall back on the intervention of mythological entities and processes to help us out. The translator, however, aware that he has no list of correspondences to refer to, nonetheless 'operates with expressions, not with wordless ideas'.

The question left open

A number of similar logical objections to Seleskovitch's model are also put forward in a much later (1985) article by P.A. Jensen, who, however, takes as his basis a German version of an article by Seleskovitch collected in V. Kapp's 1974 reader *Übersetzer und Dolmetscher.* Strangely, the earliest reservations about Seleskovitch's acceptance of the idea of disembodied meaning are expressed in her very own 1968 book – by the author of the introduction to it, C. Andronikof, a former interpreter at the French Foreign Ministry. He says (Seleskovitch, 1968: 16–7): 'La seule critique que je me permettrais de formuler à l'encontre de D. Seleskovitch porte sur son affirmation sans nuance qu'initialement, dans l'esprit de celui qui pense, "*avant d'être formulée la pensée est non verbale*".' To be fair to Seleskovitch, she arguably expresses at least some openness to doubt in her conclusion, where she says (1968: 243): '[I]l reste à faire un vaste travail de recherche objective et d'analyse systématique des mécanismes mentaux et en particulier des rapports pensée–parole.' And Peter Newmark reported in 1993 (reprinted 1998: 41), without giving details, that 'the dubious theory of deverbalisation … appears to have been modified; according to Danica Seleskovitch, *les mots qui frappent* in the source language text (the key-words?) remain'.

So much (in both senses) for the objective approach to meaning. The nature of meaning remains the most intractable and surely the most fascinating of the unresolved issues in translation theory. It is a regrettable – and, all things considered, odd – fact that none of the great figures in the history of linguistics seems to have made a serious study of translation, although it is one of the more obvious and important applications of semantics. Sir John Lyons, the author of several major works on linguistics in general and semantics in particular, made some interesting incidental remarks on translation in his 1981 book *Language and Linguistics*, but they served mainly to whet the appetite and in so doing underlined the potential extent of the loss to translation studies.

Translation, the Truth and 'Ethical Soundness'

I turn now, and more briefly because the issue is a matter not of research but of opinion, to a more subjective approach to meaning in the shape of the translator's right to interfere with meaning in the interests of the truth or of certain principles. Given my place of work, I hope at least that in disagreeing with Peter Newmark's views on this subject, which, while they may be regarded as being no more than, in my opinion, harmlessly eccentric when held by him, are potentially dangerous if adopted uncritically by others with a hidden agenda, I shall be immune from any charge of ignoring or belittling human rights.

Validity

In the third section of his paper we are introduced to the – to my mind – very strange idea of a 'valid' text for translation, which he says can only be an approximate one but in principle 'objective' (though 'subjective factors do lie on the edges of moral and aesthetic principles'; ah, yes). To me the concept is wholly baffling. Cannot in principle any intelligible text be translated, regardless of its quality and content? A 'valid' text is defined as: 'a text that is [1] prima facie logical, [2] factually accurate, [3] ethically sound, and [4] elegantly written'. Now, can we spot the odd one out?

Assuming for the moment that it is practicable in a real working environment to lay down any conditions at all on what one will regard as an acceptable ('valid') text for translation (and most translators surely have to translate what's there, over which they have no control), one could certainly agree that a translator faced with a *draft* original could, and in important documents should, suggest the correction of demonstrable errors and infelicities coming under [1], [2] and [4] above. Speaking from experience at the European Court of Human Rights (where, *pace* Susan Šarčević (1997: 87), a degree of co-drafting has been with us for a long time), I can say that such a procedure is standard practice as between translators and lawyers, it being accepted that one of the benefits of the translation process is that it shows up like no other form of scrutiny any linguistic and logical weaknesses in a text (but not perhaps errors of fact as opposed to those of consistency). Even here, though, there are limits. Let me take another mundane real-life example. Suppose that one of the judges of the European Court of Human Rights dissents from an otherwise unanimous judgment that the respondent State has been responsible for a gross breach of the Human Rights Convention and writes a dissenting opinion that has to be translated for publication with the judgment in question. Is it seriously to be suggested that if I personally happened to disagree with the dissenting judge's argument and found it illogically reasoned (as opposed, say, to merely containing a factual error), I could or should, *qua* translator, challenge the judge on the matter, let alone add a translator's note to that effect?

Morals and the issue of intervention, or the need for a nanny

But what are we to make of [3] above, i.e. that a text should be 'ethically sound'? It seems to be of a piece with an earlier statement by Peter Newmark in 1997, now collected in *More Paragraphs on Translation* (1998: 204), that when the occasion arises, when the truth is threatened, 'the translator's first loyalty is neither to the writer nor to the reader but to the truth', the latter being rather oddly defined to include 'social and personal morality'. This strikes me as absolutely wrong and indefensible: a translator's duty is exclusively to the cause of communication, in other words equally to the text and to the reader, to whom he owes it to reproduce *what the text says.* At least on that occasion an admission was made that such a declaration was 'at variance with the ideas of most modern currents of thought about translation, which are cynical and deterministic; they assume that translators are always the slaves of the linguistic norms of their time and the servants of their publishers, formerly their patrons, the commissioners of their jobs, etc.'. My own conviction, however, is not in the slightest cynical or deterministic. I simply believe that the function of a translator is to reproduce in the TL as accurate as possible an equivalent of the content and form of the SL text, having regard, where legitimate choices of nomenclature or style arise, to the function of the original, the purpose of translating it and the translation's intended readership. To do anything else is to lay oneself wide open to the charge of *traduttore, traditore*. All other factors are strictly extraneous to the actual business of producing a translation.[6]

In his present paper, as on other occasions, Peter Newmark makes it clear that he considers it the translator's duty to 'intervene' extratextually or intratextually to correct (presumably in the translation) not only deficiencies in areas [1] to [4] above where they are likely 'to provoke or mislead' the reader[7] but also breaches of political correctness and expressions that the translator considers ethically unsound, ostensibly in reliance on international conventions and unspecified 'national statements'. (I would be very surprised to learn that it has been agreed internationally that it is morally offensive or in some other way 'wrong' to describe someone as 'small', 'big' or 'lower class' and accordingly unacceptable to translate foreign equivalents of those epithets accurately; if true, it is going to require radical rewriting of a lot of classical literature.)

It seems to me that there is a fundamental confusion of ideas and categories here, and I for one can also recognise the thin end of a large wedge when I see it. Human rights have no more to do with the *process* of translating than they have with the process of peeling potatoes (excluding, that is, extraneous factors such as working conditions and forced labour). Unlike wholly creative writing, that is to say the production of an original text, translating is morally neutral, the translator's job being to translate *what is there.* Any duty to the truth that there may be is to the truth of translating what is in the text – for otherwise one is guilty of misrepresentation, whereas it is in the interests of the reader that the true content and form of expression should be known. It is no part of the translator's function to expurgate his or her translations of language or propositions that would be regarded as offensive, even by a large majority, if they are in the original, or even to annotate them unless a critical edition is being produced or they raise a genuine difficulty of translation. However strong the urge to be a prig (and this too seems to be something of an occupational hazard, the desire to display intellectual/moral superiority possibly stemming not only from poorly written originals but also from what is perceived by some translators as their inferior position of being dependent on someone else's text, however poor, and only being able to express someone else's ideas, usually anonymously), it should be resisted. At all events, one cannot proceed on the assumption that readers require a nanny to make sure they are not fooled or offended. And translators – at any rate, freelance ones – are not normally compelled to undertake the translation of a given text and can (at whatever risk to pocket or job) decline to do so if they find a text distasteful.

What Peter Newmark is in fact contemplating here is but a step away from censorship, and that notoriously serves to *conceal* truth. There are two fundamental objections to his approach. First, the pragmatic consideration that we want and need to know precisely what any new Hitler has in mind as a political programme and what his attitudes are if he is unwise or bold enough to set these down in writing; we do not wish to read some edulcorated version. Secondly, the consideration of principle that the interest in upholding 'ethical soundness' will – other, obviously, than in blatant cases of incitement to genocide, racial hatred, murder, etc. – usually be outweighed by the interest in upholding freedom of expression; and *that* is one of the most basic freedoms enshrined in international instruments.

Notes

1. Head of English Translation, Registry of the European Court of Human Rights. The views expressed in this paper are the personal views of the author.
2. 'To use a metaphor, you could say of a professional interpreter working from French into English that he reduces the French garment to rags, cards it and then, using the wool thus obtained, reconstitutes an English garment. In other words, before re-expressing what he hears, the interpreter transforms into a non-formulated thought the thought formulated by others. That done, there is nothing to stop him expressing that thought, which has become his own, as spontaneously as he expresses his own ideas when not on duty.' (The translation here and those in subsequent footnotes are my own.)
3. '*The explanatory model* that I have put forward on the basis of my own observations of practice is extremely simple. In the place of the two terms assumed by all linguistic theories of translation – the source language and the target language – and of the postulated operation of transforming one into the other, I would see three terms: the discourse in language X, the extralinguistic assimilation of the meaning of that discourse and the re-expression of that meaning in language Y …'
4. 'The recollection that remains [of a three-minute speech] is that of the meaning – a meaning which is detailed and explicit because it has been uttered, but which has become largely formless in the memory. The memory eliminates most of the words uttered and all the sounds which make up the tone, retaining only the meaning they conveyed. … Compared with the visual perception of a written text – a necessarily repetitive act, in which the form consequently remains as vivid as the meaning – auditory perception thus possesses the distinctive property of separating meaning from its expression …'
5. Not being able to see the wood for the trees seems to be the major occupational hazard of the translation profession. It somehow seemed appropriate, albeit distressing, when some time ago, sitting at breakfast in an Austrian hotel, I could not help overhearing a kindly and venerably learned-looking Englishman, who I soon realised was a fellow translator, explain patiently to an earnest young Austrian colleague that the English for *den Wald vor lauter Bäumen nicht sehen* was *not to see the trees for the forest (sic)*, thereby offending simultaneously against logic, truth and standards of professional competence. In anticipation of the later part of this essay, one might wonder where one's moral duty lay in such a situation. For those that may wonder what I in fact did, I have to admit that tact ultimately prevailed and I remained silent.
6. This does not necessarily run counter to Simon Chau's pertinent remarks about translation in the service of a cause (1999: 235), though I would have no hesitation in saying that if the commitment of the 'subversive cultural transformers' he calls 'Information Transfer Activists' actually leads them to distort the content or form of their original texts in what they claim to be translations, then what they are subverting is the truth, for what they are doing, however constructively and valuably, is adaptation of one kind or another and not (or not only) translation. But since Chau does not give any examples of what he means by these translators' 'other modes of operation' (1999: 234), the question must remain open.
7. Since when must an author not provoke a reader? Is not Peter himself, blessedly, a past master of the art?

References

Anderman, Gunilla and Rogers, Margaret (eds) (1999) *Word, Text, Translation.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Catford, J.C. (1965) *A Linguistic Theory of Translation.* London: Oxford University Press.

Chau, Simon (1999) From anonymous parasites to transformation agents – a 'Third World' vision of translation for the new millennium. In G. Anderman and M. Rogers (eds) (pp. 233–5).

Delisle, Jean (1982) *L'Analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction* (2nd edn). Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Haas, William (1962) The theory of translation. *Philosophy* 37, 208–28.

Jensen, P.A. (1985) SI: A note on error typologies and the possibility of gaining insight in mental processes. *Meta* 30/1, 106–13.

Lyons, John (1977) *Semantics* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, John (1981) *Language and Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newmark, Peter P. (1998) *More Paragraphs on Translation.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Nida, Eugene A. (1969) The science of translation. *Language* 45, 483–98.

Šarčević Susan (1997) *New Approach to Legal Translation.* The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Seleskovitch, Danica (1968) *L'Interprète dans les conférences internationales.* Paris: Lettres Modernes, Minard.

Seleskovitch, Danica (1976) Traduire: de l'expérience aux concepts. *Études de linguistique appliquée* 24, 64–91.

Chapter 11
The Decline of the Native Speaker

DAVID GRADDOL

The Demographic Evidence

Discussion of the place of English in the world often centres on numbers, particularly estimates of the growing numbers of people who speak English. This numerological tradition, like so much of our understanding of the history of English, was largely shaped in the nineteenth century – a century obsessed by numbers and accounting practices required by the new industries, the formation of public companies and the administration of empire. At this time, there also emerged a rivalry between three European languages, particularly French and English but also to some extent German, as languages of international communication. French had been the undisputed international language of diplomacy during a period in which diplomacy formed the basis for international affairs. But in the second half of the nineteenth century, English challenged the status of French as an international language. The combination of industrial development and the British empire helped position English as the language of global trade, at a time when trade was taking over from diplomacy as the basis for international affairs. French was the catholic language of ideas and diplomacy. Its promoters made much of its beauty, literature and civilised cultural values. English was the protestant, working language of commerce. Its supporters promoted its virtues with frequent reference to numbers relating to its size and global reach.

The industrial revolution had created a commercial culture which routinely dealt in numbers: new typographic styles and printing techniques were developed to handle new informational genres such as railway timetables and shareholder accounts. Numbers became an important component of persuasive rhetoric – and the larger the numbers were, the better. It is not surprising that contemporary commentators promoting the place of English employed such rhetoric. Bailey (1992) quotes, for example, the estimates of native speakers made by a Swiss scientist, Alphonse de Candolle in 1870:

> In England it doubles in 50 years; therefore, in a century (in 1970) it will be 124,000,000. In the United States, in Canada, in Australia, it doubles in twenty-five; therefore it will be 736,000,000. Probable total of English-speaking race in 1970, 860,000,000. (Bailey, 1992: 111)

One can detect, even a century or so later, the sheer exhilaration in all those zeros. Figure 11.1 shows the logarithmic algorithm employed by Candolle, and projects the numbers of English speakers a century before and after the 100-year period he describes. It suggests that in 1770 there were only about seven million speakers of English, but by 2070 the projected number would be nearly 10 billion: rather more than the expected total population of the planet.

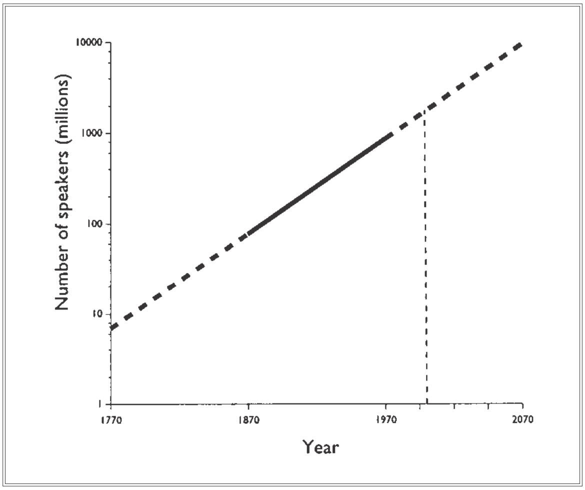

Figure 11.1 Candolle's 1870 prediction

Candolle assumed a logarithmic growth of English speakers. Extrapolating a century before and after, using his calculations, shows that there should be over a billion native speakers of English today.

We may now smile at nineteenth century confidence in forecasts for English, but there undoubtedly remains a fascination with speaker numbers – despite the fact that there are many other aspects of global English which might better capture its growing importance in the world. The issue of 'How many speakers?' remains, for example, top of the list of frequently asked questions about global English, according to the British Council's FAQ.[1] This paper examines what we know about trends in English language usage and provides a principled basis for estimating and forecasting the numbers of people speaking English in the world.

Long-term Growth of English

Although languages arise and evolve in fluid ways which prevent any straightforward location on a time-line, English provides an unusually clear starting point of origin in time and space because of a combination of factors: it arose from migration; that migration was to an island territory with well-defined borders; and the pre-existing languages with which the immigrants came into contact (Celtic, Latin) were not close linguistic relatives. Of course, the first boat-loads of immigrants to Britain in the fifth century did not arrive speaking English. They are likely to have spoken various Germanic varieties which may have been mutually intelligible. Here the official histories which tell of three tribes – Angles, Saxons and Jutes – are clearer than the evidence properly allows. But Old English somehow emerged from the mix, at least two or three generations after substantial settlement. This provides a credible starting point of around AD 700, at which time the numbers of speakers must have been in the low thousands. Before the European colonisation of North America in the seventeenth century, the number of first language English speakers could not have exceeded about seven million, almost all in the British Isles. During the nineteenth century, numbers of English speakers in North America overtook those in the British Isles, but numbers of native English speakers worldwide are unlikely to have passed the 100 million mark until the end of the nineteenth century.

Figure 11.2 provides an overview of the long-term growth of English native-speakers. It is fairly easy to see where Candolle, and others with similarly extravagant forecasts about the numbers of native English speakers, went wrong. First, it was assumed that the growth of English speakers could be projected from the population trends in North America

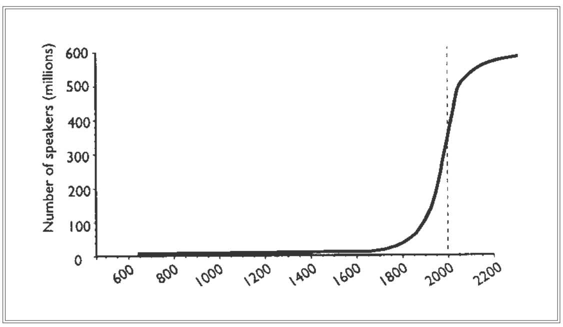

Figure 11.2 Estimated growth of numbers of English native speakers since Anglo-Saxon times

and Britain, although these were at a historic height because of large-scale emigration from Europe to the US and rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of the late nineteenth century. In the event, population growth in the industrialised world has fallen sharply in the twentieth century – in some European countries it has not only stabilised but is actually falling. Second, Candolle's estimates did not allow for the way that English has spread to many more countries – in particular those forming what Kachru (1984) calls the 'outer circle'.

In *The Future of English?*, a research document published by the British Council (Graddol, 1977), I put forward a model for the growth of native speakers of English which provides a basis for projecting future trends. The model relies on two kinds of data: full demographic forecasts for populations of countries in which English is spoken as a first language and estimates of the proportion of those populations for whom English is a mother tongue. In principle, all the major world languages can be modelled in this way, but English is perhaps the most difficult. McArthur (1998: 42) lists 113 territories which 'currently use English on a wide-spread, sustained basis'. The *Ethnologue*[2] database of world languages maintained by the Summer Institute of Linguistics lists 83 countries and territories in which English is spoken. Ideally, any model forecasting numbers of speakers requires data for each of these countries.

Country by country population data is available from the United Nations Population Division. The figures reported in this article draw on the *Sex and Age Quinquennial* dataset for 1950–2050 (1998 revision). This dataset provides detailed population forecasts, including numbers for males and females in each of 21 age-bands, at five-year intervals through to 2050.

Such detailed population forecasts are insufficient on their own. We also need to know the proportion of each country's population who speak English as their mother tongue. This is a surprisingly difficult statistic to obtain. It raises some of the most problematical issues in linguistic surveys, such as 'What counts as a native speaker?' 'How do you collect such information systematically in many countries?' 'How do people interpret questions about language usage?' 'Do people answer such questions honestly?' Even in those countries such as Britain and the US where the linguistic culture is often described as monolingual, it is clear that a significant proportion of the population speak languages other than English as their first language. Furthermore, the assumption of low linguistic diversity in such countries means that language questions are rarely included in national census returns. We are left with an unsatisfactory rag-bag of sources from partial studies in different years, often based on very different criteria.

The problem is demonstrated by the *Ethnologue* itself which estimates the global number of English first-language speakers at 322 million. They cite two sources for this estimate: a 1984 study of the UK, and the *World Almanac*

(1995). The latter provides a half-page table of language statistics below a list of 'pen names of famous writers'. The language data are compiled by a retired professor of psychology with an interest in Esperanto, but there appears to be no published account of how the figures were arrived at.

Despite the problems associated with estimating native speaker numbers, approximate figures for present-day usage can be derived. David Crystal (1997), for example, provides estimates of L1 speakers in 56 countries, arriving at a total of over 337 million speakers worldwide. These figures can provide a starting point for modelling long-term trends. Since the size of population of each country in 1995 is known, we can estimate the proportion of the population who, according to David Crystal's estimates, speak English as their first language. In practice, we can model only 24 of the 56 countries in this way – these are the ones with large enough populations to be included in the UN dataset. The areas excluded from the model are mainly island territories, such as St Kitts and Nevis (with an estimated 39,000 speakers) and Guam (56,000). It is clearly important to include these areas in any comprehensive description of English in the world, but their exclusion from the statistical model makes almost no difference to global estimates.

Figure 11.3 shows the projections provided by the model for native speaker numbers during the century 1950–2050. It shows that the growth of L1 speakers will slow in about 20 years time, leading to a likely total population of around 433 million in 2050.

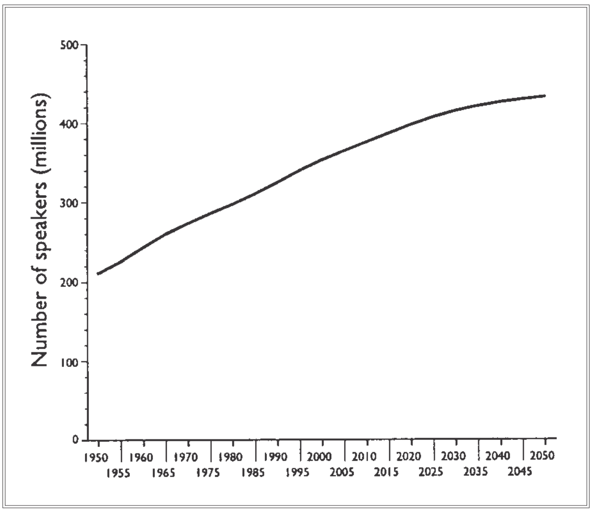

Figure 11.3 Projections for native speaker numbers to 2050, and estimates 1950–1995

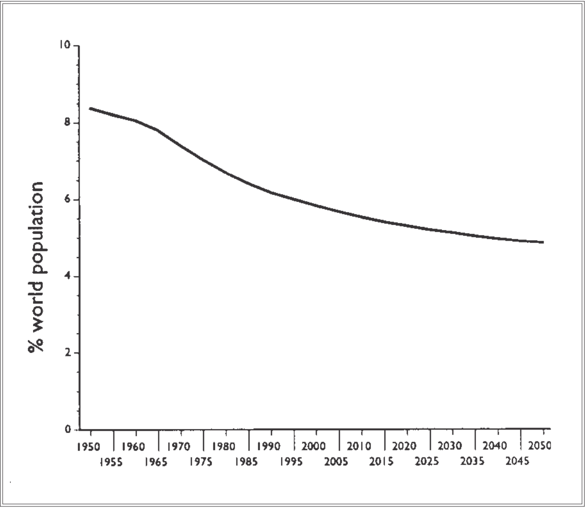

Figure 11.4 Decline of native English speakers as a proportion of the world's population

In 1950, over 8% of the world's population spoke English as their first language; by 2050 it will be less than 5%.

Despite the continued gradual growth in absolute numbers of native speakers, the *proportion* of the world's population who speak English as their first language has, in fact, declined sharply. Figure 11.4 shows the same numbers as Figure 11.3, but expressed as a proportion of the world's population calculated year-on-year. It shows the impact on English of the rapid population increase in parts of the world where English is not spoken as a first language. This represents a significant demographic shift away from English to other, non-European languages.

Second Language Speakers

The apparent decline in the position of English native speakers does not necessarily herald a decline in the importance of the English language. The future status of English will be determined less by the number and economic power of its native speakers than by the trends in the use of English as a second language. During the twentieth century, the number of people using English as a second language has steadily grown. In his *Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Crystal, 1995) David Crystal estimates that only 98 million L2 speakers of English can be identified with confidence, though he suggests that making reasonable assumptions about L2 use in countries where there are also significant proportions of

L1 users could bring this to about 180 million worldwide. This figure is broadly in line with the estimate provided by the World Almanac, which suggests 167 million (WA, 1999). Both these figures, however, suggest that the use of English in the world is much less than is generally assumed.

Crystal (1997) provides a detailed table of estimated L2 usage in 66 countries, giving a grand total of 235 million L2 speakers worldwide. This seems a good starting point for modelling L2 usage over time. Line B on Figure 11.5 shows the projections of L2 numbers over the century 1950–2050, based on the assumption that Crystal's figures provide an accurate snapshop of L2 demography in 1995, and using the proportions of national populations which are implied by these figures. Some 50 countries are included in this model. These projections suggest that, based solely on expected population changes, the number of people using English as their second language will grow from 235 million to around 462 million during the next 50 years. This indicates that the balance between L1 and L2 speakers will critically change, with L2 speakers eventually overtaking L1 speakers.

One problem with these calculations is that 235 million L2 English speakers must also be an underestimate – much lower than the figure of 350–400 million speakers that regularly appears in the literature. Crystal himself draws attention to the gap between his tabulated figures and this consensus total. The problem is not that the number of L2 speakers of

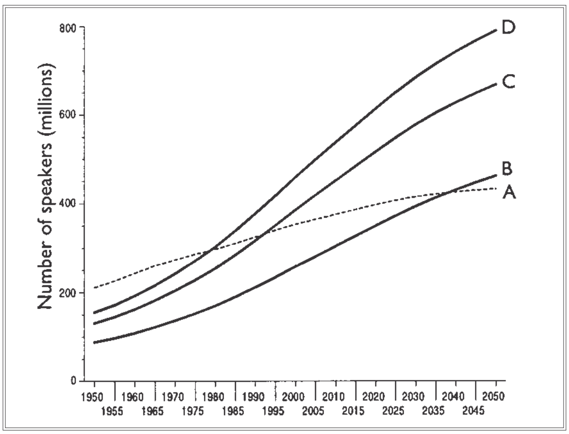

Figure 11.5 Estimates of speakers of English as a second language worldwide

A – L1 speakers (see also Figure 11.3)
B – L2 estimates based on Crystal (1997) figures for 1995
C – Further allowances made for Latin America and Africa
D – Assumptions of higher usage in India, Pakistan (20%) and Bangladesh (10%)

English in the world has been grossly over-stated. Rather, there are many countries in which English is used extensively, but for which there exist no statistics other than those provided by educated guesswork. In several African, Latin American and Asian countries, for example, undocumented numbers of people speak English as a second language.

One way forward, in terms of modelling, is to make a notional allowance of 1% of populations in Sub-Saharan Africa, in the knowledge that this figure may be on the high side for some countries, but an underestimate for others. This brings the total population of second language speakers in 1995 to 278 million. A similar allowance can be made for Latin America, particularly Argentina, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. This addition brings the estimated total of L2 speakers worldwide in 1995 to 351 millions. By 2050 this may have grown to 668 millions (Figure 11.5, Line C).

English Speakers in India

India contains a significant proportion of the world's speakers of English as a second language, but estimating the number of L2 speakers of English there is difficult. Agnihotri and Khanna (1997: 36), in a recent report on English usage in India, tell us:

> The overwhelming importance of English in several important domains of Indian society and the vested interests of the English language industry have understandably produced a considerable amount of confusion in the description and interpretation of data on English bilingualism. How many Indians know English? How many of these know it fluently and use it regularly in their day-do-day affairs? What percentage of Indian bilinguals are English-speaking? We do not have very reliable answers to these questions.

Collecting and publishing such statistics in India is, as in many other countries, politically sensitive. The unreliability of census data is highlighted by the way in which English bilingualism appeared to drop dramatically, according to census data, between 1971 and 1981 – from 25 million to 3 million. This reflected a change in the census questions on language rather than actual patterns of English usage.

Mahapatra (1990: 9) suggests that there has been a 'deliberate suppression of linguistic data on the extent of Indian multilingualism'. Certainly, there seems to be a tradition of 'talking down' the extent of Indian English usage. Traditionally, almost no Indians are regarded as using English as their first language (a notion which will undoubtedly come under further scrutiny in the future). Crystal (1997) suggests a figure of around 0.03% of the population. Srivastava (1990: 50) claims 'English is spoken and understood by only 2% of the population'. Most linguists, however, seem to agree that around 4% of the Indian population speaks English as a second language. Kachru (1984), for example, suggests 4% as a conservative estimate; Crystal (1997) presents a similar figure. This suggests there were a little more than 37 million L2 users in 1995. This figure is represented in Line B of Figure 11.5.

There is evidence, however, that the number of English speakers in India is higher than this. The magazine *India Today*, commissioned a survey in mid 1997 which claimed: 'contrary to the census myth that English is the language of a microscopic minority, the poll indicates that almost one in three Indians claims to understand English, although less than 20 per cent are confident of speaking it.' (*India Today*, August 18, 1997).

If the figure of 20% is accurate then there must be around 186 million English speakers in India. Of course, it is unlikely that India is the only country in which data is inaccurate. The global number of L2 speakers of English would be significantly affected if similar revisions were made to estimates in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Line D on Figure 11.5 shows the effect of upgrading the numbers for India and Pakistan to 20%, and Bangladesh to 10%. This trajectory assumes there were around 418 million L2 speakers worldwide in 1995 and indicates that by 2050 there may be 790 million L2 speakers. Although this projection is higher than Line B, the starting point (of 418 million speakers in 1995) is not much higher than the consensus figures. The model allows us to understand better the different projections which result from taking the lower or higher estimates.

The Place of English in Europe

Outside of the UK and the Irish Republic, English is traditionally regarded as a foreign, rather than second, language in Europe. This view may be out of date. Europe is rapidly integrating and reinventing itself as a multilingual area in which English plays an increasingly important role as a second language. In effect, it is becoming more like India as a geolinguistic space. Eurobarometer surveys of the populations of European Union (EU) countries have collected data about language usage for some years, and it is clear that in some countries English is now widely spoken: 77% of Danish adults and 75% of Swedish adults for example, say they can take part in a conversation in English. Eurobarometer 50, based on a survey made in late 1998, concludes that nearly one third of the citizens of the 13 'non English-speaking' countries in the EU 'can speak English well enough to take part in a conversation'. Furthermore, it seems that the function of English is changing: European citizens learn and use English in order to communicate with European nationals from all countries and not just with native speakers. English, in other words, is fast becoming a second language in Europe.

Eurobarometer 41, based on data collected at the end of 1994 and analysed by Labrie and Quell (1997), found large country variations in English usage, ranging from Spain (with 13% of adults able to hold a conversation in English) to the northern European countries such as Sweden (75%) and The Netherlands (71%). Figure 11.6, Line E shows the projections for European L2 use, based on the 13 relevant member countries, together with estimates for Norway and Switzerland. These suggest that in 1995 there were around 95 million English speakers in these 15 countries. The relatively static population figures for Europe mean that this number will soon peak, and then gradually reduce during the next 50 years.

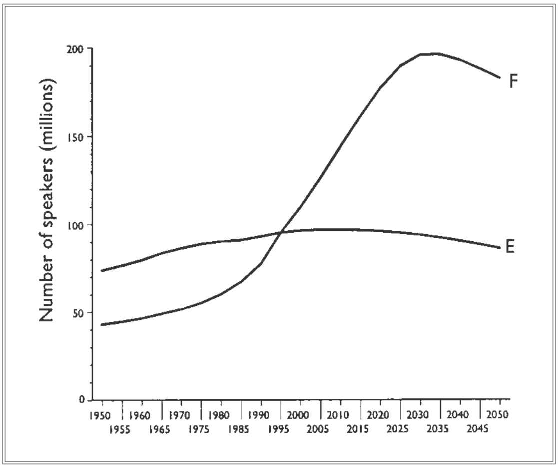

Figure 11.6 Estimates of L2 English speakers in Europe

Line E shows projections based on Eurobarometer survey made at the end of 1994. Line F takes into account potential language shift, based on comparisons of Eurobarometer data from 1990, 1994, 1995 and 1998.

Modelling Language Shift

The European case-study draws attention to another weakness of forecasts of language usage based on population figures alone. It is clear that the use of English in Europe has grown faster than can be accounted for by population growth. There has been a language shift towards English: a higher proportion of the populations of European countries now speak English than was true in previous generations.

In modelling projections of second language use of English, we need to take into account such patterns of language shift. The Eurobarometer surveys provide some evidence of trends in Europe. For example, in 1990, 26% of the French population claimed they could easily engage in a conversation in English. By 1998 that figure had increased to 32%.

An analysis of the survey data from 1994, the mid-point of this period, also showed a significant difference between the language proficiency of older and younger people (Labrie and Quell, 1997). There is evidence of language shift, therefore, both from trend data arising from surveys made at different points in time and from intergenerational data (Figure 11.7).

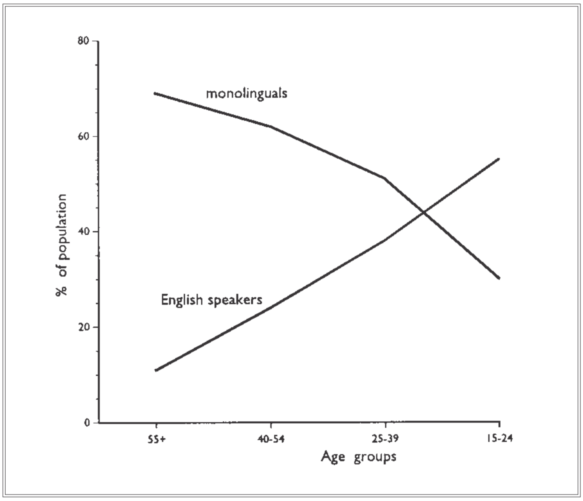

Figure 11.7 Shift towards English in Europe

Eurobarometer survey data from 1994 showed a significant intergenerational shift in language use in European countries. Here is shown data from France, as presented by Labrie and Quell (1997).

The shift in Europe towards English – which reflects increased bi- and multilingualism rather than abandonment of other languages – undoubtedly has several causes, including significant changes to language curriculums in school; exchange programmes encouraging young people to move between EU member countries; the growing importance and utility of English as a second language in Europe; and greater exposure to English cultural products. The problem in modelling such shifts is that the rate of shift itself changes (Figure 11.8). Line F of Figure 11.6 shows the consequences of making conservative assumptions about the rate of shift in Europe. It assumes that ongoing shifts, as estimated from successive Eurobarometer surveys, are now at their most rapid point of development, and that in the future the rate of change will decline according to the curve shown in Figure 11.8. Line F should therefore safely underestimate the future trend towards L2 English usage in Europe. Throughout the EU as a whole, the increase in the number of people speaking English seems now to be in the region of just over 3% per year.

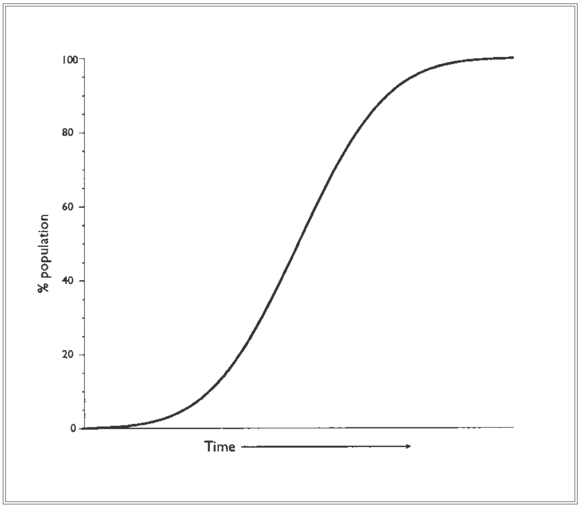

Figure 11.8 The trajectory of social changes

Most social changes do not occur at a linear rate over time. Their progress usually takes the form of 'S' curve: a change may develop relatively slowly, gather speed, and then slow up again.

(So, if 31% of the EU population spoke English as a second language in 1998, we would expect that to increase to 31.9% in 1999 and 32.9% in the year 2000.) It is clear, however, that the trend towards English is occurring more rapidly in some countries than others. Eurobarometer surveys suggest that of all EU countries, shift is slowest in Portugal and fastest in Spain. The projections in Line F suggest that the present one third of the EU population who speak English will grow to roughly two thirds by 2050. But the EU is likely to acquire new members during this time, such as Hungary and Poland. This will alter the relative positions of major European languages within the EU in less predictable ways.

A similar modelling of language shift can be applied to all countries in the world where English is spoken as an L2. Figure 11.9, Line G shows the effect of adding the European numbers of L2 speakers to the global figure (i.e. Lines D and E added together). This provides a grand total of 518 million L2 speakers in 1995, rising to 880 million by 2050. Line H includes conservative estimates of language shift in all countries with significant numbers of L2 speakers. This starts from the same point of 518 million speakers in 1995, but projects 1.2 billion speakers by 2050. Figure 11.10 compares the lowest estimates in this paper (Line B) and the highest (Line H). The future is likely to lie somewhere between these two extremes.

The lowest variant (B) suggests that L2 speakers will not outnumber native speakers until the 2030s. The highest variant (H) suggests that native speakers lost their majority in the 1970s.

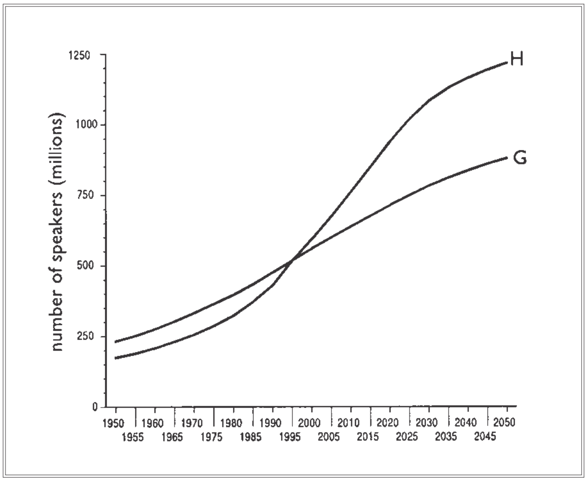

Figure 11.9 Global estimates of L2 usage, including Europe

Line G shows projections based on 1995 estimates of L2 usage. Line H includes estimates of language shift.

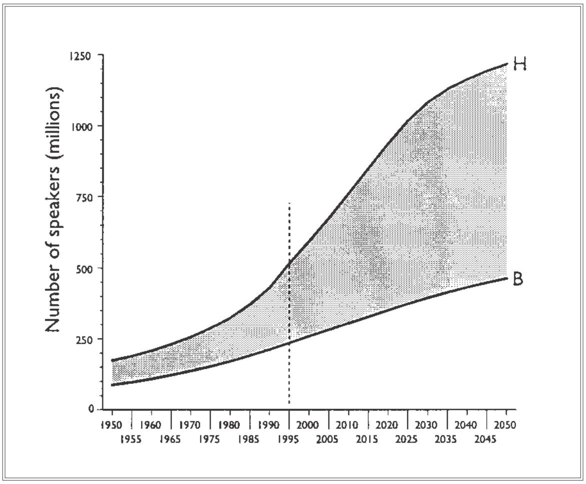

Figure 11.10 High and low estimates for global use of English as a second language

Changing Discourses of English

Problems of definition

There are two approaches to defining a second language user, both of which focus on the status of English in the speaker's speech community. The first identifies 'L2 countries': countries where English serves a role in intranational communication – the language may be officially recognised for such purposes although only a minority of the population actually understand and use English. The second approach defines an L2 speech community as one which is 'norm creating' – that is, developing its own institutionalised variety of English. These are the so-called 'New Englishes': mainly in former British colonial territories.

Problems of definition are becoming acute, as English takes on a role as a global lingua franca, and as 'speech communities' redefine themselves as cross-border affiliation groups rather than as geographic groups in national boundaries. Europe is a case in point, containing an increasing number of fluent speakers of English who do not conform to the traditional definition of L2 speaker and who are excluded from most estimates of L2 usage.

The status of the native speaker

The decline of the native speaker in numerical terms is likely to be associated with changing ideas about the centrality of the native speaker to norms of usage. There has been a lively debate about the 'cult' of the native speaker: do native speakers have privileged access to an understanding of the language, and are they therefore more reliable informants and teachers? The special status accorded to native speakers is long standing. In theoretical linguistics, it is associated with the rise of Chomskyan linguistics and the special role assigned to introspection and intuition in theory-building. The native speaker is claimed to have access to a much richer source of data (in judgements of grammaticality, for example) than a researcher could discover by studying a speaker's actual utterances. This theoretical turn has had political repercussions. As the US was the centre of research and publishing in the new paradigm, English became a privileged object of study. Theoretical linguistic studies of other languages lagged behind those of English. Although it was maintained that the project with Transformational Generative Grammar was a universalist one (more interested in universal properties of the human mind than the characteristics of particular languages), English remained the centre of attention.

It would be wrong, however, to think that the importance of native speakers began with Chomsky. Traditional dialectologists, as well as anthropologists, drew on similar ideas of 'good speakers' (often old, male, non-mobile). But the discourse of the native speaker is even older – it is a product of modernity. Since the European Renaissance, identities have been constructed according to a particular model of perfection: unified, singular, well-ordered. Language has played a major role in the construction of modern European identities – from the level of nation states and standard languages, to the subjectivities of individual speakers. Multilingualism, both in individual and social terms, does not fit well with concepts of modernity: multilingual speakers and societies have long been regarded with suspicion, and have caused problems for public policy.

During the late twentieth century, much of the modernity project has unravelled. The construction of a new Europe has resulted in new formations of identity; greater mobility; and a new hierarchy of languages which places most European citizens in a plurilingual context. In many countries in which English is learned and spoken as a second or foreign language, the centrality of the native speaker is being challenged. At one time, the most important question regarding global English seemed to be 'will US English or British English provide the world model?' Already that question is looking dated, with the emergence of 'New Englishes', and dictionaries and grammars that codify new norms. But the tantalising question still remains. Large numbers of people will learn English as a foreign language in the twenty-first century and they will need teachers, dictionaries and grammar books. But will they continue to look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage?

Notes

1. http://www.britishcouncil.org/english/engfaqs.htm
2. http://www.sil.org/Ethnologue/

References

Agnihotri, R.K. and Khanna, A.L. (1977) *Problematizing English in India.* New Delhi: Sage.

Bailey, R.W. (1992) *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1995) *Encyclopedia of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1997) *English as a Global Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graddol, D. (1997) *The Future of English?* London: The British Council.

Kachru, B.B. (1984) Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk and H.G. Widdowson (eds) *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for The British Council.

Labrie, N. and Quell, C. (1997) Your language, my language or English? The potential language choice in communication among nationals of the European Union. *World Englishes* 16: 3–26.
McArthur, T. (1998) *The English Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mahapatra, B.P. (1990) Multilingualism in India: A demographic appraisal. In D.P. Pattanayak (ed.) *Multilingualism in India.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Srivastava, A.K. (1990) Multilingualism and school education in India: Special features, problems and prospects. In D.P. Pattanayak (ed.) *Multilingualism in India.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Chapter 12

English as Lingua Franca and its Influence on Discourse Norms in Other Languages[1]

JULIANE HOUSE

> … in fact a translation can be an independent, autonomous text and still contain inroads of interference. Historically countries have benefited from interference in translation as from other effects of language contact, though they have also suffered appreciably from translationese. One has to balance one argument against another.
>
> (Newmark, 1991: 86)

Overview of the Project 'Verdecktes Übersetzen – Covert Translation'

The project *Verdecktes Übersetzen – Covert Translation*, which is financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as part of its Sonderforschungsbereich Mehrsprachigkeit, investigates how English as a global lingua franca influences German (later also French and Spanish) texts via processes of translation and multilingual text production. Our work is based on systemic–functional theory; it involves reconstructing the cognitive processes involved in producing translations and parallel texts and describing the embeddedness of these texts in their sociocultural contexts.

One of the consequences of today's revolutionary advances in information technology and the ensuing globalisation of communication processes is a steady increase in the demand for texts which simultaneously address members of different linguistic and cultural communities. Such texts are either 'parallel texts' produced independently in several languages, or texts first presented in one language – most frequently English – and later translated 'covertly' into other languages, i.e. in such a way as to maintain in the translated text the original text's function via the application of a 'cultural filter'. This filter is a construct with which those changes in textual norms, which become necessary in covert translation as the textual material travels through time and space, can be conceptualised, described, and explained. For the language pair English–German, with which the project is initially concerned, this filter has been given substance through the results of a number of German–English contrastive pragmatic analyses (for a summary, cf. House, 1996; 2000), which can be displayed as a set of dimensions along which speakers of the two languages differ in terms of their habituated communicative choices.

Given the dominance of the English language in many domains of contemporary life, it is plausible to hypothesise, as we do in this project, that translations from English into German (French, Spanish) no longer employ a cultural filter to account for local communicative conventions. Rather, translations from English will reflect anglophone norms. The result of this non-filtering is then a shift from cross-cultural difference to similarity in textual norms and text construction, which may eventually result in similar processes of 'thinking for writing' (Slobin, 1996).

Over and above the well-documented, massive influx of English lexical items and routines into German (French and Spanish), and the influence of their 'shadow meanings' (Chafe, 2000) on non-English speakers, we thus assume in this project that there is an increasing influence of the English language on the less obvious 'deeper' levels of text construction. In particular, we have set up the following major working hypotheses (formulated on the basis of German–English contrastive work by Fabricius-Hansen, 1996; House, 1996; Clyne, 1987; von Stutterheim, 1997; Doherty, 1999; and others):

(1) a shift from a conventionally strong emphasis in German texts on the ideational function of language to an anglophone interpersonal orientation focusing on addressee involvement;
(2) a shift from a conventionally strong emphasis on informational explicitness in German texts to anglophone inference-inducing implicitness and propositional opaqueness;
(3) a shift in information structure from packing lexical information integratively, densely, and hierarchically in German texts to presenting information in a more loosely linearised, 'sentential' way;
(4) a shift in word order such that the German *Satzklammer* with its two discontinuous left and right parts gives way to more continuous, juxtaposed positions of the two parts.

These hypotheses are tested using a corpus of English texts and their German (French, Spanish) translations from three different genres: popular science texts, economic texts from globalised firms, and software manuals. The texts in these genres (initially ten textual pairs per genre) are analysed and compared using a systemic–functional model which links original texts and their translations to their socio-cognitive contexts of production and reception (House, 1977; 1997). This primary corpus is supplemented by two additional corpora: a corpus of parallel English and German (French, Spanish) texts from the same three genres, and a validation corpus comprising translations from the three genres in the 'opposite direction', i.e. from German (French, Spanish) to English, as well as various background documents and interviews with translators and editors and other persons connected with text production and reception. To further enrich our analyses, we have collected German and English texts appearing in (newly established) parallel editions of newspapers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *International Herald Tribune*, or the *Financial Times* and *Financial Times Deutschland* (for a detailed description of our corpus, cf. Baumgarten *et al.*, 2001). The corpus can be represented graphically as in Figure 12.1.

Before describing some of the first tentative results of this project, it is necessary to expatiate on the method of analysis used, and to reflect on the legitimacy and usefulness of this method.

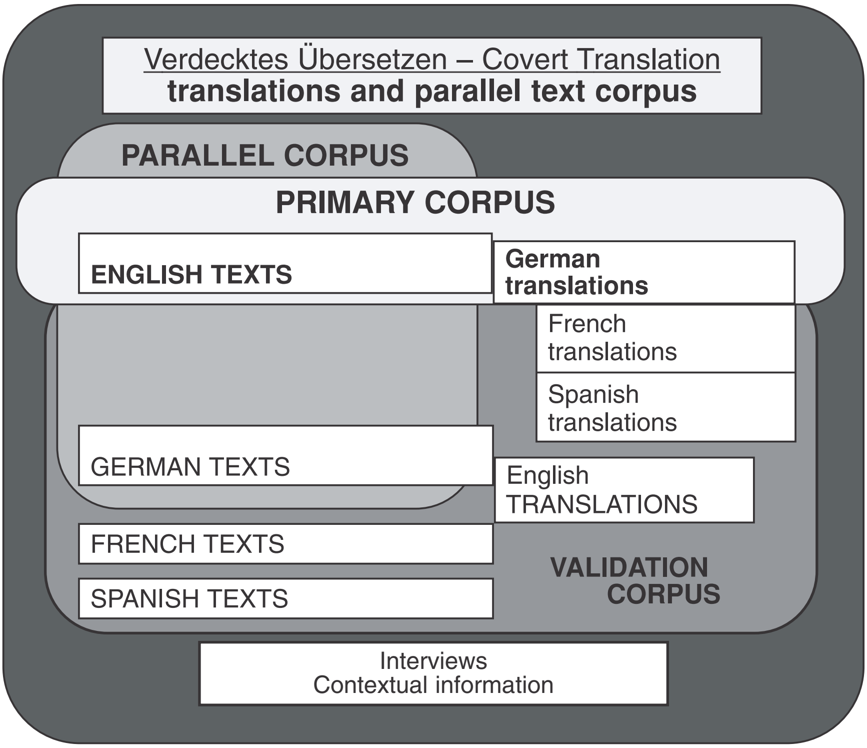

Figure 12.1

Analytic Procedure

The method of analysis is a case study approach in which an in-depth investigation of a text from both a macro- and a micro perspective is carried out, i.e. in the analysis one constantly moves back and forth between word, phrase and clause levels and on to larger linguistic units, such as paragraphs and the entire text (for a detailed description of the analytic procedure, cf. House, 1977; and particularly 1997). Initially, the English original text is analysed in detail using (a somewhat simplified) Hallidayan analytic methodology for describing the function of lexico-grammatical patterns. The ultimate goal of the analysis is to reconstruct the types of motivated choices a text producer has made in order to create this particular text for a particular effect in the context of the situation enveloping a text.

Halliday (1994) posits three parameters of the 'context of situation' which have linguistic consequences: *Field, Tenor* and *Mode*, and he assumes that these three parameters reflect the three kinds of meaning language is structured to make. The aim of systemic–functional analysis is then to show how these contextual parameters affect language use, and to identify parts of the language system that realise each type of the contextual information. The underlying claim is that the very structure of language is functionally motivated, and that language is organised so as to make meanings about *Field, Tenor* and *Mode*, because these are the meanings humans need to make in interactions with the world and with each other. *Field* is realised through a particular part of the lexico-grammar, namely processes (verbs), participants (nouns) and circumstances (prepositional phrases of time, place, manner, etc.). They express 'who is doing what to whom when where why and how', and they can be collectively expressed as the 'Transitivity Patterns' realising experiential meaning. *Tenor* realises interpersonal meaning of particular stances and roles reflected in patterns of Mood (types and varieties of clauses) and Modality (degrees of certainty or obligation, etc. expressed) as well as gambits, upgraders and downgraders, politeness markers, and the system of personal pronouns as indicators of the division between actants' roles as participants or non-participants in the enveloping communicative situation. *Mode* is realised through textual patterns that organise information inside the clause for spoken and written mediums. Relevant continua for assessing degrees of oral- and writtenness include involved versus informative text production, explicit versus situation-dependent reference, abstract versus non-abstract presentation of information (Biber, 1988; Biber & Finegan, 1994). Other textual phenomena captured under *Mode* include various devices for creating cohesion and coherence such as parallel and sequential theme–rheme progression, iconic linkage, lexical repetition, use of (near)synonyms, conjunctions, substitution, as well as various phoric and deictic procedures.

Apart from correlating the three context parameters *Field, Tenor* and *Mode* with lexico-grammatical patterns, the analysis also links text and context on the discourse–semantic level, the claim being that language is designed to fulfil three particular metafunctions: the *ideational* (for relating experience), the *interpersonal* (for creating interpersonal relations), and the *textual* metafunction (for organising information), and each of these metafunctions can be associated with one of the context parameters, thus *Field* is expressed through patterns of ideational meaning, *Tenor* through interpersonal meaning, *Mode* through textual meanings. In systemic–functional theory, then, a text is always seen as expressing simultaneously these three meaning types.

Since the analysis of a text using these variables links the text primarily with its situational micro-context, another concept for linking it with other texts and with the larger macro-context of culture and society is needed. This is *Genre*, a concept used to capture the impact of the cultural macro-context on language by exploring the staged structures which cultures institutionalise as ways of achieving goals. Genre reflects language users' shared knowledge about the nature of texts of the 'same kind'. Knowledge of genres enables speakers to refer any single textual exemplar to the class of texts with which that exemplar shares a communicative purpose.

The operation of the model and the analytic procedure can be represented graphically as in Figure 12.2.

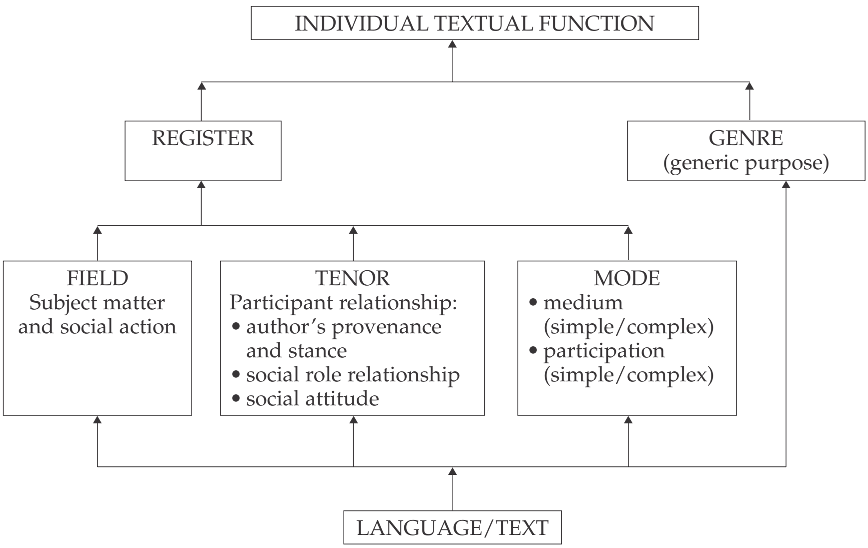

Figure 12.2 A scheme for analysing and comparing original and translation texts

Following the analysis of the English original text according to this scheme, an analysis of the German translation is undertaken using the same scheme, and a comparison is made (triangulated by interviews and background documents) in order to find out whether the working hypotheses can be confirmed or disconfirmed (for details of the analyses, cf. Baumgarten *et al.*, 2001; Boettger, 2000; Boettger & Buehrig, 2000; Boettger & Probst, 2000; 2001; Probst, 2000a,b).

While a categorial scheme such as the one outlined above is clearly beneficial for conducting textual comparisons, we have in the course of our project work also become aware of its dangers: a categorial scheme can easily deteriorate into a sort of straitjacket prefiguring results and tempting analysts to seek confirmation of the theory behind it. Fruitful methodological discussions inside the research centre on multilingualism, as well as cumulative experience in the course of our analytic work, have convinced us of the importance of remaining flexible in our textual analysis allowing further understanding to arise from the textual material itself. In other words, while still using the Hallidayan scheme as an overarching 'Ordnungsschema', we are trying at the same time to look beyond it, integrating insights and descriptive tools from other sources.

Selected Results and Discussion

Tentative results of the analyses of some 20 English and German textual pairs and a few authentic, 'monolingual' German texts from the same genres suggest that cultural filtering is still prevalent in covert translation from English to German in the selected genres, and that the widespread borrowing of English lexical items and routines has not (yet) been accompanied by changes in the make-up of German texts. In other words, our hypotheses have not been confirmed: cross-cultural difference still prevails over similarity in textual norms. However, with respect to concepts such as 'interpersonal orientation', 'reader involvement', 'ideational or content orientation' and 'informational explicitness', which underly our work, several not uninteresting insights have emerged.

There seem to be systematic differences in the way 'involvement' or 'interpersonal orientation' is achieved in the English and German texts studied. Our analyses have revealed that the German texts, while clearly not showing imported anglophone reader involvement strategies, also can not be categorised easily as starkly 'content-oriented'. Rather, German texts display their very own, i.e. not immediately 'comparable', often more subtle means of realising the interpersonal metafunction. Further, not only is an interpersonal focus achieved through different linguistic mechanisms, it also seems to be the case that the very concepts 'interpersonal orientation' and 'reader involvement' mean something different, or are interpreted differently, in the tradition of the three German genres we have examined. This observation can be substantiated by the following five points outlining the nature of addressee involvement in German and English texts.

Didactic presentation of information in German texts

One of the means with which an 'interpersonal orientation' is achieved in the German texts is what I would want to call a 'didactic way of information presentation' – reflected most prominently in explanatory, inference pre-empting interpretations of information undertaken for the benefit of the addressee. Such a didactic exegesis, which is especially marked in the German popular science texts, can be interpreted, I would suggest, as having an interpersonal function, and it can be related to the ubiquitous explication and expansion of information found in many of the popular science texts. So what was originally interpreted, for example by Clyne or House, as 'content-orientedness' of German texts may need to be reinterpreted, in the sense that the 'content-focus' can be interpreted as serving 'ulterior purposes', i.e. interpersonal ones of addressee involvement. Consider, for example, the following English–German excerpts taken from the sub-lines of popular science texts in *Scientific American* and *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* respectively:

(1) Buchbinder, S., Avoiding Infection after HIV-Exposure (July 1998) – Prävention nach HIV-Kontakt (Oktober 1998)

Treatment may reduce the chance of contracting HIV infection after a risky encounter.

Eine sofortige Behandlung nach Kontakt mit einer Ansteckungsquelle verringert unter Umständen die Gefahr, dass sich das Human-Immunschwäche-Virus im Körper festsetzt. Gewähr gibt es keine, zudem erwachsen eigene Risiken.

(2) Gazzaniga, M., The Split Brain Revisited (July 1998) – Rechtes und linkes Gehirn: Split-Brain und Bewußtsein (Dezember 1998)

Groundbreaking work that began more than a quarter of a century ago has led to ongoing insights about brain organisation and consciousness.

Jahrzehntelange Studien an Patienten mit chirurgisch getrennten Großhirnhälften haben das Verständnis für den funktionellen Aufbau des Gehirns und das Wesen des Bewußtseins vertieft.

Comparing the English and German excerpts in (1) and (2), we can see how, in both cases, the German text producer elaborates the information given in the English text answering imaginary reader questions about specific circumstantial elements of extent, location in time and place, manner, cause, conditions, consequences, etc. (treatment when?, can the treatment guarantee success? studies involving whom? and so on). In so doing, the text producer attempts to ensure understanding by anticipating comprehension problems and removing potential points of ambiguity and vagueness in advance. In other words, there is a subtle interpersonal focus in the textual planning which the writer had undertaken on the basis of a kind of mental interaction with his imaginary readers.

Cohesive measures in German texts

Addressee involvement is further achieved by means of specific German deictic and phoric procedures (for example, *daran, davon, darauf, hierbei, hierdurch,* etc.) liberally employed in most of our texts as complex 'signposts' directing readers backwards and forwards in the text and skilfully refocusing readers' textual knowledge and/or summarising propositional content for them (cf. Rehbein, 1995). The employment of these procedures, with which writers manage to firmly direct addressees' attention and ensure acquisition and maintenance of relevant cumulative textual knowledge, results in strong local and global cohesion (phrase- and clause-internally as well as across clauses and paragraphs). One of the reasons for the frequent use of these cohesive devices is that they become necessary when paragraph-long English clauses are split up in the German translation, as is the case in the following example (taken from a global player's self-presentation). In the excerpts in (3) we can also see how the two 'Verweiswörter' *darauf* and *hierbei* in the two German clauses function either to direct readers' attention to ensuing new input or to compress previous input for them as a stepping stone for further information.

(3) **Multisyn's Corporate Purpose**

Our Purpose in Multisyn is to meet the everyday needs of the people everywhere – to anticipate the aspirations of our consumers and customers and to respond creatively and competitively with branded products and services which raise the quality of life.

Multisyn's Unternehmensphilosophie

Wir als Multisyn konzentrieren unsere Anstrengungen weltweit darauf, den täglichen Bedarf der Menschen zu befriedigen. Hierbei ist es wichtig, die künftigen Wünsche unserer Verbraucher und Kunden zu erkennen, um kreativ mit wettbewerbsfähigen Marken- und Servicekonzepten ihre Lebensqualität zu verbessern.

Achieving cohesion in English texts

The English texts we examined achieve cohesion-related addressee involvement through different textual means: first, through what one might call 'aesthetic appeal' via the use of such rhetorical devices as figurative language, routines, alliteration, hyperbole and emotive and intensified lexical items, and, secondly, through the strategic employment of lexical repetition and grammatical parallelism both micro- and macro-structurally (cf. for example, excerpt (3) above for the use of some of these devices).

Genre mixing in English texts

There is a tendency in the English texts towards 'genre mixing'. In the popular science texts, we find mechanisms that readers know from journalism (newspapers, magazines) and advertising, and the economic texts show traces of religious sermons, advertising, and other persuasively-oriented genres. The effect of this hybridisation can be seen in the presence of overt 'addressee involvement' and 'human interest' achieved most prominently by offering readers possibilities of identification, for example by drawing them into the institutional context in which the writer-researcher operates. In the popular science texts, this is routinely achieved by using mental process imperatives in the initial paragraph of a text , which function as a frame for the entire text. Witness the following first lines of the text described in example (1) above:

> *Suppose you are a doctor in an emergency room and a patient tells you she was raped two hours earlier …*
>
> *In der Notfallaufnahme eines Krankenhauses berichtet eine Patientin …*

This type of English reader involvement is not copied.

In the English popular science texts we also find that hearer and speaker deixis as well as alternations of declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses are purposefully used in order to simulate a dialogue between reader and writer. Other 'oralising' means of faking co-presence of writer and reader and their interaction include contact parentheses and gambits of various kinds. It is only after the 'attention getting' first paragraphs that the English popular science texts move on to a more sober exposition of scientific findings. Such a structure – anecdotal, 'human interest' lead-in followed by information transmission – is, of course, a device commonly used in advertising and journalism – both in Anglo-Saxon and German contexts. German popular science texts, however, do not (yet?) show such genre mixing, they are still conventionally less 'popularised'. Similarly, German economic texts (globalised firms' self-presentations and letters to the shareholders) conspicuously lack the English originals' 'missionising', religious undertone, our hypothesis being that for historical reasons such genre mixing is taboo in a German context.

Addressee involvement in German and English texts: Differing perspectives

In the English popular science texts, the tendency towards 'humanising' textual material increases the emotional impact the text has on its readers. In the German texts, a more rational appeal seems to prevail. This may be due to differences in cultural traditions generating different types of genres and, with these, different types of genre knowledge and expectation norms (Graefen, 1997). And in German popular science texts it is often not the individual researcher in her impressive singularity, but rather her role as disseminator of knowledge which is considered important. Focusing on the writer either as an individual human being or as knowledge transmitter must, however, not be confused with a global difference between 'interpersonal' focus and 'content focus' in English and German texts respectively.

Conclusion

These tentative results, leading perhaps to a more differentiated view of the global dimensions interpersonal versus content orientation and explicit versus implicit presentation of information, must not only be tested with a larger corpus both of translation texts and authentic 'monolingual' German texts, it is also necessary to look at a wider range of language-specific phenomena and their divergent functions in the texts to be analysed.

Note

1. This chapter is for my dear friend Peter, in memory of the Exeter Conference on Translation 25 years ago, when we discovered that we had very similar ideas. I think we still share many thoughts about translation.

References

Baumgarten, N. *et al.* (2001) Untersuchungen zum Einfluß des Englischen in verdeckter Übersetzung: Theoretischer Hintergrund, Weiterentwicklung des Analyseverfahrens und erste Ergebnisse. In *Arbeiten zur Mehrspachigkeit* No. 20. Hamburg: SFB Mehrsprachigkeit.

Biber, D. (1988) *Variations Across Speech and Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, D. and Finegan, E. (eds) (1994) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boettger, C. (2000) Verdecktes Übersetzen und hybride Texte in der Wirtschaftskommunikation. Paper given at the Internationaler Germanistenkongress, Wien, September 2000.To appear in the proceedings.

Boettger, C. and Bührig, K. (2000) Grenzziehungen und Grenzüberschreitungen. Zum Einfluß des Englischen als *lingua franca* auf deutschsprachige Texte. Paper given at the Jahrestagung der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Germanistik, Ljubljana, June 2000. To appear in the proceedings.

Boettger, C. and Probst, J. (2000) Zur Kulturspezifik in der Übersetzung medizinischer Texte. In K. Buehrig *et al.* (eds) Dolmetschen und Übersetzen in medizinischern Institutionen. In *Arbeiten zur Mehrsprachigkeit*, SFB 538.

Boettger, C. and Probst, J. (2001) Adressatenhorientierung in englischen und deutschen Texten. In *Arbeiten zur Mehrsprachigkeit* 23. Hamburg: SFB Mehrsprachigkeit.

Chafe, W. (2000) Loci of diversity and convergence in thought and language In M. Puetz and M. Verspoor (eds) *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity* (pp. 101–24). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Clyne, M. (1987) Cultural differences in the organisation of academic texts: English and German. *Journal of Pragmatics* 11, 211–47.

Doherty, M. (1999) Position and explicitness – language specific conditions for the use of adverbial clauses in translations between German and English. In M. Doherty (ed.) *Sprachspezifische Aspekte der Informationsverteilung* (pp. 112–48). Berlin: Akademieverlag.

Fabricius-Hansen, C. (1996) Informational density: A problem for translation and translation theory. *Linguistics* 34:3, 521–66.

Graefen, G. (1997) *Der wissenschaftliche Artikel – Textart und Textorganisation.* Frankfurt: Lang.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edn). London: Arnold.

House, J. (1977) (2nd edn 1981) *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment.* Tübingen: Narr.

House, J. (1996) Contrastive discourse analysis and misunderstanding. In M. Hellinger and U. Ammon (eds) *Contrastive Sociolinguistics* (pp. 345–62). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

House, J. (1997) *Translation Quality Assessment. A Model Revisited.* Tübingen: Narr.

House, J. (1998) Politeness and translation. In L. Hickey (ed.) *The Pragmatics of Translation* (pp. 54–71). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

House, J. (2000a) Linguistic relativity and translation. In M. Pütz and M. Verspoor (eds) *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity* (pp. 69–89). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

House, J. (2000b) Concepts and methods of translation criticism: A linguistic perspective. In *Arbeiten zur Mehrsprachigkeit* 10. (Also in *Übersetzung–Translation–Traduction Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft.* Berlin: de Gruyter, in press.)

House, J. (2001a) How do we know when a translation is good? In E. Steiner and C. Yallop (eds) *Beyond Content: Exploring Translation and Multilingual Text Production* (pp. 127–60). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

House, J. (2001b) Translation quality assessment: Linguistic description versus social evaluation. *META* 46, 243–58.

Newmark, P.P. (1991) The virtues of interference and the vices of translationese. *About Translation* (pp. 78–86). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Probst, J. (2000a) Zum Einfluß des Englischen auf deutsche Übersetzungen von Computer- und Softwaremanuals. Paper given at the Euroconference on Translation Quality Assessment, Saarbrücken, March 2000. To appear in the Proceedings.

Probst, J. (2000b) Kulturelle Filterung in Wirtschaftstexten aus multinationalen Unternehmen: Englisch–Deutsch–Französisch. Paper given at the VALS-ASLA Symposium: Kommunikation in einer mehrsprachigen Arbeitswelt, Lugano, September 2000.

Rehbein, J. (1995) Über zusammengesetzte Verweiswörter und ihre Rolle in argumentierender Rede. In H. Wohlrapp (ed) *Wege der Argumentationsforschung* (pp. 166–98). Stuttgart: Frommannholzboog.

Slobin, D. (1996) From 'thought and language' to 'thinking for speaking'. In J. Gumperz and S. Levinson (eds) *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (pp. 70–96). Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Von Stutterheim, C. (1997) Zum Ausdruck von Zeit- und Raumkonzepten in deutschen und englischen Texten. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 25, 147–66.

Chapter 13

Interpreting and Translation in the UK Public Services: The Pursuit of Excellence versus, and via, Expediency

ANN CORSELLIS, OBE

Introduction

Peter Newmark is one of those rare people who can perceive the larger picture, without losing attention to detail. The relationship of languages to social change is of central interest to him. He was one of the first experienced linguists to take seriously the need for reliable interpreting and translation in the public services. Through the last 20 years of development in this field, he has been an ever present support.

There is an increasing movement of people between countries. As an example, 30% of London schoolchildren speak at home one of 300 European, Asian, and African languages. There are similar language profiles in other major cities in the UK and in Europe. Those who can neither communicate with the public services, nor understand their systems, can find themselves deprived of access to what is essential to quality of life: health care, legal process and personal social services.

The development of solutions to meet the situation has lagged behind the need. The results have been costly, in both human and financial terms, for both the speakers of other languages and the public services. In Britain there are reports of increased infant mortality rates among other-language speaking groups, of miscarriages of justice, of Asian women selling their little remaining jewellery to obtain the services of an independent interpreter for hearings about the custody of their children. In South Africa, it is estimated that there is a 64% non-compliance rate with medication, thought to be language related, in the middle of an AIDS epidemic.

Much of the damage, however, is being done by not having the facilities necessary to deal with the ordinary events, such as visits to housing departments and school parents' evenings. Those working in the public services are also at risk. In the UK they are required, by law and by their own standards of good practice, to provide their services equally, irrespective of race, gender and language. They are being obliged to make decisions, for which they are professionally responsible, upon information which may be unreliable where they do not share fully a common language with their interlocutors.

A simple story illustrates the point. A policeman attended a road traffic accident involving a mother, father, and two small children on a visit to the UK. The father, who was the only member of the family who spoke English, was injured and taken to hospital. The policeman was left to comfort as best he could the distraught mother and children, with whom he could not communicate because they only spoke German. The event does not seem important, except to those involved, but it was potentially dangerous and the distress caused to all of them was unnecessary. If the father had been accused of a motoring offence, it would have been necessary to observe both Article 6 of the European Convention of Human Rights and, in domestic law, the case of *R. v. Iqbal Begum* (1991) 93 Criminal Appeal Reports 96.

Linguists are, yet again, required to be the catalysts for the workable implementation of inevitable social change. The same standards of excellence, in interpreting and translation, are needed in the context of the public services as in conference and other fields. The fact that they are not always available is another matter.

The fundamental question is, why are matters not moving forward more quickly? This text looks at the wider picture within which interpreting and translation are developing in the public services. More particularly, it seeks to explore why establishing language standards in the public services is proving such an uphill struggle, for progress is easier when obstacles are identified. Following a preliminary look at what is needed, three relevant main processes of social change are outlined. Each process has no doubt been authoritatively examined on its own in detail elsewhere, but it is the relationship between them which is likely to provide the solution.

Establishing Needs

Any competent linguist could quickly work out what is needed. It would include sufficient, adequately trained, and objectively assessed:

- interpreters and translators in the languages required;
- bilingual professionals, especially in counselling, psychiatry and speech therapy where working through interpreters is impracticable;
- public service personnel capable of working across cultures and with linguists;

- managers capable of planning and organising delivery of services to multilingual and multicultural constituencies.

All these skills are needed, at each stage of the delivery of public services across language and culture. The stages include:

- finding out about the client, for example language, educational, and social background, needs, perception of and attitudes to those needs;
- adapting the service to meet the client's needs;
- informing the client about the public service;
- negotiating and delivering the public service;
- ensuring quality assurance;
- researching and developing the service delivery.

The alternative to doing things properly is not only morally unacceptable but also a practical danger to a cohesive social infrastructure. Pilot solution strategies have proved to be both possible and cost-effective.

Development work in Britain and elsewhere has resulted in considerable success. Britain, for example, now has a National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI). The NRPSI Ltd is a non-profit making subsidiary of the Institute of Linguists, of which Peter Newmark is a former President. For full membership of the register, interpreters are required to hold the institute's diploma in public service interpreting, or the equivalent and have gained relevant experience. All must agree to abide by the code of conduct. There are already some 1000 interpreter entries on the register in 100 languages and more apply each year. The register itself is available for a modest subscription on hard copy and on CD-ROM. Public service personnel can just consult it when a non-English speaker appears, to obtain the details of the nearest interpreter with the right language combination and specialist expertise.

There is an abundance of good will, competence, and a desire to get things right. Matters can, however, be more complex than they at first appear. The situation in the UK is described below, although it is possible to recognise similarities in other countries. There are three main parallel processes of change which are taking place over time. The best chances of a successful outcome seem to occur only where there is an optimum horizontal match between these three 'vertical' processes. As with a one-armed bandit, there is profit when points of development in the vertical bands coincide to show, horizontally, three cherries.

Process A: The Public Services

Each of the public services appear to go through most of these stages at varying speeds and in different ways. Examples are given by way of illustration.

1. Unawareness of the need

In 1983 there was a social services department which stated that it had no clients who did not speak English, although its area included a large proportion of people from non-English language groups. The service had not realised that non-English clients could not gain access to it, if they did not know of its existence and purpose or how to communicate with its staff. In fact, the manager of the Commission for Racial Equality, across the road, felt obliged to do the work with the help of bilingual staff, who were often unpaid and unqualified.

2. Denial and rationalisation

Where an organisation is already under-resourced and stretched beyond reasonable limits it is perhaps an understandable knee-jerk reaction to deny the presence of another potential 'problem'. Levels of anxiety and guilt over perceived existing underperformance can produce irrational responses to additional demands. Short-term management and budgeting compound the situation. Sometimes, a service appears to block out the need, not because staff do not see it, but because they do see it, and its implications, all too well and know they cannot accommodate it.

Responses have ranged from 'we cope with the few we get' to 'they can always speak enough English to collect their benefits' and (a favourite) 'we just send down to the kitchens if we need an interpreter'. Solutions have included:

- the use as interpreters and translators in medical and other situations, of children, family members, and neighbours – and of fellow inmates in prisons, and even fellow defendants in the dock;
- the cosmetic employment of staff in a local authority housing department because they were obviously of Asian origin but without any testing of their language or other relevant skills;
- inappropriate management practices, such as the allocation of eight minutes per patient for a medical consultation, irrespective of the double time required if interpreting and additional information exchange were needed;
- inappropriate service provision such as culturally unacceptable food or pink prostheses for people with non-pink skin colours.

3. Acceptance

Acceptance can take some courage because, once the need is recognised and accepted, the service then has to take its own steps to deal with it. It can be more useful to support this stage of the process by acknowledging the difficulties faced by the service and by suggesting incremental steps forward. It is rarely helpful for outsiders to take holier-than-thou stances.

The outstanding example of acceptance is the 1997 National Agreement between the legal agencies which comprise the criminal justice system. They agreed that they would aim, by the end of 2001, to employ only interpreters from the National Register or the equivalent. The health and other services are still dodging the issue of a similar national commitment to adequate language standards.

4. Experiential learning curve

People can be told what best to do but they will only carry out tasks well if they are trained for the purpose, assessed, and have their good practice supported and supervised. Often little, or no, training is given to those working in the public services on the practicalities of working across languages and cultures – apart from some very variable sessions on 'race awareness'. Despite the exhortations to follow good business practice, the high level of expertise available to support the export of services across languages and cultures has never transferred to the public services for intra-national application. Exporters do not have sessions on race awareness, they focus on what is needed to deliver a cost-effective, quality-assured service which responds to client need.

As a consequence, the public services are largely staffed by good-hearted, hard-working people who rarely have either the necessary skills or structures to deliver a competent service across languages and cultures. Often they have only been made to feel anxious and guilty about inter-cultural service provision and have not been enabled to see it as an interesting and enjoyable professional challenge.

The public service disciplines have to take responsibility for training, assessing, and supervising their own staff. An example of this is the Midlands Training, Assessment and Development Consortium of the Probation Service. It has developed a series of clear competences on working with linguists and working across cultures which it plans to include in the service's assessment framework. It hopes to move on to what is needed for bilingual staff and the additional skills needed for managing a service with a diverse clientele.

It is hoped that these standards (based on the national vocational qualifications format[1]) will spread into other services. Meanwhile, we live as best we may with attempted short cuts or alternative strategies.

5. Areas of local growth – through key enthusiasts

Change usually begins through local activities initiated by individuals or groups. There are encouraging developments in surprising places. These include the better non-profit making public service interpreting and translation agencies, usually under the auspices of local authorities, which use the National Register and also, *inter alia*, act as One-Stop interpreter contact systems for all types of public services with whom they have service level agreements.

One of Peter Newmark's former students, who also holds a law degree, is deputy head of the Linguistic and Forensic Medical Services at Scotland Yard. Her work leads the field and is much admired by colleagues in Europe.

6. Institutionalisation at national level

Social change takes place differently in different cultures. In some the top-down legislation is put in place first and local implementation follows or not. In the UK change normally starts bottom-up. When local activities reach a certain critical mass, there is a national endorsement where appropriate. Otherwise, lone local enthusiasts find it difficult to maintain what they have achieved and to sustain further development. Institutionalisation leads to national incremental planning, structures, and resources to achieve the final phase.

7. Local consistency within a national framework

A good example is the National Agreement within the criminal justice system, already referred to, which arose from local initiatives. In the legal field, there is now a national subcommittee of the Trials Issues Group to promote local consistency. Since the health services were devolved to local health trusts, such a national consistency in this area of work is more difficult to achieve, nor does there appear to be the will to achieve it.

Process B: The Linguists

1. Unawareness of the need

There can be few linguists who have not, at some point in their lives, been involved in interpreting or translating on an informal basis within the public services, for friends in hospital or for strangers in difficulties. Work in this context was never seen as a formal branch of the language professions but rather as something of lower status one did as a kindness if one felt like it. Most professional linguists in the UK have traditionally been involved in commerce, international work, and the arts. Professional groups mainly consist of those working in European languages. Twenty years ago many working linguists in the UK would still refer to non-Western European languages as 'exotic' languages.

The notion that work in the public service context demands the same standards of excellence as any other was only slowly recognised. This may or may not have been connected with the low standards of pay and working conditions, the high proportion of 'exotic' languages involved, and the numbers of people working in those languages who had never had an opportunity to gain qualifications.

2. Acceptance and responses

Linguists never went through the denial phase. When the situation was pointed out to them carefully, they could recognise what was needed. They were not, however, in an immediate position to help, other than by giving encouragement, for reasons such as the following:

- most working linguists are freelance or staff employees. Few are well paid. They do not have spare capacity in terms of energy, time, or finance to support ill-paid work. Some notable exceptions were able to find all these;
- there were not many qualified linguists in the languages most needed;
- linguists are traditionally not a coherent profession in the accepted sense but rather voluntary groupings, in varying constellations. Many of these groupings contained within them the beginnings of tighter, more formal structures in an effort to produce quality assurance, selection criteria for joining, and codes of conduct.

3. The process of professional regulation

A profession comprises a group of people with a particular expertise, who profess to a common code of values or ethics for the protection of their clients, their colleagues and their body of knowledge.

A profession usually comes into existence where there is a need for trust, in the absence of other means of assessing competence at the point of delivery. One does not, for example, trust someone to remove one's appendix because he says he could do it and his mother agrees with him. By definition, linguists are needed because others do not understand a language and therefore there has to be a means to establish trust.

In order to reach the standards set out in its code of values, a profession regulates itself by establishing the following elements in ways which are nationally regulated, recognised, transparent and accountable:

- selection;
- training;
- initial professional assessment;
- initial supervised work experience;
- registration;
- disciplinary procedures to enforce its code;
- monitoring and mentoring systems;
- continuous professional development.

Public service professions and vocations are regulated. Their members train and practice together in ways which recognise and respect each other's roles and expertise. The hard shoulder of the motorway at midnight, the courtroom door, and the school gates are no time to have a chat about who is going to do what, when and why. They know precisely and will complement each other's work. So the fire and rescue officer will hold the bag of intravenous fluid but not insert the canula into the patient; the housing officer will not give advice on education.

Once the scale of responsibility of linguists in such situations was recognised, it became clear that the same regulated framework was expected of them too. Trust had to be established. In addition, status cannot be given. It has to be earned. If linguists were to be taken seriously among the front-line public service professionals, they had to demonstrate responsibility as a group.

Pay is related to qualifications. The hard-nosed, cash-strapped public service managers were understandably not going to pay reasonable fees to those who could not demonstrate qualifications to merit them. Without qualifications, whatever their talents, linguists were paid the same as cleaners. Indeed, there have been suspicions that some services will deliberately employ the under-qualified for just that reason and the rationalisations for doing so are haircurling. When this approach combines with the unqualified 'interpreters' afraid of losing their source of income and colleges anxious to fill places with low-level courses, there is a powerful negative collusion long known as the unholy trinity. As a result there are 'interpreters' who are not literate in one or both of their languages, so that the translation of vital operation consent forms and prescriptions are overlooked and children are still sight translating their school reports to their parents (mostly in glowing terms).

The regulation process has begun for linguists working in the public service context. It is lengthy and requires both patience and nerves of steel. Vested interests and *amour propre* are threatened. Fuzzy frameworks felicitate fudges and many individuals and cultures prefer to operate in them. It can be tiresome and inconvenient not to be allowed to send a cousin to an interpreting assignment one has accepted, if one has something better to do. Progress has necessitated long hours of consultation and negotiation.

Taking the UK as an example, where much was learnt from the Swedes and Australians who had started earlier, since 1983 the following have been achieved:

- published selection criteria for training;
- part-time training courses at some 20 centres, spread nationally, leading to –

- the Institute of Linguists Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI), which is offered in four specialised options: health care, English law, Scottish law, and Local Government. The last includes environmental health, housing, education welfare, and social services. It is planned to integrate the DPSI into the national vocational qualification (NVQ) framework at level 5;
- published criteria for registration at full and interim levels;
- four advisory groups to the NRPSI drawn from the public services, linguists, and their trainers;
- a code of conduct and disciplinary procedures for the NRPSI.

Parts of the above are still fragile and all the elements are constantly being looked at with a view to improvement. Still to be addressed are national:

- MA programmes in Public Service Interpreting and Translation;
- mentoring and monitoring systems;
- training for trainers;
- continuous professional development frameworks.

Progress is starting toward international professional consistency. The third Critical Link international conference in interpreting for the public services was held in Montreal in May 2001. Mainly powered by a group of indefatigable and quietly competent Canadians, these conferences have quickly become the focal point in a growing international network in this field. Critical Link Four is to be held in Sweden in 2004. Other examples include a project, funded by the EU Grotius programme, to establish equivalencies of standards for legal interpreting and translation in European member states (completed in 2001). The participant organisations were: the Lessius Hogeschool of Antwerp, the Institut Libre Marie Haps of Brussels, the Aarhus School of Business, Malaga University, and the Institute of Linguists which was the lead body (a second grant has been awarded for a dissemination phase, to be led by the Lessius Hogeschool). An EU MA in public service interpreting and translation is being discussed.

It took doctors and lawyers hundreds of years to develop regulated professions. Linguists may yet do it in 30 years for work in the public services. It will be interesting to see whether they will regulate professional activities in other contexts.

Where the linguists' regulation process and the public services' development process are in alignment benefits have accrued. Qualified and registered interpreters, working in the criminal justice system, now earn reasonable fees. Where legal services are beginning to be trained to work with them, the quality of service provision to non-English speakers is rising and, most importantly, the providers are beginning to enjoy the professional challenges. Finer points, such as how to conduct cross examinations in court across cultures, will come. Conversely, where the two development processes are not in alignment, difficulties still arise.

Process C: Those who do not speak the language of the country or service

Freedom of movement within Europe, inward migration and asylum seekers are producing an increasing diversity of languages and cultures in every country. Dr Philida Schellekens, in her recent report for the Department for Education and Employment,[2] says: 'We can assume that between one and one and a half million people need to improve their English language skills if they are to be able to participate in education, work and society.'

The development process over time, in respect of non-English speakers, applies not to a group but to individuals. Each individual is unique in terms of life experience, educational and social background, language skills, and knowledge of the world around him or her. It is individuals, at different stages of the acquisition of language and understanding of the structures and systems of the country they find themselves in, who make up a never-ending range of variables. Therefore, one cannot even begin to suggest a process relating to a group, but only the range of factors which may affect an individual's ability to communicate with those working in the public services in a second language, with full understanding. These factors include:

1. Before migration

- educational opportunities. War, cultural traditions and economic and social conditions may all play a part in whether or not individuals are, for example, literate in their first language. A full command of a first language affects the ability to acquire a full command of a second one;
- control of day-to-day personal affairs. Functional ability and attitudes to public services are related to access to information about structures and systems, and about whether they are predictable and reliable. Those coming from, for example, a country with an arbitrary and corrupt legal system will not easily trust the legal system of another country.

2. Migration process

- a forced or painful migration;
- planned migration, perhaps to take up a job or for educational purposes.

3. Recovery from migration

- degree of post-migration trauma, which is likely to affect learning;
- extent of earnings and economic stability, which affect the time, energy, and resources for learning language and acquiring information about systems and structures of the new country;
- range of social support, including reliable kin and friendship networks.

4. Generation responses

- erosion of first language, language shift, and language mixing;
- the loss of second-language skills in old age;
- a second generation which may or may not acquire a full command of the heritage language and the second language.

Conclusion

We British tend to pride ourselves on 'muddling through'. We have done reasonably well in this field thus far, not as well as some other countries such as Australia, but well enough. We cannot, however, go on pretending it will be 'all right on the night' because it will not be. Multilingualism is not a problem. It is a fact. It only becomes a problem when it is not responded to effectively.

The first two processes of change, in the public service and language professions, have to be promoted and supported in order to reach effective functional completion because the third, relating to those who do not speak the language of the country where they find themselves, is unpredictable by definition and dysfunctional to some degree. No one who has been involved in this field should have to continue without adequate skills and structures; not only in the everyday context but also to prepare for the unforeseen such as the Lockerbie crash and the sudden influx of refugees from Eastern Europe.

It is suggested that the relationships between these three central processes of social change, among others, should be more clearly explored, understood and disseminated if workmanlike, cost-effective solutions are to be found.

Notes

1. The central feature of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) is the National Occupational Standards (NOS) on Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) on which they are based. NOS are statements of performance standards which describe what competent people in a particular occupation are expected

to be able to do. They cover all the main aspects of Definitions of an occupation, including current best practice, the ability to adapt to future NVQ/Scottish Vocational Qualification (SVQ) Levels requirements, and the knowledge and understanding which underpins competent performance (*http://www.dfee.gov.uk/nvq/*, site visited 21 May 2001).

2. Schellekens, Philida (March 2001) *English Language as a Barrier to Employment, Training and Education*. Department for Education and Employment. Obtainable from: *http://www.dfee.gov.uk/research/re_brief/RBX301.doc* (site visited 22 May 2001).

Chapter 14
Audiovisual Translation in the Third Millennium

JORGE DÍAZ CINTAS

Introduction

In the opening paragraph of her introduction to the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Baker (2001: xiii) comments that in the early 1990s many had begun to see Translation Studies 'as an exciting new discipline, perhaps *the* discipline of the 1990s'. There have indeed been numerous national and international conferences on the subject, and we have witnessed an explosion in publications in the field, including several academic best sellers, an occurrence unimaginable some years ago; and translation courses are developing, both at postgraduate and at undergraduate level. Countries such as Spain have experienced a proliferation of courses at undergraduate level within faculties of translation and interpreting, and in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, degree courses in translation continue to develop.

As part of this (r)evolution, few can deny that one of the branches that has received the greatest impetus is audiovisual translation. From a tentative start involving somewhat superficial contributions in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, followed by a couple of decades of relative lethargy in the 1970s and 1980s, we have entered a period of vigorous activity, dating back to the early 1990s and pointing to a very promising future in decades to come. Today it would be hard to justify beginning a paper, as Fawcett did in 1996, by listing articles that had appeared in the mainstream journals of Translation Studies in order to bemoan how little work had been carried out on this subject. In a forthcoming compilation of bibliographical references on subtitling, Henrik Gottlieb has traced more than 1300 titles dating from 1933 to 2000, the majority of which have appeared in recent years. All of these items cover interlingual subtitling, although also included are works on other screen translation modes, for example dubbing and voice-over, which devote chapters or major sections to subtitling. Clearly quantity cannot be a measure of quality, and it is true that there is a tendency towards compartmentalised contributions, which has led to the call in some quarters for the publication of works of greater scope and academic substance, a trend which can already be discerned.

As Mayoral (in press) notes, in terms of frequency of use audiovisual translation has been undergoing a revolution, which is evident in the significant rise in the demand for audiovisual products as well as in their availability. This upward trend is due to factors such as the explosion in the number of international, national, regional, and local television channels; the diversification of televisual products, through digital packages and television on demand; the diversification of transmission means (cable and satellite); a greater demand for distance learning; technological progress, such as the DVD (Digital Versatile Disc); and the presence of multimedia products in our daily lives. All these factors have coincided with a period of consolidation of the household video – however, nowadays clearly losing ground to the DVD – and with an increase in film production throughout the world.

Translation carried out in the audiovisual field currently accounts for an increasingly large proportion of translation activity. This is for two reasons: firstly, audiovisual products reach a large number of people because reception is easy, primarily via the television; secondly, a large quantity of translated material is transferred to other cultures: documentaries, interviews, films, news, discussion programmes, shows, series, cartoons, and so on. The growth is particularly noticeable in those countries where English is not the official language. According to information compiled by Yvane (1995), Co-ordinator of the BABEL Programme (Broadcasting Across the Barriers of European Languages), the vast majority of European countries purchase a large proportion of their audiovisual products from outside Europe, predominantly from the United States.

Table 14.1 Proportion of audiovisual products imported from non-European countries (after Yvane, 1995: 452).

Spain	95%	Netherlands	90%
Greece	94%	United Kingdom	88%
Luxembourg	92%	Italy	80%
Denmark	90%	Ireland	75%
France	90%	Portugal	70%
Germany	90%		

Cinema and audiovisual products, in the most general sense of the term, are part of an industry with an obvious cultural dimension and, given that they reach the vast majority of a country's population, they have significant manipulative power. It is therefore unsurprising that the European Union and, more particularly, countries such as France have reacted negatively when faced with liberalising the global audiovisual market.

Translation or Adaptation?

In the light of the many media constraints that shape linguistic transfer in the audiovisual field, some translation theorists have chosen to consider these transfers as examples of adaptation rather than of translation. This view, which I consider puristic and outdated, lies behind the relative lack of interest in this professional activity on the part of translation scholars; instead, they have favoured the study of more traditional and prestigious subject matters such as the Bible, literature and poetry. A definition of translation that excludes large areas of professional activity is clearly too narrow. We live in a Heraclitean society, in constant evolution. The ways in which we communicate change, as do our needs, and in this sense the spectacular development of technology has an unavoidable impact. Hence it is necessary to view translation from a more flexible and heterogeneous perspective, one which allows for a broad range of empirical realities and which is able to subsume new and potential translation activities within its boundaries.

This changing nature of the field is also reflected in a certain amount of indecision with respect to terminology. The first studies carried out tended to refer to *film translation*, but, as the field of study extended to include television and video releases, the term *audiovisual translation* was introduced. Another term in frequent use in the field is *screen translation*, which is designed to encompass all products distributed via a screen, be it a television, cinema, or computer screen. This term opens the door for inclusion of the translation of products that until now had escaped more precise categorisation, such as computer games, web pages and CD-ROMs. Finally, another concept that is gaining ground is *multimedia translation*,[1] resulting from the multitude of media and channels through which the message is transmitted. The use of this terminology further blurs the boundaries of the discipline, and also establishes a much closer link with the localisation of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) products and the translation of products available on the Internet.

This form of terminological variation is a clear indication of changing times. However, far from placing an obstacle in the way of communication, it can instead be viewed as a clear sign that many scholars wish to maintain an open and accommodating approach, enabling them to assimilate and acknowledge new developments in translation praxis.

Audiovisual Translation

Even for those with an adequate command of the foreign language, every audiovisual product brings with it a range of additional obstacles to comprehension: dialectal and sociolectal variation, lack of access to explanatory feedback, external and environmental sound level, overlapping speech, etc., making translation of the product crucial for the majority of users. Habit and custom have made dubbing and subtitling the most common modes of translation in this field, although this does not exclude other possibilities. The typologies established by Gambier (1996), Luyken (1991) and Díaz Cintas (1999a) distinguish as many as ten types of multilingual transfer in the field of audiovisual communication. This contribution will focus on dubbing, voice-over, and, more particularly, subtitling. Let us consider a brief definition of each of these modes:

- *Dubbing* involves replacing the original soundtrack containing the actors' dialogue with a target language (TL) recording that reproduces the original message, while at the same time ensuring that the TL sounds and the actors' lip movements are more or less synchronised.
- *Voice-over* involves reducing the volume of the original soundtrack completely, or to a minimal auditory level, in order to ensure that the translation, which is superimposed on the original soundtrack, can be easily heard. It is common practice to allow a few seconds of the original speech before reducing the volume and superimposing the translation. The reading of the translation finishes a few seconds before the end of the original speech, allowing the audience to listen to the voice of the person on the screen at a normal volume once again.
- *Subtitling* involves displaying written text, usually at the bottom of the screen, giving an account of the actors' dialogue and other linguistic information which form part of the visual image (letters, graffiti, and captions) or of the soundtrack (songs).

Preferences

In terms of geography, a clear dichotomy has emerged in western Europe between the large countries, which prefer dubbing (France, Germany, Italy and Spain), and smaller countries, which have shown a preference for subtitles (Greece, The Netherlands, Portugal and the Scandinavian countries, among others). Owing to its inclusion in the huge anglophone audiovisual market, the case of the United Kingdom can be described as a special one: neither dubbing nor subtitling is common, although a certain degree of bias for subtitled products can be observed. With regard to central and eastern European countries, the division appears not to be so clearly defined. Romania and Slovenia prefer subtitling, whereas the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Bulgaria tend towards dubbing. As far as Poland, the three Baltic States and some members of the Commonwealth of Independent States are concerned, there seems to be an inclination towards voice-over. These distinctions are far from absolute, and in practice different translation modes often coexist, the choice between them depending on the genre of the programme and the audience profile and whether the product is shown on television or at a cinema.

From a historical perspective, there have been numerous reasons for adopting one mode or another.[2] Countries with high levels of illiteracy have tended to prefer dubbing. In times of political repression and curtailment of freedom of expression, countries such as Germany, Italy and Spain have been biased in favour of dubbing. Economics has also played an important role, since subtitling is some ten to 20 times less expensive than dubbing. Habit and custom must also be taken into account. According to Luyken *et al.* (1991: 112) '*audience preference is, in the first place, determined by familiarity and conditioning* to either of the two main methods' (italics are from the original), which implies that the public will be more receptive to the mode with which they are most familiar, although the authors (ibid.) also suggest that 'preferences may not be unalterable and that they might be transformed by familiarisation with other alternatives'. Moreover, perhaps one of the most visible developments at the present time is the coexistence of both modes even in countries and societies where it was thought that customs were already so deep-rooted that any kind of change was unlikely.

Changes

In Spain, traditionally a country with a clear preference for dubbing, the number of films screened in their original version with Spanish subtitles has grown significantly over the last 25 years (Fernández-Santos, 1997). Nowadays, cinema audiences in big cities such as Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia can choose between seeing a film in its dubbed version or with subtitles, as they prefer. A similar situation exists in neighbouring countries such as France, where dubbing has long been the mode *par excellence.*

Countries with a preference for subtitling are not above change, and the case of Greece is an example of change in the opposite direction. A country traditionally inclined towards subtitling, Greece has moved towards dubbing, starting with Latin American soap operas. This has proved to be very successful, as audiences may be able to follow, for instance, the plot of a soap opera without having to look at the screen in order to read the subtitles. A staunch pro-subtitling country, Denmark has reacted in a surprising way to the commercialisation of films, particularly American family films. On the home video market, blockbusters such as *Flubber* (Les Mayfield, 1997), *Dr. Dolittle* (Betty Thomas, 1998) and *Antz* (Eric Darnell & Lawrence Guterman, 1998), for instance, can be bought on a VHS (Video Home System) tape containing both the dubbed and subtitled versions into Danish, and for the same price as the tape with only one version.

In terms of a commercial hothouse such as the United States, the powerhouse of the western film industry and, as such, a country that does not often make use of translation into English, it is particularly encouraging to think that the situation may change in the not too distant future. In control of one of the largest film markets in the world, the USA is reticent about making use of products originating from other cultures and in other languages: remakes have always dominated. Thus, the change to which some have referred is indeed thought-provoking. The first academy awards, the Oscars, of the third millennium seem to herald an opening up of the United States to foreign cinema, as evidenced by the huge audience and box office success of the film *Wo hu cang long (Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon,* Ang Lee, 2000).[3] For some, this Taiwanese film may have shattered the myth that a subtitled film could never be popular in the USA. According to the Chairman of the production and distribution company Sony Pictures Classics, e-mail and chat rooms are teaching young people to communicate through subtitles. Many have become accustomed to reading short texts appearing in a window on their computers (Valenzuela, 2001) or on their mobile telephone screens. Should this trend develop, there is little doubt that translation into English would experience a significant boom and greater visibility. Clearly, this greater acceptance of subtitling could also come about in countries where, until now, the use of subtitling has not been very prominent. Other interesting attempts at promoting audiovisual translation have been made in the United Kingdom, where films such as *Gazon Maudit* (*French Twist,* Josiane Balasko, 1995) have been both dubbed and subtitled in a bid to establish which of the two versions is more readily accepted by audiences.

Two observations can be made from these changes and developments. First, the world of audiovisual production is constantly changing, and translation modes are not as set in stone as some would like to believe. Secondly, this diversification of modes creates the need for translation and generates more work in the field.

A further important technological change that is influencing the world of audiovisual translation and our perception of this world, to a greater or lesser degree shaped by the media, is the advent of the DVD. This new film distribution format can hold up to eight versions of the same film dubbed into different languages and some 32 different possibilities for subtitles. This new way of watching films is creating a class of privileged viewers who have greater control over how to use the translation, as they are able to compare the original dialogue with the subtitled version in their own or other languages that they know, or the translation for the dubbed version with the translation for the subtitled version in their own language. This, in turn, has implications for professional practice, because the new situation brought about by this advent of the DVD is changing the way in which translators work. Companies are starting to ask for 'literal' translations which hardly move away from the original, even at the risk of the final translation being devoid of meaning in the TL. The other visible change is the synchronisation of the dubbed and subtitled translations. With the aim of avoiding criticism from viewers of possible discrepancies between the two versions – even though such discrepancies are entirely justifiable given the dissimilarity of the modes – there is a tendency to end up with two TL texts that are very similar in their reformulation of the original dialogue, sometimes unnecessarily so.

With regard to the increased volume of translations, it is clear that technological progress has led to more films being released onto the market in both versions. In this way, films which until a few years ago would only have been released after having been dubbed into Spanish or German are now marketed on DVD in both the dubbed and subtitled versions. According to one of Columbia Tristar's subtitling and dubbing executives, approximately 90% to 95% of its films are now dubbed and subtitled. Similarly, classic films, which were once only distributed in their dubbed version owing to a lack of demand for subtitled films, are now being subtitled in preparation for their release on DVD. However, growth has not been as spectacular as expected since, primarily in the case of dubbing, those films that were dubbed many years ago and would have benefited from being brought up to date linguistically have not been retranslated. This is certainly the situation in Spain, and it is particularly poignant with regard to films where dialogue was censored in the past and which we continue to watch today, with the same censored dialogue, although now under a democratic regime.

Of the three modes mentioned, dubbing is perhaps the one experiencing least international growth, despite recent developments in Denmark, Greece and the United Kingdom. Higher costs are undoubtably one of the greatest obstacles to its further advancement, although there are surprising examples of dubbing. As well as the subtitled version, the DVD format of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* contains a version dubbed into English, which may seem unnecessary as the film had already been a success, the subtitled version having been received extremely favourably at the cinema. Furthermore, the use of dubbing is limited to film translation, whereas the other two modes are used for a wider range of products.

The future prospects for voice-over are very encouraging as it is less expensive than dubbing, making it a much more attractive translation mode for many companies. It is also a more immediate and seductive form of transmitting information than the written word. Increasingly immersed in the world of the image, it is not surprising that many companies choose to communicate important information by means of commercials and corporate videos, which are usually translated through the use of voice-over or narration. In line with these changes, one of the world's largest consumers of translation, the European Union, is examining the possibility of diversifying the production of its information material, placing greater emphasis on the production and distribution of audiovisual material in all the eleven official languages. It goes without saying that changes on this scale will exponentially increase the demand for voice-over, narration and perhaps subtitling.

Nevertheless, the mode that has undergone the greatest growth, and that will continue to grow in the foreseeable future, is subtitling. Its many advantages have led to it becoming the most favoured mode of the audiovisual world, but two in particular are crucial: it is the quickest method, and also the most economical to implement. Moreover, it can be used to translate all audiovisual products: films, news, interviews, series, etc. I have already made reference to the positive impact that the DVD is having in terms of increasing the number of subtitle tracks. Not only is there an increase in quantity but there has also been a demand for more literal translation since comparison with the original is easier. The classical typology of subtitling is also under constant review. Traditionally, and *grosso modo,* two types of subtitles have come to the fore: *interlingual* subtitles, which imply transfer from a source language (SL) to a TL and *intralingual* subtitles (also known as *captioning*) where there is no change of language and, as far as television is concerned, where transmission is by means of an independent signal activated by accessing page 888 of teletext.[4] Intralingual subtitling is intended to meet the needs of the deaf and hard of hearing, and involves turning the oral content of actors' dialogues into written speech, without loss of all the paratextual information which contributes to the development of the plot or to setting the scene, which deaf people are unable to access from the soundtrack, for example telephones ringing, knocks on the door, and the like.[5] However, this classification fails to account for a professional practice in existence, which is achieving greater visibility thanks to the DVD, namely interlingual subtitling aimed at the deaf and hard of hearing from any TL community.

Failing to account for this type of subtitling would imply a tacit acceptance of the fallacy that the deaf and hard of hearing only watch programmes originally produced in their mother tongue, when there is no doubt that they also watch programmes originating in other languages and cultures. This in turn would mean that they are forced to use the same interlingual subtitles as hearing people, when these subtitles are, to all intents and purposes, inappropriate for their needs. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this 'new' type of subtitling is gradually gaining ground; we can already buy films on DVD such as *Thelma & Louise* (Ridley Scott, 1991) which incorporate two subtitle tracks in German – one for the majority audience and the other for the hard of hearing.

Challenges

However promising the picture looks for the audiovisual translation field, we must not fall into the trap of complacency. There are challenges at many different levels – educational, academic, professional, social, cultural, etc. – of which we must be aware. At times these challenges also apply to the world of translation in general, at other times they are specifically applicable to the field of audiovisual translation.

While the study and teaching of translation as a general discipline has become fairly well established in the university sector, the same cannot be said for audiovisual translation. Despite the importance of this area in our daily lives, very few educational institutions around the globe have taken up the challenge to teach dedicated modules on any of the translation modes in general use in the world of audiovisual products, whether subtitling, dubbing, or voice-over. Until very recently, and with few exceptions, knowledge of the profession was acquired *in situ*, independently of educational establishments. But while the role of a university is clearly to broaden knowledge and learning, it must also meet the needs of the society that sustains it. It is for this reason that audiovisual translation has to be taught in universities in the same way as other areas of translation. Some institutions have already woken up to this fact, others are beginning to become aware of the situation.[6] However, this kind of development is always beset by one practical problem: financial cost. Not only is it very difficult for universities to find the funds necessary for the purchase of equipment and software packages specifically designed to carry out this kind of translation, technology in the field is also evolving rapidly, necessitating further investment in technological know-how and equipment. It is of little use to buy subtitling software if there are no in-house technicians prepared to familiarise themselves with it, or if there is no commitment on the part of the institution to upgrade software on a regular basis.

The degree of invisibility surrounding audiovisual translation in the world of higher education might be one of the reasons why this field of translation has not received the academic attention that it deserves. I have already mentioned that the situation is changing very quickly and that the number of publications in the subject is increasing; however, care should be taken to avoid overly superficial approaches and unnecessary repetition. The debate on the relative advantages of dubbing versus subtitling has been the subject of excessive academic interest but has not made any significant contribution to progress in the field (Díaz Cintas, 1999b). Thus there is a need for more detailed work of greater scope, tackling the subject matter from more diverse and varied perspectives: empirical studies on how subtitles are received by viewers, based on audience reaction and not solely on researchers' instincts; descriptive studies of what is actually done, and not what should be done; analysis of translation praxis from diachronic perspectives; work on the state of the art of the profession; or detailed studies of specific problems in the field, such as the translation of strong and colloquial language.

Working practices are also experiencing change. The different stages in dubbing or subtitling a product are constantly being readjusted, and what was common working practice some 10 or 12 years ago is now clearly outdated. The move from chemical and optical to laser subtitling, the advent of digital imaging, and the marketing of programmes specifically designed for subtitling are just some of the milestones that have led to change. The traditionally separate posts of translator and dubbing director, and translator and subtitle technician – the person responsible for synchronising sound and subtitle content – are converging in the shape of a single professional – the subtitler – who knows about, and is able to carry out, all operations. With this change in mind, universities must play an essential role in training these new professionals. Students must be able to work in groups and under pressure, with very stringent deadlines; they must be familiar with software packages and the Internet; and they must have an insight into the inner workings of the professional world, not only view it from inside the academic cocoon. To this end, universities need more resources and must show more initiative in curricular development and research carried out in the field, while bearing in mind that isolation can be detrimental and that fostering links with private companies is essential.

One of the immediate consequences of the much cited phenomenon of globalisation is that the professional world of translation is increasingly homogeneous and less subject to geographical boundaries. Conventions such as translating exclusively into the mother tongue, or only translating in and for a particular country of residence, are no longer necessarily adhered to. The nerve centres of audiovisual translation are beginning to emerge in places that are also home to large international production and distribution companies, such as Los Angeles and London. This development is at the root of serious problems in terms of balancing languages and cultures, because nowadays the products are created and translation decisions made in the country of origin, after having passed through the filter of English. It is becoming increasingly common, when subtitling an American film, for example, for the subtitler to be forced to work with a dialogue list for which the *spotting* has already been done in English. In other words, the segmentation and the duration of the subtitles have already been decided by the film distributor, irrespective of the characteristics and the nature of the TL. There can be no doubt that the requirement to replicate the English master titles in German or Korean only detracts from the creativity and independence of the subtitler.

Gottlieb has dedicated a significant amount of research to the influence of English on the Danish language. One of the advantages generally attributed to subtitling is that this mode respects the original, as it ensures that the product remains intact, with the written TL text simply being added. Hearing the original and being able to contrast what we are hearing with what we are reading in our own language encourages the learning of foreign languages, particularly English. It is, for instance, often assumed that people living in countries with a strong tradition of subtitling tend to have a better knowledge of English than those living in countries with a preference for dubbing. This, together with the fact that many of these languages are being 'anglicised', both on a semantic and a syntactic level, means that we are running the risk of arriving at what could be called *Translation Zero*. In the case of the Danish language and audience Gottlieb (2001: 258) is of the opinion that this appears to be more than just a theoretical risk:

> For future subtitling, the consequences of this international discussion could be that in several minor speech communities, we would not have to waste time subtitling from English. Most viewers would simply argue: 'All the people who can read subtitles know English anyway, and besides, our language is not that different from English anymore, so why bother?'

Conclusion

Some of the developments that I have mentioned are currently in progress, others are merely trends that may or may not be confirmed, or may even be too visionary. What is beyond doubt, however, is that this area of translation is set to undergo further changes in coming years. At the same time, our perception of translation as consumers will also change. Today, audiovisual translation is in vogue and, thanks to its inherent links with technology and the omnipresence of audiovisual products in our societies, it appears to have a promising future. However, we must not be blinded by positive omens: we should be aware of the challenges that exist and know how to tackle them.

Although Gottlieb's negativist view has a certain *raison d'être,* particularly in terms of awakening audiences and maintaining a critical attitude towards the influence of English, I do not believe that translation in the audiovisual field will disappear, at least not for the time being. On the contrary, all current indicators point only to the buoyancy of the field at all levels: educational, research, professional and social. We might even speculate that audiovisual/multimedia translation will be *the* translation sub-discipline of this brand new millennium.[7]

Notes

1. The conceptual instability of this term is evident in the way that Gambier and Gottlieb (2001) use it, deliberately inserting brackets into their book title: *(Multi) Media Translation.*
2. A more detailed account than is possible here can be found in Díaz Cintas (2001a).
3. This film received 10 Oscar nominations and won 4, including Best Foreign Language Film.
4. Although this is the most extensively used form of intralingual subtitling, other examples include karaoke captions and the captions used to represent dialogue between actors or people on screen whose accents are difficult to understand for an audience which, in principle, shares the same language. An amusing example of this is the British film *Trainspotting* (Danny Boyle, 1996) in which the actors speak English with a strong Scottish accent: the film was distributed with subtitles in the United States.
5. This is another of the fastest developing forms of audiovisual communication today, thanks to the success of pressure groups promoting the interests of these members of the audience. Their efforts have secured the commitment of television channels, such as the BBC, to broadcast a high percentage of their programmes with this form of linguistic support. The present percentage of programmes/hours that are subtitled for the hard of hearing is 66%, with a pledge by the BBC to subtitle 80% by 2004 and 100% soon afterwards.
6. Mayoral (2001) offers an exhaustive list of training courses available in this field in Spain. Díaz Cintas (2001b) offers a more international panorama.
7. Translated by Lowenna Ansell. Reviewed by Jorge Díaz Cintas.

References

Baker, M. (ed.) (2001) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies.* London & New York: Routledge.

Díaz Cintas, J. (1999a) Modalidades traductoras en los medios de comunicación audiovisual. In M. Aleza *et al.* (eds) *El contacto lingüístico en el desarrollo de las lenguas occidentales* (pp. 85–99). València: Quaderns de Filología, Estudis Lingüístics IV.

Díaz Cintas, J. (1999b) Dubbing or subtitling: The eternal dilemma. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 7/1, 31–40.

Díaz Cintas, J. (2001a) *La traducción audiovisual: el subtitulado.* Salamanca: Ediciones Almar.

Díaz Cintas, J. (2001b) Teaching subtitling at University. In S. Cunico (ed.) *Training Translators and Interpreters in the New Millennium* (pp. 29–44). Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth. (Also to be published by the Educational Resources Information Centre (ERIC) of the US Department of Education.)

Fawcett, P. (1996) Translating film. In G.T. Harris (ed.) *On Translating French Literature and Film* (pp. 65–88). Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Fernández-Santos, Á. (1997) Otra forma de ver cine. *El País,* 24 November.

Gambier, Y. (1996) Introduction: la traduction audiovisuelle un genre nouveau? In Y. Gambier (ed.) *Les transferts linguistiques dans les médias audiovisuels* (pp. 7–12). Villeneuve d'Ascq (Nord): Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Gambier, Y. and Gottlieb, H. (eds) (2001) *(Multi)Media Translation.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Gottlieb, H. (2001) Anglicisms and TV subtitles in an anglified world. In Y. Gambier and H. Gottlieb (eds) *(Multi)Media Translation* (pp. 249–58). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Luyken, G. with Thomas, H., Langham-Brown, J., Reid, H. and Spinhof, H. (1991) *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television.* Manchester: European Institute for the Media.

Mayoral, R. (2001) Campos de estudio y trabajo en traducción audiovisual. In M. Duro (ed.) *La traducción para el doblaje y la subtitulación* (pp. 19–45). Madrid: Cátedra, Signo e Imagen.

Mayoral, R. (forthcoming) Nuevas perspectivas para la traducción audiovisual. *Sendebar* 13.

Valenzuela, J. (2001) Hollywood se lanza a difundir películas desde el ciberespacio. *El País,* 25 March.

Yvane, J. (1995) Babel: un soutien actif aux transferts linguistiques. *Translatio, Nouvelles de la FIT–FIT Newsletter* XIV/3–4, 451–60.

Chapter 15

Translation and Interpreting Assessment in the Context of Educational Measurement

STUART CAMPBELL and SANDRA HALE

Introduction

Translator and interpreter education is now widely practised around the world and is supported by an increasingly sophisticated body of research and scholarship. Much of this work is concerned with identifying the components of competence and proposing curriculum models that incorporate these components and suitable teaching strategies. The scholarship supporting translation and interpreting education necessarily entails discussions of assessment and there has been some encouraging work in this area. However, there has been little recognition in translation and interpreting circles that educational measurement as a broader field has its own tradition of scholarship, a widely accepted body of knowledge and terminology, and a range of approaches. Notions like reliability and validity are part of the basic architecture of educational measurement.

Test designers need to ensure that test results are reliable, for example, yielding the same results with different groups of candidates and at different points in time; and they need to construct tests that are valid in that they, for instance, reflect the model of learning that underpins the curriculum and are relevant to the professional behaviour taught in the curriculum. A major issue in educational measurement of relevance to translation and interpreting assessment is the fundamental difference of approach between norm- and criterion-referenced testing. Norm-referenced tests are designed to rank candidates against each other; criterion-referenced tests require candidates to demonstrate that they have satisfied a set criterion. These fundamental issues are comprehensively dealt with in standard works on educational measurement such as Ebel (1972) and Thorndike *et al.* (1991). Closer to our own discipline, Bachmann (1991) represents a comprehensive discussion on language testing, firmly grounded in measurement theory.

The discussion in this contribution sets itself outside a current and vital issue in Translation Studies (and to a much lesser extent in work on interpreting) – the instability of notions such as *quality, value* and *assessment*. A recent volume of *The Translator* was dedicated to this issue, with an introduction by Carol Maier that points out the difficulty of defining these concepts on the basis of theories about the nature of translation. Maier observes that 'one sees a shared emphasis on defining and assessing quality in the context of specific situations, especially pedagogical ones' (Maier, 2000: 140). While we acknowledge the complexity and importance of defining these notions, we confess that we sidestep the issue and jump straight into Maier's pedagogical context; our approach has been to scrutinise translation and interpreting assessment with the broader perspective of educational measurement. Using some fundamental criteria from educational measurement as a framework, we ask how current translation and interpreting assessment practice stands up to broader scrutiny, and what directions we need to take in the future.

Basic Approach

Our basic approach has been to propose a checklist of criteria against which an assessment procedure might be measured. We have then examined a selection of published works that deal with translation and interpreting assessment procedures in some fashion, and weighed their findings against some of the criteria on the checklist. The works were collected through a search of the Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA) and Modern Language Association (MLA) databases, as well as our private collections.[1] It is important to note that we limited our choice of works to those that deal specifically with assessment procedures in an educational context (including accreditation), for which reason the absence of seminal works like House (1981) should come as no surprise. We concede that the published works examined are by no means a comprehensive collection, but we maintain that they are a fair representation of the state of the art over the last few decades, as published; however, there is no doubt a good deal of interesting practice locked away in the internal documentation of teaching institutions.

The checklist is not intended as a definitive taxonomy of the characteristics of assessment procedures, and we acknowledge that there are overlaps between some of the items. For example, a procedure that aims at summative assessment may generate information that can be used for credit transfer (cf. item 2 below); but of course credit transfer information requires the additional potential for translatability between education systems or institutions. In an Australian educational institution, for instance, test procedures can have the purpose of producing (a) summative information so that the institution can award grades, (b) information that will allow accreditation by the external accrediting authority, and (c) information that will allow another institution to calculate the amount of credit to be granted. A single programme might include units whose assessment procedures do one of these things or several at once. Similarly, items 6 and 8 below overlap to an extent, but differ in their focus; item 6 is oriented towards the institution and its assessment policies while item 8 is oriented towards the broader constituency of stakeholders in the assessment process.

The checklist follows:

(1) What broad area is being assessed? For example, interpreting, translation, subtitling, specific language combinations, etc.

(2) What is the purpose of the assessment instrument? For example, is it aimed at:
- Measuring aptitude (e.g. to enter a training course);
- Determining placement (e.g. at a particular starting point in a training course);
- Providing formative assessment (i.e. the skills and knowledge attained at points during a training course);
- Providing summative assessment (i.e. the skills and knowledge attained at the end of a training course);
- Accreditation (e.g. for entry into a professional body);
- Credit transfer (e.g. to allow student mobility between universities)?

(3) What competencies are assessed, e.g. language 1 and language 2 knowledge, transfer competence, speed, accuracy, memory, terminology, cultural knowledge, etc.?

(4) What is the form of the assessment instrument? For example, a timed translation, an interpreting role play, a multiple choice test, etc.

(5) What is the basic approach of the instrument? For example, is it norm-referenced, i.e. ranking candidates from best to worst; or is it criterion-referenced, i.e. measuring performance against a known criterion? Or does it assess skills learned on the job?

(6) What kind of results does the instrument generate? For example, does it generate a qualitative description of performance, a numerical score based on objective items, a pass/fail result, etc.?

(7) How well does a norm-referenced instrument discriminate among candidates?

(8) What are the reporting mechanisms? For example:
- Who receives feedback (e.g. candidate, instructor, institution)?
- When does feedback occur (e.g. immediately, months later)?
- How is feedback given (e.g. qualitatively, quantitatively)?

(9) How valid is the assessment instrument?

(10) How reliable is the assessment instrument?

We note in advance of the discussion that some of the items in the list are simply not discussed in the materials that we examined. We will return to these gaps later in this chapter.

Translation Assessment

Works on assessment in translation can be divided into two broad categories of assessment purpose: *accreditation* and *pedagogy*, reflecting the two broad constituencies of recruitment and training. In the accreditation area, Schäffner (1998) provides a critique of the Institute of Linguists syllabus in German. A UN accreditation perspective from Beijing is provided by Wu (1994), while Bell (1997), Martin (1997) and Ozolins (1998) discuss national accreditation in Australia. The offerings from Beijing and Australia each deal with both interpreting and translation, while all the works deal in some fashion with tests that bestow a public validation of competence. The pedagogy area in translation is less clear cut in terms of purpose: Brunette (2000) makes some reference to translation didactics in her attempt to establish a terminology for translation quality assessment, but is not clear about purpose, for example, diagnostic, formative, or summative assessment. Dollerup (1993), Kussmaul (1995) and Sainz (1993) are clearly concerned about formative assessment, while Farahzad (1992) and Ivanova (1998) discuss summative assessment in the form of final translation examinations at university. James *et al.* (1995) is the only work in our selection to examine credit transfer (in the area of screen translation), while Campbell (1991) makes some small inroads into diagnostic assessment. Interestingly, we came across very little discussion of aptitude testing for translator education, although Cestac (1987) describes selection tests for recruitment at UN Headquarters; conversely there is a good deal of discussion of aptitude for interpreter education (cf. below). What is also interesting is that a number of writers discussed translation assessment without making any reference to purpose (for example, Bowker, 2000). Something of a hybrid is the Institute of Linguists New Diploma in English and Chinese described by Ostarhild (1994), which appears to be an attempt to move an accreditation instrument from an earlier test of bilingualism to one that also tests translation.

The types of translation competencies discussed range widely, but a crucial factor seems to be the extent to which translation is integrated into a socio-communicative framework. Where translation is not linked to such a framework, a default position seems to operate, in which competencies are largely *target language focused.* An example of this type is Dollerup's (1993) assessment scheme for translation in the framework of language study, which works empirically from target language (TL) error analysis in order to construct a student feedback form that assesses detailed competencies grouped under *text, spelling, punctuation, words/word knowledge, syntax/grammar* and *expression*. Sainz (1993) develops a similar feedback chart that allows students to critique their own work, but does not specify the competencies, other than to suggest that teachers can compile a 'chart of "Types of Mistakes"'; she suggests that for a particular text it might include *connectors, grammar, lexical items, misunderstanding, nouns (agreement), omission, prepositions, punctuation, style, register, syntax* and *tenses*. Farahzad's (1992) list is somewhat different: *accuracy, appropriateness, naturalness, cohesion, style of discourse/choice of words.* Ivanova (1998) tells us a little about translation assessment at the University of Sophia; although she provides a review of literature on translation competence, the final examination marking scheme described simply deals with *lexical infelicities, lexical error, grammatical mistake* and *stylistic inappropriateness*.

Scholars working within a communicative framework grounded in theory tend to go beyond the classification of TL errors. An example is the approach taken by Hatim and Williams (1998), who, although they do not mention assessment in their discussion of a university translation programme in Morocco, do outline a syllabus based on a sophisticated model of communication which aims to have students 'negotiate the transaction and exploit the signs … which surround them'. Very detailed objectives – presumably reflecting the competencies to be assessed – cascade from these broad aims. Similar is the approach of Kussmaul (1995), who lists a number of 'categories of evaluation' of texts, which seem to us to reflect competencies (he is after all dealing with translator education). These are: *cultural adequacy, situational adequacy, speech acts, meaning of words, 'language errors'* (Kussmaul's quotation marks). Integrated into a professional context is the scheme of James *et al.* (1995), where a blend of *linguistic* and *technical* competencies is achieved in a discussion of screen translation assessment. The groups of competencies are *portrayal, language quality, grammar, spelling, punctuation* and *time-coding, synchronisation, positioning, colour, breaks between subtitles* respectively. A professional framework also informs the competencies assessed by Australia's National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) (Bell, 1997). An approach to competencies beyond the mere listing of TL criteria is also found in the findings of experimental tests reported by Niedzielski and Chernovaty (1993) (dealing with both translation and interpreting in technical fields). The authors claimed (1993: 139) that 'maturity and experience in some technical field(s)' and 'original and creative thinking' were 'factors found to achieve success in translating', on the basis of measuring information errors, lexical errors, grammatical errors, referential errors, style mistakes, and other criteria (cf. 1993: Tables 1–5, 144–6).

The translation of a text appears to be the standard form for translation assessment, although Ostarhild (1994) describes such tasks as skimming and scanning material in English and Chinese and producing 'written commentaries in the other language' (1994: 53). The test described – the Institute of Linguists New Diploma in English and Chinese – is, as mentioned above, a kind of hybrid test of translation and bilingualism.

Surprisingly there seems to be very little discussion of the ideal length of translation tests or the time allowed for their completion, let alone any theoretically or empirically based findings on the subject. In the accreditation area, NAATI follows the curious practice of a strict time constraint on examinations at the basic Professional level (500 words in two hours), but a much more generous allowance at the Advanced level. Dollerup (1993) uses texts ranging from 50 to 700 words in his classroom-based model, presumably on the basis that students can handle longer texts as skill increases. Farahzad (1992) is braver, describing a range of test types including single sentences for translation and whole texts of 200 words. Cestac (1987) describes the various UN examination papers, which include a 700-word general translation in three hours, a 2000-word summary in two hours, two 400-word specialised translations in three hours, and two 300-word translations from the candidates non-main language in two hours. Farahzad stands out in suggesting 'limited response' items, where students are faced with, for example, several translations of a sentence and are asked to select the error-free version.

Little is written about the basic approaches of test instruments, and it is difficult to ascertain whether norm-referenced or criterion-referenced approaches are generally favoured. The upside-down marking scheme that seems to be commonly used (error marks being deducted from a perfect score) is so odd as to defy categorisation. Admittedly it is possible to establish a rank order of candidates using error marking (i.e. the top candidate is the one with the least errors), just as one can establish criteria for passing (i.e. every candidate with less than *n* errors passes). But the fundamental mathematics are so peculiar that we would have to be careful in determining whether it reflects a norm-referenced or criterion-referenced approach. Error marking works very well for TV quiz shows, because the number of correct responses equals the perfect score. But for translation the number of correct responses is infinite (on the reckoning that any translation can be done in an infinite number of ways) or very large (on the reckoning that there is a very large number of possible errors in any translation). The theoretical consequence is a ranked scale with an infinitely long tail. Let us say that the 'perfect score' is 100, and that the two top candidates score 90 and 95. Now if the bottom candidate scores 0 and there is a normal distribution of scores in the candidature, we have some sense of the relativities and we can compute means, standard deviations, z-scores, and the like – the tools of the trade in norm-referenced assessment. The problem comes when poor candidates score below zero (even though the marker may report the result as zero) – perhaps minus 20, minus 30, minus 80, or minus anything at all. Because there is no bottom to the scale, we have no way to assess the relative achievement of the top scoring candidates; depending on where the bottom of the scale finds itself, one may be very good and one exceptional, or perhaps they are separated by a whisker.

In fact the balance of evidence shows that error deduction marking is really a criterion-referenced system, in which the number of marks in a perfect score is arbitrary and bears no relation to the possible number of errors. A pass mark (i.e. the perfect score less the maximum number of errors tolerated) is simply an indication of a criterion. If this is true, then a list of ranked scores based on error deduction is no more than a kind of statistical window dressing. Teague (1987), in describing the accreditation marking scheme of the American Translators Association, confirms this. Although 'the grader … totals up the errors, and applies a final scale to get a final mark', the result is simply 'fail' or 'pass' (1987: 22). As a postscript, Bastin (2000) emphasises that 'trainees must be taught how to do things right rather than being punished for what they have done wrong' (2000: 236); as both university teachers and accreditation examiners, the present authors are deeply unhappy about the practice of importing error deduction techniques into the educational context.

Interpreting Assessment

There is very little written on interpreting assessment (Hatim & Mason, 1997). This may be partly due to the relatively few formal courses in the field worldwide, to the limited research in the area, and to the intuitive nature of test design and assessment criteria. The little literature that exists on interpreting assessment is dominated by discussions on aptitude tests for entry to conference interpreting courses (Keiser, 1978; Gerver *et al.*, 1984; Gerver *et al.*, 1989; Longley, 1989; Bowen & Bowen, 1989; Lambert, 1991; Moser-Mercer, 1994; Arjona-Tseng, 1994). The other categories include: accreditation or certification examinations to enter the profession, in particular community interpreting and court interpreting

(Bell, 1997; Gentile, 1997; Schweda Nicholson & Martinsen, 1997; Miguélez, 1999; Vidal, 2000); testing that is related to interpreter training courses, most of which train conference interpreters (Longley, 1978; Macintosh, 1995; Schjoldager, 1995); and quality assessment of interpreting performance, mainly of professional conference interpreters (Pöchhacker, 1993; Bühler, 1986; Kopczynski, 1992; Dejean Lefeal, 1990; Kalina, 2001). The last category will not be discussed here given our focus on educational contexts.

Common to all aptitude tests described in the literature are the competencies the tests aim to assess, the subjective marking criteria, and the high failure rate. There is general agreement on the skills and abilities necessary of a trainee interpreter to succeed in a conference interpreting course or in the profession (Lambert, 1991), although this is not based on any empirical data, but rather on intuitive judgements by trainers who are mostly practising interpreters. These competencies include: good knowledge of the relevant languages, speed of comprehension and production, good general knowledge of the world, good public speaking skills, good memory, stress tolerance, and ability to work as a team. The tests tend to be criterion referenced, with candidates required to reach each criterion in order to pass the test. In some of the tests, the initial components act as eliminatory components, where a candidate cannot progress to the next phase of the examination if he or she fails any of the preceding phases.

The forms of the assessment instruments are also shared by most entrance/aptitude tests. These include: shadowing, cloze tests (both oral and written), written translation, sight translation, memory tests, and interviews. The rigour of these entrance tests and their high failure rates have led some to question the appropriateness of these assessment instruments which seem to expect applicants to perform almost at the level of professional interpreters before they even commence the training course (Gerver *et al.,* 1984). The predictive power of the tests and the lack of objective assessment criteria used have also been criticised by some, who advocate research to correct these deficiencies (Gerver *et al.,* 1989; Arjona-Tseng, 1994; Moser-Mercer, 1994).

The reliability of the test results is very difficult to ascertain. As Moser-Mercer (1994) points out, there are no standardised interpreting aptitude tests. In spite of the advances made in language testing, little of that knowledge has been adopted by interpreter educators in the design of their testing (Moser-Mercer, 1994; Hatim & Mason, 1997). Bowen and Bowen (1989: 111) state that their aptitude tests are based on 'Robert Lado, then Dean of Georgetown University's School of Languages and Linguistics and his criteria of validity … reliability … scoreability … economy … and administrability' but, apart from mentioning a standardised

English terminology test recommended by the University's Psychology Counselling Center, there is no other mention of how the tests are assessed for validity and reliability. Moser-Mercer (1994: 65) comments that Bowen and Bowen's standardisation 'in no way meets the criteria for true standardization'.

Two apparently well-motivated testing procedures are reported in the literature, by Gerver *et al.* (1984; 1989) and Arjona-Tseng (1994). Gerver *et al.* (1984; 1989) report the results of a research project which developed and assessed a set of psychometric aptitude tests. The aim of the study was to lead to the establishment of objective criteria for the entrance tests used for the postgraduate conference interpreting course run by the Polytechnic of Central London. At the time of the study, only two thirds of students who passed the initial aptitude test successfully completed the intensive six-month course. The final examination comprised language specific interpreting tests in both the consecutive and simultaneous modes. The study looked at three types of tests: text-based, drawing on work done in the area of text processing (Kintsch, 1974); sub-skill-based, drawing on the work on cognitive tests (Eckstrom *et al.,* 1976); and stress-based, drawing on the work done on speed testing (Furneaux, 1956). Sub-tests were conducted under each of these broad categories. Under the text-based test there were the following sub-tests: recall-text memory, recall-logical memory, completion/deletion – cloze, completion/deletion – error detection. Under the sub-skill-based test there were: a synonyms test, an expressional fluency test where candidates had to rewrite a text, and a verbal comprehension test. For the stress-based test, the team used an existing instrument, the Nufferno test (Furneaux, 1965), which measures the effect of speed stress on a cognitive task. The results of these tests were compared with the results of the final examinations. The study found that candidates who passed the final interpreting examination had scored higher on all the entrance tests than those who failed. The researchers conclude that 'the tests appear to have been successful in reflecting generally the abilities required for interpreting' (Gerver *et al.,* 1984: 27).

Arjona-Tseng emphasises the dearth of literature on 'rater-training issues, decision-making rules, reliability and validity issues, scaling, scoring, and test-equating procedures' (1994: 69). She attempts to address this need by providing a psychometrically-based approach to the development of entrance tests, with a standardised set of administration procedures, a tighter set of assessment criteria, appropriate rater training, and pilot testing. These new tests have been used at the Graduate Institute of Translation and Interpretation Studies at Fu Jen Catholic University with a 91% success rate for those selected to complete the course. Arjona-Tseng stresses the need for valid and reliable aptitude tests for admission to interpreter training courses.

Although aptitude testing dominates the interpreting assessment literature, a small literature exists on accreditation or certification examinations for professional recognition. Most accreditation or certification examinations are conducted in the area of community interpreting in general, or specifically for court interpreting. Few countries train interpreters in community interpreting or use university courses as the only entry path to the profession. On the contrary, however, entry to the conference interpreting profession normally depends on successful completion of a university course.

The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters is the accrediting body in Australia. Although there is accreditation for conference interpreting, examinations are not available for this skill, and conference interpreters gain accreditation on the basis of recognition of qualifications. The bulk of examinations is at the Professional level (formerly Level Three) and the Paraprofessional level (formerly Level Two). Courses in Australia that are approved by NAATI must adhere to NAATI guidelines when conducting their students' final examinations, which must reflect the NAATI format, content, and assessment criteria. Bell (1997: 98) describes NAATI examinations as 'skills-based (performance assessments)'. The Paraprofessional examination contains two dialogues of approximately 300 words in length each, and four questions on ethics of the profession and sociocultural aspects of interpreting. These examinations aim to assess the candidates' ability to practice as 'paraprofessional' interpreters, mainly in the areas of welfare and education. The Professional interpreter examination comprises two dialogues of approximately 450 words each in length, with questions on ethics of the profession and sociocultural aspects of interpreting, and two 300–30 word passages, normally speeches, to be used for consecutive interpretation. These examinations aim to accredit interpreters to work in all areas of community interpreting, including medical and legal settings.

Candidates must pass each component with a minimum seventy marks out of one hundred, although, because of the error deduction marking scheme used, this cannot be interpreted as a percentage (cf. the discussion of error deduction marking earlier in this chapter). All examinations are marked by two examiners using NAATI's marking guidelines, which allow a good deal of subjective latitude. When discussing issues of accreditation for community interpreters, Gentile (1997) makes the point that evaluation criteria are usually vague, with specific meanings being left to the interpretation of each individual. He also comments on the difficulty of achieving standardisation across language pairs.

These examinations have never been systematically scrutinised from the point of view of validity and reliability, although Bell states that: 'In order to conduct valid and reliable tests, NAATI contracts more than 250 examiners on 46 different Examiners' Panels … In order to keep the examinations relevant to the development of the profession and the requirements of the employers, NAATI consults regularly with related individuals and organizations' (1997: 98). Our assumption is that these measures are intended to generate debate between the profession and NAATI which will help it to improve the general quality of its tests; but this is of course a far cry from systematic scrutiny of the testing regime. The validity of the examinations has been questioned by Dueñas Gonzalez, who criticised their capacity to assess the skills and competencies required by court interpreters, stating that:

> the test should not be used to examine court interpreters for three reasons: (1) it does not reflect the rigorous demands of the three modes used in judicial interpreting: simultaneous (unseen or spontaneous), legal consecutive and sight translation; (2) it does not test for mastery of all the linguistic registers encountered in the legal context, … and (3) it would not be a valid instrument to determine ability in judicial interpretation because its format, content, and assessment methods are not sufficiently refined to measure the unique elements of court interpreting.
>
> (Dueñas Gonzalez *et al.*, 1991: 91)

Anecdotal evidence shows that most practitioners are also dissatisfied with the tests' validity in other areas of community interpreting, especially with regard to the long consecutive passages which do not reflect the practice. In response to such criticism, NAATI is currently conducting a complete review of its examinations, the results of which will not be available for some time.

Unfortunately we were unable to access any literature on the California Court certification examination and cannot report on it. Such information would have allowed for a useful comparison with accreditation/certification examinations in other countries.

The court interpreter examination conducted by the Ministry of Justice in Spain comprises two main components: the translation of two texts, one into each language, without the use of dictionaries and with a one-hour time limit. Those who pass this phase with at least 50% can take the second component, a one-hour written examination on the government, the Ministry of Justice, the court system, and the laws and regulations surrounding workers' rights. There is no examination of any interpreting skill whatsoever, or of interpreter role or ethics. The only prerequisite for sitting the examination is a secondary school certificate. Miguélez strongly criticises this examination on the basis of lack of reliability and validity (Miguélez, 1999: 2). The certification examination which sworn interpreters take has currently been modified. The old examination consisted of two timed translations into Spanish. The first translation exercise is eliminatory and consists of texts ranging from 299–500 words in length, taken from magazines or newspapers and with no standard guidelines on level of difficulty. The text for the second exercise is always on a legal or economic/commercial topic, with a length ranging from 472–794 words. Two hours are allocated per exercise. Once again, Miguélez criticises this examination, making the observation that 'it is reasonable to think that the same candidate sitting for different versions of the exam could get very different results' (1993: 3).

The new certification examination does not improve much on the old one. It maintains the translation exercises as described above and adds two components: a translation from Spanish and an oral exercise, where the candidate reads a text in the foreign language and then summarises it and answers questions on it to a panel of examiners. Miguélez attacks the new examination by stating that 'the most obvious problem with this new test format is that it does not in any way test a candidate's ability to translate a legal document into the language of certification or to interpret in any of the three modes. The exam … lacks even the most basic standards of validity and reliability' (Miguélez, 1999: 4).

Nicholson and Martinsen (1997) describe the examination used in Denmark for interpreters to become members of the Authorized Interpreters Panel, approved by the National Commission of the Danish Police. Candidates must either possess a degree in a foreign language or be a native speaker of a foreign language. The only testing conducted is an oral test to assess the candidate's knowledge of Danish. The other language is not tested nor are any interpreting skills (1997: 262–3).

If little has been written on interpreting assessment in general, even less is found on any type of assessment as part of training courses. Mackintosh points out, however, that although there seems to be little published on assessment systems, performance measurement is an area that has long been recognised as in need of systematic study: 'some courses (e.g. ETI Geneva) have developed comprehensive and detailed marking schemes for final examinations, which attach different weightings to different components of a candidate's performance' (1995: 128). This may very well be so, and a survey of assessment procedures used by interpreting courses worldwide might produce very interesting results.

We have already explained that, in Australia, training courses that are NAATI approved must adhere to NAATI guidelines. Hence the description of the NAATI accreditation examinations also applies to the final examinations conducted in educational programmes (units taken prior to final examinations are not assessed under NAATI guidelines). Gerver *et al.* make a brief mention of the final examination for the conference interpreting course at the former Polytechnic of Central London, mentioning that it tests for consecutive and simultaneous interpreting skills. Longley (1978) mentions that they use professional interpreters as raters in their London six-month intensive conference interpreting course. Longley makes one interesting observation about the difference between intuitive marking and more systematic marking. As part of a government funded course conducted by her institution, weighted marks were requested for specific types of errors. The raters had made an intuitive assessment of each candidate's performance at the end of the examination and were then faced with the time-consuming task of allocating marks for each specific component, or deducting marks for each type of error. Surprisingly, the results were very similar under both systems (1978: 54).

Schjoldager (1995) provides us with a marking sheet to assess simultaneous interpreting, which can be used by interpreters and students to self evaluate their performance, as well as by interpreter trainers. The sheet provides a set of criteria under four major categories: Comprehensibility and delivery, Language, Coherence and plausibility and Loyalty, with arguments and examples for each criterion. Schjoldager states that her 'intention is merely to offer an explicit, systematic alternative to intuitive assessment procedures, whose criteria are not only implicit but also, I feel, arbitrary. Only explicit criteria can be useful to learners' (1995: 194).

Knowledge Gaps in Translation and Interpreting Assessment

It will be evident from comparing our checklist with our survey that there exist a number of knowledge gaps in translation and interpreting assessment. In this section we briefly mention some of the less crucial gaps before a somewhat lengthier discussion of a fundamental omission in the literature – reliability. We will argue that this issue above all is in need of serious work.

The first four items on our checklist are reasonably well covered in the literature, at least as far as the traditional modes of interpreting and translation are concerned; assessment in newer or more peripheral modes of work such as interpreting in mental health settings, software localisation, and multilingual advertising has barely been discussed. Nevertheless, we have a fair understanding of the state of the art in the domains of the areas and purpose of assessment, the competencies assessed, and the forms of assessment. There are, however differing amounts of emphasis with, for example, a preponderance of work on aptitude testing for interpreting, and a spread of work across achievement and accreditation testing in translation. Generally speaking, there is some agreement on the sets of competencies assessed in both translation and interpreting, but little explicit discussion of the efficacy of particular assessment instruments to measure those competencies. The basic forms of both translation and interpreting tests reflect a philosophy that the test should resemble the real-world task, although in conference interpreting aptitude testing there are attempts to separately measure underlying competencies.

The fifth item – the basic approach – is rarely if ever explicitly discussed, but there seems to be tacit adoption of a criterion-referenced approach (although with no solid discussion of the actual criteria). The next three items – types of results, discrimination, and reporting mechanisms – are only minimally discussed.

These less crucial issues contrast starkly with the paucity of discussion on the central topics of validity and reliability. The knowledge gap in these areas is so large that we can do no more here than sketch the problem. Indeed we will say very little at all about validity given that the consensus in measurement and evaluation circles is that tests cannot be valid unless they (or more accurately their scores) are reliable. Validity in interpreting and translation testing is tied up with knotty issues such as the nature of the competencies assessed, the models of learning underpinning educational programmes, and the extent to which tests should reflect professional tasks. Reliability stands out as the priority problem, and we devote the remainder of this section to a sketch of what we see as the main issues.

While reliability is extensively discussed in standard manuals on educational measurement, we have drawn on Bachmann (1991) to frame our discussion given that this work on language testing is a little closer to home than more general works.

According to Bachmann:

> The investigation of reliability is concerned with answering the question, 'How much of an individual's test performance is due to measurement error, or to factors other than the language ability we want to measure?' and with minimizing the effects of these factors on test scores. (Bachmann, 1991: 163)

These factors can be grouped into 'test method facets', 'attributes of the test taker that are not considered part of the language capabilities that we want to measure', and 'random factors that are largely unpredictable and temporary' (1991: 164). Given that the latter two groups apply to tests of any kind, we will focus on 'test method facets' as criteria affecting the reliability of interpreting and translation assessment. Chapter 5 of Bachmann (1991) is dedicated to test methods, and the summary of test method facets on page 119 could, we feel, be adapted to the interpreting and translation context. For example, *explicitness of criteria for correctness* resonates with the frequent query from translation and interpreting examinees about fidelity to the source text (ST); how closely, one is often asked, do I need to stick to the original? An inexplicit translation test instruction could affect the reliability of the test if one candidate believes that the target text must owe its loyalty to the ST rather than the target reader, while another candidate believes the opposite. *Degree of speededness* is highly relevant; when we impose a time limit on a test, do we know from empirical investigation the extent to which the speededness affects performance quality? Is there a speed at which we will get the optimum performance from the majority of candidates, and therefore have an optimally reliable test (at least on this facet)?

For interpreting and translation, a very significant test method facet is the degree of difficulty of the source material. Despite some inroads into the question of translation text difficulty (Campbell, 1999; Campbell & Hale, 1999), this remains a major barrier to improving test reliability. We would assert that in the absence of convincing methods for assessing ST difficulty, any testing regime that regularly introduces fresh STs and passages (for example, for security reasons) will potentially generate highly unreliable scores.

A basic concept in considering reliability is *parallel tests* (Bachmann, 1991: 168), from which can be derived a 'definition of reliability as the correlation between the observed scores on two parallel tests'. In other words, the most reliable test is one where parallel versions yield the same scores (i.e. a perfect correlation). In translation, this would involve finding or composing two examination texts of exactly the same degree of complexity in lexis, grammar, content, style and rhetorical structure. The lack of any real discussion of even this most basic measure of test reliability is a serious indictment of the present state of translation assessment. While occasional statements of intent are made (for example, Bell, 1997), we know of no serious work on basic questions such as the reliability of translation test scores over time, from language to language, or from text to text. Campbell (1991) makes a preliminary foray into the discriminatory power of items in translation tests in an attempt to launch a discussion about the internal consistency of such tests.

Much work, then, needs to be done. Again, we rely on Bachmann to frame the following discussion, highlighting some of the specific problems encountered in assessing translation and interpreting.

Internal consistency

If we assume that the basic test format is to translate or interpret, then investigation is needed into the way that candidates perform on different parts of the written or spoken input, and the extent to which those parts may be differentially weighted. A simple example is that of repeated material in a written or spoken passage. How, for instance, do we deal with passages with repeated chunks (for example, formulaic expressions introducing clauses in a treaty)? The implications for test reliability are profound: if a candidate mistranslates a repeated chunk, do we penalise multiple times? This is a common dilemma in translation test marking that goes to the heart of reliability because it may be argued that the candidate's performance could have been more reliably measured if he or she had been given a chance to be tested on a number of *different* items; the repeats may be interpreted as a test method facet that diminishes the discriminatory power of the test and therefore reduces its reliability. On the other hand, the repetitions may call for a creative solution that draws out the competence of the candidate. Arabic, for example, often employs a degree of parallelism that is not tolerated in English, and we might reward the candidate who manages to convey the rhetorical effect through a more natural English device. Internal consistency is also an issue tied up with text development and is particularly critical when we try to construct parallel tests. Let us say that we want to base a test on a 1000-word press article, using, say 500 words. In the first 250 words the writer is likely to be laying the groundwork for his or her argument, perhaps using irony or humour. The next 500 words may contain detailed exposition based on a technical account of the issue, and the last 250 a concluding summary that picks up the rhetorical flavour of the introduction, or even introduces a new note of warning. While it would be tempting to think that the most efficient way to create parallel tests is to cut one text into two, it is obvious that in this example neither half would reflect the rhetorical structure of the other and thus both would have different internal consistency.

Estimating reliability

Those lucky enough to use multiple choice and other brief response test item types have the luxury of measuring test reliability through *split-half* methods, where 'we divide the test into two halves and then determine the extent to which scores on these two halves are consistent with each other'(Bachmann, 1991: 172). The crucial requirement of split-half measures is that performance on one half must be independent of performance on the other half. Even if we could find ways to split interpreting and translation tests (for example, odd versus even paragraphs, first half versus second half), there is no way that the two halves can be independent; if they were, they would not constitute a text. Split-half methods appear, then, to be ruled out. An alternative approach – the Kuder–Richardson reliability coefficients – suffer the same fate for different reasons. The KR formulae are based on the means and variances of the items in the test, and assume that all items 'are of nearly equal difficulty and independent of each other' (1991: 176); even if discrete items could be identified, the criteria of equal difficulty and independence would be impossible to achieve.

Indeed, interpreting and translation tests seem to have much more in common with open-ended instruments like essays, where statistical methods of estimating reliability on the basis of individual test items are extremely difficult to apply. The practice of 'second markers', 'trial marking', etc. indicates a focus on the marker rather than the items as a source of information about reliability. Bachmann speaks of intra- and inter-rater reliability (1991: 178–81). Estimates of intra-rater reliability are made by having a marker rate the same group of subjects twice – on two separate occasions and in different orders – and calculating a correlation coefficient of some kind. Anyone who has spent a day on an interpreting assessment jury or marking a pile of translation examinations will be aware of the potential shifts in rater behaviour through fatigue, or through recency effects as markedly different candidates present. Similarly, a correlation coefficient can be calculated to estimate how consistently two or more markers rate the same candidates. Organisations like NAATI and American Translators Association (ATA) appear to depend heavily on intra- and inter-rater behaviour to achieve reliability. We can only guess at the extent to which educational institutions take rater reliability seriously in achievement tests, final examinations, and the like. It is somewhat surprising to note, then, that our sample of readings contained not a single major published study on the issue of rater consistency.

Concluding Remarks

The translation and interpreting research world asks a great deal of itself. With major current research pushes in areas as diverse as cognitive processing, cultural studies, lexicography and machine translation, it is perhaps not surprising that the field of assessment is in its infancy. But assessment does need to grow up a little and realise that there are some bigger kids on the block for it to learn from; the wider field of measurement and evaluation represents a solid source of knowledge that we can use to understand and improve our assessment practice. It is not just a question of filling in the knowledge gaps, but a question of profession building. As an applied discipline, translation and interpreting puts people into real and important jobs; better assessment means better translators and interpreters.

Note

1. The assistance of Adriana Weissen in undertaking the literature search is acknowledged.

References

Arjona-Tseng, E. (1994) A psychometric approach to the selection of translation and interpreting students in Taiwan. In S. Lambert and B. Moser-Mercer (eds) *Bridging the Gap. Empirical Research in Simultaneous Interpretation* (pp. 69–86). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bachmann, L. (1991) *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bastin, G.L. (2000) Evaluating beginners' re-expression and creativity: A positive approach. *The Translator* 6/2, 231–45.

Bell, S. (1997) The challenges of setting and monitoring the standards of community interpreting: An Australian perspective. In S. Carr, R. Roberts, A. Dufour and D. Steyn (eds) *The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community. Papers from the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Services Settings.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bowen, D. and Bowen, M. (1989) Aptitude for interpreting. In L. Gran and J. Dodds (eds) *The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation* (pp. 109–25). Udine: Campanotto Editore.

Bowker, L. (2000) A corpus-based approach to evaluating student translations. *The Translator* 6/2, 183–210.

Brunette, L. (2000) Towards a terminology for translation quality assessment: A comparison of TQA practices. *The Translator* 6/2, 169–82.

Bühler, H. (1986) Linguistic (semantic) and extra-linguistic (pragmatic) criteria for the evaluation of conference interpretation and interpreters. *Multilingua* 4–5, 231–5.

Campbell, S. (1991) Towards a model of translation competence. *Meta* 36/2–3, 329–43.

Campbell, S. (1999) A cognitive approach to source text difficulty in translation. *Target* 11/1, 33–63.

Campbell, S. and Hale, S. (1999) What makes a text difficult to translate? *Proceedings of the 1998 ALAA Congress.* <http://www.cltr.uq.edu.au/alaa/proceed/camphale.html> (19 April 1999).

Cestac, F. (1987) The recruitment of translators/précis writers at the United Nations and quality control of translations. In M. Gaddis Rose (ed.) *Translation Excellence: Assessment Achievement Maintenance* (pp. 77–86). Binghamton, NY: SUNY.

Dejean Lefeal, K. (1990) Some thoughts on the evaluation of simultaneous interpretation. In D. Bowen and M. Bowen (eds) *Interpreting Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (pp. 154–60). Binghamton, NY: SUNY.

Dollerup, C. (1993) Systematic feedback in teaching translation. In C. Dollerup and A. Lindegaard (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2. Insights, Aims, Visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference* (pp. 121–32). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dueñas Gonzalez, R., Vásquez, V. and Mikkelson, H. (1991) *Fundamentals of Court Interpretation. Theory, Policy and Practice.* North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Ebel, R.L. (1972) *Essentials of Educational Measurement* (2nd edn). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Eckstrom, R.B., French, J.W., Harman, H.H. and Dermen, D. (1976) *Manual for Kit of Factor-Referenced Cognitive Tests.* Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service.

Farahzad, F. (1992) Testing achievement in translation classes. In C. Dollerup and A. Loddegaard (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting. Training, Talent and*

Experience. Papers from the First Language International Conference (pp. 271–8). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Furneaux, W.D. (1956) *Manual of Nufferno Speed Tests and Manual of Nufferno Level Tests.* London: Institute of Psychiatry.

Gentile, A. (1997) Community interpreting or not? Practices, standards and accreditation. In S. Carr, R. Roberts, A. Dufour and D. Steyn (eds) *The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community* (pp. 109–18). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gerver, D., Longley, P., Long, J. and Lambert, S. (1984) Selecting trainee conference interpreters: A preliminary study. *Journal of Occupational Psychology* 57, 17–31.

Gerver, D., Longley, P., Long, J. and Lambert, S. (1989) Selection tests for trainee conference interpreters. *Meta* 34/4, 724–35.

Hatim, B. and Mason, I. (1997) *The Translator as Communicator.* Routledge: London.

Hatim, B. and Williams, M. (1998) Course profile. Diploma in Translation (Diplôme de Traducteur). T*he Translator* 4/1, 125–33.

House, J. (1981) *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment.* Tübingen: Narr.

Ivanova, A. (1998) Educating the 'Language Elite'. In K. Malmjaer (ed.) *Translation and Language Teaching. Language Teaching and Translation* (pp. 91–109). Manchester: St Jerome.

James, H., Roffe, I. and Thorne, D. (1995) Assessment and skills in screen translation. In C. Dollerup and V. Appel (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 3. New Horizons. Papers from the Third Language International Conference* (pp. 271–8). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kalina, S. (2001) Quality requirements in conference interpreting. In *The First International Conference on Translation and Interpretation Studies: Theories of Translation and Interpretation and Problems in Korean Translation and Interpretation* (pp. 19–31). Seoul: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

Keiser, W. (1978) Selection and training of conference interpreters. In D. Gerver and H. Wallace Sinaiko (eds) *Language Interpretation and Communication* (pp. 11–24). New York and London: Plenum Press.

Kintsch, W. (1974) *Representation of Meaning in Memory.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kopczynski, A. (1992) Quality in conference interpreting: Some pragmatic problems. In M. Snell Hornby, F. Pöchhacker and K. Kaindl (eds) *Translation Studies. An Interdiscipline.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kussmaul, P. (1995) *Training the Translator.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lambert, S. (1991) Aptitude testing for simultaneous interpretation at the university of Ottawa. *Meta* 36/4, 586–94.

Longley, P. (1989) The use of aptitude testing in selection of students for conference interpreting training. In L. Gran and J. Dodds (eds) *The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation* (pp. 105–8). Udine: Campanotto Editore.

Macintosh, J. (1995) A review of conference interpretation: Practice and training. *Target* 7/1, 119–33.

Maier, C. (2000) Introduction. *The Translator* 6/2, 137–48.

Martin, P. (1994) NAATI: Role and functions. In R. Seymour and C.C. Liu (eds) *Translation and Interpreting: Bridging East and West* (pp. 23–32). Hawaii: University of Hawaii and the East–West Center.

Miguélez, C. (1999) Current issues in court interpreting: Spain, a case study. *Proteus. Newsletter of the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators* 8/2, 1–4.

Moser-Mercer, B. (1994) Aptitude testing for conference interpreting: Why, When and How. In S. Lambert and B. Moser-Mercer (eds) *Bridging the Gap: Empirical Research in Simultaneous Interpretation* (pp. 57–67). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Niedzielski, H. and Chernovaty, L. (1993) Linguistic and technical preparation in the training of technical translators and interpreters. In S.E. Wright and L.D. Wright, jun. (eds) *Scientific and Technical Translation* (pp. 123–49). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ostarhild, E. (1994) The Institute of Linguists New Diploma in English and Chinese – factors influencing syllabus update. In R. Seymour and C.C. Liu (eds) *Translation and Interpreting: Bridging East and West* (pp. 51–4). Hawaii: University of Hawaii and the East–West Center.

Ozolins, U. (1998) *Interpreting and Translation in Australia. Current Issues and International Comparisons.* Melbourne: Language Australia.

Pöchhacker, F. (1993) Quality assurance in simultaneous interpreting. In C. Dollerup and A. Lindegaard (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2. Insights, Aims, Visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference* (pp. 233–42). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sainz, M. (1993) Student-centred correction of translations. In C. Dollerup and A. Lindegaard (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2. Insights, Aims, Visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference* (pp. 133–41). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Schaeffner, C. (1998) Qualifications for professional translators: Translation in language teaching versus teaching translation. In K. Malmjaer (ed.) *Translation and Language Teaching. Language Teaching and Translation* (pp. 117–33). Manchester: St Jerome.

Schjoldager, A. (1995) Assessment of simultaneous interpreting. In C. Dollerup and V. Appel (eds) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 3. New Horizons* (pp. 186–95). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schweda Nicholson, N. and Martinsen, B. (1997) Court interpretation in Denmark. In S. Carr, R. Roberts, A. Dufour, and D. Steyn (eds) *The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community* (pp. 259–70). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Teague, B. (1987) ATA accreditation and excellence in practice. In M. Gaddis Rose (ed.) *Translation Excellence: Assessment Achievement Maintenance* (pp. 21–6). Binghamton: SUNY.

Thorndike, R.M., Cunningham, G.K, Thorndike, R.L. and Hagen, E.P. (1991) *Measurement and Evaluation in Psychology and Evaluation* (5th edn). New York: Macmillan.

Vidal, M. (2000) NAJIT Certification on the way. *Proteus. Newsletter of the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators* 9/3, 1–3.

Wu, J. (1994) Task-oriented and comprehensive training of translators and interpreters. In R. Seymour and C.C. Liu (eds) *Translation and Interpreting: Bridging East and West* (pp. 87–95). Hawaii: University of Hawaii and the East–West Center.

Chapter 16

A Comment on Translation Ethics and Education

GERARD McALESTER

Peter Newmark has stated that a valid text should among other things be ethically sound. He argues that a text containing words like *bent, broad, dusky, yid* used pejoratively is thus deficient, and that consequently it is the translator's job to correct or gloss the text. While it is difficult to imagine immediate contexts in which some of these words (for example *yid*) could be used in any other way than pejoratively, except as citation forms, it is of course the larger context, and particularly the purpose of the translation, that counts. There surely can be no objection to a translator putting such words into the mouth of a character in a work of fiction or drama who is intended by the author to be obnoxious. The innocence of words as forms is amusingly illustrated by Gore Vidal in his (to some tastes pornographic) novel *Myron*, when he replaces taboo words with the names of justices who supported a Supreme Court ruling that allowed each community the right to decide what is and is not pornography. Thus describing a sex-change operation: 'This large artificial *rehnquist* was then attached to what had been my – or rather Myra's – *whizzer white*.' (My emphasis.)

If a non-fiction text does contain the words cited above in a pejorative sense, then surely the moral question that arises is not so much whether the words should be avoided, improved, or translated with or without a gloss, but whether such a text should be translated at all. This raises the whole question of the moral responsibility of translators for their work. Is the translator morally responsible for the content of the text being translated, and if so to whom? Over the centuries there has been a debate about where the responsibilities or loyalties of the translator should lie – with the author of the source text, the reader of the target text, the commissioner of the translation? Recently Antony Pym (1997) has suggested that translators' loyalty lies with the profession to which they belong, and that the value of a translation is the degree to which it contributes to intercultural relations. If this is so, then it can certainly be argued that translators should not connive in the dissemination of ideas that they regard as reprehensible. Although the meaning is not completely clear, it is perhaps this that the Translator's Charter (1996) published by the International Federation of Translators is referring to in Clause 3, which states under the General Obligations of the translator that he 'shall refuse to give a text an interpretation of which he does not approve, or which would be contrary to the obligations of his profession'.

In practice, however, the situation is not so simple. A freelance translator perhaps has the luxury of being able to refuse a commission to translate a text which offends her/his principles, but translators who are employed in full-time positions by firms, institutions, or translation agencies probably cannot do that if they wish to keep their jobs. This kind of situation can perhaps most easily arise in a totalitarian state, where a translator employed in the government service may well be forced to translate texts whose ideological content is obnoxious to her/him or face loss of employment, disgrace, or worse. On the other hand, it is not appropriate in such cases for the rest of the translating community to adopt a holier-than-thou attitude – and the situation comes much nearer home with some of the translated 'information' put out by multinational corporations, for example. Of course, the translator is essentially in the same position here as the creator of any product – for example, someone working in a munitions factory. In the case of translators, the situation can be exacerbated because they can easily become associated with the end use to which the product is put when their name is attached to that product. Yet it is not always possible for the translator to know to just what ends their translation will ultimately be put. The same text can be used in very different ways. *Mein Kampf* can be translated as an informative text to be used by non-German speaking scholars to learn exactly what Hitler wrote. There is nothing reprehensible in this. The same translation can be employed by some neo-Nazi organisation in order to disseminate racial hatred. This is obnoxious, but surely the translator cannot be held responsible for the use to which her/his work is ultimately put in such a case?

Where translators do know, or strongly suspect, that the use to which the translation will be put conflicts with their principles, then it is up to them to decide whether or not to follow the dictates of their conscience. In such circumstances the translator cannot disclaim responsibility for her/his text ('I was only obeying orders'). Ultimately translators' responsibility is not to the author, or the reader, or the commissioner, or to the translating profession but to themselves. One environment where the moral dimension of translation can, and must, be accorded a more prominent position is in educational institutions that provide translator training. This was brought home to me recently in a translation course I was teaching in my own university. I had (perhaps rather carelessly) set my students the task of translating a brochure that was distributed to visitors to a nuclear power plant. On deeper examination it turned out that the text, which posed as informative, was in fact a piece of special pleading on behalf of the nuclear energy industry. One of my students, although she did the assignment, commented that in real life she would have refused to translate this text because it conflicted with her own deeply held Green convictions about the dangers to the environment posed by nuclear power. She further commented that, were she employed by a translation agency that had been engaged to translate the brochure, she would be extremely troubled about having to translate it. I felt that her comments were not only justified but also an important reminder that particularly in education we should not forget the moral aspect of translation.

Peter Newmark draws attention at the end of his paper to the conflict in values between the university and the market. It seems to me as one working in a university department of translation studies that academia, too, in an effort to rid itself of its ivory tower image is becoming so obsessed with the values of the market (i.e. with vocational training) that we sometimes forget that there is an ethical aspect contained in the etymology of the word *vocation* (a calling). It remains one of the fundamental tasks of the university to concern itself with education in the fullest sense. This means that we must aim to educate translators who are not mere automata reproducing the ideas of others, but who are thinking individuals whose ultimate responsibility for what they do is to their own conscience.

References

Pym, Anthony (1997) *Pour une Étique du Tradecteur.* Artois: Presses universitaires d'Artois.

The Translator's Charter (1996). Paris: FIT.

Index