An Encyclopedia of Practical Translation and Interpreting

EDITED BY

CHAN SIN-WAI

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Introduction

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This volume, *An Encyclopedia of Practical Translation and Interpreting*, is a sequel to *An Encyclopedia of Translation: Chinese-English · English-Chinese* that came out in 1995, after a lapse of twenty-three years. Twenty-three years ago, Professor David Pollard, then Professor of Translation and Chairman of the Department of Translation, and I worked together to produce the first encyclopedia in the field that has general entries on the history, theory, and practice of translation in a global context, as well as specific entries on issues relating to translation between Chinese and English. Ninety-nine scholars and specialists from all over the world were invited to contribute chapters of their specialized areas. Twenty-three years later, a revised or updated edition of the encyclopedia is desirable but not possible. Some contributors are no longer with us; others have shifted their domains of research or become inactive in research due to retirement; still others are no longer in touch with us. All these mean that it is academically more rewarding and practically more manageable to create a new volume to supplement *An Encyclopedia of Translation*, hence the production of this reference work, entitled *An Encyclopedia of Practical Translation and Interpreting*.

The need for this encyclopedia cannot be overemphasized. It is obvious to all of us that practical translation and interpreting have been the two emerging areas of increasing importance in recent decades. Practical translation has gradually become the dominant part in the translation industry, taking up over 90% of the work of translation in a country or community. Interpreting has also been extremely popular due to the need to communicate orally between two or more than two languages, which, for the time being, cannot be assisted by machine in a great way. We have invited a relatively small number of scholars specializing in practical translation and interpreting to contribute chapters on their specialized areas and share with us their experiences in translation or interpreting practice. The number of contributors may be small, but the areas covered are unique, understudied, and of great interest to general readers.

Practical Translation

The first part of this volume is on practical translation. Included in this part is a chapter on the translation of practical writings from English into Chinese by Li Kexing, previously of the Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, who has many years of doing and teaching practical translation. In Chapter 3, he begins with a discussion of the different definitions of practical translation and theories which are relevant to the translation of practical translation, including communicative translation, skopos theory and functionalism, interpretative theory of translation, and cultural translation. He then illustrates with the use of theories in the translation of practical writings, such as cuisines, signs, news reports, tourist texts, and advertisements. This chapter goes on with a discussion on the curriculum design and the teaching of the translation of practical writings, how practical translation has been taught at tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, and the level of research on the translation of practical writings.

To many, the best way to translate practical writings is to use translation systems to help translators complete their work by teamwork and in an efficient manner. This is the main theme in Qian Duoxiu's chapter on "Translation Technology and Its Practical Applications", which is based partly on her experience in teaching computer-aided translation at Beihang University in Beijing, China. This chapter discusses, at the outset, translation technology in its major forms, including machine translation, computer-aided translation, and translation tools for general and specific purposes. It then examines the practical applications of translation technology by different users, such as multinational localization and language service providers and scholars in language and translation-related studies and teaching. Translation technology also provides platforms for degree programmes in audiovisual translation and services for web search engines, international organizations, online shopping portals, social media and email service providers, web browsers, and mobile apps. She concludes that all users have to face the challenges of translation technology in the future and that translation technology will be the major trend in the years to come.

It goes without saying that the use of translation technology is not limited to the translation of practical writings, technology is essential in audiovisual translation. Rocío Baños of University College London in the United Kingdom illustrates with ample examples how audiovisual translation (AVT) is often associated with technology and technological developments due to the complexity and nature of audiovisual texts. This chapter explores the close interrelation between AVT and technological innovations and introduces the software which are used in the market to translate audiovisual content. Specific AVT software, well-established computer-aided translation (CAT) tools, such as translation memory or terminology management tools, as well as other language technologies, such as speech recognition or machine translation, are examined. In addition, interesting new developments in this field, often in the form of collaborative research projects between the industry and academia, are also discussed. The main aim of this chapter is therefore to reflect on the profound impact globalization and technological innovations have had on AVT as a practice and as a discipline, and to identify areas which require attention, considering the needs of companies, translators and audiences.

As we all know, one of the important areas in practical translation is legal translation. This volume has two chapters on legal translation. The first is by Sin King-kui of the School of Translation, Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong. According to Sin, legal translation is an umbrella term covering a motley of activities, ranging from the translation of legal terminology to the translation of a whole body of statutes, from the translation of the will of a single individual which has no significance beyond the lives of a few people, to the translation of an international treaty which has impacts on the lives of millions of people, from the translation of a slang expression which triggers a libel case to the translation of what is generally recognized as a legal document proper (e.g. a contract). Each of such activities is confronted with a distinctive cluster of problems arising not only from the form and content of what is to be translated but also from the particular setting for which the translation is required and in which the translation is carried out. What characterizes all such activities as *legal* translation is that the translation is performed in settings variously related to the legal process in which the use of language is underpinned by a great variety of socio-cultural factors. As the study of language use in socio-cultural contexts, sociolinguistics provides us with insights into the shaping forces and social significance of translation in legal settings. This chapter highlights some of the important sociolinguistic issues relating to the Bilingual Laws Project of Hong Kong. It gives a reflective account of how a seemingly innocent issue of word choice can provoke political critique, how the Chinese language is handicapped by its syntactic structure in formulating polite language for the disabled community, how reason yields to the play of power in deciding appropriate translation of professional titles, and how the need for a new legal language to assimilate the common law is met with strong social resistance. The primary aim of the discussion is to sensitize readers to the complex interplay of social forces exerted by all stakeholders affected by the translation of the law.

The second chapter on legal translation is by Wang Ling, formerly of the School of Humanities and Social Science, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shenzhen, who writes on the cultural aspects of legal translation, shedding a new light on the impact of culture on the translation of legal documents. This chapter addresses the issue of cultural transfer in legal translation and begins with a critical analysis of the objective and strategy of legal translation. It investigates problems relating to law translation in general and translating the common law into Chinese in particular. It then examines the nature of cultural transfer in law translation with special reference to the translation of common law terminology. By analyzing selected translations of the common law terminology, it shows that translation as an act of interlingual communication and translation as an act of cultural transfer belong to two different levels of linguistic operation. Meta-linguistic and extra-translational mechanisms are required in order to effect successful cultural transfer in legal translation.

A somewhat neglected but important area is public administration translation, which is covered in Chapter 6 by Peter Chung Lung-shan, who served in the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region for many years as a senior translator and administrator of public administration documents. Public administration translation is a genre which serves for and responses to contemporary government language policies. This is illustrated by the creation and development of the grades of Public Administration Translation service providers in the Civil Service of Hong Kong. For example, the Cadet Scheme was a response to the government's policy of rule by segregation, while the Interpreter/Translator grade was created in early 1950s to implement the policy of rule by inclusion. The split of the Court Interpreter and Chinese Language Officer grades from the Interpreter/Translator grade, as well as the creation of the Simultaneous Interpretation grade in the early 1970s, was made upon the recommendation of the Chinese Language Committee. The creation of the Law Translation Officer grade in 1989 was a response to the order made in 1985 by the Executive Council for the enactment of future legislation in both English and Chinese and for the production of an authentic Chinese translation of all existing legislation. The formation of the Putonghua unit in the Official Language Agency caters for the political needs of the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. All these have been adequately discussed in this chapter entitled "Public administration translation".

Besides public administration, this volume also includes chapters of great interest to readers, such as tourism translation. Tourism translation by Liao Min-Hsiu of Heriot-Watt University in Scotland, for example, provides information on how tourist literature should be translated. The tourism industry today relies heavily on the global market, and thus translation has become an essential component in effective tourism marketing. Many tourism operators provide multilingual services in various formats. In the context of this global trend, this chapter provides an in-depth discussion on the issues related to the practice of tourism translation. The purpose is two-fold: first, to provide a thorough review of relevant discussions in the existing literature; and second, to bring attention to the practitioners of tourism translation, key issues that are often encountered in this activity and possible solutions. Given that tourism is a complicated activity and tourism material can be produced for different purposes, and very often to serve several purposes at the same time, in order to have a coherent discussion within this complicated activity, the discussion of translating tourism material in this chapter is broadly divided into the three communicative functions of language: ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Overall, the discussion of practices of tourism translation is rooted in theories, but with a clear practical orientation.

The translation of religious writings, on the other hand, has a long tradition both in China and in the West. The translation of Buddhist scriptures in China and the rendering of the Bible in the West are cited as typical examples of the translation of religious writings. In this volume, this important topic is covered in the chapter entitled "Translation of Religious Writings", authored by Adriana Şerban of the University of Montpellier 3 and Rim Hassen, who teaches translation at the Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies, University of Warwick. Translating religious writings, especially texts regarded as sacred by their users, raises a number of sensitive issues, and questions the nature of translation itself, and even its possibility. The translation of religious texts has a very long history, and has played a seminal role in shaping translation theory and methodology, with implications beyond the field of religious translation itself. In today's world, at a time when goods and services are sold and exchanged on a scale previously unimaginable, the relevance of humanity's sacred texts, of their translation and transmission, is undergoing transformations which are linked to individual and societal phenomena, historical events, as well as advances in technology which change the ways in which people interact and communicate knowledge and opinions, including in the religious field. In the chapter, they focus on the impact religious translation has had on the development of ideas about translation, which have shaped the discipline of Translation Studies as it now stands, as well as on a number of key developments such as audience design, the growing awareness of gender issues, the use of paratexts, and the influence of contemporary media.

For music and song lovers, the translation of music by Lucile Desblache of Roehampton University in London and the translation of songs by Eos Cheng Hui-tung of Hong Kong should satisfy their curiosity of how music and songs are to be translated. The chapter on the "Translation of Music" explores the role of translation in music making and music production in the twenty-first century. In the first part of this chapter, it discusses previous definitions of both music and translation in different geographical and cultural contexts, showing how the two notions are necessarily interrelated. This definitional part also explores the conflictual relationship of music and authenticity in relation to the translation of the former. The second part of this chapter explores a wide array of different musical translations, where they take place, and on which platforms. It also considers the many translation types and strategies used for vocal music translation, intralingually, interlingually, and intersensorially. It concludes that although song translation, which focuses on the transfer of lyrics, is the most visible and perhaps needed form of transfer in the musical sphere, translation is, in many respects, the language of music itself, as music depends on variations and a wide range of mediations.

Eos Cheng Hui-tung of Hong Kong, who has many years of translating and studying songs, holds the view that vocal music is essentially a multimedial art, involving two or even three media of communication: the verbal and the musical in non-dramatic genres, and the verbal, the musical and the visual in dramatic genres. Likewise, vocal text translation also covers a wide range of translational activities varying in functions, technical demands and translation approaches, often involving a combination of communicative channels: the purely verbal (full translations and paraphrases for reading), verbal-visual (e.g. surtitles), verbal-musical (e.g. singable translation), to the verbal-musical-visual (e.g. dubbing), ranging from an array of target texts for reading to singable texts for casual or professional performances. This chapter outlines the major types of these translational activities and the major issues involved. In general, the more communicative channels involved, the more complicated the translational activity is and therefore a greater deviation from the semantically-oriented approach to translation is expected. Purely verbal vocal text translating comes closest to the semantically-oriented approach. However, when more than one communicative channel is involved, omission and modification of the content of the source text often become necessary and the target text has to be evaluated from a perspective different from other text types.

The remaining two chapters in the section on practical translation are on editing in translation and the translation of Chinese famous quotes. Editing in translation, written by Brian Mossop of York University in Canada, provides very useful guides to the work of revision. Revision, according to Brian, is the process of reading a translation to find problematic wordings, and if necessary making or recommending corrections or improvements, in order to achieve a suitable quality. The chapter looks at the purposes of revision, why it is needed, revision terminology, who revises, qualifications of revisers, quality concepts underlying revision, self-revision, revision of others, revision policies, revision speed and cost, revision ethics, revision parameters, revision on screen and on paper, revision procedure, empirical studies of revision, issues for research, and training in revision.

Chapter 7 in the practical translation section, written by me, is on the methods translators used in the translation of Chinese famous quotes into English, based on the author's experience in translating lines and expressions from Chinese classical works quoted by Wen Jiabao, former premier of China. "Chinese famous quotes" refers to quotations from Chinese classics, poems, prose-poems, and other types of writings which are frequently or specifically cited in practical and literary works to convey what the author intends to bring out in a specific context. Translating the best-known lines in the best-known works of the best-known poets and writers throughout the ages is both a great challenge and a source of great enjoyment. This chapter is divided into two parts: Part 1 examines the characteristics of Chinese poetry and discusses the methods used in translating poems and sayings in their entirety; Part 2 takes the book the author translated, entitled *Famous Chinese Sayings Quoted by Wen Jiabao*, as an example to illustrate the issues relating to the translation of famous quotes in Chinese writings. This chapter examines the role of technology in translating *Famous Chinese Sayings Quoted by Wen Jiabao* into English. It also discusses how to deal with the changes in contents due to the shift of target readership, how to use the official translations provided by official agencies available on the Internet, what are the methods to translate quotations and original sources, and concludes that searching and re-searching are probably the best ways to translate the sayings quoted by Wen Jiabao and other general quotes.

Interpreting

The second section is on interpreting. Five types of interpreting are covered in this volume, including conference interpreting, court interpreting, legal interpreting, liaison interpreting, and simultaneous interpreting, with a chapter on interpreting between Mandarin and English.

Conference interpreting is written by Valerie Taylor-Bouladon, who has many years of experience in interpreting, including interpreting at United Nations and at the diplomatic level. This chapter begins with the history of interpretation starting with Greek mythology and the Ancient Egyptians. It then deals with the League of Nations and the Nuremberg Trials, explaining the various interpretation systems used leading up to the invention of simultaneous interpretation. It then moves to more recent times, explaining how it is done today. The different modes of interpretation are explained as well as protocol and etiquette, duties, responsibilities and ethics. The importance of one's mother tongue is stressed as well as what is required to make a good interpreter. Active and passive languages are explained as well as the classification system for A, B, and C languages, according to the international professional interpreters' association, AIIC (International Association of Conference Interpreters), headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. This chapter ends with some thoughts on the future of the profession.

The chapter on court interpreting is by Holly Mikkelson of the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, who has taught interpreting for more than four decades, written numerous articles and books on interpreting, and edited an encyclopedia on interpreting. According to Holly, court interpreters provide language assistance to participants in judicial proceedings who are not proficient in the language in which the proceedings take place. Criminal defendants have a right to an interpreter under the laws of most countries, though the extent to which such a right is enforced varies a great deal from one country to the next. Interpreters work in court proceedings as well as quasi-judicial proceedings in specialized courts, and in many extrajudicial settings such as police stations and prisons. They are bound by strict codes of ethics which require accuracy, confidentiality, impartiality, and professionalism, among other elements. The modes of interpreting provided by court interpreters include consecutive, simultaneous, simultaneous-consecutive, and sight translation. Remote interpreting in judiciary settings is becoming increasingly common. Court interpreting is not as highly developed a profession as conference interpreting, but educational programmes and research focusing on court interpreting are proliferating. Many countries have raised standards for qualifying as a court interpreter, but the pay and working conditions still lag behind those of conference interpreters.

Legal interpreting in Hong Kong, written by Daisy Ng Sheung-yuen of the Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, is a chapter based on her practical experience in legal interpreting. Daisy says that for professional interpreters who have usually only received formal training in conference interpretation, they have to learn the ropes of a new trade when taking up interpreting work in the legal field, such as interpreting in court, at deposition and arbitration hearings. Without proper guidance inexperienced legal interpreters in the freelance market often find themselves easy targets for scapegoating during the adversarial proceedings of deposition or arbitration. Her own experience as an interpreter at dozens of arbitral hearings has convinced her that a lack of defined functions and professional ethics for legal interpreters in the freelance market is detrimental to the spirit of due procedure of arbitral laws. The growing tendency for parties to hire interpreters separately rather than jointly for arbitration hearings has further given rise to occasional misguided expectations on the legal interpreter to act as an advocate rather than playing an impartial role. Even though the Hong Kong government strives to promote Hong Kong as an international arbitration centre, the Department of Justice and the local legal community have yet to recognize the need for proper training and guidelines governing the professionalism and use of legal interpreters beyond the structured environment of court system.

Liaison interpreting is a chapter written by Mariachiara Russo of the Department of Interpreting and Translation, the University of Bologna, Italy, who has published many articles on this topic. This chapter gives a definition of the meaning of liaison, and then explores the different interpersonal and social implications of liaison interpreting, which is described as an oral form of linguistic and cultural mediation performed on the basis of the interpreter's memory, at times aided by a few notes, and not on the basis of a specific technical equipment. It then gives a historical development of the profession and of the liaison interpreter status. Liaison interpreting is also compared with conference interpreting, highlighting the main differences in terms of communicative role, register, language directionality, proxemics, mode of delivery, consequences of inaccurate renditions, level of accuracy required, and participants to the communicative event. The last part of this chapter examines the pragmatic and cultural-linguistic dimensions of the professional role of a liaison interpreter, with special reference to ethics, code of conducts, neutrality and advocacy.

Chapter 13 is about interpreting between Mandarin and English, written by Patrick Wu Zhiwei of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies in China. This chapter approaches the practice of interpreting between Mandarin and English from three perspectives: the market, the training and the research. It makes observations about the supply and demand in the Mandarin-English interpreting market in China, and introduces the training programmes and modules designed to address the unique challenges of Mandarin-English interpreting. This chapter also identifies the research topics that characterize Mandarin-English interpreting. Building on these observations, the author proposes a market-training-research linkage to better inform the practice of interpreting between Mandarin and English.

The last chapter is on simultaneous interpreting, written by Daniel Gile of Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle, whose works in simultaneous interpreting have been used by many students in interpreting classes. Simultaneous interpreting is defined as an oral or signed translation modality and its historical development is briefly sketched. The simultaneous interpreting process is presented, with a focus on cognitive challenges, which leads to a presentation of the Effort Model of simultaneous interpreting for both spoken and signed language interpreting. In addition to the Efforts present when interpreting between two spoken languages, interpreters working into a sign language need to devote attention to interaction with the Deaf recipients of their output and to self-management in space. The conceptual framework created by the Effort Models is used to introduce problem triggers and "failure sequences" in which such triggers and/or mismanagement of attentional resources by interpreters lead to errors, omissions and infelicities. Language skills requirements for simultaneous interpreting are described, with a focus on the need for availability and flexibility. The chapter then moves on to a presentation of tactics and strategies interpreters use to overcome challenges or contain their damaging effects. A discussion of simultaneous interpreting quality follows before the chapter shifts to interpreter training. The chapter concludes with a brief section on the future of simultaneous interpreting, with references to the effects of English as a lingua franca and to automatic interpreting.

Conclusion

While every effort has been made to ensure that the coverage of this encyclopedia is comprehensive and balanced, there are nevertheless still topics and areas to be covered. It is hoped that the publication of this encyclopedia serves to assert the importance of practical translation and interpreting in teaching as well as research. It is also hoped that more topics will be added when an enlarged edition is planned.

Practical Translation

1 Technology and Audiovisual Translation

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Introduction: The Impact of Technological Innovations on Audiovisual Translation

Thanks to the numerous technological innovations and developments witnessed in the past few years, audiovisual material has taken an increasingly predominant role in today's globalized world, especially as regards communication and entertainment. Such developments have not only influenced the role of audiovisual media nowadays, but have also transformed how audiovisual programmes are consumed and perceived by audiences. Whereas in the past audiovisual material was mainly associated with cinema and television, and consumed in formats that are long gone (e.g. Betamax, VHS, analogue formats), in the current landscape audiovisual content is created, consumed, shared and even recreated through numerous platforms—many of which are now cloud-based—and formats, resulting in a higher level of complexity and flexibility. This has also resulted in an increase in the amount of audiovisual material needing translation, posing an issue to many companies and organizations. In order to cope with this surge, organizations have resorted to technology and to practices such as crowdsourcing which, as will be discussed below, rely heavily on technology.

Assertions regarding the huge impact technology has had on audiovisual material can also be extrapolated to audiovisual translation (AVT) both as a practice and as a discipline. In line with current research in this field, AVT is here understood as an umbrella term referring to a wide range of practices related to the translation of audiovisual material. AVT does not only entail making audiovisual programmes accessible to viewers who do not speak the language of the original text, but also making them accessible to audiences with sensory (e.g. visual/hearing) impairments. Therefore, AVT does not only encompass interlingual translation modes[1] aimed at transferring the original text from a source language to a target language, be it as written output (subtitling) or as spoken output (revoicing). It also integrates practices such as Sign language interpreting (SLI) or Subtitling for deaf and hard of hearing audiences (SDH), and Audio description (AD) for blind and partially sighted viewers.

Audiovisual translation is often associated with technology and technological developments also due to the complexity and nature of audiovisual texts. Díaz-Cintas (2013: 123), for example, argues that if the "cultural turn" (Bassnet and Lefevere 1998) can be deemed the most prominent turn in translation studies as a discipline, perhaps the turn that has had a greater impact on subtitling has been the technology turn. O'Hagan (2013: 512) posits that the identification of the latter entails the incorporation of the increasingly evident impact of technology in translation theory, allowing scholars to gain insight into the inseparable interrelationship between translation and technology. Such interrelationship is evident not only in subtitling, as argued by Díaz-Cintas, but in AVT in general, although current developments reveal that the role of technology varies depending on the AVT mode in question, as will be discussed below.

In order to illustrate this close interrelation between AVT and technological innovations, this chapter will first pay attention to the software used in the market nowadays to translate audiovisual content, focusing both on specific AVT software and on well-established computer-assisted

1 In AVT, it is common to distinguish between interlingual and intralingual modes. The former involve transfer between different languages, whereas the latter entail transfer within the same language, and sometimes between different sign systems (visual elements to aural elements or vice versa).

translation (CAT) tools such as translation memory or terminology management tools, as well as on other language technologies such as speech recognition or machine translation, among others. In doing so, the chapter will discuss interesting new developments in this field, often in the form of collaborative research projects between the industry and academia.

Specific AVT Software

Over the years, a wide range of software—both proprietary and freeware—targeted at meeting the specific needs of audiovisual translators and of other part-takers in the AVT process has been developed. As will be illustrated below, research on the tools available in the market nowadays clearly reveals that subtitling software is much more developed and widespread if compared to revoicing software. In addition to dedicated software, audiovisual translators should be familiar with a wide range of tools which, despite not having been designed with the needs of translators in mind, will be extremely useful. For instance, audiovisual translators might need to install additional codec packs to be able to play specific videos or resort to audio and video converters to play and work with particular video formats. They should also be familiar with video editors and especially with media players, such as the popular and free VLC media player (http://www.videolan.org/vlc), which is seen as a great alternative to Windows Media Player or QuickTime, as it is not only very versatile as regards codecs and formats, but it also allows users to customize and manage audio and subtitle tracks, among other features.

Subtitling Software: Proprietary Tools and Platforms

As with other translation technology, there are currently many proprietary subtitling programmes available in the market, offering professional subtitlers a wide range of features. Some of the most popular ones in Europe include EZTitles (http://www.eztitles.com), Fab Subtitler (http://www.fab-online.com/eng/subtitling), Spot Subtitling System (http://www.spotsoftware.nl), Tempo by Cavena (http://test.cavena.com/?product=tempo) or WINCAPS by Screen Systems (http://subtitling.com). It should also be noted that some subtitling companies have developed their own software in-house, tailored to their own needs. Although programmes vary widely as far as pricing and features are concerned, most professional tools include features to streamline the spotting of subtitles (i.e. establishing the time when a subtitle should appear on screen and when it should disappear given a specific set of parameters), thus allowing for a more accurate synchronization between subtitles and the original soundtrack. As such, some programmes include "a sound recognition application that detects the point at which speech begins and its duration, offering a graphical representation of the actual speech" (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 90) as well as shot change detectors that automatically analyze video files and identify shot changes (ibid.: 92) so that these can be considered accordingly during the spotting of subtitles.

Professional subtitling programmes also integrate powerful editing features for both interlingual and intralingual subtitles (e.g. to easily change the position and colour of subtitles), as well as quality assurance tools. The latter allow subtitlers to check if their subtitles comply with the time and space parameters established by their clients (e.g. minimum and maximum duration of subtitles, recommended reading speed, number of characters per line, etc.), as well as to make sure that there are no spelling mistakes, empty lines and subtitles, etc. Newer versions offer more sophisticated integrations targeted at increasing productivity often through automation. For example, the latest version of WINCAPS from Screen Systems, WINCAPS Q4 Pro, offers additional features which allow the automatic timing of subtitles or the conversion of speech into subtitles through speech recognition technology (Screen Systems 2015a: online). As will be discussed below, the potential of such an integration has been recognized by several organizations and research projects and is currently being further investigated.

The above-mentioned tools require downloading and installation, with licenses being managed by specific keys, dongles or servers. However, subtitling companies and subtitling software developers have started embracing the advantages of cloud-based software, which has resulted in very interesting implementations. One of the most innovative and successful subtitling platforms at the time of writing is the Online Captions and Subtitles Toolkit developed by Ooona (http://ooona.net), which integrates subtitling editing features and complex project management capabilities. Whereas the former enable subtitlers to work from home without having to install any software, the latter allow companies to manage the subtitling workflow efficiently, from budgeting to reporting and invoicing, including the allocation and constant monitoring of subtitling projects, among others. This model has been adopted by other companies across Europe, as is the case with MediaWen, which claims to provide automatic dubbing and subtitling online solutions through their platform STVHUB (http://stvhub.com), or with OptiSpeech, who claim to offer the "next generation subtitling" through their integrated subtitling platform eCaption (www.ecaption.eu). In most cases, these cloud-based solutions are licensed on a subscription basis (Software as a service pricing models), reflecting the trends highlighted in TAUS Translation Technology Landscape Report (2013).

Regardless of the licensing model used, the high sophistication of the above-mentioned proprietary subtitling tools tends to come at a high price. This has resulted in the development of freeware for subtitling purposes, which is widely used in training and, in particular, among fansubbing and crowdsourcing communities.

Subtitling Software: Freeware and Open Platforms

Subtitle Workshop (http://subworkshop.sourceforge.net) and Aegisub (http://www.aegisub.org) are probably two of the best known free subtitling programmes. However, there are many more to add to this list, such as VisualSubSync (http://www.visualsubsync.org), Gaupol (http://home.gna.org/gaupol), Jubler Subtitler Editor (http://www.jubler.org), Subtitle Edit (http://www.nikse.dk/subtitleedit) or DivXLand Media Subtitler (http://www.divxland.org/en/media-subtitler) to mention but a few. As with any software, freeware tends to be less intuitive and sophisticated if compared to proprietary tools. However, free subtitling software provides a great alternative to professional tools both in training and amateur subtitling contexts.

Fansubbing communities rely on freeware to create their amateur subtitles, often targeted at redressing "the shortage and cultural insensitivity of commercial translations" (Pérez-González 2014: 17). The rapid growth of this practice, initially associated with Japanese anime in the 1980s but now widely implemented, especially for the subtitling of the latest episodes of US TV series with huge fan-bases, is closely related to technology, taking off in the mid-1990s with the advent of cheap computer software and the availability of free subtitling equipment on the Internet (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz-Sánchez 2006: 37). Technology has thus empowered amateur subtitlers to challenge commercial subtitling, but has also enabled them to establish complex networked communities which, to some extent, mirror professional subtitling workflows.

Crowdsourced subtitling or crowdsubtitling has also benefited greatly and become possible thanks to technology-driven changes. Díaz-Cintas (2015: 637) explains the difference between crowdsubtitling and fansubbing practices as follows:

> As opposed to crowdsubtitling, in which both clips and subtitles are distributed with the consent of the interested parties, fansubs are technically illegal as they are not officially licensed and, therefore, infringe the copyright of the owners of the audiovisual programme.

Díaz-Cintas (ibid.) also argues that crowdsubtitling and fansubbing also differ in that fansubbers tend to work with downloadable free subtitling programmes, whereas crowdsourcing is usually done through online platforms, resorting thus to cloud subtitling. A case in point is the global platform TED, where more than 15,000 volunteer translators contribute to the subtitling of TED talks in over 100 languages through The Open Translation Project (TED n.d.: online). TED volunteer work is managed through Amara (http://amara.org), an open-source project which includes a subtitling creation and viewing tool, a collaborative subtitling platform and an open protocol for subtitle search and delivery. The aim of Amara is to offer as intuitive and user-friendly a platform as possible, thus preventing volunteer subtitlers from having to delve into the technicalities of subtitling and allowing them to start subtitling without much training. Whereas acquiring translation experience and skills is one of the key motivational factors of TED subtitlers (Cámara de la Fuente 2014: 213), enhancing their instrumental skills using subtitling software would arguably not feature within their motivations due to the nature of the platform. As an open-source, non-profit project, Amara is a popular platform amongst volunteer-driven initiatives. Nevertheless, it is also used for commercial subtitling through Amara On Demand, thus establishing itself as a competitor to the above-mentioned proprietary cloud-based platforms. A similar approach is taken by other platforms such as Dotsub (https://dotsub.com), offering customers a combination of crowdsourcing and professional translation.

Crowdsubtitling has not only sparked interest among non-for profit organizations through platforms like Amara or Viki (https://www.viki.com/subtitling_community): in July 2015, the European Commission launched a one million euro crowdsubtitling initiative to increase the circulation of European audiovisual works (EC Digital Single Market 2015). Aimed at investigating, testing and developing innovative solutions, processes and models relying on crowdsubtitling, this call prompted strong criticism from professional subtitlers' associations across Europe, who deemed this as yet another attempt to lower subtitling costs at the expense of quality and to demean the profession.

These initiatives and tools illustrate how technological advances have empowered viewers to take an active role in the creation, manipulation and distribution of audiovisual content, and to create successful and sophisticated collaborative networks with varied motivations. Whereas some see these practices as a threat, resulting in the deprofessionalization of subtitling, others seem to take a more positive stance by focusing on how technology is contributing to the provision of more accessible audiovisual content and transforming the profession, providing more flexible, affordable and accessible tools.

Revoicing Software

Compared to subtitling, technology seems to have played a less pivotal role in the case of revoicing, both in professional and academic environments. Back in 2009, Martí Ferriol (2009: 629) highlighted the lack of applications for revoicing modes, especially in the case of dubbing. This trend has also been discussed by Chaume (2007) who argues that dubbing shows a reluctance to embrace the globalization favoured by new technologies and shows that, unlike subtitling, dubbing practices are still very conservative, and resistant to change and homogenization. The audiovisual landscape has changed substantially since then, but technological developments in this field are either still scarce or have not been implemented consistently globally. As such, most professional translators working in the field of revoicing, especially in the case of dubbing and voiceover,[2] are not usually required to use dedicated software, but to

2 Dubbing and voiceover are the two most widely-used interlingual revoicing modes. In dubbing, the original dialogue is completely replaced with a recording of the translated dialogue, interpreted by dubbing actors in the target language, whereas in voiceover the original and the translated tracks of dialogue are presented simultaneously, with the volume of the former lowered to avoid confusion.

work with text editors to produce a translation which will then be managed accordingly by the dubbing studio. Although more research is needed to ascertain these working practices, such patterns have been evidenced by scholars like Marzá and Torralba (2013) in Spain. As Chaume (2012: 29) explains, although this varies from country to country, translators in Western European dubbing countries are often asked to produce a rough translation (a literal translation reflecting all idiosyncrasies of the source text and culture), which will then be modified by a dialogue writer, who adapts the translation making sure that dialogues sound natural and are synchronized to the screen characters' mouths. Synchronized dialogues will then be interpreted by voice talents, under the supervision of the dubbing director, and then mixed and recorded by sound engineers.

Dedicated technology is therefore used at a later stage, in the dubbing or recording studio, and its use is not required by translators or dialogue writers. There are nevertheless exceptions, which show this AVT mode gives priority to local rather than to global practices, as suggested by Chaume (2007). In France, for example, dedicated software is used to cater for the specific workflow used by French dubbing studios, where "the translation is typed onto the screen in a track called *la bande rythmo*" (Chaume 2007: 205). This track is added onto the audiovisual programme for dubbing purposes only, at the bottom of the screen and, as if they were scrolling subtitles, it includes dialogues and indications for voice talents, so that they can be read while looking at the screen and hearing the original soundtrack in the recording studio (ibid.). The freeware Cappella (http://www.cappella.tv) allows translators and *détecteurs* (those responsible for the synchronization of dialogues) to insert the above-mentioned *bande rythmo* onto the audiovisual text and to make sure that the translated dialogues are synchronized with the original before being revoiced by dubbing actors.

The software VoiceQ (https://voiceq.com), developed and distributed by New Zealand based media company Kiwa Digital, works in a similar way to Cappella and seems to be inspired by the workflow used in France as it allows the insertion of translated dialogue as synchronized scrolling text over the original video. Marketed as voice synchronization software and available only for Mac Operating Systems, VoiceQ is targeted at streamlining the dubbing process, saving time and costs. Developers claim that the software is useful not only for film companies and post-production studios, but also for dubbing directors, engineers, voice talents and translators/dialogue writers. Regarding the latter, their website argues that "[o]verlaying the translation immediately over the movie provides instant validation of the use of words, labials, lip-sync and timing", and that once translated and adapted with VoiceQ, it is just a matter of emailing the project file to the studio ready for dubbing (VoiceQ n.d.: online). Nevertheless, this software cannot be said to be currently in widespread use in the dubbing/voiceover industry, perhaps because it presupposes a very specific workflow which might not be suitable in all contexts and thus requires further training. Previous studies (Chaume 2007; Martí Ferriol 2009; Marzà and Torralba 2013) have also pointed out that dubbing companies have developed their own in-house tools and processes for specific tasks (e.g. use of templates and macros), and changing such ingrained habits and practices will take time.

VoiceQ website also emphasizes the advantages for educational institutions as far as the integration of this tool in the curriculum is concerned. In this sense, the array of tools available to educational institutions for the teaching of revoicing modes is very limited if compared to that of subtitling. Windows Movie Maker (WMM), available with Windows Operating Systems, is one of the tools used by lecturers, both in the case of dubbing (Chaume 2007) and voiceover (Martí Ferriol 2009). This tool allows students to record a new track with their translated dialogue which could replace the original dialogue (in the case of dubbing) or overlap with it (in the case of voiceover) thus helping them to ascertain whether their translation respects the relevant synchronies required, that is, whether it is too long/short, or whether lip-synching needs adjusting in the case of dubbing.

IMovie would be the alternative to WMM for Mac users, and other free options could be further explored, such as VirtualDub or ClipFlair Studio. ClipFlair Studio (http://studio.clipflair.net) is an online, free and open source platform developed within the European-funded project ClipFlair, aimed at providing a motivating, easily accessible environment to learn a foreign language through revoicing and subtitling. Although this online platform has been developed with the needs of foreign language learners in mind, its user-friendliness and built-in revoicing features make it suitable for the teaching of revoicing modes such as dubbing, voiceover or audio description.

VirtualDub (http://www.virtualdub.org) and similar free video editing programmes are used by fandubbers. Like fansubs, fandubs are dubbings made by fans for fans to overcome the linguistic barriers of original audiovisual programmes and to make available products with a limited distribution in the target language (Chaume 2012: 4). Given the complexity of the dubbing process, the results tend to be rather amateur (e.g. priority will probably not be given to voice acting and translation quality, the soundtrack containing special effects and songs might be deleted, the same voice may be used to revoice all characters, etc.). However, the purpose of fandubs is not to compete with professional dubbing: in addition to increasing audiovisual accessibility, many fandubs have a comical and even parodic purpose, in which case are rather referred to as *fundubs* (Jüngst 2013: 113).

The disadvantage of resorting to user-friendly and easily accessible programmes such as WMM, IMovie or ClipFlair Studio when teaching voiceover and dubbing is that they are not widely used in the industry and are therefore to be seen as tools that contribute to the acquisition of relevant synchronization and dialogue writing skills, rather than to the attainment of instrumental skills to be used in the professional world straight away. Regarding some further advantages, Chaume (2007: 215) posits that "this kind of software can undeniably homogenize the process of training in academic settings". Institutions could also resort to more sophisticated video editing software such as Adobe Premiere Pro or Final Cut Pro, but further investment and/or training for both lecturers and students would be needed, as would be the case if more specific software such as Cappella or VoiceQ were to be used in class.

The discussion so far has revolved around interlingual revoicing modes such as dubbing and voiceover. As explained by Martí Ferriol (2009), the situation is slightly different and more homogeneous in the case of audio description (AD), a revoicing AVT mode used for making audiovisual programmes accessible to blind and visually impaired audiences by inserting an additional narration describing the action, body language, facial expressions, scenery and costumes in between the dialogue (Benecke 2004: 78). Companies such as Starfish Technologies (http://www.starfish.tv) or Grass Valley, which now commercializes Softel Swift ADePT (https://www.grassvalley.com/products/swift_adept), provide professional AD software enabling users to prepare, manage and record audio described scripts for a wide range of media (TV, DVD and film) and formats.

Freeware, used by amateur audio describers or for training purposes, is also widely available online. Some examples are Live Describe (https://imdc.ca/ourprojects/livedescribe), which allows users to easily manage audio tracks in video files, or YouDescribe (http://youdescribe.org), targeted at adding AD tracks to YouTube videos.

Integration of Traditional CAT Tools in the AVT Workflow: Missing Opportunities

The extremely rapid expansion and success of CAT tools across the world since the emergence of commercial systems in the 1980s (Chan 2015: 26) does not seem to have influenced AVT to the same extent it has impacted other translation fields. Although CAT tools are often associated with translation memory (TM) tools, this term is here understood and used in a wider sense, thus encompassing different types of technology often integrated in CAT systems and developed with translators in mind (TM tools, terminology management and extraction tools, alignment tools, quality assurance tools, concordancers, etc.). The use of technology aimed at automating the translation process, as is the case with Machine Translation (MT) or speech recognition, will be discussed later on.

García (2015: 68) explains that CAT systems were developed from the early 1990s to respond to the increasing need of companies and institutions to launch their products and services in other languages and markets, enabling them to speed up the translation process and allowing translators to reuse existing translations and consistently apply the same terminology. He also adds that, despite being once restricted to technical translation and localization projects, "CAT systems have since expanded to cater for most types of translation, and most translators, including non-professionals, can now benefit from them" (ibid.). Given that many of the above-mentioned tools are not integrated in current AVT software (i.e. professional subtitling software), this does not seem to be the case for audiovisual translators. As seen above, some proprietary subtitling tools include built-in spell checkers and quality assurance tools, and some online platforms integrate project management capabilities similar to those included in CAT systems such as SDL Trados or MemoQ. Yet the inability to manage valuable resources such as TMs, terminology databases or glossaries through existing AVT tools is somewhat surprising. It could be argued that the integration of technologies is not necessary: as long as the source text is provided in electronic form, translators could indeed translate audiovisual texts with existing CAT tools. However, the integration of these resources with existing AVT tools is essential as what is translated is the audiovisual text as a whole and not just audiovisual dialogues or scripts, which means that translators should be able to constantly access the clip they are working with as well.

The Usefulness of CAT Tools for the Translation of Non-Fictional Audiovisual Content

Díaz-Cintas (2013) posits that the worth of TM tools has been called into question in AVT in the past because of the diverse and eclectic nature of audiovisual materials and the fact that many of these needing translations belonged to fictional genres, often deemed unsuitable for TM tools. However, he also argues that the demand to translate audiovisual content containing the high level of lexical repetition that makes it worthwhile for translation companies to employ CAT tools is on the increase. Given the motivations behind the development of CAT tools argued by García, it would make sense to resort to CAT tools to translate some docurrealities, scientific and technical documentaries, corporate videos, tutorials and instructional clips, DVD bonus material, etc., in order to reuse existing translations and to achieve terminological consistency.

The usefulness of CAT tools for the translation of these audiovisual programmes is still relatively underexplored, both academically and as regards potential industry applications. The study carried out by Hanoulle, Hoste and Remael (2015), on the efficacy of terminology extraction systems for the translation of scientific documentaries, is an exception. One of the aims of the study was to ascertain the usefulness of semi-automatic terminology extraction in scientific documentaries using three different tools (SDL Multiterm Extract, Similis and a tool developed by the University of Ghent, called TExSIS). The data gathered suggests that the terminology in the scientific documentaries under study was specific enough to be detected by terminology extraction systems and that, although there was room for improvement as regards its precision rate, the bilingual glossary extracted with TexSIS met the relevant criteria set by researchers (ibid.: 12). The study also investigated whether the integration of this bilingual glossary helped trainee audiovisual translators (at master's level) in terms of process time and terminological errors, concluding that process time is significantly reduced but not the number of terminological errors. Such findings shed light onto the usefulness of existing CAT tools in specific AVT contexts and show the need to carry out more research in this field, investigating other genres and AVT modes and considering various parameters (not only time and speed but also quality).

The Usefulness of CAT Tools for the Translation of Fictional Audiovisual Programmes

In addition to the fact that not all the material that requires AVT is of a fictional nature, I would like to argue that the translation of fictional products can also benefit from existing translation technology. Research has shown that fictional dialogue is stereotypical and formulaic (Pavesi 2008; Freddi 2009; Chaume 2012), thus exhibiting some degree of repetition, perhaps not at sentence or segment level, but at a sub-segment level (lexical and phraseological). This is not uncommon in other texts and translation fields, as "[m]ost repetition happens below the sentence level, with the stock expressions and conventional phraseology that make up a significant part of writing" (García 2015: 82). This suggests that CAT tools relying on the exploitation of monolingual or bilingual corpora could help audiovisual translators to deal with stereotypical and formulaic dialogue (perpetuating it or avoiding it) and to achieve credible and natural dialogues, which is essential in some AVT modes and one of the main challenges of the translation for dubbing.

Corpora and corpus-analysis tools have been lately successfully applied to analyze audiovisual texts and to investigate audiovisual translation (Baños, Bruti and Zanotti 2013). However, the implementation of these tools and resources in a professional environment is still scarce, thus being a field worth investigating. Compiling a monolingual corpus of original audiovisual texts in the target language belonging to the specific genre being translated could be extremely useful to translate prevalent and recurrent linguistic features of audiovisual dialogue. Such a corpus could be investigated through freeware corpus-analysis tools such as Antconc (http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc). If we were to translate a sitcom from English into Spanish, for example, we could compile a monolingual corpus of sitcoms in Spanish. If we were undecided between a few alternatives when translating a specific discourse marker ("look", for instance), Antconc's monolingual concordancer could be used to retrieve all occurrences of each of these alternatives in Spanish (i.e. *mira* > look, or *oye* > listen) to ascertain how they are used in context and determine which is the most appropriate in this particular case.

Bilingual parallel corpora, consisting of source texts aligned with their translations (Bowker 2002: 46), could also be very useful and exploited through a wide range of tools. Companies and translators could benefit from storing their previous translations in the form of a TM or from aligning previously translated files with their originals for this purpose. Such a resource could currently be investigated through bilingual concordancers, integrated in CAT tools such as SDL Trados Studio or MemoQ,[3] or in corpus-analysis tools such as Paraconc (http://paraconc.com). However, as mentioned earlier, these tools should be integrated in existing AVT tools, thus enabling access to the audiovisual text as a whole and not exclusively to the script or dialogue. The aim of this approach could be to find out how specific linguistic features, terms or expressions were translated in the past, but also to keep consistency in the translation of proper nouns or key terms, which can be essential in some fictional audiovisual programmes such as television series expanding over several seasons and consisting of numerous episodes. If companies decided to employ more than one person for the translation of these programmes, the use of TMs or glossaries would be essential to keep consistency, not only as regards specific terminology but also style and register. Overall, it seems that the potential usefulness of well-established translation technology and resources needs to be evidenced through research and empirical data as not enough attention has yet been paid to these matters.

In addition to compiling ad-hoc audiovisual corpora, audiovisual translators could resort to existing corpora including audiovisual dialogue or material. However, these corpora are still scarce, tend to include only textual information, thus not being fully audiovisual, and are not available

3 Automated concordancing allowing the retrieval of sub-segmental matches (García 2015: 83), which is currently provided by leading CAT tools, would be particularly useful.

in a wide range of languages. This is the case with the Film Corpus 2.0 (https://nlds.soe.ucsc.edu/fc2), containing film scripts in txt format in English, or with the Corpus of American Soap Operas (http://corpus.byu.edu/soap), created by Mark Davies and containing 100 million words from 10 US soap operas from 2001 to 2012. Another interesting initiative promoted by this platform is the compilation of a large corpus (220 million words) of television subtitles (http://corpus.byu.edu/crowdsourcing.asp). Due to the extensive work needed for the preparation and annotation of the corpus, this project is relying on crowdsourcing.

Some academic institutions have also devoted substantial time and resources to compiling fully audiovisual corpora, but these tend to be smaller and access is more limited due to copyright restrictions and other constraints. Some examples are the Pavia corpus of Film Dialogue (Freddi and Pavesi 2009), a bilingual parallel corpus consisting of 24 Anglophone movies and their dubbed Italian versions, the Forlì Corpus of Screen Translation (Heiss and Soffritti 2008), a multimedia annotated corpus of original and dubbed films in various European languages, or the TRACCE corpus (Jiménez Hurtado and Soler Gallego 2013), containing 300 films audio described in Spanish.

Current Developments and Research: Emerging Trends and Language Technologies in the AVT Workflow

Instead of exploring the integration of existing translation technology into the AVT workflow, in the past few years the focus of research and industry implementations has been on the integration of language technologies such as machine translation and speech technologies, in most cases to automate the translation process. This section will also refer to some emerging trends and interesting research carried out in an attempt to make the most of technology in AVT.

Integration of Speech Technologies in the AVT Workflow

Both speech recognition and speech synthesis have recently entered the AVT workflow. Speech recognition (SR), also referred to as voice recognition (Bowker 2002: 30) or as speech-to-text conversion, allows users to interact with a computer by speaking to it instead of using a keyboard or mouse (ibid.) but also to convert speech into written text. In AVT, speech recognition has been used to convert speech from a video file into intralingual subtitles (i.e. subtitles in the same language as the speech) both automatically, via automatic speech recognition (ASR), and through the use of a respeaker. Used in live SDH, respeaking is defined by Romero-Fresco (2011: 1) as:

> a technique in which a respeaker listens to the original sound of a live programme or event and respeaks it, including punctuation marks and some specific features for the deaf and hard of hearing audience, to a speech recognition software, which turns the recognized utterances into subtitles displayed on the screen with the shortest possible delay.

In this case, the process is not fully automated as a professional is needed to dictate or respeak the original speech. The speech recognition software used in respeaking tends to be speaker-dependent and thus requires users to train the software so that it learns about their pronunciation and speech patterns (ibid.: 57). Dragon NaturallySpeaking (http://www.nuance.com/dragon/index.htm) is currently one of the leading speaker-dependent SR applications and one of the preferred options for respeaking purposes, with professional subtitling tools such as WINCAPS QLive and WINCAPS Q4 Pro providing an integrated user interface for this software (Screen Systems 2015b: online).

As posited by Romero-Fresco (2011: 60), speech recognition software was originally intended for dictation and not for respeaking and further considerations are needed when implementing this software for live subtitling purposes and when evaluating its performance. Whereas the focus in SR technology is often placed on accuracy, aspects such as latency are equally relevant in live subtitling (ibid.). Given that traditional evaluation methods for SR technology do not take into consideration the specificities of respeaking and live subtitling, Romero-Fresco and Martínez Pérez (2015) have suggested a specific model to evaluate live subtitles produced through SR: the NER model. Acknowledging that not all errors are equally serious in live subtitling and that quality assessment may differ depending on the context, this model, based on the NERD model illustrated in Romero-Fresco (2011), is aimed at assessing the accuracy of live subtitles in different contexts (countries and languages) by analyzing the extent to which errors affect the coherence of subtitles or modify their content (Romero-Fresco and Martínez Pérez 2015: 29).

YouTube automatic captioning is a clear example of the use of ASR in subtitling: Google's speech recognition technology is used to automatically convert the speech or dialogue from a clip into text, which is then presented as subtitles or captions on screen, whose timing is also determined automatically (Google 2016). In this case, the speech recognition system used is speaker-independent, which means that the system does not have to be trained and can therefore recognize different speakers, pronunciation, speech patterns, etc. This YouTube feature is only available in a few languages and, due to the nature of the technology being used, the quality of its output depends on a wide range of factors including the presence of noise and background music, the enunciation and pace of characters on screen, the type of discourse being portrayed (spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous), etc. After using this feature, users are allowed to review and edit the timing and transcription of the subtitles generated automatically in YouTube. Some of the above-mentioned cloud-based subtitling platforms also integrate ASR and automatic timing features (e.g. eCaption), and European-funded projects such as SAVAS (http://www.fp7-savas.eu) or transLectures (https://www.translectures.eu/web) have also investigated and developed such integration.

The main aim of the SAVAS project was to collect, share and reuse audiovisual resources from broadcasters and subtitling companies taking part in the project to develop SR technology in specific domains and in a wide range of European languages (del Pozo et al. 2014). With a strong industry focus, the ultimate aim of the project, which concluded in 2015, was to reduce costs and to increase efficiency in the production of subtitles either via respeaking or through ASR. Cost-effectiveness was also the main aim of the transLectures project, yet with a different focus. Running from 2011 to 2014 and targeting several European languages, the transLectures project was aimed at developing "cost-effective solutions for producing accurate transcriptions and translations for large video lecture repositories, such as VideoLectures.NET or the Universitat Politècnica de València's repository, poliMedia" (del Agua et al 2014: 269). One of the tools developed within the project was the transLectures-UPV toolkit, which included all the functionalities for the provision of an ASR system in English, Spanish and Catalan (ibid.). The results seemed optimistic as regards the potential of technologies such as ASR and MT when integrated in the AVT workflow, with transcription and translation quality being substantially improved throughout the project (UPVLC et al 2014a).

Drawing on the findings obtained, project members thus argue that the relatively small gap for the current ASR and MT technology to achieve accurate enough results can be closed by massive adaptation (ibid.), understood as the adaptation of acoustic, language and translation models from domain-specific material (lecture-specific material in this case) (UPVLC et al. 2014b). Despite not being one of the initial main aims, this project also started investigating the integration of speech synthesis (text-to-speech technology) into the workflow, arguing that the automatic synthesis of a voice track from the subtitles of a lecture will allow users to enjoy lectures in their own language focusing on the slides and not on subtitles (ibid.).

Thus far, the emphasis of the initiatives and projects mentioned has been on subtitling, with revoicing modes generating very little interest. An exception is the ALST project, coordinated by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and targeted at investigating the use of technologies (speech recognition, speech synthesis and machine translation) for voiceover and AD (Matamala 2015: 80). As regards speech recognition, this project set out to investigate whether this technology, either through ASR or via respeaking, could be used to automatically transcribe non-fictional content. To this end, an experiment was designed to transcribe a short video clip using three different procedures: manual transcription, respeaking with Dragon NaturallySpeaking, and revision of a transcript generated through an ASR engine. Results in this case indicated that manual transcription was the quickest procedure, followed closely by respeaking and revision of the script produced with ASR, but they also showed that transcribers perceive manual transcription as too time consuming and are willing to embrace other methods (ibid.: 81). Although this experiment fails to show the cost-effectiveness of SR engines in the transcription of non-fictional content, it highlights the need for further research in this field.

The results from the ALST project as regards the use of speech synthesis in AD seem to be more encouraging in as much as they suggest that this technology could be seen as an alternative to more expensive and time-consuming traditional methods, and could thus result in an increase of the volume of audiovisual content accessible to sensory-impaired viewers. The experiments carried out showed that, although visually impaired viewers preferred natural voices in detriment of artificial voices produced by text-to-speech technologies, participants deemed text-to-speech

AD to be "an alternative acceptable" solution to human-voiced AD (ibid.: 86).

Academic institutions and private AVT companies are not the only ones showing an interest in the use of speech technologies to manage audiovisual content. Broadcasters such as the BBC have also started investigating the potential of speech synthesis in revoicing, having launched recently an online pilot service aimed at offering videos narrated in a wide range of languages, with additional audio tracks being generated by machine translation engines and later on revoiced by text-to-speech technology (Weber 2015: online). Developed by BBC News Labs, this pilot service will initially be available in Japanese and Russian with the aim of expanding to other languages later on and to include other AVT modes and technologies (e.g. automatic subtitles) (BBC Media Centre 2015: online).

Integration of Machine Translation in the AVT Workflow

Having been substantially developed over the past few years, machine translation has also entered the AVT workflow, mainly through the implementation of Statistical Machine Translation (SMT) engines, often trained with audiovisual-related data (e.g. subtitles, original scripts). This technology has recently been developed within specific European-funded research projects, but is also widely available to the public. For example, YouTube allows users to machine translate subtitles using Google Translate technology. Once again, such implementation seems to have affected subtitling more widely than revoicing, although as discussed above and as will be shown below some interesting initiatives are also being developed in the case of AD and dubbing for the translation of non-fictional programmes (see BBC online pilot service and the experiments carried out within the ALST project).

Authors like Volk (2009) have suggested that subtitling is a domain likely to benefit from SMT technology, and the usefulness of this approach has been comprehensively tested in European-funded projects such as SUMAT (http://www.sumat-project.eu) or the above-mentioned transLectures. Aimed at increasing the efficiency of professional subtitling through the introduction of an online subtitling service based on SMT, the SUMAT project run from 2011 to 2014 and addressed 14 different European language pairs. The SMT system developed within the project was built with the Moses toolkit and trained on professional parallel corpora provided by the companies taking part in the SUMAT consortium, as well as on crowd-sourced subtitles (Etchegoyhen et al. 2014: 46). The quality and usefulness of the SMT system built within the project was assessed on the MT output quality and on the measurement of productivity gain/loss when post-editing machine translated subtitles. The results were considered quite satisfactory and, drawing on the quality ratings and productivity gains reported, project members concluded that the technology developed was exploitable as it stood (SUMAT 2014). The results reported by other projects as far as MT output quality is concerned also seem to be positive (UPVLC et al. 2014a), which would suggest the use of SMT technology for subtitling purposes could be appropriate in some contexts.

Nevertheless, the SUMAT project also identified important hurdles to overcome for this technology to be successfully implemented in the subtitling workflow, one of them being its negative perception by professional subtitlers. Another issue that should be highlighted is that most of the current implementations integrating MT and subtitling do not seem to bear in mind the specificities of audiovisual texts in general and of AVT in particular, with key aspects such as subtitle segmentation, reading speed, number of characters per line, etc. being disregarded by the software and users having to edit this manually at a later stage. This suggests that either automation still has its limitations, or rather that current implementations are not sophisticated enough to deal with audiovisual texts fully.

As regards revoicing, the above-mentioned ALST project was also aimed at investigating whether MT could be useful both in audio description and in the translation of wildlife documentary films. The latter was investigated from English into Spanish by comparing the effort involved in translation and in post-editing (using Google Translate), and by analyzing the output quality in both cases (Matamala 2015: 80). The study carried out revealed that post-editing is faster and requires less effort overall (ibid.: 82). It also shows that, as far as quality is concerned, the difference between post-edited and translated wildlife documentaries is not significant, although non-MT output performed better in certain aspects (Ortiz-Boix and Matamala 2015: 16). The language combination tested in the case of AD was English into Catalan and the study drew on the comparison of an AD film script created from scratch in Catalan, a manually translated AD script (from English into Catalan) and the post-editing of a machine translated AD script (Matamala 2015: 85). Interestingly, results indicate no statistical differences among these three scenarios in terms of temporal effort, with cognitive effort being higher in the first scenario (ibid.), as one would expect. Once again, these findings and studies suggest the potential application of technology in a wide range of AVT contexts and scenarios and highlight the need to carry out further and large-scale research, perhaps based on the development of new tools, as done in the case of subtitling.

Other Emerging Trends

The discussion so far has highlighted the huge emphasis research into AVT and technology has recently placed on automation. Another research area in this line is that of automatic speech dubbing or, as Taylor, Theobald and Matthews (2015) term it, "automatic speech redubbing". Whereas lip-synch dubbing involves replacing an utterance in the source language with another one in the target language which is not only appropriate from a translational viewpoint but also in synchrony with the lip movements of characters on screen, automatic speech (re)dubbing would involve the automatic generation of potential utterances that would match lip movements of characters on screen. With this aim in mind, Taylor, Theobald and Matthews (2015: online) describe "a method for automatically generating alternative dialogues that synchronize with a video of a person speaking" which, instead of focusing on independent phonemes that are visually similar (as dialogue writers tend to do), focuses on "dynamic visemes" or sets of speech movements. The dynamic visemes corresponding to the lip movements of a character on screen are used to match phoneme strings with potential word sequences, resulting in thousands of alternative utterances (ibid.) that could guide or inspire the lip-synchronization process when dubbing foreign audiovisual programmes.

The actual application of these findings and the method suggested by this study—carried out in collaboration between Disney Research and the University of East Anglia—to the dubbing of audiovisual texts is still to be seen. In fact, this is not the first time technology is claimed to be able to solve the complex challenges of lip synchrony and voice acting in dubbing. Back in 2007, Chaume highlighted the potential application in this field of software such as Video Rewrite, capable of reusing existing footage to create a new clip featuring a person mouthing words not spoken in the original footage, or of Reel Voice, a tool relying on voice conversion technology used to make a specific voice resemble another, and therefore avoid discrepancies between the voice of original actors and those of dubbing actors (Chaume 2007: 213–214). These technologies have not succeeded in the dubbing industry as its developers envisaged to. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the private sector willingness to invest and rely on technology to solve critical issues.

Another technology that deserves attention since it has evolved exponentially in the past few years and has changed how AVT is currently being researched is that of eye-tracking. This technology has affected translation research in general, but in the case of AVT it has provided researchers with the relevant tools to delve into relatively underexplored areas and shed light onto reception matters. The implementation of this technology has not been restricted to a specific AVT mode, with very interesting studies being carried out recently on subtitling (Perego 2012), SDH (Romero-Fresco 2015), fansubbing (Orrego Carmona 2015), audio description (Orero and Vilaró 2012; Di Giovanni 2014) and even dubbing (Di Giovanni and Romero-Fresco 2016).

Final Remarks

The profound impact globalization and technological innovations have had on audiovisual translation as a practice and as a discipline is undeniable. Recent developments have delivered cost-effectiveness to organizations and companies and allowed professional translators to benefit from sophisticated tools to undertake their briefs in a more efficient manner. They have also enabled researchers to carry out more systematic investigations into AVT and delve into viewers' attitudes and behaviours while, at the same time, have empowered audiences to take an active role in the creation, manipulation and distribution of audiovisual content. Nevertheless, technology in AVT is not free from controversy nor without its critics. In addition, the many successful implementations and solutions have been preceded by attempts which have not achieved the expected results nor the widespread application once envisaged. Regardless of their success and popularity amongst the wider AVT industry and community, all these developments demonstrate a firm reliance on technology to address critical issues in AVT, and are essential for the evolution of the industry and the discipline.

The research carried out clearly shows that the availability, widespread use and standardization of models and technology used by audiovisual translators depends on several factors such as the AVT mode or the context in which specific tools are implemented. It has become clear that technology has had a far-reaching impact on AVT modes such as subtitling, that freeware tools have established themselves as great alternatives in training and amateur contexts, and that in the dubbing and voiceover industry, local practices seem to rule the market and therefore make it more difficult to ascertain the instrumental skills needed from translators specializing in these fields. Another surprising fact is that, whereas some technological developments have started exploring the integration of language technologies such as speech recognition and machine translation, current software does not seem to integrate fully-developed CAT tools, widely used in other translation fields, despite the benefits the implementation of such tools could bring to audiovisual translators.

One of the areas that requires urgent attention is the integration of existing technologies in a single platform in order to consider the specificities of audiovisual texts and of audiovisual translation. It is time for AVT to reap the benefits from advancements in translation and language technology and well-developed resources. However, in doing so, initiatives and solutions should not be governed by the interests of media companies and should take into consideration the nature and complexity of AVT, the needs of audiovisual translators and the ever-changing preferences and demands of audiences.

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2 Editing in Translation: Revision

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Overview

Revision is the process of reading a translation to find problematic wordings, and if necessary making or recommending corrections or improvements, in order to achieve a suitable quality.

Whereas the initial drafting of a translation calls for more or less equal attention to reading (the source text) and writing (the translation), revision is first and foremost an exercise in very careful reading. Indeed, revision is a special type of reading: unlike most readers, revisers are specifically looking for wording problems. The principal issue in revision is detecting wordings that need to be changed.

Revision deals with mistakes after they have been made. Ideally, it should be used in conjunction with action to reduce the number of errors made in the first place: training translators properly; selecting the right translator for a job; giving clear pre-translation instructions (based on an agreement with the client if possible). Sometimes translations are so bad that they are not worth revising; they need to be retranslated.

Under a variety of terms (editing, proofreading, checking, reviewing, re-reading, quality controlling), revision is generally recognized in the translation industry as a vital step in producing high quality translations. It is thus in part a linguistic activity, in part a business activity. As a business activity, revision is a cost factor and an aspect of quality assurance (alongside such matters as deadline-meeting, acceptable billing practices, and prompt, pleasant interactions with clients before, during and after a translation job).

Revision may or may not involve comparison with the source text. It may also be partial (only parts of the translation are checked), and it may be selective (only certain aspects of the translation are checked, such as specialized terminology or writing quality). Since revision is time-consuming and thus costly, translation services commonly seek to limit the extent of revision activity rather than have a full revision of every text. Certain translations will not be checked by a second person at all, only by the original translator ("self-revision"). Many translation providers (translation agencies, government or corporate translation departments) have written policies governing these matters.

There is little by way of revision-specific software. For the time being, revision is for the most part an activity that takes place in human minds without machine assistance. However, the original drafting of a translation is often assisted by a Translation Memory; as a result, translators find themselves spending less time creating their own wordings and more time revising wordings imported into their translations from the Memory's database.

Revision of Machine Translation output is called post-editing; it will not be discussed here.

Purposes of Revision

Translations may be checked for several purposes: preparing them for the client; deciding whether work received from a contractor merits full payment; evaluating translators for promotion or hiring; providing advice to junior translators; auditing the quality of work being produced in a translation service in order to report to a senior body (often a funding body); meeting the terms for certification under a published standard.

This article is mainly concerned with the revision that is done with a view to delivery to clients.

Why Revision Is Needed

Why is revision needed? The short answer is that it is very easy, even for experienced translators, to make mistakes—possibly serious ones—while translating. Mistakes are made for a variety of reasons: inattention, hastiness, deficiencies in source- or target-language knowledge, insufficient subject-matter research, poorly written source texts.

More generally, translating is a kind of writing, and it is easy to write something problematic because, unlike in conversation, there is no immediate feedback from readers that might signal problems in comprehension. Also, there is a wide range of matters to which translators need to pay attention and it is not easy to pay attention to all of them at once. For example, it is necessary to ensure that:

- there are no misunderstandings of the meaning of the source text;
- there are no significant omissions;
- the wording of the translation makes sense without the need to refer to the source;
- the connections between sentences are clear;
- the flow of the argument or narrative is clear;
- the relationships among the parts of each sentence are clear;
- the target-language terminology will not mislead readers;
- the language is appropriate to the people who will be reading the translation, taking into account their subject-matter knowledge and level of education;
- word combinations are idiomatic;
- there is no misleading punctuation;
- grammar and spelling are correct.

Revision Terminology

There is no standard or even widely accepted terminology for revision in English. Aside from *revising*, the activity may also be called *editing, proofreading, reviewing, checking, re-reading* or *quality controlling*. The procedure in which the translation is read alone, with just an occasional glance at the source text if a passage is puzzling, is variously called *unilingual* *revision, monolingual revision, re-reading* or *cross-reading*. Some people reserve the simple term *revision* for comparative checking of the translation against the source text by a second translator.

Translation agencies and translation departments of corporations or ministries will have their own in-house terminology, which may cause confusion when dealing with outsiders such as contract revisers. A particular kind of checking may be called *editing* by one agency, whereas other agencies may call that same activity *proofreading* or *revision*. It is therefore important to specify what is meant by a request to check a translation: is a contract reviser to compare the translation with the source? improve style? check specialized terminology? only look for language errors? and so on. In practice, it appears that such revision briefs are used only rarely.

The English version of the international standard ISO 17100, published in 2015, sets out the following sequence of actions after the draft translation has been prepared. The definitions use the phrase "target-language content" to refer to the draft translation and "source-language content" to refer to the source text:

- *checking*: examination of target-language content by the translator
- *revision* (synonym: *bilingual editing*): bilingual examination of target-language content against source-language content for its suitability for the agreed purpose
- *reviewing* (synonym: *monolingual editing*): monolingual examination of target-language content for its suitability for the agreed purpose
- *proofreading*: examine the revised target-language content and apply corrections before printing.

Whether these definitions become accepted remains to be seen. In this article, the word *revision* is used as a cover term for all work aimed at finding wordings that need to be changed. A check of the translation against the source text will be called *comparative revision*, while a check of the translation alone (but with the source text available if needed) will be called *re-reading*. *Proofreading* will be used for a check, usually done by a professional proofreader, for errors or inconsistencies in language and in the visual presentation of the translation (page layout, typography). The translator's own check of his/her translation will be called *self-revision*.

The term *revision* is somewhat unfortunate in that outside the world of translation, this English word focuses on the correcting aspect of the process rather than the checking aspect. If someone says that they have revised a piece of writing, that means they have made some changes; if they have read it but made no changes, that would not count as revision in everyday English. The term as used by English-speaking translators probably originated as a borrowing from French *réviser*, which means simply "review" or "check".

Who Revises

Translations may be checked and amended by several kinds of people. First, they may be checked by translators. In some translation services, there are staff translators who do nothing but revise the work of in-house and contract translators. In other cases, senior translators spend some of their time checking the work of juniors and contractors, or else translators at any level simply exchange work with each other.

Where a text is divided into chunks for translation, one of the translators may be assigned to revise the text once the chunks have been merged, or the translators may exchange their chunks with each other for revision, or a translator not previously involved in the project may be asked to revise.

Some translation services hire revisers on contract for individual jobs. Some government websites post revision jobs on which one can bid. In addition, websites such as ProZ.com and translatorscafe.com provide online marketplaces where revision jobs can be posted (typically under a heading such as editing or proofreading or checking jobs) and translators can advertise their availability for revision work.

Freelance translators (who work directly for clients rather than for agencies) sometimes exchange their translations with each other for revision purposes. Sometimes, however, they have difficulty finding a reviser at all, or one who will charge an amount they can afford. Or else they do not feel a need to have their work revised by a second translator.

Translations may also be checked by people who are not translators and may have no knowledge of the source language or of translation standards. These will be professional proofreaders, graphic designers, subject-matter experts, managers of translation services, project managers, source-text writers or clients' editors (who may, for example, delete certain passages or modify the content on behalf of the client). Ideally, a revising translator will know whether any such people have already checked the translation or will be checking it later on, in order to avoid duplication of effort. For example, there may be no point in a reviser checking specialized content if a subject-matter expert will be doing so.

Finally, many translations are checked by volunteers, who may or may not also be professional translators. For example, a page at the Wikipedia site for a given language allows anyone to volunteer to revise translations of Wikipedia articles into that language.

Who Is Responsible

Sometimes revisers have the final say on the wording of a translation; sometimes they simply make recommendations to the translator, who is responsible for the final wording. The former approach is typical for translations done by contractors, by new staff translators, or by experienced translators who are new to a particular subject matter. The latter approach is used with staff translators experienced in the subject matter.

If revisions are handwritten, the job of inputting them to the electronic version of the translation may fall to the reviser, the original translator or office support staff. Sometimes a check is made that handwritten changes have been correctly input.

With regard to terminological and conceptual research, that is part of the translator's job rather than the reviser's. Still, when going over the work of a new contractor, a new staff translator, or a translator new to a field, revisers will want to check that research has been done properly if they are unsure of the wording in the draft translation.

Qualifications of Revisers

A translator should have at least a couple of years' experience translating before starting to revise other people's work. If one has little or no experience in the translation industry, it will be hard to judge whether wordings in someone else's draft translation need to be changed in order to meet local standards.

Revisers should also ideally have experience in the field of any specialized texts they are revising. However, it may not be practical to arrange this; the checking task may have to be assigned to someone with little or no knowledge of the field. If the translator is known to have extensive experience in the field of a specialized text, the reviser can simply check the non-specialized aspects of the translation, or perhaps place a question mark or Comment box on specialized passages that seem odd before sending the text back to the translator. If neither the reviser nor the translator have experience in the field of the text, and it is to be published, then the translation should be checked by a subject-matter expert. (If that too is not possible, then the translation provider should not have accepted the text from the client in the first place!)

Another important qualification of revisers is the ability to explain to people why a wording in their translation has to be changed. This is a distinct skill: one can see correctly that a change is needed but not be able to verbalize the reason. Inability to explain changes often makes for poor working relationships with those whose work is being revised, because the reviser will seem to be arbitrary and authoritarian. Explaining changes requires a vocabulary for talking about language and translation. Such a vocabulary, and the related concepts, can be acquired by taking courses in translation theory or linguistics.

Also desirable is an ability to diagnose translators' weaknesses. It is one thing to be able to point out particular problems in each translation; quite different is the ability to tell translators the main area(s) in which they need to improve and provide advice on how to do so.

Related to diagnosis is the ability to assign ratings to translations for purposes of paying contractors, rehiring them at a later date, or evaluating staff translators. Ratings may take the form of numerical scores calculated by subtracting a certain number of points for various kinds of error. Or they may be more impressionistic ("acceptable/unacceptable" or "deliverable as is / deliverable with a small revision effort / undeliverable"). To assign useful ratings, the reviser must be able to assess the seriousness rather than the mere number of errors that required a change. Work that contains a lot of minor translationese and many small departures from the meaning of the source text should receive a higher rating than work that contains even a small number of major mistranslations and gross translationese. The former kind of work may well take more time to revise, but it meets translation standards more closely (the negative impact would be less if such work had to be delivered unrevised). Some employers and agencies may take a different view: for them, the time required for revision will be the key factor to be rated.

Another important qualification of revisers is the ability to appreciate different approaches to translation, to act on the knowledge that one's own approach is not the only acceptable one. For example, some translators are somewhat more literal while others are more free in their approach; there is an acceptable range. Also, revisers need to recognize that certain target-language wordings they themselves frequently use when translating are merely personal preferences. They must avoid imposing these wordings on others: revisers are supposed to be helping translators, not competing with them! To smooth relationships with those whose work is being revised, some revisers make a clear visual distinction between wordings they believe must be changed and wordings which are alright but for which the reviser has some alternatives to suggest. The former might be shown in pen when revision is on paper, or in Track Changes when revision is on screen; the latter might be shown in pencil or in Comment boxes.

The reviser's ability to appreciate the translator's work is especially important during checking of the first few pages. Even revisers who are experts in the subject-matter of a text need to keep in mind that the translator probably knows more about the specifics of the text at hand than the reviser.

A final interesting question is whether revisers need to have native or near-native reading and writing ability in the target language. The answer is that it depends on what is being checked. If a translation is being checked only for accuracy and completeness, and any revised wordings will be composed by a translator who does have native ability, then the reviser need not have such ability. If on the other hand, a translation is being checked for linguistic matters (writing quality, idiomaticity), or the reviser has to decide on any new wordings, then it is best to have the work done by someone with native ability, at least if the translation will be published. Once again, this is not always practical, especially when translation is from "small" languages: it may be hard to find a native writer of the target-language who also knows the source language well.

Quality Concepts Underlying Revision

The purpose of revision is first and foremost to ensure that the text delivered to clients and readers is of suitable quality. But what is meant by quality? How people revise depends to some extent on the conception of quality under which they are operating, whether or not they have actually formulated this concept in their minds.

In some countries, quality in translation often has to do with defence of the target language. This will especially be the case where there is a desire to reduce the impact of the language of a former colonial power or reduce current undesired influences from English in particular. Revision will then emphasize elimination of lexical anglicisms or English rhetorical practices, or perhaps promote the local version of the language of the former colonial power as opposed to the version used in the mother country. This concept of quality will lead revisers to spend a great deal of time improving writing style, especially if translated material has a major presence in the society where the target language is spoken.

Quality is also often seen in contractual terms: it is achieved if a translation complies with the stated or implied requirements of paying clients. This approach emphasizes those matters which clients can easily observe without needing to know the source language: correct spelling and grammar, correct terminology, and the like.

An increasingly popular concept of quality nowadays is fitness for purpose. Quality is achieved if the revised translation is suitable for the intended readership and the use they will make of it. Under this concept, revisers will never ask themselves whether the translation *can* be improved but whether it *needs* to be improved, given the purpose. Once they have found a "good enough" solution to a problem, they will not spend time looking for an even better solution. They will apply different degrees of a quality requirement to different translations: what is good enough for a translation that will simply circulate within an organization for information only will generally not be good enough for the front page of the organization's public website. Of course, once a translation has been delivered, it may be used for a purpose or readership not originally intended, but that is a matter which falls under the responsibility of the client, not the translation provider.

Standards and Guidelines for Revision

All of the published translation service standards and guidelines have something to say about revision:

- China (2003, revised 2008) General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of People's Republic of China, Standardization Administration of the PRC, *Specification for Translation Service—Part 1 Translation* (GB/T 19363)
- Europe (2006) European Committee for Standardization, *Translation Services—Service Requirements* (EN 15038)
- United States (2006) *Standard Guide for Quality Assurance in Translation* (ASTM F2575-06)
- Canada (2008) Canadian General Standards Board *Translation services* (CAN/CGSB-131.10)
- International Organization for Standardization (2012) *Translation projects—General guidance* (ISO/TS 11669)
- International Organization for Standardization (2015) *Translation services—Requirements for translation services* (ISO 17100)

As an example, the Chinese standard specifies the need to check the draft translation against the original word for word; ensure the translation is complete; check formatting, punctuation, grammar and usage; check correctness of content and terms; and determine whether the quality is up to the standard agreed with the client. It also states that the intended use of the translation, as specified by the client, will determine how many times the translation is revised.

EN 15038 and ISO 17100 require any translation service provider seeking certification under these standards to have all translations revised by a second translator. CAN/CGSB 131.10, on the other hand, simply states that providers shall identify the *need* for such revision, taking into account the abilities of the translator, the requirements of the client and the nature of the assignment.

Self-Revision

It is now generally understood that professional translators must at least read the entirety of their translations once the draft is complete, checking for problems that may need correction.

Some people think self-revision should also include a full comparison to the source text, but there is no agreement about this. Many experienced professionals do not carry out a comparative check as a regular practice, even when they know that no one else will be making such a check before delivery. They have sufficient confidence that their translations are complete and accurate, at least with certain fields and text types.

Employers of staff translators sometimes see self-revision as a sufficient check on the quality of a translation. Accordingly, they may eliminate revision by a second translator, at least with certain kinds of text. Some translators do not like the term "self-revision" precisely because it contains the word "revision" and thus suggests, contrary to their own view, that it is a suitable substitute for revision by a second translator ("other-revision"). A disadvantage of self-revision is that translators may be too attached to their own wordings and will not see problems that are obvious to others. A second disadvantage is that experienced translators may be overly confident in their ability; it may be advisable for them to have their translations looked at occasionally by another translator.

Self-revision is ideally done after leaving the translation aside for as long as possible once the draft is complete, at least overnight. This will enable the translator to take a "fresh look" at the text, to some degree at least. However interviews with translators show that very often self-revision must begin immediately if the deadline is to be met. Some translators deal with this problem by changing the appearance of the text (font type, margins), or reading it aloud, or printing it out and reading it on paper. These methods have the effect of making the translation seem somewhat strange, rather than all too familiar, and this may help the self-reviser detect problems.

Revision Policies

Some translation services have policies on revision that set out the circumstances under which a translator's work must be looked at by someone else, and the extent of the revision work required in those circumstances. Typical criteria are the translator's experience with that particular kind of text and the importance of the text. The translation services of some corporations and governmental bodies have lists of text types, distinguishing those deemed to be of high, medium and low importance. If a text is of medium importance, and the translator is experienced with that type of text, then a fairly low degree of revision may be required (e.g. do not compare with the source text unless a passage is puzzling, check only randomly selected passages, check only for linguistic correctness and client-specified terminology). If a text is of low importance, there may be no checking by a second person at all, unless it is one of the first texts being translated by a new contractor or newly hired staff member.

Other factors that may be mentioned in revision policies are the identity of the author (does the source text emanate from an Important Person?), the identity of the client (is it a client who has complained frequently in the past?), the length of time over which the translation will be used, whether the translation will be published, the perceived difficulty of translating the text, expected media attention, and possible legal, financial, health or safety impacts of the text.

A survey of policies in Denmark (Rasmussen and Schjoldager 2007) revealed a variety of approaches. More interestingly, it also revealed that in practice, the revisers who work for a translation agency do not always follow the stated policy. Sometimes they do less than what the policy requires, often for lack of time or non-availability of personnel. Sometimes the opposite happens: the policy calls for less checking work than the revisers think necessary, and they may then ignore the policy. For example, some policies emphasize checking only those aspects of a translation where errors will be immediately visible to clients: spelling, grammar, punctuation, client-specific terminology. Nevertheless, the revisers devote quite a lot of time to writing quality. That is because professional translators tend to think such things are important, regardless of any policy.

Revision Speed and Cost

Clearly an experienced reviser who spends much of the day revising translations in a single field, with well written source texts, and very good translators, will get a lot more done per hour than someone less experienced who spends only part of the day revising and often works with less than excellent translators, poorly written source texts, and materials in a variety of fields, some of them unfamiliar. Beyond such statements of the obvious, though, little is known about how long it takes to revise someone else's translation. Some translation services expect revisers to complete a certain number of words per day on average but it is not clear how the figure has been determined.

Still, a figure can perhaps be hazarded in terms of a multiple of expected translation time, about which more is known. With most languages native to Europe, a translator with five years of full-time experience, working with a mix of familiar and unfamiliar, poorly written and well written source texts, will commonly be expected to translate (i.e. draft, research and self-revise) 1,600–2,000 words of source text in an 8-hour day, or between 200 and 250 words an hour (this being an average taken over a lengthy period such as a year).

With such a mix of texts, and with a mix of translators (beginners to experienced), it should be possible for an experienced reviser to compare the translation to the source and make corrections at three times the translation speed (600–750 words an hour), and to re-read and correct the translation without comparison to the source at five times the translation speed (1,000–1,250 words an hour). Using these figures, a comparative revision of 1,000 words would on average take somewhere between 1 hour 20 minutes and 1 hour 40 minutes, or one-third to two-thirds more time than the 1 hour required for a simple re-reading of the translation with occasional glances at the source.

The speed of revision is obviously an important matter when it comes to setting a price for translation contracts. While self-revision by the translator is understood to be part of any translation contract, revision by a second translator may or may not be included in the quoted price. Sometimes, clients have to specially request such revision, and it may be billed separately. Sometimes, a translation will be revised without extra charge even though the client has not requested it, because revision is required under the translation service's internal policy (perhaps it was translated by a new staff member, or perhaps it is a text with legal or medical implications, and such texts are always revised).

Revision Ethics

Since revision by a second translator is costly, a conflict may arise between the business need to keep costs down and translators' professional need to maintain standards. Salaried translators may think that their employer is not allowing sufficient time for each revision job, or that a larger proportion of translations should be revised, or that fuller revision is required (the entire text rather than just parts should be checked, and more features of the translation rather than fewer should be considered).

Revisers who are responsible for the final wording of a translation may also find themselves facing questions of loyalty. Will they be loyal to the translator who prepared the draft? to the source text author? to the future readers? to the commissioner who is paying for the translation? to the organized translation profession? The demands made by one of these parties may conflict with the demands made by another.

Revision Parameters

There are six broad classes of problem for which revisers check: meaning transfer; content; language and style; visual presentation; compliance with client or employer specifications; and consistency.

Meaning Transfer

Different kinds of text call for differing degrees of meaning transfer from the source. With a legal text (a court decision, a law, a patent), the reviser must check that very small details of source-text meaning have been transferred. With the introductory section of a company's annual report, which may be full of platitudes and general rhetoric, meaning does not need to be transferred down to small details, and minor omissions or additions may be acceptable. With marketing texts, meaning transfer may only be a minor consideration: commissioners of such translations may want to send a somewhat different message in the target language.

Noticing that the meaning of a passage in the translation differs from the meaning of the corresponding passage of the source is one thing. Rather different is noticing that a meaning not in the source text has been added or that a meaning in the source text has been omitted. If during comparison with the source text, the reviser reads a sentence of the translation first followed by a reading of the corresponding sentence in the source text, omitted sentences may not be noticed. If the reviser reads the source text first and then the corresponding passage in the translation, the eye can skip over a sentence when returning to the source. Some revisers use mechanical methods to avoid such problems, such as counting paragraphs (or points in a list) or, if they work on paper, placing a ruler under the line of text on which they are currently working so that the eye returns to the right spot after the other text is checked.

A frequent error translators make is composing a sentence which is unintentionally ambiguous, even taking context into account. If it seems likely that the reader will choose the wrong meaning, then a correction is needed. Does "helicopters may fly patients to the hospital" mean "helicopters are allowed to fly…" or "it could happen that helicopters will fly…"? Permission or possibility? Revisers need to keep an eye out for ambiguities.

Lastly, revisers should check that no material in the source language has been left in that language (unless there is some special reason to leave it untranslated). This is often an issue with isolated bits of text: the translator failed to translate a footnote or a caption on a diagram.

Content

Whereas transfer concerns the translation in its relation to the source, content concerns what the translation says about the subject matter.

Translators often introduce conceptual errors when handling specialized texts because they do not have a sufficient understanding of the concepts in that field. Such errors will immediately be noticed by expert readers. If there are several, that may call into question the competency of either the translation provider (if the reader knows the text is a translation) or even the competency of the individual or organization identified as the author of the text.

The translator may also have introduced factual, logical or mathematical errors not present in the source text, or written something which makes no sense at all even though the source text makes perfect sense.

With some texts, it is especially important to keep in mind that numbers as well as words convey meaning. Since revisers, like most translators, are "language people" rather than "number people", they can easily overlook mathematical errors which will be obvious to readers.

Not infrequently the source text will itself contain content errors. Some clients may want a list of such errors, and it may be up to the reviser rather than the translator to provide it. Other clients may expect obvious errors to be corrected, but this can be tricky with specialized texts where the reviser has only limited factual and conceptual knowledge: the idea apparently being conveyed in the source text may seem odd to the reviser but make perfect sense to experts in the field.

In some cases, it may be important for content errors committed by the source writer to be preserved. If they are not, readers of the translation may form a much better opinion of the individual or organization that produced the source text than will readers of the source itself—a result that may not be desirable from the commissioner's point of view.

Finally, it is sometimes important to add or subtract content. For example, the source text may assume geographical knowledge which readers of the translation may not possess, and the reviser will then usually want to ensure that the matter has been sufficiently clarified. Or the source may contain incidental remarks on religious or political matters which target-language readers in a very different culture will not understand, and the reviser may decide to remove these if the translator has not already done so. However, there are limits. For example, revisers dealing with expert-to-expert texts will usually remove any explanations of technical concepts that have been added by the translator. More generally, additions and subtractions beyond a certain point can result in a text which will not count as a translation in the eyes of a receiving society or in the eyes of professional translators.

Language and Style

Several linguistic features of the translation may call for correction: spelling and grammar mistakes, unidiomatic word combinations, punctuation errors. Commas in particular need careful attention because their use in the two languages may be very different.

In addition, it may be necessary to make the translation comply with norms of "proper usage" (some societies are more strict about this than others) or with the prescriptions of a particular style manual (e.g. write "8", not "eight"). Revisers may also need to correct terminology if the client has supplied a list of desired terms in the target language.

Apart from corrections of out-and-out errors, the writing quality of the translation may need improvement for at least four reasons. First, the style may not be suited to the genre: perhaps writing in that genre tends to be quite formal in the source language, but less formality is called for in the target language. Second, the wordings in the translation may not be suitable for the intended readership: wordings appropriate for readers who are experts in the subject-matter of the text will not be appropriate for non-expert readers. For example, in an English translation, it may be necessary to revise the translator's "fleet operator requirement" to "a need for people to operate a fleet of vehicles". Third, sentences may be so awkwardly constructed that they have to be read twice to grasp their structure; for example, it may be hard for readers of English to identify the structure of a sentence if the main verb is too far from the grammatical subject. Finally, the connections between sentences may not be clear. This is especially a problem when the translator used Translation Memory and the working environment presents sentences one at a time; the translator may not notice that, for example, a pronoun in a sentence has no antecedent in the previous sentence.

Revisers also need to decide what to do if the source text is very poorly written and the translator has not improved the writing quality enough. Poor writing here means that the sentences are awkwardly structured, or it is unclear how the content of a sentence is related to the previous one, or the intended meaning is unclear for reasons other than specialized subject matter.

A final issue that may arise under the heading "language and style" is whether the translation complies with generally accepted standards on the literal/free scale. Depending on the translating norms that apply in a society for a given field (is it history or finance? marketing or law?), the reviser may need to detect and correct overly literal or overly free translations. Here "overly literal" means that the translator has gone too far in the direction of source-oriented translation: word combinations are not idiomatic; rhetoric will not be familiar to target-language readers. Conversely, "overly free" means that the translator has gone too far in the direction of target-oriented translation: the translation reads just like familiar original writing on the topic in the target language and as a result, the unfamiliar approach taken by the writer of the foreign source text is lost, which may defeat the whole point of publishing a translation.

Visual Presentation

If there is no proofreader available, the revising translator may have to check matters related to the visual rather than the verbal aspect of the text: its layout, typography and organization. The question here is whether the physical structure of the text will help or hinder readers in grasping its conceptual structure (the argument or the narrative).

Translators are often instructed to reproduce the presentation of the source text, but sometimes the result of doing so will not work in the target language. This is especially the case with paragraphing. Languages differ considerably in principles for dividing a text in a given genre into paragraphs. It will not infrequently be best to split or merge paragraphs. Also, revisers need to pay attention to bolding, underlining and italicization in case the translator has unthinkingly copied these from the source text. Such copying may not work at all in the target language.

The physical structure of this present article, when it existed as a Word document, began as follows: Bolded, centred title; left-justified list of topics; bolded left-justified heading, not numbered; no space between heading and first paragraph; unindented, single-spaced paragraph; single space before next paragraph, and so on. Thus, some of the points to check would be: Does the list at the beginning reflect the order and wording of the titles in the body of the text (a matter of organization)? Are all the main headings bolded, so that they are not confused with the italicized subheadings (a matter of typography)? Are all paragraphs unindented and of suitable length for an English encyclopedia article (a matter of layout)?

Quite apart from changes to suit target-language norms, revisers may want to recommend changes if they believe the presentation of the source text was not effective. For example, the electronic version of the source may overuse colour or contain too many different colours, which may hinder understanding rather than help it. Also, if the source is in landscape orientation with a single column of text, the reader's eye will find it difficult to return to the next line of print; two or three columns should perhaps be recommended.

Compliance with Client and Employer Specifications

Revisers must check for compliance with instructions from clients, for example: use certain terminological equivalents; use the phraseology found in such-and-such a manual or other document in the target language; leave quotations in the source language and add a translation in brackets after it; do not add any translator's footnotes.

Also, does the translation comply with the policies of employers or agencies? For example: use a certain dictionary in cases of alternative spellings; use 100% matches found in Memories without change.

Consistency

Revisers will need to check that the translation is consistent in certain respects. A client who regularly sends a certain kind of text for translation may well expect cross-translation consistency in terminology, phraseology, page layout or other matters. Some clients provide a list of instructions in this regard. In addition, a translation service may want all the translations it delivers to all clients, whether prepared in-house or by contractors, to have certain features as a default, such as British rather than American spellings in the case of English.

Some types of consistency may also be needed within single translations, such as a consistent level of formality or technicality, consistency in the typographical treatment of headings, or consistency in spellings (e.g. use “life style” rather than “life-style” or “lifestyle”). Detecting inconsistencies may be quite difficult with lengthy texts: the reviser cannot remember all the decisions he or she made on previous days, or confuses the consistency requirements of two jobs when revision of a lengthy translation had to be interrupted to revise another translation having a shorter deadline.

Consistency checks are especially important when a text has been divided among several translators. Ideally, a project coordinator anticipates problems before the work begins and gives the translators a set of instructions to forestall inconsistencies. In practice, it often happens that no such instructions are given, or that not all potential problems are covered in the instructions.

With the advent of Translation Memory, new consistency problems have appeared. Since a typical Memory’s database contains translations by many different translators, the various sentences retrieved from Memory into the current translation may well be inconsistent with each other or with the current translator’s own wordings in some relevant respect (terminology, degree of formality). The reviser needs to check that the translator has dealt adequately with this problem.

A further consideration: While a reviser can check the Memory’s database to see whether the translator used an earlier translation of a sentence (rather than rejecting it and making up his or her own wording), how much time is it worth spending on such checks if the translator’s own wording is perfectly adequate?

Consistency checks only pertain to certain aspects of a text, such as terminology and visual presentation. Other aspects are not subject to consistency. Most obviously, a certain recurring wording in the source text will sometimes need to be translated one way, sometimes another, either because it is being used in different senses or because the target language has different stylistic habits regarding the use of synonyms.

Technology for Revision

There is very little by way of revision-specific software.

Word-processing and Translation Memory environments do of course enable revisers to enter corrections once errors have been detected, and the Find/Replace feature makes it possible to find and correct repetitions of an error. However, there is very little technology that can assist with the principal step in revision: detecting errors in the first place. No software can detect errors in transfer of meaning, unidiomatic word combinations, wrong levels of formality or technicality of language, nonsense, logical contradictions or faulty inter-sentence connections.

Word-processing software can detect most spelling mistakes and typos, though correction requires a knowledge of spelling since the spell-checker typically offers a list of possible corrections, from which a selection must be made, or the list does not in fact contain the correct spelling (this often happens with proper names).

The grammar- and style-checking features of standard word processors are not terribly useful for English: they miss too many mistakes and flag too many correct wordings. Stand-alone grammar or style checkers may be more useful.

The readability scores offered by some word processors are next-to-useless, based as they are on overly simplistic factors such as the number of words in sentences or the number of syllables in words. These factors are only relevant if the readers of the translation will be children, immigrants still learning the language, or adults with little education.

Special revision software does exist for errors of the kind normally detected by professional proofreaders, such as a parenthetical remark or quotation which has an opening but no closing punctuation mark. Some programmes can also warn the reviser that there may be an omission (because of the differing length of source and target wording) or, with some language pairs, that there may be a "false friend" in the translation (for example, a translation into English from French contains the word "library"; this may be a mistranslation of French "librairie", which means "bookstore"). Finally, it's possible to automatically check a translation against a pre-established list of terminological equivalents.

Revising on Screen or on Paper

Surveys of technical editors in the United States reveal that working on paper is still a common practice, though one that is slowly declining. One researcher (Dayton 2011) found a decline in exclusive paper editing from 54% of respondents in 1999 to 27% in 2008, and a decline in those who do both paper and e-editing from 10% in 1999 to 3% in 2008. Use of Word's Track Changes or Compare, or the similar features available in Adobe Framemaker, rose from 11% in 1999 to 33% in 2008.

A survey of revisers' practices in Belgian translation agencies (Robert 2008) found that two-thirds of respondents revised entirely on screen (they read the source and the translation on screen and they input all changes directly on screen), while fewer than 10% worked entirely on paper, with the rest working partly on screen and partly on paper.

Discussions at revision workshops led by the present writer also reveal a mixed picture. For self-revision, some work on screen, simply entering corrections as they go; others work on paper and then input any changes to the electronic file when finished. When it comes to revising someone else's translations, some on-screen self-revisers switch to paper. A few revisers print the draft translation out for reading, but when they decide to make a change, they do so on screen.

It seems that a considerable number of people do not yet find computer screens to be congenial environments for reading. In addition, some people do not like the visual display created by the Track Changes feature in Word; they prefer to see handwritten corrections between lines of print.

It is possible that many people have chosen to revise on screen rather than on paper either to cut down on paper use or because they believe screen work is faster. However observational studies have shown that editors can read a text more quickly on paper than on screen and that they catch more errors when they read on paper.

Revision Procedures

Different people go about the job of checking and correcting in different ways, whether they are self-revising or revising the work of others.

Some self-revisers wait till the post-drafting phase to make most of their changes while others make most changes while they are drafting the translation. Indeed, some translators engage in what might be called "translating by revising". Having read a passage of the source text, they do not ponder possible translations; rather, they quickly write down a wording in the target language. Then they revise that wording, possibly changing it several times.

When comparing source text and translation, some people read a sentence of the source text first, while others read a sentence of the translation first. There may be some advantage in the latter approach, though no empirical studies have as yet confirmed this.

Reading the source first may cause revisers to think of their own translation. They may then compare the draft translation with their own mental translation rather than judge the draft on its own merits; the result will be unnecessary changes. A further problem is that reading the source text will bring to mind the meaning which the translation is supposed to have. That meaning may then be projected onto the translation even though the translation may well be understood differently by end-users. This is particularly a problem if the translation happens to be ambiguous: reading the source first may have the effect of cueing in the reviser's mind the interpretation of the target-language sentence which corresponds to the source, whereas the reader of the translation may select another possible interpretation. A third problem: reading the source text first means giving up an opportunity to see the text from the future user's point of view (the user will not be reading the source text first!). Finally, it is easier to notice nonsense (cases where one cannot understand the translation at all, or not without consulting the source text) if one reads the translation first.

A further procedural issue is the number of times the translation will be read: just once? twice? more than twice? And if twice, in what order: first a comparison with the source for meaning transfer, then a reading of the translation alone for content, language and style? or the other way round? Questionnaire studies as well as comments in revision workshops show that all these options are in wide use.

If a single reading is done, it may be either a comparison with the source or a re-reading of the translation alone. Each has its risks. During re-reading, the reviser may of course not notice omissions and mistranslations: the draft may make perfect sense, but not the right sense! During comparison, the reviser may not get a sense of the flow of the translation because attention keeps switching between the two languages.

While revisers generally work through a translation from start to finish, many people check the front matter (title, summary, table of contents) last. This is especially common when revising the work of others, since the summary will make more sense once the reviser has become familiar with the text. Also, the reviser needs to ensure that the table of contents reflects all the revisions made in the body of the text, especially if the automated table of contents feature is not being used.

Some revisers read translations aloud in the hope of detecting problems they would miss during silent reading. Others read translations backwards from the last sentence to the first, in order to avoid being distracted by the flow of the text's message so that they may focus on micro-linguistic problems internal to sentences. Another option is increasing the line spacing when revising on screen in the belief that this will make it easier for the eye to spot problems.

Empirical Studies of Revision

There is now a growing literature that describes, analyzes and interprets observations of translators engaged in revising translations. However, these studies are not yet sufficiently advanced to demonstrate with any degree of certainty that some particular approach to revision is better than others, in the sense that it results in a higher quality translation or in greater speed or both.

Most studies concern self-revision rather than other-revision, and combine discussion of self-revision with other aspects of translation. These studies confirm that different people take different approaches. For example, there is some evidence that as people gain experience, they become able to make most of the needed self-revisions while they are drafting their translations, whereas less experienced translators tend to rely more on a post-drafting checking phase.

Four observing methods are used in empirical studies of revision:

(i) Think-aloud studies ask subjects to speak their thoughts aloud while they are revising. The comments are recorded and analyzed. This method gives some insight into the motivations behind the reviser's actions.
(ii) Keystroke logging studies rely on software that records all keyboard actions by a subject, including of course changes made to a translation. The record can be played back or printed out and analyzed.
(iii) Video recording studies give a full view of a working session (e.g. the reviser stops to consult a paper reference work). Screen logging studies show how subjects move from window to window as they work.
(iv) Eye-tracking studies record subjects' eye movements, making it possible to know what wordings of source and translation they were reading at a given point in time, and for how long. This method is useful for studying the reading as opposed to the writing aspect of revision work.

All these methods can be combined with each other and with the older method of comparing revised and unrevised versions of a translation, or successive revisions.

In addition to observational studies, there are interview studies. One type of interview study takes a retrospective look, asking the subjects interviewed why they did what they did after their revision sessions have been recorded. There are also a few questionnaire studies which ask individuals about their revising habits, or ask translation services about their revision policies.

Some of the results of observational studies are rather alarming: two test subjects revising the same text make changes at quite different locations in the text; a reviser thinking aloud states the need to avoid unnecessary changes but then makes many such changes; hardly any of the test subjects in a study notice an error or correct it properly; one test subject spends much more time than another on revision of the same text but the result is worse.

Occasionally the results of studies are unexpected, such as the finding that comparative revision takes much less than twice the time required for re-reading the translation alone.

Early studies, in the 1980s, mostly used translation or language students as subjects. Later there was a transition to using professional translators, sometimes with comparison to students. Most studies continue to be conducted at university facilities rather than in translators' workplaces, and the researchers may have given their subjects texts of an unfamiliar type, or asked them to perform tasks which they have rarely or never performed. Thus, a question of realism arises: do revisers work in the same way in a "laboratory" setting as they do when working in their normal surroundings with familiar text types and with a paying client's deadline looming?

Very few of the findings of observational studies have been confirmed through repetition by other researchers. Also, different studies of a given revision issue may not be comparable because the different groups of researchers did not give the same instructions to the panel of revisers or specialized translators who assessed the revised translations produced by the study subjects. Finally, most studies have very few subjects (typically fewer than 10), because processing and analyzing the data are so time-consuming and therefore costly.

Issues for Research

The two main things that go wrong during revision are failing to detect errors and making unnecessary changes. In addition, sometimes revisers actually introduce errors, making the draft translation worse! We know little about the reasons for such failings.

On the first problem—failure to detect—we need to know more about how attention works during the reviser's reading process. Is the problem a matter of inattention or a problem of mixed attention (inability to attend to both micro problems like number agreement and macro problems like the flow of an argument)? During discussion in a revision workshop, there will sometimes be disagreement on the need for a change, but in a surprising number of cases, almost everyone will agree that a change was needed once the problem is pointed out.

It would also be useful to know the extent to which critical and major problems are being missed. A critical problem is one that could have harmful health, safety, legal or financial consequences. A major problem is one that could impede a reader's correct understanding of a central aspect of the message in the source text. All other problems are minor.

The work of revisers is not much use if large numbers of easily noticed minor errors are corrected but major and critical errors are missed.

On the second problem—unnecessary changes—we need to identify the factors responsible. To what extent are such changes triggered locally, by the wording currently under consideration, and to what extent are they triggered by revisers' general stance toward the job, such as the belief that since they have been assigned to revise a text, they must make some changes? In particular, many people completely retranslate whole sentences which were perfectly good or else needed only a small change. Were they perhaps thinking of how they themselves would have translated the sentence?

On the third problem—introducing errors—does this happen because the reviser did not achieve as deep an understanding of the text at hand as the translator? Or does it happen because of poor methodology (for example, the reviser makes a stylistic change and does not notice that the meaning is also being changed)?

Aside from these three issues, which concern the mental process of revision, we need on-site observational studies of revision-related procedures in translation offices so as to find out about the social and economic aspects of revision. How do revisers actually relate to those whose work is revised? To what extent is quality controlled by revisers and to what extent by managers responsible for costs? We need to know not so much about revision policies but rather about the revision "culture" in translation workplaces.

Also, little is known about the usefulness of revision. What proportion of the problems in translations produced by a translation service are being corrected? How many errors are being corrected per hour of revision effort? Do the more experienced revisers do a better job than the less experienced ones? What is the difference in quality when a translation is simply self-revised and when it is also revised by a second translator? What is the difference in quality when a translation is checked by a second translator and when it is checked instead by a subject-matter expert or proofreader?

Also under the heading of usefulness, we do not know the extent to which revisers provide feedback, either to in-house or contract translators. Without such feedback, errors are very likely to be repeated. Finally, what is the impact on professional development of having one's work revised: To what extent does revision help translators produce better translations in less time? To what extent are good translators demotivated if all or most of their work is revised, and do they then stop improving, becoming dependent on the reviser to make up for their shortcomings?

Training in Revision

Revision is not yet being treated as an essential topic for training.

The most common approach is informal, on-job training. Salaried translators are given an opportunity to revise the work of others and then receive commentary on their revisions from a more experienced staff member. A few employers operate more formal training programmes, or organize one-day workshops on revision (which are also provided in some countries by translators' associations on an irregular basis).

Only a few translation schools offer special courses devoted either entirely to revision or to some combination of revision of translations and editing of original texts written in the target language. Many instructors do organize exercises in which students revise each other's work, and it's possible that instructors in translation practice courses are providing advice on self-revision.

While there is a huge literature on the pedagogy of translation and on translation evaluation, there is next to nothing about how to teach revision or how to evaluate revisers.

There is good reason to believe that the lack of formal classroom training in revision has created a situation where each reviser, even within one translation service, has his or her own personal "philosophy" of revision. Thus, one reviser will focus heavily on writing quality and take much longer to complete a job than another reviser; or a translator whose work is checked sometimes by one reviser, sometimes by another, will see startlingly different kinds of change or even incompatible approaches to a particular problem.

Selected Readings

A list of readings on revision, up to mid-2013, can be found in Mossop 2014. An up-to-date list can be found at the author's website: www.yorku.ca/brmossop. Both lists include a small number of readings in French, German, Italian and Spanish. Revision is also discussed to some extent at translators' websites such as ProZ.com and translatorscafe.com: search using keywords such as "editing", "proofreading" and "checking".

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Schjoldager, Anne, Kirsten Rasmussen, and Christa Thomsen (2008) "Précis-writing, revision and editing: piloting the European Master in Translation", *Meta* 53(4): 798–813.

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3 English-Chinese Translation of Practical Writings

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Definition of Translation of Practical Writings

Translation of practical writings is also called practical translation, which refers to translation for practical purposes. Translation theorists like Peter Newmark, Katharine Reiss, and Christine Nord term it differently such as pragmatic translation, applied translation, translation for special purposes (TSP), etc. Even in the same article or book they have written, these terms are not used consistently. So, in the present chapter, whatever the above terms are used, they mean the same, and there is no need to define them separately.

However, if we compare the definitions of pragmatic texts, we can see two major kinds of classification: one covers almost all kinds of texts except literary texts and authoritative statements, i.e. almost all non-literary texts; the other excludes some highly specialized texts like scientific-technological texts and legal texts (Guo 2010).

The problem with the classification by text functions is that few texts are purely expressive, informative, or vocative. Most texts include all these three functions, with an emphasis on one of them. So in *About Translation*, Newmark proposes a classification of text types by subject matter and division of translators' professions:

> It is often convenient to approximately distinguish three types of translation texts: (a) scientific-technological, which are usually handled by the translation departments of public corporations, multi-nationals and government departments; (b) institutional-cultural texts (culture, social sciences, commerce) handled in particular by international organizations; and (c) literary texts, normally handled by freelance translators. (cf. Harvanck (1964) who adds "day-to-day texts" such as journalism, memoranda, correspondence, press agency items, reports of meetings, etc., ...) (Newmark 1991: 36–37)

In the above classification, we can see that Newmark distinguishes between scientific-technological texts and institutional-cultural texts: the former is more specialized like legal texts, while the latter is more general.

In his book *Translation: An Interpretive Approach*, Jean Delisle sets aside specialized texts like scientific-technological texts and legal texts from pragmatic texts. He says: "An introductory course should use general texts, for it should focus on the manipulation of language" (Delisle 1988: 11). What he defines pragmatic texts are general texts, or pragmatic texts in their narrow sense:

> Pragmatic texts are texts whose fundamental purpose is to convey information and in which aesthetics are of secondary importance. ... They cover, among other things, newspaper articles, general correspondence, non-technical brochures, tourist information, and official reports and documents—in short, general texts dealing with topics like pollution, fitness, consumer affairs, drugs, leisure, economics, or sports. (Delisle 1988: 10)

In *Chinese Translators Journal* (《中國翻譯》), and *Shanghai Journal of Translations* (《上海翻譯》), scientific-technological translation and pragmatic translation are separated columns, and in *Chinese Science and Technology Translators Journal* (《中國科技翻譯》), scientific-technological translation is separated from business translation that is generally included in the translation of pragmatic texts. The above-mentioned journals are three major journals specializing in translation theory and practice in China (Guo 2010).

If we do not deviate from the essence of the meaning of "pragmatic" or "practical" or "applied", there is no point to exclude scientific-technological texts and legal texts. They are all "practical", but just more "technical". So, in a broader sense to define practical translation, it may include translation for the media or news, translation of various kinds of institutional documents, translation of signs, translation of tourist information, translation of advertisements, financial translation, business translation as well as scientific-technological and legal translation (Fan et al. 2013).

General Theories for Practical Translation

When discussing practical translation, it is more logical to focus on describing the practical matters related to translation. However, it is a common practice to provide a relevant theoretical framework for an academic topic even on practical translation. Writers of a textbook on practical translation often include an introductory chapter dealing with theoretical issues related to the topic. Undoubtedly, such a brief introduction to theories on practical translation, if well done, will to some extent help our readers better master techniques in handling practical translation works.

It is known to us all that translation theories mainly describe translation phenomenon and the nature of translation, and deal with translation principles, criteria, processes, as well as translation strategies, approaches, procedures and methods. However, the latter parts can also be separately classified as they focus on micro aspects of translation by providing specific tips for processing an individual type of texts, a paragraph, a sentence or even a word. Therefore, they will be discussed separately in the subsequent strategy section with ample illustrations.

There are basically four major translation theories which are highly relevant to practical translation, namely, communicative translation, skopos theory and functionalism, interpretive theory of translation, and cultural translation.

Communicative Translation

The most prevailing translation theory for practical texts might be Communicative Translation. It is so famous mainly because of Peter Newmark's remarks. The theory is built on his text type model. He believes that there are basically three text types in writing, namely *operative texts or vocative texts, informative texts and expressive texts*:

> Operative Texts or Vocative Texts (Appeal-focused Texts) contain messages which are intended to persuade the receiver to undertake a certain course of action, such as buying a specific product or voting for a particular political party. It is a text both content and form are subordinated to the extralinguistic effect which the text is designed to achieve. This means that a translator's main aim should be to produce a target text (TT) which has an equivalent persuasive force to that of the original. Besides transmitting similar "impulses to action", the translation process will also entail preserving the basic semantic content, as well perhaps as reproducing elements of an aesthetic nature. Political manifestos, advertisements and sermons are all examples of this type of text. (Reiss 1977/1989)

Informative texts (content-focused texts): The primary aims of such text is one of conveying information to the receiver. The translator should concentrate on establishing semantic equivalence, and only then turn to other kinds, such as connotative or aesthetic. Reproducing in target language (TL) the informative content of source language (SL) should be judged to be successful. Of course, informative texts may also have more subsidiary functions. Reference works, business letters, official documents, and academic articles all represent this text-type to varying degrees.

Expressive texts (form-focused texts) include an aesthetic component, as the author "exploits the expressive and associative possibilities of the language in order to communicate his thoughts in an artistic, creative way" (Reiss 1977/1989: 109). When translating such texts, the main concern of the translator should be to try to produce an analogous aesthetic effect as well as the semantic content of the original. Poetry, novels, and biographies are typical genres of this type of texts. However, it is not a watertight category, as many texts also contain a subsidiary function.

While translating operative texts and informative texts, communicative approach is always deemed more appropriate as Newmark views such translation as a communication process taking place within a social context (thus, translation is considered a communication). Such a translation is generally oriented towards the needs of the target language reader or recipient.

In communicative translation, the translator attempts to produce the same effect on the target language readers as was produced by the original on the source language readers and the emphasis should be on conveying the message of the original, in a form which conforms to the linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic conventions of target language rather than mirroring the actual words of the source text as closely as is possible without infringing the target language norms. And therefore, when producing a communicative translation, the translator is permitted greater freedom to interpret source text and will consequently smooth over irregularities of style, remove ambiguities and even correct the author's factual errors. It is appropriate for journalistic writing, textbooks, public notices and indeed most non-literary genres. However, communicative translation shouldn't be extended to the extremes of adaptation (Newmark 1981).

Skopos Theory and Functionalism

Although most pragmatic texts share some common characteristics, they sometimes differ dramatically in terms of the rigour or rigidity of writing style, and thus some types of texts do not permit any freedom to interpret them (such as the legal documents), rendering communicative translation helpless. Under such circumstances, skopos theory demonstrates its advantages as it is so general, inclusive, and almost applicable to all kinds of texts in the pragmatic area.

Skopos theory was developed by the German linguist Christiane Nord and Hans Vermeer and comprises the idea that translation is a purposeful activity, which is directly applicable to every translation project. In this theory, function, skopos, purpose, and goal are all the same.

Therefore, translating should primarily take into account the function of both the source and target text. The skopos of a translation varies according to the target language recipient. The translator should use the translation strategies which are most appropriate to achieving the purpose for which the target text is intended.

To a translator, an awareness of the requirements of the skopos thus "expands the possibilities of translation, increases the range of possible translation strategies, and releases the translator from the corset of an enforced—and hence often meaningless—literalness" (Vermeer 1989).

Another theorist describes skopos theory as an alternative target text-oriented paradigm (Toury 1995), which is very similar to the Peter Newmark's point of view about communicative translation, seeing it as representing a "dethroning" of the source text. Therefore, the source text is seen as an information offer, which the translator turns into an "offer of information" for the target audience (Christiane 1997), and which the translator must interpret by selecting those features which most closely correspond to the requirements of the target situation.

When producing a target text, "the end justifies the means" (Reiss and Vermeer 1984/1991: 101). Therefore, a translator may choose whatever strategy appropriate so long as the goals of a translation can best be achieved.

As noted above, the scopos theory emphasizes the function of both the source and target text. So, it is natural to view it as one branch of functionalism. According to functionalism, translation is considered primarily as a process of intercultural communication whose end product is a text which has the ability to function appropriately in specific situations and context of use (Schaffner 1998: 3). The function of a translation depends on the knowledge, expectations, values, and norms of the target readers, who are again influenced by the situation they are in and by the culture. These factors determine whether the function of the source text or passages in the source text can be preserved or have to be modified or even changed (Kussmaul 1995). So, this theory justifies the literal approach, adaptation, over-translation, addition, footnote, paraphrase, or even omission, and many other strategies in translation practice.

The Interpretive Theory of Translation

When we talk about the theories for translating pragmatic texts, we cannot do without mentioning the interpretive theory of translation which was developed by Danica Seleskovitch and Marianne Lederer (researchers at the Ecole Superieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT) at the University of Paris III the so-called Paris School) (Choi). In it, interpretation can be universally defined as understanding speech and rewording.

This theory is built upon four pillars: (1) command of the native language, (2) command of the source language, (3) command of relevant world and background knowledge, and (4) command of interpreting methodology. The last pillar primarily involves "re-expression", which means, using Delisle's vocabulary, restructuring, reconstruction, re-verbalization, re-articulating, reformulation, reproducing, recomposing, i.e. "writing the text in a different form", because "each community has developed habits of expression that, over time, have been integrated into the language and lent it certain characteristics". Even if "two languages can both be inflected and belong to the same family yet nevertheless differ considerably in the way they express ideas and convey emotions" (Delisle

1988: 74–75). Therefore, "re-expression" simply means using a variety of linguistic as well non-linguistic writing techniques to express the ideas of the source texts.

Jean Delisle believes that "re-expression based on writing techniques" is the general principle that should be applied to pragmatic translation. However, "rewriting" here is different from the "rewriting" introduced by Lefevere (1992) "to refer to a range of process, including translation, which can be said to re-interpret, alter or manipulate an original text in some way. According to Delisle, to deal with the socio-cultural, ideological, and literary constraints which lies behind the production of texts", "rewriting" here refers to, first of all, the changes of linguistic forms, or of ways of expression, or of semantic structure and syntactic structure imposed by the constraints of the target language. It also refers to the structural changes necessitated by the dynamics of a message in order to conform to the conventions of form and to preserve the textual organicity of a text (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 147).

Guo Jianzhong, a Chinese scholar, considers that Delisle's rewriting techniques can best be applied to translation between Chinese and Indo-European languages because of the wide differences in semantic structure and syntactic structure between Chinese and Western languages (2008).

Cultural Translation

Theories of cultural translation emerged as early as in the mid-1960s. In *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, Catford argues that translation of cultures *cannot* be as equal as it should be, as some cultures and societies remain dominant as compared to others, therefore power is a limit to the translation of cultures. So, within a translation of cultures, the target language may dominate the source culture in order to make the text comprehensible in a sense of culture for the readers. This limit of translation of cultures was explained in the theory of Edward Sapir, an American linguist and anthropologist: "The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached". "Each linguistic community has its own perception of the world, which differs from that of other linguistic communities, implies the existence of different worlds determined by language" (Catford 1965).

Some linguists assume that untranslatability doesn't only come from linguistic limits but also from cultural barriers within translation.

Differences of point of view between peoples relatively impose narrow limits to cultural translatability. The theory of universal translatability is therefore disapproved by some researchers, as they are convinced that human experience cannot be well communicated because it is unique.

Catford rationalized this theory in his book *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*: "Cultural untranslatability arises when a situational feature is completely absent from the culture of which the target language is a part. For instance, the names of some institutions, fixed expressions, greetings, clothes, foods and abstract concepts, amongst others" (Catford 1965).

In the late 1970s, in her book *Translation Studies*, British scholar Susan Bassnett described the concepts and development of translation studies as an independent discipline, suggesting translation studies focuses on the cultural background, thus starting the cultural turn of translation studies. Bassnett expressed the main concerns of translation studies: focusing on the historical and cultural background of texts, trying to understand *the manipulation of texts and factors that influenced translators' translating strategies*, etc., which offered new insights into translation studies (Bassnett 2004: 32). She also sees "translation as a vitally important activity in today's world but do not see it as straightforward linguistic transfer, rather as a complex process of negotiation between languages and cultures" (Bassnett http.).

In 1980s, translation studies relating to culture matters were further developed. Lambert and Van Gorp called for not only a study of the relation between authors, texts, readers and norms in the two differing systems, but also for relations between authors' and the translators' intentions, between pragmatics and reception in source and target systems, between the differing literary systems, and even between differing sociological aspects including publishing and distribution (quoted from Gentzler 2004: 132).

In the 1980–90s, with Trivedi, Bassnett speaks of the "cannibalization" theory to postcolonial translation where the original text is "consumed" by the translator and reproduced as his or her own. She views that translation is a highly complex activity but requires different skills according to different text types. If one is translating a technical document, a legal document, an instruction manual, then accuracy is essential and it is essential also that that text be reformulated according to the norms of the target culture.… But when we come to the translation of literary texts this is not a skill. Here translation is effectively rewriting, which has been more precisely defined by Lefevere, her once partner in their joint research on Cultural Turn in the 1990s (Lefevere 1992).

Lefevere argues that in the translation process several social actors like translators, reviewers, patrons, or publishing houses are involved in the re-creation—rewriting—of a source-text into a target-text which thus becomes a refraction of the original. To Lefevere, it appears to be that "final product" which, during the process of translation is passed through the filter of the poetics and the ideology of the time in a certain socio-cultural space: "rewriters create images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature" (1992: 5), that is, by manipulating textual or cultural aspects of a literary work they project it differently, refracted, into the target culture.

In *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame, Bassnett and Lefevere* (Lefevere 1992) formally present their theory "translation is a rewriting of an original text". According to them, all rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewriting can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort, and contain, and in an age of ever-increasing manipulation of all kinds, the study of the manipulation processes of literature is exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live" (ibid.: vii) Therefore it is clear that translation is not a pure, simple, and transparent linguistic matter but involves factors such as power, ideology, poetics and patronage, etc.

To be more specific, Theo Hermans (2004: 127) states that rewriting includes translation, criticism, reviewing, summary, adaptation for children, anthologizing, making into a comic strip or TV film, and so on. And translation is regarded by Lefevere as "the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or a (series of) work (s) in another culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin" (Lefevere 2004: 9).

Anyway, in the viewpoint of the cultural translation theorists, translation is not linguistic transfer. It is a complex process of negotiation between languages and cultures. Translators need to manipulate textual or cultural aspects of a literary work. They are rewriters who create images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature. Rewriting is the main strategy which has a much broader concept than that of the linguistic-based rewriting strategy of the Paris Interpretive School. In order to successfully refract the original text, translators should use different translation skills according to different text types.

Although we may include many other translation theories such as Eugene Nida's Dynamic or functional equivalence (1969), Venuti's domesticating translation (1995/2004), and Kexing Li's Static Equivalence theory (Li 2010a, 2013) as highly relevant models of thoughts for translating practical texts, it is indeed more appropriate to regard them as effective strategies for handling translation problems of a specific genre of practical writings.

Strategies for English-Chinese Translation of Practical Writings

Deriving from the above theoretic perspectives, a competent translator should use different strategies, approaches, procedures, or skills (whatever the term we might use) appropriately so as to accomplish his job. But what are the strategies available to English-Chinese translators of practical writings and how can they be effectively used? The following are some introductions to the main translation strategies and their application to different genres or sub-genres of practical writings.

Translation of Cuisines or Restaurant Menus

Domestication and foreignization: These are strategies in translation, regarding the degree to which translators make a text conform to the target culture. The former is the strategy of making text closely conform to the culture of the language being translated to, which may involve the loss of information from the source text; while the latter is the strategy of retaining information from the source text, and involves deliberately breaking the conventions of the target language to preserve its meaning (Gile 2009). These strategies have been debated for hundreds of years, but the first person to formulate them in their modern sense was Lawrence Venuti, who introduced them to the field of translation studies in 1995. (Venuti) His innovation to the field was his view that the dichotomy between domestication and foreignization was an ideological one; he views foreignization as the ethical choice for translators to make.

Application of the concepts: The core part of the writing for culinary industry involves food menus, which are the ultimate documents that a target reader will rely upon to order his meal. In writing menus, fancy restaurants in Chinese communities tend to use traditional writing style by introducing a unique Chinese culture (sometimes associated with a legend) in their menu items, while foreign restaurants, regardless of their country origin, will focus on food facts, such as ingredients and cooking methods used in preparing their food. For example:

Carrot, corn, raisin and honey mustard salad
（胡蘿蔔粟米葡萄沙律）
Wok-fried chicken with fresh green pepper, corn, black fungus and wing beans, mushroom, carrot, cabbage and steamed jasmine rice
（四角豆青胡椒炒雞球配白飯、香菇、椰菜及胡蘿蔔）

or（或）

Braised meat ball, button mushroom sauce, mixed vegetables and tomato gemelli
（鮮菌汁肉丸配螺螄粉及雜菜）

or（或）

Braised pork, pumpkin, greenbean, gratin potato and apple cider sauce
（蘋果汁燴豬肉配馬鈴薯、南瓜及青豆）
Coffee mousse cake
（咖啡慕絲蛋糕）
Tea and Coffee
（茶及咖啡）(Grand Hyatt)

One may notice that the above translation is so foreignized (faithful but long-winding and awkward) that some of the foreign terms are even transliterated into Chinese (such as “mousse” into “慕絲”).

As it is known to all that any cultural elements embedded in such writings will impede a quick and objective understanding of the content of the menu on the part of its readers, and thus are of little importance to them. Having this common sense in mind, a translator of a menu will typically get rid of the cultural elements when translating a Chinese menu into

English by using domestication approach. Although our focus is on describing translation of practical writing from English into Chinese, it is here very useful, and "practical" as well, to provide some opposite examples to illustrate the application of the bipolar concept of foreignization—domestication approach—as used in menu translation. For example:

橫財就手（髮菜豬手煲）	Braised Pig's Knuckle w/Black moss
花開富貴（蟹肉扒雙花）	Braised Crab-meat w/Broccoli
竹報平安（竹笙羅漢上素）	Stewed Mixed Vegetables w/Bamboo Piths
發財好市（髮菜蠔豉）	Braised Dried Oyster w/Black Moss and Bamboo Piths
龍馬精神（蝦仁腰果馬蹄）	Stewed Shrimp and Water Chestnut w/Cashew
東成西就（冬菇扒西蘭花）	Braised Black Mushroom w/Broccoli
滿掌金錢（碧綠北菇鴨掌）	Braised Duck Web and Black Mushroom w/ Vegetable
萬紫千紅（鳳梨咕嚕肉）	Sweet and Sour Pork

Apparently, fortune-wish or good-luck messages embedded in the above Chinese menu items are not conveyed at all in the translations. They have been domesticated: to foreigners, their domestic menu items are just like that of a typical foreign menu containing cooking method, main ingredients, minor ingredients, or maybe the sauces used if the item is not tediously long.

Translation of Signs

Dynamic equivalence and functional equivalence: The theory as a strategy was developed and used in biblical translation by Eugene Nida, an American translation theorist, and it has been understood fundamentally as sense-for-sense translation (translating the meanings of phrases or whole sentences). Dynamic equivalence tends to employ a more natural rendering but with less literal accuracy and it is, according to Nida, the "quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the *response* of the *receptor* is essentially like that of the original receptors" (Nida and Taber 1969). The desire is that the reader of both languages would understand the meanings of the text in a similar fashion.

In later years, Nida distanced himself from the term "dynamic equivalence" and preferred the term "functional equivalence". The term "functional equivalence" suggests not just that the equivalence is between the function of the source text in the source culture and the function of the target text (translation) in the target culture, but that "function" can be thought of as a property of the text. It is possible to associate functional equivalence with how people interact in cultures (Nida and Taber 1969).

In the translation of signs, dynamic or functional equivalence has been advocated as a fundamental strategy by Chinese scholars such Wang Ying and Luv Hefa. For example:

> Mind your head!:
> " 小心碰頭 " instead of " 注意你的腦袋 ";
> Please keep your belongings with you at all times:
> " 請勿忘隨身物品 " instead of " 請任何時候將你的隨身物品帶在你身邊 ";

In the above two cases, the response of the receptors for the second version is not at all like that of the original receptors as it is so "foreign" or not idiomatic.

For the same reason, *Caution! Slippery Floor / Warning! Wet Floor* has been domesticated or idiomatically translated into a commonly seen phrase " 小心地滑 ".

And so are the followings:

> Access forbidden to all unauthorised persons:
> 閒人免進 / 未經許可，不得入內 (Wang and Lv 2007: 65);
> Priority seat, please offer this seat to elderly or disabled people or those carrying children:
> 老幼病殘孕專座，請把座位讓給老人、殘疾人以及抱小孩的乘客 (Wang and Lv 2007: 67).

The same translation approach can be effectively used when translating Chinese signs into English:

> 殘疾人士衛生間 is translated into *Accessible Toilet*, referring to a spacious toilet or washroom easily accessible to the disabled people in wheelchair.

For the same reason,

> 請勿喧嘩 : *Quiet Please.* A literal translation such as "Please don't talk loudly" is not stylistically acceptable.

As a dichotomy rule, when translating a foreign or English sign into Chinese by using dynamic or functional equivalence approach, it is quite logical to assume that a translator will use formal equivalence approach (as it is a paired word-for-word translation—translating the meanings of words and phrases by a more literal method) when translating a Chinese sign into English. However, it is not the case. In sign translation, regardless whether you translate English into Chinese or vice versa, dynamic or functional equivalence approach is always the prevailing one.

Translation of News Report

Excepting/extracting as a strategy: Both alternative concepts refer to translating only a shorter piece of writing (like an abstract) which is taken from a longer piece of article or a voluminous book. The order or sequence of the paragraphs in the original may or may not be followed. This technique is more frequently used in translating news reports as sometimes the target readers are assumed to be interested only in the essential messages in the source text. This is particularly the case when the newspaper is a local paper and the news is from a remote region or a piece of non-urgent or less important news whereas the editorial translator still wants to keep his readers informed. The following is a piece of feature news about the car of tomorrow:

> **Source language text**
>
> Pollution free car of tomorrow
>
> Our love affair with the motorcar looks set to last forever, even though this vehicle has certain offensive characteristics: fume emissions, a high fuel consumption and noise.
>
> Scientists everywhere are working to reform these antisocial aspects of the car developments are proceeding full tilt.
>
> An exhibition at London's Science Museum, on until the end of January 1998—called The Car. Your Future—is looking at the diversity of ideas being explored around the world and at the technology that could solve many of the current problems.
>
> Exhibits include models of concept cars, including a vehicle which can be converted from an electric commuter car to the petrol sports car shown here, simply by renting an alternative chassis.

An ambitious a sports car, suitable for speedy travel on land or in water, is also on show, along with warning that with the possibility of rising sea levels as a result of global warming, such cars may be in increasing demand.

The exhibition has a multitude of displays on alternative methods of propulsion, including electric cars, and solar power and fuels such as natural gas, alcohol, and hydrogen. Both advantages and disadvantage are examined and explained.

A variety of touch screens challenges visitors to get involved and includes one that allows participants to "fast forward into the future to see how technology could affect car journeys of tomorrow"—LPS (*New Straits Times* 24 December 1997)

Translation

未來無污染車

1998 年 1 月底在倫敦科學博物館舉行了「未來汽車」展覽會，會上展出了各種汽車模型，如電力小客車更換底盤而成的燃油車、水陸兩用運動車、電力車、太陽能車和天然氣、酒精或氫氣為燃料的燃料車等。這些車均可解決廢氣排放、高耗油量和高噪音等技術問題。(Huang 2004: 136–138)

The source version news is very general and non-urgent. The editorial translator just wanted to keep his readers informed. So, there is no need to translate every sentence of it. Therefore, he used the typical excerpted translation approach. Although the source text includes 7 paragraphs, in the translated version they have been condensed into one and only the essence of the original has been extracted. But it should be pointed out that communicative approach still prevails when a full translation of a news item is required.

Translation of Tourist Texts

In a broader sense, Skopos theory or functionalism can best describe translation of tourist texts. In order to inform or attract tourists more effectively, many different approaches are used by tourism translators in their practice. The following are just a few illustrations of the strategies they have used:

Summary Amplification

Summary refers to a short statement that gives only the main points, not the details of a text, be either a paragraph or an entire article; while amplification, originally derived from the concept of operation of an amplifier device intending to make a signal stronger, means to amplify the relevant message of the original so as to make the translation better by increasing its rhetorical effect. This technique is frequently used in translating the ending sentence of a paragraph (as if it is a summary). The main points of the "amplified" sentence usually do not come from any previous sentences, but from the invisible context. That is why we label such strategy as summary amplification. It is observed that the technique is more frequently used by skillful translator in handling a tourist brochure. Junior translator, for fear of being criticized for not being faithful to the original, tends not to employ it in his work. For example:

Source language text

Tiny islands are strung around the edge of the peninsula like a pearl necklace. Hunks of coral reef, coconut palms and fine white sand. Rough, black rocks of lava just out of the water along parts of the coastline.

In some places, cliffs rise almost straight from the water's edge. Along the gentle sloping land areas to the southeast are beaches of yellow, white and black sands.

Translation

座座島嶼玲瓏小巧，緊密相連，像一串珍珠綴成的項煉，環繞着半島邊緣。島上珊瑚礁紅，椰樹成片，沙灘如銀，景色如詩如畫。

巉岩突兀赫然聳立，斷崖絕壁破水而出，黃白黑不同顏色的沙灘沿海岸線一路伸展：一景一物均歷歷在目。(Jia Wenbo)

By comparing the source English text with the Chinese translations, we notice that almost every meaningful word of the original has been faithfully and idiomatically rendered. But the last sentences of the above two paragraphs are purely additions with no trace to be found in the source text. However, they are so appropriate and powerful as if they are necessary or organic parts of the source texts. Definitely, these additions are not just additions but summary amplifications out of the context for the respective paragraph.

Rewriting

As has been discussed in the theory section, rewriting has been defined by both the Delisle of the Paris Interpretive School and Lefevere of the Cultural Translation. As a strategy for translating practical texts of tourism nature, we prefer Delisle's linguistic-based concept that rewriting refers to the structural changes necessitated by the dynamics of a message in order to conform to the conventions of form and to preserve the textual organicity of a text. We may shift to Lefevere's rewriting concept later on when we are given a translation work which is more culturally specific or ideology-bound such as an advertisement.

Source language text

Here in New Hampshire there are many opportunities to find a peaceful spot hidden among the lush forests of tall evergreens and hard-woods or next to a rambling brook or pictorial lake.

If the above tourist text is translated in accordance with the traditional theory (faithfulness and idiomaticy) taking literal translation approach, then it is very natural to have a version as like this:

Translation 1

這兒，在新罕布什爾州，你很可能在茂密的高高的長青樹林中或闊葉樹林裡，或在潺潺的小溪旁，或在風景如畫的湖邊，找到一個安靜的地方。

or

在新罕布什爾州，很容易就能找到一個幽靜的場所，它要麼就隱藏在高大茂盛的青翠森林或闊葉林裡，要麼就在潺潺的小溪旁或風景如畫的湖泊旁。

But the conventions of writing (style) and the textual organicity of a typical Chinese tourist article normally require a text to display literary elegance by using four-character phrases or other fancy rhetoric devices whenever possible. And this has been a tradition for tourist writings in China from ancient time until present day. Therefore, a translation of different style from the original becomes legitimate and is often appreciated by the target Chinese readers or tourists:

Translation 2

新罕布什爾州森林茂密，綠樹長青，泉水蜿蜒而流，湖邊風景如畫，到處都是幽然寂靜的好去處。

or

新罕布什爾州樹林茂密，鬱鬱蔥蔥，湖光山色，波光粼粼，處處都是修身養性之所。(CCJK)

Then in this case, we may appropriately label the approach of translation as rewriting. But as the source texts are often cross text types, no one unique strategy might be so powerful that it can handle the whole rendering in a real translation process. It is very often that multiple approaches or techniques might be used at the same time for the same piece of translation in this pragmatic area. For example:

Expansion and Reduction

These two procedures are usually used in poor written texts and again lead to a change in lexical and stylistic aspects in the recipient language. Expansion refers to the case where the normal number of the words in a translation far exceeds that of words in the source language text. See the following example:

> **Source Language Text**
>
> Within the locales of this lovely region, we <u>offer</u> 273 lakes and ponds of all sizes, family attractions, lake cruises, swimming, summer theater, hiking, biking, fishing, scenic country drives, museums antiquing, craft fairs and festivals and of course… shopping.
>
> **Translation**
>
> 風景區有 273 個大大小小的湖泊，正是一家人的避暑勝地，你們可以坐上遊艇在湖上巡遊，也可以在湖裡游泳，或在湖邊垂釣；或到山間鄉下徒步旅行，騎自行車遊覽， 或駕車觀賞美麗的鄉野景色；你們也可以上夏日劇院欣賞戲劇，去博物館裡尋幽訪古，參觀手工藝品展覽會，參加豐富多彩的節日活動，…… 當然不要忘記購物。(docin)

From the above translation, we first notice that the order of the sentences in the source text is dramatically different from that in the target text. The target version has rearranged the "activities" by putting lake cruises, swimming, fishing together as a group as they are water-bound; hiking, biking, and scenic country drives as another as they are all "road"-related; and summer theater, museums antiquing and festivals as a third group as they are indoor activities. By so doing, the translation seems to be more logic and coherent. Furthermore, in addition to the subject (你們, 你們), a number of verbs or action phrases and adjectives (such as 參觀… 參加… 豐富多彩的… 不要忘記) are added to the source text so as to make the translation more like a readable and idiomatic Chinese tourism text.

To be exact, the source text has one complete sentence with only one verb (offer), while the target text has been expanded to include 13 short sentences with 20 verbs (有，是，可以坐上，巡遊，可以游泳，垂釣，到，旅行，騎，遊覽，駕車，觀賞，也可以上，欣賞，去，尋幽訪古，參觀，參加，忘記，購物).

It is apparent that multiple translation strategies have been and can be used effectively in translating tourist texts and the reason behind is more closely related to Delisle's linguistic based rewriting theory. However, when we move to the discussion of the strategies for advertisement translation in the next section, Lefevere's rewriting concept seems to be much more applicable.

Addition vs. Deletion/Omission

Although there is no major difference among amplification, expansion and addition as they are considered synonyms and share the concept of "increasing", addition usually comes in the form of a translator's note or annotation (usually a footnote or an endnote) by which the translator adds something to the target text to provide additional information which is normally not allowed in the translated text proper. The addition could be a cultural background or any other explanations. It is noted that this technique is more frequently used in translating the text of more serious nature such as technical, legal, institutional documents, as well as academic writings. It is a common practice when cultural barriers cannot be easily resolved through intratextual addition.

The definition of deletion/omission is self-apparent. It refers to the total elimination of parts of a text. This strategy is more frequently used in subtitle translation (dubbing as well) as timing is an essential requirement and translator often has to brutally cut the original short. Sometimes, in tourism translation, a translator also has to use both addition and deletion or omission at the same time to handle the same piece of work. See the following:

Source text

The 1000 Islands were initially settled by <u>*the Iroquois*</u> who dubbed the area "<u>Garden of the Great Spirit</u>." French explorer Jacques Cartier first discovered the St. Lawrence River in 1535, sailing as far <u>Montreal, Canada</u>. The St. Lawrence River became a highway to the interior of Canada and the U.S. for many famous explorers, including <u>Champlain, de Courcelles, Comte de Frontenac and Rene-Robert Cavalier</u>. The first reliable charts were made in 1687 by Jean Desbayes who named the area "Les Milles iles" or translated to English "the 1000 Islands."

…

The 1000 Islands Region offers a bounty of recreate on and heritage experiences spanning two nations. It is here that the Province of Ontario, Canada and New York, USA meet—their cultures blending in the mighty waters of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. While it hasn't always been idyllic times—the region was host to many battles during the War of 1812—today you will find a friendly atmosphere, laid back pace and inviting outdoors. (Usenet)

Translation

千島湖是北美印第安人易洛魁部落的棲息地，傳說中是其祖先「大摩神的花園」。數以千計的島嶼散落在聖羅倫斯河中。1535 年法國探險家雅克・卡蒂埃首次發現了聖羅倫斯河，他溯河而上，一直航行到了加拿大的腹地、今日的蒙特利爾市。此後，聖羅倫斯河成了許多探險家穿梭於美加內陸的「高速公路」。1687 年，法國航海家珍・戴斯貝斯為該區域製作了第一幅詳盡可靠的航海圖，並將其命名為「千島湖」。

千島湖不但為遊客提供極為豐富的娛樂休閒活動，也可使他們感受美加文化的交融。千島湖地處加拿大安大略省和美國紐約州的交匯處，兩國豐富的文化在聖羅倫斯河與安大略湖這一片闊水長河中融合。今日千島湖兩岸的人民和睦相處，其樂融融，在這一片共同的水域悠哉遊哉，盡情享受各種戶外生活——好一派田園情趣！但是殊不知在 1812 年的美英戰爭中，特殊的地理位置使她經歷了多場戰亂，為此也為千島湖增添了幾分歷史的滄桑。(my translation)

By comparing the original text with the translation, we noticed that multiple strategies have been used in the translation process with addition as the main approach and deletion as a minor one. Without relevant additions (underlined parts), the target Chinese readers will not be able to understand who "the Iroquois" and "the Great Spirit" are, and who fought "the War of 1812"—of course, these additions can come in the form of end-notes if the article is of more serious nature; besides, being an ordinary Chinese tourist, not a historian nor an adventurer by occupation, he will not be so much interested in so many unfamiliar names of the ancient explorers of French origin, and there is no need either for him to know that the Chinese name "千島湖"was first given by a French explorer in French language and then translated into

English and finally into Chinese. Furthermore, the last sentence of the paragraph has no corresponding message from the original, and is a summary amplification based on the context of the text.

Translation of Advertisements

Although Bassnett and Lefevere's cultural translation theory predominantly deals with cultural difficulties in literary translation and their rewriting concept is to help translator manipulate both textual and cultural aspects of a literary work, it is observed that their theory is also highly applicable to translation of advertisement as advertisement is often inextricably entangled with cultural matters. It is known to us all that rewriting can involve many different approaches, and we will see in this section that a number of techniques are used in translating advertisement.

Expansion/Amplification/Over-Translation/Supplement

Whatever we may call it, as has been partially defined in the discussion of translation of tourist texts, it refers to the case where the number of the words in a translation far exceeds the number of words in the source language text. Anyway, the approach has also been frequently used in translation of advertisement if it is smartly written or rhetorically well composed. For example:

> Live with focus
> 生活有「焦點」，<u>才是真享受</u>！ (Ford Focus 汽車)
> Urgent
> 無論幾急，DHL 都及時送及 (DHL 快遞服務)
> Anytime
> 隨時隨地，準時無誤。 (Global Express, Logistics and Mail TNT 快遞服務)

The first English advertisement includes one phrase of only three words, whereas its corresponding Chinese version has been expanded into two completed sentences.

The last two English advertisements include only one word, whereas their corresponding Chinese versions have also been appropriately expanded into two completed sentences. This fully shows that expansion can not only be an effective strategy but also an essential one in translating both informative and vocative texts in practical writing.

Reduction procedure tends to omit or reduce the existing elements or senses of the original in the translation process. Although it is more commonly used in doing Chinese into English translation (excessive modifiers such four-character phrases, idioms containing a legend, as well as unique phrases for rhetoric effect such as alliterations or rhymes are very often or even unconsciously used in Chinese advertisements), reduction approach is employed in E-C translation so as to avoid literally translating a culture-dependent concept into the target language which might be a cultural taboo. For example:

> Buick: Buick-your key to a better life and a better world.
> 別克轎車：別克——通往美好生活的秘訣。

In Chinese culture, the phrase "to… a better world", no matter how good "the world" might be, should be reduced or deleted as it implies "another world" or simply "death". Therefore, for cultural and rhetoric reasons reduction or even deletion is unavoidable in practical translation.

Creative Translation

Creativeness has always been encouraged in writing, particularly in essay writing, but it has been condemned when applied to translation as faithfulness is always the main concern in almost all kinds of translation. But it is observed that in the translation of a special type of genre—advertisement, creativeness is deemed as a premier quality of a translator. Creative translation means the key messages of the original text have been fully and even better conveyed in the target language text through smartly used rhetoric device or other effective writing means. (Li 2010) For example:

> Ericsson: Taking you forward
> 愛立信： 以愛立信，以信致遠

In the above advertisement translation, a famous brand name (愛立信) for a mobile phone company has been naturally translaterated into a Chinese phrase (以愛立信) and the pun is further harmoniously integrated with a slightly modified classic Chinese saying (以信致遠—comes from 寧靜致遠), thus forming a pair of powerful Chinese slogan to promote the embedded brand name Ericsson.

Now you're really flying.—Cathay Pacific
飛躍人生，非凡感受。——國泰航空

The above Cathay Pacific's advertisement was released in early 2004 when the horrible SARs epidemics finally came to an end. The airline wanted to convince people that the epidemic was over and the airline had resumed all its services. The version is easy for people to comprehend and not at all difficult for a translator to render it into Chinese. But here the translation is made up of 8 characters, and the number of word count is a preferred one which implies good luck. The two-sentence Chinese version tells people that conquering SARs is an extraordinary advance in our life, and flying with the airline will be an extraordinary life experience with comfort. Furthermore, the two short sentences both start with an alliteration character "fei" which is directly associated with the "flying" business of the Cathay Pacific. The translation originated from the English version but way surpassed the original. Apparently, lots of creative elements have been injected into the translation.

A creative translator may also employ other techniques such as changing of the article format, deletion, expansion, adaptation, etc. to accomplish his task. But he should always bear in mind that his creative translation is usually accepted when the translator and the appreciative principal of the job have the consensus to do so.

Literal Translation vs. Free Translation

Since the dawn of translation, people have been familiar with these two concepts though arguing over which one to be a better approach in practice. The German translator Friedrich Schleiermacher wrote in his 1813 essay "On the Different Methods of Translating", that "either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" (Lefevere 1977: 74). Using a simplified saying, "translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him" is literal translation; while "he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" is free translation.

The more official definition goes like this: literal translation is the act of rendering as closely as possible the wording, structure, and grammar of a source document into the translation. Fluency is not as important as fidelity. Whereas free translation is the act of rendering the sense of a source document, rather than slavishly dragging source words and word order into the translation. Understanding of both cultures is also important in free translations. Fluency for target readers is more important than fidelity. (Harun) Non-theorists in translation tend not to differentiate literal translation, semantic translation or foreignization, and would regard free translation, communicative equivalence, dynamic or functional equivalence or domestication as the same approach. Translation theorists commend the former to be the predominant approach for translating literary work and expressive genre; and the latter for translating practical or informative, as well as vocative texts. In reality, both approaches can be effectively used in translating advertisement from English into Chinese or vice versa. For example:

Literal Translations

We're Siemens. We can do that.
我們是西門子，我們能辦到 (Siemens 西門子)
After 20 years of daily use, the only thing we had fixed on this Zippo lighter was the hinge.
席普牌打火機每天使用，二十年後唯一應該調換的無非是鉸鏈。
Come in a Rush, and Go with a Flush
來也匆匆，去也衝衝
Featherwater: light as a feather
法澤瓦特眼鏡：輕如鴻毛。
NIKE: Just do it.
耐克：只管去做。
Adidas: Impossible is nothing!
愛迪達：沒有什麼是不可能的！

Free Translations

UPS. On time, every time.
UPS—— 準時的典範 (UPS 快遞)
We care to provide service above and beyond the call of duty.
殷勤有加 風雨不改 (UPS 快遞)
Begin your own tradition.
代代相傳 由你開始 (Patek Philippe Geneve 百達翡麗 Watch)

All the above Chinese versions are deemed as good translations and have been used for years by the respective companies for promoting their products or services as well as their brand names. In general, junior translators, when engaging in doing practical translation, are normally given such simple methodological guidance by their senior colleagues: translate it literally if you can, or do it freely or paraphrase it if your readers have difficulty in understanding your rendering.

Adaptation

The term implies that the translator can make greater changes to the source text in terms of its content, structure, style, register, format, etc., than he uses any other approaches available in translation practice.

Imagine a children's book. It uses a certain vocabulary, in a certain way, for a certain audience. The material needs a translation that children will understand. Puns, jokes, and idioms need reworking or rewording altogether to give the same feel. An advert that uses a play on words needs the same wordplay if brought into another culture. (Harun)

So, to make an advertisement more readable, appealing, suitable for the target customers' culture, or to have more selling power in the target audience's market, the translator has the freedom or sometimes is required to alter the original expression so as to make it culturally appropriate or commercially attractive. This kind of technique is particularly employed in translating slogans and the body text of an advertisement (not in other aspects such as technical specifications). For this reason, the rewriting concept as defined in the theory of cultural translation can better justify the usage of adaptation as well as many other approaches. A typical example goes as follows:

> What's in a name?
>
> It sounds ordinary on paper. A white shirt with a blue check. In fact, if you asked most men if they had a white shirt with a blue check, they'd say yes.
>
> But the shirt illustrated on the opposite page is an adventurous white and blue shirt. Yet it would fit beautifully into your wardrobe. And no one would accuse you of looking less than a gentleman. Predictably, the different white and blue check shirt has a different name. Viyella House. It's tailored in crisp cool cotton and perfectly cut out for city life. Remember our name next time you are hunting for a shirt to give you more than just a background for your tie.
>
> On women and children's wear as well as on men's shirts, our label says—quietly but persuasively—all there is to say about our good quality and your good taste.
>
> Our label is our promise.

Translation 1

名字算什麼？

寫在紙上它聽起來平平常常。帶藍格的白襯衫。事實上，如果你問大多數男人他們是否有帶藍格的白襯衫，他們都會説有。

但是，下頁展示的襯衫是色調大膽的藍格白襯衫。它會為你的衣櫃横添風采，穿上它沒有人會責怪你缺少紳士派頭。可以預想，這種不同的藍格白襯衫會有一個不同凡響的名字：維耶拉。它為都市生活選用涼爽的棉布精裁細製。下一次你尋購襯衫時請記住我們的名字，它給你的不僅是作為領帶的背景。

對婦女和兒童的服裝正如我們對男人襯衫的承諾，我們的品牌悄悄地動人地説，這裡展示的是我們的上乘質量和你們的一流品位。

Translation 2

名牌推薦

英國人以其襯衫的風度聞名世界。其知名品牌就是維耶拉襯衫，它以精紡棉布為面料，由英國維耶拉品牌精心裁製，品質上乘，暢銷世界。維耶拉特此鄭重地承諾：藍格白底，是白馬王子的首選，風度翩翩，惹來窈窕淑女的青睞。穿上維耶拉， 男人闖天下。穿上維耶拉，生活真瀟灑。

維耶拉還請您關注我們出品的婦女和兒童服裝，百分之百的一流品位，百分之百的品質保證。(Mu and Xu 2001)

The first version is basically a literal translation of the Viyella House advertisement. In the second version, the wording, rhetorical devices used and even the arrangement of ideas to promote the product are totally different from that of the first one, as well as from that of the original. Among all the translation strategies, only *adaptation* might be the right concept which can properly categorize the approach of the translation. Although the style of the second version sounds a bit strange nowadays, this is exactly the style of a typical advertisement of the 1980–90s in China which can effectively impress its audience and promote the sale of a product in the mainland.

Strategies for translation of practical writings are almost inexhaustiable. The above are just a series of examples to illustrate how major strategies are used in the mainstream of practical writings. There are no fixed rules for choosing a strategy for a particular text. In many circumstances, a text may be a cross-over genre in nature or shift its text type in its transmission of ideas: some paragraphs or even sentences are informative, some vocative, and some even expressive—this is particular the case in advertisement writing.

The strategy for translating a text should be text or case dependent, and the knowledge of the translator responsible for the job plays a proactive role in the translation process. A well trained translator with a full scope of knowledge of translation theories, strategies in particular, can often do a better job, just like a carpenter who knows his tools well. Therefore, the above illustrated examples may be of reference value to the practitioners as well as to those who are engaged in training translators.

Then, how is the situation of teaching English-Chinese translation of practical writings in Chinese communities? And what are the general requirements for a competent practical translator? If we know the requirements, we tend to know how to train people to meet the requirements. The following sections briefly explore such topics, and we give a brief answer to the last question first.

Requirements of a Competent Practical Translator

As has been aforementioned, a well trained translator should have a full scope of knowledge of translation theories, strategies in particular. But this only refers to the case where the would-be translator has acquired a language proficiency and has also well prepared in other necessary aspects. To be brief and straight-forward, he should have:

(1) Excellent command of his native language or the target readers' language;
(2) Proficiency in a foreign language;
(3) Subject matter knowledge;
(4) Translation knowledge (translation theories and techniques);
(5) Skills of using translation tools (including but not limited to using proper dictionaries and internet services);
(6) Sensitivity to cultural matters; and
(7) Knowledge of and allegiance to the rules of translation industry such as confidentiality ethics, non-competition codes, etc.

With these in mind, we know how a curriculum should be designed and teaching conducted.

Curriculum and Teaching of English-Chinese Translation of Practical Writings

Brief History

Although translation-related courses (topics) in Chinese communities were offered as early as in 1927 when the School of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong was established, currently the translation programme of the Hong Kong University offers only two practical translation subjects—*Translation for Administration and Business and Film Translation Workshop* (HKU).

The programme specializing in practical translation can only date back to 1989 when the Department of Chinese, Translation and Interpretation of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University (before 1994 it was called the Hong Kong Polytechnic Institute) launched its three-year Diploma Programme which was upgraded to offer B.A. Hons degree in 1994 (Chan 2004: 254). The programme has always distinguished itself in practical translation in line with the Polytechnic nature of the institution.

Curriculum

Since the onset of the first practical translation programme in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1989, the practical components in the pragramme have always included the following four core subjects: *Translation for Business and Commerce, Translation for Legal Work, Translation for Science and Technology*, and *Practicum* which requires students to complete an employer-endorsed translation work for a business or industrial firm. The Polytechnic University's translation programme at the BA level has continued its tradition throughout all these years. Yet at the MA level, with the shift of its programme's focus to interpreting, only two practical translation courses, namely, *Advanced Legal Translation* and *Advanced Business Translation*, are offered nowadays as electives.

It has been well known that the translation programme at The Chinese University of Hong Kong has a long tradition of emphasizing literary translation. However, to meet the changing needs of society and to address the growing global demand for language professionals and translators proficient in English and Chinese in practical field, there is a major shift of focus in its programme curriculum. Currently, the Department of Translation offers the largest number of practical translation subjects as electives at both undergraduate (17 subjects) and postgraduate levels (11 subjects). The following are the elective courses deemed to have practical nature at the BA level:

> (1) Arts Translation, (2) Government and Public Affairs Translation, (3) Introduction to Commercial Translation, (4) Introduction to Commercial Translation, (5) Mass Media Translation, (6) Introduction to Legal Translation, (7) Legal Translation: Special Topics, (8) Science and Technology Translation, (9) Film and Television Subtitles Translation, (10) Translation of texts in Social Sciences, (11) Public Relations Translation, (12) Financial Translation, (13) Translation Project: English-Chinese, (14) Translation Workshop: English-Chinese, (15) Advanced Commercial Translation, (16) Advanced Legal Translation, and (17) Culture and Translation. (CUHK)

Practical courses at MA level are as follows:

> (1) E-C Translation Workshop, (2) Advanced Business Translation, (3) Financial Translation, (4) Translation of Legal Writings, (5) Government and Public Affairs Translation, (6) Government and Public Affairs Translation, (7) Journalistic Translation, (8) Translation of Public Relations Writings, (9) Mass Media Translation, (10) Translation of Subtitles, and (11) Science and Technology Translation. (CUHK)

Theoretically speaking, half of the topics in these subjects will cover various aspects of English-Chinese translation of practical writings.

However, specialized practical translation programmes emerged much later in the mainland of China. In 2005, Fudan University became one of the first three universities in China to offer Translation Major at the undergraduate level, and set up a Master of Translating and Inerpreting (MTI) programme in 2007 (Fudan).

Courses in translation of practical writings are very limited in Chinese universities in the mainland. Take the MTI programme of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies as an example: currently it only offers three practical translation courses, namely *Business Translation, Legal Translation, and Media Translation*, at the postgraduate level (GDUFS).

Teaching and Teaching Mode of Practical Translation Subjects

Teaching

At present, most of the required subjects, such as translation studies, literary translation, and interpreting, in a translation pragramme whether at the BA or MA levels are taught by regular teaching staff with doctoral degrees. But most of English-Chinese translation of practical writings subjects are taught by part-timers from the industries such as finance companies, law firms, newspaper agencies or TV stations who might be newspaper columnists, senior correspondents, lawyers, experienced subtitle translators, etc. Although they might be academically under-qualified for college teaching, they usually are experts in a particular industry or trade with a high level of language competence whose knowledge and skills are more "practical" in meeting the today's changing needs of society.

Take the business translation programme of the Hang Seng Management College of Hong Kong as an example (HSMC): they currently offer 20 subjects (including 12 MA subjects) with most of the courses focusing on practical matters related to translation, but none of its 5 regular full-time teaching staff in the programme have any "business" or "practical" background. All those teaching practical translation subjects are from the industry or other university's retirees who have practical translation background.

Teaching Mode

There are three basic classroom teaching modes for teaching translation subjects: (1) instructor-dominated lecture plus PPT presentation, in which there is little in-class interaction between the students and the instructor; (2) lab-centre teaching for skill-based training with the teacher as an initiator, guardian, and commentator for teaching interpretation; (3) and translation job oriented workshop with the instructor as a facilitator, where students are the centre of attention.

But all these three basic teaching modes are not very appropriate for teaching practical translation subjects. As practical translation does not involve any sophisticated translation theories (with which the instructor is normally not familiar) and there is not much for an instructor to gloat in their ego in the classroom, the first teaching mode is thus not very appropriate. The second mode, of course, is only suitable for intensive skill-based training for future interpreters; and the third one is not practical either mainly because of the financial consideration as nowadays the class size in most universities is often beyond what a regular workshop can accommodate.

Therefore, instructors for teaching practical translation subjects will normally adopt a case-based approach: they extensively use sample translations from real work environment as examples for case analysis, and discuss how a particular article of practical writing should be translated. In the process, they give students translation tips and share the experience they have accumulated in their respective industry or trade.

Occasionally, an instructor teaching practical translation subjects will adopt group presentation mode in some of the class sessions during the semester. In such circumstances, students will voluntarily form a group of 3 to 5 and be given a practical translation topic to explore. Then in due time they are required to present the knowledge they have learned on the topic and demonstrate the skills they have acquired during their exploration of such a topic.

It should be noted that qualified instructors specializing in teaching translation of practical writings at college level or above are very difficult to recruit in the mainland. Therefore, most MTI programmes now use the modular system for teaching practical translation subject, in which students are required to learn several units instead of studying several individual subjects as is often the case in similar MTI programmes in Hong Kong.

Certification of Practical Translation

Currently there are many nation-wide translation-related examinations (mixed with English or foreign language proficiency tests) available in China. However, there are only two examinations which offer translation certificates. As these examinations are so interrelated or interconnected, it is better just to give a general picture of them without differentiating whether they are translation exams or language tests.

Translation certification or credential gives an overall view of its holder's knowledge, skills and even experience for handling translation jobs. There are three major kinds of translation certificates which are widely recognized and well accepted in China.

(1) College English Tests Band 4 (CET-4) and Band 6 (CET-6) are offered by the National College English Testing Committee under the

Ministry of Education of China. These are the tests for non-English majors. Band 4 test was launched in 1987, while Band 6 in 1989. Those who have passed the Band 4 test (obtained 425 out of the total 710 points) are allowed to apply for CET-6 test. Currently around 2,400,000 registered college students sit for these two tests very year with about one third of them for CET-6 test. The tests are available twice a year, and registered students may take them either in March or in September. The contents of the CET-4 and CET-6 tests are much more practical than that of (2) The Test for English Majors-Band 8 (TEM-8) which is a higher level test launched 1991 by a semi-government organization called The Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in China (also under the Ministry of Education). The TEM-8 is a once-a-year test only available to the year 4 college students of the English major.

As the committee for TEM-8 is made up of China's most prominent foreign language experts who have been compiling textbooks for the English major students for all these years at BA level and the test is not easy at all, its TEM-8 certificate is widely recognized and dearly valued by both employers and academic institutions. Many organizations deem the pass of TEM 8 to be an equivalence to 7.0 points (out of 9) in the world renown IELTS test given by UK-based International English Language Testing System (jointly administered by The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate-UCLES, The British Council and IDP Education Australian).

(2) However, the tests which predominantly relate to translation of practical writings are NAETI and CATTI examinations. CATTI is the acronym of the China Accreditation Test for Translators and Interpreters which is administered by the China International Publishing Group (CIPG) entrusted by the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of the People's Republic of China. (CATTI) It is the only kind of examinations that award translator or interpreter credentials. NAETI is the acronym of the National Accreditation Examinations for Translators and Interpreters administered by the Beijing Foreign Studies University entrusted by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (NAETI).

Both examinations are designed to offer written translation test and interpretation test separately. Both are open to all citizens or any one regardless of his nationality or academic background. They could be deemed as an even higher level of translation and foreign language examination than TEM 8 test. They aim to offer qualifications to those who have reached a professional standard in practical translation, or have become experienced translators and interpreters through whatever means (including self-education). Both examinations are offered at three different levels: translator or interpreter of elementary level, intermediate level and advanced level.

Those who have obtained TEM-6 certificate are encouraged to sit for the elementary level examination of NAETI or CATTI; those who have obtained TEM-8 certificate, for the intermediate level examination, and those who are MTI graduates or have reached the postgraduate level in English language studies, for the advanced level examination. It is assumed that an intermediate level translation certificate holder of NAETI or CATTI is qualified for a professional translation job, or for general conference interpretation (if he holds an intermediate level interpreting certificate); and an advanced certificate holder of NAETI or CATTI is qualified to teach translation, English or interpretation at college level. (TEM)

Almost all translation examinations (including the four different kinds of tests mentioned above) leading to certification, qualification or accreditation involve both E-C and C-E testing items as they are the two sides of the same coin. Even an examination given by a recruiter in the labour market will inevitably include both English-Chinese and Chinese-English translations.

As the priority of modern China since it started to implement the reform and opening-up policy in 1978 is to develop its economy, and a translation job involving pure literary work almost becomes non-existing, more and more testing items in any kind of qualification tests tend to be selected from practical field. For instance:

> Translate the following passages into Chinese:
>
> Trade has played a remarkable role on different fronts over the last decades as part of a virtuous circle of growth and development, a harbinger of opportunities unimaginable not so many decades ago, and as an agent of greater social harmony. The rise of international supply chains has deepened and broadened opportunities arising from international exchange. When we think about trade in an economically more rational way—that is, in terms not just of flows of goods and services but rather in terms of the contribution of different nations in joined up production relationships—we begin to appreciate the true nature of the common interests that join us together.

> WTO must address traditional issues of long-standing vintage such as tariffs, non-tariff measures, services and agriculture. At the same time, in our increasingly integrated world, other policy issues require attention, including investment, competition, subsidies and the management of public policy in trade-friendly ways. The premium on avoiding incoherence and fragmentation in policy design and management will grow. Therefore, WTO must search for constructive compromise on fundamental issues relating to the balance of rights and obligations among its diverse membership, especially in a world of shifting influence and power among nations. Better accommodation is needed between preferential trade agreements and the multilateral trading system. (BFSU)

The above two passages are part of the testing questions in the admission examination paper for studying at the MTI programme of the Beijing Foreign Studies University in 2014. The practical nature of the content is self-evident.

Research in Translation of Practical Writings

Research in this area has long been neglected as most scholars in translation discipline are only interested in theoretical exploration of the topics such as relation between linguistics and translation, culture and translation, literary translation and more recently corpus-based descriptive translation studies (DTS). But with the society's urgent demand for professional translation services, research in translation of practical writings became more and more vigorous during the past two decades and a new research field under the name of applied translation studies has thus emerged.

This assertion can be substantiated by the facts from the following four aspects:

First, more articles on translation of practical writings have appeared in the most influential academic journals such as *Foreign Language Learning and Research* (《外語教學與研究》), *Chinese Translator's Journal* (《中國翻譯》), *Chinese Science and Technology Translators Journal* (《中國科技翻譯》), and *Translation Quarterly* (《翻譯季刊》) (Hong Kong), etc. Usually these are two specially reserved sections in such journals: one for theoretical exploration of the practical topics, and the other one for experience sharing or tutoring students how to do practical translation.

Second, a series of textbooks for translation of practical writings (normally dealing with both E-C and C-E translation with a focus on the former) become available to practical translation teachers. At present, at least 50 such books are available, whereas 25 years ago only Chen Dingan's 陳定安《英漢比較與翻譯》(*Comparison and Translation between English and Chinese*) (1991) dominated the field.

Third, a dozen of monographs on applied translation studies with a focus on translation of practical writings have been published by reputable publishing houses such as Peking University Press 北京大學出版社, Tsinghua University Press 清華大學出版社, Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press 外語教學與研究, etc.

Fourth, in addition to the well-known Skopos Theory, a number of new but well rationalized applied translation theories have been developed by Chinese scholars. Huang Zhonglian 黃忠廉, Li Kexing 李克興 and Li Defeng 李德鳳 are among the most active researchers in this field. Huang's《變譯理論》(Translation Variation Theory) (Huang 2004) for translation of science and technology, Li Kexing's《廣告翻譯理論與實踐》(*Translation of Advertisement: A Theoretical and Practical Approach*) (Li 2010a) and〈論法律法律翻譯的靜態對等策略〉(*On Static Equivalence for Legal Translation*) (Li 2010b, 2013), and Li Defeng's viewpoints on translating financial and journalistic texts are well accepted in the training of professional translators and in teaching of practical translation subjects (Li 2007, 2009).

Conclusion

It seems that the above discussions are more than an informative chapter on "English-Chinese Translation of Practical Writings". Just being objective and informative when offering facts, the chapter will probably have little practical value to our readers who are really interested in practical translation. Practical translation readers always have a practical mind. Therefore, the writer here has attempted to give our readers a scope of systematic knowledge on how practical translation from English into Chinese is done, should be done and can be done professionally, what contribution the contemporary translation studies can make or have made to this practical field, and what the mainstream applied translation theories are and how they can best be used in practice.

The scope of practical writings is enormous, anything that is not literary or religious can be considered practical. However, conventional views should still be respected: the writer thus restrains from discussing scientific and technological translation and legal translation although they are more "practical" in nature than most other practical texts discussed in the article. Being an experienced practical translator with a specialty in legal translation for almost four decades, the writer has inevitably presented some empirical point-of-views primarily based on his personal experience in practical translation. So opinions in this presentation may have bias. Besides, any figures, facts or informative accounts given here are time-bound and are mostly sourced from the internet websites. Therefore, readers are reminded that they evaluate them with caution when making reference.

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4 Language, Law, Translation, and Society: The Sociolinguistics of Translating Hong Kong Laws

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Introduction

In real work situations, it is hard to come across an occasion where a job of translation can be done without taking into consideration social factors such as the context in which the translation is commissioned and used, what is expected of the translation, and what impact it may have on the parties concerned. In a way, this is simply to state the obvious, because translating in real life situations is a social practice after all. As translating is a process of decision-making at all levels of the text,[1] from the lexical, syntactic to the discoursal, such decisions are to varying degrees shaped by various social factors on the

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1 The idea of translation as a decision-making process was first proposed by Levi (1967) and later by Krings (1986) and many others. It seems a little trivial to translators as they know pretty well they have to make all kinds of decision throughout the process of translating. What is not so trivial is that they are not always aware of the factors that shape their decisions. Considerable studies have been carried out to explore the varieties of factors involved in the decision-making process. Wilss (1994) proposed a framework for decision-making in translation, which includes the translator's linguistic, referential, socio-cultural and situational bases.

one hand and once made, bound to make an impact on affected parties on the other. And as sociolinguistics aims, among other things, to study how social factors inform language use in social contexts, the connection between translation and sociolinguistics is an intrinsic one.[2] Of the many types of translation, legal translation has a even closer connection with sociolinguistics due to the ubiquitous presence and influence of the law in society. In the final analysis, the connection between sociolinguistics and legal translation has to be understood in light of the connection between sociolinguistics and law[3] because legal translation as a form of verbal communication is one of the subject-matters of the sociolinguistics of law.[4]

Legal translation is an umbrella term covering translation in all types of legal settings. The source texts involved are hard to classify neatly and exhaustively.[5] Typical ones are texts of a legal nature, such as international

2 Way back in 1984, Nir detected the sociolinguistic problems in the translation of imported TV films in Israel. A strong advocate for the relevance of linguistics to translation studies, Nida (1994) is also one of the pioneers who have brought to light the intrinsic connection between sociolinguistics and translation. Sanchez (2007) addressed the key issue of the translatability of culture in the context of the connection between translation and sociolinguistics. Silis (2007) examined the notion of the translator's faithfulness from the perspective of sociolinguistics. Many (e.g. Shikhbabayev 2005; Ciordia 2016) have adopted a sociolinguistic approach to the translation of various types of text. More notably, Pinto (2012) charted the intersection of sociolinguistics and translation in five areas: (1) dialectology; (2) register analysis; (3) language change; (4) language contact and multilingualism; and (5) language planning and language policy.

3 The connection and interface between sociolinguistics and law has become a popular area of research. Finnegan (1997) identified the interface in the study of language use in legal settings. Eades (2010; 2011) used sociolinguistics to study the various aspects of the legal process. Jemielniak (2014) noted the emergence of the discipline of "legal sociolinguistics" which explores how social factors influence the use of language in legal settings.

4 The most recent studies on translation in legal settings can be found in *Translating the social world for law* edited by Elizabeth Mertz et al. (2016).

5 There have been attempts to classify legal translation. Sarcevic (2000) divided it into three types according to text functions: (1) primarily prescriptive texts, such as statutes, treaties and contracts; (2) primarily descriptive but also prescriptive texts, such as judicial decisions, pleadings and petitions; (3) purely descriptive texts, such as scholarly legal works, law textbooks and articles. Varo and Hughes (2002) made a long list of source texts according to the genres of legal English, ranging from university degree certificates to popular legal fiction. Cao (2007) also subsumed legal translation under three categories, but according to its purpose: (1) translating for normative purposes; (2) translating for informative purposes; and (3) translating for general legal or judicial purposes. These classifications serve to give us a general idea of the types of text involved in legal translation but should not be taken as clear-cut and exhaustive.

treaties, domestic statutes, judicial decisions (judgments/opinions), legal notices, contracts, wills, and scholarly legal works. Texts which are not of a legal nature in themselves but involved in legal proceedings, either criminal or civil, can become the source texts of legal translation in the broad sense, such as a suicide note, a media report, an advertisement, a poem of the triad society, in fact, anything. The social factors that shape the translation vary from case to case and are, again, hard to classify neatly and exhaustively.

Rather than giving a de-contextualized account of what and how social factors may influence translators' decision making, I will use a few examples from Hong Kong to highlight and discuss some of the important sociolinguistic issues relating to translation in legal settings. Although the examples are confined to translation between English and Chinese, I believe they can shed some light on the sociolinguistic aspects of legal translation in other language communities.

The Bilingual Laws Project

To pave way for Hong Kong's transformation from a unilingual to a bilingual legal system entailed by the language policy stipulated in the Basic Law,[6] the government, the former Legal Department (now the Department of Justice) in particular, launched the Bilingual Laws Project in 1986. The project had two objectives, namely, to draft new legislation simultaneously in both of the official languages (Chinese and English), and to translate into Chinese existing laws which were exclusively enacted in English. What concerns us here is the latter task. For convenience sake, let us call it the Law Translation Project.

The Law Translation Project was huge in scale by any standards. It produced a complete Chinese text of 514 ordinances consisting of 21,000

6 The policy was first stated in the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* in 1984 and formally adopted in the *Basic Law* promulgated in 1990. Article 8 provides for the retention of the common law in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR); Article 9 provides for the continued use of English, in addition to Chinese, as an official language in the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary. The presupposition of Article 9 with respect to the legal system of the HKSAR is clear: the law will, ex officio, be administered in Chinese, although English may continue to be used.

pages (10 million words), the only success case in all former British colonies that could have the entirety of its statute law in the local language before the handover of sovereignty. Given its significance in the building and development of the bilingual legal system of the HKSAR, it was by nature a social project.

Word Choice: The Mine Field

What fascinates sociolinguists most is perhaps language variation among individuals, within and among communities. It is commonplace that no two native speakers of the same language understand and use that language in exactly the same way even in the same context. Each of us has our own idiolect, which is hard to detect except when communication breaks down. What enables us to communicate with each other is the linguistic repertoire we share in common, whether innate or acquired. Communities speaking the same language also have their own idiolects, known to sociolinguists as language varieties. A good case in point is the varieties of English, such as British English and American English. As Shaw is often quoted as saying that "England and America are two countries separated by the same language", calling language varieties "idiolects" cannot be more apt.

Varieties like British English and American English are also known to sociolinguists as "external varieties". There are varieties within a language variety which sociolinguists call "internal varieties", such as high language vs low language, standard language vs vernacular language, regional dialect vs social dialect (Holmes 2013: 76–81).

Translation as a social practice is carried out in a particular language community. The Law Translation Project was carried out in Hong Kong, a predominantly Cantonese-speaking community with its unique language make-up. Just as an individual has to choose what language to use in a particular social context, the translator has to choose what language to use in a particular social context where the translation is carried out. Accordingly, language choice, i.e. choosing between different varieties of the target language, is almost invariably the first sociolinguistic issue the translator must address.

Before the start of the Law Translation Project in 1988, a working party was set up to canvass, among other things, the fundamental questions on translation. On the issue of the language to be used in the Chinese text of the law, the working party made two recommendations. First, traditional Chinese characters should be used (Discussion Paper 1986, para 135). Second, the Chinese text should be in good, modern, educated Chinese (para 15).

The first recommendation was stated in unambiguous terms and made in conformity with the norm in Hong Kong. Apart from Article 9, the Basic Law makes no other stipulation with respect to the language policy of the HKSAR; nor does it specify what "Chinese" means regarding the spoken and written forms of the language. China's legislation on language policy, The Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, was not promulgated until 2000. Even in that law, the standard spoken and written Chinese language is defined in Article 2 as "Putonghua and standardized Chinese characters". The term "simplified characters" is not used, although we can reasonably assume that it refers to simplified characters. The adoption of traditional characters in the Chinese text of Hong Kong's statute law has never triggered any serious dispute and remains unchallenged despite increasing use of simplified characters in Hong Kong. This clearly shows that the status of traditional characters is deeply entrenched in the community. But surprisingly enough, what seemed an uncontroversial case of word choice could become the subject of severe criticism.

When translating the term "identity" in the Registration of Persons Ordinance, the translation team had to make a choice between the two alternative characters 分 and 份 (both *fen* in pinyin) for the Chinese term 身分 / 身份 (both *shenfen* in pinyin). The two characters differ merely in the written form, i.e. with or without the two-stroke radical for 人 (*ren*, meaning *person*). Based on a research into the etymology of the two characters and the semantic evolution of 身分 and 身份, as well as at the advice of the Chinese linguists of an advisory committee, the translation team chose 身分 as the Chinese counterpart for "identity". Right or wrong, the choice was purely made on linguistic grounds with due regard to the fact that 身份 was widely used in the community.

The choice of 身分 was, much to the dismay of the translation team, met by hostile responses in the community. There were complaints that the choice was a dogmatic one as it abandoned a more common term already in use without public consultation (Shi 1997). It was also accused of violating the Basic Law in which 身份 instead of 身分 is used. More serious still, it was condemned as an attempt to undermine the unity of the Chinese language, an obsequious gesture to please Taiwan where 身分 prevails (Ma 1997).

That the choice of a single character could give rise to such serious political allegations was something the translation team could never anticipate. As a matter of fact, similar choices were made on many other occasions, e.g. between 僱傭 (*guyong*) and 僱用 (*guyong*) for "employment" (傭 was chosen), between 匯票 (*huipiao*) and 滙票 (*huipiao*) for "bills of exchange" and "money order" (匯 was chosen), between 證據 (*zhengju*) and 証據 (*zhengju*) for "evidence" (證 was chosen), between 信託 (*xintuo*) and 信托 (*xintuo*) for "trust"(託 was chosen). But so far, such choices have not been subjected to dispute.

Throughout the process, the translation team had to wrestle with language variation at all levels. It was caught in the tension between whether to follow the local norm so that the text could be rendered more accessible to the local community or whether to follow the norms in other Chinese communities, particularly the mainland norm, so that the "words and expressions in Hong Kong statutes should be comprehensible throughout China" (Discussion Paper, para 22). On the one hand, words of the local vocabulary were chosen instead of their standard counterparts used in the mainland and Taiwan, such as 圖則 (*tuze*) instead of 圖樣 (*tuyang*) or 圖紙 (*tuzhi*) for "plan", 電腦 (*diannao*) instead of 計算機 (*jisuanji*) for "computer", 巴士 (*bashi*) instead of 公共汽車 (*gonggongqiche*) for "bus", 的士 (*dishi*) instead of 出租車 (*chuzuche*) or 計程車 for "taxi". On the other hand, formal words were chosen instead of words familiar to the local people, such as 狂犬病 (*kuangquanbing*) instead of 瘋狗症 (*fengouzheng*) for "rabis", 稀釋劑 (*xishiji*) instead of 天拿水 (*tiannashui*) for "thinner", 激光 (*jiguang*) instead of 鐳射 (*leishe*) for "laser", 處所 (*chusuo*) instead of 樓宇 (*louyu*) for "premises", 離合器 (*liheqi*) instead of 極叻子 (*jilizi*) for "clutch", 制動器 (*zhidongqi*) instead of 腳制 (*jiaozhi*) for "brake", 手操制動器 (*shoucao zhidongqi*) instead of 手制 (*shouzhi*) for "handbrake", and 防撞槓 (*fangzhuanggang*) instead of 泵把 (*bengba*) for bumper. The translation team often found itself torn between competing norms. The predicament could have been resolved if a clear policy had been adopted, but somehow such policy was never articulated.

The lesson to learn is this: In law translation, it is hard to anticipate whether a particular choice of word would turn into an emotionally charged issue. Just as the choice of 身分 instead of 身份 has been found offensive to some members of the community, the choice of 處所 instead of 樓宇 could have been protested by local residents who spoke of themselves as living in 樓宇 but not in 處所, or the choice of the formal technical Chinese terms like 制動器 could have offended local drivers who might find the Chinese terms for the parts of a car in Road Traffic Ordinance (Cap 374) totally incomprehensible. The choice of 分 being singled out for criticism leaves us a sobering thought.

Polite Language: The Sensitive Zone

Indeed, there were clear cases where word choice, if not handled properly, might provoke strong reaction from those affected. A typical case was the translation of such words as "disability", "disabled", "disabled person", "person with disabilities", "impairment", "handicap" in laws concerning disabled people (or people with disabilities), in particular, Part IV A of the *Congenital Disabilities—Civil Liability of the Law Amendment and Reform (Consolidation) Ordinance* (Cap 23) and the *Disability Discrimination Ordinance* (Cap 487). A number of complicated issues concerning polite language for the disability community are involved here, not all of which were considered at the time of the translation.

From hindsight, the translation is difficult for three reasons. First, the concept of disability varies according to the interpretive model one adopts. On the one hand, the medical model, for a long time a dominant one and adopted by the World Health Organization, treats disability as the medical condition of an individual, either physically or mentally, which restricts or prevents his/her performance of an activity (McTigue 2007: 2). The law of Hong Kong, following that of the United Kingdom, adopts the medical model, as is evident from phrases like "congenital disability", "born disabled" and "born with a disability". It is the medical concept of disability that has been translated in the Chinese text of the law, variously as 傷殘 (*shangcan*), 殘障 (*canzhang*), and 殘疾 (*canji*). On the other hand, there is the newly emerging social model, resulting from the critique of the medical model. The social model views disability as a social condition in which individuals with impairment are disadvantaged or restricted in performing their activities because of barriers created in the society (McTigue 2007: 3); such individuals are disabled by the society, in particular, by social barriers. "Disability" as understood in light of the social model is often expressed as follows in English:

S: I am not a person with a disability. I do not have a disability. I am a disabled person, disabled by the society.

As is evident, the social sense of disability is made possible by a linguistic point, namely, "disabled" is taken to function as a verb, not just a verbal adjective.

A close Chinese translation would be like this:

T1: 我不是個有傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾的人。我沒有傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾。我是個傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾人，被社會傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾。
wobushige you shangcan / canzhang / canji de ren. womeiyou shangcan / canzhang / canji. woshige shangcan / canzhang / canjiren, bei shehui shangcan / canzhang / canji de ren.

The last part is problematic—it is rather odd to use 傷殘, 殘障, and 殘疾 as verbs. To translate "disabled by the society" into idiomatic Chinese, we would say something like:

T2: …… 我的傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾是社會造成的。
… wo de *shangcan / canzhang / canji shi shehui zaocheng de.*
… My *shangcan / canzhang / canji* is inflicted by the society.

T3: …… 我是被社會弄成傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾的。
… *wo shi bei shehui nongcheng shangcan / canzhang / canji de.*
… I am rendered *shangcan / canzhang / canji* by the society.

T2: takes 傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾 as nouns. "My *shangcan / canzhang / canji*" means "the *shangcan / canzhang / canji* is mine" and contradicts the assertion "I am not a person with a disability. I don't have a disability".

T3: takes 傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾 as adjectives and hence cannot convey the social sense of the phrase "disabled by the society" in which "disabled" functions as a verb.

The crux of the matter here is: However structured in a sentence, the Chinese terms傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾 do not allow a social interpretation as they carry only a medical meaning. Thus, while "disability" and "disabled" in the English text of the law are capable of a social critique, i.e. individuals with impairment are disabled by barriers in the society which are not things of their own making, 傷殘 / 殘障 / 殘疾 in the Chinese text of the law do not allow a social interpretation. This has an adverse impact on the community of Chinese people with impairment. They cannot subject the Chinese text of the law to critique in light of the social model, as the language precludes such a possibility. In this case, the Chinese text, while supposed to be an authentic version of the law, cannot do what the English text does and hence fails to satisfy an essential requirement for authenticity, namely, it must accurately reflect the meaning of and perform the same function as the English text. To remedy the situation, "disability" has to be given a different translation that both carries the medical meaning and allows the social interpretation. This will require ingenuity and creativity.

The translation of words related to disability is difficult for another reason. People with impairment are highly concerned about the ways they are described. In English-speaking communities, descriptions like "the crippled" and "the disabled" are regarded as disrespectful language. But again, the notion of respectful disability language varies from community to community. So far as the two descriptions appearing in the law are concerned, namely, "disabled person" and "person with disability", there are two conflicting views regarding their acceptability. First, there is the campaign for Person/People First Language (PFL), mainly in the United States, which prefers "person with disability" to "disabled person", denouncing all descriptions with the formulaic structure "the + adjective" (the disabled, the homeless, the underprivileged, etc.) as dehumanized. According to PFL, putting the person first is to show respect to the person, and hence the description "person with disability" is more respectful than "disabled person". Some proponents of PFL even regard calling a person a "disabled person" as an insult. In addition to word order, there is another linguistic point that lends support to PFL. In English, premodification is generally used to ascribe intrinsic or permanent properties to entities, whereas post-modification is used to describe accidental or non-permanent attributes (Quirk et al. 1985, 12.4). This is a point that often escapes the attention of PFL supporters. The sentence "John is a disabled person" means John's disability is a permanent characteristic of him as a person that he is unable to get rid of. Conversely, the sentence "John is a person with disability" means that the disability is merely an inessential or non-permanent part of him. Thus, post-modification provides a linguistic justification for PFL.

In this connection, it must be noted that the syntactic feature of PFL poses a serious problem for translating "person with disability" into Chinese. While "disabled person" can be easily translated as "殘疾人士" (*canjirenshi*; ignoring the meaning for the present purpose), "person with disability" does not have a translation in standard modern Chinese that preserves the same syntactic structure, i.e. the expression "人士有殘疾" (*renshi you canji*) is ill-formed as a noun phrase. In Chinese, we do not have a noun phrase in which the head noun is followed by an adjectival, i.e. a post-modifier. Instead, we can say "有殘疾的人" (*you canji de renshi*) to keep the prepositional meaning of "with" in English, but 有 is generally omitted to form a more concise noun 殘疾人. In the Chinese text of Hong Kong laws, both "disabled person" and "person with disability" are translated as "傷殘人士" or "殘疾人士", both having the same syntactic structure. Changing a post-modifier to a pre-modifier is a common practice in most contexts. However, in the present case translating "person with disability" as 傷殘人士 and 殘疾人士 is, from hindsight, totally inappropriate, as English communities draw a crucial distinction between "disabled person" and "person with disability". But the problem here is: Even with the clear awareness of the distinction, we still cannot express PFL in Chinese. Paradoxically, and ironically as well, while many Chinese people take pride in their culture as one characterized by its people-first philosophy, notably exemplified by Confucianism, they may not be aware that their language does not allow them to put people first in personal descriptions.

As a counter-movement against PFL, an increasing number of people with impairment, especially in the United Kingdom, advocate the Identity First Language (IFL). For them, PFL embodies a negative attitude towards disability, regarding disability as a social stigma. People with impairment who favour PFL are unable to embrace disability as part of their identity. Disabled people who call themselves "people with disabilities" are just like English people who call themselves "people with Englishness", refusing to accept their national identity. To counter PFL, proponents of IFL proclaim that they are "disabled people", not "people with disabilities". Again, we can see that giving the same translation 殘疾人士 for "disabled person" and "person with disability" in the law completely obliterates the social issue concerning disability language.

There is yet a further reason why translating disability language into Chinese is particularly difficult. The disability language in Chinese varies regionally and changes with time. When translating the disability-related ordinances, the translation team was inevitably confronted with the problem of word choice, which boils down to the choice of norm.

The Chinese language, like many other languages, has an offensive vocabulary for describing and addressing people with impairment. In

Hong Kong before 1970s, the government referred to people with impairment as 殘廢者 (*canfeizhe*); carrying the derogatory meaning "people who are physically or mentally deficient and worthless") or 殘缺人士 (*canquerenshi*; carrying the derogatory meaning "people who are physically or mentally deficient") in Chinese documents (Jiang 1994: 32). With the growing awareness of their insulting and discriminative nature, many such terms have been abandoned in Hong Kong and other Chinese communities. In 1980 Taiwan used the term 殘障者 (*canzhangzhe*; meaning "the physically/mentally deficient and handicapped") in legislation to refer to people with disabilities. Although conceptually the morpheme 殘 denotes disability, it is derogatory in connotation. The morpheme 障 means "handicap" when collocated with 殘, neutral in connotation, but in other contexts it means obstacle, barrier, restriction, etc. The shift from 殘廢者 to 殘障者 was acclaimed as a progressive change in social values, acknowledging that the handicap of disabled people is not only due to their impairment, but also due to the barriers in the society (He & Li 2014). But still the term 殘障者 was criticized for its derogatory sense. As a result, in 1997 Taiwan renamed its Disability Benefits Act (殘障福利法 *canzhangfuli fa*) as Protection of Rights of People with Disabilities Act (身心障礙者保護法 *shenxin zhangaizhe baohu fa*), replacing 殘障者 (*canzhangzhe*) with 身心障礙者 (*shenxin zhangaizhe*; meaning "people who are physically or mentally handicapped"). Yet the renaming has met with mixed reception among disabled people, some of whom find that the new name makes them feel even much worse about themselves, as the name suggests that they are both physically and mentally handicapped (Chang & Wang 2016: 1).

In the mainland, the term 殘疾人 (*canjiren*; meaning "people who are physically or mentally deficient and stricken with illness") has been used in legislation since 1991. In 2008 China became a signatory state to The United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities. The Chinese name of the convention is《聯合國殘疾人權利公約》, and 殘疾人 has been the official Chinese term for people with disabilities since then. Despite its official status, there have been increasing protests against the Chinese term because of its derogatory meaning (He & Li 2014). At the National People's Congress and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 2011, a formal motion was made that the term be rectified to return dignity to people with physical impairment (Yin 2011). Alternative terms have been suggested. Most notably, 身心障礙者 (*shenxin zhangaizhe*), the current term in Taiwan law, stands out as a popular candidate (He & Li 2014). It is not clear whether the advocates for this term are aware of its mixed reception in Taiwan. But it can well be anticipated that it will meet with the same fate.

Returning to Hong Kong, we find a more diverse vocabulary related to disability comprising terms from the mainland, Taiwan and the local community. The translation team always had to choose among competing norms. In the Chinese version of its 1973 white paper on the social welfare in Hong Kong, the government first used the term 傷殘人士 (*shangcan renshi*; meaning "people who are injured and physically/mentally deficient") to refer to people with disabilities, which was subsequently replaced by 弱能人士 (*ruoneng renshi*; meaning "people who are weak in abilities") in the 1977 white paper. 傷殘人士 (*shangcan renshi*) was adopted as the Chinese equivalent for "disabled people" (Cap 374) at an early stage of the Translation Project, but gave way to other candidates subsequently. Nevertheless, the term 傷殘 (*canji*) has not disappeared from public usage. For instance, the government still uses it in the welfare scheme of Disability Allowance (傷殘津貼*shangcan jintie*). But in other contexts, 傷殘 (*shangcan*) is used to refer to various types of handicap.

弱能人士 (*ruoneng renshi*) only appears in a minor ordinance (Cap 104B), not as the equivalent for "people with disabilities", but as a defined term for people who are "handicapped". Nevertheless, 弱能 (*ruoneng*) is still commonly used in documents related to education and social welfare.

The Taiwan term 殘障 (*canzhang*) is not commonly used in government documents, but it appears in a number of ordinances as the Chinese equivalent for "disability" and "disabled". The other Taiwan term 身心障礙者 (*shexin zhangaizhe*) has never appeared in government documents; nor has it been used in legislation as a translated term for "people with disabilities".

Since the publication of the Disability Discrimination Ordinance (Cap 487) (殘疾歧視條例 *canji qishi tiaoli*) in 1996, the mainland terms 殘疾 (*canji*) and 殘疾人[7] (*canjiren*) have become the standard terms for "disability" /

7 In Hong Kong, the three-character term 殘疾人 is appended with the honorific suffix 士 (*shi*; meaning "person") and becomes 殘疾人士, a more respectful term than its mainland counterpart. Whether this may be a reason why the term 殘疾人士 has not met with much resistance in the local community is an interesting point to ponder.

"disabled" and "people with disabilities" respectively. An interesting example illustrating the evolution of terms in this connection is the renaming of the Hong Kong Sports Association for the Physically Disabled. It was first established in 1972, with the Chinese name 香港傷殘人士體育協會 (*xianggang shangcan renshi tiyu xiehui*). Note that 傷殘人士 (*shangcan renshi*) stands for "the physically disabled" in the English name. The Association was renamed in 2005 as the Hong Kong Paralympic Committee and Sports Association for the Physically Disabled, with the Chinese name 香港殘疾人奧委會暨傷殘人士體育協會 (*xianggang canjiren aoweihui ji shangcan renshi tiyu xiehui*). It is interesting to note that both the new term 殘疾人 (*canjiren*) and the old term 傷殘人士 (*shangcan renshi*) appear in the same name referring to the same category of people.

As it turns out, the Chinese text of Hong Kong legislation ends up with different translations for the same disability terms. The inconsistency, while hardly justifiable, is easily understandable. As the Translation Project spanned almost a decade, the translation of ordinances containing disability terms was carried out at different stages; and as the choice of norm changed at each different stage, the translation changed accordingly. But even with the hindsight of the changing notion of disability and its changing linguistic representation in law over the past three decades since the Translation Project started, the task of translating such terms is by no means easier now than before. For one thing, we must still pay heed to the social forces and values that shape the disability language of English and Chinese communities, well aware that what is accepted as respectful language by some may be rejected as offensive by others, and what is respectful language today may become offensive language tomorrow. We never know what a language that never offends is like, but we know for a fact that none of the existing Chinese terms for "disabled people" and "people with disabilities", namely, 傷殘人士 (*shangcan renshi*), 弱能人士 (*ruoneng renshi*), 殘障人士 (*canzhang renshi*), 殘疾人士 (*canji reshi*) and 身心障礙者 (*shenxi zhangaizhe*), is incapable of offending. If we were to harmonize the terms, should we settle for 殘疾人 (*canjiren*), justifying the choice by saying that it is the official term of China law, ignoring the increasing demands for abandoning it? Or should we create a new term, which is apparently linguistically well-formed and politically correct, but completely foreign to language users of Chinese communities? The latter approach may be appropriate in cases of translating technical legal terms, but in cases involving terms of wide social concern, it may not be as appropriate. So one way or another, we would still be caught in the predicament.

Language and Power: The Conflict Zone

Not only do people with impairment find themselves degraded by the way they are addressed, solicitors in Hong Kong have long been embittered by their Chinese name, not that the name itself is in any way disrespectful or offensive, but that their learned friends, the barristers, have got one that has often misled the lay public to think solicitors are junior lawyers at a lower tier of the legal profession awaiting promotion to barristers.

In Hong Kong, solicitors are called 律師 (*lüshi*; meaning "lawyer") in Chinese, and barristers, 大律師 (*da lüshi*) or 大狀 (*da zhuang*). The root of the problem lies in the prefix 大 (*da*), which means "big" or "great", and the Chinese names for barristers become "big lawyer" and "big counsel". While the division of the legal profession is clearly and neatly represented by the English names, i.e. lawyers consist of solicitors and barristers, it is confusing in Chinese because we have律師 (lawyers) divided into律師 (*lüshi*, lawyers) and 大律師 (*da lüshi*, big lawyers). Linguistically, the distinction between the hypernym and hyponyms is lost. Typologically, the division in Chinese suggests a two-tier structure with solicitors at the lower tier, which has always annoyed solicitors.

The situation could have changed when the translation of the Legal Practitioners Ordinance (Cap 159), the law providing for, among other things, the registration and admission of solicitors and barristers, started in December 1989. The two key terms "solicitor" and "barrister" had to be given official Chinese names and the question concerning the appropriateness of the existing Chinese name大律師 (*da lüshi*) was naturally brought up. At this juncture, a brief account of the operation of the Translation Project is in order.

The actual work of translation was undertaken by Law Translation Officers under the supervision of bilingual government counsel specialized in law drafting and translation. The finalized draft translation of an ordinance, or part of an ordinance, was circulated to the Bilingual Laws Advisory Committee (BLAC) for its comments and endorsement. BLAC was a statutory body established in 1988 to advise the government on matters concerning the translation of legislation. It was composed of members from the Legislative Council (LegCo), representatives of the Law Society of Hong Kong (LS), the association for solicitors, and the Bar Association of Hong Kong (BA), that for barristers, as well as academics from the relevant disciplines, namely, law, Chinese and translation. Comments and suggestions of BLAC members were sent to the translation team for review and then discussed in detail at bi-weekly meetings among BLAC members and the translation team. The endorsed draft would then be sent to the legal advisors of LegCo for scrutiny. If satisfied with the endorsed draft, they would submit it to the LegCo for authentication. If they had queries, they would send it back to BLAC for review. Once the queries were addressed, the revised draft would be re-submitted to the legal advisors of the LegCo. The approved text would then be re-submitted to LegCo, and if no further queries were raised by members of LegCo, it would finally be authenticated and officially became law.[8]

It was not unusual that an issue would take weeks and months before agreement could be reached. The issue concerning the Chinese names in question was most notably one. When the LS representative first raised the query at a BLAC meeting about the Chinese name 大律師 (*da lüshi*), the BA representative responded that it would not be advisable to make change to the term without seeking the view of BA. He undertook to consult BA. Discussion was deferred pending response from BA.

The issue was subsequently fought out at 40 BLAC meetings spanning two whole years. From beginning to end it was a tug of war between LS and BA. Their respective stances were firm and clear. LS wanted to have a nomenclature that would stop the perpetration of public's misconception about the relationship solicitors and barristers (BLAC paper 3/90-91). This would entail a change to the Chinese name 大律師 (*da lüshi*) for barristers. BA insisted that as 大律師 (*da lüshi*) was already commonly accepted as the established title for barristers and able to distinguish them from solicitors, it should not be changed unless there were "overwhelming reasons for doing so" and "unless a much better title could be devised" (BLAC paper 3/90-91). BLAC also adopted a clear position. It

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8 For a detailed account of the operation, see Sin (1999: 197–98).

didn't want to take sides on the issue and would leave it to LS and BA to sort it out.

LS and BA met on a couple of occasions and no agreement was reached. LS proposed that 狀師 (*zhuangshi*; meaning "counsel for pleading") was a better name for barristers, mainly for two reasons. First, it was an existing name used by the general public to refer to barristers. Second, it was not misleading about the division of the legal profession (BLAC paper 3/90-91). In response, BA contended that 狀師 was unsatisfactory for four reasons. First, it was a vernacular term. Second, it carried a derogatory meaning. Third, it didn't accurately reflect the work of barristers, because barristers were not just trial lawyers. Lastly, it would mislead the general public to think that only solicitors were lawyers, because the Chinese name for solicitors 律師 was also the generic name for lawyers (BLAC paper 3/90-91).

Whether the first three points are strong reasons is of course arguable. But the last point is definitely a valid one. Dividing 律師 (*lüshi* lawyers) into 律師 (*lüshi* lawyers) and 狀師 (*zhuangshi* pleaders) would confuse the hypernym and the hyponyms, misleading the lay public to think that only solicitors are lawyers and barristers are a different kind of legal professionals.

Puzzlingly enough, while BA detected the flaw of the division LS proposed, they failed to realize that the division of 律師 (*lüshi* lawyers) into 律師 (*lüshi* lawyers) and 大律師 (*da lüshi* big lawyers) is equally, if not more, misleading, in that solicitors (lawyers) are represented as lawyers of a lower rank than barristers (big lawyers). This is precisely what solicitors have all along strongly felt a "overwhelming reason" for rectification. Yet, that was a point BA never addressed.

In an attempt to mediate between the two sides, BLAC suggested at some point of the long, dragging dispute that solicitors and barristers be renamed as 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*; meaning "lawyers for legal affairs") and 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*; meaning "lawyers for litigation affairs") respectively. The re-naming has the merit of removing the infelicities of the existing classification—it clearly distinguishes between the hypernym and the hyponyms; and it does not suggest a two-tier structure of the legal profession. LS indicated that it was prepared to accept 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*) on condition that BA accept 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*). But again, BA didn't accept 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*) on the ground that the work of barristers was not restricted to litigation.

In view of the long delay, BLAC sought advice from the Attorney General and was instructed that it could exercise discretion to adopt whatever Chinese names it considered appropriate without concerning itself with the ongoing dispute between the two legal bodies. Consequently, BLAC sent a clear message to LS and BA that it would adopt 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*) and 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*) and submit the two names to LegCo if they could not reach an agreement. Yet in the face of BA's strong objection, the matter was put aside for some time. Eventually, the same two Chinese names 律師 and 大律師 were still adopted in the authenticated text of the ordinance (Cap 159).[9]

For solicitors, the present situation is even worse than before 1989. Previously the two Chinese names were simply used by convention, but now they have been made official with a legal status. Wong Huen, former President of the Law Society of Hong Kong, a professional association for solicitors, voiced his perplexity and annoyance in a resigned tone over the Chinese translation of the two names (2010):

> I have been told that the single issue of the Chinese translation of the terms "barrister" and "solicitor" took over a year to resolve.
>
> With no disrespect to the great effort and the precious time spent by everyone involved in the translation, I remain of the view that it is the biggest misnomer ever.
>
> I cannot recall how many times I have had to answer queries and clarify the misunderstanding caused by the Chinese translation of the two terms. There is indeed no satisfactory explanation that I can find to justify the adoption of the adjective *dai* (which means "big") as a prefix to *lutsi* (which means "lawyer") in the Chinese translation of "barrister". "No, mother, I have not been promoted to be a *dailutsi* [big lawyer]!"

Taken as flawed translations, the two Chinese names were frowned upon, notably by translation scholars in the mainland. Chen (1992) examined all existing translations of "solicitor" and "barrister" and contended that none of them, including 大律師 (*da lüshi*), was based on an accurate understanding of the functions of the two branches of lawyers.

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9 For a detailed chronicle of the translating of the two names, see Jin & Sin (2004).

Arguing that before we can come up with better terms, we should adopt the method of transliteration, rather than giving them casual translations, he suggested 沙律師 (*sha lüshi*) for "solicitor", and 巴律師 (*ba lüshi*) for "barrister". Likewise, Wang and Li (2002) gave a brief account of the respective functions of solicitors and barristers, rejecting terms like 小律師[10] (xiao *lüshi*; meaning "little lawyer") and 大律師 (*da lüshi*) as incapable of reflecting those functions. Some (Che & Xue 2005) even offered their own translations, suggesting 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*; meaning "layers for legal affairs") and 出庭律師 (*chuting lüshi*; meaning "lawyers appearing in court trials").

Here we have a paradigmatic case where criticism of a translation can misfire if, as is often the case, the shaping force of the decision-making process leading to the final outcome of the translation is not open to view. For what apparently seems a mistranslation may in fact be done deliberately. Examples of deliberate mistranslation abound in the history of translation. For instance, in his book on futurity, Martinon (2007) translated the French verbal expression à-venir ["to-come"] as "futurity", well aware that it is a mistranslation. As he put it, the deliberate mistranslation was not intended "to deprave or mislead the English language astray", but rather, "to give an English word a new connotation" (2007, xi). Thus, to criticize "futurity" as a mistranslation would simply miss the whole point.

Yet the trouble is, we don't always have the benefit of being cued in by the translator as to what actually shapes his/her decision process. If Martinon hadn't told us that "futurity" was a deliberate mistranslation, and if we found it hard to put his book in perspective,what else could we say other than that he misunderstood the meaning of à-venir?

In the present case, the Chinese names 律師 (*lüshi*) and 大律師 (*da lüshi*) for "solicitor" and "barrister" are of course not deliberate mistranslations. Solicitors have always insisted that 大律師 (*da lüshi*) is a misnomer

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10 This name has never been used in Hong Kong. But interestingly, in a letter to the Law Society of Hong Kong, the All China Lawyers Association did address the Law Society as 香港小律師公會 (*xianggang xiao lüshi gonghui*; meaning "the Society of Little Lawyers"), obviously misled by the implication of the Chinese name for barristers (see BLAC paper 3/90-91—Translation of "Barrister" and "Solicitor").

and will be exhilarated to see it changed. Nor are the two Chinese names translation errors due to inadequate understanding of the bifurcation system of the English legal profession. Nothing is further from the truth than saying that solicitors and barristers in Hong Kong didn't understand the features and functions of their profession. The retention of the two names in the Chinese text of the law, despite their linguistic and typological anomalies, is a telling story about the shaping forces of decision-making in translation.

The Translation Project started and ended up with the same two names. A lot happened in between. Translation issues were canvassed and alternatives were proposed, but the final decision, or rather, the decision not to make a decision, was to leave the two names as they were. So, what can we make of the final outcome of this name fight, which, being an issue of the Translation Project, has not been taken as a dispute about translation?

BA's strongest case was built upon the social force of language, which is clearly formulated in a terminological principle put forward by ISO 704 (7.3.1):

> Well-established usage has to be respected. Established and widely used designations, even if they are poorly formed or poorly motivated, should not be changed unless there are compelling reasons.

All along BA didn't see any compelling reason for changing the name 大律師 (*da lüshi*). The concern of LS didn't seem to BA an issue they needed to address. It indicated that LS was free to adopt any prefix to denote the differences between solicitors and barristers, but as the bearers of a name 大律師 (*da lüshi*) with well-established usage, BA was adamant that barristers were entitled to keep it.

LS could have adopted 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*) as its new name despite BA's refusal to accept 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*) as its new title. The long-existing misconception of the two-tier structure would disappear in the new division—lawyers would be divided into lawyers for legal affairs and big lawyers. Yet LS didn't adopt this option, probably because the two prefixes are asymmetrical—the contrast between 事務 (*shiwu* legal affairs) and 大 (*da* big) is awkward in the first place; and 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*) as a stand-alone name would restrict the work of solicitors to legal affairs, whereas 大律師 (*da lüshi*) would have no restriction whatsoever. So between 律師 (*lüshi* lawyers) and 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi* lawyers for legal affairs), the former would still be a better choice.

As for BLAC, with the clear instruction of the Attorney General, it could have submitted the proposed names 事務律師 (*shiwu lüshi*) and 訟務律師 (*songwu lüshi*) to LegCo. But it didn't do so in order to avoid the impression that it took sides with LS, and worse still, a possible confrontation with BA at the LegCo, which was the last thing BLAC as a mere advisory body wanted to see happen.

Thus, BLAC's final decision to leave the two names unchanged was not shaped by conceptual considerations on the issue, but by the interplay of power relationship between the two legal bodies on the one hand, and between BLAC and the two legal bodies on the other. LS wanted change on professional grounds, but it didn't succeed in convincing BA. BLAC also preferred change on linguistic and typological grounds. BA stood uncompromisingly against the proposed alternatives. In the circumstances, BLAC decided not to intervene, leaving the matter purely as an internal fight within the legal profession. In the final analysis, the name 大律師 (*da lüshi*) owes its retention in law to the social force of long established usage and more importantly, to the backup by its name bearer, which happens to be a power body.

One important insight we gain from sociolinguistics is that questions concerning language use are in many cases ultimately related to power. Translation as a specific form of language use is of course is underpinned by power. The close connection between power and translation has become an area of growing interest in translation studies, widely acknowledged to have been inspired by Bassnett and Lefevere who drew our attention to "the vagaries and vicissitudes of the exercise of power in a society" (1990: 5). But the question they were concerned with is how translation as a form of manipulation can make an impact on a society. Instead, our question is concerned with the exercise of power in the other direction—how it shapes or even dictates translation. As has been shown, the best place to detect the exercise of power in a work of translation is not the finished product, the target text, but rather the decision-making process in each stage of the translation. Yet such process is often hardly accessible. Some translators may give us a brief account in the preface or in explanatory notes, but most do not.[11]

11 The once-popular Think-Aloud-Protocol method, borrowed from psychology and intended to open up the black box of the translator's mind, is hardly viable and helpful. It is psychologically flawed as a method to explore what actually happens in the translating process (see Sin 2002).

The present case is a rare one as we have the benefit of the recorded minutes of BLAC meetings which allow us to trace the decision-making process leading to the retention of 大律師 (*da lüshi*) in law and observe the play of power in translation from a vantage point.

After all, working translators don't really need to be told or reminded that there is a close connection between power and translation. They all know it as a fact of their professional life, especially when they are working on a litigation document. How they translate is dictated by who their client is—whether he/she is the plaintiff or the defendant; by their superior's instructions—what to say and what not to say in the interest of the client; by the court translator who, as the gate-keeper of true and correct translation, certifies or rejects their translation[12]; and above all, by counsel for the other party as well as by the trial judge who may challenge their translation and put them in the witness box for an explanation. The exercise of power, though not visibly apparent, permeates every stage of the translation.

Groping for a Chinese Language of the Law: The Resistance Zone

The lay public may not know, and the legal professionals may often forget, that English did not become the language of the common law until 1731, almost four centuries after the English people first fought for their language right to have the law written in their tongue (Mellinkoff 1963, Ch. IX). And the *English of the Law Courts Act* passed that year stipulated that the statute, together with all other legal documents, be written in "common legible hand", not in "court hand" (qtd. in Mellinkoff, 1963: 133). "Common legible hand" is what is known today as "plain language", and "court hand", wordy, unclear, pompous and dull legalese (ibid.: 24). But that stipulation was somehow not followed through, and subsequent English statute law and other forms of legal texts were

12 In Hong Kong, as required by *The Official Languages (Translation) Rules 1* (Cap 5B), a translation to be produced in court proceedings as evidence must be certified by the Court Language Section of the Judiciary as true and correct.

written in an opaque form of English incomprehensible to ordinary people. As a British colony, Hong Kong inherited the law and legal language of its home state. And when declaring in 1985 that "laws should be available in the language of the majority of the population" (qtd. in Discussion Paper: 2), the governor of Hong Kong didn't seem aware that he was assigning the translation team a mission that was never accomplished in his home state, a mission unlikely to be accomplished in Hong Kong either. For the general public had high expectations, and quite reasonably so, that the Chinese text would be available not only in mere Chinese, but also in comprehensible Chinese. Yet what they have been shown in the end is a form of Chinese that looks Greek to them. Worse still, even lawyers who read Chinese have complained that the Chinese text is hardly intelligible.

There are good reasons to explain, and to justify as well, why the Chinese translation ended up in an apparently incomprehensible language (Sin 1998). The oft-made accusation that it is attributable to literal translation doesn't seem to square with the translation team's express caution against such an approach at the outset of the project.[13] As a matter of fact, senior members of the translation team explained in public forums the difficulties inherent in the translation and the efforts made to achieve comprehensibility (Au 1991; Cheung 1991; Wong n.d.; Yen 1996). But the way in which the English text was drafted imposed tremendous constraints on Chinese syntax. For instance, it is a peculiar but common feature of legal English that two or more prepositions are juxtaposed to denote gradations of relationship, such as "by or by virtue of", "under or by virtue of", and "by reason of or arising out of", which lawyers can *sense* but find it difficult to articulate. Such use of prepositions is absent in Chinese. The difficulty here is that even lawyers can't be certain whether such juxtaposition is simply a drafting idiosyncrasy or is intended to denote a difference in meaning. Ignoring this peculiar use of prepositions in the Chinese

13 As is evident from the *Discussion Paper* (para 18–19), the translation team was well aware that it would be undesirable to adopt a literal approach, especially with the hindsight of noting the flaw of the translation by the Chinese Language Division (now renamed the Official Languages Agency) which rendered "too literally into Chinese the English text thus producing an anglicized, and stylistically unacceptable, Chinese translation" (para 18).

text would risk obliterating a possible difference in meaning, a risk lawyers wouldn't take. This is also the same consideration that has compelled religious translators to stay as closely as possible to the source text just in case there is a hidden meaning (Nida 1994). As a result, the juxtaposed prepositions are preserved, thus rendering the Chinese text not only stylistically awkward but also indecipherable—no native Chinese speakers can tell the difference between "憑或憑藉" (*ping huo pingji*) for "by or by virtue of", "根據或憑藉" (*genju huo pingji*) for "under or by virtue of", and "因或由於" (*yin huo youyu*) for "by reason of or arising out of". The gradations of relationship simply cannot be carried forward to the Chinese text. But this is a deliberate flouting of Chinese syntax and style in order to *signal* a difference in prepositional meaning.

An even more radical case is the translation of the triple connective "unless and until" as "除非與直至" (*chufei yu zhizhi*). In English, "unless" is used to express a necessary condition, and "until" a time limit, Syntactically, "unless and until" can be followed by a condition (C) and we have "unless and until C". But Chinese syntax doesn't allow such a structure. The necessary condition and the time limit have to be expressed separately, and "until" is a split structure with the conditional clause C in between, i.e. "直至 C 為止". So "unless and until C" is normally expressed as "除非 C，並且直至 C 為止" (*chufei* C, *bingqie zhizhi* C *weizhi*; meaning "unless C, and until C"). As a result, to comply with Chinese syntax, we have to write two clauses instead of one, thus doubling the length of the sentence. Furthermore, when C is a long clause, the Chinese clause 直至 (*zhizhi*) C 為止 (*weizhi*) will have a long inserted clause between 直至 (*zhizhi*) in the initial position and 為止 (*weizhi*) in the final position, thus rendering the whole clause rather difficult to comprehend. This would also run counter to the principle of presentation laid down by the translation team (Discussion Paper, para 15(b)), i.e. for the English text and the Chinese text to be equally authentic, they "should be presentationally in a similar form". In this case, following Chinese syntax would render the texts presentationally dissimilar. Accordingly, another deliberate flouting of Chinese syntax was effected in order to reduce the length of the Chinese text. Hence the awkward structure 除非與直至 (*chufei yu zhizhi*). This is no doubt unidiomatic Chinese, but the flouting serves to keep the two texts in a similar form.

There is always a fine line between literalness, or what Robinson (2011: 22) called "kneejerk literalism", and closeness, or what Lai (2013) called "minimal deviation", in translation. The deliberate flouting of Chinese syntax is of course no laudable strategy, but no brainless mistake either. Rather, it is a desperate thrust against the limits of Chinese syntax to accommodate the idiosyncrasy of English law drafting. Of course, a translation doesn't have to preserve the idiosyncrasy of the source text. But in the present case, ridding the Chinese text of all the idiosyncratic features of its English counterpart would entail a drastic *rewriting* of the law, which was tantamount to usurping the power of the legislature.

Yet, however justifiable it is from the perspective of translation, the Chinese text, *as it stands*, is not something the lay public want.[14] To have the law available in the language of the people it governs is first and foremost a matter of fairness and justice, a matter of language right. In 1988, while members of the Translation Project were beginning to plough their way through the woefully convoluted English text of Hong Kong's statutes, the Plain Language Movement around the world had been going on for some years (Asprey 2003, Ch. 4). As a late start in Hong Kong, a gradual movement towards plain language legislative drafting by the name of "language re-engineering exercise" was initiated in around 1994, but progress was slow (Yen 2009). Subsequently, a Drafting Techniques and Legislative Styles Committee was established in the Department of Justice in 2008. The function of the committee is to examine the Department's "drafting styles and practices regularly to improve the comprehensibility and quality of the English and Chinese texts of legislation" (Department of Justice 2012: 58). Four years later, in 2012, the Department published *A Guide to Styles and Practices*, expounding its policy on plain language drafting. New legislation is expected to be free of all

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14 Way back in 1996, Alice Lee already cast doubt on the Translation Project, contending that it didn't serve any useful purpose. She gave three reasons for this. First, judges, lawyers and government officials can function perfectly well in English and don't really need a Chinese version of the law. Second, given the differences between the two legal systems, a Chinese version doesn't help facilitate legal communication between Hong Kong and the mainland. Third, the majority of the public don't really bother to read the translated text of the statutes, and even they read it, they won't be able to understand it. She even went so far as to suggest that there is no need for a Chinese version of the law, arguing that what the general public really need is legal education, i.e. to learn what they need to know about the law.

previous drafting idiosyncrasies—no more complex, lengthy sentences; no more jargon or unfamiliar words; no more double or triple negatives; so on and so forth; and above all, no more juxtaposed prepositions or connectives—hence no more need to flout Chinese syntax! The long labour and pains in wrestling with the translation problems would become the past.

With the completion of the Translation Project in May 1997, idiosyncratic features appearing in the Chinese text of legislation should no longer be attributable to flawed translation, because all new legislation is supposed to be produced by drafting. Yet in practice, "the English text is usually drafted first and forms the basis upon which the Chinese text is prepared" (LC Paper No. CB (2)1085/00-01(02)). So the Chinese text, being in effect a product of translation, is still constrained by the English text. But with the adoption of the plain language drafting, as the English text is supposed to be free of idiosyncrasies, the Chinese text, even if prepared by way of translation, should have appeared in plain, idiomatic Chinese.[15] Yet, criticisms of the language of the Chinese text have never stopped—it is anglicized, unidiomatic, wordy, incomprehensible, so bad that it pollutes the standard Chinese language (Zhao 2001; Ng 2009; Wong 2011; Leung 2011). It is now not an uncommon scene at meetings of the Legislative Council that bilingual law drafters are being reprimanded for producing a poor Chinese text of the law and lectured on the proper usage of Chinese.

Indeed, some of the criticisms are justified. If we take a look at the latest Chinese versions of some new ordinances, e.g. the *Food Safety Ordinance* (Cap 612, Version 2014), or the *Kai Tak Cruise Terminal Ordinance* (Cap 627,

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15 As a matter of fact, translation is commonly used as a method of preparing bilingual or multilingual legislative texts in Canada and other multilingual legal organizations such as the European Union. It differs from the usual type of translation in that the base text on which the translation is prepared can be modified to bring the different language texts closer in meaning and style (see Covac 1982, qtd. in Beaupré 1986: 174–75). It should be noted that at the outset of the project the translation team already anticipated that it would often be easier to modify the English text so as to bring it in line with the Chinese text (Discussion Paper, para 20). So, the continued appearance of idiosyncrasies in the Chinese text after 1997 was most probably due to one-way translation, which should have been abandoned after the completion of the Translation Project.

Version 2016), we can still find some infelicitous traces of translation, which can be removed easily to enhance fluency and comprehensibility.[16] But justified or not, the criticisms reveal deeper problems of a sociolinguistic nature, which cannot be resolved by better translation or drafting.

First, there has been strong resistance among the lay public and the legal profession alike to the coinage of new terms such as 管有 (*guanyou*) for "to possess" and 信納 (*xinna*) for "to satisfy". Such resistance is partly motivated by some form of linguistic purism, which opposes any change to one's native language, especially change due to foreign influence. Abhorring the infiltration of the newly coined words, critics like Ng (2009) have appealed to the general public to "save the language of the law". More radical critics have even accused the government of abusing its power by imposing on citizens words that do not appear in any dictionary (Chin 2008). Of course, whether "to possess" or "to satisfy" has to be expressed by a coined word is an arguable issue. But it is hard to convince critics of the need for creating neologisms if they do not realize that expressing the common law in Chinese is essentially a matter of cultural transfer, and like any cultural transfer, neologisms have to be created at some point to allow the native language to express foreign concepts.[17] The importation of a foreign culture is bound to bring about changes to the native language, as evidenced by cases like the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese (Sin and Roebuck 1996: 245–47), a

16 For instance, in the Chinese heading of section18 of Cap 612 "從若干當局取得資料" (*cong ruogan dangju qude ziliao*; "Obtaining Information from Certain Authorities"), "若干當局" is awkward collocation. "若干" can be deleted without affecting the meaning. The Chinese heading of section 14 of Cap 627 "真正乘客及船員的豁免" (*zhenzheng chengke ji chuanyuan de huomian*) is syntactically ambiguous whereas the English heading "Exemption for bona fide passengers and crew members" is not. The ambiguity can be removed by rephrasing it as "對真正乘客與船員的豁免" (*dui zhengzheng chengke yu chuanyuan de huomian*). If BLAC was still in operation, many such infelicities could have been spotted and removed.

17 The term "cultural transfer" carries two diametrically opposite meanings. On the one hand, it may mean the naturalization of a foreign culture in terms of the indigenous concepts of the recipient culture. On the other hand, it may mean the complete assimilation of a foreign culture into the recipient culture by adjusting and even changing its language so that it can fully express the foreign concepts (see Wang and Sin 2011). The "cultural transfer" in the present case is one of the latter kind as it refers to the complete assimilation of the common law into the Chinese language.

point so obvious if we turn our eyes to the spread of civilization in human history, but this is a point that often escapes many critics.

There is yet another point about translation as cultural transfer the neglect of which has given rise to criticism of a more subtle nature. This is concerned with the interpretation of common law expressions in Chinese. First, the criticism by a lawyer (Wong 1999: 1):

> Section 10C(1) of Chapter 1 of the Laws of Hong Kong provides that where an expression of the common law is used in the English language text of an Ordinance, and an analogous expression is used in the Chinese language text thereof, the Ordinance shall be construed in accordance with the common law meaning of that expression.
>
> Thus constricted, the Chinese equivalents of common law expressions are mere symbols in the most unsophisticated sense of those words. They have no meaning of their own, however beautifully rendered they might seem and however much their creator thinks they resemble the original. It matters not one jot.

Referring to the same section, Leung, a linguist, (2011: 8) contested:

> Requiring the Chinese equivalents to be in consistent of the common law of that expression will simply turn the Chinese to be mere symbols in the most unsophisticated sense of those words… thus producing local terms that cannot be found elsewhere.

In a similar vein, Ng, a sociologist (2014: 56–57), characterized translated texts like the Chinese text of section 1 above as a result of "indexical translation", i.e. "the actions taken by translators to ascertain the superiority of the original over the translated text in jurisdictions that are purportedly multilingual", a practice that limit "the significance of the target language".

In a nutshell, interpreting Chinese common law expressions with reference to their English counterparts amounts, it is contended, to reducing the Chinese expressions to mere symbols devoid of any meaning, thus rendering Chinese a lifeless language wholly parasitic on English.

The crucial point that has been missed here is this. To successfully translate a foreign culture into one's native language, one must take the foreign culture as a meaning-conferring matrix, i.e. giving new meaning to one's native language in light of the foreign culture. There is no way to express in Chinese the common law concept of, say, trust, unless the chosen expression is understood in light of its common law meaning. In the present case, the Chinese expression 信託 (*xintuo*) has been chosen as the equivalent for its English counterpart *trust*. Here 信託 (*xintuo*) is not a mere symbol. It still carries its ordinary meaning in Chinese, namely, "entrustment", only that its ordinary meaning does not fully capture the common law meaning of *trust* as an English legal term. To function as a Chinese legal term for its English counterpart, 信託 (*xintuo*) has to be *given* the common law meaning, just as the English word "trust" has to be given the common law meaning when functioning as a legal term. The word "trust" is simply an ordinary word to an English lay person just as 信託 (*xintuo*) is simply an ordinary word to a Chinese lay person. Both "trust" and 信託 (*xintuo*) have to be understood in light of the law of trust when they are intended to function as a common law term in their respective languages. That "trust" is an English word does not make it any superior to 信託 as a legal term. It is "a mere symbol" for the legal concept of trust and hence stands on equal footing as 信託 (*xintuo*).

There has been so much misconception and misunderstanding about the nature of the translation of law even among highly intelligent and learned people. Yet it should not be so difficult to see that translating a foreign law into one's native language is a social enterprise of building and developing a new variety of one's native language specifically for that law. To achieve this goal, adjustments and changes must be made to one's native language. The Chinese language is a good case in point. With a long history of translation, the Chinese language has been undergoing substantial adjustments and changes. It keeps growing by assimilating new elements from other cultures. There is no such thing as a pure and immutable Chinese, and for that matter, no such a language in any culture. This is precisely one of the important insights we gain from sociolinguistics.

Concluding Remarks

Translation has played a pivotal role in Hong Kong's transformation from a unilingual to a bilingual system. As such, the translation of law is by nature a social endeavour involving a whole spectrum of sociolinguistic issues. Yet such issues are often eclipsed by the "super problems" of legal translation, such as the translatability of law and the viability of total equivalence between different language versions of the same law. Contrary to what many people think, those super problems, as I have shown elsewhere (Sin 2013a & 2013b), are essentially rooted in conceptual confusion and can be resolved by commanding a clear view of the workings of language. In contrast, the sociolinguistic issues are more difficult to deal with, not so much for theoretical reasons as for the great variety of social factors involved in the translating process, some of which have been identified and discussed in some detail above. The translation of the law is by no means merely the intellectual exercise of the translators involved, but the complex interplay of social forces exerted by all language users governed by the law. Thus, in the final analysis, *the* real super problem of the translation of the law, and for that matter, of all human endeavours, is how to deal with people in a socially acceptable manner.

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5 Legal Translation: Cultural Aspects

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Introduction

In traditional translation theory, legal texts were regarded as a species of LSP text, and their translation was accordingly treated as a kind of technical translation. In recent translation theory, a change in perspective has occurred along with the emergence of approaches centred on cultural and communicative factors. The translation of legal texts has increasingly been regarded as a communicative act, no longer a mere operation on the technical linguistic elements to achieve verbal and grammatical parallelism as well as equivalence in legal meaning. Moreover, the translator is no longer considered a passive mediator but rather an intercultural operator, whose choices are increasingly recipient-oriented and based not only on strictly linguistic criteria but also on extralinguistic considerations—first and foremost the function of the translated text in the target culture.

Legal Translation Theory: In Search of Goal and Strategy

Wilss (1982) observed that at the outset of translation studies it was generally agreed that the goal of all translation was to achieve equivalence by producing the closest possible equivalent text. In normal practice, the legal translator was expected to produce a strictly literal translation to retain the elements of the original texts. The basic unit of translation was still the word. Basic changes in syntax were permitted so as to respect the grammatical rules of the target language.

Approaching legal translation from the perspective of communication, Sager (1997) held that recent translation theory had taken into consideration cultural differences between the source and target languages as well as the purpose of the translated text. He also noted that the concept of equivalence had been modified to text-type equivalence as opposed to textual equivalence. Rejecting the static view of linguistic equivalence and characterizing translation "as one possible step in a communication process between two cultures", Sager proposed an approach to translation based on communication theory with a view to "redefining the relationship between source and target text" (1997: 26–27). The translator was considered as an information mediator who needed to identify the writer's intention, the reader's expectation, the text-type in question, and possible ways to reconstruct them. In relation to translation strategy, he also pointed out that the traditional concept of translation which aimed to preserve both content and intention applied only in the case of translation of a letter or a technical instruction from one language to another. Sager's communicative approach represents a shift of focus from source text to target text and frees the legal translator from the rigid grip of linguistic equivalence. However, Sager did not explain how the legal translator could reconcile the writer's intention with the reader's expectations and in what ways the goals of translation of legal language as a special text-type differed from goals in translating other text-types.

Functionalists who focus their attention on the concepts of skopos and target-orientedness no longer take the source text as the only standard for assessing a translation. Instead, translation is now assessed on the basis of its adequacy for the communicative purpose within the target culture (Vermeer 1986; Nord 1997). As for the applicability of this approach to legal translation, functionalists have claimed that their theory is comprehensive and applicable to all text-types in all situations (Vermeer 1986: 99). But doubts have been raised as to whether the functional approach could be validly applied to LSP texts and in particular to legal texts (Trosborg 1997).

The main objections are centred on the typical recipient-orientedness of the functional approach, which seems inappropriate for legal language, which is governed by rigorous rules of interpretation. In response to such objections, Šarčević (1997) argued that legal translation should no longer be regarded as a process of linguistic trans-coding but an act of communication in the mechanism of law (1997: 55). She criticized scholars who focus their attention primarily on language and the linguistic elements of the text for ignoring the fact that legal translation was also receiver-oriented and that legal communication could be effective only if interaction was achieved between text producers and receivers (1997: 55–56). She thus redefined the goal of legal translation as the production of a text with the same meaning and effect as the original text, with special emphasis on effect. The translator should also preserve the unity of a single instrument by striving to produce a text that would be interpreted and applied by the courts in the same manner as the other parallel texts of that instrument, particularly the original (72). In order to achieve this goal, a thorough understanding of the legal cultures in which the translation ultimately functions are a must, as translation problems emerge as a result of different legal histories and cultures. Legal translators could only overcome the problems posed by different legal cultures with a clear knowledge of the fundamental differences between legal systems. For Šarčević, understanding the legal cultures of ST and TT is vital for legal translation. Like functionalists, she attaches a great deal of importance to the communicative function of legal translation. However, she does not explain how the legal translator could simultaneously achieve the same meaning and the same effect as the source text.

Taking the view that legal texts form a specific genre with their own unique linguistic framework and generic knowledge, text typology as recently developed has positive implications for the goal and theoretical methodologies of legal translation. Trosborg (1997) held that distinguishing between political texts, legal texts and other text-types was of great significance as they required different translation approaches. Defining genre analysis as "the study of situated linguistic behaviour in institutionalized academic or professional settings", Bhatia (1997) adopted a genre-based approach to translation. He noted two crucial characteristics of genre analysis. One is that genre analysis is not "an extension of linguistic formalism" in the sense that it examines the use of language to achieve the communicative purpose rather than linguistic equivalence. The second is that genre theory explores "all aspects of socio-cognitive knowledge situated in disciplinary cultures in order to analyze construction, interpretation and use of linguistic communication to achieve non-linguistic goals" (1997: 205). Therefore, the genre-based approach to legal translation is by nature a pragmatic study of the use and effect of language within a particular legal culture. For Bhatia, the goal of legal translation must include the "accessibility of the target text for a specific audience", and he therefore advocated the method of easification, "a process of making a text-genre more accessible to an intended readership without sacrificing its generic integrity" (1997: 209). He held that this genre-based approach to the teaching and learning of translation had the advantage of encouraging the learner. He remarked:

> … this awareness of participation in the ownership of the genres of legal culture is what Swales (1990) calls raising rhetorical consciousness in the learner (or translator). (1997: 212)

Accordingly, cultural awareness is a prerequisite for the legal translator. While Bhatia's approach to legal translation is genre-based, his emphasis on legal culture is similar to Šarčević's view. He also held that the goals of legal translation should include the readability of the target text.

We can see from the discussion above that legal translation has been approached from three different perspectives. There has been a shift from producing the closest possible equivalent text to producing a text with the same meaning and effect as the other parallel text(s), a shift of focus in translation theory from fidelity to the source text to the readability of the target text, and a shift from the merits of interlingual equivalence to the demands of cross-cultural communication. Awareness of the differences between the cultures of different legal systems is of paramount importance in legal translation.

The Objective of Legal Translation

Legal translation is certainly among the varieties of translations where the translator is subject to stringent semantic constraints at all levels due to the peculiar features of the language of English law on the one hand and the culturally mediated nature of legal discourse on the other. To maintain the authenticity of the law, the cultural concepts which are specific to the original legal system could not be replaced by functionally equivalent concepts of the Chinese language. Thus, cultural transfer by way of domestication is not appropriate in legal translation. The authoritative status of legislation dictates that the goal of legislative translation is to reproduce a legal text in the target language which conveys the same legal meaning as the source text. It requires the legal translator to adjust the target language in such a way that the legal meaning of the source text could be expressed by the target language. Cultural transfer as foreignization is best exemplified in the translation of a particular legal system from one language to another. In this chapter, we will take the translation of the common law into Chinese as a case study to illustrate how to produce a culturally authentic version of law in legal translation.

The authoritative status of legal texts requires that the goal of legal translation is to reproduce a legal text in the target language which has the same legal meaning as the source text. Regarding this, Roebuck and Sin (1993) defined the goal of translating the common law into Chinese:[1]

> In attempting to create in Chinese an authentic version of a Common Law rule or principle, it is essential that the Chinese express exactly the same message as the original rule in English, insofar as its meaning is prescriptive. (193)

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1 Sin (1992) set out some basic conditions for the semantic equivalence in translating the Common Law into Chinese in terms of bilingual legislation:

> All discussion about semantic equivalence will become futile if we do not focus on the aspect or aspects of meaning relevant to a particular purpose. So, we can now define semantic equivalence between two legal sentences in the following way:
>
> (1) Semantic equivalence = sameness in meaning with reference to the relevant aspect(s);
> (2) A sentence S in Language L is = S and S' have the same meaning with reference to the semantically equivale nt to a relevant aspect(s) and S and S' have the same sentence S' in Language L reference scheme;
> (3) The legal meaning of a sentence S = The prescriptive value of S;
> (4) A sentence C of the Chinese version = C and E have the same prescriptive value, i.e. they of the Common Law has the same prescribe the same behaviour under the same legal meaning as a sentence E of the behaviour under the same circumstances and Eng lish version of the Common Law conditions;
> (5) A sentence C in the Chinese version of the law is semantically equivalent to a sentence E in the English version if and only if whatever interpretation given to E by the court is given to C (96–99).

Sin (1998) pointedly voices the dilemma that the legal translator faced in seeking to achieve such a goal:

> The tension between the translator's paramount duty to represent the law with uncompromising accuracy on the one hand and the strong desire of the public to have the law communicated to them in clear language on the other was deeply felt.… It is a perennial tension between the polarity of the two extreme approaches to translation characterized by Schleiermacher (1813: 42): "either the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer; or he leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer toward the reader". (203)

Thus, the inherent difficulties of the translation of the common law into Chinese present a highly relevant case for the discussion of cultural transfer as foreignization.

As a matter of fact, cultural transfer as foreignization is not a novel idea in the history of translation in China. The translation of Buddhist scriptures is a much cited paradigm of foreignization. Although Buddhism became a popular religion in China, it originated in India and was unknown to the Chinese before the middle of first century. The translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese began in the Han dynasty. Many Buddhist concepts were new to the Chinese and there were no Chinese terms expressing Buddhist concepts. Xuan Zhuang 玄奘, the most influential figure in the translation of Buddhist scriptures, developed important translation techniques like amplification, omission, borrowing, and transliteration, all effective methods to introduce Buddhist foreign concepts into Chinese. Linguistic adjustments for conceptual assimilation were made and with the gradual integration of the translated texts into the Chinese language Buddhist concepts have now become an inseparable part of Chinese culture. This would not have happened if the domestication approach had been adopted, for the obvious reason that domestication would have turned foreign Buddhist concepts into indigenous Chinese ones, leaving Chinese culture intact without incorporating Buddhism. Examples of foreignization abound in the history of translation, not only in China but also in other parts of the world. Whenever a culture is transferred from one language to another, there is always a need for conceptual adjustment, which invariably results in the foreignization of the importing language. Legal translation from English to Chinese is simply one such case.

Metalinguistic Devices and Cultural Transfer in Legal Translation

As has been noted, the primary aim of legal translation in the context of bilingual and multilingual legislation is to prepare different language versions of *one and the same law*. This means that they must convey the same legal meaning. Thus, semantic equivalence is presupposed by all bilingual and multilingual legislation systems.

The term "equivalence" has been used in the literature to define successful translation or to describe the ideal result of translation,[2] and the concept of equivalence has been variously defined in terms of functional equivalence, conceptual equivalence, semantic equivalence, formal equivalence, dynamic equivalence, lexical equivalence, syntactic equivalence, textual equivalence and pragmatic equivalence. Since legal translation is primarily concerned with the translation of legal concepts, it is "conceptual equivalence" or "semantic equivalence" (sameness in legal meaning) that we have to achieve. Conceptual equivalence requires that different language versions of the law must convey the same legal concept(s) in question. Doubts have been raised as to whether conceptual or semantic equivalence can be achieved. If it could be shown that semantic equivalence cannot be achieved, then all bilingual and multilingual legislation systems would be groundless. Thus, it is of paramount importance in legal translation that semantic equivalence can be shown to be possible.

Language can be viewed as a system of symbols, codes or signs. As is well known, Saussure's dualism of the signifier (sound image, or the word) and the signified (concept) was developed by Peirce by way of a triadic relationship of the sign and subsequently by Ogden and Richards by way of the semantic triangle.[3] According to the semantic triangle, words are the means of representing concepts in a language no matter whether such a

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2 A source-language text to a target-language text which is as close an equivalent as possible and presupposes an understanding of the content and style of the original (Wilss 1982: 62).

3 The Semantic Triangle is a model showing the relationship between the words, the concepts and the referents that words represent. The semantic triangle, by adding "referent" to Saussure's dualism of word and concept, contains three elements: (a) symbol (signifier)—word being perceived; (b) reference (signified)—the concept of what being perceived; (c) referent (object)—thought or thing being perceived.

concept is directly coupled with a referent in reality or not. In other words, any word has a referent in reality, however indirectly, and all concepts can be described by their manifestations in reality. If a word refers to a certain object directly perceivable in reality, then we have a typical case of the semantic triangle of word, concept and referent. If a word denotes an abstract concept which has no direct referent in the physical world, the referent in the semantic triangle may not be directly perceivable in reality but still can be explained by means of observable objects.

Similarly, the referents of legal concepts can be directly or indirectly described by their manifestations in reality. This is especially true due to the nature of the law, as Sin (1992) points out:

> Law is a set of rules which prescribe and regulate human behaviour. Legal systems differ only in the content but not in the nature of such rules.… One important property of human behaviour is that it is publicly observable. Accordingly, all legal systems can be understood in the light of human behaviour observable in identifiable circumstances and conditions.… Human behaviour, as well as the circumstances and conditions in which it is observed, can be described with sufficient precision in any language. (95)

In legal translation, the translated version should prescribe the same behaviour as does the original version "not only by virtue of its legal authority, but also by virtue of its legal meaning" (Sin 1992: 95). The translated version can acquire the same legal meaning as the original version only when the legal meaning of the translated version is construed in the light of the semantic reference scheme of the original version. Sin (1992) goes on to analyze the goal of legal translation in terms of semantic equivalence:

> … although no two texts in different languages are identical in all aspects of meaning, semantic equivalence… can still exist between them if they are compared with reference to the same aspect of meaning… (and) should be defined in terms of sameness in legal meaning, which is evidently the most relevant aspect of meaning they should have in common. (96)

One may still ask: In what way can semantic equivalence be achieved in translation when the languages in question do not contain concepts that are exactly the same or when the meanings or concepts of the source language, which we generally refer to as cultural concepts, are different from or even absent in the target language? The answer to this question can be found in Feyerabend's (1987) insightful observation on Evans-Pritchard's translation of the Azande language. When translating the Azande word "mbismo", the translator decided to translate it as "soul" in English, but this is not the end of it. The translator added that "soul" in English implies life and consciousness while "mbismo" in Azande covers a collection of public or "objective" events. The significance of the translator's note is fourfold. First, it draws attention to the fact that the use of the word "soul" in itself constitutes a problem. Second, it makes the word "soul" more suitable for expressing what Azande people have in mind. Third, it redefines an English notion to accommodate elements of a new concept. Fourth, it effects conceptual change, i.e. cultural transfer, at the metalinguistic level (267–68). Feyerabend sums up all these points in a well formulated general principle of translation: "Successful translations always change the medium in which they occur" (266). The importance of this principle can never be overstated, for it shows that any successful transfer of culture must change the importing language and that such transfers must be effected at the metalinguistic level.

The concept of metalanguage is not new in translation studies.[4] Before Feyerabend, Roman Jakobson had pointed out that the metalinguistic function was one of the major functions of language. He noted:

> A faculty of speaking a given language implies a faculty of talking about this language. Such a "meta-linguistic" operation permits revision and redefinition of the vocabulary used cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language. Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loanwords or loan-translations, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocutions. (qtd. in Chesterman 1989: 56)

As can be seen, even if the concept a certain word designates exists in one language but not in another, the referent (direct or indirect) the word and concept stand for can always be replaced by a word in another

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4 Gombert (1992: 1) discussed the definition of the term metalanguage: In a more general sense, the word metalanguage is used to refer to the language, where natural or formalized (as in logic), which is itself used to speak of a language. More precisely, as Benveniste (1974) emphasizes, this word refers to a language whose sole function is to describe a language.

language by way of linguistic adjustment[5] in the form of a loan word, a descriptive phrase or a newly coined word. In the case of translation, the various metalinguistic devices adopted by the translator are often explicitly stated in his/her explanatory notes. And it is at the metalinguistic level that conceptual/semantic equivalence is achieved. A word in the target language is *defined* as the equivalent for its counterpart in the source language.[6] That is to say, two different signs are made to denote one and the same concept.

Thus understood, foreignization is simply a metalinguistic operation whereby cultural transfer is effected. In this chapter, conceptual/semantic equivalence is not understood as the one-to-one correspondence between languages, which is absent as languages stand, but as a semantic relationship at the metalinguistic level. Put simply, conceptual/semantic equivalence is not *found*, but *created*. It results from a most common-or-garden metalinguistic operation—making two things stand for one and the same concept. It should now be clear how different language texts produced by translation can convey the same legal meaning—they are simply made to do so.

Clarification of the Concept of Legal Culture in Legal Translation

Concerning the actual relevance of legal culture to legal translation we would like to note the following: cultural transfer as foreignization is best exemplified in legal translation since the goal of legal translation is to reproduce a legal text in the target language which has the same meaning

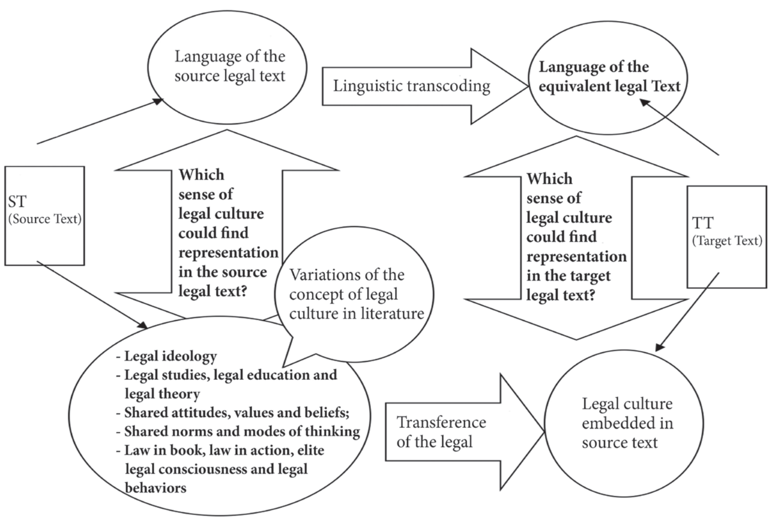
5 In this study, we use the concept of "form" only in the sense of "linguistic form", that is, as the form of a language sign, in opposition to its meaning. As meaning is the property of a language which is manifested through language and embodied in language. For any existing language sign, there are two sides of it, the form and the meaning of it.

6 In trying to solve the problem of translation equivalence, Neubert postulates that from the point of view of a theory of texts, translation equivalence must be considered a semiotic category, comprising a semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic component, following Pierce's categories. These components are arranged in a hierarchical relationship, where semantic equivalence takes priority over syntactic equivalence, and pragmatic equivalence, conditioning and modifying both the other elements.

as the source text while also transferring the legal culture of the source text into the target language text. The legal translator is bound to achieve semantic equivalence in cultural transfer foreignization. Thus, concepts like linguistic transcoding, cultural transfer, semantic equivalence and legal culture deserve serious treatment, as these notions, with their interpretations, determine how we think about legal translation and also shape the specific theoretical framework we construct in the special context of translating the common law into Chinese. As we do not wish to generalize and make broad statements of legal culture that might crumble under logical analysis, we must now clarify the concept of legal culture insofar as it relates intimately to legal translation.

Let us first consider the process of legal translation illustrated by the following diagram:

Figure 5.1 Process of Legal Translation



(1) SL (Language of Source Legal Text) TL (Language of Target Legal text)
(2) Assumed SC (Culture of the Source Text) SC (Culture of the Source Text)

The first plane depicts the process of linguistic transcoding where the legal translator represents the source legal text with the equivalent legal text in the target language. In other words, the two end products of legal texts should convey the same legal meaning. The second plane depicts the process of transferring the legal culture. We note that, during the translation process, what should be maintained intact is the source legal culture. This point is emphasized as it echoes with our previous observation that cultural transfer as foreignization is the transfer of the source culture into the target language instead of naturalizing the source culture with the overwhelming conventions of the target culture. Obviously enough, what could be transferred are the variables that have the most direct and intimate bearing on the language of the source legal text since the process of foreignization is inseparably bound up with the process of achieving conceptual / semantic equivalence. Resuming our task of finding the legal culture embedded in source text, we also ask in Figure 5.1 which sense of legal culture could find representation in the legal text? We recall that the concept of legal culture, as examined in the previous section, is employed to refer to a variety of objects that can be grouped into two major categories: legal culture as people's conceptions of law, or as both conceptions and practices. In legal translation, the legal translator is faced with the substantive legal texts—laws in their written form.

Take the example of tort law in Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong's tort law has its origin in English tort law, some of the legal practices of judges and lawyers may vary from other common law jurisdictions. Legal professionals in Hong Kong may share the same knowledge and belief in the law of tort, i.e. "tort in books", but what is the status of "tort in action"?[7] It is interesting to note that, for example, courts in Hong Kong are reluctant to use actuarial evidence in the calculation of damages in the tort litigation. In consequence, lawyers are also cautious on whether to provide actuarial evidence in the court. Such practice and behaviour by legal professionals with regard to tort litigation, in Blankenburg's (1994: 13–14 and 1998: 39–41) view, was also evidence of the legal culture. However, it is impossible for the legal translator to deal with legal culture in that sense, as the final encounter of the legal translator is the legal text—the source language that legal culture is embedded in. Lloyd (1964)

7 Here we borrow Blankenburg's idea. We use the expression "tort in books" to refer to the body of substantive and procedural tort law. In similar vein, we use the expression "tort in action" to characterize the legal practice and behaviour of the judicial court system and the legal profession.

thought that the great achievement of the human language, especially the language of law lay in its capacity to create "general concepts which provide the essential tools of human reflection" (285). In explaining the conceptual thinking in the common law, Lloyd remarked:

> For instance, if we take the rules of the criminal law relating to such matters as murder and theft, it is quite true that these are in themselves legal concepts which only have meaning in the context of legal rules which go to form a legal system. We can only understand what is meant by murder by acquainting ourselves with the legal constituents of this offence and how these operate in the legal system.… The law… needs to conceptualize these and other related ideas much more precisely before it can operate a system of criminal law in a rational and systematic way. (289–290)

As Farrar and Dugdale (1990: 246) put it: "law is more an expression of the culture of the lawmaking elite rather than that of society at large", the conceptual thinking is that of legal professionals rather than that of the general public. In translating the law in books, therefore, the legal translator should have an adequate knowledge of the conceptual thinking of legal professionals and transfer this into the target language. Similarly, legal culture as viewed in this study refers to the conceptual thinking about the law shared by legal professionals. To sum up briefly, the above schematic framework of exemplification has the merit of simplicity but is merely the skeleton on which we must build. This endeavour may lead to conceptual refinements and help to narrow down the concept of legal culture to fit our analysis of legal translation.

The clarified notion of cultural transfer is vital for understanding legal translation as cultural transfer both in respect of its theoretical foundations and practical applications. We noted that when translating a legal text for the purpose of producing another authentic version of the same text, the legal translator is bound to foreignize the language of the latter version to a certain extent in order to establish semantic equivalence between the two versions.

The Transfer of Legal Culture in Legal Translation

We have noted that legal culture, i.e. the conceptual thinking shared by legal professionals, is an essential yet inseparable component of any legal system. The transfer of legal culture can take place when the law of one country is moved to another, or when two legal systems come into contact. Legal translation as foreignization necessitates the assimilation of the legal concepts of foreign laws, as is the case with legal transplants in China.

China has a long history of legal transplants dating back to the Late Qing Dynasty when China transplanted the German system of civil law. Next, Japan's legal experience exerted great linguistic and practical influence on China's reception of civil law before 1949. Moreover, China transplanted the Soviet Union's legal ideas after 1949. The history of legal transplants in China can usefully elucidate the role that legal translation has played. The introduction and translation of foreign legal texts into Chinese started since the Late Qing period. The systematic introduction of Western laws together with other Western sciences commenced with the establishment of Tongwenguan in 1862.[8]

Legal translation that seeks to transplant cultural concepts specific to the original legal system is a good example of cultural transfer as foreignization. A case in point is the legal translation in the Late Qing Dynasty in China which we have just sketched out. We will now look at how the foreign laws were translated during this period and the approach to translation that was taken. Shen Jia-ben had already observed that when Japan translated Western laws, semantic translation was initially adopted. However, the great number of mistranslations that occurred had led to the eventual adoption of literal translation. In the case of China, the task of translation was far more difficult since there were no legal terms to express the legal concepts of Western laws. Shen thus asked the translators to strive for fidelity and fluency in translating the criminal laws of France, Germany, Russia and Japan (Zhang 180).[9] For example, when learning

8 It is generally assumed that international law and the relevant vocabulary was introduced in China mainly after the Japanese influence early this century. Several other texts on international law were, however, translated into Chinese between 1864 and the turn of the century. Some of these were translated by Martin and published by Tongwenguan, such as Theodore Dwight Woolsey's *Introduction to the Study of International Law* (1877) and William Edward Hall's *A Treatise on International Law* (1903) (Svarverud 1998).

9 Zhang (2003) held that legal translation was a very important channel for importing the legal concepts of Western law into China. She quoted Shen Jiaben as follows:

> 參酌各國法律，首重翻譯，而譯書以法律為最難，語意之緩急輕重，記述之詳略偏全，決策為精，訛立見。從前日本譯述西洋各國法律多尚意譯，後因訛誤，改歸直譯，中國名詞未定，移譯更不易言。臣深慮失實，務令譯員力求信達……(180)

from the criminal laws of other countries, Shen strove to propagate the idea of a "light" (*xingqing*) response to crimes by condemning the traditional punishment inflicted on prisoners, such as dismemberment or decapitation followed by the displaying of the victim's head in public.[10] We can see that, when striving for fidelity to the foreign laws, Shen wished to achieve conceptual / semantic equivalence by adopting literal translation instead of semantic translation, which would result in creating new legal terms in Chinese. In such ways were linguistic adjustments made when transferring the legal concepts of foreign laws into Chinese.

As noted above, whenever a culture is transferred from one language to another, there is also a need for conceptual adjustment, which invariably results in the foreignization of the importing language. Regarding this, Meijer gave a thoughtful account in his researching into the memorials written by Shen. He remarked:

> With the memorials Shen Chia-ben introduced a new criminal code in China. A code based on foreign concepts most which were alien to Chinese thought or which had in the course of history been discarded as unsuitable for Chinese society. The memorials are not a theoretical explanation of the philosophical back-ground of a new law, they are presented as remarks on the revision of some of the principles of an existing law by borrowing from foreign law.... Formerly the law was, according to the most accepted doctrine an auxiliary to education. It was essentially a part of ethics, it derived its force from the moral code, and served as a model for the judge, being a directive for the maintenance of the natural order—tao. The new law, however, reposed on totally different concepts. The law now became a set of rules, given by the state in its capacity of keeper of the public peace and order, punishing any acts which were contraries to the minimum standards of conduct required for an orderly society. An offence now became officially an offence only because the objective Criminal Law forbad it. Violators of moral laws were no longer interfered with as long as they stayed within the limits of the Criminal Law. (1950: 70–71)

10 In explaining how the translators deal with the terminological problem in the translation, Meijer (1950) also noted:

> … The first deals with the term *fa-hsing* 罰刑, fine which the committee wanted to be changed into *fa-chin* 罰金 on historical and logical grounds. The first term means punishment of fine, but he word fa may also denote punishment, so that the term might become meaningless, the second term is more specific meaning punishment-money, taking *fa* in the meaning of punishment. (52)

Meijer here suggests that cultural transfer takes place on the metalinguistic level, rather than via a theoretical explanation of the philosophy behind the new laws. However, it can be conceded that such a background still provides a theoretical framework and working principles for transferring the legal culture of the foreign law. In other words, we can understand foreign legal concepts by studying the extent to which the memorials of Shen (and his colleagues) are explicit about what the newly coined Chinese legal terms stand for and how they relate to the original legal system. For example, Shen distinguished between criminal and civil affairs. It "was established in the memorial asking for permission to print the code of 1910. The distinction was based on the principle of Shen Chia-ben's Draft of the Code governing Civil and Criminal Procedure of 1906 art. 2 and 3 (cf. 43), but somewhat more elaborated and précised" (Mejier 1950: 53). Therefore, the memorials serve as an important metalanguage for transferring the legal culture of the foreign laws.

If we recall the discussion of Evans-Pritchard's translation of Azande we shall be reminded that cultural transfer must be effected at the metalinguistic level. As can be seen from China's long history of legal transplant by way of translation, the legal concepts and legal principles of foreign laws have been transferred into Chinese. This also shows that successful transfer of the legal culture of foreign laws requires adjustments to be made in the target translation language and must involve conceptual transfer at the metalinguistic level.

This is also the case in translating the Common Law into Chinese. The important point to note here is that the law prescribes and regulates human behaviour in ways which can be described not only in English but also in any other language, just as the rules of a particular game can be laid down in different languages such that players relying on different language versions of the rules can play the *same* game. There is no *a priori* reason why Chinese cannot be used to express the legal concepts of the common law. Semantic equivalence is achievable in legal aiming to achieve semantic equivalence and the legal translator should import the source legal culture into the target legal culture, an approach which requires linguistic and conceptual adjustments of the translating language. In the same manner, Chinese as the translating language can be expanded to include newly introduced cultural concepts of the common law.

To provide Chinese equivalents of common law terms is a vital step in translating the common law into Chinese. History tells us that whether it was the Christian Bible or the Buddhist scriptures that were being translated, the translator had to adjust the Chinese language in such a way that foreign concepts could be assimilated into its conceptual system. As a result, the translated text was invariably incomprehensible at the initial stage of assimilation, as Sin (1998) put it, "… opaque to the uninitiated eyes" (138). But now the Chinese equivalents of these biblical or Buddhist concepts have become part of the Chinese language and culture. This is excactly the case with the common law in Chinese. To sum up, the problem at issue here how common law Chinese could be developed with a view to transferring the legal culture of the common law into Chinese.

Legal Terminology and Legal Concept

As has been shown in the previous sections, transferring the legal culture of foreign laws into China has plenty of precedent. Legal concepts and legal principles of the foreign laws have been imported into Chinese since the Qing Dynasty. To transfer the culture of the common law, i.e. its legal concepts and legal principles, into Chinese is thus by no means a novel venture. As we know, legal concepts of the common law are specific to that system and are expressed by means of in its specific legal terminology. Therefore, terminological problem is at the centre of any legal translation aiming to transfer the culture of one legal system to another.

A study of terminology[11] calls for an understanding of the form-meaning relationship of the terms since it forms the basis of our inquiry into the relation between legal concepts and legal terminology.[12]

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11 In search of a theory of terminology, Sager (1990) defined terminology:

> … as the study of and the field of activity concerned with the collection, description, processing and presentation of terms, i.e. lexical items belonging to specialized areas of usage of one or more languages… (2)

12 A word is typically a single lexical unit, while a term could be composed of a single word or a set of words. Terminologies are the technical or special terms used in business, art, science, or special subject. Thus, terms used in the language of the law consist of general terms and terms used pertaining to the special context of the law which can be regarded as its terminology.

Since a word is a lexical unit constituting a term, the study of words constitutes the basis for the study of legal terms. According to Saussure, the linguistic sign has two sides—the signal (the word form) and the significance (the concept) while the word as a linguistic sign is composed of the word form (the signifier) and the word meaning (the signified) (1986).[13] An essential concept can be expressed and lexicalized as (and in the form of) a noun, a verb or a descriptive adjective. In other words, a noun, verb, and descriptive adjective can signify the same essential concept.[14] That concepts and word forms are not equivalent is shown by the fact that one word can have more than one meaning in the same language.[15] Lexical relations could thus be illustrated according to the analysis of the different meanings of one word which Leech (1981) defined as "a process of breaking down the sense of a word into its minimal components" (89).[16] In this regard, componential analysis is very useful in understanding the relation between concepts

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13 "Word form" will be used here to refer to the physical utterance or inscription and "word meaning" to refer to the lexicalized concept that a form can be used to express.

14 We find that each essential concept, when examined carefully, has a root expression as a noun, a verb, or a descriptive adjective. The expression of a concept begins in one of these three word classes. However, by affixing appropriate fragments, each of these three word classes can (usually) be transformed into another. Conversely, by removing these affixes, a root expression can be revealed. Thus, the underlying essential concept can be said to be independent of any specific word class. Alternatively, we could say that all three word classes (noun, verb, and adjective) provide the same expression of an essential concept.

15 Each meaning of the word represents a different concept. Such a word is called polysemy which means that a word with (at least) two meanings yet sharing a lexical form. According to Leech, "Synonymy and polysemy are relation between form and meaning: (a) Synonymy: more than one form having the same meaning; (b) polysemy: the same form having more than one meaning" (1981: 94).

16 Leech said:

> The meanings of the individual items can then be expressed by combinations of these (semantic) features:
>
> man: + HUMAN + ADULT + MALE   woman: + HUMAN + ADULT − MALE
> boy: + HUMAN − ADULT + MALE   girl: + HUMAN − ADULT − MALE
>
> These formulae are called the COMPONENTIAL DEFINITIONS of the items concerned: they can be regarded, in fact, as formalized dictionary definitions. The dimensions of meaning themselves will be termed semantic oppositions. (1981: 89–90)

and words.[17] The problems of the translation of terminology hinge on conceptual equivalence since there is not always a correspondence between pairs of terms in the source and target languages. The layperson usually believes that sound knowledge of the source and target languages and a good dictionary are sufficient for translating a term in question, but even if this were wholly true it would be in no way sufficient in technical translating where the translation process is concerned with achieving conceptual equivalence between two terms.[18] The degree of conceptual equivalence which exists is a function of the extent to which the intentions of two or more concepts overlap. Typical degrees of equivalence include:

1. Complete equivalence: a term in SL whose concept is the same as the term in TL. The two terms are thus judged to be equivalent.
2. Partial equivalence: this can be further divided into two types. One is narrower equivalence, where the concept of the term in TL includes fewer characteristics than that of the term in SL against which it is being measured. The other is broader equivalence, where the concept of the term in TL includes more characteristics than that of the term in SL against which it is being measured.

(1) Non-equivalence: the term in the SL whose concept does not exist in the TL.

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17 Nida (1975) supplemented the approach of componential analysis, proposing that there are three fundamental classes of components. They are:

> (1) the common components, i.e. those features which are shared by all the meanings being compared and which accordingly constitute the basis for bringing such meanings together, (2) the diagnostic components, i.e. those features which distinguish the meanings of any set, and (3) the supplementary components, i.e. those additional features, often connotative, which are significant in describing all the aspects of a meaning but which may not be strictly necessary in contrasting a particular set of meanings. (182)

18 Since there used to be doubt that a true translation equivalence is possible because of the difference of meaning of corresponding words in the two languages while in practice, translation equivalence does exist in the sense that translators in their daily operation select term Y in the TL (target language) as the translation of term X in the SL (source language), and so one could say that X and Y are translation equivalents.

In cases when one linguistic form in the original language represents several different concepts which are lexicalized in different linguistic forms in the translating language, such concepts should be understood according to the original referential system. In pointing out the significance of the referential system of the terminology, Sager (1990) remarked:

> A theory of terminology is therefore primarily concerned with a referential system which relates knowledge structures to lexical structure and defines the constituent elements of each type of structure. (14)

For Sager, a theory of terminology inevitably involves a theory of "concept" and "reference" as the concept conveyed by an item of terminology can only be construed in its reference. Based on the above definition, the common law terminology, which is legally and culturally specific to the common law, should be appropriately regarded as a semantic system, i.e. scientific expression of the system of common law concepts. Accordingly, the study of common law terminology is the study of the relationship of the linguistic signs and their concepts with special reference to common law culture. An investigation into the translation of the common law terminology into Chinese in terms of cultural transfer will ultimately focus on the translated linguistic signs and their semantic referential system.

We can thus justifiably say that common law terminology is the lexicalized expression of the concepts built into the common law. As Carter (1994) points out:

> Basic concepts… build up in law as cases accumulate… they [concepts] do exist in law. Often they turn out to be sufficiently fixed and stable so that lawyers can engineer from them secure plans for their clients. (142–143)

This illustrates how significant the existence of legal concepts is in the common law and how decisive the use of them is for lawyers. In the common law, legal concepts are lexicalized or expressed by legal terms. The translator has to identify the concept and the referent that the word in the source language represents. But if the translator fails to distinguish all the different concepts and referents that the word in the source language can stand for, she may end up selecting a word in the target language that represents the wrong concept and referent.

One of the difficulties that the translator may encounter in translating legal terms, therefore, is the problem of non-equivalence. In some cases, the legal concepts that are expressed by the legal terms do not exist in Chinese. There are no words in Chinese to express some of the most elementary notions of the common law. The terms "the common law" and "equity" are only two of the examples. There is no system of "the common law" and "equity" in the Chinese legal system (neither in the People's Republic of China nor in Taiwan). In addition, many types of institutions proper to the common law have no direct counterparts in China, e.g. "Magistrate", "Lands Tribunal", and many others). In other cases, partial-equivalent terms also pose difficulties to the legal translator since one legal term can have both a specific legal meaning and an ordinary meaning at the same time, e.g. the term "consideration". An equivalent for the ordinary meaning, which is shared in Chinese, can be found, but the specific legal meaning does not exist in Chinese. Could such a Chinese equivalent, if selected as the translation, convey the same legal meaning in the common law? For example, transferring the expression used for seemingly similar institutions, e.g. "high court", risks blurring the differences between these institutions. The common law term "high court" could be translated into Chinese as *gaodeng fayuan* 高等法院. However, this very term as used in the PRC refers to a different legal institution operating under a socialist legal system. Therefore, the Chinese equivalent *gaodeng fayuan* 高等法院 for the common law term "high court" certainly does not mean the same as the Chinese term *gaodeng fayuan* 高等法院 as it is already used in the People's Republic of China. *Gaodeng fayuan* 高等法院 as the translation for the common law term can only be properly construed with reference to the common law system.

To propose appropriate translation strategies and techniques in translating common law terms into Chinese requires a clear understanding of the vocabulary used in the common law in the first place. The vocabulary of the common law is multifarious including as it does terms referring to legal institutions, terms referring to legal personnel, terms employed in different branches of law and of course words used in everyday life. The question is how best we should categorize them. While different criteria are possible, a classification in line with the relationship between the linguistic form and the legal concept could be of great direct help and could also hold relevance for further investigation of translation equivalence in general. The classification of the common law vocabulary discussed in this section will thus be based on the analysis of the term and concept relation made previously.[19]

(2) Technical terms, also called terms of art: these are terms used exclusively in the legal sphere and have no application in ordinary language, and they make up a significant part of common law terminology. As terms of art, their technical meaning needs scrutinizing when being translated as they are unique to the common law and have no equivalent in Chinese. It should be noted that most common law terms of Latin or French origin belong to this category. They can be divided into two sub-categories:

(a) echnical terms that represent concepts constructing the body of the laws.[20]
(b) Technical terms that represent concepts relating to the judicial mechanism.[21]

(3) Semi-technical terms: these are common English terms which, when used in a legal context, acquire a specific legal meaning. Such terms are thus polysemous and more difficult to identify. As proposed by Sin (1998), they can be further divided into three linguistic sub-categories:

(a) Terms where the legal meaning is fully shared with the core meaning.[22] Core meaning may be used to illuminate the meaning of other senses and all other senses may be derived from this core meaning combined with contextual information, such as abandonment (*fangqi* 放棄), attempt (*qitu* 企圖), confession (*gongren* 供認), defence (*mianze bianhu* 免責辯護, *kangbian* 抗辯), negligence (*shuhu* 疏忽), public place (*gongzhong defang* 公眾地方, *gongzhong changsuo* 公眾場所).

19 Alcaraz and Hughes (2002) also divide legal vocabulary into three categories, namely "purely technical vocabulary", "semi-technical vocabulary" and "everyday vocabulary" (154–65).

20 Selected examples include: demurrer, estoppel, fee simple, fee tail, laches, *mens rea*, reprieve, trespass, overrule, trover, and waiver.

21 Selected examples include: affidavit, certiorari, defendant, fieri facias, habeas corpus, mandamus, metes and bounds, plaintiff, serve proceedings, and voire dire.

22 By core meaning we refer to the central or most fundamental concept that links the principal senses of a word to its various other senses.

(b) Terms where part of the legal meaning overlaps with the core meaning, such as consideration (*daijia* 代價), discharge (*shifang* 釋放), malice (*eyi* 惡意), representation (*shenshu shu* 申述書 , *chengshu* 陳述), remainder (*shengyu quanyi* 剩餘權益).

(c) Terms where the legal meaning deviates completely from its core meaning, e.g. personal representative (*yichan daili ren* 遺產代理人), warranty (*ciyao tiaojian* 次要條件).

(4) Everyday vocabulary: terms which are common or ordinary in English. They are used both in special context and in everyday common language and have no specialized meaning in the common law.

Historically and politically, the language of the laws of Hong Kong was exclusively English. The Chinese legal terms employed in the PRC legal system and Taiwan's German-based civil legal system were distinct from those in common law English, and as a result no equivalent legal terms existed in Chinese. To achieve conceptual equivalence in translating terminology, the translator has to generate a term in the target language which can express the same concept as the term in the source language. When terminological concepts are shared in the source and target language, the translator's job is to *find* the conceptual equivalent. But where one concept in the source language does not exist in the target language, the translator encounters a greater problem—a new term in the target language has to be *created* which is capable of expressing the same concept as the original term in the source language.

Translation of Legal Terminology: A Conceptual Transfer

When translating an item of common law terminology into Chinese, the legal translator needs to conjure up a corresponding linguistic sign in Chinese which can represent the same concept. Since translation is much more than the substitution of lexical and grammatical elements between two languages, a problem arises from the very beginning if the translator aims at finding the exact equivalent. Where no such equivalent exists, the translator has to form (or redefine) a term to represent the original concept. The concept-formation process is what happens when "transcoding" the common law terminology, i.e. use Chinese to express common law concepts. It has been noted that linguistic adjustments representing a transfer on the linguistic level are indispensable for concept-formation where there are no equivalents or only partial equivalents. Chinese legal vocabulary needs expanding and adjusting, with common law concepts new to Chinese being introduced in large numbers.

Sager (1990) pointed out that the use of "lexical innovation", including neologisms, to introduce new concepts (30). We can categorize the techniques involved into two major kinds. They are:

(1) Lexical expansion (redefinition): by selecting an existent term in the target language as the equivalent of the term in the source language, a new definition is given to this translating term which eventually results in the expansion of the lexical meaning.

(2) Neologism: a new word form may be created denoting the meaning of the corresponding word in the source language. There are several ways of coining new words in the target language:

(a) Calque, i.e. reproducing the morpheme structure of the source language lexical unit within the means of the target language to create a new target language lexeme. This approach is considered a species of literal translation.[23]

(b) Paraphrase, i.e. describing or rendering the meaning of a translated term which has no counterpart in the target language.[24]

(c) Direct borrowing, i.e. using transcription or transliteration, where the target language lexicon adopts the source language term.

We will further discuss the use of above mentioned techniques and present various classes of examples of translated common law terminology. Some of these examples will also show how the principles were adopted by the Bilingual Laws Advisory Committee[25] when searching for

23 Cai Qilin (2002) points out that calque is the major technique used in translating Buddhist texts in ancient China.

24 Also called "descriptive paraphrase" by Šarčević (1997: 252).

25 Under Section 4C(1) of the Official Languages (Amendment) Ordinance 1987, the independent committee was established by the Governor on 28 October 1988 to scrutinize the translation of the English legislation enacted before 1989 produced by the Law Drafting Division. It is abbreviated as BLAC.

appropriate linguistic equivalents for English legal terms. As noted by Jin and Sin (2004): "BLAC needs to scrutinize the translation by taking into account both the legal concepts and linguistic rules" (90).[26]

(1) Translation of Technical Terms

For group one—technical terms which are unique to common law language and culture—the problem is that there is no Chinese equivalent. What the translator has to tackle is how best to conjure up Chinese equivalents for such technical terms, given always that such equivalents are likely to remain unreliable or speculative tools for elucidating common law meanings or concepts.

Valuable experiences drawn from the arduous work completed by the Hong Kong translation team under LDD, which completed the project of translating the English common law into Chinese before 1997, reveal two possible major techniques.

(a) Create New Words in Accordance with Terminological Creation Principles

Forming a new term in English may involve techniques such as prefixing, suffixing and compounding. As Chinese characters are pictographic, they cannot be inflected as an English word can, but Chinese can form semantic representations by putting together two or more existing linguistic forms to create a new term. The principle means of word formation is composition, which has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, composition provides a convenient way of combining the meanings of two words to express a new meaning. Readers tend to derive the meaning of a new term, which is composed of two or more existing words, simply by adding the meaning of the components but without understanding the real meaning of the new term. However, when coining new terms in Chinese composition remains a major tool. Examples include: chattels (*shichan* 實產), chose in action (*jufa quanchan* 據法權產), fee simple (*yongjiu chanquan* 永久產權), estoppel (*burong fanhui fa* 不容反悔法), etc.

26 The original Chinese text is: "委員會審閱的內容，既涉及法律概念，也涉及語言規範".

(b) Adopting an Existing Word and Assigning a New Meaning to It[27]

Creating a new word may not always be the best way of translating terms of art in the common law. In some circumstances, lexical expansion (re-definition) is another option. Examples include plaintiff (*yuangao ren* 原告人), defendant (*beigao ren* 被告人), petitioner (chengqing ren 呈請人), respondent (*dabian ren* 答辯人).[28] The legal translator adopts the existing Chinese legal terms as the translations for the above three technical terms in the common law. However, we should be aware that as Chinese equivalents for common law terms, they have different connotations under different legal systems.

(2) Translation of Semi-Technical Terms

Semi-technical terms "are much more numerous and their number is constantly growing as the law changes to meet the developing needs of a society" (Alcaraz & Hughes 2002: 17). Moreover, their semantic meanings are much more complicated, thus constantly setting traps for the translator and creating a labyrinth of semantic connotation, ambiguity, partial synonymy and context-dependence. A number of such legal terms may not have a fixed legal meaning in the source text as they will carry different and specific legal meanings in differing contexts, these meanings being determined either by the definitions given within the context or by knowledge imported from common legal practice. When

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27 The English lexicographer Susie Dent (2004) observes of coined words: "The extraordinary thing about new words is that probably only about one percent of them are new. Most are old words revived and adapted" (8). Thus, semantic change of an old word, namely specialization, generalization and metaphorical change, is a common means of coining "new" words.

28 BLAC came to a final decision after a number of meetings. It once had the following list showing the proposed Chinese translations for "defendant", "respondent", etc.:

		Existing translation	LDD's proposal
1.	Plaintiff	原告人	原告人
2.	Defendant	被告人	答辯人
3.	Respondent	答辯人	應訴人
4.	Petitioner	入稟人	入稟人
5.	Accused	被告	被告

(Minutes of the 22nd meeting of BLAC: 7) translating most of such terms, there is no need to deliberately create new equivalent terms in Chinese, since most of them already have Chinese equivalents for their ordinary meanings. As such terms can be further divided into three sub-categories, a variety of translation methods will be discussed.

A. For the first type—where the legal meaning of the term is shared with its core meaning, the established Chinese equivalent will be adopted. However, we need to refer to metalinguistic devices to redefine the meaning in a common law context. Examples include: abandonment (*fangqi* 放棄), attempt (*qitu* 企圖), confession (*gongren* 供認), negligence (*shuhu* 疏忽), public place (*gongzhong defang* 公眾地方 or *gongzhong changsuo* 公眾場所), etc.
B. For the second type—where part of the legal meaning of the term overlaps with its core meaning—we can once again use the ordinary Chinese equivalent plus lexical expansion or we can create a new term. The legal meaning of these terms can be inferred from various interpretations of cases. Therefore, frequent reference to the cases is a better way to understand meanings in different contexts. Examples are: discharge (*jiechu* 解除 or *jieyue* 解約), malice (*eyi* 惡意), remainder (*shengyu quanyi* 剩餘權益).
C. The third type—where the legal meaning of the term totally deviates from its ordinary meaning—can be treated in the same way as terms of the first type, i.e. terms of art or legal terms having a technical meaning. The two major approaches are the creation of a new term, or the adoption of existing term with redefinition. Examples are: notice of abandonment (*weifu tongzhi* 委付通知), personal representative (*yichan daili ren* 遺產代理人), warranty (*baozheng tiaokuan* 保證條款), etc.

Thus far, we have illustrated the process of translating common law terminology where adjustments of the Chinese legal vocabulary on the linguistic level and frequent reference to the semantic referential system of the common law are both indispensable. Let us summarize the metalinguistic tools that could be employed by the legal translator on the conceptual level to effect cultural transfer.

1. Appending translator's preface or footnote or any other commentaries or explaining why and how the translation was done in related articles.
2. Translation of related legal works into Chinese.
3. Compiling an English-Chinese legal dictionary.

The foregoing discussion shows where new terms are created in Chinese, their meaning may seem transparent and can be easily identified. Yet, the reader still needs to resort to metalanguage to understand the concepts of the newly-created terms. In translating semi-technical terms, legal translators often employ lexical expansion, using an existing Chinese term to express the new common law concept. This makes it difficult for the reader to determine whether the term is common law Chinese or ordinary Chinese. In such a case, it is even more important to resort to metalanguage as a mirror for cultural transfer at the conceptual level.

Conclusion

Translation is of course not merely a matter of language. Many things are involved in the process. Nevertheless, however complicated the process is, translation is invariably a process beginning with a text and ending with another text—it is always from language to language, always a cross-linguistic event. Whether we call this transcoding, or recoding, translation remains essentially an operation with words. Even when one follows cultural theorists such as Vermeer and Snell-Hornby, and re-labels translation a cross-cultural event, what we see in the end-product, i.e. the target text, remains a matter of words.

As with translating Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, translating the common law into Chinese is a paradigm case of discussing the cultural issue in legal translation. But again, legal culture is illusory unless and until it is embodied in language. Although a large part of the culture of the common law can only be found beyond the words of the law, that part, like equivalence in meaning, cannot be handled by translation on the same object-language level. Basing our views on the works of legal and translation scholars in Hong Kong, we have shown in this study that equivalence in meaning indeed does not exist between languages *as they stand*. This has led many to dismiss the whole notion as illusory.

However, equivalence in meaning is by nature not a descriptive term. Rather it is a stipulative term. That is to say, two terms are equivalent in meaning if and only if they are stipulated to be so. Equivalence in meaning is established by the metalinguistic device of definition. It is *created*, not *found*.

In the case of legislative translation, this metalinguistic device operates on the legislative level, i.e. as part of the legislative process. In other words, in legislative translation, equivalence in meaning between the different language texts of the law is established by legislation, not through translation on the object-language level. It must be handled either at the metalinguistic level or in a separate object-level translation. Once we have a clear view of how language works and how it can be used to do what we want it to do, many of the problems in translation studies can be clarified and resolved.

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6 Public Administration Translation

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Introduction

In the introduction chapter of *Translation in Hong Kong: Past, Present and Future*, Chan Sin-wai points out that "Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan city where international communication is a fact of everyday life" and "translation has always played an important role in bridging the social and cultural gap between Chinese and Western civilizations" (Chan 2001: ix). Although he positions translation studies as a subject of practical, applied studies essential to the development of the Hong Kong society as an international financial and commercial centre and a meeting place of Eastern and Western cultures, it is noted from his introduction and the ensuing chapters of the book, written by scholars and practitioners in the translation field of Hong Kong, that translation studies in this cosmopolitan city is generally inclined to the cultural aspect of the discipline.

Translation studies in Hong Kong has been focused very much on the literary aspect of the discipline although the lion's share of the translation output in Hong Kong is non-literary in nature. Most of the bilingual texts being churned out in huge amounts daily from virtually every government and quasi-government department and institution are notices, press release, information sheets, minutes of meetings, reports and other publications for information of the general public. These products of translation, as well as the work process involved, are discussed under the name "Public Administration Translation" in this chapter.

Public administration translation, which has been in existence in Hong Kong for over a hundred and fifty years, includes both the written form and the oral form of translation services provided in the public sector, which refers to the Civil Service (generally known as the Government), the judiciary (the law courts), the legislature (the Legislative Council) and quasi-government organizations such as the Airport Authority, Housing Authority and Hospital Authority.

Defining "Translation", "Interpretation", "Translator", and "Interpreter"

Translation is often used to denote the written form or written process in which one text is reproduced in another language. (Cheung et al. 1993: 18) "Interpretation", on the other hand, usually refers to the oral form or process in which verbal information is rendered in another spoken language. (Gentzler 2001: 63) The process involved in translation is denoted as "translation process" and the products of the translation process are called "translated texts" or "translation works".

"Translators" are generally defined as people who produce translation texts while interpreters are those who perform translation duties in the oral form. In the Hong Kong context, there has been a long tradition that the same group of civil servants perform both translation and interpretation duties. In the early days when Hong Kong became a British colony, no "Translator" posts were created within the colonial Civil Service but there were posts of "Interpreters" for the Supreme Court and the Police Magistracy (Smith 1975). In fact, it was the intention of the colonial government in the 1850s and 1860s to train some young graduates from the prestigious universities in Britain to become "Government Interpreter" under the Cadet Scheme proposed by Governor Sir Hercules Robinson (Tsang 2004: 25).

After the Pacific War in 1940s, the surge in direct communication between the British colonial government and the rapidly expanding Chinese population in the colony prompted the Hong Kong Government to recruit translation staff from the Chinese residents and a new grade "Translator/Interpreter" was created for the purpose (Hong Kong Government 1947). The serving staff in the grade had to perform both translation and interpretation duties. The situation continued until 1974 when the Translator/Interpreter grade split into the Chinese Language Officer and the Court Interpreter grades (Hong Kong Government 1975). The former focused on translation work in the written mode while the latter were mainly deployed to perform interpretation duties at courts of various levels.

While the term "translator" is used in a generic sense, translators who provide translation services, including written translation and oral interpretation, for and within government departments and government-funded organizations are called "Public Administration Translation service providers" in academic discussions. The terms "government translation" and "government translator" are avoided because of political considerations.

Cultural Translators, Career Translators and Government Translators

Based on the translators' self-positioning in relation to the community and the culture in which they lived, Eva Hung suggests two broad categories of translators: the career translator and the cultural translator (Hung 2001:10). In her book《重寫翻譯史》(*Rewriting Translation History*), Hung uses the term "事務性譯者" to denote "career translators" and the term "文化性譯者" for "cultural translators". The title of the Chinese book in which the two types of translators are compared reads "政府譯人及文化譯人的對比" (Hung 2005: 122). In other words, "career translators" and "government translators" refer to the same group of people in Hung's discussions on the history of translation work in ancient China. The present discussion sees government translators, who have their distinct features, as a subset of career translators described in Hung's works. Career translators include translators engaged by other establishments such as commercial institutions to perform translation duties assigned by their employers.

Hung defines career translators as those who try to fulfil the existing translation needs of their employers. They work according to their employers' specifications and the established structures that regulate such work. Their role was to expedite the work of the establishment and thereby strengthen it. Cultural translators, on the other hand, attempted to fulfil what they perceived to be a need for cultural transfer in a community, with the purpose of furthering their own goals. In that process, they often challenged the established structures within which they functioned (Hung 2001).

Comparison between Cultural Translators and Government Translators

The difference between cultural translators and government translators not only lies in their cultural positioning but also extends to areas which challenge many of our basic assumptions about the language abilities of the translators and the translation process involved in producing the translated works. Hung thinks that the differences between the two types of translators were so significant that they led to a dual tradition in the history of translation in China (Hung 2001: 1). Such duality existed in the following:

(1) Linguistic Know-How

According to Hung, government translators in ancient China who undertook translation work assigned by the government were mostly bilingual. On the contrary, the majority of those engaged in Chinese cultural translation movements were monolingual. Cultural translators often relied on other people to solicit a gist of the original texts and they would express the ideas of the texts in the Chinese language, in which they were proficient (Hung 2001: 4–6).

(2) Mode of Operation

Government translators worked individually on the jobs assigned to them by the authorities of the institutions to which they belonged. Translators in junior ranks undertook to produce the drafts and the more senior officials were responsible for vetting and finalizing the texts. Cultural translators, including those who might be bilingual, were engaged in collaborative or team work. They had fixed patterns in their division of labour. Under this mode of operation and the participation of monolingual translators, the translation always had an oral component, meaning that those who understood texts of a foreign language would give the gist or rough idea of the source text orally for the cultural translators to translate into Chinese (Hung 2001: 4–6).

(3) Requirements of Their Work

Government translators had to follow established methods, format and approaches which were often prescribed explicitly by the authorities. The translators themselves were not allowed to deviate from the norm. Cultural translators were mostly free to explore and innovate. In fact, they were often obligated to do so in order to find a way to communicate with the ever-changing cultural climate of the host country (Hung 2001: 4–6).

(4) Materials to Be Translated

The materials to be translated by government translators were provided by their employer, i.e. the government institution responsible for translation tasks. Each translator would be assigned certain types of jobs according to his specialty and expertise. Cultural translators, on the other hand, had autonomy in choosing the materials to be translated. Those who worked in a team would translate the texts decided by the whole team and assigned to individual members (Hung 2001: 8).

(i) Intended Audience

Government translators worked to cater for small groups of audience prescribed by the senior government officials in specific situations or for specific events while cultural translators always looked beyond their immediate audience and aim to reach as many readers as they could.

(ii) Objective of Their Translation Efforts

In most cases, government translators aimed at getting promotion in the hierarchy of the institution through their translation career for personal gains. Cultural translators would like to disseminate new knowledge and ideas through the translated works of theirs (Hung 2001: 15).

(iii) Visibility

The work of government translators was linked to the system they served rather than to the translators themselves as individuals. Hence government translators were invisible and anonymous. In fact, few translation texts published by the government bore the name of the translator. Cultural translators had to boost their individual image and authority so that they could achieve the desired impact on a large present and future audience. Hence cultural translators tried hard to become public figures in order to achieve their goal of importing foreign culture through their translation efforts (Hung 2001: 4).

Although Hung makes no direct comparison between the quality of translation works produced by the two types of translators and says that "there is no direct correlation between the quality of translation and the nature and purpose of the work done", she has found numerous examples from the culturally-oriented translation movements showing that "there is never any true quality control for cultural translation work" while the translation work of career translators "had always set minimum standards and ensured a degree of regularity". Such difference "lies in the very nature and organization of these two types of activities" (Hung 2001: 4).

Hung points out that most translation studies and scholars focus on cultural translators because of the difference in visibility and cultural positioning between cultural translators and government translators. It is interesting to note that Hung finds the tradition of the government translator worth systematic study because "the path they followed is the same as that which lies ahead of most present-day graduates in translation and interpreting" (Hung 2001: 4).

Hong Kong has been a bilingual or multilingual society ever since it was ceded to Britain in 1842. The vast majority of the residents in the territory are Chinese, predominantly those from the neighbour counties in Guangdong Province who speak Cantonese (Cheung et al. 1993: 12). If we take the two written languages, namely English and Standard Written Chinese, as the languages in use in Hong Kong, we can see that translation has played a vital role in bridging the gap between the two groups of language users. On the other hand, interpretation services for speakers of various dialects of southern China living in Hong Kong and the English-speaking government officials are indispensable for effective communication between the two social groups.

While no data is readily available to indicate the quantity of translation works produced each year in Hong Kong, it is logical to assume that a large part of the translated texts are government-related papers. For example, in 2009, a total of 12,300,000 words were translated by the Official Language Officers of the Official Languages Division under the Civil

Services Bureau of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and over 14,000,000 words were produced by the Translation Officers of the Legislative Council Secretariat of the HKSAR. (Hong Kong Government 2009) Government translators are an important part in the translation sector of Hong Kong. The term "government translator" seems self-explanatory, as those who work for the government to provide translation services can be called "government translators", but the terms "government" and "translation" need more explicit definition and detailed description.

Status of Government Translators in the Translator's Charter

In their 1993 paper entitled "Professional translation in Hong Kong: how and by whom", Cheung et al. say that "faced with continued economic growth and the approach of 1997, Hong Kong's needs for translation and interpretation in government, community and business sectors are changing remarkably" (Cheung et al. 1993: 12). The paper does not give any specific definition for "professional translation"; nor does it define "professional translators", by whom professional translation is done. Such professional translators mentioned in the paper, however, do not seem to be "translators" as stipulated in the Translator's Charter of the International Federation of Translators.

Under Section I: General *obligations of the translator* in the Translator's Charter, it is clearly stated that 'translation, being an intellectual activity, the object of which is the transfer of literary, scientific and technical texts from one language into another, imposes on those who practice it specific obligations inherent in its very nature" (article 1); and "a translation shall always be made on the sole responsibility of the translator, whatever the character of the relationship of contract which binds him to the user" (article 2). In reality, in the case of most "professional translators" in Hong Kong, as employees of the companies or organizations they work for, and within the hierarchical structure, their translation works are subject to alteration by the original author, the supervisors of the original author and the translator's own supervisors. In other words, a translation is often not made on the sole responsibility of the translator at all.

As to the rights of the translator, Section II of the Translator's Charter stipulates that "a translation, being a creation of the intellect, shall enjoy the legal protection accorded to such works" (article 14) and "the translator is therefore the holder of copyright in his translation and consequently has the same privileges as the author of the original work" (article 15). Article 17 goes further to require that "he shall consequently enjoy during his lifetime the right to recognition of the authorship of the translation, from which it follows, *inter alia*, that (a) his name shall be mentioned clearly and unambiguously whenever his translation is used publicly; (b) he shall be entitled to oppose to any distortion, mutilation of other modification of his translation; (c) publishers and other users of his translation shall not make changes therein without the translator's prior consent; (d) he shall be entitled to prohibit any improper use of his translation and, in general, to resist any attack upon it that is prejudicial to his honour or reputation.

By virtue of the obligations and rights stated therein, the Translator's Charter has excluded the general "professional translators'" in Hong Kong from its ambit. What is more, the Recommendation on the Legal Protection of Translators and Translations and the Practical Means to Improve the Status of Translators duly adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization during its nineteenth session held in Nairobi in November 1976 bears the same effect of excluding the "professional translators" in Hong Kong.

While the definition of "professional translators" in the Translator's Charter is open to debate, Peter Chung adopts a pragmatic approach in discussing the translated texts, the processes involved in their production and the people engaged to produce them (Chung 2011).

Government Translators and Public Administration Translation Service Providers

In Hong Kong, some institutions funded by the public coffers do not consider themselves part of the government. For example, the legislature and the judiciary are independent of the Executive Authority and their staff members are excluded from the Civil Service establishment. Some other quasi-government organizations, such as the Airport Authority and the Hospital Authority, do not belong to the "government" in the narrow sense. These institutions, however, are limbs of the public administration. The translation work performed for them and by their staff is no different from that of the Executive Authority, which is in fact considered by the general public as "the government" as a whole. Hence the terms "Public Administration Translation" and "Public Administration Translation service provider" are used to avoid the ambiguity arising from the broad and narrow senses of the term "government".

Compared with the career translators in ancient China as mentioned by Hung in terms of characteristics, the translators engaged in the public sector of Hong Kong are similar to their counterpart in ancient China. A description of the translators in the public sector, i.e. Public Administration Translation service providers, in the framework devised by Hung in her discussion on government/career translators is given below:

(1) Linguistic Know-How

Translators in the public sector of Hong Kong are all bilingual, although the proficiencies of the languages involved may not be the same or balanced. Some of them may be more versant in Chinese while the others are more fluent in English. In the case of the Official Languages Officers of the Executive Authority, whose former titles were Chinese Language Officers, and the Translation Officers of the Legislative Council Secretariat, whose former titles were also Chinese Language Officers, the majority of them have higher proficiency in Chinese than in English.

(2) Mode of Operation

While individual translators mostly complete their translation assignments on their own, sometimes team work is involved, with a large job divided into smaller parts and shared among several officers; and it is an established practice that a finished assignment will be vetted, i.e. scrutinized or polished, by the translator's immediate supervisor, who is also a public officer but of a higher rank; and the vetted translation is subject to the approval or amendments of the author of the original text.

(3) Intended Audience

The translation works of the public officers cater mostly for consumption of the general public. The majority of the papers translated, which are usually from English to Chinese, especially before the 1997 Handover, are intended to be read by the Chinese population who may not be able to understand English. In some rare cases, the translation may be done for a small group of readers who cannot read the original text or prefer to read the text in the other language.

(4) Requirements of Their Work

Translators or interpreters in the public sector have to follow the established practices of their organizations, include the formats, approaches and "house styles"; there is virtually no room for individuality.

(5) Visibility

The work and products of the translators or interpreters in the public sector are all invisible and anonymous; one never knows who have been involved in the translation and vetting work.

Based on the above discussion, Public Administration Translation is defined by Peter Chung as: translation and interpretation activities performed by people working within the public sector, which include civil servants of the government, the legislature, the judiciary and other organs of public administration, and such activities bear the following characteristics:

(1) Nature of the Activities

The activities serve the purpose of facilitating public administration, either for the use of an individual officer or a group of officers, or for the use of the general public;

(2) Initiator of the Activities

The activities are initiated and requested by a client who may be a public officer or an organ of the public sector;

(3) Performer of the Activities

The translation duties are undertaken by the translation or interpretation department or division of a public organ and the duties can be performed by individual officers or in a collaborative manner;

(4) Products of the Activities

The products of the activities, i.e. the translated texts or the output of interpretation work, are usually standardized and consistent, without distinctive individual style[1] ; and

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1 This is called "invisible" in Hung's discussion on the visibility of government translators (Hung 2001: 4).

(5) Consumer of the Products

The products are to be used by an individual officer, a group of officers, or the general public in the process of public administration.

Features of Public Administration Translation

To establish Public Administration Translation as a genre of translation, it is necessary to identify its features and see how the working procedures involved give effect to such features.

About the features of Public Administration Translation, it is observed that this type of translation, in the written mode, is characterized with the following:

Diction

There are a large number of terms and jargons commonly used in official papers issued by the institutions of public administration. In addition to the names of officials and established organizations, in which no error should appear, common terms and less frequently used technical jargons are also standardized and kept consistent as much as possible. To achieve this, the Official Languages Division of the Hong Kong Government, which is responsible for the translation work within the Civil Service, has issued about twenty volumes of English-Chinese glossary that cover almost every aspect of public administration. Even the expressions of number, figures and date are prescribed in the guidelines issued to the officers involved in producing source texts and translated versions (Hong Kong Government 1991).

Syntax

The sentence structures of the translated texts, both from Chinese to English or vice versa, are comparatively longer and more complicated than ordinary writings of the target language, probably due to the influence of the source text and/or the translator's effort to avoid missing out important information contained in the source text.

Style

The translated texts usually adopt a formal style in which colloquial expressions, slangs and vulgar languages are avoided as much as possible. It is interesting to see that styles typical of official writings in English, such as the use of passive voice, probably to avoid mentioning the persons initiating unpopular policies or performing unwelcomed duties, are less common in texts translated from Chinese into English. This may also be the influence of the source text in Chinese, in which sentence subjects are usually explicit.

Work Procedures Involved in Public Administration Translation

The translation of official papers issued by the government and other public bodies is generally done by Public Administration Translation providers. As in all arms of the government, the procedures involved are strictly hierarchical, although such procedures are often labelled "bureaucracy".

When an officer wants to have a document translated, he or she has to get approval from his or her direct supervisor, whose duty is to ensure that there is genuine need for the job. Sometimes costs of the translation work will be charged to the office that made the request and received the service for budgeting and financial controlling purposes. In the process of making a request, the subject officer, i.e. the officer who has written the original text, is required to fill in a "Translation Request Form". The Request Form is then passed to the supervisor of the subject officer for approval of the request. The Request Form, together with the text to be translated, will be sent to the translation department/division/office.

Within the Executive Authority, which is generally called "the Government", several scenarios may arise because some government departments have translation officers posted in them while some others do not, although such officers are centrally deployed by the Official Languages Division now under the Civil Services Bureau.[2] The case may be more straight-forward if translation officers have been deployed to work in the department. The officer-in-charge of the translation division or translation office will receive the job, screen through the source text, check whether the time-frame indicated in the Request Form falls within the stipulated practice to ensure that the time allowed for the translation work is no shorter than that stated in the official guide-lines. Sometimes the subject officer and the translation officer have to negotiate to work

2 The title, status and affiliation of the Official Languages Division have changed a few times ever since its inauguration in 1974.

out an agreed time-frame for the production of the translation text. The translation work will then begin. The ground work, or the initial draft, is often done by an officer at a lower rank. In most government departments, the officers performing the translation duties are Official Languages Officers Class Two.[3]

Upon completion of the draft of the translated text, it will be passed to the supervisor of the translator for "vetting", which is the process in which the draft will be checked and corrected. Usually the supervisor is one rank higher than the translator but occasionally the vetting officer may be two or more ranks higher. Depending on the size and relative importance of the department, the rank of the officer-in-charge may range from Official Language Officer Class One to Chief Official Language Officer. There is only one Principal Official Language Officer within the Executive Authority, who is in charge of the entire Official Languages Officer grade and posted in the head office of the Official Languages Division.

When the vetting is done, the vetted text will be returned to the subject officer. In the past, especially before 1997, the translated text was regarded as duly rendered and final. It would be issued or put to its intended use. The subject officer would not be bothered with the translated text. The practice in recent years (i.e. after the year 2000) is that the subject officer will go over the translated text to see if it is acceptable and agreeable. If no amendments are required, the translated text will be issued, usually together with the source text. If the subject officer wants to make changes to the translated text, he or she may do so directly or ask the translation officer to consider amending it according to the subject officer's suggestion. The work procedures of Public Administration Translation can be summarized in the following eight steps:

1. Source text produced and translation service requested by subject officer;
2. Request Form approved by supervisor of subject officer;
3. Request Form and source text passed to officer-in-charge of the translation office;

3 At present, there are five ranks in the Official Languages Officer grade, namely OLOII, Official Languages Officer Class One, Senior Official Languages Officer, Chief Official Languages Officer and Principal Official Languages Officer.

4. Source text assigned to translation officer;
5. Translation work done by translation officer;
6. Draft of translated text vetted by supervisor(s) of translation officer[4] ;
7. Vetted translated text returned to subject officer;
8. Final checking and editing of the translated text by subject officer.

Sometimes proof-readers may be involved in the production of translated texts. For example, in the production of the Official Record of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, commonly known among government officials as the *Hong Kong Hansard* or *Hansard* in short, when the translated texts prepared by individual translation officers are compiled into a volume, some proof-readers will go through the translated texts to ensure the consistency of style and format of the whole volume.

The above description shows that four to five people may be involved before a translated text is produced and the final product is the collective work of the subject officer, the translator, the translator's supervisor or supervisors, and perhaps some proof-readers. Moreover, the text which is published or released eventually may often incorporate the input, or even the final decision, of the author of the source text (i.e. the subject officer) or his/her supervisor(s).

The Development of Public Administration Translation in Hong Kong

While the discussion in the previous sections are generic in nature, it is worthwhile to look at the development of Public Administration Translation in Hong Kong to have a better understanding of this newly defined genre. To track the changes in the functions and characteristics of Public Administration Translation in Hong Kong, the development of Public Administration Translation service providers is outlined and discussed below.

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4 For more important jobs, such as texts which will be issued to the public or used by senior officials, second or third vetting may be done by officers of higher ranks.

Translation and interpretation services have been required by the colonial government ever since its establishment in Hong Kong in 1842. According to government records, Public Administration Translation started in Hong Kong with interpretation service at the law courts. Although translation services were provided, as evidenced by the Chinese texts in the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* published since 1842, no official title of translators appeared on the Hong Kong Blue Book until the introduction of the Cadet Scheme in 1865. There is evidence that translation work in the early days of the colonial government was provided either by the Chinese members of the departments concerned or by expatriate scholars working for or affiliated to the colonial government. Such scholars included Thomas Wade, Ball and Dr. Eitel (Cheung 2005).

At present, five different grades of Public Administration Translation service providers are generally recognized in Hong Kong, namely:

(a) Official Languages Officer;
(b) Interpreter (Simultaneous Interpretation);
(c) Court Interpreter;
(d) Law Translation Officer; and
(e) Police Translator.

In addition to these five grades in the Civil Service establishment (i.e. the Executive Authorities) by which Public Administration Translation services are provided, similar grades are set up in other organizations funded by public coffers. For example, Translation Officers of various ranks are employed by the Legislative Council Commission to work at the Legislative Council Secretariat to provide translation and interpretation services to the Legislative Council and its members. Translation Officer grades also exist in other quasi-government organizations such as the Airport Authority and Hospital Authority. The salary scale of the various ranks in the grade can be different from their counterparts in the Civil Service. Except that of the Legislative Council, the staff sizes of the translation sections of other quasi-government organizations are relatively small, usually under twenty members.

Other than the existing five grades of Public Administration Translation service providers, posts related to Public Administration Translation services have been identified in the early years of Hong Kong before the Second World War although they were not regarded as grades in the colonial Civil Service. They were Interpreters of the law-courts and Government Interpreters. There was also the Interpreter/Translator grade, which was the predecessor of all the existing grades related to translation and interpretation services. Moreover, some posts whose duties involve translation from Cantonese to Standard Written Chinese are regarded as service providers of Public Administration Translation. They belong to the Chinese Transcriber grades of the Legislative Council Secretariat. Such duties are generally performed by holders of functional posts in the Clerical Officer grade in the Civil Service.

Interpreters of the Supreme Court and Magistracy in the Nineteenth Century

The founding of Hong Kong as a British colony was initially for commercial and trading purposes, and the tactics adopted by the colonists were to leave the local Chinese to take care of their own matters, except when the law as defined by the British was violated or peace of the place was disturbed (Tsang 2004: 7). The prime concern of the expatriate community in the newly established outpost was law and order. However, a major problem arose when local Chinese broke the colonial laws. The officials of the executive or judicial authorities were in general unable to communicate with the prosecuted brought before the police magistrate or the courts. In most cases, the local Chinese residents suffered (Tsang 2004: 9). Such deficiencies attracted the attention of the British government when the case of Registrar General Daniel Caldwell, the only senior official of the Hong Kong Government in the 1840s and 1850s who could speak Chinese, was revealed. He was found to have patronized local pirates and accepted bribes in performing his duties and exercising his powers. Upon the removal of Caldwell, none of the nine or ten interpreters employed by the colonial government had sufficient education qualifications or English proficiency to take over the duties of Caldwell or serve as a reliable government interpreter. It should be noted that Caldwell was able to speak Chinese, including Cantonese and some other dialects common in Southern China, but he could not write Chinese. Hence he only served as an interpreter and not a translator (Munn 2001: 305–28; Endacott 2005: 95–99; Tsang 2007: 50–52; and *Hong Kong Blue Books 1841–1865*).

It was the intent of the British government to make the senior civil servants of the colony, who were mostly European, to know Chinese and serve as the intermediary between the rulers and the ruled. In 1855, Lord John Russell, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies ruled that "no application for an increase of salary in the civil service of Hong Kong was to be made for any person who had not learnt Chinese" in order to ensure that the senior officials sent to Hong Kong were able to communicate with the overwhelming majority of the population. This was a financial measure adopted by the Colonial Office to make the colonial officers learn Chinese (Tsang 2007: 15–16). This measure, however, did not have much effect as the overwhelming majority of the senior officials in the colonial government remained monolingual although some did attend short courses in spoken Cantonese to fulfil the requirement for increase in salary (Munn 2009: 56).

Creation of the Interpreter/Translator Grade

Soon after the Second World War, the Interpreter/Translator grade was established under the Interpretation/Translation Unit of the Colonial Secretary's Office to facilitate communication with the rapidly booming Chinese population in Hong Kong. The grade was formally established in April 1950. but the *Staff Lists of the Hong Kong Government* issued in those years (i.e. 1947–1949) did not show any record of interpreters or translators in the Civil Service.

According to the *Staff List* of 1951, upon the creation of the Interpreter/Translator grade in November 1950, one Chief Interpreter was posted to the Supreme Court and fifteen Interpreter/Translators were appointed and posted to various departments. In addition to the Chief Interpreter, four more Interpreter/Translators were posted to the Supreme Court, one to the Kowloon Magistracy and another to the Hong Kong Magistracy. Four staff members of the grade were deployed to the Police Force, three to the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs,[5] one to the New

5 The Secretariat for Chinese Affairs was renamed the Home Affairs Department in 1971 because, according to the government, the department dealt not only with matters relating to the Chinese. For a long time, the department was the only channel of communication between the government and the Chinese people in Hong Kong. It used to be headed by the Registrar General, who was also called the "Protector of the Chinese" (Ho 2004).

Territories District Administration and another to the Labour Department (Hong Kong Government *Staff List* 1951). It is obvious that staff members of the Interpreter/Translator grade were essentially deployed to serve the law courts and the police force.

In 1955, the staff size of the Interpreter/Translator grade was one Chief Interpreter and twenty-four Interpreter/Translators. In the same year, the posts at the Supreme Court and the Magistracies were combined under the "Judiciary". In 1956, the post Chief Interpreter was removed and three posts at the rank Interpreter/Translator Class One were created. The three Class One posts were under the Judiciary, the New Territories District Administration and the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs respectively. The formerly Interpreter/Translators were re-titled Interpreter/Translator Class Two. (Hong Kong Government *Staff Lists* 1955, 1956) Although more Class Two posts were created, the proportion of the posts among the Judiciary, Police Force and the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs remained basically the same. The establishment of the grade expanded along with that of the Civil Service in general throughout the years until the 1970s (Chung 2003: 46).

In 1974, upon the enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance, the Interpreter/Translator grade was re-graded into the Chinese Language Officer grade. By that time, the total number of Chinese Language Officers at various ranks was around 200, and the total number of Court Interpreters at the Senior, Class One and Class Two ranks was about ninety (Hong Kong Government *Staff List* 1975).

The Official Languages Officer Grade

In 1972, after the adoption of the Chinese Language Committee Reports by the Government, posts of the Interpreter/Translator grade in the Judiciary were re-titled Court Interpreters. The Chinese Language Division, headed by the Commissioner for Chinese Language, was created under the Home Affairs Department in the same year. The Interpreter/Translator grade was detached from the Colonial Secretary's Office and placed under the Chinese Language Division (Ho 2004).

In 1974, upon the enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance, the remaining posts in the Interpreter/Translator grade were re-graded into the Chinese Language Officer grade. By that time, the number of Chinese Language Officers was around 200, and the number of Court

Interpreters was about ninety. After ten years, shortly after the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, the Chinese Language Division was put back under the Office of the Chief Secretary at the time, whose former name was Colonial Secretary's Office (Ho 2004).

In 1995, upon the recommendation of the Working Group to Review the Use of Chinese in the Civil Service, the Official Languages Agency was established under the Civil Service Bureau to take over the management of the Chinese Language Officer grade staff. The post of the Commissioner for Chinese Language was also re-titled Commissioner for Official Languages and its ranking was upgraded from Administrative Officer Staff Grade C to Administrative Officer Staff Grade B[6] (Ho 2004).

In 1996, the Government submitted to the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council a proposal on the creation of a Principal Chinese Language Officer post, re-grading the Chinese Language Officer grade into the Official Languages Officer grade, detaching the Chinese Language Division from the Chief Secretary's Office to form an independent department to be called Official Languages Agency and placing it under the Civil Service Branch, which is called the Civil Service Bureau after 1997. The justifications given by the Government to support its proposal to detach the Chinese Language Division from the Chief Secretary's Office reveal some significant changes in the government's language policies.

In 1999, a Principal Chinese Language Officer post was created in the Official Languages Agency to oversee the professional aspect of the Chinese Language Officer grade while the Commissioner for Chinese Language was responsible for the policy aspects of the Official Languages Agency (Chung 2003: 45).

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6 In the Civil Service system of Hong Kong, the ranks of civil servants are marked by the salary scale according to which they are paid. The salary scales of the officer grades range from point 10 to point 49 (as at 2009) of the Master Pay Scale. More senior posts belong to the Directorate ranks, ranging from D1 to D8, and the ranking of Administrative Officer grade staff, who are regarded as senior government officials starts with Administrative Officer, Senior Administrative Officer, Administrative Officer Staff Grade C, Administrative Officer Staff Grade B, Administrative Officer Staff Grade B1 and finally Administrative Officer Staff Grade A.

In June 2003, the Chinese Language Officer grade was re-graded into the Official Languages Officer grade. The new titles of the grade were Principal Official Languages Officer, Chief Official Languages Officer, Senior Official Languages Officer, Official Languages Officer Class One and Official Languages Officer Class Two respectively. The Official Languages Agency has been downgraded to the Official Language Division since 2003 although it remains under the Civil Service Bureau (Chung 2003: 46–47).

The Court Interpreter Grade

Although court interpreters have been working in the law courts of Hong Kong since the colony was founded in 1842, the Court Interpreter grade was not created until 1972. Before that, interpreters for the law courts were deployed from the staff of the Interpreter/Translator grade, which was established in 1950 under the Interpretation/Translation Unit of the Colonial Secretary's Office (Hong Kong Government *Staff Lists* 1950–1972). In fact, about one third of the staff members of Interpreter/Translator grade were *de facto* court interpreters.

According to a paper provided by the Judiciary Administrator to the Legislative Council in April 2004, the Judiciary had 163 full-time Court Interpreters, including two Chief Court Interpreters, thirty-nine Senior Court Interpreters, sixty-one Court Interpreters Class One and sixty-one Court Interpreters Class Two in 2003. They were responsible for providing oral interpretation between English and Cantonese and for translation and certification services in the Judiciary. Amongst the 163 full-time Court Interpreters, 138 officers were qualified interpreters in Putonghua, twenty in Chiu Chow, six in Shanghainese, six in Hakka, four in Amoy, four in Hoklo, two in Toishan, one in Hainan and one in Foo Chow (Judiciary Administrator 2004).

The Judiciary also maintains a register of part-time interpreters providing interpretation and translation in thirty-six languages and seventeen Chinese dialects. There were 402 registered part-time interpreters in 2012. Upon a request for interpretation service in court in a foreign language or a Chinese dialect for which a full-time Court Interpreter was not available, the Judiciary would make arrangements for a part-time interpreter to provide the service, who would be paid at a stipulated hourly rate.

Concerns about the Quality of Court Interpreters

The quality of court interpreters has always been put in doubt ever since they were employed to do their jobs. As early as 1841, in the September number of *Blackwood's Magazine*, an article entitled "Chinese Interpreters" already brought up the issue of Chinese interpreters and their translation, which Norton-Kyshe considered to be a matter of public importance up to the 1950s in the Colony and one of the "grossest of all abuses" (Norton-Kyshe 1971: 10). The writer of the article, an Englishman living in Hong Kong at the time, thinks that "the delusion as to facts are theirs; but we ourselves are exposed to the most serious delusions as to the Chinese meaning, by the mendacious qualities of those translations which we consent to receive from our interpreters". In his view, the "manifestly British" interpreters in the courtrooms were "palpably falsifiers" who knew "little enough, perhaps, of the oral Chinese" and "at all events, the translations themselves are good evidence that the translators are falsifiers". However, there was "nobody on our part to make a sceptical review of the translation" in which "sentiments, the most impossible to a Chinese mind pervade the whole documents". His conclusion is that "we shall never obtain one glimmer of the Chinese meaning, nor they of ours, if some remedy is not instantly applied to the grossest of all abuses" (Norton-Kyshe 1971: 10–11).

In 2004, the Chairman of Legislative Council Panel on Administration of Justice and Legal Services[7] expressed concerned about an incident in which a Magistrate ordered a case to be re-tried because he was not satisfied with the performance of the part-time interpreter. The Panel requested information on the case and the Judiciary Administrator, head of the department responsible for the administrative matters of law courts, made a reply. The case in question was a criminal trial in the Shatin Magistrates' Courts on 28 January 2004. The defendant was charged with

7 Legislative Council Panels are committees set up by the Legislative Council to monitor specified policy areas of the Government. These panels meet regularly, usually once a month and government officials in charge of the policy areas concerned will attend panel meetings to explain government policies. The Panel on Administration of Justice and Legal Services is one of them. In 2010, eighteen Legislative Council Panel have been set up (*Legislative Council Commission Report 2010*).

two counts of common assault, one court of inflicting grievous bodily harm and one count of assault occasioning actual bodily harm. When the first witness for the prosecution gave evidence in the Indonesian language, the Judiciary supplied a part-time interpreter to provide interpretation of the Indonesian language into Cantonese. However, the Magistrate was dissatisfied with the interpretation of the part-time interpreter and ordered that the case be re-tried and the trial date be re-fixed on 18 and 19 March 2004. The proceedings of the retrial were smooth when another part-time interpreter who could speak the Indonesian language and Cantonese was deployed to provide interpretation. The first interpreter was eventually suspended from service for two months (Judiciary Administrator 2004).

The Law Translator Grade

Translation service has always been required in the legal service of the government. Before the creation of the Law Translation Officer grade in 1989, Chinese Language Officers were posted in the Legal Department, which was headed by the Attorney General[8] (Hong Kong Government Staff List 1989).

According to Report No. 22 (1988) of the Standing Commission on Civil Service Salaries and Condition of Service (SCCSSC) of the Hong Kong Government, the Executive Council endorsed in 1985 the proposals for the enactment of future legislation in both English and Chinese and for the production of an authentic Chinese translation of all existing legislation. The Executive Council set a target for the project to be completed by 1992. The Legal Department set up a team to undertake the task in 1986. It comprised lawyers and officers from the Chinese Language Officer grade who had to undergo intensive training in legal studies and language (SCCSSC 1988).

The Attorney General found it necessary to establish a special grade of law translators in the Legal Department to undertake translation of the

8 Since July 1997, the Attorney General (律政司) has been re-titled the Secretary for Justice (律政司司長), and the Legal Department (律政署) has been renamed the Department of Justice (律政司). It is interesting to see that the Chinese post of the Attorney General has become the Chinese name of the department that he or she heads.

laws. He thought that the production of an authentic Chinese version of the legislation was different from normal translation undertaken by officers of the Chinese Language Officer grade. He further considered that a special departmental grade of law translator was required to avoid its members being subject to transfer to other departments and to ensure the continuity of staff engaged in translating the laws of Hong Kong. Upon endorsement of the Standing Commission on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Civil Service, the new grade entitled Law Translation Officer was created under the Legal Department in 1989 (SCCSSC 1998).

As the team set up in 1986 to translate the laws of Hong Kong comprised lawyers and Chinese Language Officers with intense training in law and language, the Chinese Language Officers posted to the Legal Department were accorded priority in applying for posts in the newly created Law Translation Officer grade. The *Staff Lists* of the Hong Kong Government between 1986 and 1990 show that ten out of the eighteen Law Translation Officers were Senior Chinese Language Officers deployed to the Legal Department, two others were Chinese Language Officers Class One serving in the department, and only six of them were newly recruited from other translation-related grades in the Civil Service.

The Interpreter (Simultaneous Interpretation) Grade

The Interpreter (Simultaneous Interpretation) grade was created in 1972 upon the recommendation of the Chinese Language Committee in its *Fourth (and Final) Report* published in 1971 (Chung 2003: 34–35). The grade was renamed Simultaneous Interpreter and the Chief Conference Interpreter rank was deleted in July 2003.

It is worth noting that ever since the creation of the grade in 1972, there has been difficulty in recruitment of simultaneous interpreters[9] because of the specialist skills required for simultaneous interpretation.[10] As one of the professional, degree and related grades, the Interpreter (Simultaneous Interpretation) grade has the highest salary for new recruits at the entry rank in the Civil Service.

9 *Hong Kong Hansard* (18 February 1984): 559.

10 Joint Secretariat for the Advisory Bodies on Civil Service and Judicial Salaries and Conditions of Service (JSSCS) Report 25: 7.

The duties of Simultaneous Interpreters are:

(a) to provide simultaneous interpretation service at meetings of the Legislative Council, District Councils and other Government boards and committees and at press conferences, conferences, functions and visits;
(b) to assist in administering and coordinating activities related to the provision of simultaneous interpretation service;
(c) to compile glossaries for reference; and
(d) to assist in the recruitment exercises and training of simultaneous interpreters.

Qualification Requirement

At present, the entry requirements for Simultaneous Interpreter are that they should:

(a) have a bachelor's degree from a Hong Kong university, or equivalent[11] ;
(b) have attained "Level 2" results in the two language papers (Use of Chinese and Use of English) in the Common Recruitment Examination;
(c) have seven years' post-qualification experience;
(d) be fully proficient in Chinese (Cantonese and preferably Putonghua) and English;
(e) be able to interpret simultaneously with precision and at a great speed from English into Cantonese and preferably Putonghua, and vice versa; and
(f) pass the Simultaneous Interpretation Test which consists simultaneous interpretation aided with text and attend a briefing/practice session which consists of three parts, namely simultaneous interpretation of ad-lib discussions and speeches, and speech giving.

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11 Holders of academic qualifications other than those obtained from Hong Kong institutions / Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority may also apply but their qualifications will be subject to assessments on equivalence with the required entry qualifications.

Officers already proficient in Putonghua are required to provide Putonghua interpretation in due course. Officers not yet proficient in Putonghua upon appointment are required to provide Putonghua simultaneous interpretation service after training. Simultaneous Interpreters are required to work irregular hours and/or outside Hong Kong, wear headphones and operate console while working.

The Police Translator Grade

When the grade was created in 1962, it was established as a Group I grade of the School Certificate grades. The pay scale of Police Interpreter Class Two was set at point 10 to 20 of the Master Pay Scale then and the scale for Police Interpreter Class One and Senior Police Interpreter were point 21 to 26 and point 27 to 32 respectively.[12]

According to the Hong Kong Government Staff List 1963, none of the Police Interpreters Class One appointed in 1962 were new recruits. The twenty-nine Police Interpreters Class One joined the Civil Service between 1946 and 1956. In other words, they had been serving in the grade for at least six years before their appointment as Police Interpreters Class One, whose salary scale was Master Pay Scale point 21 to 26. Five of them had already reached the maximum point when they were appointed.

The pay scale of the Police Interpreter grade has been quite stable, with only slight adjustment in the maximum point of Police Interpreters Class One from point 20 to point 22, and the starting point of Senior Police Interpreters was raised from point 21 to point 23 in 1980. The Police Interpreter grade was re-graded as the Police Translator grade in 1998.

Duties of Police Translators

The review report of the Standing Committee on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service published in July 1985 summarizes the duties of the Police Translator grade as:

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12 JSSCS Report No. 1 (1979): 48.

> Most of the staff of the grade are deployed in the report rooms of Police Stations or in sections dealing with criminal investigation matters and their main responsibilities are to provide interpretation and translation services for police officers, to translate into English all statements taken in Chinese, in some cases for presentation in court and to undertake minor clerical and typing duties.[13]

In the recruitment advertisement for Police Translator II in 2009, it is stated that:

> A Police Translator II is mainly deployed on performing translation, interpretation and preparation of charge sheets duties in Police Stations, Crime offices or any other Formation/Unit as required.
>
> Note: A Police Translator II is required to work shifts (including night shifts).

A comparison between the description of duties in 1985 and that for 2009 shows that Police Translators Class Two are more focused on translation and interpretation duties, including the preparation of charge sheets involves mainly translating the charges from Chinese into English. They are no longer required to undertake minor clerical and typing duties.

Pay Scale of Police Translators

The pay scales of the Police Translator grade are approximately one rank below those of the Official Languages Officer and Court Interpreter grades. In fact, the staff of the Police Interpreter grade wrote to the Standing Commission on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service in 1979 and compared themselves with other grades involved in interpretation and translation work, e.g. the Chinese Language Officers and Court Interpreters. However, the Standing Committee did not accept such comparison as it considered that the qualifications and level of interpretation and translation skills required for other grades were higher than those of the Police Interpreters.[14]

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13 Standing Commission on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service Report No. 14: 51.

14 Standing Commission on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service Report No. 9: 22.

In 1985, the Standing Committee on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service published the result of a review on the Police Interpreter grade conducted by the Administration in conjunction with the management of the Police Force. The Administration asked the Standing Committee to advise on the proposed changes in the entry qualification and pay structure of the grade.[15]

In the Report No. 26 of the Standing Committee on Civil Service Salaries and Conditions of Service entitled "Third and Final Report on 1989 Salary Structure Review", it is stated on the part about Police Interpreter that:

> This grade is experiencing serious recruitment and retention difficulties. To tackle the problem, we suggest that the appointment requirements should be revised. The existing requirement of a minimum of Grade C in both English and Chinese Language in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination appears too stringent. We also recommend that candidates with a relevant higher qualification such as a diploma in Language or Translation but without the requisite experience should also be accepted for appointment to help recruitment.

The Standing Committee's recommendations were accepted and implemented by the government. They resulted in the changes in the qualification requirement for Police Translator Class Two applicants in 1989 and the increment in the maximum salary points of Senior Police Translator.

Findings from the Development of Public Administration Translation in Hong Kong

All Grades Except the Police Translator Grade Share the Same History

It can be seen that all Public Administration Translation service providers within the Civil Service provide translation and/or interpretation services internally and/or externally. The different grades share the same history and are closely related.

Before the creation of the Interpreter/Translator grade after the

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15 Ibid.: 2.

Second World War, interpretation work for the law courts was undertaken by interpreters of the Supreme Court and the Magistracies, although they were not put together to form a grade and managed under one establishment. Internal translation and interpretation work was not required as English was the sole language of communication within the colonial government. Theoretically all civil servants should speak English, and in fact all staff at officer rank or above were required to speak and write English when they communicated with their English-speaking superiors. Even the minor staff should be able to understand and speak simple English. As to external communication, it is understood that the day-to-day contact with the Chinese population was performed by the Chinese clerks and front-line officers, who would also serve as interpreters or translators when the English-speaking senior officers had to communicate with the Chinese residents. Obviously, such interpretation and translation duties were ad hoc ones and not performed by staff of a designated grade.

There was a General Clerical Service grade in the 1940s and early 1950s before the creation of the Interpreter/Translator grade in 1950. It is believed that the staff members of the General Clerical Service grade were *de facto* interpreters and translators deployed to the departments with direct contact with the Chinese population, including the Magistracies, Treasury, Secretariat of Chinese Affairs, Inland Revenue Department, Police Force, Prisons, etc.

After the creation of the Interpreter/Translator grade, the development of various grades of Public Administration Translation services is clear. In 1972, after the adoption of the Chinese Language Committee Reports, the staff members of the Interpreter/Translator grade deployed to the courts were detached to form the Court Interpreter grade. In 1974, upon enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance, the remaining posts in the Interpreter/Translator grade were re-graded into the Chinese Language Officer grade. Therefore, the Court Interpreter grade and the Chinese Language Officer grade stemmed from the Interpreter/Translator grade.

The creation of the Law Translation Officer grade in 1989 was task-specific. Most staff members of the grade were Chinese Language Officers deployed to the Legal Department and they were tasked to translate the laws enacted before 1985, which were written in English only.

The Simultaneous Interpreter grade also stemmed from the

Interpreter/ Translator grade. Mr. Cheng Yang-ping was appointed Chief Interpreter (Simultaneous Interpretation) in 1972 upon creation of the grade. He was promoted to Conference Interpreter and participated in the negotiation between Britain and China over the future of Hong Kong in the early 1980s.

The Police Translator grade, which was created in 1962 as Police Interpreter grade, has a history of its own. It was established as a Group I grade of the School Certificate grades. The qualification requirements and salary scales of Police Translators have been lower than those of the grades mentioned above. Moreover, according to the Hong Kong Government *Staff List* 1963, none of the Police Interpreters Class One appointed in 1962 were new recruits. They had been performing interpretation and translation duties in the Police Force for at least six years before their appointment as Police Interpreters Class One. It is believed that before the creation of the Police Interpreter grade, the interpretation and translation work in the Police Force was performed by the Chinese clerks, whose qualification requirement was at School Certificate level.

Separation of Grades as an Indicator of Separation of Powers

The separation of Official Languages Officer grade and Court Interpreter grade can be seen as a sign of the colonial Government's intention and effort for the separation of powers. The Court Interpreter grade has been under the Judiciary and managed by the Judiciary Administrator while the Chinese Language Officer grade is managed by the Executive Authority and serves it departments. The detachment of the Chinese Language Officers posts in the newly established Legislative Council Secretariat in 1994 was a further step in the separation of powers among the Executive Authority, the Judiciary and the Legislature.

The Case of the Police Translator Grade

The Police Translator grade is a special case, and it highlights the importance attached to the Police Force by the Executive Authority. In fact, some Official Languages Officers have been posted to the Police Force and the staff members of the two grades perform different duties and they have no subordination relationship. Police Translators are responsible for duties arising from the exercising of the powers of the Police Force while the

Official Languages Officers are tasked to translate documents and perform interpretation duties for administration purposes. The difference in the pay of the two grades may be interpreted as the importance attached to the duties performed by the staff members of the respective grades. It will be an interesting study to examine whether there are linguistic differences between the output of the two grades that warrant the difference in their salary scales.

Development of Public Administration Translation as a Response to Government Policies

It is clearly shown in the history of the grades of Public Administration Translation service providers in the Civil Service of Hong Kong that the creation and development of the grades are closely related to the contemporary government policies. The Cadet Scheme was a response to the government's policy of rule by segregation, while the Interpreter/Translator grade was created in early 1950s to implement the policy of rule by inclusion. The split of the Court Interpreter and Chinese Language Officer grades from the Interpreter/Translator grade, as well as the creation of the Simultaneous Interpretation grade in the early 1970s, was made upon the recommendation of the Chinese Language Committee. The creation of the Law Translation Officer grade in 1989 was a response to the order made in 1985 by the Executive Council for the enactment of future legislation in both English and Chinese and for the production of an authentic Chinese translation of all existing legislation. The formation of the Putonghua unit in the Official Language Agency caters for the political needs of the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China.

As a conclusion, it is suggested that Public Administration Translation is a genre which serves for and responses to government language policies.

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7 Translating Chinese Famous Quotes into English*

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Introduction

In practical translation, such as in the translation of speeches and biographies, and in literary translation, such as in the translation of stories and novels, translators often have to translate famous poems, lines of poems or sayings from classics or well-known works, and these are collectively known as "famous quotes in Chinese writings".

Some works, like short poems, are wholly translated, such as the following poem:

王之渙：〈登黃鶴樓〉

白日依山盡，黃河入海流。
欲窮千里目，更上一層樓。

Wang Zhihuan: "Climbing up the Yellow Crank Tower"

The sun is going down behind the mountains.
The Yellow River is flowing into the sea.
If you want to stretch your sight to a thousand miles,
You have to climb up one more storey of the tower.

[My translation]

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Others, mostly lines or sayings from famous works, are translated without the full context, such as the following lines:

杜甫：〈寄李十二白二十韻〉

筆落驚風雨，詩成泣鬼神

Du Fu: "Twenty Songs to Li Bai"

When Li Bai puts pen to paper, he stuns the wind and rain;
When he finishes a poem, he moves ghosts and gods to tears.

Thus, it can be seen from the above that "Chinese famous quotes" refers to quotations from Chinese classics, poems, prose-poems, and other types of writings which are frequently or specifically cited in practical and literary works to convey what the author intends to bring out in a specific context. Translating the best-known lines in the best-known works of the best-known poets and writers throughout the ages is both a great challenge and a source of great enjoyment.

This chapter is divided into two parts: Part 1 examines the characteristics of Chinese poetry and discusses the methods we use in translating poems and sayings in their entirety; and Part 2 takes the book I translated, entitled *Famous Sayings Cited by Wen Jiabao*, as an example to illustrate the issues relating to the translation of famous quotes in Chinese writings.

Part 1: Translating Well-known Poems

What Is Poetry Translation?

Before we discuss the methods of translating quotations, a more general introduction to poetry translation seems in order. Simply put, poetry translation is the translation of different types of poems from one language into another. As we all know, poetry is generally regarded as the most difficult genre to translate (Lefevere 1995: 747–57). This is closely related to the poetic language that is used to express ideas and feelings of the poets, which has several characteristics. First, poetry has a dense structure. Second, due to the rigid format that is used in poetic composition, the grammar and lexicon are often expanded. Third, the personal feelings expressed by the poet might not be fully appreciated by the reader of the original, and even less by readers of the translated versions.

The Translatability of Poems

It is due to the above issues that several questions concerning poetry translation have frequently been asked. First, is poetry translatable? It is often said that poetry is a kind of writing which is not translatable (Wang 1984: 837–88). But judging by the actual translations of poetry in various parts of the world, it may not be possible for us to make the statement that poetry is beyond translation. Two more questions can also be asked: what standards are there for us to achieve and how many methods are to be used to produce a good translation of the original?

Standards in Poetry Translation

Standards in poetry translation are different from those in other genres of writings, such as commercial translation or legal translation. The focus of poetry translation is on the reproduction of form and spirit of the source text. Some theorists hold the view that formal resemblance (*xing si* 形似) is most important, others favour spiritual resemblance (*shen si* 神似), and still others believe that both formal and spiritual resemblance should be emphasized (*shen xing jian si* 神形兼似).

Formal Resemblance

To reproduce the form of the original, to the neglect of its contents, is formal resemblance. There is no lack of believers in formal resemblance in the modern and contemporary period, such as Chen Zuwen (Ch'en Tsu-wen) 陳祖文 in Taiwan (Ch'en 1971), Bian Zhilin 卞之琳 (1984: 188–95), Zhou Xuliang 周煦良 (1984: 972–86), Qian Chunqi 錢春綺 (1986: 300–314) in China, and John Turner (1976) in Hong Kong. They all believe that poetry should be rendered formally as poetry, and this balance of form can best convey the meanings, the syntax as well as the flowing cadence of the original. Poetry translation, according to Bian Zhilin, must strive to retain the form of the original, which is one way of enriching the syntactical structure of the target language (Bian 1989: 64–70). To advocates of formal resemblance, the most important elements of poetry are the rules and forms, or the tonal pattern and rhyme schemes and other devices. It is therefore imperative to keep these features in the translated texts, otherwise it will lead to the vulgarization of language and loss of formal beauty. To Qian Chunqi, formal transplantation 形式移植 is not only necessary for readers to appreciate the original text in its entirety, but also essential for local poets to infuse foreign structures to their composition (Qian 1986: 300–314). Chen Zuwen's translation of a section of *Paradise Lost* serves to show how form is being transplanted on the Chinese soil (Chen 1969: 34–35).

Pleasant the sun,
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beam, on herb, tree, fruit and flower
Glistering with dew; fragrant the fertile earth
After soft showers, and sweet the coming-on
Of grateful evening mild; then silent night,
With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
And these gems of Heaven, her starry train

可喜的是朝日
初生，在這歡樂之地，他散布
他東方的光線，在草上、樹上、果上、花上
（這些都閃着露珠）；清香的是陣陣
輕雨後的沃土，甜美的是溫柔
宜人的黃昏；接着來了靜夜，
還有這壯嚴的鳥，還有這美麗的月亮，
以及這滿天的寶石（隨侍她的星群）。

The idea of formal resemblance can also be applied to the translation of Chinese poems into English, as demonstrated by the efforts of John Turner (1976).

城北仲家翁
渠家多酒肉
仲翁婦死時
吊客漢堂屋
仲翁自身亡
能無一人哭
吃他栖欎者
何太冷心腹

> Old Jones who lived on the North Side
> Kept a most hospitable table:
> The night Old Jones's missus died
> His house was thronged from floor to gable.
> But now old Jones himself is dead,
> No, not a tear for him is shed.
> From those who swilled his wines and food
> One would expect more gratitude.

Spiritual Resemblance

To closely recapture the spirit of the original poem is known as spiritual resemblance in poetry translation. According to Fu Lei 傅雷, a translator must endeavour to achieve spiritual closeness rather than formal closeness (Fu 1981: 68). His translations show that it is possible to achieve equivalence free from the bondage of the original form (*li xing de xi* 離形得似). A further step in this direction is the idea of "sublimation" (*hua jing* 化境) proposed by Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (Qian 1986) who says:

> The highest standard of literary translation is "sublimation" by which I mean to transfer the language of a text into another language without any trace of stiltedness resulting from differences in usage and at the same time retaining all the flavour of the original.

Representative of this group of scholars were the views of Mao Dun 茅盾 who pointed out in 1954 that one of the most important considerations in literary translation is to reproduce the spirit of the original:

> Literary works are a kind of art created in language. What we demand of them is not merely the recording of concepts and incidents. Besides these, they should possess artistic images which are attractive to the reader. In other words, the reader must have a strong feeling towards the characters' thoughts and behaviour through the artistic images portrayed in their literary works. Literary translation is to reproduce the original artistic images in another language so that the reader of the translation may be inspired, moved, and aesthetically entertained in the same way as one reads the original.
>
> Naturally, such a translation is not purely a technical change in the form of language, but it requires that the translator realize the author's process of artistic creation, grasp the spirit of the original, find the most appropriate confirmation in his own thought, feeling and experience, and reproduce fully and correctly the content and form of the original in a literary language suited

to the original style.… Since the main task of literary translation lies on the faithful reproduction of the spirit and features of the original, such creative artistic translation is quite necessary. (Mao 1986: 7–12)

Formal-Spiritual Resemblance

In poetry translation, scholars such as Jiang Feng 江楓 (1990: 15–18) and Xu Yuanzhong 許淵沖 (1993: 23–28) hold the view that both form and spirit should be retained in the translation These middle-of-the-roaders believe that a translation must resemble the original closely in form and in spirit, because form and contents are not independent variables and that one can be neglected in favour of the other.

Jiang Feng's translation of Percy Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" is illustrative of his effort to reproduce the form and spirit of the original text in the translation (1987: 324–25):

Percy Shelley: "Ode to the West Wind"

IV

If I were a dead leaf thou mightiest bear;
If I were a swift cloud to fly with thee;
A wave to pant beneath thy power, and share
The impulse of thy strength, only less free
Than thou, O uncontrollable! If even
I were as in my boyhood, and could be
The comrade of thy wandering over Heaven,
As then, when to outstrip thy skiey speed
Scare seemed a vision; I would ne'er have striven.

我若是一朵輕捷的浮雲能和你同飛
我若是一片落葉，你所能提攜，
我若是一頭波浪能喘息於你的神威，
分享你雄強的脈搏，自由不羈，
僅次於，哦，僅次於不可控制的你；
我若像在少年時，作為伴侶，
隨你同游天際，因為在那時節，
似乎超越你天界的神速也不為奇蹟；
我也就不至像現在這樣急切。

Xu Yuanzhong also holds the view that the best translation of a poem is to render both the form and spirit of the original, and it is important that the beauty of the source text is fully conveyed to the reader. To Xu, a translated poem should be semantically, phonologically and formally as beautiful as the original and this is known as the "three beauties" (*san mei* 三美) in poetry translation (Xu 1983). Semantic beauty is not to transmit only the surface meaning, but also the deeper meaning by the methods of generalization (*qian hua* 淺化), specialization (*shen hua* 深化), and equalization (*deng hua* 等化) (known collectively as the "three types of -lizations", *san hua* 三化) as demonstrated by the following translation:

王勃：〈杜少府之任蜀州〉

城闕輔二秦，風煙望五津。
與君離別意，同是宦游人。
海內存知己，天涯若比鄰。
無為在歧路，兒女共沾巾。

You'll leave the town walled far and wide
For mist-veiled land by riverside
I feel on parting sad and drear
For both of us are strangers here.
If you've on earth a bosom friend,
He's near to you though at world's end.
At the crossroads we bid adieu.
Do not shed tears as women do.

The semantic beauty of the translation is achieved by generalizing *san Qin* 三秦 and *wu Jing* 五津 as "town walled" and "land by river", by specializing *yu jun li bie yi* 與君離別意 as "parting sad and drear", and by equalizing *tian ya* 天涯 as "at world's end".

Phonological beauty in poetry translation can be achieved by firstly, the use of rhyme, as in the following poem written by Li Bai:

李白：〈靜夜思〉

床前明月光，疑是地上霜。
舉頭望明月，低頭思故鄉。

Abed, I see a silver light,
I wonder if it's frost aground.
Looking up, I find the moon bright,
Bowing, in homesickness I'm drowned.

Secondly, by the reproduction of reiterative words:

韋承慶：〈南行別弟〉

淡淡長江水，悠悠遠客情。
落花相與恨，到地一無聲。

Coolly, coolly the River Long rolls on;
Sadly, sadly for a far place I'm bound.
Our deep regret is shared by flowers blown
Off which fall mutely, mutely on the ground.

And thirdly, by the keeping of rhythm:

趙瑕：〈江樓感懷〉

獨上江樓思渺然，月光如水水如天。
同來望月人何處？風景依舊似去年。

Alone I mount the Riverside Tower and sigh
To see the moonbeams blend with waves and waves with the sky.
Last year I came to view the moon with my compeers,
But where are they now that the scene is like last year's?

Formal beauty, on the other hand, can be achieved by rendering the original form, seven-character four-line regular poems, into lines with twelve syllabi each, and five-character four-line poems, ten syllabi. If lines in the original poem are uneven in length, the unevenness will be kept in the translation.

王建：〈望夫石〉

望夫處，江悠悠。
化為石，不回頭。
山頭日日風復雨，行人歸來石應語。

Waiting for him alone
Where the river goes by,
She turns into a stone
Gazing with longing eye.
Atop the hill from day to day come wind and rain,
The stone should speak to see her husband come again.

Another important principle to follow is to keep the parallelism in the original.

杜甫：〈登高〉

風急天高猿嘯哀，渚清沙白鳥飛回。
無邊落木蕭蕭下，不盡長江滾滾來。
萬里悲秋常作客，百年多病獨登台。
艱難苦恨繁霜鬢，潦倒新停濁酒杯。

The wind so swift, the sky so steep, sad gibbons cry;
Water so clear and sand so white, backward birds fly.
The boundless forest sheds its leaves shower by shower;
The endless river rolls its waves hour after hour.
Far from home in autumn, I'm grieved to see my plight;
After my long illness, I climb alone this height.
Living in hard times, at my frosted hair I pine;
Pressed by poverty, I give up my cup of wine.

Ideally, a creative translation of a poem will have the voice of the translator heard, as suggested by John Nims. The following translation of Liu Zongyuan's poem by Bynner (1929) is cited as an example of creative translation.

柳宗元：〈江雪〉

千山鳥飛絕，萬徑人蹤滅。
孤舟蓑笠翁，獨釣寒江雪。

Liu Zongyuan: "River-snow"

A hundred mountains and no birds,
A thousand paths without a footprint;
A little boat, a bamboo cloak,
An old man fishing in the cold river-snow.

Methods of Poetry Translation

Several methods have been suggested in putting a poem into the target language. These methods include phonological translation, literal translation, rhymed translation, prose translation, metrical translation, interpretation, and blank verse translation.

Phonological Translation

Phonological translation is a method used in poetry translation which attempts to reproduce the sound of the source language in the target language while producing an acceptable paraphrase of the sense. André Lefevere has made a remark on this method (1975: 19):

> Celia and Louis Zukofsky's translation of Catullus opens with the following preface: "This translation of Catullus follows the sound, rhythm and syntax of his Latin—tries, as is said, to breathe the 'literal meaning with him.' Fidelity to the source text means, purely and simply, fidelity to its sound, to the near exclusion of all other elements.

As Chinese and English are not cognate languages, the usefulness of this method is doubtful. The following is "Moonlit Night" (*yue ye* 月夜) by Du Fu in Hanyu Pinyin Romanization:

jin ye Fu Zhou yue	今夜鄜州月
gui zhong zhi du kan	閨中只獨看
yao lian xiao er nu	遙憐小兒女
wei jie yi Chang An	未解憶長安
xiang wu yun huan shi	香霧雲鬟濕
qing hui yu bi han	清輝玉臂寒
he shi yi xu huang	何時倚虛幌
shuang zhao lei hen gan	雙照淚痕乾

No useful purpose is served by transliterating the entire poem into Hanyu Pinyin Romanization, particularly when the main purpose of translation is to introduce the poem to the English-reading public. Phonologically, it is clear from the Romanization that lines 2, 4, 6, and 8 rhyme. And in the translation of poems in which the sound element plays an important part, the onomatopoetic effects can actually be felt with the reproduction of individual phonemes.

Literal Translation

Literal translation is a translation method which renders the primary meaning of each individual word while retaining all the syntactic features of the source-language text. In a literal translation, the linguistic structure of the source text is followed, but is normalized according to the rules of the target language. Literal translation ranges from morpheme-for-morpheme translation, word-for-word translation, phrase-for-phrase translation, and clause-for-clause translation. The smaller the unit, the greater the literalness. Literal translation adheres to the form and syntactic structure of the original. All the words of the source language are translated into the target language, taking, however, no account of the context. It is grammatically possible but stylistically awkward. Literal translation is the translation of the primary meaning of each individual word while retaining all the syntactic features of the source-language text. Peter Newmark, when explicating his ideas of semantic and communicative translation, says that "in communicative and semantic translation, provided that equivalent-effect is secured, the literal word-for-word translation is not only the best, it is the only valid method of translation" (1988: 68–80).

Literal translation is a proper procedure to fill up the cultural gaps in translation and a transparent method to spread the influence of the source culture on the target culture (Chan 1998: 66–73).

Rhymed Translation

This is to rhyme a translation according to the schemes of the target language to create the poetic flavour. The following is a poem translated by John Turner.

弄文罹文網
抗世違世情
積毁可銷骨
空留紙上聲

To be a writer,
    I fall into censorship's fabrications;
To defy society, I choose against the world's choice.
    Heaped slanders can destroy a man and his blood relations.
In vain, I leave on paper only a voice.

John Turner explains that his use of rhyme is "to make the translation of a poem to read like a poem itself", and "to preserve the singing or musical quality in Chinese".

王之渙：〈登鸛鵲樓〉

白日依山盡
黃河入海流
欲窮千里目
更上一層樓

Wang Zhihuan: "Ascending the Heron Tower"

The sun behind the western hills now glows,
And toward the sea the Yellow River flows.
Wish you an endless view to cheer your eyes?
Then one more story mount and higher rise. (Ts'ai 1932: 6)

But Theodore Savory's comments on this translation method are worth pondering:

> Rhyme imposes a constraint upon the writer, a constraint which bears most heavily on the essential feature of the translator's art, his choice of words. It is scarcely possible to find a rhymed translation of a lyric which does not contain evidence of this as shown either by the omission of something that the original author wrote, or the inclusion of something that he did not. (Savory 1960: 85)

Arthur Waley also says that "if one uses rhyme (in the translation of Chinese poetry), it is impossible not to sacrifice sense to sound" (Waley 1941: 1). His view is shared by James J. Y. Liu who realizes "the virtual impossibility of keeping the rhymes without damage to the meaning, and no longer wish to insist on the use of rhymes. Thus, two of the most important elements of Chinese versification, tone-pattern and rhyme, have to go" (Liu 1962).

Prose Translation

This is a method in poetry translation which is to change the form of the original poem into another literary genre. This translation method is a form of rewording that will result in the loss of the sense, communicative value and syntax of the source text. As explained by John Turner, who translated Chinese poems into English in rhyme, prose translation is not a good method to use.

> I do not comply with the modern fashion of putting Chinese verse into line by line prose, or into unmeasured sprung rhythm, which is the same thing. Besides, I believe that poetry cannot really be translated into prose. The translation of a poem into prose, which is merely verbally accurate, is not itself a poem and remains a crib. It misses the point and soul and reason of a poem, its specific beauty. (Turner 1976: 10)

Lin Shu's translation of Shakespeare's plays is a good example of prose translation. Another example is given below:

馬致遠：〈天淨沙・秋思〉

枯藤老樹昏鴉，
小橋流水人家，
古道西風瘦馬。
夕陽西下，
斷腸人在天涯。

Ma Zhiyuan: "To the Tune of Clear Sky over the Sand—Autumn Thoughts"

Crows hovering over rugged old trees wreathed with rotten vine—the day is about done. Yonder is a tiny bridge over sparkling stream, and on the far ban, a pretty little village. But the traveler has to go on down this ancient road, the west winding moaning, his bony horse groaning, trudging towards the sinking sun, farther and farther away from home. (Turner 1976)

Metrical Translation

This is to reproduce the metre in the original poem. In doing so, the content of the text is often distorted. Wayne Schlepp (Schlepp 1995: 818–19) says that in the translation of *san qu* 散曲, the beat of the song can be shown by diacritical marks (e.g. underlines), as follows:

1. 隔簾聽
2. 幾番風送賣花聲
3. 夜來微雨天階淨
4. 小院閑庭
5. 輕寒翠袖生
6. 穿芳徑
7. 十二闌干憑
8. 杏花疏影
9. 楊柳新晴

1. Outside I hear
2. Breezes bring a vendor's call,
3. The stars, washed last night by rain
4. My quiet garden
5. Lightly, cold upon my sleeve
6. The flowered path
7. To touch the ballustrade
8. Apricot in shadows
9. Willow in limpid air.

The basic unit of metre into which a line of verse is divided, e.g. The boy/stood on/the burn/ing deck. To produce a rhymed translation of a Chinese poem, translators often follow the rule that each Chinese character equals to one foot or two syllables in English. In translating poems of five characters in each line, the pentameter is used. In translating poems of seven characters in each line, the hexameter is used.

Interpretation

Interpretation is also considered as a method that can be rightfully used in poetry translation. Translators may consciously or unconsciously employ expressions already existent in the target language to translate a foreign poem. As a result, the target readers may associate the translation to another poem in their culture which is essentially different from the original poem.

Arthur Waley (1941), for example, renders 窈窕淑女，君子好逑 into "Shy the Nymph our Shepherd's chosen", which adds a tinge of Greek flavour to the original. And it also seems rather strange for John Turner (1976) to translate 城北仲家翁，渠家多酒肉 into "Old Jones who lived on the North Side / Kept a most hospitable table". In the Chinese poem, 仲翁 is a Chinese fisherman in the twelfth century whereas Tom Jones is a term created by a British missionary John Bunyan in the seventeenth century which refers to the Irish who have the custom of inviting friends to drink with them through the night to mourn for the death of their wives.

Blank Verse Translation

This refers to the translation of a poem by unrhymed lines, which gives a greater accuracy and a higher degree of literalness to the translation.

The following is a translation of Ouyang Xiu's prose-poem entitled "To the Tune of the Ripe Quince" by D. C. Lau (1979: 11):

歐陽修：〈生查子〉

去年元夜時
花市燈如晝
月上柳梢頭
人約黃昏後
今年元夜時
月與花依舊
不見去年人
淚濕春衫袖

Ouyang Xiu: "To the Tune of the Ripe Quince"

Last year on the Night of the Lanterns
The flower market was bright as day.
The moon climbed to the tip of the willow tree;
I awaited my love at the hour of dusk.
This year on the Night of the Lanterns
The moon and the flowers are as they were
My love from last year is nowhere to be seen
Tears drench the sleeves of my spring dress.

Concluding Remarks

Of the seven methods proposed by Lefevere, the most appropriate method to render a full translation of a Chinese poem into English could be the blank verse translation.

Part 2: The Translation of Famous Quotes in Chinese Writings

In many contexts, quotation translation refers to the translation of a part of the whole. When this is the case, quotation translation is decontextualized. What we need to do is to contextualize our translation so that what is quoted truly presents what is intended in the original. The issues in translating Chinese famous quotes will be explained with my translation of a book on Chinese sayings quoted by Wen Jiabao 溫家寶 entitled《溫家

寶總理經典引句解説》(*Explanations of the Classical Quotations Cited by Premier Wen Jiabao*), which was authored by Wang Chunyong 王春永 (2008) in Chinese.

The choice of Wen Jiabao to illustrate the translation of quotes is obvious. Firstly, he was praised by the *Times* with the following remarks: "Wen Jiabao is the only leader in China, who can, after Mao Zedong, show his profound knowledge of classical Chinese literature in public." And there are at least two other reasons for translating quotations cited by Wen Jiabao. As stated by Zhai Defang in his preface:

> Premier Wen is a man of noble character and integrity. He always acts for the benefit of the country and the people regardless of the personal cost. He is able to freely express his views on various occasions by an appropriate reference to the classics in a manner befitting the premier of a large country. It is this latter point that has become the feature of Premier Wen's public speeches and the focus of attention of local and foreign reporters. (Chan 2009: 3)

Secondly, Wen Jiabao is a learned person who is capable of transmitting Chinese culture to the world through his quotations. It was mentioned in the book that a student of Renmin University said to Wen Jiabao when he visited the University: "In your speeches, you often cite poems and prose, and you have great literary attainments" (Chan 2009: 43). It has often been pointed out that the scholarly Premier usually prefers to use poems to express his feelings.

Thirdly, Wen Jiabao was brought up in a family of teachers, which accounts partly for his training in Chinese classics. He is in fact an excellent poet himself. His poem, entitled〈仰望星空〉("Looking up at the Starry Sky"), is well-known and has become the anthem of Beihang University in China. His poem, in parallel text, is as follows:

> 我仰望星空，
> 它是那樣寥廓而深邃；
> 那無窮的真理，
> 讓我苦苦地求索、追隨。
> 我仰望星空，
> 它是那樣莊嚴而聖潔；
> 那凜然的正義，
> 讓我充滿熱愛、感到敬畏。
>
> ——溫家寶：〈仰望星空〉

I look up at the starry sky,
which is so vast and profound;
The infinite truth
attracts my persistent search and pursuit;
I look up at the starry sky,
which is so pure and dignified;
The awe-inspiring justice
commands my devotion and reverence.

—Wen Jiabao: "Looking up at the Starry Sky"

The Popularity of the Quotations

It is generally assumed that what is quoted is known to most recipients to avoid any misunderstanding. This, however, is not the case with Wen Jiabao. It has been observed that some of the sayings quoted by Wen Jiabao are not popular lines or expressions known to the Chinese people at large. According to a study made by a professor in literature at Shenyang Normal University, "95% of the poems and prose quoted by the premier are not in the textbooks" (Chan 2009: 43). Wen Jiabao expressed his agreement with this view. He said, "Indeed, the poems and prose that I quoted are all self-taught, and they are used in the contexts of things and time."

It is found that 37 out of 124 sayings are relatively popular, amounting to 29.83%. In other words, as far as the Chinese sayings are concerned, slightly less than a third of the quotations are popular.

Modifications of Quotations

On one or two occasions, the quotations cited by Wen Jiabao may not correspond to the original source exactly. Take Passage 90 as an example. The quotation cited is: "The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year" 今年花兒紅了，明年花更好. As explained by the author Wang Chunyong, it came from "To the Tune of Ripples Sifting Sand" 浪淘沙 by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修:

聚散苦匆匆，
此恨無窮，
今年花勝去年紅。
可惜明年花更好，知與誰同？

Our meeting and our parting are too soon.
My sadness will never go.
Flowers are beautiful this year,
And they will be even more beautiful next year,
I don't know who will be there to share the beautiful scene with me.

Firstly, 今年花兒紅了 is not the same as 今年花勝去年紅, and 明年花更好 is different from 可惜明年花更好. Wen Jiabao has skillfully put together these two sentences as 今年花兒紅，明年花更好. To achieve a close resemblance effect, the translations of these two versions are basically similar.

The modification and translation of this quotation are closely related to the context in which this line was cited. This has to do with the situation of Hong Kong in 2007. On the morning of 16 March 2007, at the conclusion of the Fifth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress, Wen Jiabao held a press conference at the Great Hall of the People to answer questions from the Chinese and foreign correspondents.

A reporter of *Hong Kong Economic Times* asked: "This year marks the tenth anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China. What is your assessment of Hong Kong's performance in the past ten years since its return? We know that you care a lot about Hong Kong. What are your expectations of Hong Kong's future growth?"

Wen Jiabao first affirmed the achievements that Hong Kong in the last two years, and was confident that the position of Hong Kong is irreplaceable. He then conveyed through the media his greetings to the people of Hong Kong: "On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Hong Kong's return, I would like to ask you to convey my warm greetings to our Hong Kong compatriots. I sincerely hope that Hong Kong will become more prosperous, open, inclusive and harmonious. The bauhinia flower is in full bloom. The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year."

"Flowers will be even more beautiful next year" is a line in the prose-poem of Ouyang Xiu to express the sorrow of parting between friends. But Premier Wen changed this line slightly in his own way and used the red bauhinia to symbolize Hong Kong, and he wished, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary, Hong Kong will have a better future. And that accounts for the translation of *hua* as "red bauhinia" and not as "flowers".

Another example is Passage 47: "莫道今年春將盡，明年春色倍還人" (Don't say that this year's spring is about to end, as the scenery of spring will be twice as enchanting next year). This quotation was related to Du Shenyan's 杜審言 poem entitled "My Feelings on a Spring Day in the Capital" 春日京中有懷, the source text and translation of which are given below:

杜審言：〈春日京中有懷〉

今年游寓獨游秦，愁思看春不當春。
上林苑裏花徒發，細柳營前葉漫新。
公子南橋應盡興，將軍西第幾留賓。
寄語各城風日道，明年春色倍還人。

Du Shenyan: "My Feelings on a Spring Day in the Capital"

This year in my travel I travel alone in Qin
Viewing the spring with sad thoughts, I cannot face this spring.
In the emperor's Shanglin Park flowers blossom in vain,
In front of Thin Willow Camp leaves pointlessly renew.
By the young nobles' south bridge, I'm sure their pleasure is fulfilled.
And in the generals' western mansions, how many guests are detained?
I send words to Luoyang, to roads of fine scenery—
Next year spring's beauty will doubly bring the man home.

"I send words to Luoyang, to roads of fine scenery—the scenery of spring will be twice enchanting next year" is a line of poem written in a lucid and clear style. When Premier Wen quoted this line, however, he removed "I send words to Luoyang, to roads of fine scenery", which was used by the original author to describe the concrete feelings of Luoyang. He changed it to "don't say that this year spring is about to end" to match the background of the financial tsunami. This, together with the second half of the line "the scenery of spring will be twice enchanting next year" intends to express something to look forward to, and the confidence of the bright spring next year when all things recuperate. If we say that the key word in the original poem was "thoughts of missing", then the intention of Premier Wen to quote this line of poem was to emphasize confidence. As Premier Wen said in the press conference after the conclusion of the Second Session of the Eleventh National People's Congress on 13 March 2009: "To realize this plan, I still believe, first and foremost, we need very strong confidence. Only when we have confidence can we have courage and strength, and only when we have courage and strength can we overcome difficulties. I hope that this press conference can become a meeting to promote confidence and spread confidence. I believe this should be the conscience and responsibility of each journalist, and this is the aspiration of the people. 'Don't say that this year spring is about to end, as the scenery of spring will be twice enchanting next year.' I expect that next year both China and the world will be better off."

Translations of Quotations

It can be understood from the above that the contexts in which Wen quotes sayings from Chinese authors are varied. Physically, it depends on whether Wen is in China or abroad. As far as the target audience is concerned, there is a difference between Chinese people in China or abroad and foreigners in China or in other countries. As Wen Jiabao was a very important political figure, virtually all his speeches in Chinese which were targeted at foreign readers were officially translated by official organizations such as the Foreign Office of China for global consumption. On the other hand, all his speeches in Chinese, which were targeted at the Chinese people in China or abroad, were not translated as these were for the consumption of the Chinese-speaking audience. As far as the contexts of translation of quotations are concerned, they were basically of two types of occasions: occasions in which official translations were provided and occasions in which official translations were not provided.

(a) Occasions with Official Translations

It is found that there were situations where official translations were readily available for internet access. These situations or occasions will be explained in detail. The official translations may be found in different websites run by official agencies, such as the Foreign Ministry of China and the Chinese Embassy in different countries. The official translations would be used in the translation as far as possible. Changes were made when a better translation could be found or when a new translation suited the context better.

(1) Press Conferences at National People's Congresses

Wen Jiabao was elected Premier of the State Council on 16 March 2003 at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the First Session of the Tenth National

People's Congress. From then on, he had continuously held press conferences at the conclusion of the National People's Congresses for nine years from 2003 to 2009.

(i) 18 March 2003: Press Conference after the First Session of the Tenth National People's Congress

During the Press Conference, three quotations were made. The following are the contexts in which these quotations were cited.

(1) 苟利國家生死以，豈因禍福避趨之
I'll do whatever is in the interests of my country even at the cost of my own life; I would never shrink back because of personal weal and woe.

[Context and official translation]

DPA: When Premier Zhu Rongji just became premier, he said that whatever lies ahead, be it a field of landmines or an unfathomable abyss, he will exert all his efforts and contribute all his best to the country till the last minute of his life. Compared to his working style, what are the features of your working style?

Wen's answer: I have a lot of respects for Premier Zhu. He has many strong points that I need to learn from him. As for myself, it is generally believed that I am quite mild-tempered. But at the same time, I am someone who deeply believes in his conviction, who holds his ground if it is consistent with principle and who is confident and courageous enough to take up his responsibility. Since I became premier, I've been whispering two lines written by Lin Zexu to myself and they are: *I would do whatever it takes to serve my country, even at the cost of my own life and regardless of fortune or misfortune to myself.* So this will be the attitude in which I will start my work.

It can be seen that my translation did not follow the one provided by the official website.

(21) 生之者眾，食之者寡，為之者疾，用之者舒
The way to accumulate wealth is to have many producers but few consumers, and to have activity in the production and economy in the expenditure.

[Context and official translation]

China National Radio: The rural tax-for-fee reform will be extended across the country this year. You once said that China would definitely be able to break the vicious cycle of the Law of Huang Zongxi. So my question is how can the current tax-for-fee reform break such a vicious cycle?

Wen's answer: I already talked a lot about this subject, so here I only want to make two points. First, the essence of this reform is to reform the certain links in the rural superstructure that do not serve the development of productive forces. The most important work is to downsize the institutions. In the *Book of Learning* in China, it talks about the way to accumulate wealth. *There are many people who produce, there are very few people who consume, and people work very hard to produce more financial wealth and people practice economy when they spend.* In this way, wealth is accumulated. However, the situation today in the countryside is just the opposite. There are very few who produce whereas there are a lot who consume. For instance, in a county with a population of only 120,000 to 130,000 people, 5,700 people live on taxpayers' money by being on the government's payroll. So I think to find a fundamental way to reduce the burden of farmers, we need to cut down the size of institutional functionaries and to shed the people who are not necessary. At the same time, we must increase financial support to the countryside. Our objective is that we want to ensure that the farmers are not asked to pay taxes that they are not entitled to pay. I know this might take some time. This year, we have adopted a new policy. The additional financial resources earmarked for the undertakings in the fields of science, technology, education, culture, and health care will mainly find their way to the countryside.

(82) 葬我於高山之上兮，望我大陸
Bury me on the highest mountaintop so that I can get a sight of the Mainland.

[Context and official translation]

Taiwan reporter: Since the beginning of this year, the Taiwan side has come up with new suggestions and measures to improve the relations across the Taiwan straits. For instance, they have put forward the idea of setting up a mechanism to ensure peace and stability in the cross-strait relationship. They have also done something positive towards the three direct links including the direct shipping and air services. We hope to bring about sound interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan straits. In the past, we have not heard much directly from you on your perspective on the question of Taiwan. We would like to know what is your perspective and what is your knowledge about Taiwan? What will be the major items on the agenda of the new government concerning the work of Taiwan affairs? What expectations do you have on the question of Taiwan?

Wen's answer: Through you, I would like to extend my best regards to our Taiwan compatriots. The achievement of complete reunification is the common aspiration of all Chinese people, including our Taiwan compatriots. When Taiwan is mentioned, lots of feelings well up. I cannot help thinking of the late Mr. Yu Youren, a founding member of Kuomintang and participant in the Revolution of 1911. He wrote a poem to express his grief over national division. He wrote such a poem: *Burying me on the highest mountaintop so that I can get a sight of my mainland. Mainland I see none, tears of sorrow cascade. Burying me on the highest mountaintop so that I can get a glimpse of my hometown. Hometown I see none, but lives forever in my mind. The lofty sky is deeply blue, the vast wildness not seen through. Oh, boundless universe, would you hear me and this elegy of the nation.* What a touching poem he has written, which strikes a cord on the sentiment of all the Chinese people. The Chinese government will continue to unswervingly pursue the policy of peaceful reunification on the basis of 'One Country, Two Systems'. We will seek an early resumption of dialogue and negotiation between the two sides on the basis of the "One China" principle. We are against "Taiwan independence." We will continue to support more economic and cultural exchanges between the two sides. We want to bring about the early achievement of three direct links. We hope to make bigger progress in the process towards peaceful reunification.

(20) 生於憂患，死於安樂
We survive in adversity and perish in ease and comfort

[Context and official translation]

CCTV: First of all, many congratulations to you, Premier Wen, on your election as premier. Our warm congratulations also go to the vice premiers. We know you were one of the leading officials of the previous government. Over the past five years, China has accomplished remarkable achievements. We would like to have your comment on the work of the previous government and Premier Zhu Rongji himself. And with the achievements in the past five years, you now face a more demanding job in developing the economy even further. What do you think are the major difficulties and challenges for the new government?

A: The third generation of Chinese leadership with Comrade Jiang Zemin at its core have made enormous and universally recognized contribution to China's reform, development and stability and have, through practice, formed the important thought of "three represents", which is a valuable spiritual asset. The previous government under the leadership of Premier Zhu faithfully performed their duties and did a huge amount of remarkable work. The public are satisfied with what they have done. All of our work will have to be built on what our predecessors have achieved. Our predecessors have already laid a very good foundation for us. Yet we are still faced with numerous difficulties and problems ahead, which requires innovation and creativity as we press ahead. I always pay a lot of attention to the ancient motto, that is, *one prospers in worries and hardships and perishes in ease and comfort.*

(ii) 14 March 2004: Press conference after the Second Session of the Tenth National People's Congress (4)

When "Wen Jiabao 2004 NPC Press Conference" was searched from Google, what we obtained was as follows.

(69) 海不辭水，故能成其大；山不辭土石，故能成其高
The sea does not reject water, so it is able to become great; the mountain does not reject stones, so it is able to become tall.

[Official translation]

Wen's answer: I think it was in this room last year that I compared socialism to a big ocean. *The ocean never turns away streams, so it becomes wide and deep.* That means socialism can only develop itself by drawing upon all the fine fruits of advanced human civilization. Today I would like to make a further comparison of socialism to a high mountain. *The mountain never turns away stones, so it becomes towering and strong.*

(6) 路漫漫其修遠兮，吾將上下而求索
The way ahead is long, and I do not see any ending, yet high and low I'll search with determination.

[Official translation]

And the other is from the ancient poet Qu Yuan: "My way ahead is long; I see no ending; yet high and low I'll search with my will unbending."

(23) 安不思危，治不忘亂
When safe, don't forget danger; when in peace, don't forget chaos.

[Official translation]

In terms of the work of the government for this year, we must have a sombre mind. In security, *we should never forget the dangers and in times of peace, we should always beware of the potential for chaos.*

(85) 四百萬人同一哭，去年今日割台灣
Four million people cried the same tears of sorrow as Taiwan was ceded.

[Official translation]

So I went out sightseeing in the mountain, however, my mind always went back to this day last year when *4 million people on Taiwan cried the same tears of sorrow as Taiwan was ceded.*

(5) 雄關漫道真如鐵，而今邁步從頭越
Don't say that this fortified pass is as hard as iron, as we can now cross its summit in one step.

[Official translation]

The first quotation is from Chairman Mao. He wrote in a poem: "*The strong pass of the enemy is like a wall of iron, yet with firm strides, we are conquering its summit.*"

(iii) 14 March 2005: Press Conference after the Third Session of the Tenth People's National Congress (3)

(86) 一尺布，尚可縫；一斗粟，尚可舂。同胞兄弟何不容
When even a foot of cloth can be stitched up, even a kilo of millet can be ground, how can two blood brothers not make up.

[Official translation]

A Chinese saying goes *"Even a foot of cloth can be stitched up. Even a kilo of millet can be ground. How come two blood brothers cannot make up?"* The Taiwan compatriots are our own brothers.

(27) 行百里者半九十
If a journey is one hundred miles long, travelling ninety is half of it

[Official translation]

"If the journey is 100 miles, traveling 90 is only half of it" says a Chinese proverb.

(29) 思所以危則安，思所以亂則治，思所以亡則存
Only when we think about where danger looms can we ensure our security. Only when we think about why chaos occurs can we ensure our peace. And only when we think about why a country falls can we ensure our survival.

[No official translation was found]

(iv) 14 March 2006: Press Conference after the Fourth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress

An official translation of one of the quotations cited in Wang's book, (89) 得道者多助，失道者寡助 "One who has the Way will have many to support him, while one who does not will have few to support him" could not be found in the "gov.cn" official website. Its translation had to be taken from D. C. Lau's translation (Lau 2003: 79).

(v) 16 March 2007: Press Conference at the Great Hall of the People

For this particular press conference, by searching with "Wen Jiabao 2007 NPC Press Conference", we found its full translation provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. In this press conference, Premier Wen quoted four Chinese sayings from various sources.

(119) 召遠在修近，閉禍在除怨
To win distant friends, one needs, first of all, to have good relations with his neighbours. To avoid adversity, one needs to ease animosity.

[Official translation]

As the ancient Chinese philosopher Kuan-tzu observed: "To win distant friends, one needs, first of all, to have good relations with his neighbours. To avoid adversity, one needs to ease animosity."

(77) 水能載舟，亦能覆舟
While water can carry a boat, it can also overturn it.

[Official translation]

Every cadre and leading official should know that "while water can carry a boat, it can also overturn it."

(91) 沉舟側畔千帆過，病樹前頭萬木春
A thousand sails pass by the wrecked ship; ten thousand saplings shoot up beyond the withered tree.

This is a trend no one can reverse, as described in a classical Chinese poem: *A thousand sails pass by the wrecked ship; ten thousand saplings shoot up beyond the withered tree.*

(90) 今年花兒紅了，明年花更好
The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year.

[Official translation]

The bauhinia flower is in full bloom. The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year.

(vi) 18 March 2008: Press Conference after
the First Session of the Eleventh National People's Congress (6)

For this particular press conference, six quotations were mentioned.

(100) 以和為貴，和而不同
Harmony is most valuable, but it allows diversity.

(81) 如將不盡，與古為新
Only innovation can sustain the growth and vitality of a nation.

[Official translation]

The other is that only innovation could sustain the growth and vitality of a nation.

(93) 一心中國夢，萬古下泉詩
I have always longed to see a reunified China, an aspiration shared by all our people.

[Official translation]

I always think of lines such as *"I have always longed to see a reunified China, an aspiration shared by all our people."*

(41) 天變不足畏，祖宗不足法，人言不足恤
There is no need to fear changes of the sky, no need to emulate the way of the ancestors, and no need to seek the approval of others.

[Official translation]

One should not fear the changes under the heaven. One should not blindly follow past conventions. And one should not be deterred by complaints of others.

(17) 行事見於當時，是非公於後世
What one did at the time will be judged by history. History is created and written by the people.

[Official translation]

What one did at the time will be judged by history. History is created and written by the people.

(92) 度盡劫波兄弟在，相逢一笑泯恩仇
We remain brothers after all the calamities, let's forgo our old grudges with a smile and meet again.

[Official translation]

"*we remain brothers despite all the vicissitudes and let's forgo our grudges when smiling we meet again.*"

(vii) 13 March 2009: Press Conference after the Second Session of the Eleventh National People's Congress (3)

(49) 乞火不若取燧，寄汲不若鑿井
It would be better to obtain a fire-maker than beg for fire, better to dig a well ourselves than beg for water from others.

(47) 莫道今年春將盡，明年春色倍還人
Don't say that this year's spring is about to end, as the scenery of spring will be twice as enchanting next year.

(42) 山重水複疑無路，柳暗花明又一村
Where the hills and streams end and there seems no road beyond, amidst shading willows and blooming flowers there is another village.

Besides official websites, there are websites in which bilingual versions of Wen's quotations are available, mostly as model translations to be learned. The following are some examples.

(1) 盤點歷年溫總理兩會答記者問經典語錄（雙語）(http://www.youth.cn, 中國青年網 , English Corner 英語角)
(2) 溫總理答記者問引用詩句及翻譯 (http://hefei.neworiental.org/publish/portal63/tab4014/info326458.htm, 新東方)
(3) 溫總理歷屆兩會答記者問引用詩文及英譯 (HJEnglish.com 滬江英語 , translation provided by the Administration Bureau of Foreign Expert Affairs of Jinan City 濟南市外國專家局 , http://jinan.caiep.org/forum/content.php?id=41692)

(2) Press Conferences in Foreign Countries

A typical example of Wen's press conference in a foreign country is the one he gave in Cairo on 18 June 2006. When "Wen Jiabao 18 June 2006" was searched, a full translation of the press conference on that date was given by the Embassy of the people's Republic of China in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

(112) 吾有德於人也，不可不忘也
Do not forget the good given by others and do forget the good given to others.

[Official translation]

Here, I wish to stress that the African people also provided China with valuable support over the past years. In Chinese, we say the African people do "Good" to China. An ancient Chinese thinker once said, "*Do not forget the Good given by others and do forget the Good given to others*."

(3) Interviews by News Organizations

Premier Wen often had interviews by different news media, including newspapers and television stations both in China and overseas. In the Chinese book, two interviews in China are mentioned. The first one was an interview by the *Washington Post* on 21 November 2003, in which two quotations were cited (http://big5.fmprc.gov.cn/gate/big5/no.china-embassy.org/eng/dtxw/t110557.htm).

(43) 察其言，觀其行
Hear what they say and then watch what they do.

[Official translation]

We have taken note of the recent remarks by the Dalai Lama but we still need to watch very carefully what he really does.

(99) 結交一言重，相期千里至
Good friends highly value their words. They travel a thousand miles to keep their promise for a gathering.

[Official translation]

I can quote one fitting ancient Chinese poem to describe our meeting: "*Good friends highly value their words. They travel a thousand li to keep their promise for a gathering.*"

Another interview that was conducted in China was made on 5 September 2006 when Wen Jiabao was interviewed by five European news organizations, including *Helsingin Sanomat* in Finland, *Reuters* and the *Times* of London, *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in Germany. By searching with the query "Wen Jiabao 5 September 2006

European media interview", the following webpage (gov.cn) was displayed on the screen:

(13) 長太息以掩涕兮，哀民生之多艱
Long did I sigh to hold back tears; saddened I am by the grief of my people.

[Official translation]

"Long did I sigh to hold back tears; saddened I am by the grief of my people."

(110) 花徑不曾緣客掃，篷門今始為君開
I have not swept the path of fallen petals until today, and I have opened my thatched door just for you.

[Official translation]

"*The path of fallen petals I have not swept until today, when I open my thatched door, just for you.*" I have quoted these lines from a Chinese poem by way of welcome, and I am pleased to give you this interview.

(12) 身無半畝，心憂天下；讀破萬卷，神交古人
I *don't have half an acre of land to myself, but I care about my people across the land. I read over ten thousand books and am spiritually attracted to the ancient people.*

[Official translation]

"*While I have little possession at hand, I care deeply about my people across the land. Having devoured ten thousand books and drawing inspiration from ancient thinkers, I have the whole world in my mind.*"

(14) 為什麼我的眼裏常含着淚水
Why are my eyes always filled with tears.

[Official translation]

"*You ask why my eyes are always filled with tears*. It is because I love my land dearly."

Yet another interview that was conducted in China was an interview with Wen Jiabao by the Deputy Editor-in-chief Pierre Rousselin and Head of the Beijing Office Jean-Jacques Mevel of the French newspaper *Le Figaro*.

(71) 身貴自由，國貴自主
The individual values freedom and the state values autonomy.

[Official translation]

> Yan Fu, the great thinker of China at that time raised the idea that the most important thing for a country is independence and *the most important thing for a person is freedom.*

Included in the book is an interview that was conducted in a Thailand hotel on 10 April 2009.

It is obvious that an English version of the interview was provided by xinhua.net (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-04/12/content_11170833.htm), but only in a paraphrased way. There was only a quotation cited, which is as follows:

> (96) 不進則退

> (96) If you don't move forward, you will fall behind.

(4) Meetings with Leaders of Foreign Countries or International Organizations

Quotations that were cited during Wen's meetings with leaders of foreign countries or international organizations were also translated by official agencies. Three examples can be cited. The first is Wen's meeting with Kofi Annan, then Secretary-general of the United Nations, at the United Nations headquarters in New York. When we searched by "Wen Jiabao 7 December 2003 Annan", then the relevant website could be found, as shown below.

> (98) 時移世易，變法宜矣。

> (98) As generations change and the seasons replace one another, it was time to reform the laws.

Another example is the meeting with the new Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Beijing on 8 October 2006. When searched with "Wen Jiabao 8 October 2006 Shinzo Abe", the following website provided by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Jamaica and the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the International Seabed Authority" appeared on screen (http://jm.chineseembassy.org/eng/xw/t277484.htm).

(114) 言必信，行必果
Promises must be kept and action must be resolute.

[Official translation]

"*Promises must be kept and action must be resolute*," Wen said, noting that that is an important guarantee for pushing forward China-Japan relations.

(115) 青山遮不住，畢竟東流去
The green mountain cannot stop water from flowing, and the river keeps flowing eastward.

The third example is Wen's meeting with Hillary Clinton, the United States Secretary of State, in China. The citation of a saying from *The Art of War* was contextual. On 15 February 2009, the United States Secretary State Hillary Clinton began her visit to Japan, Indonesia, Korea, and China. This was her first foreign trip since she assumed her post as Secretary of State of the Obama government.

On 13 February, on the eve of her trip, Hillary went to the Asia Society in New York and gave a speech. In the speech, Hillary, who was formerly the First Lady of the United State and then the Secretary of State, cited a Chinese idiom "as we are in the same boat we have to help each other" to set the tone for Sino-American relationship: "'When you are in a common boat, you need to cross the river peacefully together.' The wisdom of that aphorism must continue to guide us today."

On the afternoon of 21 February, Premier Wen Jiabao met with Hillary Clinton at the Purple Light Hall of Zhongnanhai. Wen Jiabao firstly extended his congratulations to Hillary Clinton for serving such an important post, and also extended his warmest welcome to her on her visit to China. Wen Jiabao said, "As the world is faced with the grim impact of the financial crisis, I very much appreciate a Chinese proverb you quoted that 'all countries should cross the river peacefully as they are in a common boat.' The proverb is from *The Art of War* by Sunzi, an ancient Chinese military strategist. Another saying in the book goes as 'progress together hand in hand.'" (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english.htm)

It was, however, in another website that the proverb Wen cited was found, as shown below (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-02/21/content_10863097.htm).

(120) 當其同舟而濟，遇風，其救也如左右手
Crossing the river in the same boat in the gale, one would go to each other's aid like the right hand helping the left.

[Official translation]

"As the world is faced with the grim impact of the financial crisis, I very much appreciate a (Chinese) proverb you quoted that *all countries should cross the river peacefully as they are in a common boat*," Wen said. The proverb is from *The Art of War* by Sunzi, an ancient Chinese military strategist.

(5) Speeches at International Meetings Held in China

As the Premier of the State, Wen had to make a number of speeches in China that were targeted at an international audience. His speeches were usually translated by official agencies.

The first speech was the one he delivered at the World Tourism Organization held on 19 October 2003 in China.

(51) 讀萬卷書，行萬里路
Read thousands of books and travel thousands of miles.

[Official translation]

Ancient people also proposed to "*travel ten thousand* li *and read ten thousand books*," which shows they found pleasure in enriching themselves mentally and physically through traveling over famous mountains and rivers.

The second speech was Wen's keynote speech delivered at Boao Forum on 2 November 2003.

(97) 桃李不言，下自成蹊。
Peaches and plums do not speak, yet a path is trampled out beneath them.

[No official translation was found]

The third example was a speech Wen delivered at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 28 June 2004 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of "the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence". A full translation of Wen's speech was found, after searching and re-searching, at the following website: http://chinesejil.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/3/2/363.pdf.

(122) 萬物並育而不相害，道並行而不相悖。
All living creatures grow together without harming one another; ways run parallel without interfering with one another.

[Official translation]

The ancient Chinese thinker Confucius once said, "*All living creatures grow together without harming one another; ways run parallel without interfering with one another.*"

The fourth example is Wen's speech at the Finance Ministers' Meeting of the Sixth Asia-Europe Meeting held on 26 June 2005 in Tianjin, China.

(106) 相知無遠近，萬里尚為鄰。
Distance cannot separate true friends who feel so close even when they are thousands of miles apart.

[Official translation]

There is an old saying in China: "*Distance cannot separate true friends who feel close even when they are thousands of miles apart.*"

The last example was Wen's speech at the Twenty-first Century Forum in China on 5 September 2005. The following was the quotation cited.

(104) 暑退九霄淨，秋澄萬景清。
The retreat of summer makes the sky clean, and the shiny autumn moon makes everything clear.

(6) Speeches at Meetings Held in Foreign Countries

In the following, there are six speeches by Wen Jiabao who delivered them in Thailand, United States, Malaysia, Fiji, South Africa, and Russia respectively.

The first speech was made at the meeting of ASEAN countries in Thailand on SARS on 29 April 2003. A translation of this speech was available from the website of "the Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Los Angeles" (http://losangeles.china-consulate.org/eng/news/topnews/t27622.htm).

(25) 安危相易，禍福相倚
Safety and danger alternate; misfortune and fortune are mutually dependent.

[Official translation]

As an old Chinese saying goes, "*Danger and safety are often interchangeable, as it is with disaster and happiness.*"

The second speech was delivered by Wen Jiabao at the American Banks Association in New York on 8 December 2003. A full translation of his speech was provided in the website of "The Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Los Angeles (http://losangeles.china-consulate.org/eng/news/topnews/t56330.htm).

(3) 會當凌絕頂，一覽眾山小。
When I reach the peak of Mount Tai, all other mountains look so small.

[Official translation]

Depicting how climbers of the towering Mount Tai feel, an ancient Chinese poem goes, "*I must ascend the mountain's crest; it dwarfs all peaks under my feet*."

The third speech was given on 14 December 2005 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

(103) 不畏浮雲遮望眼，只緣身在最高層。
We have no fear of the clouds that may block our view, as we are already on the summit.

The fourth speech was delivered by Wen Jiabao at the China-Pacific Island Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum held in Fiji on 5 April 2006. A full translation of Wen's speech was given in the website "gov.cn" (htt://www.gov.cn/English/2006-04/05/content_245681.htm).

(113) 路遙知馬力，日久見人心
Distance tests a horse's strength, and time reveals a person's real character.

[Official translation]

As a Chinese saying puts it, "*Just as distance tests a horse's strength, time will show a person's sincerity*."

The fifth speech was given by Wen Jiabao at the First China-South Africa Business Cooperation Forum in Cape Town, South Africa on 22

June 2006. A full translation of his speech was given at http://capetownchina-consulate.org/eng.htm.

(111) 世上無難事，只要肯登攀。
Nothing is hard under the sky, if we dare to climb up high.

[Official translation]

"*Nothing is difficult to the man who will try.* To strengthen China-South Africa and China-Africa cooperation *is like climbing a mountain*. I hope you will race against time and forge valiantly ahead."

The last speech was delivered by Wen at the Third China-Russia Economic and Trade Summit Forum on 28 October 2008.

(121) 亡羊補牢，猶未晚也
It is not too late to mend the fold even after some of the sheep have been lost.

[Official translation]

As the Chinese saying goes, "it is not too late to mend the fold even after some of the sheep have been lost."

(7) Speeches at Institutions in Foreign Countries

Most of the speeches in this category were those given at educational institutions, such as Harvard and Cambridge, and there was a speech given at the Japanese Diet. As far as educational institutions are concerned, Wen had given speeches at Harvard University in the United States, Ecole Polytechnique in France, Instituto Cervantes in Spain, and Cambridge University in the United Kingdom.

The quotations that Wen cited at Harvard were fully translated by the official agency.

(4) 為天地立心，為生民立命，為往聖繼絕學，為萬世開太平。
To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth, to secure life and fortune for the people, to continue the lost teachings of past sages, and to establish peace for all future generations.

[Official translation]

Chinese forefathers formulated their goals as follows:
To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth,

To secure life and fortune for the people,
To continue lost teachings for past sages, To establish peace for all future generations.

(22) 天下興亡，匹夫有責
Everybody is responsible for the rise or fall of the country.

[Official translation]

Especially, patriotism as embodied in the saying "*Everybody is responsible for the rise or fall of the country*".

(15) 衙齋臥聽蕭蕭竹，疑是民間疾苦聲
Lying in bed in my den, I heard the rustling of bamboos outside, and it just sounded like the moaning of the needy.

[Official translation]

A Chinese poet-magistrate of the eighteenth century wrote:
The rustling of bamboo outside my door,
Sounds like the moaning of the needy poor.

Chronologically, the second speech Wen gave at an educational institution was at the Ecole Polytechnique in Saclay, France on 6 December 2005. There was a summary of Wen's speech at "people.cn".

(107) 天時不如地利，地利不如人和
Favourable weather is less important than advantageous terrain, and advantageous terrain is less important than human unity.

(11) 窮則變，變則通，通則久
Coming to a deadlock leads to changes; changes lead to solutions; solutions lead to sustainability.

On 31 January 2009, Wen also talked with students in Madrid in Spain.

(64) 民胞物與
All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions

[Official translation]

The belief is that nature has created and nurtured all men and all things on earth, and that *every man is my brother and every object is my friend*.

What is of particular interest, due partly to the shoe-throwing incident, is Wen's Rede Lecture at the University of Cambridge entitled "See China in the Light of Her Development", a full translation of which was provided by the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China" in its official website: http://www.fmprc.vov.cn/eng/zxxx/t535283.htm.

(101) 百姓昭明，協和萬邦
We should have amity among people and friendly exchanges among nations.

[Official translation]

The Book of History, an ancient classic in China for example, advocates *amity among people and friendly exchanges among nations*.

(124) 潮平兩岸闊，風正一帆懸。
From shore to shore it is wide and surgeless, and under a fair wind a sail is lifting.

[Official translation]

I want to quote from a Tang Dynasty poem to describe what is happening in China, "*From shore to shore it is wide at high tide, and before fair wind a sail is lifting.*"

Wen Jiabao also gave speeches at political institutions, such as his speech at the Japanese Diet in Japan on 12 April 2007 (http://www.fmcoprc.gov.hk/eng/zgwjsw/t311107.htm).

(116) 與朋友交，言而有信。
One should honour commitments made to friends.

[Official translation]

An ancient Chinese sage said that "one should value credibility in relations with others" and that "*one should honour commitment made to friends.*"

(8) Speeches at International Meetings in Foreign Countries

A speech that falls into this category was Wen's keynote speech at the World Economic Forum on 6 September 2007.

(40) 周雖舊邦，其命維新
Although Zhou was an ancient state, it had a reform mission.

(9) Meeting Incoming Ambassadors from Foreign Countries

When Wen Jiabao welcomed incoming ambassadors, he occasionally quoted Chinese sayings to put forth his ideas. This is very much in evidence when he welcomed the incoming ambassadors from thirty-three countries on 28 January 2005.

> (105) 親仁善鄰，國之寶也。
> It is most important to have close and honorable relations with one's neighbours.

The above shows that when Wen Jiabao quoted Chinese sayings to convey his points in speeches and talks that were targeted at foreigners or international audience in general, the official websites, such as "gov.cn" and "xinhua.net", always provided official translations of the Chinese texts that Wen used at these occasions. It is always advisable to use them as far as possible, but when they may not suit the contexts, they had to be modified slightly.

(b) Occasions without Official Translations

Wen Jiabao was the Premier of the State of the People's Republic of China. He attended many functions whose participants were mainly the Chinese people. The necessity of translating officially the sayings he quoted in these functions was extremely low. The event may be reported in the media, but the texts of his speeches or talks were not translated for the consumption of the international audience. In this book *Famous Chinese Sayings*, there are 16 situations in which translations of the Chinese sources were not provided. Research on the existing translations of the original works and skills of translating quotations properly to suit the contexts are essential.

(1) Speeches to Chinese Audience at Major Festivals

One of the major festivals is the Spring Festival. Every year, leaders of the Chinese Communist Party go the Great Hall of the People to meet with more than 4,000 people from different sectors of the society to celebrate the lunar new year. These activities are normally reported in the media in English, but they seldom include translations of quotations cited by leaders, such as Wen Jiabao. In this and the following sections, translations by other hands, whose names are put in brackets, will be included.

Three of the speeches made at these meetings were included in the book.

(i) Meeting on 20 January 2004

(44) 每逢佳節倍思親
Each time a fete day comes, I yearn doubly for my family.

[My translation]

(Alone in a strange land, feeling myself a stranger.)
Each time a fete day comes, I yearn doubly for my family.

(ii) Meeting on 16 February 2007

(36) 憂民之憂者，民亦憂其憂。
When a ruler grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow.

[Translation by D. C. Lau 2003: 33, 35]

(The people) will worry over the troubles of him who worries over their troubles.

(iii) Meeting on 24 January 2009

(39) 民為邦本，本固邦寧。
People are the basis of a nation, and only when this basis is stable can the nation enjoy peace.

[Translation by Luo Zhiye (1996: 311–13)]

The people are the root of the nation
If the root is tight,
The nation will be peaceful.

Another major festival in China is the Teachers' Day. In this book, quotations by Wen Jiabao were made in 2004, 2005, and 2008.

(i) 5 September 2004

(57) 言之不足，故嗟歎之。(《詩經》)
If words are not sufficient, sighing can be better. (*The Book of Poetry*)

[My translation]

The motion is moved in the heart and takes shape in words; *if words are not sufficient, sighing can be better.*

(56) 詩言志，歌詠聲，舞動容。
Poetry expresses one's thoughts, singing speaks one's voice, and dancing shows one's colour.

[My translation]

Poetry gives expression to people's thoughts; singing prolongs the notes of people's voice; dancing shows people's sentimental colour.

(60) 言有物，行有格
Speak with substance and act by rules.

[My translation]

The Master said, "Speak with substance and act by rules".

(ii) 9 September 2005

(52) 不憤不啟，不悱不發。(《論語》)
I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out anyone who is not anxious to explain himself. (*The Analects of Confucius*)

[Translation by D. C. Lau 1983: 57]

The Master said, "I never enlighten anyone who has not been driven to distraction by trying to understand a difficulty or who has got into a frenzy trying to put his ideas into words."

(53) 千教萬教，教人求真。(陶行知)
Whatever we teach is all about the pursuit of truths. (Tao Xingzhi)

[Translation by Barry Steben]

The duty of a teacher is: "whatever we teach is all about the pursuit of truths."

(iii) 9 September 2008

(68) 學為人師，行為世範。(《舊唐書》)
Learn, so as to teach others; act, so as to serve as an example to all. (*The Old History of the Tang Dynasty*)

Yet another festival that is celebrated annually is the May-Fourth Youth Festival. Wen met students of Peking University in 2005, Beijing Normal University in 2006, and students in Beijing in 2007.

(i) 4 May 2005

(66) 教是為了不教。(葉聖陶)
Teaching is in order not to teach. (Ye Shengtao)

[**Translation by Barry Steben**]

I have recently often said the following to people: "The purpose of all teaching is to render the taught no longer in need of being taught."

(ii) 4 May 2006

(65) 大學不在於有大樓。(梅貽琦)
It's not buildings that make a university. (Mei Yiqi)

[**Translation by Barry Steben**]

I can say that "a university is called a university not because it has a lot of big buildings, but because it has great teachers."

(iii) 4 May 2007

(16) 非知之難，行之惟難；非行之難，終之斯難。(《貞觀政要》)
The difficult thing is not just to know something, but to do something; the difficult thing is not even to do something, but to be persistent in doing something. (*Notes on the Political Governance of Zhenguan*)

[**My translation**]

There is an ancient saying which runs: "The difficult thing is not just to know something, but to do something; the difficult thing is not even to do something, but to be persistent in doing something."

(2) Speeches at Chinese Embassies

When Wen Jiabao went on visits to foreign countries, he as a general practice would meet overseas Chinese and staff of the Chinese Embassies. Included in this book are his visits of Chinese Embassies in Mexico, London, Slovakia, New Zealand, Finland, New York, and Spain.

(i) 15 December 2003 (Mexico)

(61) 明於識，練於事，忠於國（梁啟超）
Clarity of knowledge, proficiency in affairs, and loyalty to the nation. (Liang Qichao)

[Translation by Barry Steben]

Alas! With *his clarity of knowledge, his proficiency in affairs, and his loyalty to the nation*, if he had just had the chance to play some part in determining government policy, the effectiveness of his measures would have been unlimited.

(ii) 9 May 2004 (London)

(70) 已所不欲，勿施於人。（《論語》）
Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire. (*The Analects of Confucius*)
[Translation by D. C. Lau (1983: 155)]
The Master said: "It is perhaps the word *shu* (forgiveness)! *Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire.*"

(iii) 1 February 2009 (London)

(48) 上下同心者勝。（《孫子兵法》）
The side that has superiors and subordinates united in heart will take the victory. (*The Art of War*)

[Translation by Roger Ames (1993: 113)]

The side that has superiors and subordinates united in heart will take the victory.

(iv) 7 December 2005 (Slovakia)

(32) 夕惕若厲
In the evening, we are still careful and apprehensive. (*The Book of Changes*)

[Translation by Rudolf Ritsema and Stephen Karcher (1995: 100)]

In the evening, he is still careful, apprehensive, and faultless.

(v) 6 April 2006 (New Zealand)

(10) 天行健，君子以自強不息。（《周易》）
As Heaven's movement is ever vigorous, a gentleman must ceaselessly strive along. (*The Book of Changes*)

[My translation]

As Heaven's movement is ever vigorous, a gentleman must ceaselessly strive along.

(8) 先天下之憂而憂，後天下之樂而樂。（范仲淹）
To worry before the whole world worries, and to rejoice after the whole world rejoices. (Fan Zhongyan)

[My translation]

No doubt they are worried before the whole world worries and they rejoice after the whole world rejoices.

(vi) 11 September 2006 (Finland)

(108) 德不孤，必有鄰。（《論語》）
Virtue never stands alone. It is bound to have neighbours. (*The Analects of Confucius*)

[Translation by D. C. Lau (1983: 35)]

The Master said, "Virtue never stands alone. It is bound to have neighbours."

(vii) 23 September 2008 (New York)

(34) 居官者當事不避難。（《國語》）
Those who are in official positions should be courageous to shoulder responsibilities and should not avoid difficulties. (*Discourses of the States*)

[My translation]

Those who are in official positions should be courageous to shoulder responsibilities and should not avoid difficulties.

(viii) 30 January 2009 (Spain)

(50) 悠悠天宇曠，切切故鄉情。（張九齡）
Longlasting is the spacious heaven, deep are my home feelings. (Zhang Jiuling)

[My translation]

Longlasting is the spacious heaven,
Deep are my home feelings.

(3) Meeting Overseas Chinese in China

Wen Jiabao sometime met with overseas Chinese in major meetings, such as the Boao Forum, in which he used Chinese sayings to convey his feelings or messages. Two examples can be cited.

(i) Mid-April 2008: Wen met with Xiao Wanchang at the Boao Forum

(95) 大道之行也，天下為公。（《禮記》）
When the Great Way prevails, the world is for the public. (*The Book of Rites*)

[My translation]

When the Great Way prevails, the world is for the public.

(ii) 18 April 2009: Meeting Qian Fu at the Boao Forum

(94) 利在一身勿謀也，利在天下必謀之。（胡宏）
I will not seek personal gains. But if the gains benefit the world, I will certainly seek them. (Hu Hong)

[My translation]

I will not seek personal gains. But if the gains benefit the world, I will certainly seek them.

(4) Meeting Overseas Chinese in Foreign Countries

Wen Jiabao often met with overseas Chinese when he visited foreign countries. When he met overseas Chinese in Canberra in Australia on 3 April 2006, he cited the following quotation.

(7) 誰言寸草心，報得三春暉。（孟郊）
Who can say that the heart of inch-long grass will repay the sunshine of spring. (Meng Jiao)

[My translation]

She sets the stitches firmly and closely before he departs,

For fear that he will be slow to return.
Who can say that the heart of inch-long grass,
Will repay the sunshine of three springs.

(5) Meeting Participants in Major Meetings

Wen Jiabao often exchanged views or sought advice from members of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In this book, six quotations were cited by Wen Jiabao in the meetings held in 2005, 2006 and 2007.

(i) 5 March 2005: Meeting with members at the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth National People's Congress

(24) 居安思危，思則有備，有備無患。（《左傳》）
When living in peace, we have to think of danger. If we think, then we will be prepared. If we are prepared, then we will have no worries. (*Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*)

[Translation by Hu Zhihui and Chen Kejiong (1996: 753)]

The *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* says, "Reside in temperance and think of the dangers. If you think, then you will be prepared. If you are prepared, then you will have no worries."

(28) 事者，生於慮，成於務，失於傲。（《管子》）
Things are born out of planning, completed in practice, but lost in arrogance. (*Guanzi*)

[Translation by Allyn W. Rickett (1985: 118)]

Now production materializes through planning, succeeds through diligent attention, but fails through negligence.

(80) 嚶其鳴矣，求其友聲
Long, long, the bird will sing, expecting its mates to echo.

[Translation by Xu Yuanzhong (1993: 311)]

From the deep vale below
To lofty trees are heard.
Long, long, the bird will sing
And for an echo wait.

(ii) 23 May 2006: Report in the Plenary Meeting of the Seventh National Congress of China Association for Science and Technology

(55) 十年磨一劍。（賈島）
It takes ten years to make a sword. (Jia Dao)

[My translation]

It has taken me ten years to make a sword,
I do not know if it will pierce.

(iii) 4 March 2007: Meeting the Economy and Agriculture Groups in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Beijing

(76) 賢路當廣而不當狹，言路當開而不當塞。（《宋史》）
The chances for worthy people to advance should be wide but not narrow; the channel of communication with leaders should be open but not blocked. (*History of the Song Dynasty*)

(iv) 13 November 2006: Meeting with representatives of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles at the Eighth National Congress (2)

(38) 德惟善政，政在養民。（《尚書》）
The virtue of the ruler is seen in his good government, which is in the nourishing of the people. (*The Book of History*)

[Translation by Hu Zhihui and Chen Kejiong (1996: 297, 299)]

An emperor's virtue should make governmental affairs good, the aim of the administration of government is to nourish the people.

(59) 今人乍見孺子將入於井。（《孟子》）
If a man were, all of a sudden, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well. (*Mencius*)

[Translation by D. C. Lau (2003: 73)]

Suppose a person were all of a sudden, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well.

(6) Speeches at Major Meetings

Wen Jiabao often made speeches at major meetings. The following two quotations were made in Hong Kong and China *(i) 29 June 2003: Speech upon the signing of CEPA in Hong Kong*

(2) 杜鵑再拜憂天淚，精衛無窮填海心。（黃遵憲）
The fabled cuckoo weeping blood at China's woe, and the Jingwei bird filling the sea with pebbles untold. (Huang Zunxian)

[My translation]

The fabled cuckoo weeping blood at China's woe,
And the Jingwei bird filling the sea with pebbles untold.

(ii) 23 November 2006: Speech at the Twelfth National Conference on Civil Affairs

(37) 去民之患，如除腹心之疾。（蘇轍）
To remove the calamities of the people is like taking away an illness of the heart. (Su Zhe)

[My translation]

If you also seriously observe their performance, then *removing the calamities of the people is like taking away an illness of the heart.*

(7) Meeting with People on His Visits

There were all sorts of people Wen Jiabao met in his work as the Premier of the State Council. Three quotations relating to his visits are included in the book. These were on medical works in Hong Kong, flood victims in Sichuan, and drug addicts in Yunnan.

(i) 30 June 2003: Meeting with anti-SARS medical workers in Hong Kong (2)

(83) 上不怨天，下不尤人。（《中庸》）
One does not complain against heaven, nor does one blame the people. (*Doctrine of the Mean*)

[My translation]

One does not complain against heaven, nor does he blame the people.

(84) 疾風知勁草。（《後漢書》）
Strong winds test the strength of the grass. (*History of the Later Han*)
[My translation]
Work hard. *Strong winds test the strength of the grass.*

(ii) 1 October 2003: Visit to flood victims of the Wei River

(35) 心中為念農桑苦，耳裏如聞飢凍聲。（白居易）
My mind is on the hardship and suffering of the people, and my ears seem to hear the sighs of the people in hunger and cold. (Bai Juyi)

(iii) 5 July 2005: Meeting with drug addicts in Yunnan

(26) 逆水行舟，不進則退。（《增廣賢文》）
A boat sailing against the stream must forge ahead or it will be driven back. (*Ancient Chinese Proverbs*)

[My translation]

Learning is like rowing a boat against the current: you must forge ahead or you will be driven back.

(8) Meeting with Experts

As the Premier of the State Council, Wen Jiabao often sought advice from professionals on certain key issues. In the book, a quotation was made when he met health experts on 11–15 April 2008 to discuss healthcare reform.

(72) 啟進善之門。（柳宗元）
Open the door for the fine words. (Liu Zongyuan)

[My translation]

Broaden the routes by which opinions are conveyed to the authorities and *open the door for the fine words*, and then the moral integrity of the ruler will exceed that of the sage kings at the dawn of civilization.

(9) Expressing Expectations on the Appointment of Officials

A typical example was Wen's messages to Donald Tsang at the two Swearing-in Ceremonies on 24 June 2005 and 9 April 2007.

(i) 24 June 2005: Words to Donald Tsang at the Swearing-in Ceremony

(87) 士不可以不弘毅。（《論語》）
A gentleman must be strong and resolute. (*The Analects of Confucius*)

[Translation by D. C. Lau (1983: 71)]

Zengsi said, "A gentleman must be strong and resolute, for his burden is heavy and the road is long."

(ii) 9 April 2007: Words to Donald Tsang at the Swearing-in Ceremony

(88) 死而後已，不亦遠乎。（《論語》）
Only with death does the road come to an end. Is that not long?
(*The Analects of Confucius*)

[Translation by D. C. Lau (1983: 71)]

Only with death does the road come to an end. Is that not long?

(10) Visits to Personalities

Wen Jiabao sometimes paid visits to renowned scholars and personalities. His visit to Ji Xianlin on 6 August 2007 was an example. During the visit, Wen quoted the following saying:

(62) 和合故能諧。（《管子》）
If there is concord and unity, there is harmony. (*Guanzi*)

[Translation by Allyn W. Rickett (1985: 275)]

If you rear with the "Way," the people will be harmonized.

(11) Visits to Institutions in China

The two institutions that Wen Jiabao visited and mentioned in the book were the Counsellors' Office of the State and the Central Research Institute of Culture and History.

(i) 24 September 2007: Visit to Counsellors' Office of the State and the Central Research Institute of Culture and History

(73) 言能聽，道乃進。（《史記》）
When words can be heard, the Way will move forward.
(*Records of the Grand Historian*)

[My translation]

Yi Yin said, "How wise! When words can be heard, virtue will be improved."

(ii) 16 January 2009: Talking with Counsellors of the State Council and Fellows of the Central Research Institute of Culture and History

(67) 文所以載道也。（周敦頤）
Literature is a vehicle of the Way. (Zhou Dunyi)

[My translation]

Literature is a vehicle to convey the Way.

(12) Online Chatting with Netizens

Online chatting with netizens has now become a very popular way of communication. In recent years, Wen Jiabao engaged in online chatting with Chinese and overseas netizens. During his chatting with netizens on 28 February, four quotations were made.

(30) 其興也勃，其亡也忽。（《左傳》）
Its rise is quick; its fall is sudden. (*Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*)

[Translation by Hu Zhihui and Chen Kejiong (1996: 115)]

Zhuang Wenzhong said, "Songs must be about to flourish. For Yu and Tang took the blame on themselves, *they prospered greatly*. Jie and Zhou threw the blame onto others, and *their fates were sealed in consequence*."

(109) 凡交，近則必相靡以信，遠則必忠之以言。（《莊子》）
In all intercourse between states, if they are near to each other, there should be mutual friendliness, verified by deeds; if they are far apart, there must be sincere adherence to truth in their messages. (*Zhuangzi*)

[Translation by Burton Watson (1968: 60)]

In all human relations, if the two parties are living close to each other, they may form a bond through personal trust. But if they are far apart, they must use words to communicate their loyalty.

(18) 鞠躬盡瘁，死而後已。（諸葛亮）
I have devoted my life to serving the people and will always do my best in the service. (Zhuge Liang)

[My translation]

I have devoted my life to serving the people and will always do my best in the service.

(19) 春蠶到死絲方盡，蠟炬成灰淚始乾。（李商隱）
A spring silkworm keeps producing silk until it dies; a candle keeps giving light until it burns into ashes. (Li Shangyin)

[My translation]

The silkworm spins silk until its death.
The candle dries its tears until it turns to ashes.

(46) 城門失火，殃及池魚。（杜弼）
A fire on the city gate brings disaster to the fish in the moat. (Du Bi)

[My translation]

And a fire on the city gate in the State of Song would bring disaster to the fish in the moat.

(13) Offering Words of Encouragement

On 22 May 2008, Wen paid a visit to the Beichuan Secondary School in Sichuan. He wrote four characters on its blackboard to encourage students who survived the earthquake.

(33) 多難興邦。（《左傳》）
Difficulties rejuvenate a nation. (*Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*)

[Translation by Hu Zhihui and Chen Kejiong (1996: 1059)]

It may happen that *their very difficulties result in strengthening their state power* and the enlarging their boundaries.

(14) Messages to Institutions in China

The last category of quotations that have no official translations are Wen's messages to institutions in China, such as his letter to the China Central Television (CCTV), the national TV station of the People's Republic of China and one of China's most influential media outlets, dated 8 April 2004.

(75) 知屋漏者在宇下，知政失者在草野。（王充）
He who knows the leakage of a house lives under its roof, and he who knows the mismanagement of a state stays on its land. (Wang Chong)

[My translation]

Standing under the eaves, one knows that the house is leaking; in the community one knows that the administration is deficient.

(c) Translation of Sources

One of the most difficult tasks of translating the Chinese book into English is the translation of the sources of the quotations. Basically, all the sources can be divided into poems and lines from classics or popular works. 34 quotations, amounting to 27.41%, are lines from poems, while the rest are from lines from other types of work, such as essays or philosophical treatises. There are several ways of dealing with these sources, which are more difficult to translate than translating the quotations.

(1) Adopting the Existent Translations

Research is involved when searching existent translations of the source texts. Sometimes, translations of certain works are rather limited. It is therefore not difficult to use an existent translation to render the source text. Take Guanzi as an example. There are four quotations from this classical work which has been translated in full by W. Allyn Rickett (1985). The translation of the source of Passage 62: 和合故能諧 (If there is concord and unity, there is harmony) is therefore simple and direct.

(62) 和合故能諧

[出處及釋義]

畜之以道，則民和；養之以德，則民合。和合故能諧，諧故能輯，諧輯以悉，莫之能傷。

——管仲《管子 · 兵法第十七》

If you rear with the "Way," the people will be harmonized. If you nurture with the "Virtue," the people will be united. Since they are harmonious and united, they can be brought in agreement. Since they are in agreement, they can live on intimate terms. Since they live in complete agreement and on such intimate terms no one is able to harm them.

—Guan Zhong, *Guanzi*, "Method of Warfare"

Yet some of the sources, such as *The Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius*, have been translated by many hands and the decision to use which translation is a matter that deserves serious consideration. That is related firstly to the availability of the translations in the University Library System of The Chinese University of Hong Kong and other libraries in Hong Kong in general. And it is also related to the quality of translation of the original work. If a quality translation of a specific work mentioned in the book is available at The Chinese University or in private possession, then translation of the source text would not be problematic.

Take *The Art of War*《孫子兵法》by Sun Wu 孫武 as an example. It is estimated that between 1905 and 2003, there are over forty translations of the work. The final decision was to use the translation made by Roger Ames. When translating Passage 120, Roger Ames's translation of *The Art of War* is therefore reproduced.

[Source text]

故善用兵者，譬如率然。率然者，常山之蛇也。擊其首則尾至，擊其尾則首至，擊其中則首尾俱至。敢問：兵可使如率然乎？曰：可。夫吳人與越人相惡也，當其同舟而濟，遇風，其相救也如左右手。

——《孫子兵法・九地》

[Source text in modern Chinese]

善於用兵的人，他指揮的部隊就如「率然」一樣。「率然」，是常山的一種蛇。擊它的頭部，它的尾部彈過來救應；擊它的尾部，它的頭部彈過來救應；擊它的腰部，它的頭尾一齊彈過來救應。或問：軍隊可指揮得像率然一樣嗎？回答是：可以。吳人與越人是相互仇視的，當他們同船過渡突遇大風時，他們相互救助起來如同左右手。

[English translation by Roger Ames]

Therefore, those who are expert at employing the military are like the "sudden striker." The "sudden striker" is a snake indigenous to Mount Heng. If you strike its tail, its head comes to its aid; if you strike its middle, both head and tail come to its aid. Suppose I am asked: can troops be trained to be like this "sudden striker" snake? I would reply: they can: The men of Wu and Yueh hate each other. Yet if they were crossing the river in the same boat and were caught by gale winds, they would go to each other's aid like the right hand helping the left.

—*The Art of War*, Chapter 2, "The Nine Kinds of Terrain"

It is worth noting that in rendering Passage 82, the translation of the poem by Yu Youren 于右任 could actually be found on the website in which a full translation of the press conference of Wen Jiabao on 18 March 2003 was provided.

> Taiwan: Since the beginning of this year, the Taiwan side has come up with new suggestions and measures to improve the relations across the Taiwan straits. For instance, they have put forward the idea of setting up a mechanism to ensure peace and stability in the cross-strait relationship. They have also done something positive towards the three direct links including the direct shipping and air services. We hope to bring about sound interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan straits. In the past, we have not heard much directly from you on your perspective on the question of Taiwan. We would like to know what is your perspective and what is your knowledge about Taiwan? What will be the major items on the agenda of the new government concerning the work of Taiwan affairs? What expectations do you have on the question of Taiwan?
>
> A: Through you, I would like to extend my best regards to our Taiwan compatriots. The achievement of complete reunification is the common aspiration of all Chinese people, including our Taiwan compatriots. When Taiwan is mentioned, lots of feelings well up. I cannot help thinking of the late Mr. Yu Youren, a founding member of Kuomintang and participant in the Revolution of 1911. He wrote a poem to express his grief over national division. He wrote such a poem: *Burying me on the highest mountaintop so that I can get a sight of my mainland. Mainland I see none, tears of sorrow cascade. Burying me on the highest mountaintop so that I can get a glimpse of my hometown. Hometown I see none, but lives forever in my mind. The lofty sky is deeply blue, the vast wildness not seen through. Oh, boundless universe, would you hear me and this elegy of the nation.* What a touching poem he has written, which strikes a cord on the sentiment of all the Chinese people. The Chinese government will continue to unswervingly pursue the policy of peaceful reunification on the basis of "One Country, Two Systems." We will seek an early resumption of dialogue and negotiation between the two sides on the basis of the "One China" principle. We are against "Taiwan independence." We will continue to support more economic and cultural exchanges between the two sides. We want to bring about the early achievement of three direct links. We hope to make bigger progress in the process towards peaceful reunification.

The source of Passage 82 is as follows:

葬我於高山之上兮，
望我大陸。
大陸不可見兮，只有痛哭！
葬我於高山之上兮，
望我故鄉。
故鄉不可見兮，永不能忘。
天蒼蒼，野茫茫，
山之上，國有殤。

——于右任〈望大陸〉

Bury me on the highest mountaintop
so that I can get a sight of the Mainland.
Mainland I see none, tears of sorrow cascade.
Bury me on the highest mountaintop
so that I can get a glimpse of my hometown.
Hometown I see none, but lives forever in my mind.
The lofty sky is deeply blue, the vast wildness not seen through.
Oh, boundless universe, would you hear me and this elegy of the nation.

—Yu Youren, "Getting a Sight of the Mainland"

(2) Providing New Translations

Another major method of putting the source text into English is by producing a new translation of the source text. Take Passage 1 as an example. After searching and re-searching in the libraries of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, it was found that the line quoted by Wen Jiabao: 苟利國家生死以，豈因禍福避趨之, which comes from the poem〈赴戍登程口占示家人〉("For My Family on My Journey to Yili"), has not been translated. A new translation was produced based on the source text and its modern version provided in the book:

力微任重久神疲，再竭衰庸定不支。
苟利國家生死以，豈因禍福避趨之。
謫居正是君恩厚，養拙剛於戍卒宜。
戲與山妻談故事，試吟斷送老頭皮。

我憑微薄力量擔當重任，早已感到疲憊。體弱才庸，無法繼續支撐。但若對國家有利，我定會生死以之，決不因個人禍福而避之。

只把我流放到邊疆是皇恩浩蕩，對我來說，做一個戍卒正是養拙之道。我開玩笑地對妻子說，你也嘗試做首「斷送老頭皮」那樣的詩送我吧！

[My translation]

I'm an incapable man with heavy responsibilities,
So I feel exhausted long time ago.

Weak and mediocre, I can't hold out any longer.
I'll do whatever is in the interests of my country even at the cost of my own life;
I would never shrink back because of personal weal and woe.

To live in banishment is a great favour from the emperor.
To be a garrison soldier at the frontier is a way of hiding my poor ability.
I joked with my wife and said
"Why don't you try writing a poem entitled 'My Old Man Has Lost His Life.'"

—Lin Zexu, "For My Family on My Journey to Yili"

(3) Adapting Existent Translations

Another way of translating the source text is to adapt slightly, sometimes may be drastically, the existent translations of some popular poems or writings. Take〈遊子吟〉("The Song of a Travelling Son") by Meng Jiao 孟郊 as an example. This is a very popular poem which praises the love of one's mother. It has been translated by many hands. To fit the context of Wen's speech he gave in Australia, a new English version was produced, again based on the modern version provided in the book.

[Source text]

慈母手中線，遊子身上衣。
臨行密密縫，意恐遲遲歸。
誰言寸草心，報得三春暉？

——孟郊〈遊子吟〉

慈母手中拿着針線，正給準備外出的兒子縫製衣服，母親擔心兒子走後遲遲回不來，就把衣服的針腳縫得密密的，使它更結實更耐穿一些。正像小草難以報答春天的陽光一樣，兒子怎能報答母親那深重的恩情呢？

[My translation]

Needle in the hands of a loving mother,
Works into the clothes on the travelling son.
She sets the stitches firmly and closely before he departs,
For fear that he will be slow to return.

Who can say that the heart of inch-long grass,
Will repay the sunshine of spring.

—Meng Jiao, "Song of a Travelling Son"

In the speech he gave in Australia on 3 April 2006, Wen Jiabao said, "Everyone has two mothers: one is our birth mother, the other is mother country. Sometimes he started to miss mother country after a seven- or eight-day visit, he said. The longer one stays in a foreign country, the more one misses one's mother country."

All the representatives applauded loudly in response to Premier Wen, and softly recited with Premier Wen "The Song of a Traveling Son": "Needle in the hands of a loving mother / works into the clothes on the traveling son / She sets the stitches firmly and closely before he departs / For fear that he will be slow to return / Who can say that the heart of inch-long grass / will repay the sunshine of spring."

(4) Revising Existent Translations

Sometimes a revised translation was produced based on an existent translation, such as the quotation of Passage 15: "衙齋臥聽蕭蕭竹，疑是民間疾苦聲" (Lying in bed in my den, I heard the rustling of bamboos outside, and it just sounded like the moaning of the needy), written by Zheng Xie (1693–1765).

[Source text]

衙齋臥聽蕭蕭竹，疑是民間疾苦聲。
些小吾曹州縣吏，一枝一葉總關情。

——鄭板橋〈濰縣署中畫竹呈年伯包大中丞括〉

[Modern text translation]

臥在衙門的書齋裏靜聽竹葉沙沙響動，總感覺是民間百姓呼飢號苦的喊聲。在州縣裏像我們這些地位卑下的小官吏，民間每一件小事如同畫上每一條枝葉，總牽動着自己的感情。

[Translation by Anthony Cheung and Paul Gurofsky (1987: 39)]

In my office study, resting, I listen to bamboos
    Mournful in the wind.
Is it the suffering of the oppressed people,
    I wonder?

We minor officials, what can we do
    But bestow all our concern on just this single
    Branch and leaf?

—Cheng Pan-ch'iao: "In the Magistrate's Office at Wei Hsien I Paint a Bamboo to Present to My Senior, Governor Pao K'uo"

[**My translation**]

Lying in bed in my den, I heard the rustling of bamboos outside,
And it just sounded like the moaning of the needy.
We minor officials,
Though it may be as trivial as this single branch and leaf,
I will always bestow all our concern only if it is among people.

—Zheng Banqiao, "In the Magistrate's Office at Weixian I Paint a Bamboo to Present to My Senior, Governor Bao Kuo"

(d) Conclusion

There is much to be learned from this translation exercise. To translate anything by a prominent statesman is a tall order to any translator. The translation must be politically correct, factually accurate, officially acceptable, stylistically appropriate, terminologically consistent, and textually faultless. To achieve these criteria, searching and re-searching must be considered as a proper method of translation. Searching refers in general to efforts to find translations which are officially provided by the websites such as "gov.cn", "xinhua.net", "people.cn", or the Chinese Embassies in different countries on the Internet. Re-searching, in the context of this particular exercise, can be hyphenated as re-searching to refer to the multiple levels of search that have to be conducted before an equivalent can be found for a specific quotation or source text. Researching can also be interpreted as a single word to refer to the research efforts that are needed to locate the optimal translation out of the potentially usable translations.

Perhaps a more detailed explanation of the above criteria may be in order as a way of concluding this chapter.

Politically Correct

The first criterion, to be politically correct, is of paramount importance for political leaders of China, or indeed of any country. This can be seen in the translation of Passage 43: 察其言，觀其行 (Hear what they say and then watch what they do), which records an interview of Wen Jiabao by Leonard Downie, an executive editor of the *Washington Post*, on 21 November 2003. Downie asked Wen Jiao: “The Dalai Lama has declared that he is not seeking independence for Tibet. Do you foresee face-to-face meetings with the Dalai Lama and representatives of China?” Wen Jiabao replied by saying, “Regrettably, Dalai Lama has not genuinely given up his position of Tibet independence and has not given up the separatist activities aimed at splitting the motherland. He also has not recognized that Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. We have taken note of the recent remarks by the Dalai Lama but we still need to watch very carefully what he really does.” Any mistranslation of the above remarks by Wen Jiabao would be of serious consequence.

Factually Accurate

To be factually accurate is also of great importance. Take Passage 32 as an example. The Chinese text is as follows:

[Source text]

2005 年，對於中國煤礦業來說是黑色的一年。據國家安全生產監督管理總局統計，全年煤礦共發生死亡事故 3341 起，5986 人失去生命。
2 月 14 日，遼寧省阜新孫家灣煤礦發生瓦斯爆炸，214 人死亡。
3 月 19 日，山西省朔州市平魯區細水煤礦發生重大瓦斯爆炸事故，72 人遇難。
7 月 11 日，新疆阜康神龍煤礦發生瓦斯爆炸事故，83 人死亡。
8 月 7 日，廣東梅州興寧市大興煤礦發生透水事故，121 人死亡。
11 月 27 日，黑龍江七台河礦難，171 人死亡。
12 月 7 日，河北唐山劉官屯煤礦發生重大瓦斯爆炸，108 名礦工遇難。

[My translation]

The year 2005 was a black year to the coal mining industry. According to the statistics of the State Administration of Work Safety of the People’s Republic of China, a total of 3,341 fatal incidents occurred in coal mines in the entire year, and 5,986 persons lost their lives.

On 14 February, there was a gas explosion at the Sunjiawan Coal Mine in Fuxin in Liaoning Province, involving 214 deaths.

On 19 March, there was a huge gas explosion at the Xishui Coal Mine in the Pinglu District of Shuozhou City in Shanxi Province, involving 71 deaths.

On 11 July, a blast at the Shenlong Coal Mine in Fukang in Xianjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region killed 83 persons.

On 7 August, flooding at the Daxing Coal Mine in Xingning Country in Meizhou City drowned 121 miners.

On 27 November, a mining disaster at Qitai River in Heilongjiang killed 171 people.

On 7 December, a huge explosion at the Liuguantun Coal Mine in the Kiping District of Tangshan City in Hebei Province claimed 171 lives.

Officially Acceptable

The translation of works by a political figure should also be officially acceptable. To achieve this, the use of official websites is very important. Passage 90: 今年花兒紅了，明年花更好 (The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year) may be cited as an example. As Wen Jiabao changed the wording of the original prose-poem by Ouyang Xiu, it would not be easy to come up with a translation of this recast line. By searching the Internet and finding the relevant website, an officially acceptable translation could be readily produced.

We begin by searching for the original Chinese text and its English translation provided by the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

[Chinese text of the press conference]

香港經濟日報記者：「今年是香港回歸祖國十週年，請問總理，對香港回歸十年以來的表現，您有什麼樣的評價？我們也知道總理一直非常關心香港的情況，您對香港未來的發展有什麼樣的希望？在今天剛剛通過的政府工作報告裏提到要加快金融體制改革。請問總理，香港作為一個國際金融中心，在我們國家未來的金融體制改革方面可以扮演什麼樣的角色？謝謝總理！」

溫家寶：「香港回歸十年了，確實走過了一條不平凡的道路。這十年來，中央政府堅定不移地貫徹執行『一國兩制』、『港人治港』、高度自治的方針，堅決按基本法辦事，沒有干涉屬於香港特別行政區內部的事務。

香港特別行政區政府團結香港市民，戰勝了亞洲金融風波等一系列的困難，經濟得到穩定、恢復和發展，民生得以改善。

香港目前處在一個重要的發展時期。我一直認為，香港背靠祖國、面對世界，有着特殊的區位優勢。香港有着世界最自由的經濟、國際上廣泛的聯繫，有着較為完備的法制和經濟管理人才的優勢。

香港的金融中心地位以至航運中心地位、貿易中心地位，是其他地區不可替代的。值此香港回歸十年之際，我請你轉達對香港同胞的問候，我衷心希望香港更加繁榮，更加開放，更加包容，更加和諧！紫荊花盛開了，今年花兒紅了，明年花更好！」

[**Official translation of the press conference**]

Hong Kong Economic Times: This year marks the 10th anniversary of Hong Kong's return. What is your assessment of Hong Kong's performance in the past 10 years since its return? We know that you care a lot about Hong Kong. What are your expectations of Hong Kong's future growth? In the Report on the Work of the Government just adopted today, you talked about the need to accelerate the reform of the financial system. Hong Kong is an international financial center. What role do you expect Hong Kong to play in the reform of China's financial system?

Premier: In the past 10 years since its return, Hong Kong has made significant strides on the road of advance. Over the past 10 years, the Central Government has faithfully observed the principles of "one country, two systems" and "Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong with a high degree of autonomy", and acted in strict accordance with the Basic Law. It has not intervened in the administration of the Hong Kong SAR Government. The Hong Kong SAR Government has united the Hong Kong people in overcoming a number of difficulties, including the Asian financial turmoil. As a result, Hong Kong has maintained economic stability, recovery and growth and improved the well-being of its people.

Hong Kong is now at a crucial stage of development. It has always been my view that backed by the mainland and facing the world, Hong Kong has a unique geographical advantage. It has the freest economy in the world, extensive links with the rest of the world, a full-fledged legal system and a rich pool of managerial expertise. Hong Kong's position as a financial center, shipping center and trade center is irreplaceable. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Hong Kong's return, I would like to ask you to convey my warm greetings to our Hong Kong compatriots. I sincerely hope that Hong Kong will become more prosperous, open, inclusive and harmonious. The bauhinia flower is in full bloom. The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year.

The following are the source text in the Chinese book and its translation, based on the official translation provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[引句背景]

2007 年 3 月 16 日上午，十屆全國人大五次會議閉幕會結束後，溫家寶在人民大會堂舉行的記者招待會上接受採訪。

香港《經濟日報》記者問：「今年是香港回歸祖國十週年。請問總理，對香港回歸十年來的表現，您有什麼樣的評價？我們知道總理一直非常關心香港的情況。請問總理，對香港未來的發展有什麼樣的希望？」

溫家寶首先肯定了香港 10 年間取得的成就，並表示相信香港的地位不會被取代。他最後借媒體轉達了對香港同胞的問候，說：「值此香港回歸十年之際，我請你轉達對香港同胞的問候，我衷心希望香港更加繁榮，更加開放，更加包容，更加和諧！紫荊花盛開了，今年花兒紅了，明年花更好！」

[My translation]

[Background to the quotation]

On the morning of 16 March 2007, at the conclusion of the Fifth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress (NPC) Wen Jiabao met the Chinese and foreign press and answered their questions at a press conference held at the Great Hall of the People.

A reporter of Hong Kong Economic Times asked: "This year marks the Tenth anniversary of Hong Kong's return. What is your assessment of Hong Kong's performance in the past ten years since its return? We know that you care a lot about Hong Kong. What are your expectations of Hong Kong's future growth?"

Wen Jiabao first affirmed the recent achievements of Hong Kong, and was confident that its position in the region would not change. Lastly, he conveyed through the media his greetings to the people of Hong Kong: "On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Hong Kong's return, I would like to ask you to convey my warm greetings to our Hong Kong compatriots. I sincerely hope that Hong Kong will become more prosperous, open, inclusive and harmonious. The bauhinia flower is in full bloom. The red bauhinia is beautiful this year, and it will be even more beautiful next year."

Stylistically Appropriate

This criterion is extremely relevant in the case of translating this book in which sayings and lines from different genres are given. A number of examples can be cited to illustrate the importance of producing the original style.

(1) Couplet
身無半畝，心憂天下。
手釋萬卷，神交古人。

——左宗棠對聯

[My translation]

I don't have half an acre of land to myself,
But I care about my people across the land.
I read over ten thousand books
And am spiritually attracted to the ancient.

—A Couplet of Zuo Zongtang

Sometimes, it is necessary to produce a new translation based on an old one, such as the translation of the source text of Passage 122: 萬物並育而不相害，道並行而不相悖 (All living creatures grow together without harming one another, ways run parallel without interfering with one another).

[Chinese source text]

仲尼祖述堯舜，憲章文武；上律天時，下襲水土。辟如天地之無不持載，無不覆幬，辟如四時之錯行，如日月之代明。萬物並育而不相害，道並行而不相悖。小德川流，大德敦化。此天地之所以為大也。

——子思《中庸》

[Modern version]

孔子繼承堯舜的傳統，以文王、武王為典範，上遵循天時，下符合地理。就像天地那樣沒有什麼不承載，沒有什麼不覆蓋。又好像四季的交錯運行，日月的交替光明。萬物一起生長而互不妨害，道路同時並行而互不衝突。小的德行如河水一樣川流不息，大的德行敦厚純樸、化育萬物。這就是天地的偉大之處啊！

[My translation, based on James Legge 1996: 57]

Zhongni handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wen and Wu, taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land. He may be compared to Heaven and Earth, in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in the alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. All living creatures grow together without harming one another; ways run parallel without interfering with one another. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes Heaven and Earth so great.

—Zisi, *Doctrine of the Mean*

Terminologically Consistent

In translating "About the Author" 作者簡介 or "About the Work" 作品簡介 in each passage, one of the main difficulties is the rendition of proper names and official titles. In proper name translation, Hanyin Romanization has been used. As regards to the translation of official titles, terminological consistency has been achieved by following the designations given in Charles O. Hucker's book *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Hucker 1985). An Example is given below.

[作者簡介]

林則徐（1785–1850），清代愛國政治家、思想家、詩人。福建省福州市人。嘉慶十六年（1811）進士，授翰林院編修，先後擔任過江南道監察御史、東河河道總督、江蘇巡撫、湖廣總督等職。

[My translation]

Lin Zexu (1785–1850), a patriotic politician of the Qing dynasty, thinker and poet, was a native of Fuzhou in Fujian Province. He received the jinshi degree, the highest in the imperial examinations, in 1811, and served as Compiler at the Hanlin Academy. He also served as Censor of the Jiangnan Circuit, Director General of Conservation for the Eastern Stretches of the Yellow River, Governor of Jiangsu, and Governor-general of Hunan and Hubei.

Textually Faultless

Meticulous proofing is mandatory for translated works involving prominent leaders in China. Due to time constraints, this book is not free of typographical errors. It is hoped that a corrected version will be available if the book has a second edition or printing.

Conclusion

As is the case with all kinds of translations, the translation of famous quotes can never be perfect. What is most important, nevertheless, is to ensure that the messages, or more specially the messages in the quotations in the original works have been conveyed to the target readers in a satisfactory manner. Quotations are often made without reference to the original contexts in which they appear. Translators need to contextualize the decontextualized quotations to bring out what is intended by the author. This chapter has discussed the issues relating to quotation translation through an examination of poetry translation, as lines from poems form the main bulk of quotations, and also through the citation of Chinese sayings by Premier Wen Jiabao, whose speeches contain quotations from a wide variety of sources. Quotations from poetry and quotations by Wen Jiabao should have helped us understand the way quotations are cited in different genres of writings and also ways of rendering quotations from Chinese into English.

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8 Tourism Translation

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Introduction

Nowadays, the tourism industry relies heavily on the global market, and thus translation has become an essential component in effective tourism marketing. Many tourism operators now provide multilingual services in various formats. For example, tourism websites are translated into different languages; the content of exhibitions is explained in multilingual signs or text panels; in some places, audio guides in various languages or tour guides are provided. Most non-English-speaking countries provide English translation as a global lingua franca. The languages of the translations provided depend on the geographical location. For example, it is very common to see Chinese or Korean translations in Japanese tourist destinations. In the United Kingdom, information in other European languages is usually provided, and now even more remote languages such as Chinese, Arabic, and Urdu can also be seen. In this chapter, we would like to provide an in-depth discussion on the issues related to the practice of tourism translation. The purpose is two-fold: first, to provide a thorough review of relevant discussions in the existing literature; and second, to bring to the attention of practitioners of tourism translation key issues that are often encountered in this activity and possible solutions. Overall, the discussion will be rooted in theories, but with a clear practical orientation.

Before we go into the discussion of tourism, it is useful to have a quick overview of the definition of tourism and the tourism material. The World Tourism Organization under United Nations (UNWTO) provides the following definition:

> Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which involve tourism expenditure. (UNWTO 2014)

This definition of tourism points out the intercultural nature of this activity. The activity involves movement of people, encounters of cultures, and languages. Jack and Phipps make an interesting comment: "languages, when they move into other linguistic spaces, re-emerge as translation" (Jack & Phipps 2005: 72). This vivid description of language and translation highlights the key role of translation in tourism. When people move to a different region or country, they may experience barriers in communication not only because of linguistic but also because of cultural differences. The definition also highlights the challenge to translators: because of the diverse profiles of global visitors and the various purposes of travelling—be it for business, professional, or leisure—translations need to be carried out in a way that is accessible for the intended uses and users. In fact, translation does not only help visitors experience foreign travel, translation itself constitutes an important part of the tourist experience (ibid.: 73).

Despite the obvious link between tourism and translation, to the present day there have been few critical studies exploring this connection (Cronin 2000: 1). The few studies that have been carried out tend to focus on the poor quality of translation. Kelly comments that translations of poor quality are usually carried out by non-professionals or people who lack awareness of the target language conventions (Kelly 1998: 34). The unfortunate situation is that translation expertise is not taken seriously by the clients and the tourism industry, although translation scholars have argued that the ideal tourism translation should involve translators as a part of the team, participating in every step from marketing plans to communicating (Cheng and Lü 2008: 5). Many previous studies have adopted this kind of error-analysis on tourism translations, but we argue that this approach of focusing on mistakes in translation can actually overlook many other potential social or interactional functions created through tourism translations. In this chapter, we will review different functions that tourism translation may exert, leading, hopefully, to more comprehensive guidelines to practitioners of tourism translations.

Features of Tourism Texts

Translators of tourism deal with "tourism texts", which, just like the definition of tourism, can be a very broad concept. In this chapter, we follow Kelly (1998) to define tourist texts as:

> Any text published by a public or private organisation of any kind intended a) to give information to any kind of visitor or b) to advertise a destination (city, hotel, restaurant, etc.) and encourage visitors to go there. (ibid.: 35)

The genre of tourism texts that has been mostly investigated by scholars is probably the tourism brochure, and this will also be covered mostly in our review below; however, some other genres have also been discussed, such as travel writing literature (e.g. in Cronin 2000).

Tourism texts can cover a range of subjects, including architecture, history, politics, pop culture, food culture, etc., and can provide a variety of information such as transportation, menu, opening hours, ticketing information, etc. Tourism texts can also be displayed in different modes, such as in a brochure, in a booklet, in a guidebook, as an oral guide, on a website, etc.

Tourist texts belong to a hybrid genre with multi-functionality, and the key linguistic functions include instruction, description, narration and evaluation (Mason 2004). Examples of instructional texts are guidebooks which are provided for readers regarding travel direction. Examples of descriptions are information that is provided to readers so that they know what can be seen in a tourist destination. Tourism texts can also be narrative. For example, the historical stories relating to the heritage of a place is often included in tourist brochures to educate visitors about relevant background and to attract them. Evaluation can be seen in how "selling points" of a tourist destination are explicitly stated in the brochure so that visitors feel that it is worthy of visiting.

Translators of tourism material work under many constraints, including external (professional and social-cultural factors in general) and internal constraints (textual and linguistic factors). The following list of constraints is clearly explained by Comitre Narvaez and Valverde Zambrana (2014).

External Constraints

- *Advertiser's objectives*: the commissioners' goal driven by economic and legal factors will provide the ultimate guidance to the translation strategies.
- *Working conditions*: Tourism translators very often work in team, which may include for example webmasters, graphic designers, copywriters, etc.
- *Quality norms*: In some places there may be standard quality regulations. For example, the European Standard for Translation Service Providers (EN-15038:2006) will govern all translation activities in the region, including provisions of tourism translations.
- *Marketing demands*: Tourism translation is a form of advertisement, so it needs to follow the basic principles in advertising, such as the AIDA model (attention, interest, desire, and action).
- *Target culture expectations*: Tourism translations need to consider target readers' background and expectations, and adaptations need to be made accordingly.

Internal Constraints

- *Semiotic cohesion*: Tourism texts often include both verbal and visual messages, and the translations need to be aware of the consistency between the two sets of signs.
- *Nature and function of culture-specific items*: As tourism texts are closely related to unique cultural experiences, it is inevitable that they will include many words and phrases with reference to cultural-specific items or concepts.

- *Previous translations*: If the same institutions or other institutions have already provided information relating to a tourist destination, translators need to take extra care of "intertextuality" to achieve consistency.
- *Relevance to the target readers*: This is related to the target cultural expectations in the external constraints, but more focus on the specific linguistic conventions of tourism texts writing in different cultures.
- *Ideological status*: Languages being a reflection of a wider socio-cultural values and beliefs inevitably means that any choices in translation regarding to particular linguistic expressions will have an impact on how target readers perceive the value of tourist destinations and even the tourism service providers.

Given that tourism is a complicated activity and tourism material can be produced for different purposes, and very often to serve different purposes at the same time, in order to have a coherent discussion within this complicated activity, we propose to address the issue of translating tourism material broadly based on the three communicative functions of language: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (cf. systemic functional grammar; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

Ideational function refers to the way we encode our experience in the world in language. This communicative function plays an important role in tourism texts and can present challenges to translators, as tourism is very much about experiencing different worlds—eating different food, speaking different languages, interacting with different people, etc. "For a substantial percentage of tourists, experiences of different or "other" cultures in the settings of ordinary life presents its own challenge" (Jamal and Roninson 2009: 4). This is an important aspect in tourism, which is often closely related to a particular culture or society. One of the reasons people travel is to go to see different cultures and peoples, so how translators mediate different world-views and social experience is naturally a big challenge.

Interpersonal is related to how we say or write things in relation to our projected relationship with other textual participants, particularly with addressees. An important purpose of a tourism text is to attract readers, and to encourage them to participate in the promoted activity. Therefore, management of writer-reader relationship is a crucial issue.

The challenge to translators regarding this function mainly lies in the different norms of social relationship in which different languages and cultures may operate. For example, there may be differences in the formality of the language or the social distance expected in this type of writing.

Lastly, the textual function concerns the mode in which a text is produced. For example, tourism material may be a tourist brochure, a public sign, a website interface, and these modes will constrain the way translation can be produced. In this chapter, we will particularly focus on the localization of websites, because it has become one of the most effective ways to reach global tourists in the tourism industry nowadays.

It should be highlighted that the three functions are made distinct in the following discussion simply because it allows us to decompose the tourism language and translation in a clearer way and allows us to address translation challenges in a more focused manner. However, the three functions are by no means separate in the tourism material, and neither are individual translation challenges in a one-to-one relationship with any of the three functions. The three functions of course interact with each other in any language production, and in fact we will demonstrate in the discussion below how linguistic features and translation challenges may appear in more than one category.

At the end of the article, we would like to provide a list including the key features that are listed as expertise by tourism translation companies from our online survey, in order to confirm whether the theory-based advices provided in this article match the industry demands.

Translating the Ideational Function

Ideation at Lexical Level: Culture-Specific Items

Culture-specific items (CSIs) are a challenge more commonly for some types of translations, but can be said to exist in all translations due to the inherent cross-cultural nature of the translation activity. Tourism translations, as discussed above, by nature involve the encounter of a group of people to a different culture, and therefore the translation of CSIs is the core issue of tourism translation and has been widely discussed in research on tourism and translation.

The strategies for dealing with CSIs have been discussed in comprehensive ways by translation scholars in general, and in various contexts. One of the widely cited and most comprehensive lists is probably from Baker (2011). She lists culture-specific items under the section of "common problems of non-equivalence at word level", and provides possible translation strategies including (for more details of each strategies, refer to Baker 2011: 23–44):

- Translation by a more general word (superordinate)
- Translation by a more neutral/less expressive word
- Translation by cultural substitution
- Translation using a loan word or a loan word plus explanation
- Translation by paraphrase using a related/unrelated word.
- Translation by omission
- Translation by illustration

This guide is intended to be general, so contains useful suggestions for tourism translators. In the following we want to review another list of strategies provided by Comitre Narvaez and Valverde Zambrana (2014). The list is not as comprehensive as Baker's; however, it reflects some unique features of tourism material. This study is based on a small corpus of 13 advertisements on the tourist promotion campaign, all translated from Spanish into English. In the corpus the authors have identified 70 culture-specific items, and after close analysis they observe three main strategies used by translators to deal with this challenge, which they refer to as *exoticization*, *explanation*, and *assimilation*.

Exoticization is a strategy in which the source text words are kept in the same form in the target text. This is often seen in place names or dish names on menus, for practical reasons. There are three types of exoticization: *Pure exoticization* is when the source language word is left untransformed in the target text. *Italicized* or *formatted exoticization* refers to when the foreign word is presented in a different typographical form, such as italicized or bolded. *Exoticization combined with deletion* is a strategy when the foreign word is presented in a shorter form than in the source text, for example, Museo del Prado, the Spanish name for the Museum of the Prado, may be presented only as "the Prado" in the English translation.

Explanation is a strategy in which intratextual gloss of the semantic meaning provides the target readers with extra information to bridge the cultural gap. There are two types of explanation: *Hyphenated marked explanation* is when the explanation is clearly indicated through punctuation markers such as hyphens or brackets. *Adjectivized explanation* is when the ST words are replaced by a similar concept or a hyperborindate in the target language and explained by an adjective to indicate the culture uniqueness. For example, in the menu we often see words like "Chinese lettuce" or "Thai-style chicken".

Assimilation replaces the source text reference by a target culture reference, so the source text is "adapted" to a certain extent to conform to the target culture. There are two types of assimilation: *Pure assimilation* may be used for measurement conversion as different cultures may have different preference. For instance, one mile in an English tourism brochure may be converted into 1.6 kilometres in other languages. *Italicized assimilation* refers to when the reference is replaced by another words or phrases more commonly known to the target text readers, but still highlighted in a different format, to indicate its "foreign" root.

Among the three strategies, Comitre Narvaez and Valverde Zambrana (2014) find the strategy of *exoticization* the most popular in their corpus. Although this finding cannot claim to be general for all tourism texts, it corresponds with some other scholars' discussion. For example, Kelly (1998: 37) has also pointed out that foreign words are often left untranslated in the target text for the purpose of identification. The reason for this is that many tourist texts are written as guides, to be carried as the visitor walks around in the tourist destination. The written guides need to be able to point the guide users to other visual information displayed on site, such as public signs, which are usually only in the language of the tourist destination. Another possible explanation for the strategy of *exoticization* can be found in the definition of tourism mentioned above—it is an activity for people to move outside of their place. Therefore, foreign words function as symbols of "outside words" in tourism texts.

These three strategies—*exoticization*, *explanation*, and *assimilation*—are basically consistent with the framework proposed by Baker (2011), but demonstrate two distinct features. First, the visual presentation is a crucial element of all the strategies. Tourism texts are often multimodal, and the communication is achieved both verbally and visually—or the combination of both. Regardless of the linguistic strategies chosen to deal with CSIs, to highlight the translation of CSIs in different font styles—whether italicized, bolded, or underlined—enables the traces of foreignness to be more outstanding in texts. Second, the findings from the tourism corpus suggest that highlighting the foreignness is the preferred strategy for tourism translation due to the ultimate communicative goal, and therefore some strategies suggested by Baker (2011) in the general list are rarely used by tourism translators. For example, translations by omissions are probably not favoured because it diminishes the "exotic flavour" in tourism texts. Also, the strategy of paraphrasing may not be applicable sometimes due to the physical constraints of space in tourism brochures or leaflets.

Ideation at Discourse Level—Tourism and National Identity

The relation between tourism and ideational expression is not only reflected at the lexical level on exotic cultural objects or commodities. At the discursive level, language embodies a particular view, value and belief of a specific culture. Besides the economic value of tourism, its political agenda has also been widely discussed. Pitchford (2008: 3) uses the term "identity tourism", by which he means "collective identities are represented, interpreted and potentially constructed through the use of history and culture". With his focus on the relationship between travelers and writing, Cronin (2000: 2) also talks about the many possible pitfalls of translation, including "the political economy translation in the Eurocentric appropriation of other peoples and places through ex-colonial languages", and "the misleading myth of transparent non-refractory translation". Set in the context of postcolonial studies, Cronin draws attention to how travelers to other countries "translate" their personal experience for their home fellows, or how translators translate a foreign literature into the way they want the target readers to perceive the source culture. Far from being "transparent", these translations are often disguised as being neutral, impartial, and factual.

From the perspective of ideological value, Cronin (2000) also offers explanations for the preference to exoticizing strategies in tourism translations: foreign words are themselves symbols of foreignness. In travel literature, for example, "words become the souvenirs brought home to the expectant readers" (ibid.: 40). The visual symbolism of CSIs in texts also support why the visual presentation of untranslated CSIs is an key issue in translated tourism brochures, because italicized or words in inverted commas draw readers' attention immediately to "their conspicuous otherness in the text" (ibid.: 41).

National identity and ideology can be embedded in tourism texts at the macro-level, for example in the way the history of a culture is narrated. Hatim and Mason (1997: 155–156) give another example from a historical writing on Mexico. They found a consistent shift in ideology: the Spanish word for "ancient Mexicans" is translated into English as "Indians"; the Spanish word for "encounters" is translated into English as "clash of culture"; the Spanish "indigenous man" as English "pre-Colombian civilization", and so on. These examples show clearly how translation of historical narrative in tourism texts cannot be separated from an ideological stance.

Sometimes even a simple word choice can reflect an ideology. For example, in what Baker calls "rival systems of naming" (2006: 123), she gives an example in the North Irish context: whether to translate the Irish county name *Doire Columcille* into the English *Londonderry* or *Derry* is an issue that goes beyond simply the strategy of being exotic or being assimilated, but has an impact on how the historical relationship between Ireland and England is viewed—and which view the translator sides with. We can imagine that in a map on the tourism brochure, a choice on how a place should be named needs to be made, and thus this tourism brochure will not be ideology-free.

At the macro-level, the translation may deviate from the ST in terms of what is to be introduced or is considered to attract the target readers. Smecca (2009) illustrates this difference by comparing the English version of *Lonely Planet Sicily* and its translation into Italian. In the introduction, we have mentioned that tourism is mainly about people's imagination of a different culture, which can be created, for example, by using foreign words. To go even further, sometimes a culture is "created" or described in a way to accommodate the imagination of others, or a stereotype. Sicily is stereotyped as being associated with mafia and chaos. Smecca (2009) has found that the English guidebook contains reference to risks against female travelers to Sicily or local people's disrespect of law, and portrays Sicily as a poverty-stricken island. These references are largely omitted or modified in the Italian version. For example, the four paragraphs of warnings against female travelers are reduced to only two sentences. Smecca's (2009: 115) explanation for this difference is that the users of the Italian version, presumably people from Italy, know their country well and do not need exaggerations to pique their interest; furthermore, some of the accounts in the English version may offend Italian readers. This case study illustrates that the construction of national image or identity is frequently manipulated in tourism translation.

In some other cases, translators have been urged to take a more proactive role in what to choose and what not to choose in translating tourism material, by taking the national identity or pride into consideration. For example, in his study of the Chinese tourism translation into English and its connection with the rising power of China on the global stage, Jin (2006) considers the English translation of Chinese place names to be a symbol of national territory. Therefore, Chinese names should be translated following the national transliteration system (Hanyu Pinyin), rather than using any other spelling system or by meaning, which Jin argues is a disrespect of national dignity (ibid.: 296). He also argues that some existing English translations of Chinese names are rooted in the colonial era, such as Hong Kong, Amoy, Canton, and Formosa, and they should be abandoned because these translations "hurt our people's feelings" (2006: 297). Jin's arguments suggest that tourism translation really goes beyond errors in meanings or fluency, but concerns how one nation presents itself to others.

To this end, one useful piece of advice to the tourism translation practitioners is that even minor changes in linguistic choices can have an impact on the macro-level discourse value. Translators as cultural experts need to be aware of how they may accidentally shape a different cultural image, or offend the target readers. On the other hand, if the translator is aware that the image presented in the ST may offend the target readers, as a cultural expert, they may want to point this out to the clients and offer advice.

Translating the Interpersonal Function

This section will discuss the relationship between tourism texts and target readers. The sensitive relationship between tourism translation and its target readers is pointed out by Kelly (1998): Tourism translations are often encountered by people who are visiting in a different town, region, or country, and the translation in their language is the only thing that can provide them with essential information. Jack and Phipps (2005: 72) comment that the Western tourists may feel that they are out of their safety net when "other languages are not displayed in the habits of [their] monolingual lives in the West". Many people only ever use translations while they travel. Therefore, the interpersonal function of tourism texts is a topic worthy of close investigation.

Studies of tourism translation that investigate the interpersonal function may seem to indicate strategies that are very different to those indicated by studies focusing on the ideational function. Whereas in the previous section, we have seen that the translations function to present a foreign and exotic word to the target readers, i.e. drawing the readers to the texts, in this section, we will see that the studies tend to argue for a translation of tourism texts which will accommodate the target linguistic and generic conventions, i.e. drawing the texts to the readers. The main argument for this reader-oriented approach is that tourism texts are fundamentally advertisements, and therefore the texts should serve the customers and cater for their taste. Snell-Hornby (1999) studies the genre of tourist brochure as a type of tourism texts. She follows the model of Reiss' text typology to see tourist brochures as a type of operative text, i.e. "the communication of content with a persuasive character" (Reiss 1981/2000: 163). Seeing the tourism brochure as a type of advertising text, Snell-Hornby argues that tourism translation, like other advertising translation, is a process of creative writing. Creative features in tourism texts may include wordplay, metaphor, and fixed idioms, and the task of the translator is to use their creativity to overcome these linguistic challenges so that the translations "would rouse the burning desire in the target reader's mind" to visit a place or buy a tourism product (Snell-Hornby 1999: 100).

The obstacles to attract target readers with tourism translation can broadly be argued to be caused by two reasons: first, tourism translation does not conform to the target norms in terms of what is often expected by the target readers to be seen in a tourism brochure. If a tourism brochure is produced in a way that target readers cannot recognize it as a tourism brochure, then the text cannot attract them and motivate them to travel. Second, the tourism translation does not address the target readers in the way that they are usually addressed as tourism text readers in their own language. This is often a problem when translating tourism material into English, which usually prefers a more informal and relaxed tenor compared with many other languages, such as French, Spanish, and Chinese. In the following we will address the two obstacles based on Kelly (1998) and Mason (2004), and finally conclude with an empirical study of how to identify different generic conventions by Hogg, Liao and O'Gorman (2014).

Kelly's (1998) study discusses the problem that tourism genres may have different conventions in different languages, leading target readers to expect different content. She compares Spanish and English tourism texts, and finds that Spanish texts give more emphasis to the cultural background of tourism sites such as architecture and history, and English texts provide more practical information to tourists, such as contact details or visiting information. When encountering such discrepancies in readers' expectations, regarding the persuasive function of tourism texts, Kelly (1998: 37) advises that a successful tourism translation should prioritize target readers' expectations, i.e. the translations should be produced in a way to meet the conventions of the target languages. In order to fully meet this aim, she further argues that tourist translation should probably be placed between the borderline of a translation and a rewriting, and requires the strategy of *adaptation*. In the professional context, the translators need to identify the cultural discrepancies and the negative consequences of not conforming to the target readers' expectations. A professional tourism translator should initiate a discussion with the commissioners to decide the appropriate amount of adaptation required for the case. Key information that the translator needs from the commissioners in order to make an informed decision is the target readers' background. This suggestion from Kelly (1998) further strengthens our earlier argument that tourism translators need to form a part of the team in the entire process of marketing decision-making. Very often translators are excluded from the process of decision-making, and therefore do not have the confidence to make adaptations, or do not have access to required information such as the uses and the users of the target texts in order to make the right decision as to what needs to be adapted.

In terms of personal interaction, Mason (2004) investigates interaction in tourism brochures by focusing on the degree of interpersonality expected in different cultural norms of tourist brochures. Comparing the French and Spanish with English tourism brochures, he notices that the French and the Spanish tourists are more featured by their expert-to-expert tenor of discourse and contain an educational culture. In other words, the tourist brochures are narrated by someone who is very knowledgeable of the history and culture of a tourist destination, and the readers are assumed to have this knowledge as well. On the other hand, the English texts are usually narrated by an expert to non-expert, for example:

> Experiencing the Viking adventure first hand as <u>our</u> storytellers guide <u>you</u> through 500 years of history… (as cited in Mason 2004)

The pronouns *our* and *you* clearly create a division between the narrator and the visitors. So, the visitor is not assumed to have any knowledge of Viking history and guidance will be provided. Mason's findings in some ways correspond to Kelly's (1998) finding that the Spanish tourism texts emphasize the cultural and historical background (and therefore sounds more like expert-to-expert communication), whereas the English texts provides practical information.

To overcome the challenge when translating from an expert-to-expert convention to an expert-to-lay convention, a translator may need to adopt a strategy that Mason (2004) terms *explicitation*. In practice, translators can present information such as knowledge of history and art to readers in the way that they should already have such knowledge, but this may offend readers in some other countries. For example, they may feel excluded from the dialogue, and therefore are discouraged from visiting the destination. In such cases, "unpacking" the specialized knowledge and treating all readers as non-experts may be a practical strategy.

The degree of interpersonality may be different from language to language, depending on the cultural norms of tourist brochures, and presents a challenge to the translators. Interpersonality can go from the most detached tenor, such as impersonal, which, according to Mason (2004) is rarely seen in this genre, given its nature to attract readers. A way to remain detached but with a little more interpersonal tenor is to address the visitors using third personal pronouns, e.g. *tourists*. In other cultures, a more direct reference, such as by using the second personal pronoun *you*, may be more conventional. Certainly, the degree of interaction will vary within a tourist brochure—for example, when guiding tourists, the tone may be more personal; whereas when narrating the historical past the tone may be more detached.

In the section of guidance, such as practical information of travel and accommodation for the visitors, the choice of register may have the most direct impact on the visitors. In pragmatics, suggestions and advice are commonly seen as potential "face-threatening acts" (Brown and Levinson 1987) since they intend to have an influence on the readers' behaviour. If the "bold-on-record" strategies are not a preferred norm in the target language culture, the readers may be deterred from following the instructions. Given the nature of the genre, "distance reducing features" may be a better choice for translators (Mason 2004).

So far, we can see that the underlying argument to cater for the readers expectations, whether in terms of what they expect to see and how they expect to be talked to, is linked to the different conventions between the source and the target tourism genres. However, it may difficult for translators to clearly point out the differences, apart from relying on native speakers' instincts and sensitivity to languages.

To address this issue, Hogg, Liao, and O'Gorman (2014) present an empirical study to demonstrate the generic differences, by using Chinese and English tourist information websites as a case study, and introduce small corpus as a tool for the translation practitioners. The investigation is both quantitative and qualitative. The research question is how the United Kingdom and Chinese museum websites as a form of purposive tourism information are translated to inform and attract visitors. The study categorizes the interactive dimension into three levels based on the critical genre theory (Bhatia 2004): textual space, socio-cognitive space, and social space.

Some questions in the three spaces in relation to the tourist texts can be summarized below:

- Textual space: How are the visitors addressed?
- Socio-cognitive space: How does the text intend to influence the visitors?
- Social space: How is the role of tourism destinations as an institution connected to individuals in the society?

Specific features to be looked for in the corpus to answer the questions at the three levels include (Table 8.1):

Table 8.1 Linguistic features at the three generic levels (Hogg, Liao, and O'Gorman 2014: 160)

Space	Illustration	Linguistic features
Textual	Lexical-grammar components	Word-frequency list Address terms Modal verbs
Socio-cognitive	Communicative goal	Text type Non-verbal presentation
Social	Social value	Evaluative adjectives, extra-textual information

In the following we will summarize the findings on generic conventions of tourist information from Hogg, Liao, O'Gorman (2014). The findings, of course, only pertain to the small corpus compiled for their study, and mainly illustrate the difference between English and Chinese in the context of museum websites. However, it is hoped by showing their findings we can illustrate how target generic conventions can be broken down into concrete elements, and can serve as a practical guide to tourism translators.

In the textual space, the word-frequency list is firstly examined. It is found that the English corpus have more first-person plural and second person pronouns. However, in the Chinese, the only pronoun appearing in the top 100 frequency list is the honorific second person pronoun, which is at the bottom of the list. A further investigation shows that the Chinese word for *tourist* appears close to the top of the list, indicating that Chinese tourism texts may prefer addressing the readers in a third-person voice. The Chinese corpus also shows a high frequency of obligatory modal verbs such as "*do not*" or "*must*", and words related to regulations such as *valid*, *identification document*. The English corpus on the other hand uses a high frequency of words relating to facility, such as *cafe*, *accessibility*, *eating*, etc.

In the socio-cognitive space, the lexical findings are related to the communicative purpose of texts. In the English corpus, first- and second-person pronouns are both commonly-used interactive strategies to reduce distance between writers and readers, and the reference to tourism facilities can also be considered as aiming to be reader-friendly. On the other hand, the Chinese texts address readers in the third-person voices, and the modal verbs and lexical choices both seem to explicitly state what visitors are expected to do, or not to do. So far, different communicative purposes between the two cultures seem to have emerged.

Finally, in the social space, this study aims to find out the perception of the target culture on the activity of tourism, and in this case study focusing on the museums as a type of tourism destination. The English corpus demonstrates noticeable uses of evaluative adjectives—which correspond to the "evaluation" function as pointed out by Mason (2004) above as a core feature of tourism brochures. The evaluative phrases such as *acclaimed*, *a huge range of*, and *the best of*, are all recognizable features of advertising discourse. As we have seen so far from the studies of the Western scholars, tourism and tourism translation is in essence a marketing activity. However, tourism may not be necessarily considered as a fundamental marketing activity. For example, it is found that in the Chinese corpus, the educational and the scholarly function of museums are more highlighted—therefore, the tone is more detached, and the regulations more explicit. In other words, tourists are advised to show respect to this cultural institution; rather than the museums trying to attract visitors. Although the case of museums may be different from many other more leisure-oriented tourism destinations, such as amusement parks, we cannot ignore that different cultures may have different understandings of the concept of tourism. This can have a significant impact on the translation and marketing practice, and will require what Kelly (1998) refers to as a total adaptation.

This study proposes this model based on a corpus methodology, and the three spaces in critical genre analysis, as an additional tool (on top of native speaker's instinct) to help translators develop their sensitivity to the target culture. We hope that this can serve as a practical guide to tourism translators who wish to have a more reliable way to discover different norms between the source and target tourism texts.

Before moving on to the last function of tourism texts, there is a need to go back to the first and the second functions of tourism texts discussed in this chapter—ideational and interactional functions. At the first glance, there seems to be contradiction between the findings or advice given under the two sections. In the ideational domain, findings emphasize the "foreignness", i.e. the texts should contain enough foreign traces such as the untransformed words from the source language, because one of the major reasons for people to travel is to experience "difference". On the other hand, the studies under the section of interaction all seem to be about target-cultural expectations and favour "adaptation" so that the target text sounds like an original, i.e. without traces of foreignness. Do they present two conflicting views in the translation of tourism texts?

Our answer is that the two views do not contradict with each other, but are two sides of the same coin. They represent two different aspects in texts: what you say (ideational) and how you say (interactional). As a translator, you can imagine that you want to tell your readers an exotic story with some words they have not heard of before, with some ideas they have not thought about before; but the story is told in a way that they would recognize it as a story, so they can tell when the story begins, when the story develops, and when the story concludes. Furthermore, they can recognize when you create a surprise, when you tell a joke, and when you try to persuade them to act, etc. Therefore, we do not see contradictions in the two views.

Translating the Textual Function

So far, the discussions have concerned single source texts and single target texts. For example, the model proposed in the interactional function presuppose the comparison of one source and one target culture norm, but in the globalized tourism market, the tourism texts may be produced for a multi-cultural market, i.e. one text is intended to be translated into many languages at the same time. It is unrealistic to expect tourism companies to investigate the norms of each market individually and make accommodations. Furthermore, linking a language to a culture may also be problematic. For example, in *VisitBritain*, the official tourist information website for Britain, after selecting "English" as the language, users are guided to further select from a list of countries, including the United States, Finland, The United Arab Emirates, etc. So, English is used in the tourism industry as a *lingua franca*, i.e. for anyone around the world with English, rather than specifically for people from the English-speaking culture (which, again, is a heterogeneous concept).

The multi-cultural production leads us to the concept of "localization" and to a discussion of tourism websites, which are arguably the most efficient of tourism marketing tools, reaching the largest numbers of tourists nowadays. There are different types of tourism websites with different functions (Pierini 2007: 85). *Information sites* cover information about any aspects of tourism activity, such as the opening hours and entrance fees of tourist destinations. *Promotional sites* can be websites of governmental tourist boards which promote the nation to international tourists. *Commercial sites* can be websites of tour operators or travel agencies who sell tourism products.

An increasing number of studies have focused on tourism localization, such as Kristensen (2002), who uses The Danish Tourist Board as a case study; Pierini (2007), a comparison on the quality of the United Kingdom ad Italian websites; Kong (2010), comparing the Chinese-English translation of tourism websites in Hong Kong and in China. In this chapter, we will only point out those concepts in localization that are related to tourism, whereas the overview of the industry can be found in, for example, Esselink (2000) and Jiménez-Crespo (2013).

Localization can broadly be understood as "the process by which digital content and products developed in one locale (defined in terms of geographical area, language and culture) are adapted for sale and use in another locale" (Dunne 2006: 4). Seeing translation as a commercial product and from an industrial view extends the scale of the so-called translation process. In fact, in the industrial context, this moving process from one locale to another is only one step of a commonly-known GILT process, i.e. Globalization, Internationalization, Localization, and Translation (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 24). The four stages will be explained with examples from tourism websites.

First, globalization is mainly a company's decision to "go global" and therefore requires its product to be localized. For example, a privately-owned castle in Scotland decides to attract more international visitors, and needs to make its websites accessible to potential overseas visitors.

Second, internationalization is to prepare the product for localization. Specifically, it involves "abstracting the functionality of a product away from any particular language so that language support can be added back simply, without worry that language-specific features will pose a problem" (LISA 2007: 17). The purpose of this process is to reduce the time and resources needed to localize the product into many languages (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 26). In other words, the "translation" process takes place before the actual language transfer. If a tourism text is produced in order to be the source text of multilingual translations, the text producer may already need to clear up potential cultural challenges to the translators. Kristensen (2002), for example, shows that the way the Danish Tourist Board "internationalize" their texts is by producing the source text in English, rather than in Danish. The English text is then provided as the source text for translations into other languages. Esselink (2000: 29) also gives some examples of "country-specific elements", which should be taken into consideration when producing "international" texts. Although his suggestions are intended for technical writing, they refer to practical information often provided in tourist guides, such as always including the country code and country name in telephone numbers and address, and indicating the time zone and the hours when the customer services are available in the home country. If you want to use a person's name or a place name as an example in texts, make sure they are sufficiently well-known to overseas tourists as well, such as the Beatles in Liverpool.

The next steps are localization and translation. For some smaller companies or projects, the first two steps may not actually take place. In the industrial setting, localization is generally understood as the technical side, for example, the user interface, the functionality of the websites, etc., and usually performed by engineers. Translation, on the other hand, concerns textual material, and is performed by linguists. The strategy localizers and translators adopt may depend on the levels of adaptations set by the company. The classification in Table 8.2 is based on Singh and Pereira (2005), with examples of tourism websites added by us.

Table 8.2 Types of website localization

Level of Adaptation	Type	Explanation	Examples of Tourist Websites
Low	Standardized	The website is available in one language for all its world users. This happens more often when English is the first language of the company.	The National Museum of Scotland regularly attracts visitors all over the world, but its website is only available in English.
High	Semi-localized	The website is mostly in one language, but some information such as contact information may be available in other languages.	The website of the Victoria and Albert Museum is entirely in English. But when the user browse the Visit Us page, 6 national flags and one icon in Arabic appear at the bottom of the page. Only the practical information is available these seven languages.
	Localized	The website is mostly localized, but not in all functionality.	In the Chinese website of Disneyland Tokyo, general information is provided. But when users need to reserve and book tickets, they will be directed to the English webpage. Information about disabled accessibility is also provided in English only.
	Extensively-localized	All content and functionalities are fully adapted.	Our observation of the traditional Chinese and the English versions of the online accommodation booking website (www.booking.com) seems to illustrate this is a website that has been extensively localized. Not only is the descriptive material translated into different languages, the prices are converted into the currencies of the viewer's selected country, and the reviews are all translated as well.
	Culturally-adapted	This refers to "a total immersion in the target locale" (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 35). The website is adapted to the target norms in all aspects.	Scholars have debated whether it is possible for tourism websites to be totally culturally-adapted (see further discussion below).

The table lists five types of localization, ranging from low- to high-adaptation to the target culture. In our experience, tourism websites may rarely be entirely culturally-adapted. In fact, it has been questioned whether or not localization is possible for tourism texts at all. Kristensen (2002: 193) argues that "it is difficult for authors to avoid all reference to their own culture and to write truly denationalized and standardized cultural texts" since tourism texts are all about culture. On the other hand, many tourism texts are also advertising texts, and they need to be easily accessed by target users. Caught between the source culture and the target users, it seems that semi-localized and localized websites are the two most frequently-used types for tourism websites. One website may also adopt different strategies for localizations of different language versions. For example, the website of National Palace Museum, Taipei, is localized into seven languages, but the English and Japanese websites clearly contain more information than those in French, Spanish, Dutch, Russian and Arabic. The level of localization can be related to the target market. This museum, for example, tends to receive more visitors using English and Japanese than those using other languages.

A final note on the textual function of tourism texts is related to its multimodal nature. Whether online or in print, tourism texts usually comprise of both verbal and visual messages. Tourism websites may even include other semiotics such as audios or videos. The multimodality is an important element for the translation to be persuasive. When glancing over a piece of advertisement, a reader' attention is often caught first by attractive photos, pictures, graphic designs, or other visual message. In the tourism brochures, "illustrations and other visual elements… are often given more prominence than language" (Snell-Hornby 1999: 96). In what she calls a "holistic approach" to tourism brochure translation, Snell-Hornby (1999: 100) has assessed a translated Brazilian brochure, and found a few problems in the visual layout which may prevent the translation from attracting the target readers. For example, the logo of the hotel chain and the name of the hotel are placed at the bottom of the page, so readers cannot really see them clearly. Other issues include a mismatch between a photo and the verbal message surrounding it. Some may argue that the visual design of the translations is beyond the job of a translator, but in the industrial context we may need to re-think where the boundary line of translators' responsibility lies.

The discussion of textual function posits tourism translators in a complicated professional network, and raises more issues beyond comparative language or cultural norms. An understanding of the localization process can raise translators' awareness of the complicated functions of tourism texts, and how persuasion is achieved through a combination of verbal, visual and other communicating modes. Referring back to the argument that translators should be more closely involved in tourism material development, perhaps the localization industry provides an alternative view that translators should develop their skills and capacity to deal with tourism translation as part of the entire localization process.

Conclusion

Perhaps after a long theoretical account of tourism translation, albeit oriented towards a practical application, it is useful at this stage to examine the relevance (or usefulness) of this chapter to the actual professional requirement of tourism translators. We have carried out a short online survey of the translation companies that specialize in travel and tourism translation, and summarized what they list as their expertise in this subject area. Besides the emphasis on the language ability (e.g. all our translators are native speakers of the target languages), and the subject knowledge (e.g. our translators are experienced in the tourism industry), other common features listed include:

1. We know the use of specific vocabulary and terminology.
2. We have the expertise to deal with challenging cultural, historical and idiomatic issues, including local names, sensitive historical and cultural content to ensure a positive response from your audience.
3. Our translations are the best because they do not read like translations.
4. Our translations maintain the style of the source text, but reads naturally in the target language.
5. We do not only just translate website, but localize the descriptions, customer reviews and even adopt to local payment options.

In an attempt to match this list from the tourism translation industry to our theoretical framework, points 1 and 2 are clearly related to the ideational function. Point 2 in particular supports our argument that the translator needs to pay extra attention to the link between language and ideological point of view. Points 3 and 4 refer to our arguments in the discussion of interpersonal function, i.e. bringing the text to the target readers. Point 4 echoes the apparent contradiction between ideational and interpersonal meaning as we pointed out earlier, but supports our position that the two views are actually compatible. Lastly, in our survey we have found that for most translation companies, website translations are their main business in tourism translation. As we have pointed out, this is not surprising as this is one of the most effective tools for global tourism marketing nowadays, and we can see that the professional service providers all seem to emphasize their ability to produce *extensively-localized* websites.

To conclude this chapter, as the significance of tourism on economy and globalization has been more and more recognized, it is anticipated that the demand for tourism translation will continue to increase, both in quantity and quality. It is hoped that this chapter has provided some brief, but useful, guidelines to practitioners of tourism translation.

Notes

This is arguably a very narrow definition of tourism texts. As a hybrid genre, some studies on tourism translation (e.g. Cheng and Lü 2008) cover as wide as texts in tourism press conferences, public relations for travel and hospitality, TV programmes on travel topics, travel exhibitions, conference proceedings of academic tourism research, etc. However, given the limited space of this article, we decided to focus more on the features that are really core to the tourism activity, and less on those which may overlap with other genres.

Although this chapter seems to focus more on the written mode and does not have a detailed discussion on the oral activity in tourism translation, or "tourism interpretations", the linguistic and cultural challenges discussed in this chapter should be as relevant to the spoken mode as to the written mode. The reason that no example is taken from spoken data is that it is extremely difficult to find recorded data of tourism interpretation, as it is mostly in the form of escort interpreting. Also, to our best knowledge, no research focus specifically on tourism interpretation has been carried out. We found some related studies, but the boundary between the role a foreign language tour guide and a tourism interpreter is not always clear-cut, and in fact in some studies the term tourism interpreter actually refers to the foreign language tour guide. It can be argued that foreign language tour guides play a mediating role between the ST and the TT culture, and may be considered a kind of translation activity. However, for the same reason as adopting a narrow definition for the tourism texts, here we also want to restrict this chapter with the narrow definition of translation/interpretation, as a target text which is produced based on the provision of a source text. Unless otherwise specified, the term translation used in this article covers both translation and interpreting.

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9 Translation of Music

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Introduction and Definitions

Music is transcultural by nature. For most people, the translation of music evokes the translation of the lyrics of songs. But music translation is much broader in scope. Music plays a vital role in the construction of meaning in cultural products, their translation and dissemination. Conversely, translation in its broadest sense is crucial in the making of musical processes and products. Both terms of music and translation can be treacherous to delineate and their definitions change with time and context. Translation Studies scholars have spilled much ink on the notion of translation, but have only agreed that it can be defined diversely. It is most frequently defined in relation to its mode (written or oral), state of being (process or product), category (interlinguistic, intralinguistic and intersemiotic, as expressed canonically by Jakobson [1959/2012]), subject field (literary, audiovisual, technical…), or according to the paradigm it refers to (linguistic, cultural, social…). Music is even more challenging to define universally. Some human societies do not have a word corresponding accurately to the Western concept of music. Even within Western confines, the notion of music is wide-ranging and varies depending on whether it refers to acts of composition, performance, listeners' experience, genre (pop song, symphony…) or style (classical, baroque, jazz…). Historically, attempts to pin down the universals of music have not been very successful. For instance, in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopedia*, music is defined as "the science of sounds, as they are capable of pleasantly affecting the ear, or the art of arranging and managing sounds in such a way that from their *consonance*, from their order, and from their relative durations, pleasant sensations are produced" (Diderot and D'Alembert [1765/2011]). Yet for the contemporary philosopher Jacques Attali, this definition is invalid as music "constitutes the audible waveband of the vibrations and signs that make up society" (Attali 1977/2006: 4). However, a working definition is needed and for the purpose of this chapter, music will be understood as a combination of organized sounds—primarily non-semantic—meant to be listened to.

It is the combined notion of "music translation" that shall be considered here. Music translation involves the transfer or mediation of some elements of a musical text to enhance its meaning for its intended audience. This may concern vocal music (music which is sung, most of the time with words), but also instrumental music and texts about music, for which the phrase "music-linked translation" (Mateo, quoting Golombs 2012: 115) is perhaps more suitable.

The reality and practice of such translation are extremely wide-ranging. From translating the lyrics of songs interlinguistically to mediating musical content across styles, genres, senses and cultures, different types of transfer are aimed at audiences who can benefit from them. This translation process may be initiated because these audiences are not familiar with what they are listening to and welcome contextual information, or because music is made more accessible to them. It can be mediated in a different mode, in the form of information given to the deaf and hard-of-hearing about the music played in a film, for instance. Music translation can involve the transfer of semantic texts belonging to a multimodal context, but it can also require mediation at a musical level, primarily or exclusively. In this case, instead of making music familiar as mentioned, it generally uses familiar content to give music a new meaning. To take a few examples, Jacques Loussier and his trio reinterpret Bach in a jazz style, James Last, "the most commercially successful bandleader" (Denselow 2015) of the post–Second World War era, turned any music, from ABBA to Vivaldi, into his own easy-listening pieces, and fusion singer Susheela Raman recreates South Indian music for 21st century global audiences. These musical mediations can include the transfer of words but take place primarily at a musical level. For instance, when Martin Luther chose to use secular songs as a basis for some of his hymns, he intended to re-appropriate an existing repertoire as the common ground for a new musical and spiritual message. Such translation does not happen at lexical level—all words used by Luther are new words, they are not translated—but at musical level, as existing music is used and altered to give a new meaning to songs already familiar to the intended audience.

For some musicians, such as Igor Stravinsky or Elliott Carter, music is a self-sufficient form of creation and expresses nothing but itself. Such formalists[1] do not deny that it can be inspired by other art forms, natural phenomena, living beings, emotions or events. Nevertheless, they argue that it is the listeners who project extra-musical meaning on to it:

> … I consider that music is, by its very nature, essentially powerless to express anything at all, whether a feeling, an attitude of mind, a psychological mood, a phenomenon of nature, etc.… If, as is nearly always the case, music appears to express something, this is only an illusion and not a reality. (Stravinsky 1936: 83)

(a) The Intertwining of Music and Translation

If music is self-mediated, it should, by essence, not require translation and not be affected by it. However, its versatile capacity for translation is inseparable from its ability to accommodate human projections, which leads to extra-musical interpretations. There are also other reasons why translation and music are interdependent.

First, like every other cultural product or practice, music's evolution depends on exchanges, interactions and transformations, which include translations in the linguistic and/or cultural sense of the word. Most historians, musicians and musicologists now agree that while the ability to appreciate and make music is a universal human feature—except for the

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1 For the opposition between "formalists" who defend the impenetrable essence of music and "referentialists" for whom the function of music is to lead to extra-musical outlets and associations, see Meyer (1956/2008).

5% of humans who are amusic and unable to hear music meaningfully—and while musical experiences can connect people from different cultures, music does not use a universal language. This perception of the universal mirrors ideas exposed by Western post-structuralist, postmodern and postcolonial thinkers since the mid-20th century, who deconstructed the concept of universality, showing that it only reflects the values of dominant states and individuals in order to consolidate their power.

Yet because music is more immaterial and more pervasive than other art forms, its reach can be universal: songs and other music from all countries, generations, styles, can be heard at the touch of a click or button anywhere at any time. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the immediacy with which musical products can travel and are distributed has led to a paradox. Music has become both an instrument of diversity—playing a key role in the expression of collective and individual ethnic, political and artistic identities—and an instrument of hegemony—as the philosopher Theodor Adorno (1941) has argued, the commodification of music also entailed its standardization. Some argue that the digital era, facilitating the production and dissemination of marginalized music, has weakened this standardization phenomenon and allows music to be a direct articulation of creativity. Admittedly, musical exchanges and creative outputs have never been so diverse since the beginning of the 21st century. This in turn has consequences as regards different forms of translation, whether interlinguistic, intercultural or intersemiotic. However, translation can also be the facilitator of hegemony. As with other types of texts, music translation can thus be the guardian of dominant discourses as well as a liberating instrument for the voices of the peripheries. An ambivalent example of this is the "gentrification" of rock: while Black musicians were the creators of the rock'n roll style after the Second World War, their work was marginalized while being translated into White mainstream products by artists such as Elvis Presley.

The term of "cultural translation", which has acquired several meanings since the 1990s, can be used here, not in the postcolonial sense defined by Homi Bhabha (1994/2004) but rather in the ethnographic sense of an act of mediation intending to make aspects of a source culture meaningful to (a) target audience(s). For instance, Tropicália, an early fusion movement started in the 1960s by artists such as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, revolutionized Brazilian music, opening it to different styles and cultural influences while introducing Brazilian music to

Western audiences. Translation, whether in its literal meaning or broader sense is also contributing creatively to giving power to end-users. From the point of view of music listeners and viewers, fan-translation or crowd translation of songs to the "cover" of existing music, audiences and composers alike have been encouraged into different forms of translation provision since the beginning of the 21st century. This involves translating all or some aspects of the source content, most frequently, the words linked to it, but not exclusively.

A second reason for musical and translational interrelations is that music responds to extra-musical stimulation and interacts meaningfully with all other art forms. Although it can exist independently, some art forms, such as dance, are nearly unthinkable without music. In pop music video clips, the choreography of a song is often used to translate its narrative for instance. In some cultures, music is dependent on another art: music and poetry are thus inseparable in ancient and traditional Persian music. When used in combination with different art forms, music acquires contextual and extra-musical meaning while keeping its exclusive musical significance when performed on its own. Some would argue that it is not always the case. For instance, will John Barry's title music for the *James Bond* films ever be listened to in exclusively musical ways, free from its filmic references? Does it not always trigger the suspense, the excitement and the fun associated with Ian Fleming's hero and his adventures? Yet even the most enthusiastic referentialist would have to admit that no extra-musical meaning can be objectively associated to a musical piece. A listener of Debussy's *La Mer* who is unaware of the composition's title will not automatically link it to the sea, as several surveys involving listeners have shown (Science Blogs 2009).[2] Nevertheless, even though no semantic message can be conveyed musically, music can give fresh meaning to other art forms, as the power of a good film soundtrack attests. Numerous silent films have been rescored with the aim of producing hybrid products, both faithful to the original as regards the film itself but remediated musically for a new public. The

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2 Several surveys have questioned audiences on whether they could link music to specific themes. Responses all seem negative. In the particular one referred to here, listeners were wrong about the extra-musical reference stated in the title of a composition in 72% of cases.

remakes of some classic films often keep the original soundtrack though, and contribute to reconstructing its authenticity. For example, Gus Van Sant's remake of Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1998) reuses Bernard Herrmann's original score, although rearranged by Danny Elfman and recorded in stereo. Nevertheless, as 21st century audiences demand more novelty, rescoring films is a common way of remediating them and making them contemporary to audiences. Moreover, the niche area of live rescoring is emerging with live music giving a new creative dimension to classic or cult movies. The band Asian Dub Foundation has thus given musical performances of Matthieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* in 2001, Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* in 2004 and George Lucas's *THX1138* in 2015.

A third reason for the interdependence of translation and music is that the very act of hearing or listening to music and making it meaningful implies, like any act of communication, a form of translation. In the West, the notion of composing, recording and interpreting music is essential to the musical act of creation: a composer hears music internally, he or she encodes it in ways that will be decipherable by performers. Moreover, any performer interprets music and most listeners construe the meaning of external sounds, be they musical or not. The very acts of encoding music by means of a written language and its deciphering imply multiple interpretations. Reading music is not undertaken in a linear way as for most texts based exclusively on words, but in simultaneous ones, so that the wide range of musical parameters necessary to make music meaningful (such as pitch, dynamics, rhythm, timbre, tempo, emotional tone…) is included in the deciphering of the text. This implies a complex interpretative process. In non-Western music, the borders between composer and interpreter are much looser and the written encoding of the musical text, when it exists, is just meant to be a reminder, a starting point for the musical performance, as in jazz improvisation. Music and the various texts that relate to it can also require translation in the most commonly accepted sense of the word. In spite of Western composers' efforts to use a global language for musical terms relating to tempo, style and even mood (often Italian or Latin with phrases such as *a cappella*, *allegro moderato*, *accelerando, affettuoso*…), this is not always the case and some of these indications may need to be translated. Other paratexts may also be crucial to the main musical text, such as editor's notes, pieces' titles… In addition, vocal music relies on words and a semantic message which leads to various forms of translation, as is discussed in the "Musical Translation" section below.

A fourth reason for the interrelation of music and translation resides in music's intrinsic nature as an art of transmission through repetition and variation. This, in turn, relates to the notion and practice of translation as an instrument of diffusion of knowledge and emotion, which is part of human evolution, or at least, human history. There seems little doubt that "the sound of the wild determined the first music" (Hendy 2014: 23) and that creating sounds analogous to natural sounds played an important part in early musical development. Yet the human purpose of mimicking sounds has not been so much to imitate as to capture the subject of inspiration, be it material (e.g. birds) or immaterial (e.g. wind). Imagination also corrupts reproduction in human enterprises, and altering the original sound listened to was as inevitable in prehistory as it is today, because an exact equivalent is always impossible, but also, out of playfulness. For a large proportion of scientists, in prehistory, music preceded articulated language in human communication. Some argue that musical abilities declined in societies where articulated language developed. The cognitive archaeologist Steven Mithen (2005) thus considers that the musical abilities of *The Singing Neanderthals* were most likely inhibited by the focus put on speech by *Homo sapiens*. Evidence underpinning this argument may still be considered to be slim, but in any case, in early human (pre)history, sounds were reshaped and "translated" in order to not merely copy nature, but to establish a dialogue with its various agents, to master it, or to better understand the place of humans in the cosmos (Hendy 2014: 27).

(b) Hybridity and Un/translatability

Music is a hybrid art by nature, as it requires, absorbs and shapes different types of languages, including semantic language. In today's global context of instant interchanges and transmissions, this mercurial art form necessarily depends on hybridity, and perhaps more so than with other art forms, it is hybridity that gives music its distinctive flavour. For instance, the form of blues was born of fusion between African and European folk songs and is instantly recognizable. Similarly, contemporary Thai pop music chooses to embrace some markers of Western modernity (using the verse-chorus song form for example) while keeping markers of Thai identity (such as the use of Thai instruments and rhythmic patterns). This musical convergence is a successful strategy of identity construction and global dissemination (Ware 2011).

The notion of textual hybridity also implies a process which is in motion, unfinished and incomplete. There is an element of desired untranslatability in the translation of musical texts, governed by the necessity to allow space for the expression of emotions, of dissent or resistance. The concept of untranslatability is not understood here in relation to ideology, resistance, desire to protect foreignness but simply as the acceptance that "explicitation" in music is often not needed or desirable. The pleasure of music also consists in deciphering its message internally. Not everything can or should be translated in musical texts. Indeed, for a piece to be recognized, some elements need to stay unchanged. Music translation is therefore essentially incomplete and can be considered a "hybrid translation" in the sense understood by Sherry Simon of "a translation deliberately unfinished" (Simon 2011: 50).

Like translation, music has always had an interesting and conflictual relationship with the notion of authenticity. Until it could be recorded and reproduced, a musical piece needed to be interpreted in a fashion unique to its arranger(s) and/or perfomer(s). But in the digital age, when technology has made the recording of musical ideas and performances possible, the notion of an original can be redundant, as a piece of music can be reproduced ad libitum. Unlike artwork, which values its original over its copies, a digital recording has the same value when reproduced. Yet it is this very technology of reproduction which allows standard references to be available in ways that were not a century ago, and which musicians can choose to depart from or retain, partially or entirely.

Musical Translations

In spite of their partial untranslatability, musical texts, for the most part, require some degree of translation, which can make them (more) meaningful musically, linguistically, culturally, modally, sensorially. One of the characteristics of these translations, common to media translation, is that they are "partial", in the sense that while taking the whole text into consideration, they choose to transfer one or several aspects of this text while others are left untouched. For instance, the literal translation of the lyrics of a song will aim to add a level of semantic comprehension while the listener enjoys the original experience of the song on all other levels. Similarly, the audio description of an opera will mediate the visual context of the piece, in order to allow blind listeners to make sense of the opera as a whole.

Scholars have only started to provide useful models of translation that can be applied in different contexts. Some areas, such as opera and song translation (Gorlée 2005; Kaindl 2005; Low 2005, 2010, 2013; Mateo 2012; Susam-Sarajeva 2008) or the transnational circulation of vocal music (Bohlman 2011; Evans 2008; Kaindl 2013; Fernández 2015) have been explored extensively, while others are neglected. Leaving more metaphorical notions of translation behind, this section gives an overview of current practices of music translation, considering what is translated, in what areas, using which platforms, which translation types, strategies and approaches. Although, as discussed above, many aspects of music, including genre, form or style can be translated, we shall focus on transfers which include words. This means considering the "partial" translation that is most often needed in music: that of the lyrics in vocal music, whether for a general or specialist audience, and of audio description for the blind. Target texts can also be created to mediate a musical text that does not include words: for the purpose of cultural transference or accessibility for audiences with special needs for instance.

(a) Listening Spaces

The spatial context in which music is listened to impacts on all agents of music making and on listeners of course, but it also determines its translation to some degree. There are unwritten norms of translation provision in music, as is shown below:

Live Concerts

Recorded music is the primary source of musical consumption, but live music attendance has strongly increased in the 21st century. Live music attendance has increased worldwide in spectacular ways in the last two decades, with a 60% growth in revenue between 2000 and 2013 (Music Industry Blog 2015). And some streaming companies, who have worked with recorded music, such as Amazon Prime, now offer some live concerts. Since 2012, live music spending has been up 66% (Eventbrite 2016). Since the 1980s, opera houses have been champions of accessibility, providing interlinguistic (when the opera is sung in a foreign language) or intralinguistic subtitles for all members of the audience, audio-introductions for the blind and in some cases, signed performances for the deaf. Opera is by tradition a global art form, often co-produced internationally and aimed at a very international audience. Surtitling the sung libretto (or subtitling it in the case of live HD cinema performances) was piloted in Hong Kong in the late 1970s to facilitate the comprehension of European opera for Chinese audiences (Chan 2009: 166–72) and caught on as an efficient way to reach audiences across linguistic, cultural and sometimes disability barriers. In the case of staged musicals, a primarily Anglo-American genre, an expansion towards more surtitling has been visible in the last decade. In Europe, large co-productions presented on stage are increasingly adapted to be sung in different languages. By contrast, recorded productions often offer a single show in English with surtitles in the non–English speaking countries. Until the end of the first decade of the 21st century, surtiting for English-speaking countries was limited to some performances and provided by disability charities.

The translation of musical live events for special needs audiences is notoriously neglected. They entail text that can be scripted (for instance song lyrics that can be known and prepared in advance of the live event) or unscripted events (off the cuff interviews with performers for instance). When accessibility provision is made, unscripted events are usually respoken, while traditionally scripted events are cued in with a pre-prepared script. With a trend towards more automatic translation, respeaking techniques are becoming more prevalent, in the televised retransmissison of live events in particular.

Other live musical events have not benefited from such comprehensive translation provision. In the classical field, the tradition of written programmes available to the audience has survived for centuries. Moreover, publications intended for amateur and professional singers exist, providing translations, phonetic and stylistic information on the classical repertoire. This is a reasonably rarefied field but these publications are relevant for many years and attract a regular readership. For instance, Pierre Bernac's *The Interpretation of French Song* first published in 1970 is still in print in 2017.

In other areas though, translation provision is scant. Popular music festivals, for instance, generally give little background information on performance and performers, let alone translations of lyrics. In the UK, there is presently a move towards access provision at live music events, particularly in small venues, driven by charities such as Stagetext or Attitude is Everything. Yet in spite of the fact that live concerts are increasingly popular worldwide and primarily driven by songs, it is astonishing to note that no translation is provided in most cases.

Radio

Some radio portals support multilingual outputs (such as DeliCast where language and musical genre can be selected and a list of available radios is offered). Overall though, most radio stations are monolingual and offer no translations as such. With the rise of global radios such as Apple Beats1, transmissions in English seem to be given increasing global power. Nevertheless, radios offer information on music which is aired, its composers, performers and lyrics writers on their websites and by means of oral presentation, summaries of song narratives and secondary texts such as interviews with performers. In 2008, the BBC piloted synchronized subtitles customized for operas on the classical station Radio 3, but due to budget cuts, this translation project was discontinued.

Listening on the Move: MP3s

Since the late 1970s when the first Walkman players made music portable for individuals, music listening habits have changed dramatically. Individuals have, of course, been able to enjoy or play music on their own, but in the last few decades, devices have allowed them to create their own listening space and exclude their environment and others from it. In the age that Daniel Guberman calls the age of "post-fidelity" (2011), sound quality has been sacrificed to prioritize portability, low cost, durability and storage. Besides, in an era of media convergence (Jenkins 2006/2008), music is rarely produced and disseminated without extra-musical elements, in particular visuals. Perhaps surprisingly, these extra-musical preferences have not led to the systematic presence of translation related to digital musical items. Music is also rarely listened to on a device exclusively designed for musical purposes. In the 21st century, "the ideal musical experience is as much about convenience and style as it is about sound" (Guberman 2011: 449). The translation of lyrics of music items is now expected to be part of this experience.

Translations are generated on the internet in a wide range of formats: "official" translations of the lyrics of songs provided by music companies on companion websites, fan translations on sites dedicated to songs or subtitled music videos, comments on lyrics as part of social network discussions, background information on songs and writers on music discovery services such as Last.fm, instant lyrics provisions on music translation sites or applications such as Lyrics Translate, Musixmatch or SongMeanings. Internet translation is increasingly part of a multiscreen environment culture where users interact with each other as they consume music. Applications such as Shazam can also recognize music and give information on the song listened to, including lyrics. In the contemporary media convergence arena, soundtracks tend to be listened to on devices that provides access to all these services. The translations of lyrics are therefore present as an optional service, although their quality varies and they are rarely synchronized to the music. 21st century music, for the first time in human history, can be a solely individual experience and its translation provision reflects this fact.

Vinyl, CDs, DVDs, MP3s

Surprisingly, lyrics translation provision on CDs and DVDs is rather poor overall. Again, this is not the case in classical music, where opera is subtitled intra-/interlinguistically, and art songs generally transcribed and translated multilingually on a companion website, rather than in a booklet included in the CD case as was the practice until the second decade of the 21st century. Equally, some niche areas, such as K-Pop products, usually provide subtitles as a large proportion of their audience is Western. They are thus marketed to this effect. After two decades of favouring portability and quantity over product quality, there seems to be a trend towards some prioritizing of quality, with pop singers such as Taylor Swift offering her music on a range of formats including CDs and vinyls for instance. Information regarding the songs though has to be fished out by users in various spaces, ranging from social networks to related books.

Videogames

The majority of videogame music is instrumental but vocal music not only can be part of the soundtrack (Grand Theft Auto), it can also play an integral role in the game (Dance Dance Revolution). When songs are not essential to the action, they are usually left in their original language. The theme song *Baba Yetu*, a Swahili version of the Lord's Prayer in Civilization IV, was thus not translated in the game for an exoticizing effect. However, when games include diegetic music, such as in Rock Band or in the Guitar Hero series for instance, where the player is the hero and the agent of the game, songs are generally localized or replaced with successful local items. Frequently and increasingly, they are chosen by individual players among a pool made available to them which varies according to territories. Today's young musicians have also been brought up with a convergence of music and images provided in the multimedia products they grew up with. They generally favour, or even expect intersemiotic translation or some form of fusion to take place between art forms. The singer Woodkid thus explains that his creations are covers which include the reinterpretation of existing music, films and images: "It is this type of 'translations' which makes Woodkid. The essence of art is to find a vehicle for expression, be it in painting, dance, cooking or cinema" (Siankowski 2013).

Television and Internet Streaming

The provision of the translation of lyrics on television channels and on the internet is inconsistent. On television, if songs are part of a film or programme, they are often left untranslated, as is the case in cinema (see paragraph below). On mainstream television channels, a verbatim transcription is generally provided as part of an accessibility service for the deaf and hard of hearing. In dubbed films, songs are mostly ignored, although they may be crucial to the narrative. The main exception to this concerns children's programmes, which tend to be dubbed throughout, especially animation programmes. Even in a country such as France, where the law mandates the use of the French language in all broadcast audiovisual programmes, an exception is made for musical texts, often left untranslated. Songs are usually subtitled for the deaf and hard of hearing in general programmes. In series, the localization of the title songs varies according to programme and countries. Rather than translating existing songs, new ones are often used, to reflect a different image for the programme it introduces: The Fox title song of the "Prison Break" series was hence replaced with an entirely different rap song (Faf Larage 2006), "Pas le temps" for the French version in 2006, cover songs of the original, "Ich glaub' an Dich" (Azad feat Adel Tawil) for the

German version (2007), and "Prison Break Anthem" (Kaynes Styles 2007) for the Belgian version. The "YouTube generation" born in the 1990s, which has grown up with online music videos, and, in Europe at least, with the growth of largely public-funded accessibility provision (initially with Teletex and now with various hybrid television systems), is subtitling friendly and belongs to a participatory culture where information given on music programmes as on other programmes is expected on a companion site and, in popular music, generally produced by fans.

Even mainstream television music programmes often omit to subtitle songs. On the internet, a constant battle of copyrights is enacted, with enthusiasts adding subtitled musical clips, which they are often required to take down. Nevertheless, YouTube and other video-sharing websites provide a fair number of music video clips which include intralinguistic or interlinguistic subtitled lyrics. With the growth of video-on-demand services such as Netflix, programmes are often available multilingually. Subtitling services such as Opensubtitles (for films) and Seriessub (for series) which allow the downloading of subtitling for streamed audiovisual material do not apply to music programmes. For music, users tend to rely on lyrics catalogue applications such as Musixmatch, officially used by the music streaming service Spotify since 2015.

Cinema

While instrumental music is frequently composed for a specific movie, existing songs have been more often chosen for the vocal items of film soundtracks since the 1970s. Songs in films may appear as mere background (e.g. a radio programme playing or a street singer performing while action takes place) or play an integral part in the construction of the film narrative (in Almadóvar's *Volver* (2006) for instance, where the eponymous theme song is at the centre of the narrative). They can have a diegetic (if a singer / singers perform[s] in the film) or a non-diegetic role, which is independent from the impact of the song on the meaning of the film.

As Frederic Chaume has discussed (2004; 2014) the translation of songs in films poses cultural and technical problems. Songs are often culture-bound and can trigger connotations to mood or references in an instant. The quality of the original voices also contributes to the meaning of the song, which explains why so many Hollywood actors have been dubbed by singers in musical films (Dyer 2011; Bosseaux 2015). Films often use well-known songs. Dubbing them for international versions can be problematic. They include the recording of separate music sequences, copyrights, economic cost and possible loss of reference to the established version of the songs. In texts involving music, "[t]he process of transmission is not always straightforward: some elements that constitute the message may be implied rather than contained in the source text, and some may be hard to trace and to define (O Cuilleanáin 2011: 67). Moreover, as Chaume (2004: 18) reminds us "[s]ongs often work as narrative punctuation signs and usually involve a *take* cut (the translator uses a new dubbing unit or *take* for the song), or a subtitle change (the translator does not mingle lyrics and dialogue in the same subtitle)". Sadly, many songs are thus left untranslated in otherwise dubbed or subtitled versions. In many cases, the extra layer of semantic text provided by the song, which can contradict or enhance the film script is denied to the foreign viewer. For instance, the narrative of *The Graduate* (1967) is strongly underpinned by "The Sound of Silence" by Simon and Garfunkel. The song, played in its entirety at the beginning and at the end of the film, expresses the emotional difficulties that people have communicating with each other, a key theme of *The Graduate*. In the opening scene of the film, immediately after the theme song has been heard, Ben (Dustin Hoffman) is seen to avoid contact with people. The song in this scene echoes very potently the sense of isolation that permeates the film. Similarly, at the end, it is played to anticipate Ben and Elaine's feelings of uncertainty and anxiety as they face to the reality of their life together, but are unable to discuss its challenges.

(b) Translation Types and Strategies for Vocal Music Translation

The sections above have demonstrated that the translation of musical texts covers a broad spectrum of textual genres and translation types. Based on variation from both points of view of composition and performance, music is intrinsically dependent on translation in its broadest sense. However, if cultural or intersemiotic translations are generally not undertaken by translators but by musicians and other creative artists, translators in the conventional understanding of the word, and particularly but not solely audiovisual translators, face the challenge of translating song lyrics and vocal music on a regular basis.

The next paragraphs focus on the main types of translation which these transfers entail in vocal music, and on the main strategies suitable for their completion, drawing on the existing literature on the topic.

This concerns all forms of vocal music, mainly songs (popular and traditional songs, opera arias, vocal ensembles of all musical genres and styles, "a cappella" pieces for one or several voices, instrumental music with spoken or semi-spoken narration…). The semantic translation of the words of a song is what most people understand the translation of music to be. Even within this limited understanding, these lyrics exist in a multimodal and cultural context, and may require different types of translation. The main ones are listed below:

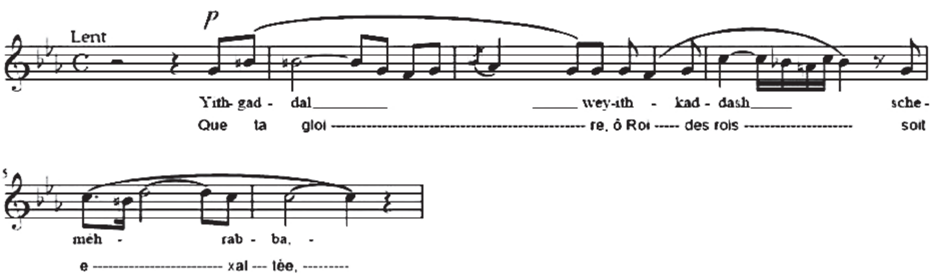
A Transcription of Lyrics

The exact record of the words being sung. Due to issues relating to copyrights, such transcriptions are common, on television or internet platforms for instance, where content providers are only allowed (as well as required in most European countries) to transcribe the verbatim text of songs for legal reasons. This requirement varies from country to country: in the UK for instance, music programmes are not seen as different from other programmes by Ofcom, the national communications regulator, but in Finland, media companies are currently exempt from any translation obligation for such programmes. With the development of music identification software, verbatim transcriptions are increasingly provided automatically and just checked prior to transmission. In the world of pop music, primarily sung in English, non-native English viewers, who often have some knowledge of English, appreciate a script which is faithful to the original text. Song identification applications are now able to transcribe lyrics in a large number of cases. The multiscreen culture that is currently ubiquitous allows and even favours such practices, which are available only in mainstream European languages but have potential for development, as software development companies encourage the population of information by music "prosumers" (Toffler 1980: 267).

In live events and their retransmission, and particularly for musicals and mainstream music festivals, surtitles may be provided for some performances and in some cases, live-subtitled.

In printed sheet music, transcriptions can also take the form of transliterations for languages which are less commonly sung on the Western scene. For instance, Indian or Hebrew scripts can be transliterated into the Roman alphabet, as in the example below:

Maurice Ravel, opening bars of "Kaddisch" from ***Deux melodies hebraiques*** **(1915)**



In choir practices, a simple phonetic transliteration may also be given by a choirmaster so that gross errors of pronunciation are avoided.

As Brian Mossop (2013) has discussed in detail, sheet music for choirs may contain guidance, essential for singers who are not familiar with the phonetics of the languages that they sing into.

An Intralingual Translation of Lyrics

Unlike a verbatim transcription, transliteration or phonetic transcription, this may include rewording a song within the same language to take into account various elements of the piece being translated, including repetitions, intertextual references and non-verbal aspects relevant to the text. As audiences have been exposed to regular text provision, they have become increasingly hungry for information. Opera houses now surtitle shows (at least their singing parts) even if performances are taking place in the language of the country in which they are taking place. The translator of the libretto, who provides the text, and the subtitler, who cues it in during the performance are two different professionals. The subtitler is usually a musician who reads the music and works in response to the conductor for cueing text.

Songs also frequently require adaptation within the same language. In fact, not adapting a famous song for a long period of time, is in itself a statement. For instance, keeping the Robert Burns verse of the Scottish "Auld Lang Syne" when celebrating New Year sends a message about preserving traditions. Similarly, national anthems generally show resistance to change, as they are perceived as symbols of unity and continuity. The transformational essence of translation can therefore be resisted and resented in some cases.

Yet for historical, ideological or cultural reasons, reappropriating a familiar tune has always been widespread, as the example of Martin Luther's shift from secular songs to hymns discussed above illustrated. As far as lyrics are concerned, these "transcreations" as they may be called today, generally do not involve strictly semantic translation as such. New words, which are intended to fit the old tune, convey a fresh semantic and poetic message, which may or may not be in line with the original text.

An Interlingual Translation of the Lyrics

This takes three main forms. Lyrics are provided to be read/heard independently from or in conjunction with the original song or musical text; they are intended to be sung in another language than the original language with the aim of remaining largely faithful to the message of the original language; they are free adaptations into another language.

In the first instance, translations can take various forms. An oral interlingual summary of a song, of the plot of an opera or musical can be provided. This can be pre-recorded for optional use (on opera houses websites for instance), aired on radio, television, or prepared for live retransmissions at the cinema. A script or libretto can also act as support for the listener. This was one of the main methods of translation provision in opera and classical concerts until the post–Second World War era. Going back to the 18th and 19th centuries, Lorenzo Da Ponte, *The Man who wrote Mozart* (Holden 2007), largely earned a living by providing libretti translation sold as programmes for live performances. Various forms of translation provision were offered in opera houses until the 1980s, when surtitles took over. Since then, they have been "here to stay" (Bredin 2005: 32) as the expected form of textual support.

Although the interlingual translation of a live or recorded musical performance plays an important role in the production and transmission of culture, the most common form of interlingual translation is provided for films or video programmes in the form of subtitling. This is in spite of the fact that many songs are left untranslated, as discussed above. Song translation in films is of course subjected to the same constraints as any subtitled text: the need for concision and for meaning that takes the multisemiotic content of the original into consideration. They need to convey some of the musicality of the original songs, specially their rhyming and rhythm qualities (see Tortoriello 2006). Songs which are part of films or television programmes are often reversioned:

- as part of a foreign language production. For instance, large companies such as Disney issue new vocal versions of films otherwise unchanged. Large-scale animation films are thus entirely redubbed, songs included. Classic films can and do undergo several reversionings. Films made by Disney are generally readapted if successful, including as regards their songs: 1938, 1962 and 2001 are different French versions of the 1937 Disney's *Snow-White and the Seven Dwarfs* for instance.
- as part of a "remediation" (Deuze 2006 in Pérez González 2014) or localization process where new material is integrated or cut from an existing version. This has been common for centuries and is still popular. Mozart's *Magic Flute*, for instance has been remediated numerous times in different countries linguistically, musically and theatrically since its creation in 1791. Such remediation can of course be intralingual, and often is in the first

instance. Thus *Newsies, the Musical* (2011) was remediated for the stage after the film *Newsies* (1992), on Broadway first, but then in Italy and Germany.

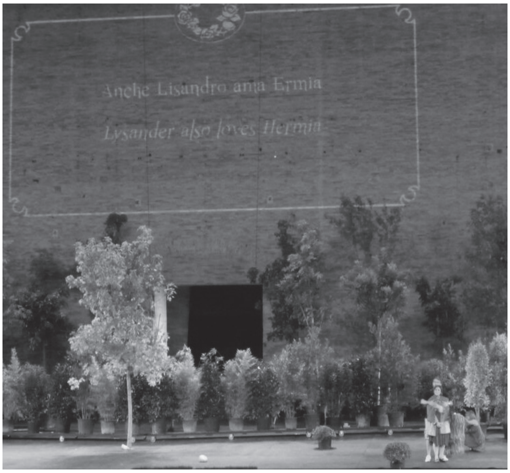
The second form of translation relevant to song/opera translation relates to "singing" or "singable" translations. This timeless strategy has existed since singers have travelled across countries, languages and cultures. A very prominent form of translation in folk music throughout the ages, it has been widespread in Western classical and popular music until the Second World War. In opera and classical concerts, singers largely sang in the language of the country of production. These singable translations primarily intend to carry the narrative meaning of the plot across language and time barriers, in the context of their multimodal content and of the production that they belong to. The translation strategies required for such singing adaptations imply a successful dialogue with the musical setting, which cannot change substantially, and with the staged production, which can do. Less popular in opera and musicals since surtitling took over as the main form of translation, singable translations are key to children's films. Strategies for this type of translation have been summarized by Peter Low in his pentathlon principle of singable translation: singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm and rhyme (Low 2005).

In popular music, as Klaus Kaindl has argued (2005; 2013), singable translations and adaptations tend to take more distance from the original, musically as well as semantically. Cover songs involve social and aesthetic transfers implying substantial changes from the original. Fruela Fernández has analysed how they reveal both "translation's role as a tool of cultural and historical analysis" as well as "anxieties within the target culture" (Fernandez 2015: 12). One of the most famous examples of the 20th century is "Comme d'habitude", adapted into "My Way", which became Frank Sinatra's theme song, and into many other covers (see Lexilogos). As the beginning of the songs below show, the initial ending love story of Claude François becomes in English a meditation on mortality by an older man taking stock of his life. The themes and tones of the two songs are as far apart as can be:

Claude François "Comme d'habitude" (1967) Original French	**Claude François "Comme d'habitude" (1967) Literal translation**	**Frank Sinatra (1969) English adaptation by Paul Anka (1969)**
Je me lève	I get up	And now
Et je te bouscule	And shake you up	The end is near
Tu n'te réveilles pas	You don't wake up	And so I face
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	The final curtain.
Sur toi	On you	My friend
Je remonte le drap	I pull up the sheets	I'll say it clear
J'ai peur que tu aies froid	I worry that you may be cold,	I'll state my case
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	Of which I'm certain
Ma main	My hand	I've lived
Caresse tes cheveux	Strokes your hair	A life that's full
Presque malgré moi	Unwittingly	I've travelled each
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	And every highway
Mais toi	But you	And more
Tu me tournes le dos	Are turning your back to me	Much more than this
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	I did it my way.
Alors	So	Regrets,
Je m'habille très vite	I quickly get dressed,	I've had a few
Je sors de la chambre	Get out of the bedroom	But then again
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	Too few to mention.
Tout seul	Alone,	I did
Je bois mon café	I drink my coffee,	What I had to do
Je suis en retard	I am late,	And saw it through
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	Without exemption.
Sans bruit	Silently,	I planned
Je quitte la maison	I leave the house	Each chartered course
Tout est gris dehors	All is grey outside	Each careful step
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	Along the byway.
J'ai froid	I am cold	And more,
Je relève mon col	I pull up my collar	much more than this
Comme d'habitude	As usual.	I did it my way.
…	…	…

Literal or semi-literal translations are also available on related internet sites. In pop and rock music, where the original lyrics can usually be provided by software applications as mentioned above, interlingual translations are frequently offered by fan translators whether on a music blog, below the video of the song or on a separate site.

An intersensorial mediation of the lyrics and the musical show in general, which operates across different senses. This can include subtitling/surtitling, signing for the deaf and the hard of hearing, as well as audio describing or audio introducing for the blind and the visually impaired. In musical live events and products, intra/interlingual surtitles are provided for all members of the public, regardless of their ability. Unlike on television, no subtitling/surtitling is offered during the musical performance. Transcriptions, interlingual and intralingual translations can take the form of surtitles, subtitles, printed texts, electronic texts and audiorecordings while intersensorial translation can also use video recordings. These translations can be hosted for the stage, the cinema, television, all video and web platforms, including mobile phones and other electronic devices. They can abide by standard norms of publishing applying to each specific platform, or depart from them. For instance, song translation for the stage can offer standard static surtitles projected above the stage or animated writing with special effects, different speeds, spacings and directions, created as part of the production. Thus, in the 2013 Macerata Opera Festival, surtitles for the *Midsummer Night's Dreams* (music by Mendelssohn and Britten), projected on the huge outdoor wall of the Sferisterio building, were given the shape of 1920s cinema intertitles, in line with the production:



"Anche Lisandra ama Ermia Lysander also loves Hermia"
(*Midsummer Night's Dreams* August 2013, Macerata Opera Festival. Production Francesco Micheli)

Fonts, layouts, colours, levels of brightness can also be used as variations, which are meaningful to the target text. For instance, although on the whole, sung text is produced slower than spoken text, the simultaneous or very rapidly succeeding emission of lines is common in vocal ensembles. To avoid confusion, different lines sung by different characters may mirror their position on the stage and are separated by a dash as in the example below from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* produced by the Royal Opera House, London (as quoted by Palmer 2013: 31):

—Him? —You? —Figaro?
—My mother? —Who?

Some theatres provide signing for the deaf with a sign interpreter mediating rhythms, tempi and musical emotion with one hand and using sign language to translate the lyrics with the other hand.

Provision for the blind is often more comprehensive with a choice of recorded audio introductions or audio descriptions for opera and some musicals. Some theatres also offer pre-performance touch tours in order to give blind or visually-impaired members of the audience an opportunity to touch costumes, props, explore the stage set and talk to members of the cast.

Conclusion

From specialized publications comprising complex music terminologies to live interviews with musicians to be provided on different media platforms, texts including or involving music encompass an extraordinarily wide spectrum. Their transfers can concern musical content and words. They can take place across time, genre, styles, as well as cultural, artistic and linguistic borders. They require every known form of translation. Music has been at the heart of the Third Wave revolution prophesized by Alvin Toffler (1980) in that it is vital to the worldwide participatory culture that is driving the world today, defying the ways multinational companies provide it and disseminate it. It has and is playing a crucial role in constructing the world, fostering both diversity and global reach. In the last decade, it has inspired new forms of translation. Perhaps paradoxically, as music has becoming more individualized through technology devices, it has also favoured collective forms of translation. Lyrics websites, music recognition software, song lyrics catalogues, music sharing community sites all depend on the resources that ordinary listeners and viewers make available. This chapter could only give a bird's eye view of the processes and products that music translation entails. The decision to focus on texts including music itself and words was driven by the fact that every translator who works in a range of fields will at some stage encounter the challenge of translation involving music. Such translations, whether or not they involve the transfer of lyrics, require specific strategies and knowledge for a successful mediation. The challenges and scopes of music translations go beyond those of vocal music. They can involve texts about music and various ways of interpreting music. For music, according to Victor Hugo, is that "which cannot be told and cannot be kept silent" (Hugo 1864: 120). It depends on interpretation to be meaningful and to reach an audience. In this sense, just as for Umberto Eco "translation [was] the language of Europe" (Eco 1993), translation is also the language of music.

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10 Translation of Religious Writings

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Introduction

While every form of translation has its own specificity and even uniqueness, the translation of religious writings can claim an exceptional status, for more reasons than one: its very long history, the role it has had in shaping translation theory and methodology, with implications beyond the field of religious translation itself, and the sheer importance of certain texts for their users.

The translation of religious texts is extremely old. It may be impossible to date with certainty the first translation ever undertaken, but it is known, for instance, that the Jewish Torah was translated from Hebrew into Greek as early as the third century BC. Known as the *Septuagint*, this translation was intimately linked to migration, displacement, and diaspora, which remain today important world phenomena and powerful means of creating mutually enriching contact or exchange—but also friction and conflict—between communities and individuals, while bringing texts and religious ideas to new audiences. Colonization, globalization, as well as travelling and the generalization of mass media have led to emergence of hybrid, multilayered identities which make it irrelevant, if not completely impossible, to trace clear-cut boundaries between cultures, with implications for transmission and translation.

If society in Western Europe, for example, has undergone considerable secularization, in many other parts of the world religious writings, and especially texts considered sacred or holy by believers, continue to epitomize core values and to guide beliefs and behaviour. In any case, it seems obvious that "in the 21st century it is politically and socially impossible to ignore holy texts from other cultures" (Long 2005: 1), from other languages and religions. Translation can give access to them but, as has been pointed out time and again by translation scholars, it is not a neutral activity. Indeed, while insisting on the translatability of holy texts and the "afterlife" (*Fortleben*, "prolongued life") translation gives the original, Walter Benjamin ([1923] 2004: 77) already identified the transformation inevitably brought about in the process: "For in its afterlife", he writes, "[…] the original undergoes a change". Transformation, change, and renewal are for Benjamin inherent characteristics of something living, but they are often feared where the holy is concerned, because of their potential to engender deliberate or non-deliberate distortion of the message. This is why the relevance, legitimacy, and acceptability of translations have been debated in the case of sacred texts more passionately than in any other writings.

It is not our aim, in this chapter, to outline all the specific issues (theological, philosophical, ethical, hermeneutic, cultural, anthropological, literary, linguistic, stylistic) involved in translating humanity's various sacred texts and other religious writings, or to retrace the history of their reception. We focus instead, more modestly, on the impact religious translation has had on the development of ideas about translation, which have shaped the discipline of Translation Studies as it now stands, as well as on a number of key developments such as audience design, the growing awareness of gender issues, the use of paratexts, and the influence of contemporary media.

Impact on Translation Theory and Practice

The Bhagavad Gītā, one of Hinduism's sacred texts, in Sanskrit, reports that Lord Krishna, who helps Prince Arjuna, gives the latter the following advice: "Let the scriptures be your guide […] in deciding what you must do, and what you must abstain from. First learn the path of action, as the scriptures teach it. Then act accordingly" (Prabhavananda & Isherwood 1944: 155). It is no exaggeration or overgeneralization to say that this gives a measure of the importance scriptures have traditionally had not only in Hinduism, but in other religions as well. Indeed, the Torah, the Bible, the Quran, and other religions' holy writings, have been considered to embody the values of entire cultures, and have influenced every aspect of the life not only of isolated individuals, but of large communities, and the interactions between them.

In this chapter, we make a distinction between "religious text" and "sacred/holy text". "Religious" is an objective label we use in the sense of "relating to or pertaining to a given religion". The Latin etymology of the word, nevertheless, sends us back to "*religare*", which means "linking" or "binding fast"—and the entities to be linked are the world of humans and the sphere of the divine. This brings us to the "sacred" or the "holy", recognized by certain individuals but not by others. Yet another distinction, which we do not concern ourselves with here, however, has been made in recent years between "religion" and "spirituality"; the former has an institutional dimension and incorporates doctrine and public ritual, while the latter is more personal and private.

A religion's various texts do not all have the same status. Some of them are regarded by believers as being of divine inspiration, or even containing verbatim the word of God. The very languages in which a given holy text was originally made available are at times perceived as having a sacred character. Needless to say, the business of reading, interpreting, and, by extension, translating these writings involves considerable responsibility and raises concerns about authority, legitimacy, and the sheer possibility of transfer between languages without loss or distortion. Thus, Steiner ([1975] 1992: 63) reveals that, according to the Talmud (a very large collection of rabbinic teachings spanning several centuries), "the omission or the addition of one letter might mean the destruction of the whole world". Or, to quote from contemporary press, "in the beginning was the word, but then the word changed" (*The Guardian*, 22 February 2010, online, para 1).

If one strips sacred writings of their aura of holiness, they start resembling literary, philosophical, or historical texts. Familiar elements such as narrative, description, argumentation, dialogue, poetry, proverb, are laid bare. This is not to say that translation then becomes easy. The

Quran, for instance, is, stylistically speaking, a masterpiece of the Arabic language, a text of exceptional beauty. Moreover, it is difficult to translate or even read the Quran without considering its socio-cultural and historical context, as well as the network of concepts within the book itself. True, as Long (2005: 8) points out, "the overlay of divine authority makes translation more daring, and the overlay of exegesis makes it more difficult", but humanity's sacred texts are challenging to translate even if seen as purely literary endeavours.

While Benjamin viewed scriptures as translatable (see above), Shackle (2005: 32) aligns himself with the belief in the "ultimate untranslatability of the holy". He explains, however, that in his opinion this is largely due to context rather than content. Admittedly, in translation, "the source text is not only decontextualized, but *re*contextualized. These two processes occur simultaneously, as soon as a text is chosen and the translator begins to render it" (Venuti 2007: 30, emphasis in the original). To take the argument a step further, even if the intrinsic characteristics of a text, of any text, remained the same, there would still be something that changes: the audience, and the ways in which the new receivers position themselves with respect to the text, and employ it.

In view of all these things, it is small wonder that, as Nouss (1990: 7) reminds us, theories of and approaches to translation have for a very long time articulated themselves around the practice of religious translation, which shaped many concepts and strategies we now take for granted in Translation Studies. For example, translation students learn that St Jerome (the patron saint of translators, whose feast day on 30 September has become International Translation Day) wrote in 395 AD, in his "Letter to Pammachius": "Now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek—except of course in the case of the Holy Scripture, where even the syntax contains a mystery—I render, not word for word, but sense for sense" (in Robinson 1997: 25). The dichotomy "word for word" / "sense for sense", and of course the notion that different types of text require different translation strategies, have a long history and, although St Jerome was inspired by Cicero, his contribution remains seminal. Or consider Martin Luther's observation that "[…] we must ask the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the marketplace. We must be guided by their language, by the way they speak, and do our translating accordingly" (1530, "An Open Letter on Translating", also known as "Circular Letter on Translation";

online, para 13)—a clear argument in favour of reader-oriented translation. More recently, Eugene Nida's work on equivalence and Henri Meschonnic's insights into rhythm, informed by their work on the Christian and Jewish sacred texts, represent landmarks in contemporary thinking about translation. Luther's translation of the holy writ in the sixteenth century was a turning point in the history of the German language. The enduring heritage of the King James Bible (1611) also witnesses to the importance of religious translation, not only for translation theory and practice, but also well beyond.

Audience Design and Retranslation

Translations of religious writings need revising, updating; they benefit from advances in exegesis, as well as from scientific developments which may shed light on hitherto obscure aspects, and clarify meaning. Contexts change, and so do audiences. And, as Long (2005: 1) explains, "motives for translating holy texts have been many and various, ranging from the evangelical to the curious, the subversive to the celebratory". The uses to which the translated texts may be put are, then, diverse: giving access to information, converting, guiding, refuting (for example, Robert of Chester's twelfth-century Latin translation of the Quran), promoting scholarship, improving upon previous translations and correcting perceived mistakes, distancing oneself from other religious groups (the case of protestant translation of the Bible in nineteenth century India) or, on the contrary, working towards mutual understanding (the French ecumenical translation of the Bible, known as the *TOB*), bringing old texts closer to contemporary audiences, and facilitating liturgical use.

Colonization, migration and displacement have combined to reconfigure, at least in part, models of religious distribution around the world. Ongoing secularization in Western societies also contributes to changing the picture, as younger generations distance themselves from the traditions and religious values of their ancestors, and are less immersed in the Judeo-Christian culture which shaped the heritage of the European continent, and of the Unites States. Audiences are heterogeneous, and someone's sacred text may represent, for another person, an exotic object of limited relevance, a thing of the past, a literary artefact, or a dangerous ideological tool. In any case, it seems obvious that, since the selection of texts for translation or retranslation is never neutral, the underlying assumption behind any publication project is that there must be an audience to target. Let us not forget that although, historically, the holy texts of the various religions were strongly embedded within institutional settings, today this has been diluted and replaced, to an extent, with decisions made by the publishing industry, and with the vagaries of the new media.

In her study of brands of faith in modern societies, Mara Einstein (2007: 42) explains how, in a world dominated by commerce, audiences of religious texts are segmented for maximum impact much in the same way as buyers of consumer goods. There are at present over fifty versions of the Bible available in English, of which translations and specialized editions for the teen and young adult market. To appeal to busy, older readers, publishers have created editions that can be perused with a minimum of time investment. Examples of this are *The 100-Minute Torah* (advertised as a non-condescending book addressed to non-Jews and Jews alike), *The 100-Minute Bible* (which, in the summer of 2007, the Archbishop of York sent to every Member of Parliament), *100-Minutes with the Qur'an*, or *The HCSB Light Speed Bible*.

New translations of a given sacred text have undoubtedly been, throughout the ages, means of challenging established readings, and of reshaping religious identities. But they can also confirm the continued relevance of traditional interpretations. As White (2009: 216) pointed out, in relation to Bible translating, "modern translators and textual critics are not attacking the Word of God"—although it may feel that way, if one has become attached to a particular translation which, for that person, has practically acquired the status of a source text in its own right (in the Catholic church, for example, this was the case with St Jerome's Latin *Vulgate*, a fourth century and beginning of the fifth century translation; today, in a world abounding in modern English translations of the Christian holy book, the King James Version *is* the Bible for millions of faithful on several continents). According to de Waard and Nida (1986: 42), "all […] varieties of translating and adapting have a certain legitimacy for particular audiences and special circumstances"; in other words, they do not have to be in competition, and one translation's approach must not necessarily be wrong for another's to be right.

A key issue involved in retranslating texts which believers regard as holy is that of style and, as sociolinguist Allan Bell (1984) argued, style is speakers' response to their audience. Thus, certain users of religious writings require translations which sound archaic, because they feel this is more appropriate in view of the sacred nature of the message, while easy-to-understand renderings in modern idiom seem somehow less respectful (Nida 1997: 193–94). There has also been, traditionally, a tendency to use higher register than in the source text itself, possibly because of perceptions that literary language suits the divine message better than colloquial style. Of course, one important aspect with respect to which no contemporary (re)translation can avoid taking a stand one way or another is that of gender-inclusive language.

Comparing several English translations of the liturgy of St John Chrysostomos, which is the main liturgy used in the Orthodox churches, Șerban (2005) outlines a case of bringing tradition within reach of younger audiences, and indeed of new audiences. She shows that, while some translations (for instance one which was made for use in a monastery) are more archaizing, other translators felt that contemporary language is appropriate for conveying a spiritual message. Believers may derive a sense of emotional security from traditional religious style, but it is essential that translations should not become nearly as great an obstacle to understanding as the language of the original text itself. Having said that, audiences are not homogeneous, and have conflicting needs; this is, in fact, an argument in favour of multiple translations, which do not have to be equivalent among themselves, in terms of the approach adopted, but complementary in their uses.

The translators of the King James Bible wrote in their preface about the balance one must strive to keep between the old and the new in the sensitive area of translating the holy:

> Yet […] as nothing is begun and perfected at the same time, and the later thoughts are thought to be the wiser: so, if we building upon their foundation that went before us, and being holpen by their labors, do endeavor to make that better which they left so good; no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike us; they, we persuade ourselves, if they were alive, would thank us. (reproduced in Burke 2009: 230)

This brings us back to the question of ownership of the divine message, and control over what it means—which can lead to "single thought", to dogmatization and conformism. Opening up to alternatives, on the other hand, is a risky enterprise; its consequence, relativization, may be equally problematic if taken to the extreme. In the end, a large measure of responsibility must rest with the reader, any reader. As Long (2005: 3) remarks, discussing Derrida's take on the legacy of Babel in his essay "Des Tours de Babel", the scattering of tongues at Babel challenges us, and perhaps even obliges us, to find our way through multiple interpretations, hoping as St Augustine did that the diversity may help rather than hinder understanding, "if readers would only be discerning" (in Gavigan 1966: 74).

Gender and the Translation of Religious Texts

The question of who translates religious writings in general and sacred texts in particular is just as important as that of how, and for whom. Because of the magnitude of the task, and also due to its difficulty and sensitivity, texts regarded as holy have often been tackled by teams of translators. Witness to this is the King James Bible, also known from its time of publication in 1611 as the Authorized Version (a landmark in scripture translation and a towering achievement of English literature), or the recent ecumenical translation of the Christian holy text into French, the *TOB* (*La Traduction œcuménique de la Bible*, first published in 1975, new edition in 2010), carried out by catholic, protestant and orthodox translators. Given the issues at stake, translations of sacred texts are usually "scrutinised with the greatest care by members of the hierarchical structure of the institution supporting each religion to ensure that no deliberate or non-deliberate distortion of the divine message has taken place" (Șerban 2006: 47), and must carry the seal of approval.

But there have also been individual translators who tried their hand at scripture translation. Thus, in the twentieth century, Algerian born André Chouraqui, of Jewish origin, single-handedly retranslated into French the holy texts of the three monotheist religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Anchored in his Hebraic, French and Arab roots, Chouraqui took an active part in interfaith movements and was a member of the executive committee of the Word Conference of Religions for Peace. His endeavours are, of course, a far cry from, for instance, the efforts of nineteenth-century Bible translators in India: as Israel ([2006] 2010) shows, in a complex linguistic and cultural context the translators affiliated with the various Christian religious groups present in the country at the time attempted to keep their translation of the scripture distinct—while at the same time not making it completely unfamiliar. Language as marker of identity had an important role to play in this.

While translation has often been associated with the feminine (Chamberlain 1988), it appears that, throughout the centuries, translators of sacred texts have mainly been men, and one of the criticisms that surround the translation of religious texts is precisely male domination. Addressing this state of facts has become a pressing issue of gender equality, in which, again, language has a crucial part. Translation Studies scholars such as Sherry Simon (1996) and Luise von Flotow (1997) highlighted the role of women as translators of the Christian holy writ. According to Simon, women's participation in Bible translation was very limited in the past because few women had access to a classical education, and were therefore unable to obtain sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. There were, nevertheless, a number of exceptional cases of women who received education from their fathers, or even had the opportunity to attend university.

In his case study of the translation into English of the Sikh scriptures, the Adi Granth ("Original Book", or "First Book"), Shackle (2005) reveals that the first translation by a woman was attempted as late as 1995. The Adi Granth, which is a collection of the hymns of the Sikh Gurus, was compiled in the seventeenth century and was first translated into English in the nineteenth century; it has since been retranslated several times, at least in part. Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh's volume, published under the title *The Name of My Beloved. Verses of the Sikh Gurus*, is also a partial translation, and the first "consciously to attempt to produce a gender-neutral version suitable for the diaspora" (Shackle 2005: 32).

Similarly, most women translators of the Bible have only translated parts of the Bible. For instance, Elisabeth Smith (1776–1806) translated the Book of Job, which was published in 1810; her friend Elisabeth Bowdler (1717–1797) published a new translation of the Song of Songs. Anne Francis (1738–1800) translated and published A *Poetical Translation of the Song of Solomon, from the Original Hebrew* (1781). The first complete translation of the Bible by a woman was probably produced by Julia Evelina Smith (1792–1886), who translated the holy text into English from Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Her work was titled *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments; Translated Literally from the Original Tongues* (1876). Julia Smith, who started her translation at the age of seventy-seven and completed it when she was eighty-four years old, is believed to be the only woman to translate the whole Bible in any language. A gifted linguist, Smith had acquired some elementary knowledge of Greek, along with Latin and French, and took up the study of Hebrew by herself during the 1840s. Her knowledge of these languages was imperfect, but she considered it to be equal to that of the most learned scholars of her time. It is, however, the circumstances behind her work that made Smith's achievement very remarkable. Because of her dissatisfaction with existing English translations of the Bible, Smith decided to read and translate the text without relying on other people's work. In the introduction to her translation she recalls how one of her friends encouraged her to discover the text for herself, so that, in her own words "I could see with my own eyes, and not look through the glasses of my neighbors" (Preface, 1876). To achieve this goal, Smith worked with complete independence, without relying on any theological traditions, scholarly commentaries, or previous translations. This independent stance allowed the translator to focus completely on the source language.

Even though Smith completed her translation without any feminist purposes, her achievement became, nevertheless, the source of reference and the ultimate authority for the Greek, Latin and Hebrew text for *The Women's Bible* (1895), one of the most influential works promoting women's rights. Edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Women's Bible* consisted of a series of excerpts from the Bible which were deemed to concern women, and were accompanied by commentaries written mainly by Stanton herself, but also by Bible experts, scholars, and supporters of the women's suffrage movement. Stanton's project of rereading and translating passages regarding women was based on her conviction that the Bible had been used as a political instrument for the subjugation of women. Stanton had, however, great difficulty persuading other women to participate in what was considered a "scandalous project", at the time. Feminist leaders felt the translation might alienate women from the movement, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association rejected the book when it was finally published in 1895 and 1898 (Simon 1996: 116).

After Smith's translation and *The Women's Bible*, Helen Barrett Montgomery (1861–1934) became the translator of *The Centenary Translation of the New Testament* (1924). In 1992, Mary Phil Korsak published her translation of the first part of the Hebrew Bible, titled *At the Start: Genesis Made New*, in which she adopts a fresh approach to the Genesis. In the introduction, she explains that previous translations and interpretations of the Garden of Eden story have ignored and obscured its gender egalitarian aspects. She also points out that a great number of biblical scholarly commentaries have imposed a negative image of the first human couple, and particularly of the woman. Following in Smith's steps, Korsak chose to work independently. She also adopted a word-for-word approach by systematically using one English word for each occurrence of a given Hebrew word. Furthermore, like Smith, Korsak rejected the solutions of traditional translators "who replace a single Hebrew word by a variety of English words for reasons of style or context" (Korsak 1992: 225). Word-for-word rendering enabled her to present a new perspective on the Hebrew Genesis by exploring, for instance, the meaning of the name "Adam", and finding a gender-inclusive meaning of the creation story. Moreover, as pointed out by von Flotow, this "systematicity" allowed Korsak to achieve "startling results" when she reveals that the Hebrew word "*sela*", commonly designating a "side", is also the term for the part of Adam from which woman was created. Because this term is traditionally translated into English as "rib", Korsak's new translation brought a new understanding of the creation story (von Flotow 2000: 15). By using "side" instead of "rib", Korsak arrives to the conclusion that "woman begins where man ends, she is his limit, and vice versa", and that "theirs is a side by side relationship" rather than a primary and superior versus a secondary and inferior one (Korsak 1992: 225).

The first translation of the Quran by a woman was into French. It was undertaken by Fatma Zaida in the nineteenth century and titled *L'Alkoran! Le Livre par excellence*. Interestingly, it was published in Lisbon, more than a decade before Smith's translation of the Bible. It is only in the 1990s that the first English language translations of the Quran by women were published. Their increasing number is probably linked to the fact that many Muslims now live in English speaking countries, and more and more women are becoming involved in creating religious knowledge. To this date, there are nine English translations of the Quran undertaken by, or with the participation of women, who represent various branches of Islam. These translations can be divided in two categories: team and individual undertakings.

In 1991, the first male-female team translation of the Quran into English was published by Ahmad Abdul Munim Zidan and his wife Dina Al Zahraa Zidan, a British convert to Islam. Titled *The Glorious Quran: Text and Translation*, it appeared in the UK. The second team translation was completed by father and daughter Mohamed Ahmed and Samira Ahmed, based in Canada. Published in 1994 under the title *The Koran, Complete Dictionary and Literal Translation*, their collaborative work is available only in electronic form. The third team project is *The Holy Quran: Arabic Text and English Translation* by husband and wife Abdul Mannan Omar and Amatul Rahman Omar. Published in 1997 by Noor Foundation International, this translation was completed in 1990, only a few days before Amatul Rahman Omar died. *The Noble Quran: A New Rendering of its Meaning in English* was translated by husband and wife team Hajj Abdalhaqq Bewley and Aisha Bewley and published in 1999 in the UK. Finally, the fifth male-female team work is *The Quran: A Reformist Translation*. Published in 2007, it was undertaken by a group of scholars including one woman, Martha Shulte-Nafeh, and two men, Layth Saleh al-Shaiban and Edip Yuksel.

Interestingly, the majority of these male-female teams are family members; three were undertaken by husbands and wives and one by father and daughter. The male-female collaboration may be understood in various different ways. On one hand, it could signal the gender-egalitarian position of Islam, where men and women have equal rights to engage in the reading, interpretation and translation of the sacred text. This challenges the preconception that Muslim women have been prevented from taking equal position in society and in contributing to religious knowledge. On the other hand, such collaboration may in fact also confirm patriarchal gender roles, where women need approval from a man. The male presence could thus be the seal of acceptance, and serve as a mechanism to protect the female translator from criticism and rejection.

The first published English translation of the Quran by a woman working alone is probably *The Quran, Arabic Text with Corresponding English Meaning* by Umm Muhammad. Her translation was published in 1995 by Abul-Qasim Publishing, under the pseudonym Saheeh International. The second translation is *The Light of Dawn* by Camille Adams Helminski. Published in 1999, this incomplete translation contains 365 selected verses from the Quran for daily meditation. Like Umm Muhammad, Camille Adams Helminski is an American convert to Islam. The third English translation of the Quran by a woman is titled *The Holy Quran: Translation with Commentary*; it was undertaken by Tahereh Saffarzadeh, an Iranian poetess, writer, university lecturer and translator; it appeared in 2001, in Iran. The most recent English version of the

Quran by a woman, *The Sublime Quran*, was translated by Laleh Bakhtiar, American author and translator, and published in 2007, in the US. In other words, women have started making their voices heard.

The increasing involvement of women in the translation of religious texts could be a reflection of the changes in society and the need to reflect gender equality in all aspects of life. In recent years, the patriarchal tone and male-centred language used in in many of the sacred writings of the various religions in the world have been the centre of considerable controversy. Translators of religious texts are faced with several questions: must the use of male-centred language be revised or maintained? Should the patriarchal content and tone be considered as part of the message itself of the original texts? Or are they merely dimensions of the language through which and context in which the message was first communicated? To put it differently, is the patriarchal language of holy texts prescriptive or incidental (Hassen 2011: 223)?

A number of Bible scholars such as Vern S. Poythress and Wayne A. Grudem have argued that masculine generic terms are an essential part of the grammatical structure of the biblical languages. They maintain that translators must preserve and mirror patriarchal elements in the target languages. Interestingly, the feminist theologian Phyllis Bird shares similar views and supports the need to maintain the patriarchal tone of the original text. She however has a different motive, which is to expose the male bias in religious texts; in her view, covering the male-centred language would only mask the deeper underlying issues. She also argues that the androcentric nature of the biblical language must be laid bare and recognized as a sign of its historically and culturally limited nature (Bird 1988: 90).

Many Bible translators have, however, opted to revise the patriarchal tone of the original. They were influenced by the "functional equivalence" school of Eugene Nida, which argues for an actualization of the ancient text, making it speak to the reader as if it were written for a contemporary audience (de Waard and Nida 1986). This philosophy of translation, which focuses on the target readership, has allowed many translators of the Christian holy text to adjust its language and address modern readers' concerns. *The New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV), for instance, adopted various strategies to produce a translation that is sensitive and inclusive of women. For example, they replaced singular masculine pronouns by plural ones. Generic terms such as "humankind", "human",

"human being", and "person", were used instead of the masculine word "man". Hebrew and Greek words traditionally rendered "fathers" were translated as "parents" or "ancestors"; "sons" became "children" or "descendants" (Strauss 1998: 40–43).

In the field of Quran translation the issue of gender-inclusive or neutral language is not as visible as in Bible translation. One of the reasons could be that most English translations of the Quran are source text oriented. In fact, almost all existing translations, including those by or with the participation of women, use masculine nouns and pronouns in the generic sense. The only exception is probably *The Light of Dawn*, in which the translator, Camille Adams Helminski, shows a clear sensitivity to women's concerns by making some adjustments. Thus, although the Arabic text uses masculine generic nouns and pronouns, Helminski uses the combination "he/she" as well as the generic "he" to refer to human beings and to the Supreme Deity. Her linguistic choice makes it clear that women and men are equally addressed by the Quranic text.

In Hatim and Mason's (1990: 161) words, "behind the systematic linguistic choices we make, there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms". The field of religious translation is obviously concerned, since translators make choices: these are sometimes deliberate, and tantamount to taking a stand in favour of a set of beliefs and values which informs individual or institutional point of view, and sometimes largely subconscious, since ideology can work in subtle ways, in particular where underlying assumptions are taken for granted. It is through making choices that the translator's "voice" or "discursive presence" (Hermans [1996] 2010) is heard and, as Hermans points out, translation represents a perpetual challenge to the illusion of univocal speech, of single voices emanating from identifiable, stable sources. In other words, translation always comes with the risk of triggering a proliferation of voices, which is to say of interpretations, of meanings.

Paratexts of Religious Translations

Perhaps one of the most insightful and beautifully poetic statements ever made about translation comes from "The Translators to the Reader", the preface of the King James Bible (1611):

> Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most holy place; that removeth the cover of the well, that we may come by the water. (reproduced in Burke 2009: 224)

Book covers, titles, subtitles, dedications, tables of contents, prefaces, prologues, introductions, epigraphs, chapter synopses, epilogues, afterwords, author biographies, footnotes, endnotes, glossaries, appendices, indexes, and more, have long accompanied the printed book and are no less important today, in the media age. They create a frame or, to put it differently, a multilayered packaging which simultaneously protects and reveals the item wrapped up in it. These liminal devices or "thresholds" featuring both within and outside a book are the paratexts, which, according to literary theorist Gérard Genette, control the audience's whole reading of a text, and shape their response—which is why they make the object of their own audience design and are used as marketing tools. Political and ideological control of a text can be exerted by means of its paratexts, since the latter mediate between the book, the author and the reader (Genette 1997).

Of course, paratexts are not necessarily written material. Non-verbal elements such as dust jacket design, fonts, layout, photographs, illustrations, and even tables or charts are also paratexts. Deceptions are possible: a misleading but enticing title, a cover design which does not have much to do with the content but becomes in itself a desirable object to possess. Interestingly, in certain circumstances it is not easy to tell which is the "core" text and which is the paratext: an example of an unclear borderline are bilingual or multilingual editions of a text, offering side by side the original text and its translation(s). Such publications exist in the various religions, and today's new media make it possible to manage ever larger amounts of text. But where translations are concerned, the ambiguity of the distinction between text and paratext is taken to another level because, in a way, "as translators we create paratext the moment we put pen to paper, or fingers to keyboard" (Pellatt 2013: 3). Translation involves rewriting, rephrasing, restructuring, explaining sometimes, commenting (see also Long 2007) and hence, in a way, translation itself *is* paratext.

Certain types of paratext are created by the author(s) of the text, others are external. In any case, it is well known that the paratexts' content and appearance are rarely decided by translators. Other decision makers are involved, such as publishers, editors, or authors. In the case of holy texts, religious authorities often play a key role in designing and restricting the paratexts of a given translation. Audience expectations also need to be considered, if the whole made up by text and paratext is to be recognizable and acceptable to users, but religious authorities in particular have the power to influence the use of paratexts and make it conform to their readings of the religious text in question. Institutional control is of course perceived by some as a safeguard against error, and is condemned by others as an attempt to claim monopoly on what a text means, tantamount to adopting a "proprietoral stance" (Long 2005: 6).

A good example of religious authorities' attempt to control paratexts can be found in a book titled *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions* (2003), where several researchers investigate how translators of religious texts engage in paratextual activities in order to frame and guide interpretation of sacred texts. August den Hollander's essay on "Forbidden Bibles, Paratext and the Index of Librorum Prohibitorum" in particular reveals how paratextual aids including prefaces, introductions, and short summaries above the chapters enabled Dutch translators in the first half of the sixteenth century to introduce new ideas and interpretations of the sacred text. In addition to encouraging individual thinking, paratextual elements in Bible translation have helped readers acquire knowledge and widen their scope to other areas and subjects. As den Hollander argues, the main goal of this type of Bible translation was to stimulate the public debate on biblical texts and to encourage individual reading and study of the holy writ. However, because the accompanying paratextual elements enabled the reader to understand the scripture independently, without relying on the church and its ministry, Dutch religious censors, who feared loss of status, responded by implementing new rules for controlling "suspicious" paratextual elements. As a result, a great number of Dutch Bible translations were prohibited simply because they contained paratextual aids. The reaction of the Dutch religious authorities and the actions taken to maintain authority over religious thought present an interesting case of the conflict that can occur between translators on one hand and religious authorities on the other; they also expose the influence religious authorities are able to exert in order to control translations and, if necessary, silence the translator's voice.

Even though religious authorities today do not always have the same powers to censor the publication of a given translation, they can still exert considerable control over its distribution. In the context of Quran translation for instance, religious institutions such as the Saudi government and Al-Azhar University play a key role in the distribution of English translation of the holy text of Islam. Through their extended network, which ranges from mosques to schools and libraries, they can control the circulation of a given translation in different parts of the world. For instance, considering the endorsement the Saudi government and religious authorities have been offering to selected English versions of the Quran, it is no coincidence that *The Holy Quran: Translation and Commentary* by Abdullah Yusuf Ali and *The Noble Quran in the English Language* by Muhammad Taqi al-Din al-Hilali and Muhammad Muhsin Khan are among the most popular and most disseminated translations worldwide. According to Khaleel Mohammed, in 1989, Saudi Arabia's Ar-Rajhi banking company financed the US-based Amana Corporation's project to revise Abdullah Yusuf Ali's translation. The objective of the project was to produce an interpretation in line with the Islamic thought followed in Saudi Arabia. The new version was then offered for free to mosques, schools, and libraries throughout the world (Mohammed 2005: 58–71). The Saudi government was also behind the wide distribution of Muhammad Taqi al-Din al-Hilali and Muhammad Muhsin Khan's translation, which was meant to replace Yusuf Ali's archaic language and old style rendering. Being one of the few to have received the seal of approval from both the University of Medina and the Saudi *Dar al-Ifta*, this translation is now the most widely distributed version in most Islamic bookstores and Sunni mosques throughout the English-speaking world (Mohammed 2005: 58–71). And even though it is hardly compatible with the needs of contemporary Muslim readers living in Western countries, as it relies heavily on medieval scholars' commentaries, it remains present in most Sunni mosques, mostly because of the endorsement and free distribution by the religious authorities.

One consequence of institutional involvement in the distribution of translations of the Quran is, then, that competing works face difficulties in reaching intended readers. Muhammad Asad's translation, for example, was banned by Saudi religious authorities. The ban, but also the government's continued financing of endorsed translations, have made Asad's translation both expensive and difficult to obtain, thereby limiting its distribution and, as a result, its access to a larger audience. In fact, many English translations of the Quran have faced similar problems, which may also explain, in part, why most English translations of the Quran by and with the participation of women have so far remained in the shadows and have not reached the same level of popularity as Yusuf Ali and Kahn's versions.

In other words, the pressures on translators of sacred texts from the various religions are considerable, and how could it be otherwise, when these are texts "having a long history and involving the deep personal attachment of many people and the vast, vested interest of numerous institutions" (Nida 1964: 26). Translators are not free to do what they want and, as Shackle (2005) pointed out, it is context rather than content that makes the holy difficult to translate or even untranslatable, as resistance to translation may actually be due more to control of interpretation than to inherent textual untranslatability.

Since its global expansion the internet has increasingly become one of the key repositories allowing audiences to access information about texts and their author, and even share opinions with other readers. The notion of "community" itself is becoming redefined. The internet is at present one of the major outlets for purchasing books. In order to help readers make their choice, and to direct decisions, online bookstores usually accompany products with a brief synopsis offering an overview of the text's content. Because these short texts must ensure marketability, they are designed to frame and package a text in view of targeting specific audience groups. In her 2007 monograph *Brands of Faith. Marketing Religion in a Commercial Age*, Einstein discusses the move from "enlightenment" to "enterprise" over the last twenty years or so, and in particular over the last decade. She observes that once esoteric traditions can and do become religious commodities, since one of the trends in mass-marketed cultures is religious or spiritual shopping. As Einstein argues, religious products, including institutions, are now branded in similar ways to consumer products. Thus, religious organizations take on names, logos, use slogans, in an attempt to make themselves heard in a crowded marketplace.

Consider the fact that Bibles are no longer systematically black, with a sober design. Indeed, the colour of a book cover presents one of the first visual elements that draw potential readers' attention. Even though colour symbolism differs from one culture to another, some colours carry a whole range of secular as well as religious meanings, depending on the context. Green, for instance, may have no particular religious importance in Western culture, but for Muslims it has a special cultural and religious significance. Its religious importance may have originated from the various references in the Quran which depict paradise to be green (Quran 15: 45, 55: 62, 47: 15). This is probably why green is widely used in the book covers of Quran translations. Another important design element in translations of the Quran is the title of the book. In order to ensure the distinction between the Quran and its translations, Islamic religious authorities do not permit translations of the holy text to be titled "the Quran". This decision became official when, in 1936, Sheikh Mustafa Al-Maraghi, Rector of Al-Azhar University, formally announced in a letter to the Prime Minister of the time that translations of the Quran into any language cannot be titled the "Quran" (Mehanna 1978; al-Zafaf 1984). Sheikh Maraghi's views led to a *fatwa* approved the same year by the Council of Ministers; one of its stipulations was that translations must be called "a translation of an interpretation of the Quran" or "an interpretation of the Quran in language X" (Mehanna 1978; al-Zafzaf 1984). As a result of this *fatwa*, Al-Azhar University and other Islamic religious institutions do not endorse or grant permission for translations of the Quran unless it is explicitly indicated that they are translations of the "meanings" of the Quran. They also require that terms such as "explanation", "interpretation", or "paraphrase" should be inserted in the title to make it clear that the work is simply an interpretation of the inimitable source text (Mehanna 1978; al-Zafzaf 1984). This is why many English translations of the Quran have titles such as *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran in the English Language, The Koran Interpreted*, or *The Quran: New Interpretation*.

Religious Translation and the New Media

At a time when the pope uses Twitter and translations of the Quran are available on the internet, religion has certainly entered the digital age. This means, among others, that the undisputed reign of the printed book is a thing of the past, and that it has now become important to consider how the media are influencing, for better or for worse, the contemporary practice of religious beliefs, and their transmission.

While embracing technological innovation has not come easy to all religious institutions or groups, many of them have now leveraged modern media in a number of ways (see Campbell 2010). Thus, in addition to reaching audiences via printed books or sermons in traditional settings, religious messages can now be conveyed using e-books, audiobooks, the internet, and of course radio and television. As a result, the area of religious translation has broadened to include forms of multimedia transfer such as the subtitling, dubbing, or voice-over of films, as well as website translation. Media accessibility concerns have led to the development of subtitling for hard-of-hearing and deaf viewers, and audio description for partially sighted and blind patrons. A large variety of genres are concerned: feature films with a religious subject (e.g. Mel Gibson's 2004 *The Passion of the Christ* and Neten Chokling's 2006 *Milarepa. Magician, Murderer, Saint*—the story of Tibet's great yogi), documentaries, cartoons, televised sermons, and even religious advertisement.

The advent of internet in particular has led to an astounding explosion—and also dispersion—of information sources and virtual meeting places: institutional websites, blogs, online books, email, Twitter, Facebook, mailing lists, forums, chat rooms, and more. Religious services can be broadcast live over the internet, or made available in recorded form; digital mediated experiences even include cyber-pilgrimages, at this point in time. Understandably, then, reception contexts are being redefined. The borders between online and offline become blurred, and the online is perhaps no longer a supplement but has become a substitute: the virtual world is where many of us now live part of the time. In fact, the notion of "community" itself no longer necessarily designates the people living nearest one, with whom one shares beliefs, values, and ways of doing things. Online communities preserve certain traditional aspects of "community", but in a new setting, i.e. virtual meeting places for people who are not linked to a physical space yet who share a common search for meaning and purpose, a common ideology and theology, and circulate discourses which express and at the same time support their religious experience (see Campbell 2005). Needless to say, this reinforces the emergence of multiple identities.

How have the new media impacted the translation of religious texts? A number of aspects come to mind. One of them is the dilution of authority, of the control over content and transmission channels. Indeed, not everyone has access to a pulpit or can publish a print book, but nearly every internet user with a minimum of technical skills and something to say can broadcast their opinions online, where they can be accessed by a potentially infinite number of readers. This gives flexibility and creates a sense of empowerment, while at the same time raising questions about the quality and reliability of the information, the competence of the speaker/translator, and of course their motives. From the point of view of the institutions or individuals who make translated texts available online, digital media create a "fearful vision of a vast and virtual audience" and "the temptation to create the impossible: a translation that serves the needs of all who access the website", as Sue Niebrzydowski (2005: 160) remarks in her study of the translation of the psalms in the St Albans Psalter and their journey from scriptorium to internet.

The wider availability of texts makes it possible to compare various translations, and this may help certain readers and confuse others, creating uncertainty and information overload. Reminding audiences how difficult it was in the past to gain access to the Christian sacred text, the French website MaBible.net, whose motto is "Theology for all", explains that being offered several translated versions is a privilege. Readers must not be taken aback by the number of translations, the website continues, because their diversity helps one understand the source text; in fact, reading several translations is the next best thing to studying the holy writ in its original languages.

Concluding Remarks

Translating religious writings, especially texts regarded as sacred, is an enterprise which cannot be entered into lightly. It raises a number of very sensitive issues, and questions the nature of translation itself, and its possibility. In fact, according to Jean-René Ladmiral (1990: 122), biblical translation—and perhaps, by extension, the translation of holy texts from all religions—functions as a paradigm for translation in general. It certainly has accompanied the development of reflection on translation throughout the ages, and challenged countless scholars and practitioners all over the world.

At the age of the hyperbazaar, to use Shackle's (2005) term, in which goods and services are sold and exchanged on a scale previously unimaginable, the relevance of humanity's sacred texts, of their translation and transmission, is undergoing transformations which are in part linked to individual and societal phenomena, historical events, as well as advances in technology which change the ways in which people interact and communicate knowledge and opinions, including in the religious field. But then, as Walter Benjamin pointed out, transformation is a characteristic of living things, and the dialectic of change and tradition has always been a feature of religion up to the present day.

If Derrida (1985: 165) was right, the tower of Babel, whose legacy we inherited, "does not merely figure the irreducible multiplicity of tongues; it exhibits an incompletion, the impossibility of finishing, of totalising". This means that the journey continues, and future generations will have the opportunity to engage with the task of translating religious writings, as their predecessors did, within their context.

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11 Translation of Songs

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Introduction

Song, according to *Grove Music Online* (Chew 2016), is "a piece of music for voice or voices, whether accompanied or unaccompanied, or the act or art of singing. The term is not generally used for large vocal forms, such as opera or oratorio, but is often found in various figurative and transferred senses." For the sake of precision and clarity, the term "vocal music" is used below to refer to musical pieces to be sung, covering all related genres including vocal numbers in operas, oratorios or musicals, while "songs" refer to a specific kind of vocal music. Similarly, as the word "lyrics" is more commonly associated with popular music rather than serious music, "vocal text" is used here to refer to a text used in a piece of vocal music, regardless of genre. The "translation of songs", therefore, is the "translation of vocal text" in essence.

Many terms have been coined to denominate this translational activity, such as "song translation" (Graham 1989; Franzon 2005; Kaindl 2005; Low 2005), "lyrics translation" (De Luna 1994), "vocal text translation" (VTT) (Drinker 1950), "vocal translation" (Gorlée 2005) and "music-linked translation" (MLT) (Golomb 2005: 7–14), but all these terms practically mean the same thing: translating the text of a piece of vocal music. For the sake of consistency, "vocal text translating" is used below. Also, for the sake of clarity, terms frequently used in this chapter are defined as follows (Table 11.1).

Table 11.1

Term	Meaning
Source text	The text of the original song
Source song	Original music sung with original text
Target text	The translated text
Target song	Original music sung with translated text
Mandarin	The spoken language used in Taiwan
Putonghua	The spoken language used in PRC
Cantonese	The spoken language used in Hong Kong

Theoretically speaking, when a translator is presented with a piece of vocal music, there are five options available to him/her:

1. Leaving the text untranslated, presenting original music sung with the original text;
2. Translating the text but ignoring the music, presenting original music sung with the original text, along with a translated text for reading;
3. Keeping the music but writing a new text which is unrelated to the source text;
4. Translating the text and adapting the music to it. The music and the text are presented together but the music is somewhat modified, even coming up with a new composition in extreme cases;
5. Translating the text but adapting it to the music, with the translated text showing some relation in meaning to the original text. (Franzon 2008: 376–89)

Option 1 ("leaving the text untranslated"), though seems puzzling at a glance, is actually a practical option. For example, American film musicals shown in Italy tended to have dialogues dubbed but songs untranslated until 1990s (Giovanni 2008: 300). In fact, there had been bilingual opera productions in which the recitatives were sung in the vernacular tongue where the opera was performed while the arias were sung in the original foreign language since the eighteenth century (Desblache 2007, mentioned in Desblache 2013).

Option 2 ("translating the text but ignoring the music") is widely adopted—, as can be seen in surtitles or printed texts. American films shown in Italy prefer dubbing the dialogues and subtitling the vocal texts since 2000s (Giovanni 2008: 300). Likewise, the DVD (Hong Kong edition) of the American stop motion musical film *Nightmare Before Christmas*《怪誕城之夜》[1] (*Guai Dan Cheng Zhi Ye*) (1993) includes a version with dialogues dubbed in Cantonese but songs sung in English with Chinese subtitles. As for live performances, when *Scrooge* (an English musical based on Charles Dicken's novella *A Christmas Carol*) was produced by the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre香港話劇團 (*Xiang Gang Hua Ju Tuan*) in 2011/12 as *Qi Huan Sheng Dan Ye*《奇幻聖誕夜》(Hong Kong Repertory Theatre 2016a), the dialogues were delivered in Cantonese while the songs were sung in English with Chinese and English subtitles, even though the troupe had performed an all-Cantonese version in 2009 (Hong Kong Repertory Theatre 2016b).

Option 3 ("keeping the music but writing a new text unrelated to the original text") is exactly what Mandarin and Cantonese lyricists do when they prepare covers for European or Japanese songs. For example, *Historia de un Amor* ("A Love Story") (1956), a Spanish song written by the Panamanian songwriter Carlos Eleta Almarán, tells of lost love and the suffering it brings from a man's point of view. The Mandarin cover *Wo De Xin Le Zhi You Ni*《我的心裡只有你》("You Are the Only One in My Heart") (1960), sung by the Taiwanese singer Tsin Ting 靜婷, on the other hand, tells of the struggles of a female two-timer.

Option 4 ("translating the text and adapting the music to it") is sometimes adopted, though the modifications are usually minor ones, such as altering the rhythm a little to fit the stress patterns and/or syllable count of the target text, or, in the case of certain tonal languages like Cantonese, adjusting the pitch to fit the tonal contour of certain words in the target text. Coming up with a new composition is extremely rare.[2]

Option 5 ("translating the text but adapting to the music") attracts more attention.

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1 Referred to as *Sheng Dan Ye Jing Hun*《聖誕夜驚魂》(*Scary Christmas Night*) in Taiwan.

2 Franzon (2008: 385) gives the Hosanna hymn in Norway as an example. The Norwegian version of the words of the original hymn was set to a new tune which could be sung to the two variants of the Norwegian language.

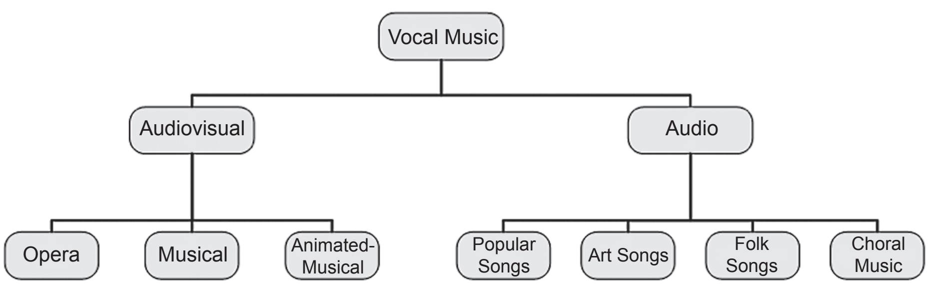
Although all the five options are theoretically open to the translator, practically speaking the decision is seldom made by the translator alone. The troupe commissioning the work, the producer, the director, the concert organizer, even the investors (if any), are usually the real decision-makers. As options 1 (non-translation) and 3 (writing entirely new text) has nothing to do with translation, they will be omitted from the following discussion. Option 2, in effect, describes a translational activity that produces a target text for reading, while options 4 and 5 involve the production of a target text for singing (referred to as "singable translating" below). Yet this is not the only way of classifying the wide array of translational activities that involves vocal texts, nor is it a comprehensive way.

Types of Vocal-Text Translating

Classification by Genre

Translational activities involving vocaltexts can be classified by musical genres, like "opera translation" or "song translation". Vocal genres can first be divided into the "audiovisual" and the "audio". "Audiovisual genres" include staged or filmed operas and musicals, while "audio genres" can be further subdivided into "popular songs", "folk songs", "art songs", "choral music", etc., and the list is not exhaustive (Figure 11.1). As each genre has its own characteristics regarding musical writing, text-music relationship, vocal technique and the presence (or absence) of dramatic-visual elements, this classification, directed more to the source song, helps to delineate related ideas and specialties concerning a single genre or a group of related genres, which is easier to follow from a musical point of view.

Figure 11.1



Classification by Function

The idea of Franzon's options 2, 4 and 5 mentioned above work along this line. Translational activities are first divided into two basic categories: translating for reading and translating for performance, i.e. singing (referred to as "singable translating" below). Word-for-word translations for singers/vocalists' use (Example 1), versions or paraphrases for use in concert programmes (Examples 2–6), subtitles in filmed presentations and surtitles in staged productions belong to the first category (Low 2003: 91).

The second category, "singable translating", can be divided into the "dramatic" and the "non-dramatic". The former involves a source text that is conceived as part of a dramatic presentation, covering genres like operas (such as Mozart's *Magic Flute* or Verdi's *Aida*), musicals (such as Claude-Michel Schönberg's *Les Misérables* or Frederick Loewe's *My Fair Lady*), animated musicals (such as Disney's *Frozen* and DreamWorks' *Prince of Egypt*), musical films (such as the *High School Musical* series and Jason Moore's *Pitch Perfect*[3]) and television series with songs merged into the dramatic narrative (such as the American television series *Empire* [2015]); while "non-dramatic singable translating" is used for genres like popular songs, folk songs, religious vocal music and art songs.[4]

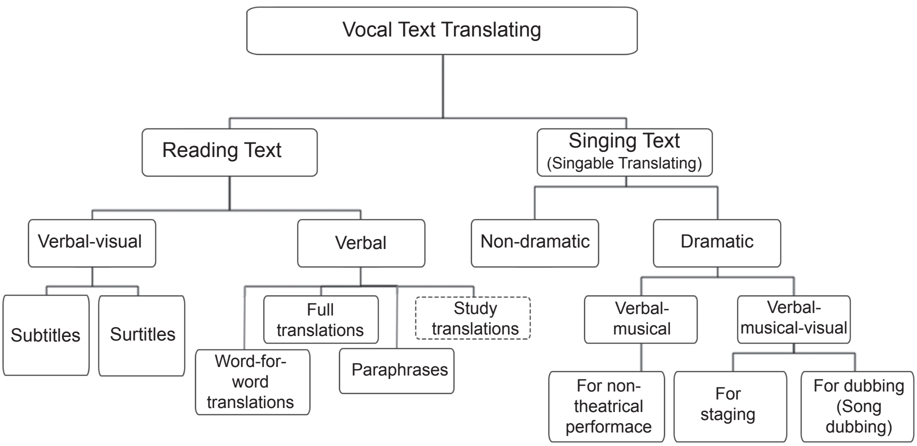
"Dramatic singable translating" can be further divided into three subcategories based on the form of delivery: for dubbing (in filmed presentations, referred to as "song dubbing" below), for staging (in theatrical presentation) and for non-theatrical performance (for example, presenting the musical contents of an opera, with minimal or entirely without acting, costume and set, as in an "opera in concert" or a "musical in concert"). Many characteristics of these three subcategories overlap, though one important difference is discernible: the role of visual components as part of the dramatic narrative, such as action, acting and other visual effects. The role of visual components is

3 This film is known as *La Mei He Chang Tuan*《辣妹合唱團》(Hot Girl Choir) in Hong Kong, *Ge Hou Zan*《歌喉讚》(Gorgeous Singing) in Taiwan, and *Wan Mei Yin Diao*《完美音調》(Perfect Tunes) in mainland China respectively.

4 "Art songs" are settings of poetry sung by a soloist with piano accompaniment.

minimal in "translating for concert", as the visual components may even be absent. If a text is to be staged, it has to fit in with the acting and the drama, though modifications in theatrical presentations are possible, given that the consent and cooperation of the director and actors/actresses is gained. A text for dubbing, however, is deprived of this flexibility, because the framing of a film or animation is fixed and can hardly be changed (Figure 11.2; dotted lines denote a proposed genre; adapted from Cheng 2003: 13).

Figure 11.2



Translating for Reading

Word-for-Word Translations

This kind of translation is made for singers/vocalists' use, who need to understand the meaning of every single word so that they can decide when and how to emphasize important word(s) and/or phrases in order to portray the meaning of the text and the character of the music more profoundly. Often such word-for-word translations are followed by a rendition of the whole line so that the meaning of the line can be grasped by the reader/user.

Example 1. *Introitus* from *Requiem Mass*, a word-for-word translation made by Joseph Ly 李振邦 (1977 [2002]: 75) and my translation from Chinese into English

Latin Source Text	Requiem	aeternam	dona	eis	Domine
Word-for-Word Chinese Translation	安息	永遠的	請賜	他(們)	上主
English Translation from Chinese	Rest	eternal	grant	them	Lord
Whole line in Chinese translation	上主，求你賜給他們永遠的安息，				
English Translation from Chinese	Lord, grant them eternal rest,				
Latin Source Text	et	lux	perpetua	luceat	eis.
Word-for-Word Chinese Translation	也	願光	永久的	照耀	他們
English Translation from Chinese	and	let the light	perpetual	shine	them
Whole line in Chinese translation	並以永恆的光輝照耀他們。				
English Translation from Chinese	And let perpetual light shine upon them.				

Full Translations and Paraphrases

Concert Programme Notes

These are for listeners' use in the concert hall, which are often read quickly before the concert starts, during the performance or during the intermission. Usually a full translation or a paraphrase will be given, depending on what the concert organizer might see fit. As far as full translations are concerned, they should first and foremost be communicative and reader-friendly, fluent, intelligible and idiomatic, so that the readers can understand the texts quickly; preservation of some of the poetic qualities of the texts would be an asset (Low 2013: 75) (Example 2).

Example 2. Full translation, *Frühling* from Richard Strauss' *Four Last Songs*, English translation by Marc Rochester (Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra 2007)

Source Text (German)	**Target Text (English)**
Frühling	**Spring**
In dämmrigen Grüften träumte ich lang von deinen Bäumen und blaue Lüften, von deinem Duft und Vogelgesang.	In dusky valleys I dreamed long of your trees and blue skies, of your scent and birdsong.
Nun liegst du erschlossen in Gleiss und Zier, von Licht übergossen wie ein Wunder vor mir.	Now you appear in all your finery, shining brilliantly like a miracle before me.

(Cont'd Example 2)

Source Text (German)	**Target Text (English)**
Frühling	**Spring**
Du kennst mich wieder,	You recognize me once more,
du lockst mich zart,	you tenderly embrace me;
es zittert durch all meine Glieder	all my limbs tremble at
deine selige Gegenwart!	your glorious presence!

My experience from working as a programme notes translator in Hong Kong for sixteen years suggests that this is a typical example of a translation used in concert programme notes in many ways. Firstly, both the source text and the target text are presented in the house programme. Secondly, the target text renders the semantic content of the source text very closely, showing no obvious semantic deviation from the source text. This fits the practical function of programme notes, which serve to inform the listeners of the content of the work performed and to enhance their listening experience. Thirdly, the target text follows the source text very closely in structure, rendering the source text line by line so that listeners can follow the text and the music more easily. Fourthly, even though the source text is rhymed, rhyming is often sacrificed in the target text.

However, although full translations would allow the listeners to follow the song better during a performance, they are often more time-consuming and costly to prepare (including translation costs and printing costs) and take longer time to read on the part of the listeners. So some concert organizers resort to using paraphrases which allow listeners to grasp the general idea and mood of the text instead, particularly in song or choir recitals where it is common to perform one or two dozens of short works in a single concert. When the Bulgarian State Television Female Vocal Choir came to the Hong Kong Arts Festival in 1997, it sang 23 Bulgarian folk songs in the Bulgarian language in a concert titled *Le Mystère Des Voix Bulgares*. The house programme presents paraphrases of the texts of all 23 songs in Chinese and English, taking up four whole pages (Hong Kong Arts Festival 1997: 7–8, 21, 23). Example 3 is the Chinese and English paraphrases of the first song in the recital. Example 4 is the full translation of the same song according to The Yale Slavic Chorus (2016).

Example 3. Paraphrase, *Zazhen se Gyuro* ("Gyuro is getting married") (Hong Kong Arts Festival 1997: 7)

Chinese Paraphrase	**English Paraphrase**
久爾羅花了三個月來尋找新娘子，終遇上像陽光般燦爛的美人兒揚卡。她雙眼是兩顆黑櫻桃，她面頰桃紅，纖巧的身軀是年輕的樹苗，她的說話像糖般甜美！	Gyuro searched for a bride for three months before he found fair Yanka, who shines like the sun! Her eyes are two black cherries, her cheeks red roses, her slender body a young sapling, her words sugar-sweet!

Example 4. *Zazhen se Gyuro*, full translation according to The Yale Slavic Chorus (2016)

Hey, Gyuro is getting married.
Hey, it's been three months looking for a girl.
Hey, he went to the town of Sofia.
Hey, he fell in love with white-breasted Yanka.
Hey, her eyes are two black cherries.
Hey, her brows are sea leeches.
Hey, as she sits she's like the shining sun.
Her figure—like a young sapling in a garden.
Her hair—like silken threads and her cheeks—like rose petals.[5]

Although it is customary to include both the source text and the target text (in full translation or paraphrase) in programme notes, there are cases where the source text is absent. *Le Mystère Des Voix Bulgares* mentioned above was an example. My experience suggests that if the source language is very unfamiliar to the target audience, it is possible that the source text might be absent in the house programme altogether. When the Russian Orthodox Choir came to Hong Kong to perform in the 2005 Hong Kong Arts Festival in a concert titled *Cantus Dei*, the texts, which consist of short Bible verses, were given in full translations in English and Chinese, but the Russian source texts were also not included (Hong Kong Arts Festival 2005).

5 There is a semantic discrepancy in the last line between the full translation and the paraphrases quoted above. This may be a textual variant of the folk song.

Record Sleeves

Recordings of classical vocal music tend to include translations of the vocal text in the record sleeves, particularly when the vocal text is written in a language other than English. It is also common to include translations of the source text in two or more languages. For example, in the record sleeve of the Polish soprano Urszula Kryger's CD *Chopin Songs* (Hyperion CDA67125, 1999), the Polish texts of all the twenty-four songs are shown, along with translations in English, German and French. This happens to larger vocal forms as well: the record sleeve in Sir George Solti's recording of Bizet's opera, *Carmen* (Decca 414489-2, 1986), includes the original French libretto and full translations in English and German; while René Jacobs' recording of Haydn's *The Seasons* (Harmonia Mundi HMC 971829/30, 2014) also includes English and French full translations, in addition to its German original text.

Basically, record sleeve translations are similar to programme notes translations in many ways, except that the listeners may pause and repeat tracks while listening to a recording. This characteristic implies that it is possible to give greater attention to the literary features of the source and the target texts (Low 2013: 75).

There are occasions where the record company decides to present some songs in the languages they are sung while some songs in full translations or paraphrase translations in the record sleeves. The great tenor José Carreras' CD *Passion* (Erato 0630 13494-2, 1996), for example, includes 14 songs sung in six languages: Spanish (1 song), English (8 songs), Italian (1 song), Latin (2 songs), French (1 song), and Mandarin Chinese (1 song). All songs sung in European languages are presented with texts in the language sung and no translation of any kind is included. The Chinese folk song *A Place Far, Far Away*《在那遙遠的地方》(*Zai Na Yao Yuan De Di Fang*) (José Carreras 1996: track 14) sung in Mandarin, however, is presented with a paraphrase translation of the text (Example 5).

Example 5. Paraphrase English translation of *A Place Far*, Far Away in José Carreras' CD *Passion*

In a place far away lives a pretty shepherdess whom everyone admires. She has rosy cheeks and her lovely eyes suggest the silvery moonlight. I will give up all my wealth to join her on the hillside. Perhaps God will turn me into a lamb so I can be with her all the time.

The original text, as heard in the recording, reads (Example 6):

Example 6. Full Chinese text and English translation of *A Place Far, Far Away*

Sung Text	**Meaning (my translation)**
在那遙遠的地方　有位好姑娘	In a place far away lives a pretty shepherdess
人們走過了她的帳房	Everyone passing by her yurt
都要回頭留戀地張望	cannot help turning back to see her
她那粉紅的小臉　好像紅太陽	Her rosy cheeks look like the flaming sun
她那美麗動人的眼睛	Her shining eyes
好像晚上明媚的月亮	look like the bright moon
我願拋棄了財產　跟她去放羊	I'd rather forsake my fortune and shepherd with her
每天看着那粉紅的小臉	Looking at her rosy cheeks
和那美麗金邊的衣裳	and gold-trimmed dress
在那遙遠的地方　有位好姑娘	In a place far away lives a pretty shepherdess
人們走過了她的帳房	Everyone passing by her yurt
都要回頭留戀地張望	cannot help turning back to see her
我願做一隻小羊　跟在她身旁	I wish I could become a lamb and join her by her side
我願她拿着細細的皮鞭	So that she could keep patting on me
不斷輕輕打在我身上	with her tiny whip

Not showing the text in Chinese characters or pinyin Romanization can possibly be explained by the unfamiliarity of the Chinese language among European and American listeners, but the exact reason for using a paraphrase translation instead of a full translation is unknown. From the information omitted and/or modified from the original in the paraphrase—most notably in the last line "*wo yuan ta na zhe xi xi de pi bian, bu duan qing qing da zai wo shen shang*" 我願她拿着細細的皮鞭 / 不斷輕輕打在我身上 ("So that she could keep patting on me with her tiny whip")—it can be inferred that cultural concerns are possibly at work.

Study Translations

This is a new form of vocal text translation for reading proposed by Low (2013: 74). He advocates the production of "study translations" which are tailor-made to suit users who require the best understanding of the source text—namely, performers, choir directors or singing teachers. These versions should help the readers gain a detailed understanding of the words of the text. Apart from suggesting these versions should be presented in a line-by-line or interlinear layout, he even encourages the translators to “explicate a poem, to show the sense of phrases and even the connotations of words” particularly when “cultural specificity, historical reference, or complexity” is involved, “gloss complex or archaic words, using brackets or footnotes”, “explain double meanings and allusions” and “decode metaphors. So far translations of this sort, to the best knowledge of the author, have not been seen or published.

Surtitles in Stage Productions

According to the surtitler Judi Palmer (2013: 21), a surtitle “is an abridged, simultaneous translation of the opera libretto into the vernacular”, which is “displayed above the stage, and consist of one or two lines (no more), with a maximum of 33–39 characters per line” in order to “aid comprehension” on the part of the audience. As the surtitles represent a “much edited translation of the libretto”, capturing the quality and full detail of the source text is impossible, though the multi-semiotic presentation of the opera can provide compensation for this shortcoming.

The working of surtitles, as described by Palmer (2013: 25–28), requires two kinds of professionals: the surtitler (responsible for sourcing, programming and cueing the titles during performances) and the surtitle author/translator. Both have to be well-versed in music, as the “title relay is determined by the musical structure” and the titles are cued in real-time during performances, though the two roles can be played by the same person. The surtitle author has to adopt a flexible approach to translation and ready to adapt their translations to suit the particular production and/or the demands of the director. The surtitle author often needs comprehensive dictionaries (as archaic language is often used), thesaurus, a sound recording, sometimes even a copy of the original work on which the libretto is based (as in adapted works).

The titles must be clear, concise, easy to read, free from the danger of being misconstrued or misunderstood and grammatically correct. Idiomatic expressions should be avoided in general so as to minimize the chance of miscomprehension on the part of non-native target language speakers (i.e. English in Palmer’s case). On the part of the surtitle author, s/he has to retain the quality of the original text and reflect the idiosyncrasies of the production, sometimes this has to be achieved by understranslating, i.e. omitting specific details in the translation) (Palmer 2013: 28).

Jacqueline Page (2013: 45), herself a surtitle author, names "the musical content", "the language content" and "audience impact" as the three important constraints facing the surtitle author, while audience acceptance relies on "length, detail, timing, brightness and font style and size", to name a few (Page 2013: 36). Apart from the number of characters, there are other standard surtitling conventions to be observed by the surtitle author, such as punctuation (how to show if there are more than one singers singing at the same time), layout (line-breaks), pacing (fewer titles are better), when and what not to surtitle (treatment of repeats, singer sings another's name, commonly-understood foreign words like "adieu"). The surtitle author has to be constantly "aware of how singers are to perform their material" during the whole performance of the opera by being able to read musical scores in detail. The surtitles have to make sense musically and to be blended "seamlessly with the music". Albeit all these restrictions, the surtitle author has greater freedom as far as the meaning and style of the source text is concerned. S/he is also not required to render everything of the source text in the surtitles (Page 2013: 36–40).

Subtitles in Filmed Presentations

To the best knowledge of the author, detailed discussion on interlingual vocal text subtitling is extremely rare. One of the contributions that come closest is Harrison's (2013) article on intralingual vocal text subtitling of music television for the hard-of-hearing viewers. Some observations of his may be related to interlingual subtitling, such as style guide and the timing of subtitles. Like opera or musical surtitles, MTV subtitles have to be synchronise with the musical-visual events by sticking the surtitles round shot changes, which in turn tend to coincide with the start of a new melodic phrase.

Translating for Singing

Among the various types of vocal text translating, singable translating has so far received greatest attention, probably due to its multimediality and related difficulties. In fact, the repertory of translated vocal music is likely to be larger than meets the eye, particularly in the realm of popular musical theatre. Several canonic Broadway / West End musicals have been performed in various languages: *Les Miserable* (1985), for example, has been translated into and performed in 22 languages[6] (Les Miserables 2016); for *Phantom of the Opera* (1987), no fewer than 13[7] (The Phantom of the Opera 2016); and for *Chicago* (1996), 12[8] (Chicago 2016). Animated musicals produced by Disney and DreamWorks are usually available in no less than 10 languages: *Lion King* (Disney, 1994) was shown worldwide in 15 languages; *Prince of Egypt* (DreamWorks, 1998), no less than 17 (Linde and Yeffet 2009), and *Frozen* (Disney, 2013), a stunning number of 41 (Keegan 2014).

Other musicals are sometimes performed in translated versions when staged by a foreign company to a foreign audience. *Scrooge: The Musical* (1992) and *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962), for example, were staged in a full Cantonese versions in Hong Kong in 2009, under the titles *Qi Huan Sheng Dan Ye*《奇幻聖誕夜》(Hong Kong Repertory Theatre 2016b) and *Qiang Duo Fang Xin Xi Zi You*《搶奪芳心喜自由》(Chung Ying Theatre Company 2016) respectively.

Although most professional singers perform operas in the original languages nowadays, some operas companies are still producing operas in translation. The English National Opera, an opera company in the United Kingdom "founded on the belief that opera of the highest quality should be accessible to everyone" (English National Opera 2016) and performs all their repertoire in English is a prime example. In fact, prior to the dawn of opera surtitling (around the end of 1970s) (Palmer 2013: 22), there was a tradition of performing operas in translation, either in the vernacular, or in a language other than the original or the vernacular, according to cultural norms[9] in Europe (Chalmers 2013: 50).

Some well-known European operas had been performed in Putonghua in mainland China, including *Carmen* (《卡門》[*Ka Men*]), *Faust* (《浮

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6 Including English, Japanese, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Norwegian, German, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Danish, French, Czech, Castillian, Mauritian Creole, Flemish, Finnish, Argentinian, Portuguese, Estonian, Mexican Spanish, and Korean.

7 Including English, French, German, Japanese, Danish, Polish, Swedish, Castilian, Hungarian, Dutch, Korean, Portuguese, and Mexican Spanish.

8 Including English German, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, Russian, French, Italian, Portuguese, Danish, Korean, and Japanese.

9 Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* (1843) was sung in Italian in its London premiere in 1870, instead of the vernacular (English) or the original language (German). Gounod's *Faust*, an opera written in French, was sung in Italian when it was premiered in New York in 1883 (Chalmers 2013: 50).

士德》[*Fu Shi De*]), *The Merry Widow* (《快樂寡婦》[*Kuai Le Gua Fu*]), *The Beautiful Helen* (《美人海倫》[*Mei Ren Hai Lun*]) and *Orpheus in the Underworld* (《奧爾菲下地獄》[*Ao Er Fei Xia Di Yu*]) (all translated by Sun Hui Shuang 孫慧雙), to name a few. (Sun 1998) Ding Yi's 丁毅 complete singable Chinese libretti of 21 European operas were also published[10] (Ding 1995). Singable Chinese versions of well-known operatic numbers can also be found in vocal piece collections.[11]

Art songs are sometimes published in the original language along with a singable translation.[12] Apart from operatic numbers, publication of Western vocal music with singable Putonghua texts also flourishes in China, particularly for pedagogical purposes.[13] Publishing houses like People's Music Publishing House 人民音樂出版社 (*Ren Min Yin Yue Chu Ban She, Shanghai Music Publishing House*), 上海音樂出版社 (*Shang Hai Yin Yue Chu Ban She*) and Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House 安徽文藝出版社 (*An Hui Wen Yi Chu Ban She*) published a number of collections of solo, vocal ensemble and choral music.[14]

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10 These include *Der Freischutz* (《自由射手》), *Orfeo und Euridice* (《奧菲歐與尤麗狄茜》), *Marriage of Figaro* (《費加羅的婚禮》), *Fidelio* (《費德里奧》), *The Barber of Seveille* (《塞維爾的理髮師》), *The Flying Dutchman* (《漂泊的荷蘭人》), *Tristan and Isolde* (《特利斯坦與伊索爾德》), *Rigoletto* (《黎戈來托》), *Magic Flute* (《魔笛》), *Il Trovatore* (《遊吟詩人》), *La Traviata* (《茶花女》), *The Masked Ball* (《假面舞會》), *Aida* (《阿依達》), *Otello* (《奧塞羅》), *Carmen* (《卡門》), *Faust* (《浮士德》), *The Bat* (《蝙蝠》), *The Bohemians* (《波西米亞人》), *Tosca* (《托斯卡》), *Madam Butterfly* (《蝴蝶夫人》) and *Turandot* (《圖蘭多》).

11 For example, Wei Guo Ge Ju Xuen Qu Ji《外國歌劇選曲集》(*Foreign Operatic Numbers*), published by Shanghai Music Publishing House (上海音樂出版社) in 1996, consist of five volumes for different types of voices, containing a total of 182 operatic numbers with singable texts both in the original language and Putonghua.

12 Franz Peter Schubert: His Greatest Songs—38 Lieder, published by Copa Publishing Company in 1976, includes the original German text and a singable English translation for each lied.

13 For example, Sheng Yue Jiao Xue Qu Ku: Wei Guo Yi Shu Ge Qu Xuen《聲樂教學曲庫：外國藝術歌曲選》(*Pedagogical Collection of Vocal Music: Foreign Art Songs*), published by the People's Music Publishing House (人民音樂出版社), consists of six volumes, containing 257 art songs in nine original languages (German, French, Russian, Czech, Norwegian, Spanish, Finnish, Hungarian, and Italian), all along with singable Putonghua version.

14 For example, Wei Guo He Chang Ge Qu Xuan《外國合唱歌曲選》(*Foreign Choral Music*, People's Music Publishing House), Wei Guo Jing Dian He Chang Zuo Pin Xuan《外國經典合唱作品選》(*Foreign Choral Classics*, Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House) in five volumes, Wei Guo Shu Qing Ge Qu Xuan《外國抒情歌曲選》(*Foreign Expressive Songs*, Shanghai Music Publishing House), and Wei Guo Ge Ju Chong Chang Qu Ji: Yi Da Li Ge Ju《外國歌劇重唱曲集：意大利歌劇》(*Foreign Operatic Ensembles: Italian Operas*, Shanghai Music Publishing House) in three volumes.

Hymnals and school textbooks also feature a number of translated vocal pieces. 153 of 500 short hymns (about 30%) selected in *The New English Hymnal* (The English Hymnal Company Ltd. 1986/1996) are sung with texts translated into English.[15] In Hong Kong, singing translated hymns is also commonplace. In *Teen Praise for Secondary Schools*《中學生頌讚》(Chiang and Tsang, ed. 1999/2009), one of the more widely-used hymnals among Christian schools in Hong Kong, 97 out of 189 hymns (about 51%) are sung with texts translated into Chinese.[16] The music text-book series *Xin Xiao Xue Yin Yue*《新小學音樂》(*Music for Primary School*), published in 2012 by Ying Lee Music 英利音樂有限公司 (*Ying Li Yin Yue You Xian Gong Si*), contains quite a high proportion of songs supplied with lyrics translated from foreign languages into Chinese (sung in Cantonese or Mandarin). For example, 9 out of 16 (56%) songs in Book 3A (for primary 3 schoolchildren) contain translated lyrics in Chinese; 7 out of 15 (46%) in Book 3B and 11 out of 14 (78%) in Book 4A.

It can be seen from above that singable translating is involved in a number of genres, most notably in musicals, animated musicals, full operas, selected operatic numbers and Christian hymns, while other genres like popular songs and folk songs are also involved.

The genres covered and the types of publication that involve singable translating imply that the target users primarily are:

1. Professional singers (of musicals, animated musicals and, to a lesser extent, operas);
2. The general public (audience of musicals and animated musicals);
3. Opera-goers and concert-goers (audience of operas, song recitals and choral concerts);
4. Teachers, student singers and amateur singers (users of selected operatic numbers and other pedagogical songs);
5. The congregation in Christian churches (users of hymnals);
6. School children and teenagers (users of music textbooks).
7. In short, target users of singable translations cover nearly all walks of life.

15 The ten source languages are: Latin, Greek, Italian, German, French, Syrian, Swahili, Irish, Welsh, and Danish.

16 The Chinese texts are probably intended to be sung in Mandarin, but in fact they are sung in Cantonese in Hong Kong (Cheng 2004).

As the genres mentioned above—namely, musicals, animated musicals, operas, art songs, hymns, popular songs, folk songs and textbook songs—vary in subject matter, performance forces, modes of communication (e.g. audio, printed or visual), form of delivery (i.e. staging, dubbing, performance in concert or performance in more casual settings), style (both the text and the music), function and tradition, and so do their target texts for singing. Some concerns are shared by all genres, while others may be genre-specific.

Major Issues Common to All Genres

The need for the text to fit in with the prosodic requirement set by the music makes singable translating very difficult. Graham (1989: 34) likens it to fitting "a Procrustean bed of note lengths, to avoid hurting the music, to stay close to original meaning, and to create something of literary value—all at the same time".

The Two Levels of Translation

From Text to Song

Owing to the nature of "vocal music", which involves at least two modes of communication—the verbal (the vocal text) and the musical—two levels of translational process thus arise. The first level is from the text to the song, i.e. the process of text setting by the composer. The text is frequently said to have undergone metamorphosis or transformation when it is set to music and the resultant song is a new work of art which should be viewed as a unified whole, rather than being the sum of the text and the music (Rodda 1981: 150; Golomb 2005: 122–23; Low 2005: 187). The meaning of the text often affects how the composer writes the music and the music often reflect what is mentioned in the text, sometimes very specifically. This is particularly true in Western classical music, as the text usually predates the music (as in operas, art songs and religious vocal music). This involves intersemiotic translation (Gorlée 1997: 240–43).

From Source Song to Target Song

This level deals with the verbal part of a musical work, translating the text from the source language into the target language, i.e. interlingual and/or intralingual translation and fit the target text in with the same music. Many of the existing discussions focus on this level.

The Predominance of Music

When a vocal text translator set about to "adapt the translation to the original music" (Franzon's option 5 mentioned above), the predominance of music seems inevitable. It is because music tends to be more prominent in terms of acoustic perception, and the verbal text is likely to be modified by the music in various ways, including pitch (which suppress natural intonation and inflection patterns), duration (which modifies speech rhythm) and loudness (which modifies stress and meter) (Stein 1971: 10–17, as mentioned in Rodda 1981: 150; Golomb 2005: 126).

It is therefore unsurprising that many commentators develop musicocentric views and are inclined to keep the music intact as far as possible. While the music can be modified to accommodate the target text, it is regarded as a strategy that should be used with great discretion and usually only minor changes in pitch and/or rhythm are deemed appropriate. (Apter 1985; Sun 1998: 3–4; Golomb 2005: 126–28).

The Nature of Singable Translating

The direct outcome of such musicocentric approach is an inverted sense/sound hierarchy in singable translating. In most cases of prose or even poetic translation, the preservation of semantic content of the source text is achieved at the expense of the sonic qualities of the source text (e.g. syllable count and stress patterns). Yet in singable translating, the need to synchronize the verbal text with the music rhythmically (syllable count), metrically (stress patterns), structurally (phrase structure) and even melodically (tonal contour, as in the case of some tonal languages like Cantonese and Mandarin/Putonghua) means that some of the semantic content of the source text might not be preserved. This is a kind of translating that deviates considerably from the readily accepted concept of "translation", in which the semantic meaning of the source text is expected to be appropriately represented in the target language (Golomb 2005: 121, 132; Low 2005: 187–88; Franzon 2005: 264).

Compromise, Flexibility and Selective Fidelity

The concepts of "compromise" and "flexibility" are thus cherished by practitioners of singable translating. Striking a balance between all the semantic and prosodic requirements and adopting a dynamic prioritization of components even within the same piece (i.e. giving priority to some components while sacrificing others as needed) is necessary (Xue 2002: 51–76; Golomb 2005: 122–25; Low 2005: 185). The expected level of semantic correspondence between the source text and the target text is greatly reduced: if the target text shows some semantic correspondence to the source text, it is qualified as a translation and not an all-new text set to old music, described as "selective fidelity" by Franzon (2005: 266–68).

The Four Possible Approaches

Knowing that one can be flexible in making a singable translation is one thing, deciding when and how this flexibility is to be applied is another. Golomb (2005: 133–35) lists four possible approaches to singable translating which are not contradictory by nature and can be employed in any combination:

1. "Singer-oriented": priority given to "the needs, potentialities, constraints, and even comfort and ease of voice production";
2. "Analyst-oriented": taking care of the rules "of syntax in language, and/or of harmony in music, and/or of metre in either/both etc.";
3. "Author-oriented": observance of the "sophisticated structural and thematic features of the artistic work as a whole"; and
4. "Listener-oriented or audience-oriented" or "perception- [or cognition-] oriented": attentive to "the listener's needs, and views the entire process from his/her standpoint", aiming at "the imperfection of practicality" and "conceived in a spirit of relativity, compromise, and functional sacrifice".

The Technical Aspects of Singable Translating

In the making of a singable translation, a number of practical issues have to be taken care of. Some of them are related to the formal aspects of word-music matching, including prosody, characteristics of individual language, vocal constraints, rhyming, and the placing of particular words.

Others are related to the semantic aspects of the target text, namely, preservation of original meaning, cultural specifics, the choice of language style and register, repetitions and immediate comprehensibility.

Formal Aspects

(a) Prosody—Quantity and Allocation of Syllables, Meter, and Stress

The first and foremost technical aspect any vocal text translator has to address is prosody, i.e. quantity and allocation of syllables, meter and stress, otherwise the text cannot be synchronized with the music.

The ideal translation would be one that matches "the original text syllable for syllable, stress for stress, and quantity for quantity" so that the musical rhythms are preserved (Apter 1985: 29). Yet some flexibility is also possible. There are occasions where syllables can be occasionally omitted or added (Sun 1998: 236; Xue 2002: 120), word-music stress alignment can be given up (Golomb 2005: 127–28) and the rhythm of the music can be slightly changed (Low 2005: 196–98).

(b) Characteristics of Individual Language

Specific concerns often arise from the characteristics of the languages involved and such characteristics would have important implications for word choice (Apter 1985: 316; Apter 1989: 29; Graham 1989: 33). For example, words ending with a light /*e*/ are common in French and German, but unaccented ending syllables in English tend to be heavier and longer. This difference can be noticeable when the English translated text is sung (Apter 1985: 316). In the Czech language, the stress generally falls on the first syllables of the words, forming stress patterns that are uncommon in English, like the "strong-weak-weak-weak" pattern (Apter 1989: 29). The indefinite article *einem* in German can be set to a strong downbeat but to have "a" or "an" set to a strong downbeat would be very unusual in English (Graham 1989: 33). Moreover, English has many closed syllables and consonant clusters at the beginning and ending of words, which might result in difficulties in diction, particularly in fast tempo. The translator has to take these into account in order to make the target text sound good and easy to sing (Low 2005: 193).

When the target language is a tonal language like Cantonese or Mandarin/Putonghua that cherishes a tradition of tone-melody matching in vocal music, selecting syllables of suitable tones to fit the melody become one of the main concerns. Otherwise, listeners may find the translated song unnatural and unpleasant to listen to, sometimes even mishearing words in an embarrassing way. The Chinese version of the famous Christmas hymn *Silent Night*[17] (*Ping An Ye*《平安夜》[18] [*A Night in Peace*]) is a prime example. The words "*sheng shan ye*" 聖善夜 ("a night of holy goodness") in the first line of the Chinese version sound, owing to tone-melody mismatch, like "*sheng xian ye*" 升仙夜 ("a night when one becomes a Taoist celestial being") when sung in Cantonese. Another prominent example is the title words of the Chinese version of the Christian hymn *He's Able*[19] (*Zhu Neng Gou*《主能夠》[20] [*The Lord is Able*]), which recur many times in the hymn but sound like offensive swear words (of the rudest kind) when sung in Cantonese, again due to tone-melody mismatch. With a language characterized by having six linguistic tones and three types of checked (i.e. short) syllables varying in pitch values, Cantonese lyricists have to conform to an elaborate system of matching lexical tones with the melodic contour (Cheng 2013: 29–77). Mandarin/Putonghua, featuring four linguistic tones but without checked syllables, also has a similar matching system, though far less complicated and far more flexible than the Cantonese system (Sun 1998: 239–40; Xue 2002: 130–47; Cheng 2004: 87–152).

(c) Vocal Constraints

Whether a text is comfortable or easy to sing and articulate is one of the biggest concerns for singers and the choice of vowels and consonants is therefore very important. For example, vowels like /a/ or /i/ are considered good choices for high notes (Drinker 1950: 229; Apter 1989: 27; Sun 1998: 241–42; Low 2005: 193). Particular attention might be given to fast music, as tongue-twisters might arise quite easily.

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17 Music by Franz Xaver Gruber, text by Joseph Mohr, 1818, No. 54 in *Teen Praise for Secondary Schools*《中學生頌讚》.

18 Chinese translation by Timothy Ting-fang Liu 劉廷芳, 1933 , No. 54 in *Teen Praise for Secondary Schools*《中學生頌讚》.

19 Music and text by Paul E. Paino, 1958, No. 171 in *Teen Praise for Secondary Schools*《中學生頌讚》.

20 Chinese translation by Rev. William C. Newbern 劉福群牧師 et al., No. 171 in *Teen Praise for Secondary Schools*《中學生頌讚》.

(d) Rhyming

European vocal text translators tend to regard rhyming as a bonus instead of something essential and can be readily sacrificed (Graham 1989: 31–37) or be replaced by other literary devices (like off-rhyme and assonance) (Apter 1985: 34; Low 2005: 198–99) for other technical concerns.

Chinese vocal text translators, however, tend to attach much greater importance on rhyming in singable translations. Their views stem from the Chinese poetic tradition, in which almost all verse genres before the twentieth century are rhymed (Sun 1998: 240–41; Xue 2002: 77–107).

(e) The Placing of Particular Words

Sometimes translators take great care to ensure specific words to be sung to specific notes out of non-technical reasons (i.e. not related to vocal techniques) but these differ from case to case, sometimes related to genre as well. Generally, it is done to emphasize particular words, like matching a word important to the content and character of the text to a high and/or long note. It might also be necessary when pictorial effects, word-tone painting[21] and rhetorical figures[22] in music occur where the meaning of a particular word or phrase in the text is portrayed by the music (Apter 1985: 32; Xue 2002: 181–86; Low 2005: 193; Tråvén 2005).

In musical theatre where the visual elements are prominent, yet another dimension is added to this kind of precise word-music temporal relation (see "Verbal-Visual Synchronization" below).

21 "Word-tone painting" is defined as "a term used to describe instances in vocal compositions when the composer uses vivid effects in the music to bring out the special meaning of certain words in text" (Bennett 1990: 381). For example, a discord may occur simultaneously with the utterance of the word "death" in the text, thereby depicting the negative emotional associations of the word.

22 Rhetorical figures (specific note patterns which have symbolic meanings) are part of musical rhetoric which, according to Tråvén (2005: 103), was "a sign system developed during the Baroque period to communicate emotions".

Semantic Aspects

(1) Preservation of Original Meaning / Fidelity

Although singable translating is not generally a semantically-oriented genre (Golomb 2005: 121) and modifying the content of the source text is commonplace, some semantic relation between the source text and the target text—be they specific lexical items (used in the same or different context in the target text) (Öner 2008: 236), and/or the spirit and mood (Drinker 1950: 235-36), or the theme and general tone (Davies and Bentahila 2008: 256)—should still be there for the target text to be called a "translation" instead of a completely new text (Franzon 2005: 267; Golomb 2005: 121–25; Low 2005: 194).

(2) Culture

As in other genres, cultural differences also need to be taken care of. An object may have different connotations in different cultures and culturally-specific items may give rise to incomprehensibility on the part of the audience (Xue 2002: 156–66). Proper names like personal names, geographical names can also be problematic (Sun 1998: 231–32). Owing to such cultural differences, certain flexibility on the part of the translator is deemed reasonable, or even necessary (Drinker 1950).

For example, in *Friend Like Me* (from Disney's *Aladdin* [1992]), the Turkish dessert "baklava" is mentioned in *"How 'bout a little more baklava?"* (nine syllables over ten notes). Though baklava is not necessarily in triangular shape, the frame is filled with dozens of yellowish triangular objects. The Hong Kong–Cantonese lyricist-translator renders it into "*ni ke hui xu yao duo kuai san jiao pi?*" 你可會須要多塊三角批？("Do you want one more piece of triangular pie?") (ten syllables over ten notes), in which "baklava" is changed into "triangular pie". This decision can be justified by the following reasons. Firstly, "baklava" is called "*tu er qi guo ren qian ceng su*" 土耳其果仁千層酥 ("Turkish mille feuille with nuts") or "*tu er qi guo ren mi bing*" 土耳其果仁蜜餅 (literally, "Turkish sweet pastry with nuts")in Chinese, taking up as many as eight syllables, which would be impossible for a ten-note musical phrase. Secondly, this is not a dessert familiar to Hong Kongers and would be incomprehensible for local viewers. Thirdly, what are shown on screen are yellowish objects which can be mistaken by local viewers as familiar snacks like curry puff or shrimp toast which are usually triangular in shape and brownish-yellow in colour. Using "triangular pie" thus keeps the exotic flavour in the text while matching the images shown.

(3) Language Style and Register

Song texts cover a wide range of contents, moods and styles: from elegant and lofty poetry written by poets like Goethe and Heine to plain and unadorned folklore lyrics or nursery rhyme; from archaic libretti written two centuries ago to up-to-date musical books written within the past ten years; and from the very literary to the very colloquial. The choice of register thus becomes one of the most frequently mentioned issues in singable translating. In general, practitioners do tend to follow the style of the source text and music (Drinker 1950: 230; Holden 1991; Xue 2002: 154; Low 2005: 195–96) while some practitioners point out the need to adopt a mildly poetic language without being overtly abstruse for operas (Sun 1998: 251; Xue 2002: 154).

Other frequently discussed issues in singable translating include avoidance of "translationese" (Drinker 1950: 232; Low 2005: 195–96) and "archaisms" are to be avoided in the translation (Drinker 1950; Sun 1998: 251; Xue 2002: 169–71; Low 2005).

(4) Treatment of Repetitions

Text repetition often occurs in vocal music. When the music is repeating at the same time, it would be easier on the translator's part; but it would be drastically different when the music is changing—opinions range from regarding it as "one of the translator's great difficulties" (Drinker 1950: 230) to "something that can be taken advantage of" (Golomb 2005: 131–32). It is generally agreed that certain flexibility is needed when it comes to text repetitions. Mandarin translators like Xue (2002: 177) points out that repeating the corresponding lines in the target text might sound monotonous. In Cantonese, however, even more flexibility is expected: when the music is changed ,changing the wording or even meaning in the target text becomes necessary.

A comparison between the Cantonese and the English versions of the Disney hit *Let It Go*《冰心鎖》(*Bing Xin Suo*) from *Frozen*《魔雪奇緣》*(Mo Xue Qi Yuan)*[23] (2013) can illustrate the distinctive treatment of repetitions

23 This animated musical is referred to as《冰雪奇緣》(*Bing Xue Qi Yuan*) in mainland China and Taiwan.

in Cantonese. Example 7 (my highlights) shows the opening lines of the chorus in the English original and Cantonese translated version.

Example 7. Excerpt from the English and Cantonese versions of *Let It Go* from *Frozen*

English	Cantonese	Back translation into English
Let it go, let it go	**忘掉那　無形鎖**	**Forget about / that invisible lock**
Can't hold it back anymore	我才能完全是我	I could be myself completely only then
Let it go, let it go	**誰亦要　隨心歌**	**Everybody should / sing as he or she likes**
Turn away and slam the door	誰願陷落於心鎖	Who wants to be emotionally restrained?

In the Cantonese version, the repetitions disappear entirely. This can be explained as a compromise between preserving the rhetoric device and matching the melodic contours of the linguistic tones and the music. The words "*let it go*" are set to three different melodic fragments: "F4-G4-A-flat4", "E-flat4-E-flat4-B-flat4" and "E-flat'-C5-[C5-B-flat4][24]".[25] The three melodic fragments and their required sequences of linguistic tones in Cantonese are shown in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2

Melodic Fragment	Linguistic Tone Combinations Required for Satisfactory Tone-Melodic Matching in Cantonese[26]		
	1st pitch	2nd pitch	3rd pitch (melisma excluded)
F4-G4-A-flat4	4th tone	6th tone (incl. 9th tone)	3rd tone or 5th tone
E-flat4-E-flat4-B-flat4	4th tone	4th tone	1st tone or 2nd tone
E-flat'-C5-[C5-B-flat4]	4th tone	1st tone (incl. 7th tone) or 2nd tone	1st tone or 2nd tone

24 The word "go" is sung to a two-note melisma (C5-B-flat4, shown within a bracket) here. Since only the first pitch in a melisma is taken into account in Cantonese lyrics writing, the pitch B-flat4 has no effect on effect on tone-melody matching.

25 As notated on pages 33–34 in the official songbook, *Frozen: Music from the Motion Picture Soundtrack (*Piano/Vocal/Guitar*)*, published by Hal Leonard.

26 For details of tone-melody matching requirements in Cantonese songs, see Cheng (2013: 32–45).

Since a change of linguistic tone to a Cantonese syllable would alter its meaning, it is obvious from Table 11.2 that a single group of three Cantonese syllables cannot fit the melodic contours of three different melodic fragments. The actual linguistic tones the Cantonese lyricist uses are shown in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3

Melodic Fragment	Linguistic Tone Combinations Required	Actual Linguistic Tone Combinations Used
F4-G4-A-flat4	4th – 6th / 9th – 3rd / 5th	忘掉那 (4th – 6th – 5th) 誰亦要 (4th – 6th – 3rd)
E-flat4-E-flat4-B-flat4	4th – 4th – 1st / 2nd	無形鎖 (4th – 4th – 2nd)
	4th – 1st / 7th / 2nd – 1st / 2nd	隨心歌 (4th – 1st – 1st)

Table 11.3 shows how the Cantonese lyricist sacrifices semantic correspondence and literary device (repetition) for tone-melody matching. The actual linguistic tone combinations used correspond to what are required according to the Cantonese tradition without the slightest deviation. The meaning, however, is altered quite considerably. The two occurrences of "let it go, let it go" in the original become "*wang diao na / wu ying suo*" 忘掉那 / 無形鎖 ("forget about / that invisible lock") and "*shei yi yao / sui xin ge*" 誰亦要 / 隨心歌 ("everybody should / sing as he or she likes") respectively, elaborating the idea of "breaking free from emotional restraint" expressed in the original.

(5) Immediate Comprehensibility

Like drama performances, live musical performances are necessarily temporal and one-off in nature. Hence a number of practitioners attach great importance to whether the target text is "immediately comprehensible" (Sun, 1999: 246–48; Xue 2002: 51; Low 2005: 195–96). Low (2005: 195–96) upholds the importance of immediate comprehensibility so much that he thinks "[t]he target text is not worth making unless it can be understood while the song is sung".

However, recent commentators argue that there might have been an over-emphasis on immediate comprehensibility. Firstly, with the widespread use of printed and/or technical aids (like programme notes and surtitles), the audience—whether in the target language or the source language—is not relying solely on listening, or at least not as heavily as in the pre-surtitle era. Secondly, audio comprehensibility relies heavily on the musical characteristics of a song and there are songs that intrinsically defy immediate comprehensibility. Vocal ensembles, for example, with their intriguing interplay of voices and texts, often result in low immediate comprehensibility, even in the source language. *Love Never Dies*, a sequel to *The Phantom of the Opera* by Andrew Lloyd Webber, for example, includes a complex vocal ensemble, *Devil Takes the Hindmost Quartet*. It is sung by four characters, namely, Phantom, Raoul (Phantom's love rival), Madam Giry (Phantom's once-loyal business partner whose daughter is lovesick because of Phantom) and Gustav (a 10-year-old boy, known to be Raoul's son but actually Phantom's). Apart from Gustav the boy (who keeps vocalizing without text), the other three characters are all scheming against each other and sing different texts, sometimes even simultaneously. The interplay is so elaborate that only a few key words are aurally identifiable. Fast music, choral music and words set to extreme vocal ranges also belong to this category. In these musical passages, the musical design of the composer is probably sufficient to portray the mood and character of the lyrics (Shum 2012: 19–21). One of the most important functions of these painstakingly written or translated texts—which are mostly incomprehensible for the listeners—is for the singers to emote (Apter 1985: 312; Cheng 2013: 308–9).

Some Genre-Specific Issues

Non-Dramatic Genres

(1) Art Songs

The nineteenth century art songs tend to set existing poems to music. Strophic settings (i.e. different verses of the text are set to the same music) such as Schubert's *Liebhaber in allen Gestalten* pose fewer problems to the translator as the music tends to reflect the general mood of the text instead of the lexical details (such as word-painting). Also, the source song itself probably includes rhythmic adjustments in the melody in order to fit the minor rhythmic inconsistencies of the text. The translator is thus freer to employ rhythmic adjustments in the target song.

Through-composed settings, on the other hand, can post greater difficulties to the translator. As the verses are set to different music, the music can reflect the meaning of the text in greater detail down to the lexical level (i.e. word-painting) (Low 2005: 193–94)—sometimes even involving the piano accompaniment (such as Schubert's *Erlkönig* or *Rast*). Instances of word-painting involve precise synchronization of a particular word or words with a particular note or notes, creating great restrictions to the translator if the verbal-musical reference is to be kept in the target song.

It is also common for a single piece of text to be set by various composers. For example, Goethe's *Troost in Tränen* ("Comfort in Tears") has been set by no less than 27 composers, including Schubert and Brahms. (The LiederNet Archive 2016) While with European languages it is theoretically possible to use the same target text for various musical versions given that the prosody of the target text matches that of the source text to a large extent, it may not be desirable to do so, for the prosodic subtleties (such as the choice of vowels) of a target text may suit one setting but not another, and instances of word-painting, if any, is very likely to disappear.

In Mandarin/Putonghua, where tone-melody matching is something to respect (though not as much as in Cantonese), it is also uncommon to use the same text for different musical settings. There are, however, exceptions. *Ge De Ming Shi Ge Qu Jing Xuan*《歌德名詩歌曲精選》("Song Settings of Goethe's Famous Poems"), published by Shanghai Music Publishing House in two volumes in 2006, uses the same Putonghua text for different musical settings of a single poem. For example, Schubert's and Brahms' settings of Goethe's *Troost in Tränen* are included in the collection, sharing the same Putonghua target text. However, problems over tone-melody matching arise. The second line of the first stanza "*da alles froh erscheint*" ("since everyone seems happy") of the German source text becomes "*dang da jia hen huan xi*" 當大家很歡喜 ("when everyone is happy with it") in the Putonghua target text.

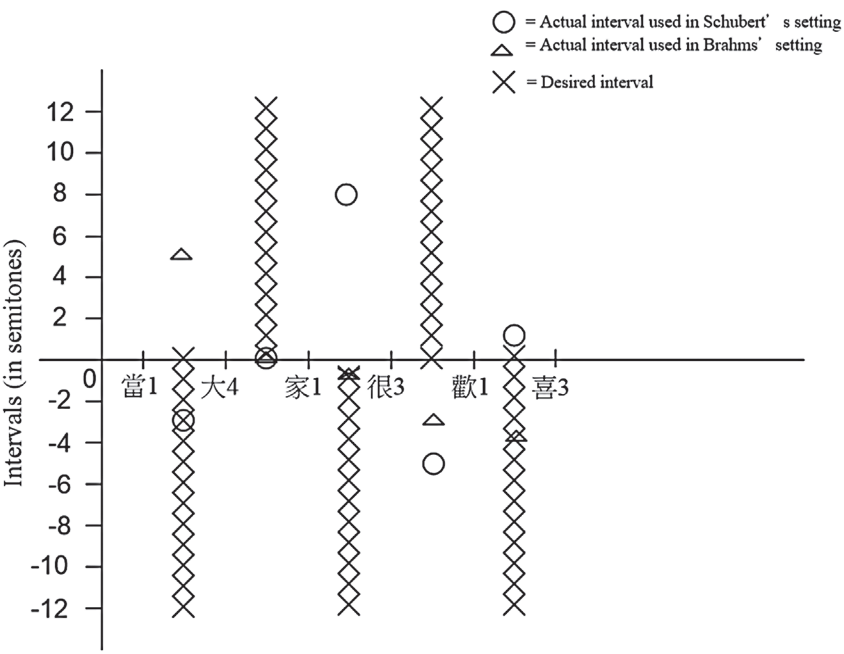
Examples 8 and 9 show the actual settings.

Example 8. Excerpt from Schubert's *Troost in Tränen*, D. 120, stanza 1, Putonghua text by Qian Ren Kang 錢仁康 , titled *Re Lei Wei Xiang Si* 《熱淚慰相思》 ("Soothing Lovesickness by Passionate Tears")

Example 9. Excerpt from Brahms' *Troost in Tränen*, Op. 48 No. 5, stanza 1, Putonghua text by Qian Ren Kang 錢仁康

Figure 11.3 shows how the Putonghua text interacts with the melodic lines of the two versions, based on the linguistic tonal contour formed by adjacent syllables. A pair of syllables can fit in with a number of melodic intervals while still being regarded as appropriate, shown with crosses (×) below. A circle (○) represents the actual interval used in Schubert's version. A triangle (Δ) represents the actual intervals used in Brahms' version. If a circle or a triangle overlaps with a cross, it means the linguistic tonal contour of the syllables concerned is regarded as "appropriately matched" to the melody. If a circle or a triangle is located on the opposite side of the corresponding crosses, it is regarded as "unacceptable".

Figure 11.3



As can be seen from the Figure 11.3, the Putonghua text contains several "unacceptable" settings in either version, meaning the resultant song would sound awkward to native speakers of Putonghua. Although using the same Chinese text for different musical versions may be an intentional tribute to Goethe's literary achievements, it is not a recommendable practice in Putonghua/Mandarin or Cantonese from a musical point of view.

As for the accompaniment, it is expected to be kept intact in the target song, while alterations of pitch and rhythm in the melodic line to accommodate the target text should be used with great discretion (Kelly 1992–1993: 92, mentioned in Low 2005: 189–90, 196–98).

(2) Popular Songs

The performance tradition of popular songs emphasizes idiosyncrasy and cherishes flexibility. It is not uncommon to come across performances (called "covers") of a song by different artists varying significantly in tempo, arrangement, rhythm, pitch and overall length. Singable translating of popular songs also follows the same vein. The target texts often offer only a very loose connection with the source texts, to the point that only the moods, overall idea or certain lexicon items are kept (but used in totally different ways). (Öner 2008: 236) Melodic and/or rhythmic alterations, changes in the accompaniment, arrangement and even the style of the video presentation (MTV or MV), just like what are done to "covers" in the original language, are likely to occur. After all, popular songs are necessarily commercial in nature and therefore have to meet the needs of the target language market (Kaindl 2005: 245–59).

(3) Dramatic Genres

"Dramatic genres" are musical genres that involve dramatic presentation, whether performed, live or filmed, by real people or animated characters, including opera, musical, musical films and animated musical. Singable translating of these genres share some common concerns, namely, relation between the written text and the theatrical presentation, characterization, and plot information. The main differences between genres involves how the verbal and the visual elements are synchronized in the target drama, which is determined by the nature of presentation, i.e. whether the text is to be staged (involving action), sung in concert (no action involved) or dubbed.

(a) Relation between the Written Text and the Theatrical Presentation

A piece of dramatic vocal text has to serve the music and the stage at the same time and the two often interact. The meaning of the verbal text might have manifestations in the action, inducing or even dictating actors to do something or react in a certain way. Interpersonal address, deictic or spatiotemporal references, props and/or contexts mentioned and implied interactions between characters worth particular attention (Sun 1998: 302–3; Franzon 2005: 274–75).

(b) Characterization

Characterization, an important element in drama, has implications to singable translation too. Since semantic flexibility is so commonly adopted in singable translating, characterization might deviate from the source song accordingly (Franzon 2005: 293; Bosseaux 2008).

(c) Plot Information

Plot information is sometimes mentioned in the source text. Care is to be taken to make sure plot information presented in the target text fit the unfolding of the plot and sequencing of the event (Franzon 2005: 293).

(d) Verbal-Visual Synchronization

In a live performance of an opera or a musical, stage interaction between actors/actresses, gestures and the use of props and set, though influenced or even dictated by the verbal text as mentioned before, are still adjustable. First, visual events can be relocated to fit the verbal events and when the verbal event is changed, the visual event can be modified accordingly. The verbal-visual relation is, therefore, more "dynamic". When it comes to singable translating, this dynamic nature provides more room for flexibility on the part of the translator, knowing that the visual events in a performance can be adjusted to accommodate semantic deviations from the source text.

In a filmed presentation (featuring human or animated characters), however, the visual elements are presented in a fixed sequence. This means that very little temporal flexibility is possible in dubbing: the verbal-visual reference either occurs exactly at the same place in the target song as in the source song, or it is missed altogether, as displacement of the verbal event would make the verbal-visual reference very difficult to be identified by the viewer. This is exactly the case in singable translating for musical films and especially, animated musicals. As verbal-visual references are abundant in songs in animated musicals, sometimes semantic and/or musical compromises are necessary in the target song (Cheng 2013: 253–306). In *Be Prepared* from Disney's *Lion King* (1994), for example, the villain Scar (a lion) sings to his minions (hyenas) about his plans for a coup d'état to seize the throne from his brother, Mufasa. Example 10 shows an excerpt from the song:

Example 10. Excerpt from *Be Prepared, Lion King* (1994), English original (my emphasis)

SCAR
So prepare for a chance of a lifetime
Be prepared for sensational news
A shining new era
Is tiptoeing nearer

Accompanying the line "tiptoeing nearer" in the film is a medium shot of Scar's tiptoeing feet. The corresponding lines in the German version, titled *Seid Bereit*, go (Example 11):

Example 11. Excerpt from *Be Prepared, Lion King* (1994), German version, titled *Seid Bereit* (my emphasis) (Lyrics Translate 2016a)

German Version **SCAR**	**German Version in Back Translation** **SCAR**
Seid bereit für die Zeit eures Lebens, seid bereit für den größten der Coups! Die goldene Ehre **schleicht näher und näher.**	Get ready for the [best] time of your life, Get ready for the biggest coup! The golden glory **creeps nearer and nearer.**

"*Schleicht näher und näher*" ("creeps nearer and nearer") matches the melody and the frame very closely, keeping the verbal-visual reference in the German target text. However, this kind of direct correspondence may not be always possible. The French version, titled *Soyez Prêtes*, of the same song goes (Example 12):

Example 12. Excerpt from *Be Prepared, Lion King* (1994), French version, titled *Soyez Prêtes* (my emphasis) (Lyrics Translate 2016b)

French Version	French Version in Back Translation
Soyez prêtes pour la chance de votre vie,	Be ready for the chance of a lifetime,
Car enfin va venir le grand jour!	Because finally the big day is coming.
Nos ennuis sont finis.	Our troubles are over.
Nous sortons de la nuit.	We are **coming out of the night.**

The meaning of the last line is modified into "*Nous sortons de la nuit*" ("coming out of the night") in the French version and the verbal-visual reference is modified accordingly: the word "*sortons*" ("go out") and Scar's feet movements in the frame still match to some extent, but the correspondence is not as direct as the German version. There are also cases where the verbal-visual reference is a pun by nature and therefore even harder to re-create in the target song. In *Honour to Us All* from Disney's *Mulan* (1998), a group of women sing about match-making and family honour. One of the stanzas goes (Example 13):

Example 13. Excerpt from *Honour to Us All, Mulan* (1998), English original (my emphasis)

WOMEN
A girl can bring her family great honour in one way—
By striking a good match, and this could be the day.

When "*by striking a good match*" is sung, Mulan, a boyish young lady on her way to the matchmaker's for her "match" in marriage, is seen to be attracted by the chess match of two elderly men. The word "match" means "match in marriage" in the verbal context but "chess match" in the visual context. The translator-lyricist of the Cantonese version opt to give up the pun (Example 14).

Example 14. Excerpt from *Honour to Us All, Mulan* (1998), Cantonese version (my emphasis)

Cantonese Version	Cantonese Version in Back Translation
小家碧玉要一家歡喜 光宗且耀祖	The daughter from a humble family can make her family happy and bring glory to her ancestors
緣分全是天賜	**A marriage partner is godsend**
光彩可比天高	and the glory can be enormous

With "*yuan fen quan shi tian ci*" 緣分全是天賜 ("a marriage partner is godsend"), the Cantonese version preserves the verbal meaning of "match in marriage" but has nothing to do with the chess match. As the frame is unchangeable, substituting a new pun in the target language is hardly possible and it is likely that the pun would be lost in the target text, just as the example given above.

Sometimes the musical effect in the target song is compromised in order to preserve the verbal-visual reference. In the Cantonese version of *Prince Ali*《阿里王子》(*A Li Wang Zi*) from Disney's *Aladdin*《阿拉丁》(*A La Ding*) (1992), for example, the words "*ring bells, bang the drums*" are sung to G4-C4-G4-G4-C4, while the accompanying visual event shows the genie, disguised as a mortal man, hitting a metal pot ("*ring bells*") and the big tummy of a middle-aged man ("*bang the drums*", with one audible drum stroke for each word). In the Cantonese version, the corresponding fragment is sung to "*hao luo da da gu*" 敲鑼打打鼓 ("strike the gong and beat the drum") (Table 11.4, my emphasis).

Table 11.4

Melodic Fragment	Linguistic Tone Combinations Required	Actual Linguistic Tone Combinations Used
G4-C4	1st / 2nd / 7th – 4th	敲鑼 (1st – 4th)
G4-G4-C4	1st / 2nd / 7th – 1st / 2nd / 7th – 4th	打鼓 (2nd – 2nd – 2nd)

Here, while the verbal-visual reference is kept, the tone-melody matching in the target song is not at all satisfactory, with the syllable *gu* 鼓 ("drum") sounding awkward due to a mismatch (Cheng 2013: 55).

Concluding Remarks

Vocal music is essentially a multimedial art, involving two or even three modes of communication: the verbal and the musical in non-dramatic genres, and the verbal, the musical and the visual in dramatic genres. Likewise, vocal text translation covers a wide range of translational activities varying in functions, technical demands and translation approaches, often involving more than one mode of communication: the purely verbal, verbal-visual, verbal-musical, to the verbal-musical-visual. In general, the more modes of communication are involved, the more complicated the translational activity is. For the purely verbal (e.g. full translations and paraphrases for reading), the main concern of the translator is to make the target text semantically accurate and stylistically satisfactory. For the verbal-visual (e.g. surtitles), the technical requirements of the presentation demands the translator to omit certain information in the target text and to synchronize with the visual elements. For the verbal-musical (e.g. singable translation), the translator has to make the target text meet a whole series of formal and semantic requirements so as the make the target song sound good. For verbal-musical-visual (e.g. dubbing), the translator, on top of making the target text sound good as a song, has to take the dramatic elements and verbal-visual references into account. The last two types of vocal text translation mentioned above, therefore, are translational activities which deviate greatly from the semantically-oriented approach to translation and ought to be evaluated from a different perspective, so that the efforts and achievements of the translator-lyricists can be more appropriately appreciated.

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12 Translation Technology and Its Practical Applications

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Translation Technology

Translation technology, as a cover term, can mean anything that is computerized and helps to facilitate the process of translation in its various denominations. It can be used for both general and specific purposes. In early 2015, a search for "translation technology" via Google yields around 296,000 results. They basically fall into the following major categories, which is in agreement with the general perception.

Machine Translation

First, translation technology means "machine translation" (MT). This, in turn, has many synonyms, such as Fully Automated High Quality Machine Translation (FAHQMT), computer translation, and automated/automatic translation. There is no human involvement.

Machine Translation technology is the first generation of translation technology. Since its conceptual inception in the late 1930s after modern computer technology came into availability and the enthusiastic promotion of it by Warren Weaver in his seminal *Memorandum* (1949, cf. Hutchins 2000) to meet the huge demand for information transfer between languages (mainly English and Russian), machine translation has gone through several phases of development.

Phase one (1940s–1960s) witnessed the development of rule-based technology for fully automated translation between two natural languages. This technology relies on built-in linguistic rules and bilingual dictionaries for each language pair by parsing text and creating a transitional representation from which the target text is generated. While the output is easy and fast, the difficulty with this method is that natural language can never be exhaustively described in its rules and structures. The major problems encountered include lack of fluency and need to describe countless exceptions to the rules. As a result, the final output usually requires expensive and time-consuming human validation to improve its quality. Customers of translation technology at that time, mostly governmental and/or organizational, wanted something better and less costly.

Therefore, the statistical method was adopted in an attempt to complement rule-based technology in the second phase of the development of translation technology (1960s–1970s). The parameters used stem from the analysis of monolingual and bilingual corpora. The translation technology relies on the probabilistic modelling to find the corresponding words and structures in the target language. In order to arrive at a reasonably probable match, the number of words required is usually at least two million for one subject field, with an even larger number of words for general purposes and/or for multiple languages. Besides, hardware requirements for information storage and modelling are hard to meet. Even though the output is better in fluency compared to that generated by rule-based technology, the statistical method again proves to be time-consuming and expensive. Most developers simply couldn't afford this. However, it is possible to use this technology for domain-specific automatic translation which does not require too much investment. Later in the 1980s and 1990s, this translation technology was often used in localization because of the repetitive nature of software documentation. The technology used is what is now loosely called corpus-based method.

At present, machine translation is mainly used for large-quantity, fast-delivering, domain-specific translation tasks. The output usually needs human post-editing to guarantee accuracy.

Computer-Aided Translation

Second, translation technology means "computer-aided translation". It is also called machine-assisted translation or computer-assisted translation. Depending on how much human labour is needed, this can be further divided into human-assisted machine translation or machine-assisted human translation. In this type of translation technology, human involvement is required.

Computer-aided translation came into being in the 1980s after the dissatisfaction with the output of machine translation technology in the first several decades of its development and the availability of large computer storage capacities. Bilingual and multilingual corpora, particularly those paralleled ones, make it possible for computer to memorize or store corresponding segments in two or more languages. These segments can then be retrieved to be reused and recycled endlessly for future translation tasks. The idea of translation retrieval and later Translation Memory, as a core technology, was put forward by Arthern (1979), Kay (1980), and Melby (Hutchins 1998) and helped to lay the theoretical foundation of computer-aided translation. Here, the technology incorporates editing done by human into the software and the process of translation is interactive to guarantee the quality of the final output. Translation generated this way is usually in little or no need of post-editing.

Two companies, Trados in Germany and StarGroup in Switzerland, were able to put this revolutionary idea into practical use in 1984. Many followers (e.g. Déjà Vu, MemoQ, Wordfast, and Yaxin) have up to now developed similar technologies and established similar businesses beyond Europe. This type of software is primarily designed to enable translators, working individually or in teams, to reuse the results of previous translation jobs to arrive at both efficiency and consistency.

At present, leading computer-aided translation tools often incorporate machine translation technology to offer instant suggestions and solutions for translators.

Translation Tools for General and Specific Purposes

Third, translation technology means "translation tools". This refers to any computerized tool that can facilitate the process of translation (Bowker 2002; Chan 2004). Since the mid-1990s, a wide range of translation software has been available.

Strictly speaking, both machine translation and computer-aided translation tools belong to this category. But because of the very specialized nature of machine translation and computer-aided translation, translation tools are often divided into two very broad categories. On the one hand, electronic resources (both online and offline), spell-checker, grammar checker, and the like that are used in word processing for translation, can be called translation tools for general purposes. On the other hand, corpus analysis tools, terminology management tools, translation memory management tools, translation project management tools, and other tools in the workflow of a translation project, can be called translation tools for specific purposes. The use of such tools is omnipresent, from freelance translators to multinational corporations.

From the very brief account of the developmental phases of translation technology and its different aspects, it can be clearly noted that since its very beginning, translation technology is meant for practical application in tackling problems in the communication and information transfer across language barriers. For example, the first generation of MT (demonstrated in 1954) was used to decipher messages between English and Russian. The second generation of translation technology (represented by Systran) was used by United States Air Force (USAF) (1970), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) (1974–1975) and the Commission of the European Communities for dealing with language translation (Hutchins 2014). The third generation of translation technology (commercialized by SDL-Trados) has been used by numerous multinational corporations for various language-related purposes.

It is worth mentioning here that a very important yet under publicized use of machine translation and computer-aided translation is in intelligence (Hutchins 2014: 132). Actually, this was the initial purpose of translation technology when it came into being in the 1940s. Due to its nature, not much is known to the general public.

On the whole, there is no denying that technology is now widely used in translation. The raison d'être lies in the fact that it is almost unthinkable today for translators (both professional and freelance) to earn a living without routinely taking advantage of one of the above-mentioned technology, particularly computer-aided translation. Because such software can store, organize and share terminology, and to perform a number of quality assurance checks, the use of computer-aided translation is an established practice in most translation agencies, especially in handling tasks involving large volumes of text and multiple languages.

Further readings on the historical account of the research and development of machine translation, computer-aided translation, and other forms of translation technology can be found online (http://www.hutchinsweb.me.uk). Chan (2014) provides the most up-to-date panoramic picture of translation technology, including its basics and development in different contexts. Chan (2004) is also informative for readers who are interested in terminological issues in translation technology. In the next section, the practical application of translation technology by different users will be discussed with examples.

Translation Technology in Practical Applications

Apart from the now common-place use of translation tools for general purposes which will be dealt with very briefly here, some of the best practices of the cutting-edge translation technology by different users for different purposes will be presented.

Translation Technology for General Purposes in a Nutshell

Embedded in mainstream word-processing software (like Microsoft Office in the West and WPS in China) are tools such as spell checker and grammar checker. Together with this, users can also have downloadable tools such as online dictionaries (e.g. WordWeb and Merriam-Webster in the West and Lingoes, YouDao, and PowerWord in China), online language resources (e.g. Collins COBUILD Corpus, Cambridge Free English Dictionary and Thesaurus, and WordNet), online termbanks (e.g. EuroTermBank and TERMIUM Plus), and any other translation-related resources available via the World Wide Web. They provide users easy answers to queries at the lexical, syntactic and grammatical levels.

For example, Lingoes is an easy and intuitive dictionary and text translation software. It is supported by Google Translate, Cross Language, Systran and many other online free automatic translation engines. It also offers lookup dictionaries, full text translation, word capture on screen and translation, translation of selected text and pronunciation of words in over 80 languages. The languages are English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Greek, Swedish, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Arabic, Hebrew, Vietnamese, Thai, and others.

The online dictionary and text translation are shown in Figure 12.1 and Figure 12.2 respectively.

Figure 12.1 Lingoes online dictionary

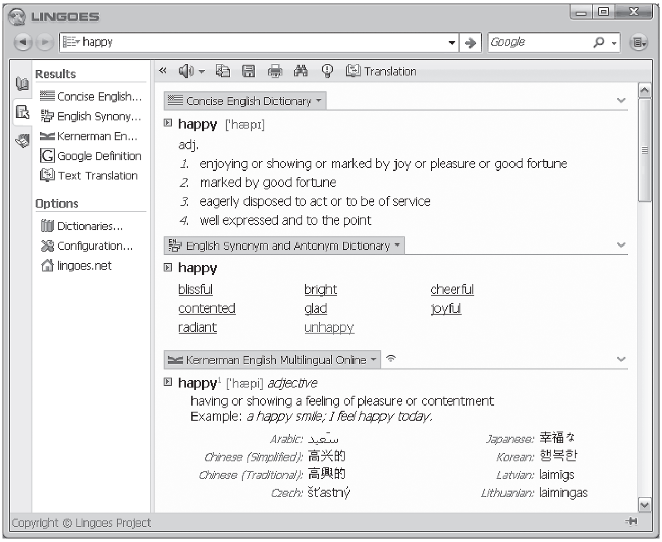
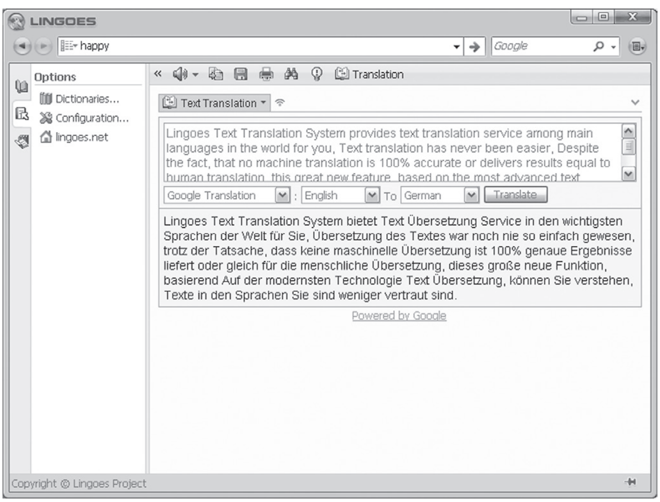


Figure 12.2 Lingoes online text translation



Another example is in Europe where concerted efforts have been made to build up many term bases.[1] One of the efforts is European Language Resources Association (ELRA). There are 14,300 records in Catalan, English, French, Italian, Spanish for Official Terminology of Olympic Games, 800 entries in English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish for the domains of tourism, leisure and entertainment, 2,300 records in French/English for Geosciences terminology, 2,210 in mechanical engineering in English, French, German, Spanish, 70,000 entries in toponymic geography in French, and resources in many other domains.

Further information can be found at the personal website of John W. Hutchins and the websites of GALA (Globalization and Localization Association), LionBridge, and Systran. Further readings include Bowker (2002), Chan (2004, 2014), Hutchins and Somers (1992), Qian (2005, 2014), Quah (2005), and Somers (2003).

Translation Technology Used by Multinational Localization/ Language Service Providers

At present, the biggest users are most probably multinational localization/ language service providers, where hybrid machine translation systems (statistical and corpus-based) are adopted.

Representative translation technology developers (e.g. SDL-Trados and Systran) and language/localization service providers (e.g. LionBridge and WeLocalize) use machine translation to help deal with documents that are needed to be translated easily and fast. They are documents on software upgrading, new software Help, product manual, and others that can be first processed with machine translation technology and then post-edited with computer-aided translation technology to guaranteed speed and accuracy.

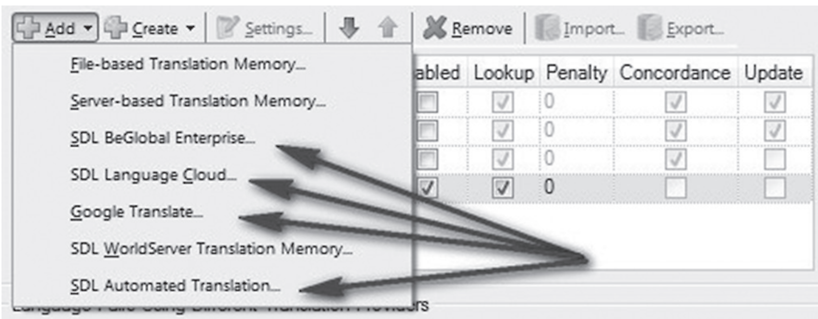
As a leading translation technology developer and language service provider, SDL has SDL-Trados 2014 that offers users four different options for Machine Translation engines (Figure 12.3):[2]

1 http://catalog.elra.info/index.php?cPath=24.

2 http://producthelp.sdl.com/kb/Articles/5287.html.

- SDL Language Cloud: for automated translation server and access free automated translation services from SDL Language Cloud.
- SDL BeGlobal Enterprise: for payable and more specialized automated translation service where the software is trained by leveraging existing translation assets.
- Google Translate: for paid-for service which performs translation without any human input to the process.
- SDL Automated Translation: for the free SDL ATS community automated translation server or a Customer SDL ATS Server of the user's own.

Figure 12.3 Machine translation options in SDL-Trados 2014



Another example is the practice at LionBridge,[3] where a series of translation technologies are available as follows:

- GeoFluent is cloud-based, customized, self-service and *real-time translation* platform, and can instantly translates communications into multiple languages.
- The Freeway Translation Management Portal delivers a host of productivity-enriching features that help the user deliver global

3 http://www.lionbridge.com/solution-categories/translation-technology.

content while getting real-time project visibility and ongoing enterprise reporting. It is used to manage the process of translation. The features include the following sub-functionalities:

- Portal and Collaboration which allows the user to submit projects, track status, obtain reports and share knowledge among team members. The Lionbridge Project Manager is working in the same system ensuring smooth file transfers and real-time access to production information, queries, terminology, and LionBridge's quality review portal.
- Language Asset Management which is a centralized, internet-enabled language asset management system with Translation Memory, Glossary and Machine Translation capabilities. It stores translation memories and glossaries in secure, central repository and supports thousands of concurrent users. It also enables efficient management and sharing of translation memories and glossaries across products, divisions, and functional groups of a client company.
- Web Services Connectivity which allows to connect the user's Content Management System (CMS) to Freeway via web services and eliminates the manual steps associated with initiating a project to provide the fastest possible turn-around time from creation to translation to global publishing.
- Workflow and Repository which serves as the user's hosted language asset repository. Because the content stays within the Lionbridge architecture and not physically downloaded to translator desktops, there is greater security than with traditional systems. In addition, Freeway provides true workflow capabilities for our project management and translator teams that ensure the fastest delivery times possible for translation projects.
- The Translation Proxy is a cloud-based platform that enables organizations to create, manage and optimize locally relevant, globally consistent websites in any language. In the process, the user's primary site will still operate just as it does now.
- The Translation Memory technology uses a sophisticated, cloud-based translation memory engine hosted within Translation Workspace that not only ensures high quality, consistent translation, but also cuts costs and speeds cycle times by reducing redundancy and enhancing efficiency.

- The Natural Language Solutions helps design, develop, implement, test and improve the customer's language-based technology. It provides expert consultation and development support as well as linguistic assets tailored to the customer's specific needs in up to 200 languages.
- The Translation Workspace is a cloud-based translation productivity platform that gives on-demand access to the industry's most advanced language asset management tools—without the cost of traditional on-premise translation systems. The GeoWorkz.com portal provides a comprehensive and centralized resource for bringing the power of Translation Workspace to the customer's translation projects. Here, LionBridge's Linguistic Toolbox (LTB) will be used to generate a LTB report. It will be used by linguistic analysts to check the quality of the translation.
- The Terminology Management technology captures and manages customer's unique terminology, using it to build translation glossaries for each language that is required. The result is a greater degree of consistency and more efficient and accurate translation, which generates substantial cost savings and allows to reach new markets faster.

Further information can be found at the websites of GALA, Systran, Across, Atril (Déjà Vu), Transcn, WeLocalize, and other translation technology developers and language service providers.

Translation Technology Used in Language and Translation–Related Studies and Teaching

Translation tools and the subsequent databases constructed, both bilingual and multilingual parallel corpora, have made it possible for researchers to do contrastive language studies and translation studies on scales and in ways that were unimaginable decades before. The methodology adopted, empirical data collected and research conclusions drawn, in turn, have enlightened language teaching and translator training.

For example, based on Translational English Corpora (TEC), translational universals such as standardization, simplification, explicitation have been identified (see Baker 1993; Laviosa 1997; Olahan 2004). They can be used to study the similarities and differences between languages and highlight such features to raise the awareness of both translation trainers and trainees.

Technology-related translation courses are also found in the curricula of university translation programmes (e.g. MATIS programme at University of Manchester and Master of Arts programme in Translation Studies at University of Ottawa).

In some programmes, technology is the focus of its translation-related programme. The MSc Programme in Multilingual Computing and Localization at University of Limerick of Ireland, for example, offers Localization Project Management; Advanced Language Engineering, Principal Issues in Localization; Directed Study: Localization Standards and Best Practice, Localization Process Automation, Translation Technology, Best Practice Internationalization.

Another example is The Chinese University of Hong Kong where the MA programme in computer-aided translation has stressed the training of students who are both language and computer proficient so that they can be more competitive in the job market. The courses offered include Natural Language Processing, Editing Skills for Computer Translation, Terminology Management, Bilingual Lexicography, and others.

In interpreting studies and interpreting training, translation technology is also indispensable. Following the steps of what has been done in corpus-based translation studies, bilingual/multilingual interpreting corpora have been constructed and proved to be very useful. For example, as early as 1998, Shlesinger (1998) pointed out that scholars in interpreting studies should embrace corpus-based methodologies, which she believed will enable to collect empirical data in quantities large enough to make reliable generalizations about interpreter performance (as opposed to studies based on anecdotal evidence). This, together with the empirical data collected from corpus-based translation studies, can be used to "study translation as a variety of language behaviour that merits attention in its own right" (Baker 1996: 175) and will help the discipline as a whole to move forward and scale new heights in theoretical explorations. The benefits are obvious in that such computer-aided corpus-based interpreting studies will also make it possible to analyze relevant phenomena on greater data sets than is usually the case when only "manual" methodologies are used. Similar to the empirical data from corpus-based translation studies, data collected in interpreting data can be used in interpreter training to draw the attention of both trainer and trainee to the regularities and best practices and in the meantime to avoid undesirable performances. However, it is still an under-researched area.

Further readings on this topic include Qian (2011), Sergio and Caterina (2012), Shlesinger (1998), amongst others.

Translation Technology Module in Degree Programmes in Audiovisual Translation

Over the past several decades, with more and more multi-media materials going global, audiovisual translation has become an independent line of practice. It refers to the translation of any material in audio, visual or audiovisual format. Dubbing, subtitling, localization, and media accessibility (audio description, subtitling for people who are blind and/or hard of hearing) are some of the most common techniques (oral or written) with sound and image. There is no doubt that technology is adopted in the process of this type of translation. Since the late 1990s, degree programmes have been offered in many universities, involving both major and minor languages.

For example, in the MSc programmes offered at the Centre for Translation Studies of University College London (UCL), Translation Technology is a required course in all three pathways of its MSc programmes,[4] that is, MSc in Specialized Translation (with Interpreting), MSc Specialized Translation (Scientific, Technical, and Medical), and MSc in Specialized Translation (Audiovisual). The tools students are supposed to get familiar with include Translation Memory (SDL Trados Studio, Wordfast Anywhere, MemoQ, OmegaT and MemSource), Terminology and Terminology Extraction (SDL Multiterm Desktop, SDL Multiterm Extract or TermStar NXT, and other free software such as Lexterm), and Machine Translation (the statistical approach) and its output quality evaluation.

The Audiovisual[5] pathway is worth noting in that it stresses hands-on experiences with tools related to subtitling, dubbing and voiceover. Students are supposed to produce and simulate their own translations and subtitles with the professional subtitling software WinCAPS. Students are

4 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/centras/mscpages/trans-technology-MSc.
5 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/centras/mscpages/audio-visual-pathway.

also required to translate for Dubbing and Voiceover with the help of appropriate software and equipment.

Another example is the programme offered at University of Leeds.[6] Its MA Audiovisual Translation Studies programme focuses on subtitling for hard-of-hearing and international audiences and includes theatre captioning, project management, re-speaking and computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools.

The students in this programme should learn to use state-of-the art software tools that are adopted by leading translation and subtitling companies—Isis, Swift, Dragon Naturally Speaking, and Spot. Besides the courses that require students to have the basics in translation theory and practice, the core courses in this programme related to translation technology include the following:

Audiovisual Translation: Processes, Strategies and Industry-Driven Practice enables students to be familiar with the requirements of professional subtitling, the tools and resources used in the industry, and produce industry standard subtitles, display knowledge of the current subtitling conventions used in the language industry, and participate in multilingual subtitling projects.

Computers and the Translator enables students to describe the different types of computer tools available to support translation, make practical use of the basic functionalities of tools for terminology management, translation memories and machine translation, judge whether a particular technology is appropriate for a given task, assess the current limitations of the tools, combine the use of the translation tools with other computer tools and resources to process language data and get oriented in the core literature—including Internet resources—in the field.

Principles and Applications of Machine Translation enables students to explain the principal architectures of machine translation (MT) and their rationales, describe the achievements and limitations of commercially available MT systems, assess which text types are most suitable for processing with these technologies, use one or more commercial machine translation systems to produce translations, create new dictionaries for

6 http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125053/centre_for_translation_studies/1803/taught_programmes/4.

one or more commercial machine translation systems, conduct evaluations of machine translation systems from both a user's perspective and a developer's perspective, and get oriented in the machine translation research literature.

It is clearly stated in the programme[7] that since larger companies are integrating fully automatic translation by computer (machine translation) into their workflow, with subsequent revision of the output by human translators, the courses will help students understand how to work with these technologies and evaluate their strengths and limitations.

All the above-mentioned programmes aim to enhance students' professional skills that can help them to enter the translation job market. However, this type of programmes has been mainly a European practice.

Further information can be found at the websites of other European university programmes devoted to audiovisual translation, such as University of Surrey, University of Leeds, University of Roehampton, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and studios for dubbing and subtitling, such as BTI Studio, The Kitchen, Voice and Script International.

Further readings include Diaz-Cintas and Remael (2014), Diaz-Cintas (2013), Neves (2010), Diaz-Cintas and Anderman (2009), and other publications.

Translation Technology Used by Search Engines

Free online translation became available when AltaVista's Babel Fish launched its free translation based on MT in 1997. Now, major search engines, like Google and Bing, provides automatic written translation (based on the statistical approach) for internet users. As of February 2015, Google Translate can detect 90 source languages and translate them into the same number of target languages (Figure 12.4). Depending on the source language content (general or domain-specific), the result varies in its readability and accuracy. When the source text is on a general topic, the translation output is usually good. However, when the source text is on a specific topic or literary in nature, the output is often only useful in its terminological transfer, while the overall quality needs substantial improvement.

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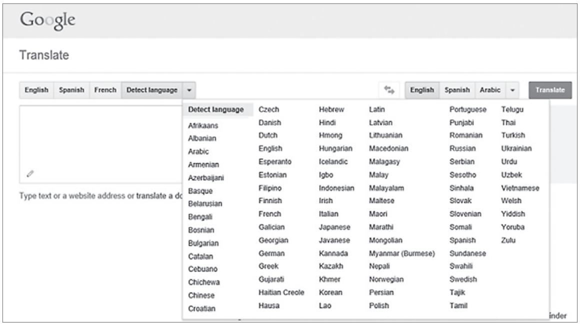
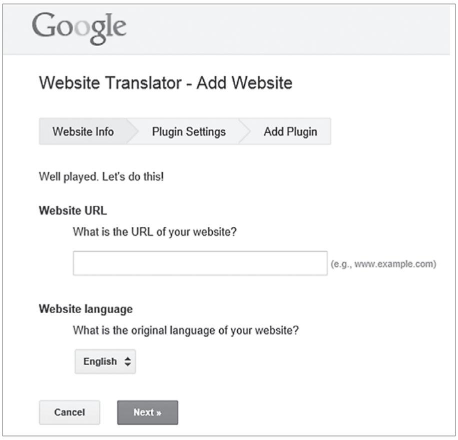
7 http://webprod3.leeds.ac.uk/catalogue/dynprogrammes.asp?Y=201415&P=MA-AVS-FT.

Figure 12.4 Google Translate and the languages it deals with



Google also provides website translation with its Website Translator function (Figure 12.5).

Figure 12.5 Google Website Translator



Another example is Bing which uses Microsoft Translator API[8] to provide automatic translation for its user. This cloud-based translation

8 http://www.microsoft.com/translator/translator-api.aspx.

service supports 46 major languages (in early 2015) and can be used to build applications, websites, and tools, or any solution requiring multi-language support. Backed up by Microsoft's technology, this tool powers translation features across all Microsoft products, including Office, SharePoint, Lync, Yammer, Visual Studio, Bing, and Skype. Users can integrate translation into web, desktop, or mobile applications across different interfaces.

Further information can be found at the websites of different search engines. They include Google, Bing, Yahoo,[9] Baidu, and many others in different languages.

Translation Technology Used in International Organizations

At the United Nations, there are many language professionals. Translators not only need to have extensive language skills and translation skills, they are also required to use various electronic tools for their trade, including voice recognition software and computer-assisted translation (CAT) application.[10] Numerous terminologists also work for the UN,[11] who facilitate the editing and translation process by researching and locating information or past publications which might help language staff produce high-quality translations. They are dedicated professionals who ensure accuracy, appropriateness and consistency of usage of terms in the United Nations. For this purpose, they use various electronic tools. They investigate organizational and technological developments particularly in the field of machine-assisted translations and data bank systems for the improvement of efficiency and productivity, making suggestions as to the development of the United Nations Multilingual Terminology Database (UNTERM).[12]

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9 Yahoo previously used Babel Fish for its online translation. In 2012, Bing Translator started to collaborate with Yahoo.

10 https://careers.un.org/lbw/home.aspx?viewtype=LCEFD&FId=7.

11 https://careers.un.org/lbw/home.aspx?viewtype=LCEFD&FId=6.

12 https://unterm.un.org, which is no longer being updated. It has 85,000 entries in 6 UN official languages.

Giving the linguistic diversity in Europe, it used to be the leading user of translation technology. Now with the ongoing globalization and localization, translation technology is prevalent.

European Parliament Interpreting Corpus (EPIC)[13] was developed by a multidisciplinary research group based at the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies in Translation, Languages and Cultures at University of Bologna at Forlì, involving interpreting scholars, corpus linguists and IT technicians. It is a parallel corpus of European Parliament speeches and their corresponding simultaneous interpretations. It includes source speeches in Italian, English and Spanish and interpreted speeches in all possible combinations and directions (from English into Italian and Spanish; from Italian into English and Spanish; and from Spanish into Italian and English).

As a new attempt, The EPIC corpus includes video clips of each source language speaker, audio clips of the corresponding interpreted target speeches and transcripts of all the clips. The corpus has been orthographically transcribed. Annotation includes paralinguistic features (truncated, mispronounced words, etc.) and metadata (a header at the beginning of each transcript and information about the speaker and the speech). The transcripts are POS (part-of-speech) tagged and lemmatized. Non-tagged transcripts in text format are also available. The size of the EPIC corpus in early 2015 is 177,295 words.

Other international organizations maintain term bases in specific domains. For example, the World Health Organization (WHO) provides free downloadable term bases related to the management of substance abuse.[14]

Further information can be found at the websites of WHO on its recruitment of translators and terminologists, with the stress put on the knowledge and skills on computer application in translation.

Translation Technology Used by Online Shopping Portals

Online shopping is another emerging user of translation technology. The giant in this aspect, eBay, is now using machine translation technology

13 Information available at http://catalog.elra.info/product_info.php?products_id=1145.

14 http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/terminology/en.

developed by Apptek to help to translate listing details on its websites. It also uses instant messaging software for sellers and potential buyers to chat about a product even if they don't speak the same language. However, as of February 2015, this service is only available for a limited number of products.

Amazon, another online shopping portal, is available in English (for Australia, Canada, India, UK) apart from its Global website in American English, Portuguese (for Brazil), Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish (for Mexico, Spain), and Dutch. However, it has not been able to provide instant translation for online chat or listings that allow users to see details in multiple languages.

Other leading online shopping portals, like Taobao (or Tmall) of Alibaba Group in China, still need to make more efforts in order to reach a larger consumer base.

Further information can be found at the websites of Amazon and Ebay.

Translation Technology Used by Social Media and Email Service Providers

Social media is another emerging big user of translation technology. In 2014, WeChat in China became one of the first social media to add translation features. It uses Youdao automatic translation developed by NetEase in this Chinese app used by more than 400 million people and is keen to expand in the west. When you long-tap on a message, you can get it translated into English or other system languages (depending on the operating system) immediately. However, the quality still needs substantial improvement.

In the West, Twitter is using Bing Translate to translate tweets between 40 language pairs. Users who have the feature on the iPhone Twitter app can tap on tweets to see a translation.

Email service providers like 126.com and 163.com from NetEase allow users to instantly translate their messages into different languages. In the inbox tools, there is an option for full-text translation, an option for human translation, and an option for dictionary look-up. The translation technology provider is YouDao.

In most cases, however, the translation in this category is only partly comprehensible.

Further information can be found at the websites of Facebook, Twitter, WeChat, and others.

Translation Technology Used by Web Browsers and in Other Mobile Apps

At present, there are several mainstream web browsers, i.e. Internet Explorer (IE), Chrome, Firefox, and others. Compared to other web browsers, only IE (2013 version) or above allows users to instantly translate a segment (word, clause, sentence, passage) into a certain target language by highlighting the segment and right clicking it. The translation technology provider is Bing which supports 46 language pairs.

Google Glass is a pioneer in this field, which enables its wearer to hold his/her head still while looking at a sign, then saying: "OK Glass, translate this". This function uses the technology developed by UniSpeech.

Waygo is another popular example translation technology for iPhone and Android users, capable of recognizing and translating Chinese and Japanese menus and signs—again by pointing a smartphone camera at the signs.

In May 2014, Google bought Quest Visual, which makes the clever Word Lens app. That involves pointing the smartphone's camera at signs in the real world for instant translations. The technology is to be incorporated into Google Translate.[15]

Baidu is China's domestically developed search engine and has become the mainstream source of information for uses in China. Its online translation tool can provide language service between 16 language pairs. Its free downloadable app for mobile devices also supports the translation of the same number of language pairs.

Again, the overall quality of the translation still needs improvement.

Further information can be found at the websites of Google, Waygo, Baidu, and others.

Challenges for Translation Technology in Practice

There is no doubt that translation technology is now widely used and is undergoing rapid changes for better performance. However, it is clear that, as a whole, it still faces many challenges.

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15 http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jul/16/10-things-know-about-translation-technolology-apps-smartphone.

Regarding fully automatic high quality machine translation, this is acutely felt. On the one hand, the practicality of machine translation for major languages, such as English, Chinese, Russian, French, Spanish, Arabic, has been successful to varying degrees, with still many obstacles (particularly at the semantic, textual and pragmatic levels) to be tackled. The complete and correct transfer of information across language barriers is still elusive. For example, efforts have been made in automatic translation for medical treatment (e.g. Open Source medical speech translation system, MedSLT), but it has proved to be very limited in vocabulary and the number of languages. However, in this specific domain, accuracy is of uttermost importance. On the other hand, the technology for minor languages still remain under-developed.

Computer-aided translation in this sense provides a way out and seems to be the most feasible method to be adopted in practice in the foreseeable future. The specific challenges for computer-aided translation is to construct reliable corpora for each language pair.

As to the practical use of corpora in translation and interpreting studies, the main challenge lies in the fact that the present corpora (for interpreting in particular) for research are still not large enough. It is probably due to the greater challenges and obstacles involved in setting up interpreting corpora, i.e. electronic corpora of transcribed speech events, which include an original speech and its parallel target language version into one or more foreign languages. This raises the questions on how reliable such research findings can be and to what extent they can be used in translator and interpreter training and translation practice?

Regional developments are not comparable. English is still the dominant language both as a source language and a target language. Some languages, even though they are spoken by a large population (e.g. Hindu, Urdu, Tamil), are regretfully neglected in this area of research and application. This in turn poses the problem that, linguistically speaking, the practical application of translation technology does not favour the minor languages, which further hinders the application of translation technology in certain regions and areas.

The emerging challenges or opportunities are related to the use of translation technology in apps for mobile devices. With web and wi-fi now becoming the norm of life, at least in areas that can provide such services, how to communicate with speakers of other languages instantly still presents a big challenge for translation technology developers and translation service providers. Based on the now available technology, the progress in this area is in need of mainly financial investment and personnel involvement.

Translation technology for speech translation is still far from satisfactory. As Hutchins (2014) points out, speech recognition, due to its variety and complexity, is still the weakest point for translation technology. Google has been able to provide mobile phone users with an experimental app since early 2015, but the result of it is still not reliable and needs substantial improvement.

Prospects

After more than seventy years of practical application of translation technology, this area remains robust for research and development and holds tremendous potentials for wider applications and exciting opportunities.

As a fast changing area, it is hard to predict what the scenario would be even in ten years. However, based on what has been done in this area, it is possible to predict that the following can be witnessed in the near term.

Technologically speaking, cloud computing, which relies on coordinating groups of remote servers and software networks that allow centralized data storage and online access to computer services or resources, is now claimed to be used by many translation/language service providers. Users of translation cloud can retrieve resources from the cloud and contribute to it in a constant workflow from every corner of the globe without encountering physical or geographical barriers. There are leading users like LionBridge and Moravia and many smaller users like LingoTek, Smartling, and Transcn. Both are proponents for this future technology and its practical applications in the industry.

With apps becoming the trend for mobile technology users, in the future, it is expected that translation technology will become more visual, more mobile, more user-friendly, and more affordable. For example, the developer for Waygo app mentioned above says it's working on more languages for the future so that everyone should be able to confidently travel anywhere in the world without language barriers.[16]

16 Ibid.

Also taking off is visual recognition and search, i.e. the ability for a device to recognise what the camera is pointing at and try to translate the pointed into a different language. For example, in early 2015, Google's Photo Translation app for Android can take a picture from the phone camera and translate it directly to any language. The app will recognize the text from the picture taken and translate it automatically. Users can use this app in restaurants, airports, train stations, buses, and many other places. The application supports 36 languages, i.e. Bulgarian, Catalan, Czech, Chinese (Simplified), Chinese (Traditional), Danish, German, Greek, English, Finnish, French, Hebrew, Hindi, Croatian, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latvian, Lithuanian, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Slovakian, Spanish, Serbian, Swedish, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese.

The competition for market will be keen. Microsoft, for example, has shown off an app, Skype Translator, which provides translations as people speak to one another in different languages. It has been compared to the Universal Translator gadget in *Star Trek*. In the meantime, real-time translation for businesses is in the offing. HP is working with SpeechTrans to translate conference calls while they are in progress, claiming to be able to handle conversations of any length in 44 languages. Its competition with Microsoft's Skype Translator should ensure swift progress in this field. A key cutting-edge and winning feature will be the user-friendliness of the device.

In sum, Translation Technology in its various denominations is now indispensable in translation-related practice and in our daily activities. Chan (2014: xxvii) claimed that it has revolutionized the way "we process, teach, and study" translation. Now looking forward, we have every reason to believe translation technology will be changing the way we live in this globalized village.

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Interpreting

13 Interpreting between Mandarin and English

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Introduction

At the outset, it is important to explain two key terms in the title. The working definition of these two terms will delineate the scope of this chapter and make the subsequent discussion relevant.

Interpreting

Interpreting is usually understood as a form of oral translation, but this laymen conception is flawed, because interpreting is distinguished by its immediacy (Pöchhacker 2004: 10), not by its orality. Therefore, interpreting is better defined as "a form of Translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language" (Pöchhacker 2004: 11). This definition includes two particular forms of interpreting: spoken language and signed language. Despite this, we do not discuss signed language interpreting in this chapter. Although spoken language interpreting and signed language interpreting both involves real-time mediation among communication parties, the major difference between the two is the modalities and the languages mediated. Signed language interpreting usually involves the mediation of *two* modalities of the *same* language. For instance, when Chinese signed language is used, the visual modality and the auditory modality are both evoked. However, spoken language interpreting takes place in the *same* (auditory) modality of *two* different languages, such as Mandarin and English, the language combination of focus in this chapter. Because of this, "interpreting" is referenced to mean spoken language interpreting, and signed language interpreting in the Chinese context will not be discussed.

Mandarin

A detailed account of the evolution of Mandarin is beyond the scope of this chapter (interested readers may refer to Chen [1999]). In the sense of the national language, suffice it to say that Mandarin (or Putonghua) is the modern standard Chinese, and the official language in China. It is worth noting that when an interpreter is hired to interpret between Chinese and English in mainland China, s/he is expected to interpret between Mandarin and English. This might not be the case in other contexts, where "Chinese" could mean Cantonese, Min Nan, and even Hakka. Because Mandarin Chinese is one of the six official languages in the United Nations, in this chapter, we use "Chinese" and "Mandarin" interchangeably. To follow the conventional abbreviations, we will use "C-E interpreting" and "E-C interpreting" to mean "interpreting from Mandarin Chinese into English" and "interpreting from English into Mandarin Chinese", respectively. When "CE interpreting" (note: unhyphenated) and "CE interpreters" are referenced, we mean "interpreting between Mandarin Chinese and English" and "interpreters interpreting between Mandarin Chinese and English".

This chapter is divided into four sections and approaches the topic of interpreting between Mandarin and English in three aspects: the market, the training and the research. In the first part, the interpreting industry (set against the bigger picture of language service industry in China) will be described. To reflect the (growing) demand of interpreting services, the second part discusses the development of programmes and models of training CE interpreters in China, which parallels the market boom. The third part of discussion focuses on the Chinese research output which particularly focuses on interpreting between Mandarin and English. Building on these, the last part of this chapter provides some observations and prospects we make about the trends in the market, in the training and in the research, and connects the three dots to present a holistic picture explaining their dynamics, with a view to informing CE interpreting practitioners, users, trainers, and trainees.

The Market

Market Segments

Before 1990s, interpreting services were mainly solicited by government agencies or institutional organizers. Since 1990s, thanks to the ever-increasing global contacts, the number of conferences, seminars and workshops held by private sectors has been growing rapidly (Durant and Jiang 2001). A survey conducted among interpreters and interpreting service users in Beijing revealed that 31% of interpreting services were tendered by government agencies and 33% were tendered by private enterprises (Wang 2005). Along with the expanding sources of employers comes the diversification of market segments. Before 1990s, topics to be interpreted were mainly "macro", "general" and "policy-oriented" (Durant and Jiang 2001). Since 1990s, a wide range of subject-matters have been taken up by conference organizers and interpreted by Chinese-English interpreters. For instance, in an industry-wide survey conducted by the Translators Association of China (TAC), 120 language service providers (LSPs) were asked to rank a potential list of 20 industries as their targeted business segments. These 20 industries were all recognized by the LSPs as their major market segments to a greater or lesser extent. Generally, manufacturing industry and information technology industry were voted to be the top two bread-winners, followed by utilities industry, commerce, science research and technical services, education, to name just a few (Translators Association of China 2014: 25).

The market segments for different types of interpreting could be identified in the survey by Pan, Sun, and Wang (2009). The researchers found that conference interpreting accounted for 34% (the highest percentage point); and interpreting for business negotiation and liaison interpreting each took up 28%. Court interpreting and media interpreting took up 1% and 2% respectively.

Despite the ever changing source of employers and market segments, the dominant language combination has been Mandarin Chinese and English, both in translation and in interpreting (Translators Association of China 2014: 26–28).

Market Size

To find out the market size of the language service industry in China, TAC launched a market-based investigation in 2011 and released the *China Translation Industry Annual Reports 2012*. It was reported that the value generated by the language service industry amounted to 157.6 billion RMB in 2011 (Translators Association of China 2012: 9). It was estimated that within the twelfth Five-Year Plan period (2011–2015), the industry would grow at about 15% per annum, with the annual turnover surpassing 260 billion RMB at the end of 2015 (Translators Association of China 2012: 10).

The 2012 Report also showed that in the year of 2011 the demand of translation from Chinese to foreign languages, for the first time, exceeded that of translation from foreign languages to Chinese. In a follow-up survey conducted in 2014, among the 120 LSPs surveyed, 64% of them reported that more than half of their business is from translation into foreign languages (Translators Association of China 2014: 4). Although the outward translation (from Chinese to English) trend is increasingly visible and gaining an upper hand, we believe that the situation in interpreting differs, because it is quite rare for Chinese-English practitioners to do a one-way job: interpreting into *or* from English. Invariably, a Chinese-English interpreter in mainland China is supposed to interpret both ways: from *and* into English. This is particularly true in the case of simultaneous interpreting, even though the conventional practice in the western countries "has favoured simultaneous interpreting from B- or C-languages into an interpreter's A-language" (Pöchhacker 2004: 21). Because of this two-way practice, we believe that the demand of Chinese-English interpreting and English-Chinese interpreting will remain balanced.

In terms of demands, the survey conducted by Pan et al. (2009) showed that interpreting users in Shanghai and Jiangsu Province (the most economically vibrant region in the Yangtze River Delta) generally solicited 10-30 hours of interpreting service per month. The survey also showed that 31% of full-time interpreters in the said region provided 31–50 hours of service and an equal percentage of full-time interpreters provided over 110 hours of service per month. In the same vein, Wang's (2005) survey in Beijing showed that 42% of users had the demand of 1–10 interpreters every year and that 15% of interpreters provided fewer than 5 times of service every year. Taken together, it appears that we need not be overly optimistic about the demands of interpreting services. We believe that one important way to look at the supply/demand issue is through the prism of the service fee paid to hire CE interpreters.

In 2004, the then Shanghai Municipal Labour and Social Security Bureau (now renamed as the Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau) released a wage guideline for a list of non-full-time jobs. In that document, a CE simultaneous interpreter was paid at 4,000 RMB per four hours (the lowest) and up to 6,000 RMB per four hours (the highest); a consecutive interpreter for general conferences was paid at 200 RMB per hour (the lowest) and up to 800 RMB per hour (the highest). However, this quotation was considered "unscientific" and the regular quotation for CE simultaneous interpreting stood at "4,000–6,000 RMB per interpreter per day" (He 2004). A decade later, CE interpreting service fee remains the same in nominal terms (see below), but it is decreasing in real terms, considering the fact that the CPI of China has increased by about 3% per annum over the past decade.

- liaison interpreting: 600–2,000 RMB per day
- consecutive interpreting: 2,000–5,000 RMB per day
- simultaneous interpreting: 4,000–6,000 RMB per interpreter per day

Given this observation, we postulate that the supply of CE interpreters has been on par with the demand for the past few years, and slightly at the risk of oversupplying in the next five to ten years. We are going to discuss the number of practising interpreters in the next subsection. By doing so, we will be able to understand how the supply of interpreters is growing over the past decade.

Chinese-English Interpreters

The language service industry (interpreting in particular) in China is gaining its momentum, as shown in the diversification and growth of demands. One particular challenge for the language service industry to professionalize itself is the gate-keeping of the professional community (Wu 2016).

To this end, the China Accreditation Test for Translators and Interpreters (CATTI) was launched in 2003. The accreditation test is considered to be the most authoritative one, because it is jointly hosted and endorsed by two national-level departments: Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of People's Republic of China, and China Foreign Languages Publishing Administration. Some of the objectives of CATTI include, among others, "scientifically, objectively and justifiably assessing the levels and competence of Translation talents; further regulate the Translation market and strengthen the management of the Translation industry".[1]

From 2003 to 2005, three language combinations were offered: Chinese/English, Chinese/Japanese, and Chinese/French. Since 2006, four more language combinations have been made available: Chinese/German, Chinese/Russian, Chinese/Arabic, and Chinese/Spanish. Currently, the Chinese/English test is offered twice a year (in May and November); for Arabic, Japanese and French, the test is offered once a year (in May); for Spanish, German and Russia, the test is also offered once a year (in November). When it comes to the levels of certification, the latest structure offers three levels (from the lowest to the highest): Level 3, Level 2 and Level 1. Before May 2012, only Level 3 and Level 2 were available for tests; Level 1 was a title conferred to candidates, based on their translations submitted for assessment. In May 2012, CATTI reformed the testing structure and made Level 1 one part of their testing components.

Although interpreters in China do not require licensure to practise in the market, we believe that the CATTI arrangement and statistics, to a certain extent, reflect the market demand and supply. In terms of arrangement, Chinese (Mandarin) / English is the only language combination that is offered twice a year. Besides, compared with the other 6 language combinations, the Chinese/English combination has by far attracted the most candidates and has the largest number of certified practitioners (see Table 13.1). This clearly shows that Chinese/English has been the dominant language combination in CATTI over the past 12

1 The original version is "科學、客觀、公正地評價翻譯專業人才水準和能力，同時進一步規範翻譯市場，加強對翻譯行業的管理". The English translation is done by the author (http://www.catti.net.cn/node_74539.htm).

years, which resonates with the observation we make in the subsection of "Market Segments". To be exact, certified CE practitioners are 14 times of the second most popular combination (Chinese/Japanese) and 203 times of the least popular combination (Chinese/Arabic). A similar trend is observed in the recent survey by Translators Association of China. It is reported that the most frequent inbound language in the market is English, followed by Chinese and Japanese (2014: 27). The most frequent outbound languages are English and Chinese (2014: 28).

Table 13.1 The numbers of certified practitioners sorted by language combinations

Year/ Month	Arabic	Spanish	German	Russian	French	Japanese	English
2003.12							243
2004.5							675
2004.11					24	75	523
2005.5					23	136	1,040
2005.11							989
2006.5	11				75	187	1,144
2006.11		27	34	104			1,267
2007.5	15				67	223	983
2007.11		25	70	87			1,551
2008.5	18				114	263	1,203
2008.11		54	45	122			1,078
2009.5	19				119	282	1,242
2009.11		34	49	37			1,290
2010.5	25				93	315	1,330
2010.11		27	61	65			1,294
2011.5	33				154	351	1,586
2011.11		46	55	84			1,678
2012.5	39				203	384	3,726
2012.11		68	83	154			3,282
2013.5	24				269	398	3,811
2013.11		45	49	184			3,133
2014.5	37				285	602	5,393
Subtotal	221	326	446	837	1,426	3,126	44,933

Table 13.2 The numbers of certified CE practitioners sorted by levels and types

Year/Month	Level 3 Trans.	Level 3 Interp.	Level 2 Trans.	Level 2 Interp.		Level 1 Trans.	Level 1 Interp.
				Cons.	Simul.		
2003.12	161	13	51	18			
2004.5	270	100	234	71			
2004.11	243	61	200	19			
2005.5	557	81	339	63			
2005.11	608	75	241	54	11		
2006.5	602	113	343	86			
2006.11	693	136	319	114	5		
2007.5	370	86	379	148			
2007.11	635	145	618	148	5		
2008.5	564	222	356	61			
2008.11	434	155	428	57	4		
2009.5	634	147	362	99			
2009.11	590	161	477	60	2		
2010.5	561	236	469	64			
2010.11	612	67	524	88	3		
2011.5	696	210	511	169			
201.11	800	221	457	197	3		
2012.5	2,400	261	783	223		40	19
2012.11	2,090	250	682	255	5		
2013.5	1,979	414	898	378		112	30
2013.11	1,907	201	740	279	6		
2014.5	3,602	323	960	409		66	33
Subtotal	21,008	3,678	10,371	3,060	44	218	82

Trans. = translation; Interp. = interpreting; Cons. = consecutive; Simul. = simultaneous

Within the Chinese/English language combination, a further hierarchy is evident. Table 13.2 shows the numbers of certified CE translators and interpreters by different levels. As can be seen, across the three levels, certified translators consistently outnumber certified interpreters. An interesting trend is noted: the lower the level is, the greater the discrepancy is (e.g. 5.71 times for Level 1; 3.34 times for Level 2; and 2.66 times for Level 1). Two explanations are possible for this translator-interpreter disproportion. First, the demand of translation is much bigger than that of interpreting. The CATTI statistics suggest that the market demand of translation between Mandarin and English is about three to five times bigger than that of the interpreting. This observation is backed up by the Translators Association of China 2012 survey, which showed that 71% of the LSPs business was taken up by translation and localization, in comparison with 22% contributed by interpreting services (Translators Association of China 2012: 27). Because of this, we could say that language service industry in China is demand-driven: the smaller demand of interpreting services naturally preludes a smaller supply of (certified) interpreters. Second, the immediacy of interpreting poses greater challenges for apprentices. In mainland China, translation and interpreting skills are given the same importance and equally trained in the undergraduate programmes (see "The training" section below). Despite this, judging from the CATTI statistics, it appears that it is easier for a student to be a budding translator than an interpreter. But as the level of expertise increases, the gap is closing up.

In terms of the Compound Annual Growth Rate,[2] we examined the ten-year dataset from 2004 to 2013, and found that the CAGR of certified Level 3 CE translators is 38.42%, higher than that of Level 3 CE interpreter, which is 34.44%. But the reverse case is true in Level 2: the CAGR of Level 2 CE interpreters is 37.95%, versus 34.52% in Level 2 CE translators. Although the CAGRs seem remarkable, we need to draw readers' attention to the following fact. According to the Translators Association of China reports in 2012, there were as many as 640,000 translators and interpreters in mainland China (Translators Association of China 2012: 10). As the annual passing rate of CATTI is about 10%, we could infer that till now about 440,000 candidates sat in one of the CATTI tests, and 600,000 of them took one of the interpreting tests. That is, about 200,000 practitioners did not even try to seek the CATTI certification. Perhaps, these practitioners went for other credentials, such as National Accreditation Examinations for Translators and Interpreters and Shanghai Foreign Language Interpretation Credentials. But

2 CAGR is calculated as follows: ((ending value / beginning value) ^ (1/# of years)) − 1.

it is still troubling to know that only about 6,800 Chinese-English interpreters are certified by CATTI, the most authoritative accreditation test in mainland China.

On a related but different note, Chinese-English interpreters in mainland China also pursue international credentials. For instance, AIIC membership is the most popular international credential among interpreters. As of July 2015, there are 32 AIIC members in mainland China: 15 in Beijing, 15 in Shanghai, 1 in Guangzhou, and 1 in Xi'an. This set of figures, to a certain extent, shows that the demand of CE conference interpreting is highly concentrated in the most economically vibrant cities in mainland China.

A New Type of Interpreting

In the Chinese market, Chinese-English interpreters mainly provide three types of services: liaison interpreting, consecutive interpreting and simultaneous interpreting. The certification system and the remuneration scheme discussed in the previous subsections attest to the full-fledged market status of these types of interpreting. However, recent technological affordance and sport events in China have spurred a new type of interpreting service: telephone interpreting.

Telephone interpreting emerged in the Chinese market in 2008, when the Olympic Games and Paralympics were held in Beijing. Back then, the Multilingual Language Service Centre provided telephone interpreting services in 44 languages. Of the 562 volunteer interpreters from Beijing Foreign Studies University, 415 were Chinese/English interpreters. A similar tale was told two years later. In 2010, Asian Games were held in Guangzhou. For 55 days, 81 telephone interpreters volunteered to provide interpreting services through 20 operating hotlines. Nine language combinations were offered and a total of 14,640 hours of services were recorded (Zhan and Suo 2012). In the arrangement of operating lines, four were dedicated to English, three to Japanese, Korean, Russian and Arabic (respectively) and one to Thai, Cambodian, Indonesian and Vietnamese (respectively).[3]

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3 http://www.gz2010.cn/10/0526/21/67L2S0260078002T.html.

We believe that telephone interpreting made a grand debut in the sport events, and anticipate that the rapid technological development might give rise to the popularity of remote interpreting in the next decade. In various industrial sectors, the video- and telephone-conferencing technology is routinely applied. Drawing on this favourable communication technique, remote interpreting actually saves the logistic costs for the communication parties, as it does not require all parties to be physically present in the same place. If Chinese-English telephone interpreting is made available to the general public, it will not only lead to a new business model in the interpreting market, but also effect social changes in communities. For instance, telephone interpreting enables expatriates living and/or working in China to feel included, because it takes only one phone call to remove the language barriers in public settings, either seeing a doctor or filing a document in a police station.

The Training

A Brief History of Training CE Interpreters in Mainland China

In modern times, the intuitional training of Mandarin-English interpreters dated back to 1979, when the United Nations Training Programme for Interpreters and Translators was set up. The programme was co-hosted by the United Nations and the Chinese government, and was established to train translators and interpreters for the United Nations (Durant and Jiang 2001). The programme was offered on a yearly basis and has been run for 13 years. Initially, 10 translators and 10 interpreters were trained every year, but later on, only a handful of interpreters were trained.[4] Altogether, 98 interpreters were trained out of a total of 217 graduates (Durant and Jiang 2001).

In 1993, the British Council partnered with the then Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Languages (now, Guangdong University of Foreign

4 http://baike.baidu.com/view/2152068.htm

Studies) and Xiamen University to run the programme of Advanced Interpreting and Translation. This is regarded as the first undergraduate programme in China (Zhong 2006). In 1994, the United Nations Training Programme for Interpreters and Translators was remodelled as a two-year MA programme, with a particular pathway to train conference interpreters. This might be the first graduate-level programme to train conference interpreters.

In the 1990s and the first half of 2000s, translation and interpreting programmes were run in the English language department, or linguistics department. Back then, institutes trained students within the BA and MA framework, meaning that translation and interpreting were still considered as a subsidiary pathway offered for English majors. However, as Translation Studies have established itself as an autonomous discipline in the international scholarly community, the degree structure in mainland China also reflected this autonomy. In March 2006, the Ministry of Education published a document, granting the approval to pilot the BTI (Bachelor of Translation and Interpreting) degree in three universities. In 2012, the BTI degree was officially enlisted in the *Undergraduate Degree Catalogue of Higher Institutes of Learning*. As of July 2015, 196 universities are qualified to confer BTI degrees. A similar level of autonomy has been achieved in the master degree programme. In 2007, the MTI (Master of Translation and Interpreting) degree was approved by the Academic Degree Commission of the State Council. As of 2014 July, 206 universities are qualified to confer MTI degrees. In this new degree structure, BTI aims to train both translation and interpreting skills, whereas MTI focuses on one particular type and/or genre of translation and interpreting. For instance, some of the popular MTI pathways are conference interpreting, business translation, translation and localization management, to name just a few.

It is also worth noting that some Chinese institutes endeavour to provide interpreter training living up to the international standards. Usually, two kinds of efforts are made. First, institutes seek membership in an international organization/association. For instance, by far, five universities are members of CUITI (Conference internationale permanente d'instituts universitaires de traductuers et interpretes). They are Beijing Foreign Studies University, Beijing International Studies University, Beijing Language and Culture University, Shanghai International Studies University and Guangdong University of Foreign

Studies.[5] Second, training institutes offer certificate/diploma programmes jointly endorsed by local and overseas practitioners, who are serving in international bodies. One prototypical example is the Conference Interpreting Programme run in the Graduate Institute of Interpretation and Translation, Shanghai International Studies University. Within two years' training, trainees are expected to pass a mid-point examination at the end of the first year and a graduation examination at the end of the second year. If a trainee passes the exams, s/he will be conferred a certificate, jointly signed and endorsed by a handful of practicing interpreters home and abroad. For instance, the certificate issued in 2005 was signed by the following practicing interpreters (with their titles printed in the certificate):

- Paul Brennan, DG Interpretation, European Commission
- Huiping Dai, AIIC Member
- Andrew Dawrant, AIIC Member
- Zhengren Li, Interpretation Service, United Nations Office at Geneva
- Zanfang Ma, Interpretation Service, United Nations Office at Geneva
- Jianmin Zhang, Foreign Relations Translation Committee, Translators Association of China
- Mingjiong Cai, Dean of Graduate Institute of Interpretation and Translation
- Weidong Dai, President of Shanghai International Studies University

To the best of our knowledge, this certificate programme is only available in the Chinese/English combination. By far, 61 graduates were conferred the certificates.[6] Similar training and certification programmes are available in two other institutes: University of International Business and Economics and Guangdong University of Foreign Studies.

5 http://www.ciuti.org/members, accessed 4 July 2015.
6 http://www.giit.shisu.edu.cn/xiaoyoushijie/CI.htm.

Teaching Models and Modules

In addition to revamping the degree structure, institutes in mainland China also experiment a few training models to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of training interpreters. For instance, Xiamen University is known for its dual-teacher model. In a typical interpreting class, two teachers (a native-Chinese teacher and a native-English teacher) collaborate to give comments on students' interpreting performance. First, a student interprets from Mandarin to English; and then the B-language (English) teacher comments on the student's performance in three aspects: immediacy, accuracy and fluency (Chen and Xiao 2014: 2–4). After that, the A-language (Chinese) teacher notes down the talking points and builds on the B-language teacher's comments, making suggestions for a better interpreting performance (Chen and Xiao 2014: 6). This dual-teacher model is particularly relevant in the context of mainland China. Unlike some overseas counterparts, such as Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey[7] and Fu Jen Catholic University, institutes in mainland China do not require students to have any in-country experience (where the B-language is spoken) before they are admitted into the BTI or MTI programme. That is, the English language proficiency of students in BTI and MTI programmes might not be on par with the minimum linguistic level to kick-start interpreting training. The dual-teacher training model, therefore, addresses the dual goals of training CE interpreters in mainland China: to enhance the English (B-language) proficiency, and to develop CE interpreting competences.

Another example to highlight the importance of B-language enhancement is the recent teaching model proposed by Wang (2012). In the model, six modules are designed to train different but related skill-sets of interpreting trainees: (1) B-language enhancement, (2) interpreting skills, (3) subject-matters in interpreting, (4) transfer skills, (5) professional practices, and (6) interpreting theories and research. It is noted that B-language enhancement is singled out as an important module, coupled

7 The institute is formerly known as the Monterey Institute of International Studies. The MA programme in Conference Interpreting recommends prospective students to have a "minimum of six months of in-country experience" (http://www.miis.edu/admissions/requirements/translationinterpretation, retrieved 13 July 2015).

with the transfer skills. These two modules specifically address the knowledge, skills and competences *within* and *across* two languages (Mandarin and English, in this case). The exemplification of this training rationale can be found in the textbook *English-Chinese Interpreting: Advanced Transfer Skills* (Wang, Wu, and Lin 2012). The 15 units are divided into three parts: Part I (Unit 1 to Unit 6) dealing with the English language enhancement, Part II (Unit 7 to Unit 12) discussing the transfer skills pertinent to English-Chinese interpreting, and Part III (Unit 13 to Unit 15) training students to strategically solve three inherent issues in English-Chinese interpreting. Table 13.3 shows the outline of the textbook and the topics discussed in the 15 units. The skill sets covered in this textbook is rather different from the conventional interpreting textbooks, which focus on the training of short-term memory, note-taking, public speaking, reproduction, reformation, delivery and other interpreting skills. It highlights the difficulty of interpreting from English into Chinese, and some of the important solutions to B-language enhancement and transfer skills.

Table 13.3 Outline of English-Chinese interpreting: Advanced transfer skills

Overarching Outline	Unit Focus
Part I: English language enhancement	flow of speech in English Pronunciation, Intonation and flow of speech grammas in English and Chinese authentic speeches English speeches with accents listening for meaning and messages
Part II: English-Chinese transfer skills	Transfer skill 1: subjects Transfer skill 2: predicates Transfer skill 3: modifiers Transfer skill 4: (passive) voice Transfer skill 5: negation Transfer skill 6: long sentences
Part III: English-Chinese interpreting strategies	abbreviations proper nouns numbers

As a summary of this section, we make the two following observations. First, CE interpreting training in mainland China gains momentum over the past decade. Autonomous translation and interpreting degrees in undergraduate and postgraduate levels are now offered in about 200 institutes. Some (albeit not many) institutes go all length to provide high quality training for their trainees: seeking membership in an international association and conferring certificates endorsed by active CE interpreters home and abroad. Second, English language proficiency is given much attention in the CE interpreter training programmes in mainland China; the importance of B-language enhancement is encapsulated in the dual-teacher teaching model and the training modules introduced above. The attention to trainees' B-language is reflected not only in pedagogical procedures but also in research.

The Research

A Brief Review of CE Interpreting Research in Mainland China

To keep track the research in CE interpreting, we decided to query journal articles collected in CNKI (China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database), the largest of its kind in China. We performed a search query using the search terms about Mandarin-English interpreting on 5 July 2015.[8] A total of 349 articles were found, among which 52 were published in CSSCI-indexed journals.[9] To make sense of these articles, first, we categorized them by the language directionality (see Table 13.4). As a second step, we focused on the 52 CSSCI-indexed journal articles and coded them in terms of research topics and research methods.[10]

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8 The query is specified in two parameters: target word(s) and hit area(s). Any article that contains "English-Chinese" or "Chinese-English", and "consecutive interpreting" or "liaison interpreting", or "conference interpreting", or "simultaneous interpreting" in any of the three areas (title, keywords, and abstract) is included.

9 Chinese Social Sciences Citation Index (CSSCI) was a citation index project developed by Nanjing University. It focuses on the Chinese academic work in humanities and social science. CSSCI-indexed journals are supposed to be of quality and publications in these journals are valid evidence for academic promotion in Chinese universities. http://cssrac.nju.edu.cn/.

10 We chose not to include all the articles, because many of the articles published in non-CSSCI-indexed journals are less rigorous and usually anecdotal.

Table 13.4 Research articles by directionality and journal sources

Directionality	All Journals		CSSCI-Indexed Journals	
C-E	178	51.00%	34	65.38%
E-C	158	45.27%	16	30.77%
Both	13	3.72%	2	3.85%
Subtotal	349	100%	52	100%

When all the articles are examined, there is no marked difference in the volume of research output between Chinese-English interpreting and English-Chinese interpreting. However, when CSSCI-indexed journal articles are examined, research in Chinese-English interpreting seems to receive more attention, as it is twice the number of English-Chinese interpreting (34 vs. 16). In addition, articles dealing with both Chinese-English and Engish-Chinese directions are quite rare, taking up less than 4% of the sampled total. The skewed attention to Chinese-English interpreting in CSSCI-indexed journal articles might be attributed to the fact that interpreters are expected to interprete from *and* into their B-language (in this case, English), contrary to the international norm/practice of interpreting into A-language (Pöchhacker 2004: 21). As English is not the native language of Chinese-English interpreters, issues in interpreting into a B-language are more likely to attract researchers' attention. Despite the unique practice of interpreting both ways, there is not much research examining both directions at the same time. This might be due to the limited space allowed for each research article.

When research methodologies are examined, among the 52 articles published in quality journals, 30 of them (57.69%) explicitly explained the research methods applied. After reading the research methodology section iteratively, we found that these research articles mainly adopted three kinds of research methods: experiment (18), corpus (7), and content analysis (5). The topics of these research articles cover the basic stages and processes of interpreting (Gile 2009), coupled with interpreting competences. Breakdown topics are shown in Table 13.5.

Table 13.5 Research topics identified in CSSCI-indexed journal articles

I. Interpreting Stages and Processes	**Research Topics Identified**
Pre-task preparation	Preparation conditions and grammatical accuracy
Listening	Orality of the source text Active listening
Note-taking	Efficiency and effectiveness of note-taking
Memory	Working memory
Production: transfer	Syntactic differences Figure/numbers Hedges Chunks Lexis Interlingual and intralingual coherence Modal verbs Cognitive processes
Production: delivery	Dysfluency (pauses, hesitators) Self-repair strategies
II. Interpreting Competence	
Competence parameters	Language proficiency, psychological competence, and interpreting competence

We believe that the categories of "production: transfer" and "interpreting competence" are the typical research areas to foreground the Chinese-English language combination. In what follows, we would like to single out three strands of research that characterize the difficulty of Mandarin-English interpreting.

Syntactic differences: Mandarin Chinese is a left-branching language, meaning that modifiers are usually placed left to the node, while English is a right-branching language, with modifiers placed right to the node. Because of this syntactic difference, conference interpreters (simultaneous interpreters in particular) are found to make mistakes, omission, or improper rendition (Wang and Gu 2014). To cope with the syntactic differences, when interpreters interpret from English to Chinese, they are usually advised to follow the syntactic linearity by interpreting the first part of the sentence without modifiers. After that, interpreters could repeat the node(s) with modifiers, when the right-branching attributive clause becomes clear. When interpreting from Chinese to English, interpreters could wait for the node before they render the sentence so that they know what is being modified. However, if the modifier is far too long and interpreters do not have the luxury to remain silent for more than half a sentence, they need to use the anticipation strategy and chunking strategy. As experience builds up, they could act on their hunch and predict what is being described (the node word). But if we are not sure about our anticipation, we could interpret the modifiers by chunks, while waiting for the node word to come up.

Directionality: As mentioned previously, Mandarin-English interpreters are expected to interpret both ways. One might wonder whether the (cognitive) processes involved differ in the directionality. In the extant literature, differences are indeed identified between Chinese-English interpreting and English-Chinese interpreting. Zhang (2009) experimented on 30 professional interpreters and 62 student interpreters, and examined the relationship between three variables: directionality, source text delivery speed, and interpreting performances. It was found that simultaneous interpreters are subject to greater working memory pressure when they are interpreting from English to Chinese than from Chinese to English. When the source text delivery speed is high, the pressure of working memory is mounting, and the quality of interpreting performance is more likely to depend on the working memory capacity, ever more so in English-Chinese interpreting.

Along the same line of inquiry, Cai and Dong (2012) conducted a lexical-level translation recognition experiment on 69 student interpreters. Because the translation recognition task required students to give immediate response of whether the lexical pairs shown on the screen were equivalent or not, we believe the immediacy nature of the task approximated interpreting at a lexical-level. The experiment found that the recognition from English to Chinese is faster than from Chinese to English.

Competence models: Although translation competence models have been the research focus since 2000s (see for example, PACTE 2003, 2005), the discussion of interpreting competence models is not so thorough. One such exception is the research work by Dong and her associates. Dong et al. (2013) tried to establish models for the English-Chinese and Chinese-English consecutive interpreting competences. After examining the correlation of 19 potential variables, Dong and her associates were able to propose a statistically viable model for English-Chinese consecutive interpreting, but not for Chinese-English consecutive interpreting. Psychological competence (especially interpreting anxiety) was found to be the direct factor impacting English-Chinese CI performance, while the influence of linguistic competence was mediated by the psychological competence.

To stretch our understanding of how interpreting competence develops, Cai et al. (2015) conducted a longitudinal study on 61 unbalanced Chinese-English bilinguals, and examined the relationship between the three potential factors (L2 proficiency, lexical retrieval efficiency and memory capacity) and the dependent variable (English-Chinese consecutive interpreting performance). They found that: (a) L2 proficiency significantly predicts the CI performance and its development; (b) lexical retrieval efficiency could not account for the variance of CI performance; (c) working memory (particularly L2 WM, less so of L1 WM) is correlated with CI performance (Cai et al. 2015).

Conclusion

In this section, we summarize the observations we made in the previous three sections and highlight some key messages and prospects that are directly relevant to the practice of interpreting between Mandarin and English.

The Market

- Before the 1990s, interpreting between Mandarin and English was mainly provided in (inter-)governmental meetings; but since the 1990s, it has been industrialised, with diversifying employers (government agencies, private companies, NGOs, individuals, etc.), working modes (telephone, liaison, consecutive and simultaneous) and market segments (20 industrial sectors mentioned above).
- Interpreters in China are usually expected to interpret from and into their B-language (in this case, English), contrary to the common western practice of interpreting into A-language (Pöchhacker 2004: 21).
- Because of the previous point, unlike the written translation trend (where the Chinese-English demand has outweighed and will continue to outweigh the English-Chinese demand), the Chinese-English and English-Chinese interpreting demands will remain in balance.

- Based on the CATTI statistics, we have reasons to believe that CE translation demand is at least three times of that of CE interpreting. The number of certified CE interpreters is growing steadily, but still a large portion of CE interpreters are not certified.
- We project that the market landscape of CE interpreting will be increasingly shaped by the new technology and new media, giving a strong boost to an emerging type of interpreting: telephone interpreting.

The Training

- The degree structure for Chinese-English interpreter training is different from what it was 25 years ago. The autonomy of translation and interpreting degrees in undergraduate and postgraduate levels reflects the status of Translation studies as an autonomous discipline (Munday 2012). By far, BTI and MTI are already in place in about 200 institutes in China. To improve the degree structure, the deliberation about DTI (Doctor of Translation and Interpreting) has been made (Mu, Zhong, and Wang 2013). Similar to the practice-oriented nature of BTI and MTI, DTI aims to train managers, revisers and the like, who are both skilled practitioners and researchers, capable of solving industry- and market-based problems. We project that the ever growing and maturing language service industry in China will substantiate the necessity of offering DTI degrees.
- As English is not a native language for the majority of students, two measures have been adopted by training institutes to address the language proficiency issues. First, B-language enhancement courses (or modules) are scheduled in the syllabus design, allowing more B-language exposure for students. The dual-teacher model is a case in point. Second, the syntactic, stylistic, discursive differences between Mandarin and English are almost always included as the course contents in the training programme, and exemplified in the topics of the textbook outlined previously.

The Research

- The body of research published in CSSCI-indexed journals favours Chinese-English interpreting, which might be attributed to the unconventional practice of interpreting into B-language in the Chinese market.
- The extant research in interpreting between Mandarin and English published in Chinese journals covers the basic stages and processes in interpreting. The unique research topics that characterize interpreting between Mandarin and English are syntactic differences, directionality and competence models.
- Future research in this area might expand the discussion to more than one language combination. For instance, the research findings in Mandarin-English interpreting and Mandarin-French interpreting could be compared and contrasted. The universality and uniqueness will be made clear in such juxtaposition.

Finally, we believe that the three aspects examined in this chapter are not separate from each other; they are dynamically interlocking and intricately intertwined. For instance, informed by the research findings in directionality, trainers might first train students to interpret from Mandarin to English, and then progress to interpret from English to Mandarin. At the intersection of the market and the training, training programmes must reflect the industrial changes in the syllabus and course design: are students fully trained to meet the new (technological and industrial) demands in the market? Besides, the issue of supply and demand cuts across the market and the training. By far, a large number of university-based programmes have been made available to train interpreters (and translators). Concerns have been voiced about oversupplying interpreters to the market, where the demand is not growing as rapidly as the universities churn out graduates (Pan 2010). It is at this point that the market could inform the training, and training could shape the market.

When the market and the research are linked, we will be able to use solid research findings to convince our clients that speaking too fast will pose an unfavourable pressure on the interpreters, which might lead to unsatisfactory performance. Likewise, researchers can collect information from end-users to understand how judgment of the same interpreting performance varies from one user to another.

This market-training-research linkage will enable us to understand what interpreting between Mandarin and English is like, and how we could better train interpreters and better educate our clients to use the interpreting service, involving the two most widely spoken languages in the world: Mandarin and English.

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14 Conference Interpreting

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Retired interpreter, Australia

According to Greek mythology, Hermes was the first interpreter for he interpreted messages from the Gods for mankind. In Greek interpreters were called "*hermeneuties*". "Hermes transmitted the messages of the gods to the mortals, that is to say, he not only announced them verbatim but acted as an 'interpreter' to render their words intelligible—and meaningful—which may require some point of clarification or other, additional, commentary" (Bleicher 1980).

Hermes, interpreter of the Gods, also accompanied travelers and souls passing over into the other world, Hades, where he was their guide. In Greece, when there is a moment of silence in a conversation, the Greeks say that Hermes, the popular God of the everyday, is "entering the room".

Olympian gods were rational (Garcia-Landa 1985) but Hermes was not one of them because he was a God with magic powers—his magic hat made him invisible. In "*Le Petit Prince*", Saint-Exupéry says: "What is important is invisible". The sign of a good interpreter is that participants in the discussion forget he is there. Speakers carry on their negotiations, their discussions, or even their arguments, each in his own language, naturally and uninhibitedly, forgetting the presence of the interpreter. So, Hermes with his magic hat is certainly still there today.

But let us get down to the more tangible aspects of our profession. It is certainly one of the oldest (Andronikof 1968) and at the same time, one of the most modern. Herodotus, an early Greek writer, was the first to mention interpreters; he wrote of the interpreters beside the pharaohs and the Kings of Persia, receiving ambassadors.

There must always have been interpreters for people, in spite of their differences, their rivalries and perhaps because of these, have always experienced the need to communicate and there have always been many languages. Greek and Latin texts mention interpreters. They march with conquerors into foreign lands. Before the rise of Rome, the traders and armies of Carthage used interpreters with parrots tattooed on their breasts or arms.

The word *interpreter* goes back to ancient Roman times, to the Latin *interpres* and *interpretari*, which were used with reference to both written and spoken translation processes alike. From the Latin, the words passed via Old French into Anglo-French and so into the modern English language.

Needless to say, the activity of interpreting is as old as the word for it and one has to go back a long way in history to find the first reports of interpreting as a recognized profession. There are, for example, records of the official status of interpreters in Carthage (that is, between the fifth and the first centuries BC), where the ethnic composition of the empire, comprising more than a dozen distinct races, each speaking its own language, necessitated the use of interpreters, who could be identified by means of a parrot motif tattooed on their forearms. Theirs was a highly respected occupation; the interpreters of Carthage were excused military service and exempted from taxation. Moses was the interpreter for Jehova and used the voice of Aaron to speak in Hebrew which was a language he did not speak.

Caius Julius Caeser in his *De Bello Gallico* mentioned the Roman military interpreters, and some princes of ancient Egypt conferred upon themselves the title of Chief Interpreter in 3000 BC. Then there is the Levites' oral translation of the Holy Scriptures (Nehemiah 8: 8) and a thousand more examples, in every era and every place following the collapse of the legendary Tower of Babel: someone helping people to understand one another, people divided from one another by the most insuperable barrier one could imagine: the barrier of language.

Ancient Egyptian stone carvings in the Nile Valley show a small figure with two faces interceding between an Egyptian overlord and a

Nubian group. In 538 BC, Ezra the Scribe read the Torah in Hebrew and then translated it into the vernacular. St. Mark interpreted for Saint Paul from Aramaic into Greek.

Luther translated the Bible into German from Hebrew and Greek texts. His translation was criticized and he defended it by writing his famous *Sendbrief des Dolmetchens (The Translator's Mission)* where he explains that one should translate the meaning and not the words.

Spinoza introduced, for the first time in the history of translation and interpretation, the concept of "situation" (context) in the seventh chapter of his *Tractatus theologicus-politicus*, saying that the historical situation of the text and author had to be taken into account.

An interpreter was also described by Saladin in 1192 in a letter to Richard the Lion-Heart.

When the Americas were discovered, interpreters made possible the first contacts between Europeans and American tribes. They accompanied conquerors and colons from Genoa, Portugal, Spain, France, Holland and England. Christopher Columbus had a yellow parrot tattooed on the forearm of his interpreters in order to identify them.

The first interpreter of the New World was the Spaniard, Cristobal Rodriguez, called "The Tongue" (*La Lengua*). (In the Spanish spoken at that time, interpreters were referred to as *tongues—lenguaraz, faraúte* or *lengua*.)

Cristobal Rodriguez probably travelled with Colombus and remained in his favourite island called "Hispaniola" at that time (today Saint Domingo, Dominican Republic). He must have lived there for some time because when he appears in history he had been living with the Taino people and is familiar with their culture and language, which enabled him to interpret for Spaniards and the Tainos and defend the latter against the cruelty of the Spaniards of that time—well before the Dominican Bartolome de las Casas, who was the best known of their defenders.

Here then is one of the essential ingredients for an interpreter: to have lived in another country and assimilated its culture, its values and been culturally transformed in such a way that he felt "one of them" and ready to defend them and explain them to others.

It became the custom to capture a few natives and take them back to Spain to be converted to Christianity and taught Spanish so they could be used as interpreters for future expeditions. Their wives were also taken to ensure they would not try to escape. One of the captured natives taken back to Spain was later christened Diego Colón and learnt to speak Castilian: he returned with Colombus on subsequent voyages as an interpreter.

The works of V. Arnaud, L. V. Mansilla (1890, 1966) and Hernán Cortés give us some idea of what happened in the nineteenth century. The *lenguaraz* was always placed at the right hand of the most important person present. Military chiefs frequently asked the "lenguaraz" for his opinion and even took his moods into account (Bertone 1985). As Laura Bertone explains, three centuries earlier, in Mexico, Fernando Cortés was saved by his Indian interpreter, the famous Doña Marina.[1]

In his second letter to Emperor Charles V in 1519, Cortés tells of the ambush he almost fell into in Churultecal. The last stage of their journey before arriving in Temixtitán, the Aztec capital, and meeting with the Great Montezuma, could have been a massacre for the Spaniards, were it not for the warning Marina passed on to another interpreter (Spanish) who in turn warned Cortés.

Doña Marina was called "Malintzin" by the Indians, or "Malinche" and her mother tongue was nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. She was sold as a slave to the Mayas, so also spoke their language. Doña Marina must have had the gift of languages because she soon learnt Spanish too, which increased her usefulness even more. Cortés considered her to be an indispensable ally. Looked at with the eyes of today, her role as interpreter gave her access to power, yet she did not give away any professional secrets nor use information obtained in the course of her work.

Even after the fall of Mexico, she was still a very important person and Bernal Diaz says: "Without her, Cortés could not handle any dealings with the Indians." She was present in all the pictures and written accounts. The first meeting between Cortés and Montezuma depicted in the *Codex Florentin* shows the two military chiefs on one side of the picture while the figure in the centre is that of Malinche.

In the sixteenth century, the role of the interpreter was particularly important as is shown by Indian legislation. No. XXIX of the *Recopilación*

1 This native princess called Malintzin lived from 1501 to 1550. She was sold as a slave to Cortés. When she converted to Christianity, she changed her name to Marina and was the conquistador's guide and mistress. She also bore him a child. She died in Spain after marrying Juán de Jaramillo.

of the Laws of the Indies, promulgated in 1680, refers to the status of interpreters and the first of the 14 laws stipulates that the authorities must pay great care to the moral qualities of the interpreter because serious harm may result if he is not faithful, Christian and generous, since it is through him that justice is done, the native peoples are governed and wrongs can be righted.

It is specified that interpreters must take oath before hearings, must interpret clearly and openly, hiding nothing and adding nothing, and be impartial. For this reason, they must have no interest in the affair apart from receiving their salary. They were not allowed to receive gifts or promises from the Spaniards or the Indians nor from anyone else concerned by the dispute "even in the case of food or drink that they have not asked for". If they failed to respect these conditions, they would be deemed guilty of perjury, lose their jobs and have to pay costs and interest. Programmes and hours of work are set forth in the greatest detail as well as their remuneration and fines in case of absence.

The number of interpreters and their working conditions were also specified—at first there was only one interpreter but because of errors, the presence of two interpreters was required later when Indians were making statements. Today, too, the presence of two interpreters also guarantees some degree of control.

In their annual reports or *Cartas Anuas* the Jesuits tell of their problems when administering the sacraments (including confessions and the last sacrament or extreme unction) through interpreters. Father Burges "accuses interpreters of disguising the fact that there were words they did not know by saying the 'mocobies' had no such words in their vocabulary". According to the Royal Decree of 9 October 1556, the accused, in accordance with Spanish tradition, had the right to the assistance of at least one lawyer and one interpreter (Arnaud 1950).

The edicts of Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) refer to the training of dragomans at the Lycée Louis Le Grand in Paris; the translators at mediaeval courts were invested with the title of *Maistre latinier* and there were monk-interpreters at the Lateran Councils.

The Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century were notable linguists and interpreters (Arnaud 1950: 59). One of the most successful of these was Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) who was born in Flanders and educated at the University of Leuven where he studied Greek, Latin, philosophy and mathematics which at that time embraced virtually all scientific knowledge from astronomy to engineering. At the age of forty, Verbiest was sent to China to take over from an elderly Jesuit who had risen to become Imperial Astronomer and advisor to Emperor Kangxi. Apart from designing instruments for the Imperial Observatory, constructing over 300 canons and a self-propelled vehicle, Verbiest found time to learn Manchu and publish the first Manchu grammar written in Latin.

In 1678, Verbiest played a vital role as interpreter in historic negotiations with Russia—the first time China concluded a treaty with another country. Russian seems to have been one of the few languages Verbiest did not speak, but he was able to communicate in Latin with a member of the Russian delegation, possibly an A language as far as Verbiest was concerned. Unscrupulous interpreters who misinterpreted for their own gain were imprisoned or executed in China at this time and a punishment decreed against willful misinterpretation was a form of bamboo torture.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, international business and particularly diplomacy was most often conducted in French, the language of the cultured at the time. Moving on to the twentieth century, between the two World Wars, the League of Nations held its meetings in French and English with consecutive interpretation. The interpreter would take notes of a speech, often very lengthy, then re-deliver it from the rostrum in the other language, thus doubling its duration.

At the Geneva Peace Conference in 1919, conference room seating was arranged in a semi-circle with aisles going from the back to a central point in the front, dividing the audience up like pieces of a semi-circular cake. The interpreters stood at the central point, side by side, each responsible for a different language: the language of his slice of the cake. You can imagine how difficult it was to be heard—each interpreter had to shout louder than his colleagues so that his slice of audience could hear him.

The International Labour Conference takes place in Geneva each year and is composed of representatives of governments, employers and workers. One of the employer delegates at the 1926 session, Mr. E. E. Filene, a rich businessman owning department stores in Boston, asked an ILO staff member, A. G. Finlay, to see if he could work out a system so that the delegates could listen to a translation of the speeches by means of something similar to a telephone. This was done: the interpreters had microphones but no booths and no headphones, while the delegates wore headphones. Thus, on Saturday 4 June 1927 at 10:30 a.m., the very first meeting with simultaneous interpretation opened at the International

Labour Conference in Geneva. The invention was patented in 1926 by Mr. Finlay and Mr. Filene had it manufactured by IBM. It was called the Filene-Finlay Hushaphone (Bourgain 1991).

In 1928 a type of simultaneous interpretation was used in the USSR for the VIth Congress of Komintern (Chernov 1978); the first booths were used in 1933 at a meeting of the Komintern.

André Kaminker, a great interpreter of that time and a founding member of the International Association of Conference Interpreters, invented his own "simultaneous translation system" for French radio and interpreted the first major speech by Adolf Hitler at Nuremberg in 1934 (Paneth 1956, 1958; van Emde Boas 1957, 1958). The interpreters must have used large, heavy headphones made of black bakelite and those old-fashioned microphones hung in a cradle that we see in old Hollywood films.

After World War II, there was an immediate and urgent need for interpretation in English, French, Russian and German at the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals. To rely on consecutive interpretation would have been lengthy and cumbersome. The job of organizing this was given to General Eisenhower's former interpreter, Colonel Léon Dostert, who was completely bilingual.

Simultaneous interpretation was the answer; Dostert was convinced that it was possible to listen to a speaker and convey his message in another language at the same time, and that a satisfactory technical solution could be found. He also understood the importance for interpreters to be able to see the speakers and follow the whole proceedings so as to understand what was going on, while working in as soundproof an environment as possible.

At the Trials, presided over by Lord Justice Geoffrey Lawrence, resplendent in wig and clumsy earphones, the interpreters were placed next to the defendants in their "aquarium" to give them a view of the proceedings.

Needless to say, exact, faithful interpretation was of capital importance for the defendants, in the true sense of the word "capital". The necessary disciplines imposed on the interpretation services at Nuremberg demonstrated the advantages of simultaneous interpretation, which has since greatly increased both in use and number of languages.

After the Nuremberg Trial, Col. Dostert gave several public demonstrations of simultaneous interpretation in the United States of America but the United Nations continued to use consecutive interpretation in the main, especially for the Security Council. It is only in the 1950's that simultaneous interpretation was put into general use at the United Nations in New York. The interpreters working in the English booth at the Security Council then became national celebrities because their interpretation was broadcast over the radio.

Simultaneous interpretation changed the structure of international conferences because instead of a series of statements and speeches, discussions could now take place, with questions and answers, and debates. But it also meant that interpreters became invisible, anonymous voices, heard in headsets but rarely seen, relegated to the wings in their glass boxes, instead of being centre stage.

After some ten years during which wired installations were the only means available, it became technically possible also to use wireless (radio) systems and then, more recently, infrared.

After the Second World War, there was an enormous demand for information. H. Kolmer says in his article "Interpretation at Scientific Meetings: Is It Efficient?" (1987) that earlier practised methods of literature study and correspondence between scientists and personal contact were no longer sufficient to allow a researcher to remain up-to-date in a given field.

Nowadays, conference interpreters are to be heard working at large and small international conferences or meetings, where the delegates or participants are using two or more different languages. They are therefore language and communication experts who transmit a message spoken in one language in a different language and hence make trans-lingual communication possible. They do this either "simultaneously" or "consecutively". With simultaneous interpretation, they sit in a booth in the meeting room and, listening through earphones to delegates' speech in one language, transmit the verbal message via the microphone into another language for delegates wishing to listen to that second language. With consecutive interpretation, they sit in the meeting room, listen to and take notes on a speech or intervention and, when it is completed, recreate that speech or intervention in the second language.

Consecutive interpretation is more time-consuming, and is more suitable for small meetings, using two or at most three languages, whereas simultaneous interpretation can be used for an almost unlimited number of languages and participants—all you need is one booth per language, a sufficient number of interpreters to understand all the languages being used and a sufficient number of receivers for the delegates.

Some interpreters may prefer one method over another but a professional conference/court interpreter is expected to work in either mode.

The basic *sine qua non* for a conference interpreter is a deep and thorough knowledge of one's own and one or more foreign languages and, obviously, some are more useful than others—English, French, Spanish, Russian, Japanese and Chinese, for instance, are heard more frequently at international meetings than, say, Korean, Turkish or Finnish. The interpreter also needs training and experience in conference interpreting techniques—how to create English that sounds like English out of a message say, in Russian or German where the verb often comes late in the sentence. How to cope with differences of cultural background between, say, Arabic and English, how to use a microphone without coughing and rustling into it, how to pitch the voice so that it is pleasant to listen to.

Over and above linguistic skills, however, a conference interpreter needs a wide general knowledge, an adequate understanding of an enormous range of subjects; obviously we have to know about the structure and activities of the international organizations where we work; we have to have a deep understanding of all aspects of current affairs; we have to understand the political, legal and financial systems not only in our own countries but in many others as well. In addition, to cope with the many varied working environments in which we find ourselves, we have to be able to speak the language of heads of state, of nurses, surgeons, fishermen, lawyers, nuclear physicists, of computer experts, aircraft designers, foresters, animal protectionists. … The list is literally endless, but these are all worlds with which we have to familiarize ourselves, whose subject matter we have to understand before we can interpret at their international meetings. So, in view of the increasing complexity and technical sophistication of today's world, in addition to languages a university level of education or its equivalent is becoming increasingly important, and a law, engineering, medical or economic degree is preferable to a degree in languages.

Although both translators and interpreters belong to the family of language communicators, translators and interpreters are not interchangeable, their techniques are different and they generally also differ in temperament. It has been said that interpreters are extrovert while translators are introvert. Also, the factor of sheer physical stress has prevented many otherwise gifted translator-interpreter candidates from becoming conference interpreters (Keiser 1975).

Translators and interpreters have one thing in common: a knowledge of languages, but the psycho-motor component is very different and this is why excellent translators are often unable to handle simultaneous interpretation.

At conferences, simultaneous interpreters are removed from the action by a panel of glass as they operate from an enclosed booth, well removed from the speaker. They must be able to speak like a doctor, a scientist, a lawyer or a physicist—this is called *register*. They must sound plausible when they are interpreting radio-astronomy, cardiology or anaesthesiology and be able to pronounce all types of scientific vocabulary with ease and fluency. As well as a good all-round education, they must have perfect mastery of their active languages (into which they interpret) and an in-depth knowledge of their passive languages (from which they interpret) as well as a sound general knowledge (university level or equivalent).

This will help them in their first task, which is to understand. "To interpret is first and foremost to understand" is one of the fundamental maxims of our profession. The interpreter must be able to put himself at the intellectual level of the speaker he is interpreting and since most conference delegates are specialists in a given field, they are more often than not, university-trained.

That is why Interpreters' Schools place their interpreters' training session at post-graduate level.

The Importance of One's Mother Tongue

It is essential that conference interpreters maintain the purity of their mother tongue, which must not be tainted by the influence of another language. For example, if your mother tongue is not English, it is difficult to maintain its purity without conscious effort when you are living in an English-speaking environment. Interpreters who say *el reporte* instead of *el informe* or *injures* for *injuries* (and I have heard both) are not likely to succeed. Once they have overcome the initial difficulty of speaking and listening at the same time, they need to learn microphone technique, how much volume to use, etc. They need to know how to prepare for a meeting and how to interpret for relay. Too many students yearn to become conference interpreters because the perceived advantages and prestige of the profession appeal to them but they are unaware of the difficulties and uncertainties involved as well as the high standards required. You must be quick-thinking and alert because in simultaneous there is no time to stop and think, no time to cast about in your mind for the appropriate expression as there is with consecutive or escort interpreting. If you stop to think you will have missed the next sentence which may be the key to the argument.

"Take care of the Sense and the Sounds will take care of themselves," as Danica Seleskovitch says (1977).

Modesty

Modesty is essential if you are to convey other people's thoughts without interjecting your own views on the subject—especially if you happen to disagree with the views you are articulating! However, a certain degree of maturity and self-confidence is an asset. No one wants to hear a hesitant, uncertain voice which corrects itself all the time, even if the actual words are correct.

The proficiency of an interpreter does not remain static—it improves with the years; the same is true of the knowledge of languages. This is an area where experience really counts.

The interpreter must be capable of concentration to a degree not required by many other professions. This effort of high-level concentration can only be maintained for a limited period of time, which explains why meetings cannot last longer than three hours or three-and-a-half at the most. After this period of time the interpreter's efficiency decreases rapidly, fatigue takes over, there are hesitations and then errors. Somehow the filter that checks what you are saying seems to become blurred after an excessive period of concentration (more than 45 minutes) so that you don't care what you are saying after a while! This is particularly true towards the end of the working day.

Experience also helps the interpreter cope with the problems of diversity of accents and stress-patterns in speakers particularly in the case of those using a language which is not their own, and problems of microphone voice distortion particularly if the speaker is too close or too far from the microphone.

A conference interpreter's language combination is of paramount importance if he wants to work in the field of international conferences (Keiser 1975). All European Interpreters' Schools have made the mastery of at least three languages a prerequisite—now the tendency is to make that requirement four languages. Among them there must be at least one "A" language and one "B" language. This is because interpreters are required to work in both directions in consecutive interpretation which means that only one "A" and the rest "C" would not be sufficient.

In consecutive interpretation, note-taking is the key to success but voice projection, pronunciation and intonation are also important, as well as appearance, posture and professionalism.

From what I have said, you will see that, in addition to perfect mastery of the active language or languages, candidate interpreters need full understanding of their passive languages, a solid general background of university level or equivalent professional experience, and certain mental and physical qualities (such as those listed below), in order to become a successful conference interpreter:

- analytical mind and intuition;
- quick thinking and ability to adapt immediately to different speakers, accents, situations and subjects;
- power of concentration;
- rapid grasp of meaning;
- above-average physical and nervous stamina;
- excellent memory;
- art of public speaking, pleasant voice;
- great intellectual curiosity;
- absolute intellectual integrity;
- tact and diplomacy.

These qualities are not used individually as the need arises, but rather they blend together in the complex operation which constitutes simultaneous interpretation.

Do not embark upon this career if you are a slow speaker, if you are a hesitant, painstaking perfectionist, if you have the slightest speech problem or speak unclearly, if you are nervous and easily upset or if you get carried away by emotions and feelings. Speakers at conferences talk at anything between 100 and 250 words a minute and for a three-hour session this could mean 40,000 words, equivalent to some 150 typed pages. No wonder that physical resistance and good nerves are a must.

Conference interpretation in summary is a difficult, stressful occupation where in the course of a few months you may be talking about the standardization of synthetic fibres, sexual abnormalities in the new-born child, radio communications, cancer research, metallurgy, radio-astronomy, tick-borne encephalitis, hydrology, orthopedic surgery, the calibration of eggs for the Egg Marketing Board, telephony and automatic switching systems, the safety of life at sea, economics and countervailing duties, space communications or legal matters—sometimes at top speed—and all of this has to be done as if you are speaking your own words. Your audience expects correct terminology that has been thoroughly prepared beforehand, and prefers a lively, interested tone of voice. Just as a good translation must read like an original text, so the words of the interpreter must sound natural, like the words of a speaker voicing his own thoughts.

For a message to be interpreted it must first be perfectly understood so that it can be removed with all its shades of meaning from its verbal wrapping and reconstituted intact in another language. So, in addition to his knowledge of his passive and active languages, he must therefore also understand the subject, which he has prepared beforehand, and the speaker's mentality. He must be aware of different cultures, political and economic systems, parliamentary systems perhaps, cultural and social values and various nations' positions on the subject under discussion (by reading the newspapers). One of the big challenges is the unpredictability of the signals received. He must be able to adapt to different situations and subjects and understand very quickly another person's reasoning as well as the objectives of the debate and the various delegations' agendas.

Modes

There are three modes of conference interpretation:

(1) Simultaneous

Here the interpreter sits in a sound-proof booth behind a large glass window enabling him to see the speaker, hears a message in one language through his headphones and transmits it simultaneously into another language through a microphone to the listener. In other words, simultaneous interpreting is a kind of speech processing whereby, over a six-hour conference day, up to 36,000 words can be processed which is roughly equivalent to 120 pages of typescript. The interpreter has a volume control to adjust the level of sound he hears through his earphones and in front of him is a box containing the on-off button for the microphone he sometimes shares with his booth-mate, a "cough" button and a device to show on which channel delegates hear him.

Delegates also wear lightweight earphones and have a microphone in front of them, as well as a volume-control and a switch to enable them to choose the channel, that is the language, they wish to listen to. They may also listen to the "floor" if they wish, that is, the speaker in the original language.

There are generally two interpreters in each booth, that is to say for each language, in order to ensure the quality of the interpretation and to cover the various language combinations. In cases where the workload is particularly heavy, however—for example, in two-way booths such as Japanese, Chinese and Arabic—there are often three interpreters.

In a four-language conference (say English, French, Spanish and Russian which is the most widely used language combination at United Nations) both interpreters in the English booth will work into English from French, at least one works from Spanish and the other from Russian. In the French booth, both interpreters work into French from English, at least one also from Spanish and the other from Russian. In the Spanish booth both work from English and French into Spanish and at least one works also from Russian. In the Russian booth, both interpreters work into Russian from English, at least one also from French and one from Spanish. This is the ideal situation where "relay" is cut down to a minimum. If a Russian-speaker takes the floor, for example, there will always be one interpreter in each of the English and French booths to take it *direct*, that is, without using relay. The International Labour Organization has the following booths at its June Conference each year: Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Russian, German, Spanish, French, and English.

The simultaneous technique is very stressful for the interpreter, involving intense concentration. This is why the work is usually shared by two interpreters per booth, each working for short periods interspersed with rest breaks. Generally, interpreters work alternate half-hours, but even during the interpreter's half-hour "off the air", he follows the discussion, and is ready to jump into action if necessary (particularly if interpretation is required from one of his languages that his booth-mate does not have).

(2) Whispering

"Whispering" is also simultaneous interpretation but does not require a booth or electronic equipment; it is rarely used. The interpreter sits with the delegation, consisting of one or two delegates (exceptionally three, but no more), speak speaking that particular language. It is generally combined with "consecutive" interpretation when one of "his" delegates takes the floor and the interpreter then gives a consecutive interpretation of the statement into English or French, using the delegates' microphone. Two interpreters, working both ways, are assigned to this type of interpretation and they take it in turn to work approximately half-hour periods. Today, use of this type of interpretation is comparatively rare except for speeches by visiting Statesmen, businessmen and at press conferences.

You will note that each interpreter has a glass of water in front of him, together with a notepad and pencil. It is important for simultaneous interpreters to note down all figures, dates, percentages, key words and acronyms that may be repeated, titles, etc. Figures are very easily forgotten by the time you reach the end of the sentence, especially in cases where the word order is different in the target language. An order of magnitude is not good enough—figures must be absolutely correct. If you are working into English, take your time to finish your interpretation properly. Do not rush the final words because the delegate has finished speaking. Most delegates are listening to the English channel and they will more often than not wait for you to finish.

If the speaker is reading from slides that you cannot see, say so: "The interpreter apologizes but he cannot see the slides." There is no point in "soldiering on", running the risk of getting something wrong, especially figures. It is better to cause an upheaval while the screen is moved or some lights turned off and then get it right, rather than give the meeting erroneous information. Obviously, it is better to ascertain before the meeting begins that the screen is placed where it is clearly visible to all booths. If necessary, explain firmly but courteously that if you cannot see, you cannot do your job properly. If a film is to be shown, do not attempt to interpret the soundtrack unless you have a direct feed to your headset and have preferably had a chance to study the script in advance. Film and TV commentaries are generally spoken too fast to be interpreted correctly without a prepared script to hand. If the screen is very far away, opera glasses may be useful.

(3) Consecutive

In this case the interpreter sits with the delegates in the room, sometimes with no electronic equipment, although there may be an amplification system with earphones and microphones. At other times, the interpreter may accompany the delegate to a meeting or a function where speeches are to be interpreted. He listens to the speaker's message in one language while taking notes, and reproduces it in full immediately afterwards (consecutively) in another language as if he were delivering his own speech. This may be done for the whole speech if it does not last more than 20 minutes or so; if longer, it may be divided up into sessions.

Two consecutive interpreters are assigned for two languages. They work both ways, that is, English into Spanish when the speaker uses English, and Spanish into English when Spanish is used. They take it in turn to work approximately half an hour at a time, adopting a convenient break between speakers to change over. During his half-hour "off", the second interpreter follows the discussion in order to understand the situation when he takes over again and familiarize himself with expressions used that may be referred to again later. He may also help his colleague find references in relevant texts.

In the context of a conference, be sure you are seated at the table and within comfortable hearing distance of all speakers. If you cannot hear what is being said there is no point in trying to interpret it. Where you are seated is therefore of the utmost importance and you must get this organized before the meeting starts. When you enter the room, ascertain whether the Chairman wants you to sit next to him, or whether it is better you to sit next to the delegation most in need of interpretation.

Many books have been written about note-taking but basically this is a very personal matter. The aim is to take notes which represent ideas and concepts rather than words, so that they may serve as memory-joggers. It is a good idea to write at the top of your notepad the subject and title of the meeting and any acronyms, the first time they occur—as the speech progresses you can refer to these by an abbreviation of your own invention, a "ditto" sign, or by means of an arrow, for example, rather than writing them out again each time. You wouldn't write out in full "King's Cross" for example, but rather "KX"—it is clearly much quicker to write a cross than write out the word "Cross". For "King" you could draw a crown but that would take too long unless it is a very simplified, stylized version. Personally, I would write a "K" because that would be enough to remind me. Rather than write out the word "stop" it would be quicker to put a full stop. But that might get lost in your notes so I would put a circle or square round it. If a speaker says they like or love something you could draw a heart, if they say they don't you could draw a heart with a line through it. (Unfortunately, a heart can take too long to draw if you do it properly because it involves two movements of the hand in different directions so practice a quick version that can be drawn in one movement.) Crossing something out is a good way of expressing a negative.

Some mathematical symbols may also be used if these come to mind easily (equal sign, not-equal being an equal sign crossed through, bigger than, smaller than, therefore, because, plus and minus, question-mark, circle, and so on.) But the interpreter must devise his own system of notation. He is subject to considerable stress when reading back his notes in front of an attentive audience and the symbols used must be immediately understandable. The aim is not to write down every word, but rather symbols, keys, and link words to indicate the logical thread. The notes must be able to be read back in any language so that the interpreter can concentrate on expressing the message he has to convey. Names, for example, can be shortened and written phonetically (*Shon-cy* instead of *Shaughnessy*). The symbols used vary enormously from one person to another and are based on intuition and memory association.

Shorthand cannot be used because this adds a step to the process—the shorthand has first to be deciphered. It is not easy for the brain to cope with this extra deciphering step as well as concentrating on translation from one language to the other—quite apart from the time element. Also, shorthand writing includes every sound uttered, all prepositions and many words that are unnecessary. All you need is the skeleton. Shorthand is too detailed and too long.

Most beginners tend to write down too much but with experience you will see that your memory is better than you think and a few clear notes are infinitely preferable to a whole page of notes written so fast you can't read them back.

As to what you should note, may we suggest the following:

1. Always ideas, arguments, never just words. But write down all proper names, figures, titles, quotes.
2. Who speaks, and about whom or what.
3. Tense of the action, i.e. present, past or future.
4. Whether the statement is negative, positive, interrogative or exclamatory.
5. Connections between ideas and arguments.
6. Emphasis and stress.

Notes should be arranged vertically on the page, with indentations such as for new paragraphs to indicate new thoughts and a system of arrows and connecting signs.

By far the best symbols for substantive expressions are just abbreviations of the corresponding words, such as *del* for delegate, *Ch* for Chairman, *mtg* for meeting, *Cttee* for "Committee", *Com* for Commission, *SG* for Secretary-General, *Pres* for President, *Gen Ass* (or even *GA*) for General Assembly.

Make your notes as small as possible and write them clearly. The smaller they are, the smaller (and therefore quicker) the hand movements required. It is a good idea to separate your page into two columns in order to fit as much into one page as possible. Make sure you have two or three sharp pencils or pens with you in case one of them lets you down. Be sure to cross out each paragraph as you finish reading it back, to avoid any hesitations or duplication.

Most important of all is the strict necessity to note down all numbers and dates. If there is a succession of numbers for example in a financial discussion, budget committee, etc. you must write down all the figures as they are uttered, even at the expense of keeping your listeners waiting. It is better to hold up a meeting a few seconds and give correct figures rather than try to be fast and give incorrect information. Consecutive interpretation is not a memory test. Your audience doesn't care whether you have performed a feat of memory. All they want is reliable information. Good note-taking is therefore essential. Be sure that your symbols or abbreviations are quick to write; avoid curves that require the hand to move backwards and so take up more time.

Perhaps I should explain the half-hour "on", half-hour "off" system of working, which applies to all types of interpreting. Because ours is a highly demanding, specialized profession (even excellent linguists are not necessarily able to do it well) and because of the high level of stress involved, largely due to the unpredictability of what a speaker may say, interpreters do not normally work for more than approximately half an hour at a time, each in turn. The stress experienced by a simultaneous interpreter has been measured scientifically and has been found to be similar to that of an air traffic controller. Great mental flexibility and speed of thought, decisiveness and rapid understanding are required.

Perhaps the most demanding simultaneous conference interpretation is when amendments to texts are being drafted. The help of the boothmate who is "off the air" is indispensable in this situation because he can find the place in the other language versions of the text. When a delegate proposes an amendment, one cannot merely translate it without first finding the original text in both, all three, or all four languages, understanding the change and only then interpreting the new wording after rereading the sentence. It is no good merely translating the words because different wording may have been used in the original translation.

Difficulty arises when the speaker refers to "line 2 on page 3" because this will no doubt be a different line on a different page in the other languages (English is generally the shortest version). He may say "amend the text after the comma in the third line of the French text" but there may well be no comma in the third line of the English text and the phrase to which he refers may not be on the same page anyway. You therefore have to refer to the actual words of the text, remembering that your sole objective is to make the delegates listening to you understand unequivocably. It is better to keep the meeting waiting while you find the place of the amendment in both language texts and make sure you have understood before you start to translate, rather than start translation without having first understood. Otherwise you could lead the whole meeting into confusion and misunderstandings which might well take an hour to sort out. (The cost per minute of an international four-language meeting is quite astronomical.)

While one of the two interpreters in the booth is working, the other follows the discussion, jotting down any useful words that may come up again. During this time, it is also very useful to switch over to listen to the other booths to see how any doubtful or contentious terms are being translated, so that you are sure to recognize them if the delegate speaking that language takes the floor later. You must also be ready to help your colleague find a new document, or find the place in the document before him, search for any other texts that are being referred to, and jot down any dates or figures that may be mentioned.

If you hear your colleague is searching for a word and you have it, write it down on your pad in front of you where he can see it if he wishes, but do not disturb him by making signs or speaking or thrusting maybe unwanted scraps of paper in front of him. He may have found the expression himself already, and be endeavouring to turn the phrase differently.

You must at all costs avoid disturbing your colleague while he is working by rustling documents, opening or closing the door of the booth noisily, moving your chair or talking to colleagues passing by outside. Also, it is much more difficult to do a good job if you are suddenly plunged into a discussion without having followed what has been happening. This is why it is so important for the interpreter not "on the air" to concentrate on the discussion rather than allow himself to be distracted.

Simultaneous interpretation is less tiring for the interpreter and is sometimes taught to the exclusion of consecutive. When drafting, remember that there is a difference between "brackets" (round brackets – *parenthèses – parentesis*) and "square brackets" (*crochets – crochetes*). The latter designate a word or words the meeting has been unable to agree upon—a decision will be taken later.

When the meeting decides to set up a working group to sort out a particular problem and refer back to the main meeting later, someone will probably propose terms of reference for the group. It is important that your colleague write these down for you, whether they are in your language or not, because they will probably be amended in the course of the discussion, and it is difficult to remember what you said earlier unless you have the text in writing in front of you.

If you are working in the French, Spanish, Russian or Arabic booth and you think the delegates listening to you are looking at the English text, or if there is no text in your language, then the best thing to do is to repeat the amendment in English and then give a translation and explanation of it. Whatever you do, however, you must not re-translate something which already has an official translation. If you re-translate something that has already been translated, the delegates will not recognize the text, and seeing that some of the words are different they may well think an amendment is being proposed. The golden rule is that you must always respect original texts, quickly find the text of the

Constitution, Rules of Procedure, or whatever is being referred to, and read out the official version—never, never re-translate a *sacred text* or you will cause endless confusion.

Active and Passive Languages

The time has come for me to explain what is meant by A, B and C languages, and what we mean by *active* and *passive* languages.

Active Languages

A: The interpreter's native tongue, or another language strictly equivalent to a native language, into which the interpreter works from all of his other languages in both simultaneous and consecutive interpretation. All professional conference interpreters must have at least one A language but may have more than one.

B: A language other than the interpreter's native tongue, of which he has a perfect command and into which he may work from one or more of his other languages. Some interpreters work into their B language only in consecutive interpretation, and some only at certain conferences on a subject with which they are particularly familiar. A conference organizer generally asks the interpreter beforehand whether he is willing to work into his B language at a specific conference on a given subject.

Passive Languages

C: Languages of which the interpreter has a complete understanding and from which he works. Sometimes an interpreter will downgrade a B to a C as languages can lose their cutting edge from disuse or prolonged absence from that language community. Rarely used C's may also be dropped to avoid disasters.

If you do not live in a country where your A language is spoken, make every effort to keep abreast of linguistic, cultural, political and social developments. Listen carefully to how the language is used by native speakers from countries other than yours and note their use of words and expressions. Language is constantly changing and usage varies over time and over distance so we can never relax our linguistic vigilance.

Classification of Interpreters When Seeking AIIC Accreditation

Interpreters are rated as follows:

A— Principal active language(s) into which they interpret and which they speak as a native;
B— Other active language(s) into which they interpret regardless of difficulties of terminology or idiom;
B*—Other active language(s) into which they interpret consecutively only; and
C— Language(s) from which they interpret regardless of difficulties of terminology or idiom.

Working into your B language

Anyone who is not truly bilingual, i.e. is not able to think absolutely automatically, without effort, in his non-native tongue (Seleskovitch 1968) will suffer an unconscionable handicap having to formulate laboriously when translating from his mother-tongue into another language. When formulating in one's mother tongue one's lingual ability is limited only by one's train of thought. An educated person who has prepared for the conference will scarcely be handicapped by a lack of native vocabulary. Formulating however in a non-native language he is automatically at risk: much of his brilliance will be lost, he is forced to sell below true value. The trained interpreter is a true bilingual or multilingual which most scientists or technicians cannot be. His training and his lifelong work with languages enable him to transmit the brilliance of an original speaker, formulating in his own language. His training for precision and succinctness sometimes even allow a better and clearer formulation than the original. However, a great deal of this brilliance is lost if he is working into an acquired language.

It is safer to be modest. Once you have accepted to work into your "B" language, you may find yourself having to draft a new text in that language, which will be published as you have dictated it into the microphone, and live on to haunt you with its imperfections. It is better to be honest about your working languages. You can always upgrade your C language to a B or your B to an A later when you have more experience and confidence. You are also more likely to find colleagues willing to sponsor your language claims if they are modest.

Experienced colleagues will know when they can safely work into their B language—they also know they should not accept work into a C unless it is in the process of being upgraded into a B and the qualifying period for the change has not yet been completed. It is always safer to check beforehand that one member of the team agrees to be "pivot"[2] out of a C language.

Professional Association

The *International Association of Conference Interpreters* (AIIC, Association internationale des interprètes de conférence) was founded in 1953. It represents over 3,000 members present in over 100 countries.

AIIC is the only global association of conference interpreters. Since the very early days of modern conference interpreting, AIIC has promoted high standards of quality and ethics in the profession and represented the interests of its practitioners.

AIIC is active in all areas affecting conference interpreting and works for the benefit of all conference interpreters and for the profession as a whole. AIIC sets professional and ethical standards for the profession and promotes the working conditions that high quality interpreting requires. The Association also contributes its expertise to ensure that future generations of interpreters will be trained to today's high standards.

The association has a strict admissions procedure based on a peer review system, intended to guarantee high-quality interpreting and professionalism. Candidates must be sponsored by interpreters who have been AIIC members for at least five years. AIIC members are required to abide by the association's code of ethics and its professional standards.

AIIC liaises with a number of international organizations (e.g. the EU and the United Nations) and negotiates the working conditions for all of their non-staff interpreters, including non-members. The AIIC goals are to secure acceptable working conditions for interpreters, to ensure professional interpretation, and to raise public awareness of the

2 Pivot: To act as a pivot means that one or more booths will be taking relay from that person's interpretation for the particular language concerned.

interpreting profession. It is also involved in other areas of the profession, such as:

- programmes for young conference interpreters—VEGA;
- continuing professional development;
- standardization;
- new technologies in conference interpretation;
- court and legal interpretation;
- interpretation in conflict areas; and
- "preservation of World Linguistic Heritage".

AIIC also issues a webzine named *Communicate*.

The Future of Interpretation

Clearly, as times change, so must the interpreting profession. If we are able to adapt to new requirements, there seems no doubt that skilled interpreters will be needed so long as international conferences are held particularly for the exchange of scientific information on recent discoveries, medical research and new technologies. So long as some conference delegates—at least those from the wealthier countries contributing to the budgets of the international organizations—retain the right to speak and listen in their own tongue, we shall continue to be needed. If interpreting and translating were merely a matter of word exchange, computers and translation machines would have taken over our work before now. But it is not, as I hope I have made clear.

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15 Court Interpreting

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Definition

Court interpreting refers to the language assistance provided to participants in judicial proceedings who are not proficient in the language in which the proceedings take place. The recipients of interpreting services are, on the one hand, members of indigenous minorities, immigrants, or visitors to the country such as tourists or business travelers; and on the other hand, speakers of the dominant or official language who need to understand witness testimony or other statements given in a foreign or minority language. The language assistance most often is oral in nature, but it may also involve written documents that are sight translated or translated, or a signed language. Court interpreting is considered a key element in providing equal access to justice for all, regardless of their ability to speak and understand the language of the judicial system (González, Vásquez, & Mikkelson 2012; Hertog 2001).

Other terms used for this type of interpreting are judicial or judiciary interpreting, legal interpreting and courtroom interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 14).

Legal Basis

Most countries have laws that, at least in principle, require the provision of translating or interpreting assistance for criminal defendants who are not fluent in the language of the courts, and many go beyond that to include asylum applicants, civil litigants, and other parties to legal proceedings of various sorts. The use of interpreters in courts, among other settings, has been documented since the pre-Christian era, and the first legislation specifically governing court interpreters dates back to 1653 when the Spanish colonial authorities adopted *Leyes de Indias* [Laws of the Indies] (Baigorri 2015: 16). In modern times, many countries' constitutions contain clauses on the right to an interpreter. At the international level, the right to an interpreter is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations 1966), and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (United Nations 1990), though González et al. (2012) describe these entitlements as "vague, and their affirmation and enforcement are negotiated by each nation state" (128).

Perhaps the most sweeping supranational mandate to provide interpreters in national courts is Directive 2010/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings, adopted by the European Parliament and Council in 2010. This directive requires all member states of the European Union (EU) to enact legislation guaranteeing the right to interpretation and translation services for the accused during police questioning, court proceedings, and attorney-client communications (Council of the European Union 2010: 1). Although many European countries such as the United Kingdom and Sweden already had robust legal provisions for translating and interpreting in criminal cases and other legal matters, the directive represented an effort to bring all EU countries up to the same high standards (González et al. 2012: 312).

Canada, traditionally a bilingual country and legally so since the Official Languages Act of 1970 was passed, allows litigants a choice to have their cases heard in either French or English in the federal courts. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982 guarantees interpretation and translation for speakers of signed, indigenous and foreign languages. In the United States, the right to an interpreter in criminal proceedings is not explicitly guaranteed in the Constitution, but court decisions have found that the 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, and 14th Amendments of that document would be violated if defendants not proficient in the language of the courts were brought to trial without the services of an interpreter. Moreover, many individual states have either constitutional provisions or statutes that guarantee language rights for linguistic minorities (González et al. 2012). In Australia, the right to an interpreter is stipulated only at the provincial level (Laster and Taylor 1994).

In Hong Kong, which carries a bilingual heritage as a result of its status as a former British Colony now under Chinese jurisdiction, Article 9 of the Basic Law provides that court proceedings may take place in either Chinese or English. Furthermore, other provisions of the Basic Law as well as the Hong Kong Bill of Rights of 1991 (which itself is partially based on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), and the Official Languages Ordinance of 1997 state that "the right to address the court or to testify in any language is a form of fundamental human rights grounded by freedom of speech and equality" (Koo 2009: 213). Malaysia is another Asian country that inherited its court system, and hence the use of court interpreters, from the British. The Criminal Procedure Code requires interpreters to be provided for all criminal defendants who do not understand either Malay or English, the languages of the courts (Ibrahim 2007). In other, less heterogeneous nations of Asia, the right to an interpreter is not formally codified, though these days interpreters are seen more often in the courts and other public institutions due to migration patterns. Japan, for example, has undertaken major reforms of its court system, including more reliance on oral evidence, which has led to an increase in the employment of interpreters (Tsuda 2009). Legal reforms in other parts of the world, usually with the goal of introducing features of adversarial justice including oral trials in place of the traditional reliance on written evidence, have also resulted in more reliance on interpreted testimony, though most countries still lack legal mandates to ensure quality interpretation services in court proceedings (González et al. 2012).

Interpreters in Judicial and Quasi-Judicial Proceedings

Although the legal provisions and treaties cited above refer primarily to criminal proceedings, court interpreters may appear in a variety of cases heard in courts of law, and in related settings such as administrative hearings. The procedures followed in these cases will be described below in terms that apply to the majority of countries, regardless of the specific legal system in which the proceedings take place.

Criminal Cases

Whenever an individual is accused of breaking the law, whether in a minor incident such as petty theft or a major crime such as murder, the accused is prosecuted in a series of court proceedings. When it is determined that the facts in the case and the available evidence meet the criteria for filing charges, the defendant must be informed of these accusations and given an opportunity to present a defense against them in court. There may be a number of appearances before a judge, a magistrate or a panel of judges, from the official reading of the charges and response by the defense, through procedural motions to determine what evidence will be allowed, the hearing of evidence, and the verdict and sentencing. The process may be expedited, omitting many of these steps, if the accused admits the offense. In most countries, especially for serious offenses, an interpreter is provided at all stages for any defendant who has limited proficiency in the language of the court (Mikkelson 2000). Developed countries with large immigrant populations may have permanent staff positions for interpreters in the languages of greatest demand, but most court interpreters work on a freelance basis (González et al. 2012).

Civil Cases

Civil codes govern matters in which disputes arise between private parties. Examples of civil cases are breach of contract, malpractice, personal injury, disputed wills, and divorce; family matters such as the latter two are often heard in specialized courts. Usually, the outcome of a civil action is an award of monetary damages or a court order to take restorative action such as performing a contract. A single incident may result in both criminal and civil litigation, as in a car accident caused by a drunk driver. Since civil proceedings do not usually involve the State and are considered private matters, the parties are expected to pay all costs, including the interpreter fees. Exceptions may be made in some jurisdictions for family law matters and small claims that frequently involve low income individuals, but generally court interpreters work less frequently in civil cases because of the parties' inability or reluctance to pay for their services (Mikkelson 2000; Stern and Ballard 2013).

Specialized Courts

In addition to courts specializing in family law, as mentioned above, specialized courts also hear cases involving taxes, bankruptcy, discrimination, labour issues, and other matters. As with civil actions, interpreters are rarely mandated by law in these proceedings, though the parties may be allowed to hire interpreters on their own. A major exception is immigration courts, which by definition deal with foreign nationals and routinely face language barriers. The use of interpreters is very common in asylum, deportation, and other immigration proceedings (Pöllabauer 2015).

International Tribunals

As with immigration courts, international tribunals inherently involve speakers of many different languages and are dependent on court interpreters to conduct their business. Major bodies such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court have large staffs of translators and interpreters to cover their primary working languages, and they rely on contractors for other languages (International Association of Conference Interpreters 2006; Stern 2012). Smaller tribunals like the war crimes tribunals operating under the auspices of the United Nations also have staff interpreters and translators as well as contract interpreters for minority languages (Elias-Bursac 2015). Unlike national courts, where interpreting takes place only when participants do not speak the official language, in international tribunals interpreting is a daily occurrence, as the judges, who come from many different countries, must communicate through interpreters in their deliberations.

Interpreters in Extrajudicial Settings

Many interpreter-mediated communications take place outside the courtroom as the parties prepare their cases. Perhaps the most frequent of these interactions is the attorney-client conference, which may occur intermittently throughout the case, from start to finish. This is a confidential conversation that is likely to be more collaborative than the confrontational atmosphere that prevails in many court proceedings (Mikkelson 2008). Another common event during the preparatory phase is a deposition, when testimony is taken under oath for the purpose of gaining information about the opposing party's evidence prior to trial, in what is known as discovery. A deponent may be anyone with knowledge of a case, such as a doctor who examined a party to a personal injury lawsuit, or an engineer specializing in accident reconstruction. The testimony is taken by opposing counsel in the presence of a court reporter, usually in a conference room at a law office but possibly in a hospital room or other location, depending on circumstances (González et al. 2012). In high-stakes civil litigation, the use of "check interpreters" to verify accuracy is not uncommon (Stern & Ballard 2013).

In criminal matters, interpreters also mediate interviews and interrogations conducted by police officers, though the quality or competence of interpreters in law enforcement settings is rarely regulated or even addressed in legislation. In countries with large bilingual populations (as with Spanish in the United States), police officers may conduct interviews directly in the foreign language, or they may rely on fellow officers to interpret (Mulayim, Lai, and Norma 2015). Often used as evidence in court, transcripts of interpreted police interrogations must be translated into the official language, a task that is best performed by qualified court interpreters. Similarly, transcripts of recorded conversations made during undercover investigations and used as evidence should also be translated by individuals who are trained in the relevant skills (González et al. 2012).

Another extrajudicial venue where interpreting takes place is administrative hearings. In these sessions, an administrative law judge or hearing officer takes evidence and issues a decision in disputes over actions taken by government agencies in such areas as public assistance, disability, professional licensing, labour unions, and industrial accidents. Much less formal than court proceedings, administrative hearings nonetheless involve testimony under oath and result in weighty decisions that are subject to appeal in the courts (González et al. 2012).

Ethics and Standards of Practice

Because court interpreters work in critical situations that may have serious consequences for the parties involved, ethical conduct is of the utmost importance. Like the legal professionals they collaborate with, court interpreters are subject to rigorous codes of ethics that are developed by professional bodies or even mandated by legislation (Hewitt 1995) or by government entities. In Ontario, for example, the Ministry of the Attorney General has adopted the *Rules of professional conduct for court interpreters* (2010) (hereinafter the Rules of Professional Conduct), which is binding on all interpreters who provide services for the courts of the province. Most such codes require strict confidentiality, impartiality, and faithfulness, not unlike standards of conduct in other sectors of interpreting. However, due to the adversarial nature of many legal proceedings, even more emphasis is placed on these rules in judicial and quasi-judicial settings than in sectors such as international conferences and health care. As Lee (2015) points out, "Violations of professional code[s] of ethics could endanger due process, affecting the outcomes of cases, life and liberty, and properties of the parties concerned" (194). The influence of the legal profession is evident throughout court interpreters' codes of conduct, as seen in the obligations to uphold the dignity of the court, respect the attorney-client privilege, and refrain from giving legal advice (González et al. 2012). In countries that do not have sector-specific certification or professional associations representing court interpreters alone, there are generic codes of conduct applying to interpreters in all sectors; this is the case in Australia, where the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT 2012) has adopted a *Code of Ethics* that mentions interpreting in the judiciary only when the needs of the setting are unique. Below is a more detailed discussion of the individual tenets of typical court interpreter codes of ethics.

Accuracy or Faithfulness

One indication of the importance of interpreting accurately in court may be the fact that the *Model Code of Professional Responsibility for Interpreters in the Judiciary* (hereinafter the *Model Code*), adopted by the National Center for State Courts and published in Hewitt (1995), lists "accuracy and completeness" as the first of its 10 canons (200); and the *Code of*

Professional Ethics of the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association (EULITA 2013), ranks it second. The wording of the EULITA article on accuracy is fairly representative:

> The source-language message shall be faithfully rendered in the target language by conserving all elements of the original message while accommodating the syntactic and semantic patterns of the target language. The register, style and tone of the source language shall be conserved.
>
> Errors, hesitations and repetitions should be conveyed.
>
> An interpreter shall request clarification when he or she did not understand a sign-language user or speaker, for example for reasons of acoustics, or ambiguity of a statement. He or she shall signal and correct any interpreting errors as soon as possible. (2)

In the commentary accompanying the corresponding canon of the *Model Code* (Hewitt 1995), it is stressed that "*every spoken statement, even if it appears non-responsive, obscene, rambling or incoherent should be interpreted*" (emphasis in original, 200). While all interpreter codes of conduct require practitioners of the profession to interpret faithfully, this additional clarification is unique to the legal setting. Textbooks that cover court interpreter ethics (e.g. González et al. 2012) usually go into great detail about the need for interpreters to include all elements of the source message, no matter how prejudicial or nonsensical, to refrain from interjecting their own impressions or explanations, and to correct errors immediately on the record.

Confidentiality

As noted above, confidentiality is a provision contained in all interpreter codes of conduct, but in the legal realm the protection of the attorney-client privilege is paramount. Consequently, even though court proceedings may be conducted in public rather than in secret, court interpreters are warned not to reveal any information acquired during the course of their interpreting, whether or not it is covered by the attorney-client privilege. The *Code of Ethics and Professional Responsibilities* (hereinafter the *Code of Ethics*) of the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators in the United States contains typical wording:

> Privileged or confidential information acquired in the course of interpreting or preparing a translation shall not be disclosed by the interpreter without authorization. (NAJIT, n.d., Canon 3)

The *Model Code* (Hewitt, 1995) goes even further and abjures interpreters from making any public comment on matters in which they have been engaged (Canon 6).

Impartiality

Maintaining neutrality, especially in adversarial proceedings, is of the utmost importance for court interpreters. As the EULITA (2013) *Code of Professional Ethics* states:

> Legal interpreters and legal translators shall remain neutral and also maintain the appearance of impartiality, avoiding any undue contacts with either witnesses, defendants and their families or members of the legal professions.
>
> Any potential conflict of interest shall be immediately disclosed to the court. (3)

The additional commentary contained in the *Model Code* defines "conflict of interest" as "any condition that interferes with the objectivity of an interpreter", and names five different specific situations that would create a conflict of interest for a court interpreter: (1) being a relative or close associate of one of the parties; (2) having served in an investigative capacity for one of the parties; (3) having assisted law enforcement in the investigation of the matter; (4) having a financial or other interest in the outcome of the case; and (5) having been involved in the choice of legal counsel. It further states that interpreters should not converse with anyone in the court beyond what is strictly necessary for interpreting, as that might create an appearance of bias, and urges them to "strive for professional detachment" (Hewitt 1995: 203).

Professionalism

Court interpreter codes of conduct also emphasize the importance of professionalism. For example, the first article in the EULITA *Code of Professional Ethics* (2013) states the following:

> Legal interpreters and legal translators shall use the specific interpreting technique (consecutive, simultaneous, whispering, sight translating) according to the requirements for optimum cross-cultural communication in legal settings.
>
> Legal interpreters and legal translators must not take on an assignment for which they have no or inadequate competences (in terms of language or subject matter), or which they are not able to perform properly (e.g. for lack of time to prepare for the assignment).
>
> Legal interpreters and legal translators shall strive to maintain and improve their interpreting and translation skills and knowledge. (2)

In addition, many codes mention the need to respect the solemnity of court proceedings, as can be seen in the Ontario *Rules of Professional Conduct*: "Court interpreters shall dress and conduct themselves in a manner consistent with the dignity of the court. (Ministry of the Attorney General, 2010, No. 3). The *Model Code* also asserts that interpreters "shall be as unobtrusive as possible" (Hewitt 1995: 204).

Scope of Practice

Because of the court interpreter's bilingual abilities and apparent familiarity with the courtroom environment, those who do not speak the language of the court may assume the interpreter is there to provide comprehensive assistance and may "develop a dependency" on the interpreter (Mikkelson 2008: 83); whereas other actors in the courtroom may mistrust interpreters, fearing they will give advice or express opinions to litigants without the court's knowledge. Consequently, many codes of ethics prohibit interpreters from advocating for any of the parties or offering legal advice. For example, the NAJIT *Code of Ethics* states in its Canon 4, "Limitations of Practice":

> Court interpreters and translators shall limit their participation in those matters in which they serve to interpreting and translating, and shall not give advice to the parties or otherwise engage in activities that can be construed as the practice of law. (NAJIT, n.d.)

In addition, in the commentary accompanying the counterpart canon, the *Model Code* (Hewitt 1995) warns interpreters against explaining the purpose of forms or proceedings or providing additional services to the court beyond interpreting.

Impediments to Practice

The various codes of ethics cited here also require interpreters to report impediments to their compliance with the rules of conduct, such as inaudibility, fatigue, differences in dialect, lack of preparation, or pressure to commit ethical violations. Examples of these provisions can be found in Canons 8 and 9 of the *Model Code* (Hewitt 1995: 208–9), Canon 8 of the NAJIT *Code of Ethics* (NAJIT, n.d.), the third article of the EULITA *Code of Professional Ethics* (2013: 2), and Rules 6 and 9 of the *Rules of Professional Conduct* (Ministry of the Attorney General 2010).

Other Rules of Ethics

Perhaps because of the relatively stringent interpreter certification requirements prevalent in the United States, the codes in that country also include tenets regarding the accurate representation of credentials or qualifications, as can be seen in Canon 2 of the *Model Code* (Hewitt 1995: 201) and Canon 7 of the NAJIT *Code of Ethics* (NAJIT, n.d.). One tenet that is found only in the EULITA *Code of Professional Ethics* contains a rule called “Solidarity and Fair Conduct”, which requires interpreters to “act in a spirit of respect, cooperation and solidarity towards their colleagues” (EULITA 2013: 3).

A number of textbooks, manuals, and position papers have been published to provide further guidance on the role of the court interpreter and the proper way to resolve the ethical dilemmas that inevitably occur in legal matters. Examples include Mikkelson (2000), González et al. (2012) and some of the position papers of the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007).

Modes of Interpreting

In the court systems of Europe, North America, and Australia, all of the three modes of interpreting (simultaneous, consecutive, and sight translation) are used by interpreters in their daily practice.

Simultaneous Interpreting

Whenever a defendant who needs an interpreter is present while proceedings are being conducted in the official language, ideally simultaneous interpreting should be provided so as to ensure "linguistic presence" (González et al. 2012: 160–63). However, consecutive interpreting in these circumstances is the norm in many countries, largely due to the lack of familiarity with interpreting standards, the use of unskilled interpreters, and legal traditions that do not emphasize oral proceedings (Garwood & Preziozi 2015). Except in international tribunals where interpreting booths are permanently installed in courtrooms, the simultaneous interpreting that is performed is most often whispered or *chuchotage*, with or without portable sound systems. Whispered simultaneous interpreting may also be provided during informal attorney-client conferences, depending on the parties' preferences and the interpreter's skill level.

Consecutive Interpreting

Aside from the cases mentioned above, consecutive interpreting is usually provided when testimony is being given in a foreign or minority language. The primary reason for this is the need for everyone in the courtroom to hear the interpreted testimony (whereas simultaneous interpreting is provided for the defendant only), and to establish a clear record of the testimony. Some scholars also contend that consecutive is more accurate than simultaneous, and precision is essential when testimony is interpreted for the record (Russell & Takeda 2015).

Simultaneous-Consecutive Interpreting

As is the case in other sectors of interpreting, simultaneous is gradually overtaking consecutive in terms of the frequency of use, though in judiciary settings the simultaneous interpretation of testimony is not advised (González et al. 2012: 431). The preference for simultaneous is due partly to the value placed on expediency in the fast-paced life of the twenty-first century, but also thanks to new developments in technology. It is increasingly common for interpreters to employ portable recording devices in what is known as "simultaneous-consecutive (sim-consec)" interpreting (Hamidi & Pöchhacker 2007). However, the use of this technique has not been allowed in many courtrooms because recording the proceedings by anyone other than the official court reporter is normally prohibited, and in any case experts recommend against it (González et al. 2012: 956).

Sight Translation

Even in court systems that rely heavily on oral evidence, the use of written materials is inevitable. When a defendant who does not speak the language of the court is required to read and sign a document such as a waiver of rights, the interpreter must sight translate that document. Similarly, to provide access to criminal and civil complaints, reports, affidavits, depositions, and other information that is essential for plaintiffs and defendants to be apprised of, sight translation is essential. Court interpreters must be familiar with typical court documents and able to sight translate them with little or no advance preparation. Other documentary evidence may be written in a foreign language and must be sight translated into the language of the court for the official record. Examples of such evidence include personal documents such as birth and death certificates, personal and business letters, affidavits, letters rogatory, and police or medical reports. In addition, digital evidence such as text messages and emails in a foreign language must also be sight translated. It should be noted that any document that is lengthy, technical or complex should not be sight translated without extensive advance preparation, and in fact it is preferable for such materials to be translated by professional translators for submission into evidence (González et al. 2012).

Remote Interpreting

New developments in technology have changed many practices in the legal realm, including the way complaints and pleadings are filed with courts and the way testimony is taken. Most importantly from the standpoint of interpreting, technology is increasingly being used to enable parties to participate in judicial proceedings without being physically present in the courtroom. When one or more of those parties requires an interpreter, the result is remote interpreting. Telephone interpreting of proceedings such as immigration and other administrative hearings began in Australia as early as 1973 (Braun 2015), and was gradually adopted by court systems around the world. Concerns about due process arose, however, and the need to adopt guidelines became apparent. Accordingly, jurisdictions such as the State of New Jersey in the United States developed detailed standards to regulate when and how telephone interpreting could be used (González et al. 2012).

With the advent of videoconferencing, remote interpreting became increasingly popular for reasons of security (obviating the need to transport prisoners for court appearances, for example), expediency and cost-effectiveness. Following the lead of international organizations that experimented with videoconference-based interpreting to meet their complex and costly language needs, many European countries began introducing different forms of remote interpreting using video technology. To determine whether these practices were viable in criminal proceedings, the AVIDICUS research projects were launched in Europe in 2008. These studies, conducted over a period of several years and still continuing as of this writing, have resulted in a number of best practices standards and training modules for interpreters (Braun 2015).

Professionalization of Court Interpreting

Professional Associations

In some countries or regions, court interpreters belong to professional associations oriented towards their particular needs; in others, they belong to larger organizations, either as a subspecialty or simply as at-large members. Examples of the first are the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT) in the United States and the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association (EULITA). It is apparent from their names that these organizations cater to legal translators as well, in light of the fact that many practitioners provide both services. There are a number of local associations formed by court interpreters as well, such as the California Federation of Interpreters (CFI) in the United States and the Alberta Court Interpreters Association in Canada. On the other hand, court interpreters may be subsumed within a larger organization, as is the case in Australia with the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT). This is true especially in countries with longstanding organizations of public translators who now also provide interpreting services for the judiciary, such as Argentina. Two major international associations also have subdivisions specializing in legal interpreting: the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) has a Court and Legal Interpreting Committee, and the International Federation of Translators has a Committee for Court Interpreting and Legal Translation. All of these organizations hold regular conferences where speakers report on research, legislative initiatives, innovative practices, and other issues of interest to the profession, and continuing education sessions are offered for practitioners.

Standards

Standards governing the practice of interpreting have been developed at the national and international levels. In the United States, ASTM F2089-15 is the prevailing standard, and it features subsections that address court interpreting in particular (ASTM, 2015). Internationally, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) has published 13611:2014, Guidelines for Community Interpreting (which many scholars view as including the legal realm among other public services), and is currently developing ISO/TC37/SC5/WG2 on Translation, Interpreting, and Related Technology (ISO 2014, 2015). Katschinka (2015) reports that work is also underway to develop an ISO standard specifically geared to interpreting in judicial settings.

Education

Because court interpreting is a relatively undeveloped profession, there are no degree programmes at universities devoted exclusively to this field; court interpreting tends to be a specialization or minor course of study within larger interpreting degree programmes. Below the university level, there are many certificate programmes in court interpreting that are offered in university extension programmes or at community colleges. In addition, isolated courses in specific aspects of court interpreting, such as simultaneous interpreting or legal terminology, are offered by private entities, professional associations, and court systems (González et al. 2012; Lee 2015; Blasco Mayor & del Pozo Triviño 2015). Current listings of training programmes can be found at websites such as that of the California Court Interpreters Program (2014). An increasing number of such courses are provided online (González et al. 2012).

Because efforts to raise standards have increased the demand for court interpreter education, specialized textbooks and manuals have been developed to provide practical training in the skills and concepts that interpreters need to master. In the 1980s and 1990s, pedagogical materials began to emerge in the United States as certification testing became more prevalent (Almeida & Zahler 1981; Palma 1987; González et al. 1991; de Jongh 1992; Mikkelson 1992; Edwards 1995). Later publications in the United Kingdom and Australia provided overviews of the profession (either court interpreting on its own or as part of community interpreting) in both theoretical and practical terms (Laster & Taylor 1994; Colin & Morris 1996; Gentile, Ozolins, & Vasilakakos 1996; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008). Some of these authors have updated their work or followed up with additional publications (e.g. Mikkelson 2000, 2005/2006; González et al. 2012; de Jongh 2010), but there is still a dearth of textbooks and manuals in the field, especially outside the United States. In view of the lack of formal textbooks, many trainers have devised their own materials for particular courses, especially if they have had access to recordings of actual courtroom proceedings. With advances in technology and legal reforms resulting in more oral proceedings, it is becoming easier to provide students with access to authentic materials for skills development. Moreover, in the digital era, traditional textbooks are being supplanted by online resources that can be readily updated (e.g. Ng 2015; Crezee, Burn, & Gailani 2015).

Many authors have pointed out that interpreters are not the only ones who need specialized training to work in the court setting; the judges and attorneys who work with them also require guidance. Accordingly, efforts have been launched to offer seminars and workshops for legal professionals on effective ways of working with interpreters (González et al. 2012; del Pozo Triviño & Blasco Mayor 2015; Hale 2015).

Certification

Certification or accreditation testing is considered by many to be the most reliable means of guaranteeing quality in interpreting, since when properly implemented, such tests objectively measure the relevant knowledge and skills of aspirants (Turner 2015). Many countries have begun requiring interpreters to pass a test in order to enter the profession, though these programmes tend to issue general rather than subject-specific credentials, and enforcement of the certification is often lax. Lee (2015) laments the paucity of certification programmes specifically geared to court interpreting, though she notes that there are more such programmes for sign language interpreters than for their spoken language counterparts. She cites the United States and Canada as countries with strong court interpreter certification requirements. Ideally, a certification exam should be a "performance-based, criterion-referenced examination, with performance standards set by the needs of the courts" (González et al. 2012: 1159), and should measure the candidate's written and oral language proficiency and interpreting skills at the high level of competence demanded by the courtroom environment. The Federal Court Interpreter Certification Examination administered in the United States is a role model in this regard, but unfortunately it is offered only in Spanish at present, despite the hundreds of languages spoken daily in the country's court systems (González et al. 2012).

Professional Issues

A look at the publications and conference agendas of the professional associations mentioned above reveals that court interpreters face many challenges in their efforts to raise professional standards. Issues such as interpreter fatigue, pay and working conditions, security in the courtroom, and vicarious trauma are frequently discussed. Perhaps the most significant of these issues in recent years has been the trend towards outsourcing by court systems, meaning contracting with interpreting agencies to provide services and issuing contracts to the lowest bidder (see, for example, García-Beyaert 2015; Corsellis 2015). Professional associations and individuals must engage in an ongoing battle to educate their clients with a view to heightening awareness of the importance of quality interpreting and the need for proper working conditions.

Research on Court Interpreting

Scholars have only recently turned their sights to court interpreting within the larger context of the translation and interpreting professions (which themselves did not come to the attention of researchers until relatively late in the twentieth century). The most prominent of the early studies focusing on court interpreting was Susan Berk-Seligson's (1990/2002) ethnography of the courtroom and analysis of the impact of interpreters in court proceedings. Other studies in the field of applied linguistics followed in the next two decades. Examples include Morris (1993), who examined the impact of untrained interpreters in courtroom proceedings; and Rigney (1997, 1999), Hale (1999, 2002, 2004), Jacobsen (2002), and Angermeyer (2002), all of whom looked at how interpreters handled the pragmatic features of attorneys' questioning styles. Studies in the field of sociolinguistics include Wadensjö's (1992) analysis of interpreted interactions in immigration hearings; and similar issues are addressed in Lee's (2010) and Cheung's (2014) research on reported speech, Ng's (2009) comparison of written and oral translations of legal terms in the context of the Hong Kong courts, and Mason's (2008) examination of the effects of cognitive overload on interpreters' performance in the courtroom.

A number of scholars have written about role conflicts faced by court interpreters, including Morris (1995), Niska (1995), Hale (1997), and Mikkelson (2008). In addition to the Berk-Seligson (1990/2002) study, other researchers have also examined the impact of the interpreting process on the outcome of judicial proceedings; examples are Russell (2005), Mason (2008), and Napier and Spencer (2008). Outside the context of the courtroom, a number of studies have focused on interpreting for the police or other law enforcement agents, exploring issues such as accuracy and bias. Examples include Berk-Seligson (2000, 2011), Angelelli (2015), Mulayim et al. (2015), and Ortiz Soriano (2015). In addition, interpreting in asylum hearings has been the subject of several scholarly works (Barsky 1994; Blommaert 2001; Pöllabauer 2004, 2015). The foregoing is a brief summary of the types of research that have been conducted in the context of court interpreting; a more thorough analysis may be found in Lee (2015).

Conclusion

Court interpreting as a profession has evolved considerably since the first interpreted court proceedings were reported in the seventeenth century (Baigorri 2015) and the earliest efforts to institute professionalization (González et al. 2012). The legal underpinnings of court interpretation services are being strengthened, awareness is spreading about the importance of ensuring due process by providing language access to judicial proceedings, educational opportunities are expanding, training materials are being developed, and scholarly research is revealing more and more about the process of interpreting, the impact of interpreters in the courtroom and the role of the interpreter in interlingual communication. Nonetheless, much remains to be done to raise awareness of the need for quality interpreting among the general public and the legal profession, to provide better and more targeted educational opportunities, to enhance the working conditions of court interpreters, and to ensure high standards of competence among interpreters of all languages in all legal systems.

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16 Legal Interpreting in Hong Kong—Word Fencing and Defensing: Interpreting at Arbitration Hearings

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Introduction

Why Do I Choose this Topic?

To borrow the famous feminist epithet—the personal is the political—let me begin with a personal note by explaining why I have come up with such a topic and what meaning it has for me. As a professional interpreter formally trained in conference interpreting rather than legal interpreting, I have nonetheless been engaged repeatedly by local and foreign legal entities to interpret at various witness interviews, depositions, tribunal and arbitration hearings since I first foraged into the interpreting field in mid-2008. To date I have interpreted at over 150 occasions of legal settings, of which almost half were arbitration cases. As someone with neither a legal background nor court interpreting training and having no resort to mentoring,[1] I

1 Consecutive interpreters generally find themselves working alone in the Hong Kong market, unlike in international assignments adhering to guidelines of the AIIC (http://aiic.net/), which is the only global association of conference (note: not legal) interpreters. Hence without formal schooling or in-house training, freelance interpreters have to rely upon "on-the-job" experience and self-learning. The solo work situation, coupled with intense competition in the field, also means that there is no mentoring except for full-time court interpreters hired by the Department of Justice.

found myself plunged right into the legal interpreting arena and had to learn the ropes only by means of trial and error. Negotiating a path within the legal interpreting terrain has not been easy but occasional tribulations have piqued my curiosity and interest particularly in the rationale and mechanism of arbitration, leading to my application for the LLM (Master of Laws) programme in Arbitration and Dispute Resolution studies at the University of Hong Kong.

The topic of this chapter has thus emerged out of my first-hand experience as a freelance legal interpreter and is admittedly more anecdotal by nature than a presumably more objective, third-party empirical study undertaken by ethnographers.[2] As such, the observations and reflections in this chapter arise from the perspective of a practitioner rather than that of a legal scholar. However, I firmly believe that the problems encountered in my personal capacity as a legal interpreter in practice exemplify ongoing issues pertaining to and arising from the ill-defined role of the interpreter at the core of arbitration proceedings in Hong Kong.[3] As I will explain below, the role of an arbitration interpreter (who is invariably a freelancer) has never been set in clear terms, unlike that of the court interpreter hired by the government on a permanent or part-time basis.[4]

I have noticed a new tendency in the use of interpreting service at arbitration hearings which, in my view, reflects a growing confusion over the functions of the arbitration interpreter. I have observed that several arbitration cases departed from the norm of both parties jointly appointing an interpreter for the entire proceedings to interpret for witnesses from both sides, instead the claimant and the respondent chose to hire their own interpreter(s) separately. In some cases, it was because the

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2 A typical example of researchers as ethnographers in legal setting is Susan Berk-Seligson's fieldwork, as detailed in her book, *The Bilingual Courtroom: Court Interpreters in the Judicial Process with a New Chapter* (2002).

3 In this chapter I have taken care not to implicate the identities of any party when quoting real incidents as examples to illustrate my points.

4 A former court interpreter turned academician, Eva Ng Nga Shan, however, points out that "the Judiciary of Hong Kong provides a set of guidelines for part-time interpreters, but NOT for full-time interpreters" though these guidelines should in principle also apply to full-time interpreters. See Ng's article, "Who is speaking? Interpreting the voice of the speakers in court" (2013: 254).

parties could not come to an agreement on the choice of an interpreter from an available pool, in other cases, one party simply refused to share their selected interpreter with the other side. In my opinion, the split of the interpreter appointment represents a conscious attempt to align the interpreter with the party, in effect changing her function from being a presumably neutral conduit into an advocate. This is a worrisome tendency that results in conflicting perceptions of the role and function of the interpreter by the interpreter herself, the agency that dispatches her and the clients (including counsels for the parties and witnesses). Moreover, it manifests underhanded attempts to manipulate the system, which should be of concern to the legal community.

In the following, I will demonstrate that these issues are further complicated by cultural differences in a bilingual or even trilingual adversarial setting, and have repercussions not only for the interpreting professionals (including agencies) but also important bearings on the interpreter-mediated arbitration proceeding itself. I would further argue that the growing trend of hiring two or more interpreters separately by the parties instead of a joint appointment of a single interpreter has a corrosive impact on the nature and norms of arbitration proceedings, a fact Hong Kong's legal community has yet to take note of, much less recognize its potential implications on the realization of justice.

Why Focus on Arbitration?

Much has been written on the principles and practice of court interpreting in the English language but there is very limited study of legal interpreting in Hong Kong so much so that when a retired court interpreter, Michael C. M. Fong, published his *Memoirs of a Court Interpreter* in Chinese,[5] the book was hailed as "rare" in regard to subject matter by bloggers.[6] In fact even with English language studies on legal interpreting, the bulk of publications is on court interpreting. This is not surprising since court hearings are often open and court records are in general accessible,

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5 The Chinese title is《雪泥鴻爪：法庭傳譯四十年》(Hong Kong: Health Workshop Limited, 2011).

6 See for instance, http://blog.yahoo.com/_IEIDBUISL6WZHA76Z326JGXZXU/articles/26328 and http://www.discuss.com.hk/viewthread.php?tid=14637723, on the publication.

providing abundant interpreter-mediated case materials for sociolinguists and interpreting teachers to analyze. Andrew K. F. Cheung's corpus-based interpreting studies[7] and Eva Nga Shan Ng's master's and doctoral theses are notable examples utilizing such rich resources.[8] This certainly is not the case with arbitration which is private and confidential, thus hearings are not open for observation and records are not freely accessible. Hence it is difficult to have access to verbatim transcripts of the hearings for research purposes. I would argue that the lack of research on arbitration interpreting leaves a lacuna not only in the study of legal interpreting but also a gap in efforts to promote best practices of arbitration. As I will show below, power dynamics in interpreter-mediated arbitration hearings is often played out on attempts to affect the interpreter's renderings. For one thing, despite being less formal the arbitration setting is no less adversarial than that of a courtroom. In fact, the arbitration hearings I have interpreted at are highly structured and nearly all cases required both the interpreter and the witnesses to be sworn in or affirmed.

The Role of the Legal Interpreter

The Myth of the Conduit

There is a widespread notion among agencies and legal practitioners that the interpreter, like other functionaries (such as court reporter and videographer) should be mere "instruments of proceedings and not participants" and "to appear completely neutral", in the words of a senior project coordinator of a leading legal support service provider in Hong Kong which regularly dispatches interpreters to depositions, arbitration

7 Cheung, Andrew K. F. "Non-Renditions in Court Interpreting: A Corpus-Based Study" (2017), "The Use of Reported Speech by Court Interpreters in Hong Kong" (2012), as well as "Perceived Neutrality of Court Interpreters" (2014).

8 "The role of the Court Interpreter", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham (1997), and "The Atypical Bilingual Courtroom: An Exploratory Study of the Interactional Dynamics in Interpreter-mediated Trials in Hong Kong", doctoral dissertation, Aston University (2013). Her more recent works include "Teaching and Research on Legal Interpreting: A Hong Kong Perspective" (2015).

and court hearings.[9] Metaphors such as "transmission belt", "translating machine", or "conduit" have been frequently used to describe the role of a legal interpreter. As Kathy Laster and Veronica L. Taylor have discussed (1994), the conduit model has developed out of a need "to overcome the evidentiary problem of exclusion of hearsay evidence" (112). To circumvent the issue of legal admissibility of evidence mediated by an interpreter, the conduit model casts the interpreter in the role of "a machine-like language 'mirror'" (120) who functions "as nothing but a sophisticated 'echo machine'" (Colin 1996: 23).

However, the idea of the invisibility of the legal interpreter has been challenged by numerous scholars. Different researchers have shown in their studies that the presumed invisibility of the interpreter is more a myth than a reality, and interpreters actually adopt different stylistic devices to adjust their visibility level continuously during interpreting. I myself as a legal interpreter would attest to the fact that "the interpreter is engaged in a constant renegotiation of the footing of each party in a dialogue" and "is driven to accommodate different listeners' expectations".[10]

Expectations from different listeners, however, would result in varying perceptions of the interpreter's role as well as her competency. Hence I would contend lumping legal interpreters together with other legal service personnel such as the reporting staff (court reporter / stenographer / recording transcriber) and technical staff (videographer/technician) in the same category to be a misguided notion, for the reporting staff and technical staff have clearly defined roles and assigned functions within strict confines but the case is not as straightforward with the legal interpreter

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9 Since this international company, Merrill Corporation, was a major provider of legal support service in Hong Kong, even though it is not a translation agency, in my experience I would say this project coordinator's view is quite representative of that of project managers of local translation agencies in general. In fact, most translation agencies in Hong Kong specialize in translation service, with only a couple in interpreting service, and these interpreting agencies have focused nearly exclusively on conference interpreting (which is an entirely different category from legal interpreting, a fact few outsiders recognize).

10 As Cheung (2012) has cited from Mason (1999) and Angermeyer (2009) in his article, "The Use of Reported Speech by Court Interpreters in Hong Kong" (75), and Ng (2013) has also quoted from Berk-Seligson (1990), Hale (2004), Morris (1995) and Wadensjo (1998) to support this point in her article, "Who is Speaking? Interpreting the Voice of the Speaker in Court" (2013: 239).

who has an impact on the proceedings, as shown by Susan Berk-Seligson in *The Bilingual Courtroom: Court Interpreters in the Judicial Process*:

> It will be demonstrated throughout this book that the court interpreter affects the verbal outcome of attorneys' and judges' questions, and witnesses' or defendants' answers. In a variety of ways the interpreter will be seen to interact with the key verbal participants in the courtroom, and often through no fault of her own, interferes with the attempts of examiners to get out their questions in the way that they want to, and the efforts of testifying witnesses or defendants to formulate their replies as they would wish to. It will be seen that the role of the interpreter, as performed currently in American courthouses at every judicial level, often serves to alter the pragmatic intent of speakers in the course of on-the-record judicial proceedings. (2002: 25)

Likewise, Eva Ng has explored the interactional dynamics in the bilingual courtroom in Hong Kong in her doctoral study, "The Atypical Bilingual Courtroom: An Exploratory Study of the Interactional Dynamics in Interpreter-mediated Trials in Hong Kong". She argues that unlike the bilingual courtroom in other jurisdictions where interpretation is predominantly in *chuchotage* mode (except when the minority language speaker takes the stand), consecutive interpreting is the prevalent mode in the Hong Kong courtroom and "has the effect of foregrounding the interpreter, rendering him/her a highly visible participant in the communicative process" (2013: 95).

The Notion of Neutrality

What is particularly troubling is the common misconception on what construes the neutrality of the interpreter position. For instance, an article on court reporting in *Sing Pao Daily News* quotes a Hong Kong solicitor, Wong Kwok Tung, saying that "court interpreters, just like jurors, do not need and should not have any prior legal knowledge in order to prevent imposing their own opinions during interpreting" (10 October 2013; my translation).[11] This lawyer clearly is confusing ignorance and neutrality.

11 The Chinese report in *Sing Pao Daily News* can also be viewed in segments online. The part I am quoting from is http://www.singpao.com/xw/yw/201310/t20131010_464619.html.

When I consult a full-time court interpreter who is also an interpreting trainer on Wong's assertion, her response is that while the entry requirements for court interpreters do not require legal qualifications, without some legal knowledge the interpreter cannot do her job properly. And since the court interpreter has to provide dockside (whispering) interpreting of legal arguments and submissions as well as the judgment, legal knowledge is, in her words, "a survival and success formula". She also informs me that all newly recruited court interpreters are provided with briefings and full-time court interpreters are entitled to financial subsidies for taking legal courses, and in fact many court interpreters are LLB or LLM degree holders. Yet in their work they continue to encounter not a few ignorant clerks or magistrates who hold the same notion as Wong and begrudge them case file bundles for preparatory reading, thinking that prior knowledge of facts would make the interpreter biased.

While all this shows a general lack of understanding of the work of the interpreter by many legal practitioners, it also highlights a key difference between the court interpreter and the arbitration interpreter in that the former functions within the institutional system and has a more codified role than the latter. Research has rarely distinguished between the court interpreter and the arbitration interpreter since the literature on legal interpreting focuses almost exclusively on court interpreting. I would argue, however, that this distinction be made because the role of a court interpreter is more clearly spelled out than that of the arbitration interpreter for various reasons.

First, in Hong Kong the court system provides "in-house" court interpreters hired by the government, whether on a full-time permanent track or on a part-time basis. Only at the lowest courts such as the Lands Tribunal and Inland Revenue Appeal Tribunal, or when there is a shortage of regular court interpreters to be assigned on a big case that is anticipated to take months (e.g. the Lamma ferry collision case),[12] would freelance interpreters be hired through a tendering process which invites private agencies to bid with a nominated interpreter. Unfortunately,

12 Interpreting between Chinese and English language pairs is normally handled by full-time court interpreters except when certain dialects are involved and the full-timers do not have the expertise.

despite a claim of award based on merit, it appears that increasingly the norm is to favour the lowest bid. This has created price competition among agencies which in turn presses down the rates of the freelance interpreter, in effect squeezing out highly-qualified interpreters who command an ongoing market rate much higher than those offered by the bidding agencies.[13]

Although in appearance there is tighter control over the entry requirement of court interpreters given the civil service recruitment procedures, in reality the poor pay of the part-time court interpreters in Hong Kong is unable to attract highly-qualified professional interpreters in the free market. Parties involved in arbitration, however, are more willing to pay the leading rates of highly-qualified and experienced legal interpreters to ensure quality interpreting service. Hence, unlike court interpreters, arbitration interpreters are invariably freelancers either hired directly or through an agency. Moreover, arbitration clients tend to hire legal interpreters who have court interpreting qualifications and/or experience, and legal knowledge appears to be a plus rather than a minus factor.

When the client approaches an agency to hire an interpreter, which is more often the case, the agency will first provide the curriculum vitae of a small pool of highly-selected interpreters available for the parties to choose. The usual practice is for the claimant to nominate an interpreter and get the approval of the respondent before jointly appointing her, if both parties deem it necessary to use interpreting service. Frequently the respondent would demand an interview with the interpreter (usually by phone since top interpreters usually charge a fee for face-to-face interviews, and some even charge a fee for phone interviews) to find out more about the interpreter's background and experience, as well as assess her linguistic proficiency and more often than not, subject the interpreter to an interpreting test which is invariably poorly-designed by a layman who has hardly any idea how an interpreter operates.

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13 Needless to say, the price competition has serious impact on the quality of the interpreting service, of which the high-profile Lamma ferry disaster inquiry is a prime example (http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1154129/relative-stunned-poor-translation-ferry-inquiry, and http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1154677/interpreter-accused-poor-translation-leaves-ferry-inquiry).

At times when Mandarin is one of the languages used by witnesses of one party, given I am a Cantonese speaker the client will also request a second teleconferencing with their Mandarin-speaking witnesses to ensure I can understand their accents. Under such circumstances I would remind the party to involve the other side in order to maintain a neutral stance; nevertheless, it is entirely up to the party to decide whether to involve the other side or not, and the agency which connects the clients to me does not have any guideline on this (and probably does not care).

Given either party can ask the interpreter to attend an interview or briefing before the hearings, there is a greater chance for a party to exert subtle influence over the interpreter who is under greater pressure to perform to the satisfaction of the clients and is concerned with preserving her reputation and maintaining her relations with the agency which dispatches her, thus she will likely be more pliable towards the clients to avoid complaints being lodged with the agency. With the recent trend of the claimant and respondent hiring their own interpreters separately, there is a greater pressure to perform and more intense competition with her counterpart since she may be pitched against the other side's interpreter if the claimant retains their interpreter as check interpreter after she has finished interpreting for their witnesses. For instance, I have found myself in a couple of occasions in which I was hired to interpret for the respondent's witnesses and were only given the witness statements to prepare, whereas the Claimant's interpreter has been given other relevant documents such as opening statements of both parties for preparation. Moreover, I will be walking into the hearing midway without any idea of what has been going on whereas the other interpreter has already been working on the case for a couple of days. Such situation exerts more pressure on the interpreter and creates more anxiety in her to perform to the satisfaction of her client.

On the contrary, the court interpreter is provided by the Judiciary and parties in the litigation do not have a choice or control over the hire and thus cannot exert a direct influence over the interpreter. Moreover, the common code of conduct for court interpreters is to avoid unnecessary contact with interested parties both inside or outside of the courtroom to avoid the appearance of prejudice.[14] A set of guidelines is provided by the Judiciary

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14 See, for example, "Standards of Professional Conduct and Responsibilities for Members of the Judiciary Interpreters Association of Texas" included as appendix in Berk-Seligson (2002: 252).

to the part-time court interpreters (which, though not provided to the full-time court interpreters, presumably also applies to them),[15] whereas neither the Hong Kong International Arbitration Centre nor the Department of Judiciary has provided any guidelines or protocols for arbitration interpreters. Not surprisingly, "The Protocols for Expeditious, Cost-Effective Commercial Arbitration" issued by the College of Commercial Arbitrators in 2010 are "for business users, counsels, arbitrators and arbitration provider institutions" without mentioning of legal interpreters at all.[16] Unlike the court interpreters, there is no association of freelance legal interpreters which provides guidelines on code of conduct and practice, and it remains with each interpreter's discretion and integrity to maintain neutrality and impartiality.

The Dilemma of the Interpreter

In one of the arbitration cases, I was hired by the claimant who refused to share me with the respondent when the latter requested a shared appointment on the first day of the hearing. This was because the claimant's solicitor had handpicked me from a pool of available interpreters provided by the agency, arranged a paid interview of me with his client, and given me a list of in-house glossary on technical terms for reference. Even though the client and the lawyer did not overstep any line, I am always wary of such situation since there can be extra pressure on my performance. Besides, the scenario is more complicated when parties involved are from different countries with different ideas on the practice of arbitration.

There is one case at which I was hired by the claimant which was a foreign party. I was asked to attend a paid meeting with the client, its solicitors, counsel as well as a Chinese expert witness whose evidence would be given in Mandarin and interpreted by me at the hearing. The meeting unexpectedly turned out to be more like a rehearsal with a solicitor role-playing the respondent's counsel and directing questions at the witness with both questions and answers mediated through my interpreting. Clearly it was a preparatory meeting under the privilege of attorney-client privilege, and I was getting very uneasy when at one point the client tried to brief

15 Ng (2013: 254), and footnote 2.
16 http://www.thecca.net.

the witness on the choice of words in his reply to a certain question right in front of me. I kept wondering if it were proper for me to be privy to such a meeting whose nature I and likely, the agency, was not aware of before agreeing to attend. Although the meeting went on after I was told to leave, I could not but feel troubled by what I had witnessed, namely, the attempt of the client to influence the expert witness's statement, albeit only by the choice of words. Although at the actual hearing the claimant did not make any attempt to influence my interpreting in any way, I kept wondering if there were protocols which can prevent arbitration interpreters being put in an unsavory situation at which she would worry if the client were trying to tacitly influence her choice of words in her interpreting as well.

Cultural Differences

When the former Secretary for Justice, Mr. Rimsky Yuen, raised the question of an international arbitration culture in a speech given at the ICC-HK/HK 45 Arbitration Week less than two months ago,[17] he quoted pundits' view that "arbitral proceedings are increasingly conducted in a uniform manner regardless of the place of arbitration and any governing national law",[18] and is "a meeting point for different legal cultures, a place of convergence and interchange wherein practitioners from different backgrounds create new practices".[19] However, differences in legal culture and practices can pose issues that try to compromise the principle of justice in subtle ways, as can be seen in the following case.

This case was actually a joint appointment secured after one of the two respondents' bilingual counsel interviewed me by phone followed with a videoconferencing with the Mandarin-speaking witnesses of both respondents, their counsel and a claimant's representative. Before I started interpreting the testimonies on the third day, the respondents hired me to do

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17 http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/public/pr/20131021_pr2.html.

18 Anne-Marie Loong, "Steps Toward an International Arbitration Culture? A Dissenting View from The People's Republic of China", *World Arbitration and Mediation Review* (2007) 1(5): 655, cited in paragraph 9 (page 5) of the Secretary for Justice Rimsky Yuen's speech.

19 Tom Ginsburg, *Symposium: International Commercial Arbitration: The Culture of Arbitration* (2003) 36, *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 1335. Cited in paragraph 9 (page 5) of Rimsky Yuen's speech.

whispering for their two Mandarin-speaking witnesses. The counsel was very friendly to me whenever he walked by me at breaks, and by the time he examined the two witnesses in chief, I came to realize his friendly overture as laying the foundation to try to sway my interpreting in his favor. He made undisguised attempt at influencing my choice of diction with certain words which were pivotal to how he argued his case. Recognizing his agenda, I stood my ground and interpreted as impartial as I deemed proper and right. And here is a vivid example of the impossibility of the arbitration interpreter refraining from visibility: when I interpreted the Chinese term 正本 as "the original", the counsel kept shaking his head to show dissent until I translated the term into "formal or official copy", then he nodded. Puzzled, I looked at the witness statement the claimant had given me to prepare before the hearing, and noted that the certified English translation used the word "original copy". Hence, when the same Chinese term emerged the second time, I prefaced my rendering with a declaration:

> The interpreter has earlier translated this Chinese term as "the original", to which the learned Counsel has responded that it should be "formal or official copy" instead, but the interpreter has noticed that the term is translated as "the original copy" in the English translation of the witness statement provided to me by the claimant. Since I am in no position to make a judgment call, I hereby render the term in both in the following.

Perhaps for this stance of impartiality, upon finishing my job the chairman of the arbitral tribunal thanked me for having "materially aided the tribunal and counsel" and expressed "genuine appreciation" for my service.[20] Ironically, the counsel in question later asked me if I would be

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20 Since the hearing was not over yet, his words of appreciation were noted on the transcript. I must congratulate myself for having the foresight to ask the agency to extract the relevant part for me, for months later this counsel's senior partner libeled against me at a deposition, telling my clients (the deposing counsels) that I performed poorly at an arbitration at which his firm represented one party, and that I made blatant mistake on a word. He was also trying to discredit me through his Mandarin-speaking witness, who feigned not to understand my accent at times, trying to cause me to be thrown off the job. Fortunately, the check interpreter he had brought along (who happened to be a voluntary witness and acquaintance of the other witness) defended my competence to the witness concerned and the deposing counsels. I was later told the libel behind my back by the court reporter, with whom I was on amicable professional terms, and I forwarded the email containing the extract to the clients in order to salvage my reputation and for them to keep a record in the event that the interpreter's competency was subsequently made an issue.

willing to work on cases for them in future and if I would be willing to go on mainland assignments at the break. He said to me that "Hong Kong interpreters are more impartial"![21]

There are a couple other cases I worked at which serve to illustrate the different expectations on the role of the interpreter as complicated by cultural differences. The respondents in both cases were represented by Singaporean law firms. In one of the cases the respondent's expert witness chose to give evidence in English, and the claimant's counsel was directing her questions on technical terms of different building facilities represented on the sketch. As usual, I was playing a supporting role and did not think I could interject until the witness turned to me for help, or being requested by the respondent's counsel or the arbitrator to assist. And yet the claimant's solicitor kept gesticulating to me wildly from the back, clearly expecting me to intervene. Under such circumstances, the assumed non-participatory status of the interpreter is at odds with the client's expectation of acting as an advocate to intervene.

Unlike one case when I was jointly appointed by both parties, this time the respondent hired me alone whereas the claimant hired his own interpreter. As a result of this split hiring, the respondent's solicitor clearly considered my role more of an advocate rather than an impartial interpreter. When its first witness, a Mandarin speaker, chose to give evidence in English and continued to struggle through the hearings, I in a supporting position could only wait for him to turn to me. Unfortunately, when he turned to me for help he was using me like a dictionary and asking me for the English equivalents of a single word or a term without giving me the context, and I was hard put to read his mind. In the end, the respondent's solicitor faulted me for not proactively intervening to assist the witness when he was struggling with his answer or at times when his answers seemed to show a lack of understanding of the questions put to him. Even though I explained to her that the protocol would not allow me to actively intervene, she was so upset that she terminated my booking early (though with cancellation fees) and asked the agency to send another legal interpreter to replace me in the remaining hearing days.

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21 Yet more and more mainland clients are bringing over mainland interpreters to work at arbitration hearings in Hong Kong, particularly in cases when they are contending against a Hong Kong entity.

The aforementioned cases demonstrate the conflicting expectations on the interpreter whose role is wrought with tension from the power dynamics in the adversarial setting, which is further complicated by differences of legal cultures of international parties and the tendency for the claimant and respondent to hire interpreters separately.

Conclusion

In a speech given at the UNCITRAL-MOJ-KCAB Second Annual Conference, former Secretary for Justice of Hong Kong identified quality of service as one of the key factors to ensure a sustainable development of international arbitration in the region:

> Arbitrators and other arbitration practitioners, irrespective of their experience and background, must be provided with appropriate continuous training so as to enable them to stay at the forefront of the industry. In this regard, arbitration institutions in each jurisdiction have an important role to play.[22]

Because of a lack of accessible record, this chapter can only provide some seminal ideas as food for thought. Yet I hope the examples I have shown in the above has illustrated a need to review the role played by arbitration interpreters and to consider them indispensable members of the "arbitration practitioners" as well. As former Secretary for Justice has said in his speech at UNCITRAL-MOJ-KCAB Second Annual Conference,

> Research should also be encouraged, especially research on issues relevant to the region. Given the cultural diversity of the jurisdictions within the region, topics concerning how such cultural differences would impact on conduct of international arbitration deserves attention.

As the government strives "to strengthen Hong Kong's position as an international centre for legal services and dispute resolution in the Asia-Pacific region",[23] attention should be given to promote best practice for all

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22 http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/public/pr/20131111_pr1.html.

23 Speech delivered by former Secretary for Justice at the opening ceremony of the Asia Pacific Regional Arbitration Group Conference 2013 held in Beijing (28 June 2013), http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/public/pr/20130628_pr2.html.

practitioners involved in arbitration procedures, not only arbitrators, lawyers, and arbitration service institutions but interpreters as well. Institutions like the HKIAC can consider issuing guidelines such as protocols on the professional standards, conduct and practice of arbitration interpreters. Such guidelines will help promote understanding of the role of the legal interpreter as well as help the interpreters to dodge unethical demands on them in the event that a party with interest oversteps the line. If the interpreter can at least resort to some official guidelines to assert her independent, neutral and impartial stance, it is easier for her to uphold professional integrity and thus function best in her capacity. Perhaps the HKIAC, which maintains a List of Arbitrators, can also maintain a list of recommended interpreters and/or agencies to promote good practice.

In the address at the ICC-HK/HK 45 Arbitration Week, former Secretary for Justice[24] also identifies several key features essential to building an effective international arbitration framework, amongst which are "a sufficient pool of highly competent legal professionals and arbitration practitioners" and "proper training in the law and practices concerning international arbitration". Once again, I would suggest expanding the definition of "arbitration practitioners" to include arbitration interpreters; furthermore, I would advocate that legal professionals be made to better understand the role of the arbitration interpreter, and the latter be given training or at least guidelines on professional code of conduct.

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24 At the time of revising this article, Mr. Rimsky Yuen has just stepped down from his post as Secretary for Justice and replaced by Ms. Teresa Cheng, SC, a prominent figure in the arbitration arena. She has been "frequently engaged as arbitrator or counsel in complex international commercial or investment disputes" and is "a past Vice President of the International Council of Commercial Arbitration, Past Vice President of the ICC International Court of Arbitration and Past Chairperson of Hong Kong International Arbitration Centre". Her eminence is further attested by her having been "the first Asian woman elected through a global election as President of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators in 2008". (Profile of the new Secretary for Justice available at http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/about/pdf/sjcv2018e.pdf.) Her appointment is generally viewed as a testimony to the HKSAR government's will to promote Hong Kong as a premier hub for international arbitration.

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17 Liaison Interpreting

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Introduction

The origin and the definitions of the word *liaison* help to understand this concept as it is used in Interpreting Studies and highlight the role coupled with the skills pertaining to the professional figure that performs this task.

As to the origin of the term, it derives from the French verb *lier* (to bind) and was used in cooking as defined in the Oxford Dictionaries Online (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/liaison). This notion provides a first insight into the essence of this concept: liaison is something (or somebody) that combines different ingredients to establish a chemical bonding between them.

The transposition of the cooking metaphor into this particular type of human activity, namely liaison interpreting, reveals that this entails the ability to aid other individuals' interaction in the pursuit of a shared objective from their respective differences.

Indeed, the definitions of *liaison* provided by the same dictionary further clarify this concept:

> a: communication or cooperation which facilitates a close working relationship between people or organizations (example: *the head porter works in close liaison with the reception office*).

b: a person who acts as a link to assist communication or cooperation between people (example: *he's our liaison with a number of interested parties*).

Similar definitions relevant for our field are also to be found in the online Merriam-Webster Dictionary (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/liaison):

a: a person who helps organizations or groups to work together and provide information to each other
b: a relationship that allows different organizations or groups to work together and provide information to each other.

The same dictionary also provides other definitions:

a: communication for establishing and maintaining mutual understanding and cooperation (as between parts of an armed force)
b: one that establishes and maintains communication for mutual understanding and cooperation.

The emphasis is laid here also on the concepts of *relationship* and *mutual understanding*, in addition to those of communication, in the sense of information exchange, and cooperation as in the previous definitions.

Again, these two notions are particularly relevant to the field of interpreting because establishing a *good rapport* between all the participants in a communicative event is of fundamental importance for an interpreting performance to be successful, that is to say in order to guarantee mutual understanding. When referring to the participants, another distinctive feature of liaison interpreting emerges, namely that the interpreter is a fully-fledged active speech participant on an equal footing with the individuals s/he is interpreting for. That's why some authors consider this kind of interpreter-mediated event a "communicative pas de trois" (Wadensjö 1998) or a "triadic exchange" (Mason 2001) as will be explained in greater detail further on.

AIn this brief general introductory part about the meaning of liaison, final consideration can be given to the concept of *mutual trust*, a prerequisite of a good rapport between individuals or groups of people. Each participant must be confident that the other will do his/her outmost to understand and to clearly express what s/he has to say, which in the case of the interpreter also implies the commitment to honestly convey each other's message, in full respect of the need for neutrality and equidistance between the different parties. A testimony of the importance of a trustful attitude in human communication comes from the German philosopher Gadamer. In his book of memories published in 1977, he recalled an episode in Berlin after World War II in which he wanted to vent his anger with the Russian authorities because of their interference in academic autonomy. He thoughtfully described the crucial consequences of the lack of trust between him and his interpreter as follows:

> Luckily, I had an excellent interpreter. On that occasion I learnt that when you need to resort to an interpreter, the true dialogue does not take place between the interlocutors, but between each of them and the interpreter. Therefore one needs to win him/her over if someone wants his case to be convincingly defended. (Gadamer 1980: 106, my translation)

Liaison Interpreting: The First Form of Interpreting

Within the framework of Interpreting Studies, liaison interpreting is described as an oral form of linguistic and cultural mediation performed on the basis of the interpreter's memory, at times aided by a few notes, and not on the basis of specific technical equipment. Liaison interpreters are engaged in "face-to-face" and "sentence-by-sentence" linguistic mediation in a wide-ranging variety of communicative situations. This interpreting modality serves the purpose of enabling two or more individuals of different languages and cultural backgrounds to understand each other, thus contributing to the successful achievement of their respective goals.

Liaison interpreting is as old as mankind's first socializing contacts between individuals or neighbouring populations speaking different languages. Indeed, the presence of bilingual/bicultural intermediaries has been amply described in the history of commercial exchanges, administrative functions, military campaigns, dissemination of religious faiths or colonization processes (Hermann 1956/2002; Kurz 1985; Delisle & Woodsworth 1995; Kellett 1999; Merlini 2005). However, given the evanescent nature of the spoken word compared to the written word, the oldest instance of interpreting in the history of the world appeared only around the third millennium BC in the inscriptions of the tombs of the Princes of Elephantine Island in the VI dynasty of the Old Egyptian Kingdom (Hermann 1956/2002). These Princes knew the languages of the neighbouring peoples with whom Egyptian Pharaohs developed trade relations and therefore they were described as "overseers of dragomans" ("interpreter", from the Arab *targiumān*).

Despite their indispensable function, interpreters did not enjoy a high status: "The title of interpreter and the corresponding hieroglyph would appear onomatopoeically to indicate a foreign language. The interpreter was thought of, rather disparagingly, as 'the speaker of foreign tongues'" (Hermann 1956/2002: 16).

Yet, the etymology of interpreter reveals its original crucial function: the word derives from the Latin *inter* "between" and *pretium* "price" to indicate that they mediated between the interested parties to reach an agreed-upon price for the goods they traded (Merlini 2005). This mediating or, more specifically, this *negotiating* function is the interpreter's core function still today: s/he negotiates *meaning*, that is the symbolic "value" of speakers' utterances.

This notwithstanding, interpreters were always held in very low consideration as reported also by Kellett Bidoli (1999: 8):

> In the past interpreting was rarely considered as a real profession, but rather as a skill that common citizens were required to display ad hoc by members of higher social classes […]. Interpreters were often soldiers, bureaucrats or slaves of both sexes who simply possessed the language combination needed on a given occasion. (My translation)

Today, in most countries liaison interpreters are still struggling to be recognized as fully-fledged professionals in their own right, unlike conference interpreters whose activity started only in the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, the profession is still far from having reached the much-deserved status that implies adequate social-institutional recognition and financial remuneration. That is why efforts to enhance the profession and promote theoretical and field research are ongoing, as testified by the series of Critical Link conferences (http://www.criticallink.org) which every three years gather professional interpreters, scholars, researchers and enterprises from all over the world.

Indeed, such a different level of social recognition and treatment between liaison interpreters and conference interpreters is far from justified because the difference between liaison interpreting and conference interpreting lies in their "attributes" and not in their "substance": they both require competent bi-/multi-lingual/cultural professionals to act as "critical links" who make communication between two individuals possible despite linguistic and socio-cultural barriers, and bear high responsibility on account of their linguistic renditions. But before describing the several distinctive features of liaison versus other modes of interpreting, let us first concentrate on liaison interpreting.

Liaison Interpreting: General vs. Specific Definition

Liaison interpreting could be considered a general label which "refer[s] to a growing area of interpreting throughout the world: in business settings, where executives from different cultures and languages meet each other; in meetings between a society's legal, medical, educational and welfare institutions and its immigrants who speak a different language; in relations between a dominant society and indigenous peoples speaking different languages; in a whole host of less formal situations in tourism, education and cultural contacts" (Gentile et al. 1996: 1).

According to this perspective, societal developments call for different instances of liaison interpreting, and the sheer variety of occupational settings and geographical distribution of this profession makes liaison interpreting take on different labels (Roy 2002; Mack 2005; Ozolins 2014), even within the English-speaking world (Gentile et al. 1996). Therefore, the terminological proliferation around liaison interpreting is often associated with specific working contexts. While "liaison interpreting" is generally accepted as a general definition of this profession as opposed to conference interpreting, the other terms are generally used as follows: "ad hoc interpreter" usually defines a person without formal training called upon to interpret ("such as a family member interpreting for her parents, a bilingual staff member pulled away from other duties to interpret, or a self-declared bilingual in a hospital waiting-room", NCIHC 2001); "face-to-face" interpreting stresses the physical presence of a liaison interpreter as opposed to telephone interpreting.

Liaison interpreting requested for informal meetings in activities related to trade and tourism are usually referred to as "escort interpreting" and "business interpreting" (see for instance, Pistillo 2009).

Legal settings include, for instance, police interrogations and also interpreting provided during trials and hearings: in that case "court" or "courtroom interpreting" is the usual label (for a detailed description of the peculiarities of this profession and its applications, see Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Mikkelson 2000; Hale 2004).

"Public service interpreting", "three-cornered", "dialogue interpreting", "contact interpreting" and "community interpreting" are all synonyms which refer to interpreting services provided to social, legal and healthcare institutions such as hospitals, medical centres, schools, police stations, immigration offices, etc.

Some authors, however, consider liaison interpreting not as a blanket label covering different communicative settings and service requirements which developed over time, but rather as one of the interpreting strategies implemented in community interpreting: "short dialogue" or "liaison interpreting [in cases such] as a housing application, a police interview or medical checkup" (Hertog 2010: 49).

Liaison and Conference Interpreting Compared

As already anticipated, the first obvious difference between the two modes of interpreting are the conditions under which they take place: liaison interpreting is usually performed in a more informal setting (exception made for court interpreting), for a limited number of interlocutors and without any specific technical equipment; conference interpreting is performed in formal settings (institutional assemblies, international theme meetings, specialized conferences, lectures, etc.), for large audiences and without specific technical support in the case of simultaneous interpreting (audio equipment, booth and headsets).

At pragmatic level, the liaison interpreter's active participation in the communicative interaction (the famous Wadensjö's "communicative pas de trois") distinguishes him/her from a conference interpreter, whose visibility and self projection has only recently been recognized (Straniero Sergio 1999, 2007; Diriker 2004).

In the literature, one finds detailed comparisons between conference interpreting and community interpreting, but these are generally applicable also to liaison interpreting.

Among the main features that characterize community versus conference interpreting, Angelelli (2000: 582–83) indicates the following: "dialogic mode [conference interpreters mostly interpret monologues], equal amount of work into both languages, possibility of controlling the traffic flow, parties' participation in the communicative event which may not be optional (e.g. in the case of a patient, [while a member of a conference audience may not necessarily take the floor]), maximum potential for different backgrounds between parties, maximum potential for linguistic varieties of the same code (in both languages), maximum potential for different registers". Furthermore, the author provides a thorough socio-pragmatic analysis of the differences between their respective communicative situations, based on Hymes' theory of communication.

Another comparative overview is offered by Hale (2007: 31–33), where the author highlights the main differences in terms of register, language directionality, proxemics, mode of delivery, consequences of inaccurate renditions, level of accuracy required, participants and number of interpreters. In addition to these features, she also specifies: the community interpreter's register ranges from very formal to very informal, his/her language direction is bidirectional, s/he acts in close proximity with the speakers which favours interactivity, the mode of interpreting is mainly short consecutive (in dialogues), long consecutive, simultaneous whispering and sight translation, the consequences of inaccurate renditions are high and so is the level of accuracy required (court and medical interpreting are self-explanatory examples), participants in the events are mostly of different status and, finally, community interpreters work alone and not in teams.

What a Liaison Interpreter Does

In all these settings, the liaison interpreter is physically present, usually sits in a position to favour eye contact and direct interaction between the two interlocutors, and may take down short notes to deliver her/his translation after each speaker's turn in a dialogue (consecutive mode). The *dialogic nature* of the settings where liaison interpreting is required is an important characteristic (or "attribute") of this type of interpreter-mediated event. If necessary, the interpreter whispers into the addressee's ear the translation of the source message while the addressor is speaking (*chuchotage* mode). As already mentioned, s/he interprets in two language directions, i.e. from a source language A (for instance, Japanese) into a target language B (for instance, Mandarin) to convey the speaker's message and from the source language B (Mandarin) into the target language A (Japanese) to translate the other speaker's reply. A liaison interpreter is therefore required to have an excellent passive and active knowledge of her/his working language(s), cultures and of specialized terminology, in addition to the other non-linguistic competences required, which will be mentioned later. For a successful interpreter-mediated encounter, a preliminary *briefing session* between the client and the interpreter is recommended to discuss the purpose of the meeting and the desired style of interpretation, and to review any materials and terminology that will be used. During the briefing session or before the start of the meeting, the interpreter's role should be made clear (for instance, s/he will specify that s/he will translate anything that the speakers will say and if they wish otherwise, they should refrain from saying what should not be reported—transparency principle, NCIHC 2001).

The Multiple Roles of a Liaison Interpreter

The liaison interpreter's professional role encompasses both a pragmatic and a cultural-linguistic dimension. As to the first dimension, codes of conduct and ethical principles developed by professional associations and institutions provide indispensable guidelines to shape the daily practice of the liaison interpreter. The importance of two principles in particular is universally stressed: *neutrality* and *confidentiality*. The first one, the principle of neutrality, has already been mentioned and it entails the liaison interpreter's obligation not to take sides with either of the two or more interlocutors involved, but to translate for everybody with the same level of fidelity and emotional detachment.

Theoretically, no interpreters will ever object to this principle, yet field research has shown that, consciously or unconsciously, interpreters often tend to emotionally align themselves with one of the two interlocutors s/he is interpreting for, as the analysis of their linguistic behaviours reveals (for instance, concerning the use of personal pronouns, see Merlini & Favaron 2007). This could be due to all sorts of reasons, for instance to the interpreter's perception that one of the interlocutors is in a disadvantaged position vs the other one, or to the fact the s/he shares a common background with one of them, or to a feeling of loyalty towards the client or public institution that hired him/her. Whatever the reasons, justified or not, a liaison interpreter must always be aware of her/his attitude and of the possible risks derived from losing a neutral and unbiased stance.

This condition does not usually occur either in conference interpreting or in other forms of liaison interpreting like business or escort interpreting. In community settings, there is usually a cultural, hierarchical and institutional gap between the public officials belonging to the establishment of the hosting country (medical doctors, policemen, magistrates, etc.) and the members of the minority group involved in the interaction (migrant patients, asylum seekers, foreign offenders, etc.). The "ideal" interpreter is expected to be impartial and neutral (Schweda-Nicholson 1994): s/he will convey exactly the same meaning of the original utterance with the same degree of formality and respect (relaying role; Wadensjö 2002) and will refrain from taking sides with either of the two parties. Over the years, a fair amount of studies have been carried out to verify these two basic tenets of ethical conduct in the interpreter's daily practice. Results show that either consciously (due to issues of ethnic, social, political, cultural or even gender nature; Gentile et al. 1996) or unconsciously (as evidenced, for instance, in healthcare through the use of a detached or affiliative language when interpreting; Merlini and Favaron 2007), often community interpreters behave like advocates of the party considered at a disadvantage (in many countries [interpreters] are actually "supposed to be actively involved in looking after the rights of the 'weaker' party"; Niska 2002: 134). Community interpreters (and liaison interpreters in general) as social agents carry values, knowledge, experiences, beliefs and emotions that are inevitably channelled through the interpretation of the communicative interaction. Some particular working settings (legal, medical, etc.) may even cause severe psychological stress and tensions, even trauma (Baistow 2000, qtd. in Rudvin 2002). Neutrality is therefore a concept that needs re-contextualizing in the light of a "more dynamic, interactional approach which looks at the community interpreter as an active agent in the construction of 'meaning' [...]" (Rudvin 2002: 217).

The second principle of paramount importance is the principle of confidentiality which compels the interpreter not to reveal to anyone the contents of the dialogue s/he has interpreted. Failure to abide by this principle could also imply legal consequences.

In addition to these two basic principles, which are enshrined in every ethical code, there is another principle that liaison interpreters have internalized, more or less consciously: they are professionals that enable speakers of different languages and (often) cultures to successfully interact and therefore they must make communication as smooth as possible and do their best to avoid conflicts between the interlocutors. This is often accomplished by watering down offensive tones or by other forms of overt or covert mediation during the interaction.

As already pointed out, the term "mediator" highlights the interpreter's status of active participant or co-primary interlocutor (Wadensjö 1998) and not just of messenger or "conduit" (for a discussion on this popular metaphor, see Roy 2002).

Based on field research and conversation analysis, Wadensjö (2002) highlights a double role of the dialogue interpreter which by extension includes all modes of interpreting other than conference interpreting (from the Swedish equivalent "dialogtolk" or "kontakttolk", ibid.: 354): s/he fulfills a *relaying role* to ensure fluent communication by enabling the two speakers' messages to be conveyed across different languages, and at the same time, s/he plays a *coordinating role* in the communication flow and promotes the progression of ongoing exchange. Wadensjö uses "dialogue interpreting" to emphasize her focus on "the interpreter-in-interaction", rather than on "the individual interpreter": "It has been demonstrated that interpreters' work is primarily structured by their understanding of the situation, the ongoing activity and its logic, and secondly by the task of translation" (Wadensjö 2008: 184). This holds true for all forms of liaison interpreting. On the one hand, as relayeur, s/he produces a whole variety of possible message renditions. On the other hand, the author observed that some dialogue interpreters' contributions are not meant to convey any propositional content, but bring to the fore her/his coordinating role. Her/his contribution may be a response to the prior speaker (rather than translating for the other interlocutor) or may be an initiative to encourage the other speaker to respond next. Wadensjö (2002: 364–65) suggested the following taxonomy: implicitly coordinating or gatekeeping contributions and explicitly coordinating contributions. Instances of the first category are all the interpreter's renditions as relayeur: their greater or lesser faithfulness to the speakers' original utterances implicitly influences the contents and direction of the communicative exchange.

The interpreter's possible linguistic renditions were classified by the author as follows: expanded renditions, reduced renditions, substituting renditions, summarizing renditions, lack of renditions and no renditions.

Expanded renditions are described as: "[…] a text which includes some explicitly verbalized information in addition to what is explicitly expressed in the original utterance" (Wadensjö 2002: 358). The example she provides is taken from a dialogue between Alex, a Russian citizen applying for a prolonged residence permit, and Pia, a female Swedish police officer, both interpreted by Iza. The dialogue in English goes as follows:

Example

Alex: this was more or less how I spent [it].
Iza: and this was roughly how I spent the summer.

Reduced renditions are described as follows (ibid.: 359): "[…] a text which contains less explicitly verbalized information than the original utterance".

Example

Pia: have you done anything? special this summer? travelled or…?
Iza: didn't you do something… interesting? this summer.

Substituting renditions are defined as follows (ibid.: 361): "[…] a rendition which is a more complex transformation of the information made explicit in the original utterance, including sometimes both expansion and reduction at the same time"

Example

Pia: any special plans. because this concerns first and foremost you (singular form).
Iza: this concerns of course first and foremost you, (2 p. plural) but the plans of your wife.

Summarizing renditions are defined as follows (ibid.: 362): "[…] a new version of what originally was contributed in more than one original utterance, possibly provided by more than one person. For instance, they might be the result of a dialogue between the primary party [one of the interlocutors] and the Dialogue Interpreter herself".

Lack of renditions are defined as (ibid.): "[…] cases where the originals do not have a counterpart in any unit of Dialogue Interpreter-talk".

Examples of the second category, i.e. of interpreter's contributions which highlight his/her coordinating role, are: (a) responses to the prior speaker in the form of "requests for clarifications or comments on the substance (or form) of the prior speaker's contribution" (ibid.: 365)—since these exchanges occur in one language, the other party is momentarily excluded from the conversation; (b) initiatives to elicit information that one of the two speakers may need by encouraging the addressed person to continue talking; (c) contributions in the form of meta-comments which provide "an explanation of what the other primary party seems to mean, what the other primary party does not understand [due to possible major cultural differences] or what the other primary party is doing or going to do in the interaction" (ibid.).

These verbal contributions of a dialogue interpreter are to be considered as *no renditions*, because strictly speaking, these are turns at talk that have no counterparts in the primary party's utterance, but originate from the dialogue interpreter her/himself to direct the communicative exchange and negotiate meaning.

This is why, Wadensjö concludes (ibid.: 367): "On a macro-sociological level, there is a duality inherent in the function of a dialogue interpreter already in that she, in a sense, exhibits both service and control".

The notion of "*service*", inherent to the profession of a liaison interpreter and more specifically to a public service interpreter or community interpreter, is highlighted by Mikkelson (1996) with a different connotation when referring to interpreting between a service provider and a client (ibid.: 126–27, original emphasis): "[...] community interpreters provide services for *residents of a community*, as opposed to diplomats, conference delegates, or professionals travelling abroad to conduct business".

The need for community interpreters, which first arose in countries with long-standing immigration traditions such as Great Britain, Australia and Canada, is now very strong also in other European countries which have recently become migrants' destinations (and no longer just countries of emigration) such as Italy (Russo & Mack 2005; Rudvin 2006; Gavioli 2009) or Spain (Valero Garcés et al. 2008; Valero Garcés 2008; Alonso & Baigorri 2008). This increasing demand has spurred the growing professionalization of community interpreters worldwide, the availability of training programmes (Hale 2007), accreditation systems (such as NAATI in Australia) and the development of professional associations with their own code of ethics and quality standards (AUSIT, NRPSI, NAJITI, AITI, etc.).

To meet the challenge of providing quality interpreting in today's huge variety of work settings and service demands, community interpreters and liaison interpreters in general need to be properly trained.

Training: Where and How

As already anticipated, liaison interpreters avail themselves of specific interpreting techniques, namely: short consecutives with or without notes, sight translation and chuchotage.

These are to be coupled with the relevant knowledge of the respective cultures, subject matters and of the terminology of each specific field of activity involved. For instance, if they are called to interpret for a businessman involved in textile manufacturing, they must be aware of the production techniques and equipment, types of materials, etc., but also of marketing conditions, etc. This conceptual knowledge must be acquired with the relevant terminology in his/her two working languages.

In addition to these technical and documentation aspects of the preparation for the assignment, a liaison interpreter must also learn to develop the right sensitivity, empathy and skills to be able to manage interpersonal relations successfully. Last but not least, s/he has to achieve the self-confidence and the role awareness needed to be authoritative and trustworthy in his/her clients' eyes.

All these features must be learnt in well-targeted training courses. These are usually offered at BA and MA level by academic institutions. Nowadays, also non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and state- or internationally funded non-profit bodies and vocational training entities provide short courses combining both theory and practice.

Core subjects of any training course include: a theoretical framework introducing the notion of interpreting and all its social, cross-cultural and ethical implications; background information about the work settings requiring the mediation of a liaison interpreter (in this case the term is used as a hyperonym) such as health, court, etc., floor-management and role-plays. These are usually video-recorded and played back in the classroom to receive peers' and trainer's feedback.

Many publications in many languages offer stepwise training material dealing with a variety of theoretical and practical aspects of this profession. Among these, Rudvin's and Tomassini's (2011) textbook in English is a good example of this approach.

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18 Simultaneous Interpreting

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Translation vs. Interpreting

In English, the words "translation" and "translating" are often used as an umbrella term to cover both written translation and interpreting, while the words "interpretation" and "interpreting" are generally used to refer to the spoken and/or signed translation modalities only. Similar ambiguities are found in other languages, including French, with *traduire* and *interpréter*, German, with *Dolmetschen* and *Übersetzen*, Spanish, with *traducir* and *interpretar*, Japanese, where 翻訳 stands for written translation and 通訳 for interpreting, but the verb 訳す is often used for both. In this chapter, the same usage will be kept, and wherever potential ambiguity is suspected, it will be removed by specifying "written translation".

Two further points need to be made here: the first is that translation also includes a hybrid, "sight translation", which is the translation of a written text into a spoken or signed speech. Simultaneous interpreting with text, discussed later in this chapter, combines interpreting and sight translation. The second point is that while in the literature, there is generally a strong separation between the world of spoken (and written) languages and the world of signed languages, in this chapter, both will be considered. Both deserve attention and share much common ground when looking at the simultaneous interpreting mode.

Interpreting Modes and Modalities

In the world of interpreting, the consensus is that there are two basic interpreting modes: simultaneous interpreting, in which the interpreter produces his/her speech while the interpreted speaker is speaking/signing—though with a lag of up to a few seconds—and consecutive interpreting, in which the speaker produces an utterance, pauses so that the interpret can translate it, and then produces the next utterance, and so on.

In everyday interaction between hearing people who speak different languages and need an interpreter, consecutive interpreting is the natural mode: the speaker makes an utterance, the interpreter translates it into the other language, then there is either a response from the second speaker utterance by the first speaker, after which the interpreter comes in again, and so on. In interaction between a hearing person and a deaf person, or between two deaf persons who do not use the same sign language (American Sign Language, British Sign Language, French Sign Language, etc.), simultaneous interpreting is more likely to be used.

Conference interpreters also make a distinction between what they often call "long/true consecutive", in which each utterance by a speaker is rather long, up to a few minutes or longer, and requires note-taking by the interpreter, and "short consecutive" or "sentence-by-sentence consecutive", in which each utterance is short, one to a few sentences, and interpreters do not take notes systematically.

Simultaneous with text is clearly in the simultaneous mode, because the interpreter translates while the original speech ("source speech") is still unfolding. The hybrid sight translation is more difficult to classify. On the one hand, it entails translation after the source text has been produced, which suggests it should be considered a consecutive translation mode. On the other, the sight translator translates while reading the text, which suggests simultaneous reception and production operations.

Simultaneous interpreting is conducted with or without electronic equipment (microphones, amplifiers, headsets, an interpreting booth), generally in teams of at least two interpreters who take turns interpreting every thirty minutes or so, because it is widely assumed that the pressure is too high for continuous operation by just one person.

In conference interpreting between spoken languages, speakers generally speak into a microphone, the sound is electronically transmitted to an interpreting booth where the interpreter listens to it through a headset and interprets it into a dedicated microphone, and the target language speech is heard in headsets by listeners who need it.

Sometimes, portable equipment is used, without a booth. When simultaneously interpreting for radio or television, listeners/viewers hear the interpreted speech through the radio or TV set's loudspeakers rather than through a headset, but the principle remains the same.

Sometimes, no equipment at all is used, and the interpreter, who sits next to the listener who does not understand the speaker's language, interprets the speech into the listener's ears in what is called "whispered (simultaneous) interpreting".

When interpreting between a signed language and a spoken language or between two signed languages, no equipment is used in dialogue settings. In video relay interpreting, a deaf person with a camera is connected through a telephone or other telecommunications link to a remote interpreting centre where interpreters generally sit in booths and send their spoken interpretation of the output back to a hearing interlocutor and vice versa. In the United States, such free interpreting service has been available to all for a number of years and has allegedly had major implications on deaf signers (e.g. Keating & Mirus 2003; Taylor 2009).

To users of interpreting services, the main advantage of simultaneous interpreting over consecutive interpreting is the time gained, especially when more than two languages are used at a meeting. Its main drawbacks are its higher price and lack of flexibility. The former is due to both the cost of the interpreting booth and electronic equipment generally required for simultaneous and to the rule that with the exception of very short meetings, simultaneous interpreters work in teams of at least two people—at least in interpreting between spoken languages, whereas for consecutive interpreting assignments, interpreters tend to accept working alone more often. The lack of flexibility is due to the use of booths and electronic equipment in usual circumstances, with restricts mobility and requires a certain layout of the conference room.

The History of Simultaneous Interpreting: A Few Pointers

The literature about the history of interpreting tends to associate simultaneous interpreting with the development of conference interpreting, and in particular with the Nuremberg trials, after World War II (e.g. Ramler 1988; Baigorri Jalón 2004). It is definitely the Nuremberg trials which gave high visibility to simultaneous interpreting, which had been experimented with previously at the ILO (International Labour Organization) and at the League of Nations with limited success (Baigorri Jalón 2004, chapter III), perhaps to a large extent because of resistance by leading conference interpreters who were afraid that this development would reduce their prestige and be detrimental to working conditions (Baigorri Jalón 2004: 148).

In signed language interpreting, in all likelihood, simultaneous interpreting became a popular interpreting mode, perhaps even a default mode early on. It allowed faster communication than consecutive. Moreover, whereas in spoken language interpreting, there is vocal interference between the source speech and the interpreter's speech, in signed language interpreting, there is none. Ball (2013: 4–5) reports that as early as 1818, Laurent Clerc, a deaf French teacher, addressed US President James Monroe and the Senate and Congress of the United States in sign language, and "while he signed", Henry Hudson, an American teacher, "spoke the words".

After World War II, simultaneous was used mostly in international organizations where fast interpreting between several languages became necessary and where waiting for several consecutive interpretations into more than one language was not an option. But it soon extended to other environments such as multinational corporations, in particular for Board of Director meetings, shareholders meetings, briefings, to press conferences, to international medical, scientific and technological conferences and seminars, and to the media. Television interpreting, for instance, has probably become the most visible form of (mostly) simultaneous interpreting, both for spoken languages and for signed languages, and there are probably few people with access to radio and TV worldwide who have not encountered simultaneous interpreting on numerous occasions.

Professional conference interpreter organizations such as AIIC (the International Association of Conference Interpreters, the most prestigious organization, which was set up in Paris in 1953 and has shaped much of the professional practices and norms of conference interpreting) claim high level simultaneous interpreting as a major conference interpreting asset, but simultaneous interpreting is also used in the courtroom and in various public service settings, albeit most often in its whispered form.

All in all, it is probably safe to say that besides signed language interpreting settings, where it is ever-present, simultaneous interpreting has become the dominant interpreting mode in international organizations and in multi-language meetings of political, economic, scientific, technical and even high-level legal meetings as well as in television programmes, while consecutive interpreting is strong in dialogue interpreting, e.g. in one-on-one negotiations, in visits of personalities to foreign countries, and in encounters in field conditions where setting up interpreting equipment is difficult.

An Analysis of the Simultaneous Interpreting Process

How is Simultaneous Interpreting Done?

Is simultaneous interpreting possible at all? One of the early objections to simultaneous interpreting between two spoken languages was the idea that listening to a speech in one language while simultaneously producing a speech in another language was impossible. Intuitively, there were two obstacles. Firstly, simultaneous interpreting required paying attention to two speeches at the same time (the speaker's source speech and the interpreter's target speech), whereas people were thought to be able to focus only on one at a time because of the complexity of speech comprehension and speech production. The second, not unrelated to the first, was the idea that the interpreter's voice would prevent him/her from hearing the voice of the speaker—later, Welford (1968) claimed that interpreters learned to ignore the sound of their own voice (see Moser 1976: 20). Interestingly, while the debate was going on among spoken language conference interpreters, there are no traces in the literature of anyone raising the case of signed language interpreting, which presumably was done in the simultaneous mode as a matter of routine and showed that attention could be shared between speech comprehension and speech production.

As the evidence in the field showed that simultaneous interpreting was possible between two spoken languages, from the 1950s on, investigators began to speculate on how this seemingly unnatural performance was made possible, how interpreters distributed their attention most effectively between the various components of the simultaneous interpreting process (see Barik 1973, quoted in Gerver 1976: 168).

One idea was that interpreters use the speaker's pauses, which occur naturally in any speech, to cram much of their own ("target") speech (see Goldman-Eisler 1968; Barik 1973). However, in a study of recordings of 10 English speakers from conferences, Gerver found that only 4% of the pauses lasted more than 2 seconds and 17% lasted more than 1 second. Since usual articulation rates in such speeches range from close to 100 words per minute to about 120 words per minute, during such pauses, it would be difficult for interpreters to utter more than a few words at most, which led him to the conclusion that their use to produce the target speech could only be very limited (Gerver 1976: 182–83). He also found that even when on average 75 percent of the time, interpreters listened to the source speech and produced the target speech simultaneously, they interpreted correctly more than 85 percent of the source speech.

There are no longer doubts about the genuine simultaneousness of speaking and listening during simultaneous interpreting—though most of the time, at micro-level, the information provided in the target speech lags behind the speaker's source speech by a short span. Anticipation also occurs—sometimes, interpreters actually finish their target language utterance before the speaker has finished his/hers. According to Chernov (2004), such anticipation, which he refers to as "probabilistic prognosis", is what makes it possible to interpret in spite of the cognitive pressure involved in the exercise.

Basically, the simultaneous interpreter analyzes the source speech as it unfolds and starts producing his/her own speech when s/he has heard enough to start an idiomatic utterance in the target language. This can happen after a few words have been produced by the speaker who is being translated, or a phrase, or more rarely a longer speech segment.

For instance, if, in a conference, after a statement by the Chinese representative, the British speaker says, "I agree with the distinguished representative of China", interpreters can generally anticipate and even start producing their target language version of the statement as soon as they have heard "I agree with the distinguished" with little risk of going wrong. In other cases, the beginning of the sentence is ambiguous, or they have to wait longer until they can start producing their translation because the subject, the object and the verb are normally positioned at different places in the target language.

One of the earliest and most popular theories in the field, Interpretive Theory, which was developed at ESIT, France, by Danica Seleskovitch and Marianne Lederer in the late 1960s and early 1970s (e.g. Israël & Lederer 2005), presents the interpreting process in both consecutive and simultaneous as a three-phase sequence. The interpreter listens to the source speech “naturally”, as in everyday life, understands its “message”, which is then “deverbalized”, i.e. stripped of the memory of its actual wording in the source speech. This idea was probably inspired by psychologists, and in particular Sachs (1967), who found that memory for the form of text decayed rapidly after its meaning was understood. The interpreter then reformulates the message in the target language from its a-lingual mental representation (see Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989). Central to this theory is the idea that interpreting differs from “transcoding”, i.e. translating by seeking linguistic equivalents in the target language (for instance lexical and syntactic equivalents) to lexical units and constituents of the source speech as it unfolds. While the theory that total deverbalization occurs during interpreting has been criticized, the idea that interpreting is based more on meaning than on linguistic form transcoding is widely accepted. As explained later, it is particularly important in simultaneous where the risk of language interference is high.

Cognitive Challenges in Simultaneous Interpreting

Lay people often ask how simultaneous interpreters manage to translate highly technical speeches at scientific and technical conferences. Actually, the language of specialized conferences is not particularly complex in terms of syntax, much less so than the language of non-technical flowery speeches, and its main difficulty for interpreters is its specialized lexicon. The relevant terminology needs to be studied before every assignment, which can be done with the appropriate documents, and interpreters tend to prepare ad hoc glossaries for specialized meetings.

Language is not the only challenge that simultaneous interpreters face. There are also cultural challenges, social challenges, affective challenges having to do with their role as message mediators between groups with different cultures and sometimes different interests, as witnesses of events and actions about which they may feel strongly, as persons whose social and cultural status and identity can be perceived differently by the principals in the interpreter-mediated communication and by themselves, but these challenges are not specific to simultaneous interpreting and will not be discussed here.

The main cognitive challenge of simultaneous interpreting is precisely the high pressure on the interpreter's mental resources which stems from the fact that s/he must understand a speech and produce another at the same time at a rate imposed by the speaker. A more detailed analysis of the nature of this challenge is presented elsewhere in this chapter. At this point, suffice it to say that interpreters have always been aware of the fact that the difficulty was considerable as soon as the speech was delivered rapidly, and that interpreters could not always cope (see for example George Mathieu's statement made in 1930 as quoted in Keiser 2004: 585; Herbert 1952; Moser 1976; Quicheron 1981).

The practical consequence of this challenge is the presence of errors, omissions and infelicities (e.g. clumsy wording or syntax) in the simultaneous interpreters' production. How many there are in any interpreted speech or statement is a topic that interpreters are reluctant to discuss. It depends on a number of factors, including the interpreter's skills and experience, features of the speech (see the discussion of problem triggers in the next section) and environmental conditions such as the quality of the sound (or image) which reach the interpreter, background noise, the availability of information for thematic and terminological preparation, and probably language-pair specific features. In many cases, interpreters are able to translate a speaker's statement faithfully and in idiomatic, sometimes elegant language, but in other cases, which are far from rare, errors, omissions and infelicities (EOIs) can be numerous. In a study of authentic online simultaneous interpretations of President Obama's inaugural speech in January 2009 by 10 professional interpreters working into French, German or Japanese, Gile (2011) found 5 to 73 blatant errors and omissions over the first 5 minutes of the speech. In other words, these experienced, proficient interpreters made on average from 1 to more than 14 blatant meaning errors or omissions every minute when translating a difficult, but not extraordinarily difficult speech.

How this affects the comprehension of the speaker's message and intentions by users remains to be investigated. Some EOs may have little or no impact, for instance if they affect speech segments which are highly redundant or of little relevance to the message, while others may deprive the users of important information—for example, if numbers measuring the financial performance of a company are omitted or translated incorrectly. The number of EOIs is therefore not a sufficiently reliable metric to measure the amount of information actually transmitted to users of the target language, but the image of the simultaneous interpreter producing a very faithful and idiomatic version of the source speech in the target language at all times is clearly not a realistic one.

The Effort Model of Simultaneous Interpreting

In the late 1970 and early 1980s, Gile observed the difficulties even highly experienced interpreters with an excellent reputation encountered, reflected upon his own interpreting experience, started reading the literature on cognitive psychology and developed a set of "Effort Models" of interpreting to account for the problems which occurred regularly in the field (e.g. Gile 2009). The Effort Model for simultaneous interpreting conceptualizes SI as consisting of four "Efforts":

The Reception Effort, which encompasses all mental operations involved in perceiving and understanding the source speech as it unfolds, including the perception of the speech sounds—or signs when working from a signed language—and of other environmental input such as documents on screen or reactions of other people present, the identification of linguistic entities from these auditory or visual signals, their analysis leading to a conclusion about their meaning.

The Production Effort, which encompasses all mental operations leading from decisions on ideas or feelings to be expressed (generally on the basis of what was understood from the source speech) to the actual production of the target speech, be it spoken or signed, including the selection of words or signs and their assembly into a speech, self-monitoring and correction if required.

The Memory Effort, which consists in storing for a short period of up to a few seconds information from the source speech which has been understood or partly understood and awaits further processing or needs to be kept in memory until it is either discarded or reformulated into the target language.

The Coordination Effort, which consists in allocating attention to the other three Efforts depending on the needs as the source and target speeches unfold.

Increasingly, speakers read texts. When these are provided to the interpreters as well, the resulting interpreting mode is called "simultaneous with text". In simultaneous with text, the Reception Effort is actually composed of a Listening Effort and a Reading Effort. This distinction is based firstly on the fact that one relies on sound and the other on visual signals, which means that at least at the perception stage, different processes are involved, and secondly on the fact that speakers often depart from the written text and modify, add or omit segments, which forces interpreters to either use the oral signal only or to attend to both the text and the speaker's voice. They generally do the latter, because read speeches tend to have a prosody and a rhythm that make them more difficult to follow than adlibbed speeches (see Déjean Le Féal 1978), and having a text is a help—though the additional Effort entails additional cognitive pressure.

Two further Efforts were added later for the case of an interpreter working from a spoken language into a sign language (on the basis of input from Sophie Pointurier-Pournin, see Pointurier-Pournin 2014). One is the SMS Effort, for Self-Management in Space: besides paying attention to the incoming speech and their own target language speech, interpreters need to be aware of spatial constraints and position themselves physically so as to be able to hear the speaker and see material on screen if available, and at the same time remain visible to the deaf audience without standing out and without causing disturbance to the hearing audience.

The other is the ID Effort, for Interaction with the deaf audience: deaf people often sign while an interpreter is working, either making comments to each other or saying something to the interpreter, for instance asking him/her to repeat or explain or making a comment about the speech being interpreted. This is a disturbance factor for the interpreter, whose attention is distracted from focusing on the incoming speech and outgoing speech.

All these Efforts include non-automatic components: in other words, they require attentional resources (see Gile 2009). For instance, in the Reception Effort, some processing capacity is required to identify linguistic units from the sounds or visual signals, and more capacity is required to make sense out of the linguistic units. In the Production Effort, the retrieval of lexical units, be they spoken or signed, can also require processing capacity, especially in the case of less than frequently occurring words. So does the assembly of lexical units into idiomatic utterances, especially under the possible interference of the source language.

More importantly, the total processing capacity required for all these Efforts tends to be close to the total available attentional resources, close enough for interpreters to be destabilized and risk saturation and EOIs in their output when making errors in their management (such as lagging too far behind the speaker or focusing too strongly on producing an elegant target speech) and when encountering certain difficulties in the speech itself—the so-called “problem triggers”. This fragile situation in which simultaneous interpreters find themselves is the “Tightrope Hypothesis”, which Gile assumes to be the main source of EOIs in interpreting (Gile 2009).

Cognitive Problem Triggers

According to the Tightrope Hypothesis, three types of phenomena cause the overwhelming majority of errors and omissions among professional simultaneous interpreters. The first is mismanagement of attentional resources. The second is an increase of processing capacity requirements. The third is short information-carrying signals with little redundancy such as short names, numbers, short lexical units in text with little grammatical or semantic redundancy such as are often found in Chinese, for example. They are particularly vulnerable to short lapses of attention which cause loss of signal from the speaker with little chance of recovery through redundancy. Triggers most often discussed among interpreters and studied in the literature belong to the second category and include in particular the following:

(a) Rapid Delivery of Speeches, Dense Speeches and Speech Segments as Well as Written Speeches Read Out Aloud

In all these cases, interpreters are forced to analyze much incoming information-containing signal over very short periods, which puts the Reception Effort under a heavy workload. Moreover, since they cannot afford to lag behind, they also have to formulate their target speech rapidly, which imposes a heavy load on the Production Effort.

(b) Embedded Structures and Multi-Word Names (Names of Organizations, Conventions, etc.)

In both of these cases, interpreters have to store much information in memory as the target speech unfolds before they can reformulate it. In multi-word names, the problem arises mainly due to the need to reorganize the components in the target language. For instance, WIPO, the World Intellectual Property Organization, translates into French as OMPI, *Organisation Mondiale de la Propriété Intellectuelle*. The first word in the name in English is second in French, the second becomes fourth, the third remains third, and the fourth becomes the first. If the interpreter cannot anticipate the name in a speech and is not very familiar with the French equivalent, s/he will be forced to wait until the fourth word is pronounced in English before starting to translate it, with repeated retrievals from memory of the English name and what has already been translated into French at every stage of the translation, a very taxing task. In a small experiment with a 12 minutes extract from an authentic speech, Gile (1984) found that out of 15 interpreters who interpreted the speech from English into French, only 3 managed to interpret correctly one of the two multi-word names it contained and none interpreted correctly the other.

(c) Noise and Low Quality Signal from the Speaker

This includes poor sound produced by the electronic equipment, background noise, but also strong accents, poor language quality such as incorrect lexical usage and grammar, careless and non-standard signing when using a sign language, poor logic and ambiguous formulation of ideas. In all these cases, Reception becomes more difficult. Strong accents and poor language quality are frequent when working from English, which has become a lingua franca worldwide and is often used by speakers who do not necessarily master it very well.

(d) Working from One Language into Another which is Syntactically and/or Lexically Very Different

The lexical difficulty applies mostly to interpreting from spoken languages into sign languages, which have a much smaller lexicon, and finding a way to express in a sign language a concept which is lexicalized in the spoken language but has no sign (they are known as "lexical gaps") can require considerable effort and time—at cognitive scale (see Pointurier-Pournin & Gile 2012; Pournin 2014). As to syntactic differences, they have the same effect as multi-word names, in that they require waiting and storing much information in short-term memory before reformulating the message in the target language (e.g. Wilss 1978; Gile 2009; Seeber 2013).

Failure Sequences

A few typical examples can illustrate how speech- and speaker-related difficulties and attentional resource management errors can combine to produce EOIs in simultaneous interpreting due to the fact that interpreters tend to work close to cognitive saturation.

Example 1: Direct Reception Effort Failure

A common failure sequence starts with a source speech segment with high information density (e.g. a number, a complex name, an enumeration) or noisy signal (background noise, strong accent, faulty logic and lexical usage, non-standard signing) the analysis of which requires much processing capacity at a time where little is available, for instance when the interpreter is busy reformulating a previous segment. This results in failure to "hear" the segment—actually, not to hear but to understand the sounds or signs—and in omission of the relevant information in the target speech, or in an error.

In signed language interpreting, background "noise" can come from deaf people other than the speaker who sign to each other or to the interpreter, asking for clarification or making other comments.

Example 2: Indirect Effect of Increased Processing Requirements in the Reception Effort

Another typical sequence starts with a similar, informationally dense or noisy source speech segment which the interpreter identifies as requiring more processing capacity. S/he may decide to focus on the perception and analysis of this segment, which takes away attentional resources from production of the target speech. This may result in a deterioration of the linguistic quality of the target speech, or in slower output, leading to increased lag behind the speaker. This lag may overload the interpreter's short-term memory ("working memory"), leading to the interpreter's inability to remember previously analyzed information which has yet to be reformulated in the target language. Alternatively, the interpreter's short-term memory is not affected immediately, but the lag forces the interpret to accelerate his/her production after the dense source speech segment is analyzed, at which time less processing capacity is available for the Reception Effort, and even simple segments with low information density and no problem-triggering features may be missed (see Gile 2009, chapter 8).

Example 3: Effect of Forced Waiting

An excessive lag behind the speaker can also occur when the source speech is neither informationally dense nor noisy, but syntactic differences between the source language and target language force the interpreter to wait a while before reformulating the content of the beginning of a sentence, which may result in overload in the Memory Effort.

Example 4: Indirect Effect of Intensified Production Effort

Interpreters may understand a concept or idea expressed in the source speech but find it difficult to reformulate it in the target language, for instance because the specific lexical unit they need is unknown to them, or does not exist in the target language (a frequent occurrence when interpreting from a spoken language into a sign language), or is not immediately available to them ("tip of the tongue" phenomenon). The extra time and effort mobilize processing capacity away from the Reception and Memory Efforts, which may result in errors and omissions through the process described above.

Sometimes, the production difficulty stems from the interpreter's wish to produce an elegant speech, which requires less available lexical units, or a complex sentence as opposed to a simple one. In such cases, the problem lies not with features of the source speech or its delivery by the speaker, but with the interpreter's strategic and tactical choices.

Example 5: Effect of Excessive Focus on Text in Simultaneous with Text

Having in the booth the text of an address which a speaker reads has both advantages and drawbacks. The attractiveness of the text to interpreters stems from the fact that it makes the linguistic content of the speech easily available to them in print (save for rare handwritten texts), with virtually no effort required for the linguistic identification of the signals and more freedom to manage the Reading part of the Reception Effort while the Listening part is entirely paced by the speaker. As a result, they are tempted to sight-translate the text and use the speech sounds for the sole purpose of checking the speaker's progression in the text. This entails two risks: one is that the speaker's deviations from the text—skipped parts and added comments—can be missed because not enough attention is devoted to the Listening component; the other is that difficulties in sight translation slow down the interpreter while the speaker is speeding ahead, with the associated lag and consequences described above.

The Simultaneous Interpreter's Language Skills

AIIC offers very general descriptions of language skills required for conference interpreting. It defines three types of working languages (see http://aiic.net/node/6/working-languages/lang/1):

The "A" language is the interpreters' mother tongue (or its strict equivalent) into which they work from all their other working languages in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation. It is the language they speak best, and "in which they can easily express even complicated ideas", and the interpreter's main "active language". "B languages" are languages in which interpreters are "perfectly fluent" and into which they can work (they are also "active languages"), and "C languages" are languages which they "understand perfectly", from which they work but into which they do not translate (they are "passive" languages).

All conference interpreters are supposed to have an A language and at least a C language. However, there is little work for interpreters with one A language and one C language only. The vast majority of them have at least two active languages (one A language and one B language or two A languages) or one active language (generally an A language) and at least two passive languages. In many parts of the world, and in particular in Asia, interpreters tend to have one A language and one B language and work both ways (from A into B and vice versa), though the prevailing norm is that it is better to work into one's A language only—a controversial norm (e.g. Kelly et al. 2003).

Due to the cognitive pressure explained earlier, in terms of language skills, requirements from simultaneous interpreters are more stringent than being "perfectly fluent", being "able to express easily even complicated ideas" and being "able to understand a language perfectly".

Because of the vulnerability of simultaneous interpreters to cognitive saturation, linguistic processing of the incoming speech sounds or visual signs must be very rapid and require as little attentional capacity as possible. This "comprehension availability" comes after repeated exposure to speech (or signed utterances in the case of a sign language) in a variety of situations and with a variety of sociolects and accents. It does not necessarily develop after repeated exposure to written texts, which are perceived visually with only an indirect link to their phonological form. Student interpreters with an excellent comprehension of a passive language in its written form, including those with considerable experience as translators, often fail to have the required availability for the spoken form of their passive languages.

With respect to active languages, cognitive pressure on the simultaneous interpreting process, especially limitations on maximum time lag between reception and reformulation, imposes two requirements. One is the interpreters' ability to access lexical units and assemble them into idiomatic statements rapidly and with little attentional processing capacity expenditure so as to leave enough resources free for other operations, in particular those making up the Reception Effort. The other is flexibility, in other words the ability to start an utterance on the basis of partial information and continue its assembly into an idiomatic sequence of sentences as the incoming source speech unfolds while maintaining rigorous compliance with a given information content. This contrasts sharply with everyday situations in which speakers can plan their utterances in advance or change their content online if they encounter difficulties in formulating their ideas. Such production skills, when they are not part of a person's baseline aptitudes, come after much speaking/signing practice—as opposed to writing, in which, at cognitive scale, that is, fractions of a second, text producers have much more time to retrieve words from memory, assemble them and write them down.

As discussed in the previous section, interpreters also need to have correct prosody and speak without a strong accent so as to be easily understood by users.

In the case of signed language interpreting, for Reception, interpreters need to be familiar with non-standard forms of signing, as they may encounter signers from various backgrounds and geographic areas, with dialects and idiosyncrasies. For Production, they need to be creative in the use of their sign language in order to deal with frequent lexical gaps.

Such requirements are only met by a small proportion of "bilinguals" or "multilinguals", and earning a foreign language degree is far from sufficient to give them sufficient linguistic qualifications. Initially, in the West, it was thought that only persons who came from a culturally and linguistically mixed background or had lived for many years in foreign countries could acquire them. Experience has shown that this is not the case, as some competent simultaneous interpreters have actually acquired their foreign language(s) as adults and have not lived in the relevant country for any significant length of time, but such people presumably have higher than average talent. In prestigious conference interpreter training programmes in Europe, insufficient language skills are probably by far the most frequent reason of students' failure in graduation examinations.

Requirements are far less stringent in consecutive interpreting, in which, while the source speech unfolds, the interpreter's attention can be focused on the incoming speech—and on note-taking when notes are taken. Production follows—after the comprehension process is completed, and at that stage, the interpreter's attention can be focused on word retrieval and utterance assembly, without the need to keep part of it available for comprehension of the incoming speech as is the case in simultaneous. This is why some interpreters who refuse to work from their A language into their B language in simultaneous do work regularly into their B language in consecutive.

Tactics and Strategies

Over time, simultaneous interpreters have developed ways of facing the linguistic and cognitive difficulties they encounter on a regular basis. In the literature, they are often referred to as "strategies" indiscriminately, but it is perhaps more rational to distinguish between preparatory actions with a desired medium-term or long-term effect, which can indeed be called "strategies", and online decisions aiming at immediate or quasi-immediate effects, which will be referred to as "tactics".

Preparation Strategies

The most fundamental strategies used by interpreters to cope with the cognitive difficulties of simultaneous revolve around preparation of their interpreting assignments. This is done mainly through documents, including both conference documents such as the agenda or programme of the meeting, lists of participants, calls for papers, documents describing the conference, texts to be read and abstracts, PowerPoint presentations, and external documents such as newspaper articles, books, scientific journals and, increasingly, internet sources of various kinds. The preparation process often continues up to the beginning of the meeting and even beyond, in the interpreting booth, when reading new documents as they arrive and seeking on the Web information about concepts and names just heard or read.

Through these documents, interpreters acquire and/or refresh background information on the topic and the meeting as well as relevant language-related data, including terminology and phraseology. This helps them resolve potential ambiguity in the speeches they hear and facilitates comprehension as well as production by lowering the processing capacity and time required to analyze incoming signals and to retrieve appropriate lexical units when producing their translation.

Interpreters also prepare glossaries which they can use in the booth to help further speed up the comprehension and production processes.

A specific preparation strategy for simultaneous interpreting with text consists in marking the texts in advance for more rapid reading and translation. In particular, important concepts and names can be highlighted with a marker or underlined, glosses for certain lexical items, idiomatic expressions, citations and names can be written between the lines or in the margins, complex names which require reordering of their components can be marked with numbers above each component to indicate the order in which they will be translated into the target language, sentences can be segmented with slashes to show visually the boundaries of their syntactic or logical constituents.

In signed language interpreting, one important preparation strategy consists in consulting with other interpreters to see what signs have been used for particular concepts and names with the same deaf user(s) of interpreting services or consulting with the deaf user(s) and reaching an agreement on how to sign particular concepts and names which are likely to come up during the meeting.

Preparation strategies give interpreters access to knowledge, including terminology and relevant names and acronyms for people, places, organizations, products, etc. which make it possible for them to understand and reformulate very specific and very specialized information to which they are normally outsiders. Beyond information per se, but they also reduce processing capacity requirements for both comprehension of source speech signals, even under "noisy" conditions, and retrieval of lexical units and names for reformulation, thus lowering the frequency of occurrence of errors, omissions and infelicities associated with cognitive saturation.

Online Tactics

The literature on interpreting abounds with descriptions and analyses of the simultaneous interpreter's online tactics, which is further evidence of the high prevalence of difficulties interpreters encounter while in the booth. In the literature, some of the tactics are studied under a psycho-sociological angle, as reflecting the interpreter's position as a participant in the interpreter-mediated event (see for instance Diriker 2004; Monacelli 2009; Torikai 2009). These will not be taken up here, because they are not specific to simultaneous interpreting. The following analysis focuses on tactics used to counter cognitive challenges arising from the simultaneousness of the Efforts in the simultaneous mode.

(a) Collaborative Tactics

There are two reasons why simultaneous interpreters tend to work in teams of at least two. One is the possibility for them to take turns to relieve each other of fatigue. The other is collaboration in the face of difficulties. For instance, the non-active interpreter (the one who is not producing the target speech) writing down or signing a source speech concept, term, name or number which has been missed by the active interpreter or which s/he believes may be missed. In signed language interpreting, when working in a team of two, when the active interpreter faces the deaf users and therefore turns his/her back on the screen where information is shown, it is particularly useful for the non-active interpreter to face the screen and active interpreter and serve as his/her eyes.

(b) Individual Tactics

Individual tactics are the ones that have received most attention in the literature (e.g. Snelling 1992; Van Besien 1999; Toyama & Matsubara 2006; Wallmach 2000; Liontou 2012). Numerous analyses have been conducted, including some that compare students' tactics with tactics used by seasoned professionals and others that compare tactics used when working into one's A language to those used when working into one's B language. Giving a full inventory of those identified so far is beyond the scope of this chapter, which will only offer an illustrative list of how interpreters attempt to cope with the cognitive challenges that arise while they are active in the booth.

Some tactics are aimed at preventing predictable overload. For instance, when interpreting from one language into another language with very different syntax, interpreters often start their target language reformulation as soon as they have enough information from the unfolding source speech with a short autonomous sentence or with a "neutral" beginning rather than commit themselves in one specific direction. This is intended to avoid working memory saturation associated with the syntactic difference-induced lag. Another preventive tactic consists in reformulating the last element in an enumeration of names first: this is assumed to save on processing capacity, as working memory can dispose of this last name before it is processed in more depth along with the other components of the list.

Other tactics aim at limiting loss. For instance, when interpreters fail to grasp or remember a large number such as 3,251,127, they may resort to an approximation such as "over three million"; when they do not know the exact target language equivalent for a specific term, they may resort to a hypernym, for instance "device" to replace the name of a specific machine; similarly, when the speaker cites the name of an organization or a convention, interpreters who are not familiar with the name or have missed it may choose to say "the group", "our organization", "the convention". While strictly speaking, the information explicitly expressed in their speech is incomplete, if users are familiar with the topic, they may know exactly what group, organization or convention is referred to, and no information is lost. At other times, under high cognitive pressure, interpreters realize they will not have the resources to reformulate all of the content of the relevant speech segment and may choose to omit some to preserve what is more important. For instance, in an enumeration followed by a critical piece of information, if they lag too far behind, they may decide to leave out some of the terms of the enumeration and thus save time and processing capacity for the reformulation of the more important content.

When encountering a term they do not know in the target language, they may choose to explain the relevant concept with a few words. They may also decide to reproduce the source language term in their target language utterance. This may work well in some cases, for instance when translating from English into many languages in fields like medicine, information technology or finances, because many users read reference documents in English and are familiar with English terms, but this tactic is direction-sensitive: it is likely to be efficient when working from English into Japanese, but obviously not when working from Japanese into English.

This particular tactic is also used in signed language interpreting, through fingerspelling: the spelling of the term or name in the relevant spoken language is signed to the deaf persons. However, this is often problematic, not necessarily in terms of information efficiency if the term is short (see the discussion on strategy and tactic selection below), but in terms of social acceptability, as many deaf persons are very sensitive about the use of sign languages, which they consider an essential part of their cultural identity, and frown upon the intrusion of elements of spoken languages in their signed exchanges (Pointurier-Pournin 2014).

Another possibility is to "translate" word for word ("transcode") the source language term into the target language. At a dentistry meeting, the term "mandibular block", which refers to a type of anesthesia, was interpreted into French as "*bloc mandibulaire*" by an interpreter who did not know the corresponding French term, *tronculaire*. French participants later commented that they had understood the translation.

Most often, in signed language interpreting as opposed to simultaneous interpreting between two spoken languages, the setting is "dialogic", with very few persons and the close physical presence of the interpreter among them. This allows interpreters to communicate with speakers while they are signing and ask for clarification when encountering a comprehension difficulty, something that is difficult to do from a booth. In a booth, when an interpreter misses important information, s/he may decide to inform the audience, for instance by saying something like "the result/number/name which the interpreter has missed".

Strategy and Tactic Selection

All these strategies and tactics are used to overcome difficulties, but their efficiency is relative and each has a price. For instance, using the transcoding option may convey the full information without loss, but at the cost of credibility for the interpreter. Similarly, fingerspelling into a sign language may convey the information, but generate a negative reaction towards the interpreter who let the spoken language intrude. Such confidence loss can have dire consequences for the interpreter in the medium and long term, but even in the short term, immediate communication through his/her interpretation may become more difficult, especially when the event involves a strong affective dimension for the users. A loss of credibility may also result from an interpreter's decision to inform the audience that s/he has missed a bit of information.

Another type of price associated with certain tactics is cognitive in nature: explaining a term whose equivalent in the target language is unknown to the interpreter, fingerspelling a long word, writing down a large number lest it be forgotten involve extra time and can lead to excessive lag behind the speaker and to saturation of working memory with the consequences described earlier.

When selecting online tactics, interpreters probably attempt to attain, consciously or not, two partly interdependent objectives: conveying a maximum amount of information that the speaker wants to convey, ideally all of it, while prioritizing the most important information, and formulating a target speech which will produce the effect sought by the speaker.

What information is important depends on the circumstances. In a diplomatic event, many facts mentioned in speeches can have a secondary role, whereas in a technical event, some information can be critically important, and other information more anecdotal. Interpreters are often capable of determining which should be prioritized if some loss is inevitable. In some environments, information as a whole is far less important than a general atmosphere. This is *inter alia* the case of entertainment programmes on TV, where a further requirement is the smooth flow of information, if possible without lags, so it is often more important to finish the interpretation of an utterance at the same time as the speaker than to convey the full information, which has implications on tactics which will be selected.

The Quality of Simultaneous Interpreting

Cognitive pressure and its implications as analyzed so far show that on the whole, the product of simultaneous interpreting cannot be expected to be as fully faithful to the original and of uniformly high linguistic quality as desired from written translation. This prompts the question of how much is lost in interpreting versus direct communication between a speaker and his/her interlocutor(s).

With respect to information conveyed to users, it would be simplistic to calculate the proportion of information explicitly present in the source speech and absent in the target speech, if only because information loss also occurs in direct speaker to listener communication. In some cases, for instance when speakers are under stress or speak in a non-native language, which is a frequent occurrence, interpreters may be able to convey more to their listeners. How much information is actually lost through interpretation remains to be investigated and is probably highly variable across speakers, interpreters and situations.

But as already mentioned, the relative importance of information in a speaker's message is also highly variable. Verbal utterances also have social, affective, ritual, formal goals, and information loss does not necessarily have adverse effect on speakers' success in attaining their goals.

What interpreting quality actually means has been a concern of professional interpreters for a long time, and the issue has generated considerable literature, in the form of theoretical reflection on one hand, and empirical research on user expectations and perception of interpreting quality on the other. Much of it is relevant for all interpreting modes in various environments and cannot be covered here. The focus in this chapter will be on three quality parameters or components most relevant to the simultaneous mode, but more general expectations as regards informational fidelity, ethical behaviour, attitudes (for signed language interpreting, see Taylor 2009) should be kept in mind.

The quality component most obviously affected by the cognitive pressure of simultaneous interpreting is informational fidelity. As discussed earlier, errors and omissions are a frequent occurrence in this interpreting mode, which is traditionally considered less informationally faithful than consecutive. This may well be the case for "short" or sentence-by-sentence consecutive, but does not necessarily hold for long consecutive, in which interpreters take notes, for the simple reason that while listening to the speaker, interpreters need to share attention between the Listening Effort and a Note Production Effort, just as in simultaneous interpreting, they need to share attention between the Reception Effort and the Production Effort. Moreover, since writing is slower than speaking, note-taking can involve more lag during Reception than the usual lag in simultaneous, with the associated risks of working memory saturation and errors and omissions. This is particularly true of dense speech segments such as enumerations, long numbers and multi-word names. In a small case study, Gile (2001) found that consecutive renderings of a speech were not informationally superior to simultaneous renderings.

Another vulnerable quality component in simultaneous is intonation, which often becomes unnatural (see Shlesinger 1994; Ahrens 2004). In her doctoral work, Collados Aís (1998) found that monotonous intonation in simultaneous had a negative impact on the listeners' perception of many other quality components, including fidelity and professionalism. In later work by the group led by Collados Aís (e.g. Collados Aís et al. 2011), it was found that manipulation of other single quality components (e.g. terminology, grammar, voice) similarly "contaminated" the users' perception of other components which had been left untouched.

The third most vulnerable quality component in simultaneous interpreting is language quality. This is due to two factors: firstly, the fact that because attentional resources must be shared between Reception, Production, Memory and Coordination, less resources are available for each, including Production, than in everyday verbal interaction, and infelicities or even language errors may occur. The second is that while in consecutive and in everyday life, people listen to a speaker's words, analyze them and extract their meaning, and by the time they respond, they generally have forgotten most of the verbal form of the utterance (Sachs 1967), in simultaneous interpreting, the processing of the incoming source language speech and the production of the target language speech occur at the same time, and source language and target language elements are probably often being processes at the same time in working memory (which is shared by the Reception Effort, the Memory Effort and the Production Effort). This entails higher risks of linguistic contamination or "interference" (see Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989, chapter III).

Learning Simultaneous Interpreting

In view of all these difficulties, it is remarkable that simultaneous interpreters so often do manage to produce faithful translations of source speeches. Some do without any special training thanks to their natural talent, but it is generally considered that performing good simultaneous requires training. Low success rates at graduation exams in demanding interpreter training programmes which strive to meet AIIC criteria for conference interpreting give some weight to this idea, especially considering that admission criteria tend to be stringent as well.

In such programmes, the main objectives of training are fourfold: teach students the basic techniques of interpreting, generally both consecutive and simultaneous, improve their proficiency in the use of these techniques up to professional level, teach them professional norms and test their level of proficiency at the end of training to provide the market with qualified professionals. In many programmes, (long) consecutive is taught before simultaneous. Some trainers consider that consecutive is nothing but accelerated simultaneous, presumably because in both, there is comprehension and "deverbalization" of the source speech and then reformulation. In cognitive terms, this is a somewhat simplistic position, inter alia because in simultaneous there is no management of note taking, note reading and reconstruction of a speech after a prolonged waiting period of several dozen seconds to several minutes, and in consecutive, the risk of interference due to the simultaneous presence of source language and target language lexical and syntactic units is low. Nevertheless, teaching consecutive before simultaneous has a number of advantages. One of them is that it is good training for careful listening (Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989, chapter II). Because memory for syntax and words rapidly fades away, consecutive interpreters, as opposed to simultaneous interpreters, necessarily translate from meaning, not from the linguistic form of the source speech. If they have not listened carefully to the speaker, despite the notes they have taken, they are generally incapable of reconstructing the speech. This also makes consecutive a good diagnostics tool for language comprehension, language production and analytical skills: if an interpreter's output in simultaneous interpreting is weak, the problem may lie in poor comprehension of the source language, in poor analytical skills, in poor language production skills in the source language and/or in poor management of attentional resources, and it is difficult to identify the root cause of the weakness.

Besides consecutive as general preparation, specific exercises are sometimes given to students for a "softer" introduction to the pressure of simultaneous, and in particular to the sharing of attention. These include shadowing exercises, paraphrasing exercises, counting backwards in the booth while listening to a speech. Once this stage is over, simultaneous skills are acquired through practice, both in the classroom, with guidance from the instructors, and in autonomous student groups. Through practice, attention management is fine-tuned and some cognitive components of simultaneous are gradually automated. While it probably takes up to ten years or longer to become an expert in the sense of cognitive psychology, after one or two years of training, many students reach a high enough proficiency level to go into the marketplace (see Seeber; this volume).

The Present and Future of Simultaneous Interpreting

As evidenced by its widespread use around the globe, simultaneous interpreting is a major success in immediate multilingual communication, but it is associated with a number of problems. One is its cost. While such cost is relative, and, as some conference interpreters like to point out, it can be lower than the price of one coffee break at a large congress, in other circumstances, for instance in dialogue interpreting where only two principals are involved, it can legitimately be considered high. The interpreting budget of European institutions is also reported to represent a substantial proportion of their total budget. The other problem is the quality of the output, especially at a time when more and more speeches are read and organizers are less and less inclined to send documents to the interpreters for advance preparation.

There is increasing market pressure to lower the interpreters' remuneration, but beneath a certain threshold, which may vary across countries and types of interpreters, they will refuse the assignments, while their services are indispensable in many cases, in particular for interaction between deaf people and hearing people. As to quality, no matter how selective training programmes are, no matter how efficient the training methods, there are cognitive limitations to what humans can do, and it is impossible for most if not all interpreters to translate faithfully and idiomatically fast read speeches without an appropriate preparation.

One possible answer to these two problems is the use of a lingua franca, or several, which would make it possible to do without interpreters. This is already done in some specialized fields, often with English—or perhaps Globish. Interpreters tend to claim that communication in a language other than one's own is imperfect. But so is communication through interpreting, and it cannot be ruled out that in many cases, people communicate with each other better (and at a negligible price) in the lingua franca spoken by non-natives than through interpreting. In other cases, the lingua franca is not an option, because the principals do not master an appropriate language. In the case of deaf people, by definition, they cannot use any spoken language as a lingua franca—though they could choose one sign language to serve that role when communicating with other deaf people.

Another possibility is automatic interpreting. Automatic speech recognition is advancing in great strides, and the performance of dictation software is impressive. Automatic translation has also made spectacular progress. Combining both, a quasi-simultaneous written translation of speech is a distinct possibility. In all probability, for natural speech, the quality of the output will remain far below that of human simultaneous interpreting because of errors in speech recognition, errors in semantic interpretation of text and infelicities in the production of target texts or speeches, but the cost of the process can well be brought down to a negligible amount, to the extent that interlocutors may prefer to submit their main exchanges to automatic interpreting and only turn to interpreters or bilinguals to clarify residual issues.

Such options may develop for specialized purposes and settings, but are less likely to be popular in settings where natural communication is important for the preservation of a certain atmosphere or human relations. No matter how fast technological development will be, human simultaneous interpreters will probably keep certain market segments, in particular in political speeches, in debates, and in the media.

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