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ABSTRACT

This paper compares English puns exploiting polysemy and homonymy in the *Yes Minister* series and their translations into Czech. The aim of the study is twofold: first, to investigate the basic principles of language these puns rely on, and second, to systematically analyse the ways these puns are rendered into a language that is typologically different from English. The mechanism involved here is frame-shifting (Coulson et al., 2006): a cue in the context forces the reader to abandon a frame originally activated in the disambiguating process and to retrieve another, often incompatible, frame. Though, arguably, this mechanism works for Czech as it does for English, the arbitrariness of the relation between the form and the meaning of a linguistic item is likely to make it difficult "to pun on the same item in two different languages" (Chiaro, 2010, p. 8). In our data, this applies to homonymy and polysemy alike.

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Wordplay Based on Lexical Ambiguity in the British Sitcom *Yes Minister* and Its Czech Translations

1 INTRODUCTION

TV situation comedies have always attracted the attention of researchers studying the translation of humour (see Zabalbeascoa, 1996; Delabastita, 2010; Valdeón, 2010, among others). The BBC sitcom *Yes Minister* and its sequel *Yes, Prime Minister*,[1] written by Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, are no exception: Zabalbeascoa (1996) includes several puns from the *Yes Minister* series in his

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1   The sitcom is a case of political satire, in the words of a reviewer "a satiric perception of how the British are actually governed: Ministers are kept in the dark by their civil service advisers as much as possible; their sole domain is 'making policy,' while the civil servants get on with running the country and making sure the politicians get the blame" (*Publishers Weekly*, 1984, https://www.publishersweekly.com/978-0-88162-272-0). Its genius lies in its timelessness, or, as Sebastian Payne (2016) wrote in the *Financial Times*, "in the artful avoidance of partisan politics – we never know which party is in power". It is amazing to see how far "ahead of its time" the caricature of Britain's relationship with Europe was (ibid.), and not only in the episode called "Party Games," where Hacker faces EU criticism concerning the British usage of the word *sausage*. In 2010 the authors staged a new episode of *Yes, Prime Minister*, one in which the (largely hostile) relationship with the EU gets into the limelight and even a new character, that of Claire Sutton, a special policy adviser, is introduced.

analysis of culturally specific jokes and their translation (into Catalan) in dubbed TV situation comedies. Almost 20 years later, Pedersen (2015) analyses three puns from *Yes, Prime Minister* in the context of what he calls visualized metaphors and their translation/translatability into Swedish, i.e. he uses the material to discuss a problem specific to audiovisual translation. Another study concerns one of the books that the two TV series were transformed into soon after they were first broadcast,[2] namely the fictitious diaries of James Hacker: the Chinese translator Nam Fung Chang wrote a monograph (2005)[3] describing the whole process of translating the book *Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker* into Chinese.

The book version of the *Yes Minister* series is also the starting point for our analysis. Agreeing with Delabastita that though "linguistics will never have the last word about wordplay and its translation … linguistic structure may well be where every analysis should *begin*" (1996, p. 131), we are interested in "the subtype of wordplay which associates and/or juxtaposes linguistic units which are identical or very close in their form and have different meanings, basically in the form of homonymy, polysemy, or paronymy" (Winter-Froemel, 2016, p. 37–38), or in Thaler's words, wordplay using lexical techniques (2016, p. 54–56). More specifically, assuming in line with Fillmore that polysemy arises "from alternative framings[4] of the same lexical item" ([1982] 2006, p. 386), we focus on those jokes whose online processing involves frame-shifting (cf. Coulson et al., 2006; Onysko, 2016). Also included is another type of shift, one in which wordplay involves phraseological units and relies on switching between two models of interpretation, i.e. the open-choice principle and the idiom principle (Sinclair, 1991, p. 109–110).[5]

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2   *Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister by the Rt. Hon. James Hacker*, and *Yes Prime Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker*. The authors are again Jonathan Lynn and Antony Jay, this time presenting themselves as the editors of Hacker's diaries: the original scripts are complemented by Hacker's thoughts, alleged editors' notes, the private notes of Bernard Woolley, Hacker's Principal Private Secretary, the private diaries of Sir Humphrey Appleby, Hacker's Permanent Secretary, and other archived documents. Every detail of the hoax is thought out – the authors even thank various institutions for making the documentation available to them, and declare that they take full responsibility for all possible errors.

3   Chang argues that the translation is intended to be "a satire on Chinese politics by way of allegory, but within the limits tolerated by those in power." Aware that "ideological considerations have been deeply involved in the making of translation decisions", the author suggests that "the target text provides a rich and somewhat unusual source for the study of translation manipulation on the linguistic, literary and ideological levels" (2005, p. xi).

4   Fillmore ([1982] 2006, p. 373) uses the term for "any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available".

5   Both of these shifts, we believe, are possible as a result of the "potentiality of the phenomena of language", observed by Mathesius ([1911] 1983), a leading figure of the Prague Linguistic Circle. According to Mathesius, "the theory of potentiality is … indispensable for an adequate evaluation of the semantic side of speech" ([1911] 1983, p. 29); "[i]f … we take as our starting point a given lexical

We proceeded as follows: first, we described the mechanism underlying the puns under study in more detail (Section 2); since we focus on lexical ambiguity, this involved explaining how lexical ambiguity and sense disambiguation can be seen in the framework of Frame Semantics. Using the lexical database FrameNet, we then showed how the mechanism works for the puns identified in the "omnibus edition" *The Complete Yes Minister: The Diaries of the Right Hon. James Hacker* (henceforth *CYM*). Since, however, FrameNet is "a growing resource, constructed frame by frame" (Erk, 2007),[6] not all the potentially existing frames can be found in it: "while each frame lists *all* LUs [lexical units][7] that introduce it, many LUs are still lacking some of their frames" (Erk, 2007). This is especially true about nouns, which, according to the authors, "have a minimal frame structure of their own",[8] and parts of speech other than verbs, which were the main focus of Fillmore's interest. Only frames postulated by Fillmore and his followers are written here in capital letters; if a frame was not found in FrameNet, we resorted to hypernyms in the WordNet database. The English puns were then compared to their translations into Czech (Section 3). At this pilot stage, we used the official translation by Jan Klíma, published in 2002 and 2003 (and reprinted in 2011) as *Jistě, pane ministře* 1 & 2 ("Certainly Mr Minister", henceforth *JPM*). Since the comparison revealed a high number of omissions of puns in translation (in Delabastita's [1996, p. 134] terms, the PUN→NON-PUN or ZERO translation methods), we put the translatability of the puns to the test by using them as a translation exercise for students of the translation programme at Palacký University, and also worked on translations of our own (all of these translations are henceforth referred to as PU).[9] All these translations were then compared to the original BBC sitcom (Section 4): we investigated "whether and how the verbal play interacts with the non-verbal elements of the artistic whole" (Schröter 2010, p. 148) and how it is rendered in the Czech dubbing. The questions we addressed were the following:

1. To what extent is it possible to "to pun on the same item in two different languages" (Chiaro, 2010, p. 8)? And if punning on the same item is not possible, to what extent can Delabastita's (1996) PUN→PUN translation method[10] be used? Is the mechanism

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unit, the semantic potentiality of language is manifested as actual [dynamic] oscillation of meaning" ([1911] 1983, p. 29).

6   The project was started by Charles Fillmore in 1997; its main organizing principle (framenet.icsi. berkeley.edu/fndrupal) is the frame. It is the only database of English with this structure; WordNet is organized by words.

7   For an explanation of this term, see Section 2.1.

8   https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/WhatIsFrameNet

9   The students had a week to work on their translations, i.e. they were not pressed for time.

10 In his 1996 paper, Delabastita provides an overview of translation methods with respect to puns. His definition of the PUN→PUN method is rather broad: "the source-text pun is translated by a target-language pun, which may be more or less different from the original wordplay in terms of formal structure, semantic structure, or textual function" (1996, p. 134).

exploited in the Czech pun the same as the mechanism identified in the English original? Is there any difference between polysemy and homonymy in this respect?

2. Can the same be said about the televised version? To what extent does the polysemioticity of television influence the translatability of the pun?

2 THE MECHANISM OF THE PUNS UNDER STUDY

The phenomenon all our examples of wordplay[11] exploit is lexical ambiguity, i.e. one-to-many mapping of words to concepts (Cruse, 2011, p. 100). This involves polysemy as well as homonymy, i.e. cases in which the sameness of form is purely incidental; what is considered criterial for lexical ambiguity (as opposed to monosemy) is the autonomy of senses of a lexical item.[12]

Since Frame Semantics builds on the assumption that "each word (in a given meaning) evokes a particular frame and possibly profiles some element or aspect of that frame" (Fillmore et al., 2001, p. 4), "[f]or many instances of polysemy it is possible to say that a given lexical item properly fits either of two different cognitive frames" (Fillmore [1982], 2006, p. 386). In such an approach, each sense of a word counts as a separate lexical unit (LU). The lemma *argue*, for example, represents multiple LUs, each of which evokes a distinct frame: according to FrameNet, these are QUARRELLING, REASONING, and EVIDENCE.[13] Sense disambiguation then consists in selecting the relevant frame,[14] one compatible with frames evoked by other LUs in the context, and "[i]nformation about the separate syntactic combinatorics of different senses of words … [T]he 'quarrel' sense of *argue* or *argument* can quite reliably be selected in the neighborhood of *with*-phrases followed by personal nouns, or *over*-phrases, while the 'reasoning' sense is selected in the presence of *that*-clauses and prepositional phrases with *for* and *against*" (Fillmore et al., 2001, p. 22). Importantly, this again applies not only to polysemy, but also to homonymy; the noun *bank* can be found in FrameNet as two LUs: in the "sloping land" sense it evokes the frame called RELATIONAL_NATURAL_FEATURES, and in the "depository financial institution" one it evokes the frame BUSINESSES.

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11 This is part of our larger work on wordplay in sitcoms and its translation into Czech; what we present here is only a small sample of the ca. one hundred punning segments identified by three independent analysts in the 21 episodes of *The Complete Yes Minister* volume, exploiting at least one of the features of "linguistic structure" listed in Delabastita (1996, p. 130).

12 Its strongest form is antagonism; two antagonistic senses compete for attention, and an attempt at activating them both at the same time leads to zeugma. This is observed in (i), where a single occurrence of an expression [*expire*] has to be interpreted in two distinct ways simultaneously" (Cruse, 2006, p. 192):

   i. *He could well expire before his passport does* (Cruse, 2006, p. 193).

In linguistics, zeugma is considered to be a semantic anomaly, and "the possibility of zeugma is one of a number of criteria for the diagnosis of the distinctness of lexical senses, and hence of ambiguity" (Cruse, 2006, p. 192–193).

13 Atkins and Rundell (2008, p. 154) add a "persuasion" frame.

14 According to some, e.g. Erk (2006), the process of sense disambiguation lies in frame assignment.

In punning discourse, this "disambiguating mechanism" is not only "blocked" (Delabastita, 1996, p. 129), but the ambiguity is "manufactured" (Partington, 2009, p. 1795):[15] as Delabastita explains, "a double context is constructed which … actually calls forth the double reading" (Delabastita, 1996, p. 129). This is done through a mechanism called frame shifting, "semantic and pragmatic reanalysis that reorganizes existing elements in the message level representation" (Coulson et al., 2006, p. 232, in reference to Coulson, 2001).[16] More specifically, an element is introduced in the discourse which forces the recipient to abandon the previously evoked frame and activate a different one; as a result, two opposing and incompatible frames are activated in a short sequence for a single expression. This, arguably, creates surprise.[17]

Let us demonstrate this with a sentence from *CYM*. First, the verb *to mature* activates an AGING frame, which in turn primes the reader to select the "fortified wine" reading for the noun *port*:

(1) *"I was going to say," he* [Humphrey] *replied tartly, "that they* [civil servants] *mature like an old port."* (*CYM*, p. 357)

When Hacker, who apparently does not share Humphrey's fascination with civil servants, responds *Grimsby, perhaps?*, the reader[18] is forced to revoke the original selection for the noun *port*: the noun *Grimsby*, the name of a once important fishing port in Eastern England, activates a different frame, namely the one referred to as the LOCALE_BY_USE in FrameNet (the "geographical point" reading).

In (2) the two frames are the ECONOMY frame, activated by the economic terms *inflation*, *deflation*, and *reflation* in the verbal context, and the CAUSE_EXPANSION frame, triggered by the appearance of the lexical unit *bicycle pump* in Hacker's afterthought. The pun exemplifies one possibility of an alternative framing of a single lexical item, namely one in which a "word has a general use in the everyday language but has been given a separate use in technical language" (Fillmore, [1982] 2006, p. 386):

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15 According to Attardo (1994, p. 133), "puns are concocted", or, in Partington's (2009, p. 1795) terms, "authored". Attardo (1994) writes about scripts, not frames.

16 Note that Coulson et al. (2006) assume a more dynamic understanding of "frame" than the one currently reflected in FrameNet, one that takes into account broader discourse phenomena.

17 Coulson et al. note that "the registration of surprise and the search for an alternative interpretation are not discrete sequential processing events" (2006, p. 240). The question as to when "the parallel activation of senses from the same/similar linguistic forms" (Onysko, 2016, p. 76) brings about a humorous effect, i.e. when the unexpectedness is evaluated positively (ibid.) by the recipient, is open, and beyond the scope of this paper.

18 While it would be interesting to investigate how punning characterizes the individual protagonists, it has to be borne in mind that "the competent speaker[s] and hearer[s] recognizing wordplay" in this case are not the characters of the sitcom, but the authors and the readers of the book (Winter-Froemel, 2016, p. 17).

(2) *"They are all worried about the machinery for <u>inflation, deflation and reflation</u>," Bernard*
     informed me [Hacker]. *What do they think I am? A Minister of the Crown, or <u>a bicycle</u>*
     <u>pump</u>? (CYM, p. 31–32)

For convenience, in these cases of wordplay *in absentia*[19] we will, along the lines of Attardo
(1994, p. 95), call the contextual cue to shift frames, i.e. the element that "causes the passage
from S[ense]1 to S[ense]2", a "disjunctor" (*a bicycle pump*), and the element (or elements) that
"playfully justifies the passage" (*inflation*, *deflation*, *reflation*) a "connector".[20] In (2), the disjunctor
is a single lexical unit, but it can also be other units; for example, in the book version of the
sitcom it is often a metalinguistic comment. This is exemplified in (3), where Humphrey objects
to the idea of having more female civil servants in high places (*apparent* can mean "obvious",
but also "seeming"):

(3) [Humphrey:] *"Of course there should be more women at the top. Of course. And all of us are*
     deeply concerned by the apparent imbalance."
     I [Hacker] *noted the skilful use of the word "apparent".* (*CYM*, p. 356)

A metalinguistic comment can also be found in (4), where Hacker, whose life is in danger
(he is on a death list), is confronted by Commander Forest concerning matters relating to his
personal security. Having spent some time pretending that he is not scared at all, Hacker invites
the commander to speak his mind by using the phrase *Okay, shoot*:

(4) *Commander Forest gazed at me* [Hacker] *strangely. "I admire your courage, sir," he said as*
     if he really thought I was a raving idiot.
     I decided I'd done enough of the stiff upper lip. I'd let him speak. "Okay, <u>shoot</u>," I said. It was
     an unfortunate turn of phrase. (*CYM*, p. 216)

To use terminology from Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 60), *shoot* is a surface realization
of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.[21] And while Hacker does attempt to use the
verb *shoot* metaphorically (arguably, in Fillmore's terms, within the QUARRELLING frame), the
presence of the commander and the existence of the death list, which work as disjunctors here,

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19 "Two meanings or interpretations of one and the same element are generated" (Winter-Froemel, 2016,
    p. 29).

20 In our examples it is the ambiguous element; in Coulson et al. (2006, p. 234) it is any "bridge between
    the two frames".

21 The target domain of ARGUMENT is structured and understood in terms of the WAR source domain.
    Apparently, Lakoff and Johnson's domains correspond to Fillmore's frames: in cases where the
    metaphorical sense is lexicalized, Fillmore ([1982] 2006, p. 387) talks about "word sense creation by
    frame borrowing".

activate the frame USE_FIREARM. In case the reader does not get the joke, another disjunctor is added, namely the one in the form of a metalinguistic comment.

Example (5) is even more complex: the alternative reading of the connector *briefs* ("documents"; "underwear") is activated by a whole phraseological unit:

(5) *"Why," I* [Hacker] *wondered aloud, "are Ministers never allowed to go anywhere without their <u>briefs</u>?" "It's in case they <u>get caught with their trousers down</u>," Bernard replied rather wittily. At least I think it was wit, but it might just have been a lucky chance.* (*CYM*, p. 326)

While the sense "official document" is selected for the noun *briefs* during the disambiguating process, the phrase *to get caught with one's trousers down* activates a competing CLOTHING frame and, along with it, the second (alternative) reading of the noun. This happens in spite of the fact that the disjunctor phrase is an idiom (meaning "to arrive or do sth when sb is not expecting it and not ready, especially when they are in an embarrassing situation" [*OALD*]), in other words, its grammatical constituents are not semantic constituents. What makes this possible is a switch from the idiomatic reading of the idiomatic phrase to its compositional (analytical) reading, or, to use Sinclair's (1991) terminology, from one model of interpretation (the idiom principle),[22] to another, namely the open choice principle. In Partington's terms, this involves the process of relexification, "that is, the 'freeing up' of the parts of a normally fixed or semi-fixed, preconstructed lexical unit" (2009, p. 1799). Arguably, this "freeing up" can again be seen as a frame-shift, in this case between the metaphorical and the literal.[23]

While relexicalization underlies punning relatively often in the *Yes Minister* series,[24] it "is not the only way in which punning plays with set phraseologies" (Partington, 2009, p. 1801). Example (6) presents yet another such way, namely "reworking" or "reconstruction" of the original idiomatic expression (Partington, 2009, p. 1802), in this case of the saying *Let sleeping*

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22 "The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 110). The open choice principle, on the other hand, "is often called a 'slot-and-filler' model, envisaging texts as a series of slots which have to be filled from a lexicon which satisfies local restraints. At each slot, virtually any word can occur" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 109); the phrase as a whole has a compositional meaning.

23 After all, according to Cruse (2011), many idioms started their lives as metaphors, and the semanticity of their constituents ranges from zero to full.

24 This is often the case of wordplay *in praesentia*, "in which the juxtaposed items both appear in the utterance" (Winter-Froemel, 2016, p. 29). In (i), for example, the second mention of the noun *egg* (in the phrase *Scotch egg*, in *OALD* defined as "boiled egg covered with sausage meat and breadcrumbs, fried and eaten cold") triggers relexicalization of the idiom *to have egg all over one's face*: Hacker is worried that during his visit in Scotland they will "have egg" all over their faces (be "made to look stupid" [*OALD*]) as a result of the speech delivered by the new president of Buranda.

i. *Before I* [Hacker] *could reply, Sir Humphrey interrupted: "Yes, my Minister is concerned that the government will have egg all over its face. Scotch egg, presumably."* (*CYM*, p. 49)

dogs lie ("to avoid mentioning a subject or sth that happened in the past, in order to avoid any problems or arguments" [*OALD*]). The discussion between Hacker and Humphrey concerns the dilemma as to whether or not they should reveal to the public that Britain was selling weapons to terrorists (Humphrey is strongly against this):

(6) [Hacker:] *"Are you suggesting that I should lie?"*
　　[Humphrey:] *"Not you, no," came the enigmatic response.*
　　[Hacker:] *"Who should <u>lie</u> then?"*
　　[Humphrey:] *"<u>Sleeping dogs</u>, Minister."* (*CYM*, p. 453)

The second occurrence of the homonymous verb *to lie* functions as a connector, which facilitates the passage from the previously introduced prevarication frame (one forcing the reader to select the meaning "to mislead") to the frame referred to as posture. This is done through the disjunctor phrase *sleeping dogs*, which triggers the reconstruction of the original idiom *Let sleeping dogs lie*.[25]

Although, according to Coulson et al., "most examples of frameshifts in jokes do not require the listener to instantiate a new structural analysis of the sentence…" (2007, p. 234), our last example in this section does so. Hacker, in a sudden spurt of creativity, invents a new code for useless documents, namely the phrase *Round Objects* (standing for "bollocks", which, in turn, stands for "nonsense"). Humphrey does not leave this unnoticed:

(7) *"I* [Hacker] *am not a civil servant … I shall write my own code on it." I wrote "<u>Round Objects</u>" in the margin.*
　　[12 pages later] *Bernard had an amusing bit of news for me today.*
　　"You remember that letter you wrote 'Round objects' on?" he asked.
　　"Yes."

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25 Similarly, the reconstruction (or reworking) of a saying is crucial for understanding the pun below. The conversation between Bernard and Hacker concerns Sir Humphrey and the fact that Humphrey would be very disappointed if he was not in the next Honours list. The reconstruction of the saying *sour grapes* ("used to show that you think sb is jealous and is pretending that sth is not important" [*OALD*]) follows the relexification of the noun *grapevine*, triggered by the fact that the noun in the idiom *on the grapevine* is modified (*on the grapevine* means "by talking in an informal way to other people" [*OALD*]):

   i. [Bernard:] *"He* [Humphrey]*'s a KCB. But there are rumours that he might get his G in the next Honours list."*
   "How did you hear that?" I [Hacker] *asked. I thought Honours were always a big secret.*
   "I heard it on the grapevine," said Bernard.
   I [Hacker] *suppose, if Humphrey doesn't get his G, we'll hear about it on the sour-grapevine.* (*CYM*, p. 39)

*"Well," he said with a slight smile, "it's come back from Sir Humphrey's office. He commented on it."
And he showed me the letter. In the margin Humphrey had written: "Who is Round and to
what does he object?" (CYM, p. 354; p. 366)*

The pun revolves around the ambiguity of the word *object*, which can either be a noun
denoting an element in the ENTITY frame or a verb meaning "to disapprove, reject" (*OALD*),
i.e. a verb fitting a wholly different frame.[26] Note that this pun only works in written language;
in spoken language the nominal reading would be distinguished from the verbal reading by the
position of the stress (*object* is a homograph).

3 TRANSLATING PUNS INTO CZECH

Frame-shifting, the mechanism common to all the puns analysed in this paper, is not language-
specific, and so it is reasonable to expect that Czech puns will exploit it as well. What brings
in complications is the arbitrariness of the relation between the form and the meaning of
a linguistic item; in Chiaro's terms (2010, p. 8), "the chances of being able to pun on the same
item in two different languages" are "extremely remote". Intuitively, one would expect this to be
especially true about homonymy, where the sameness of form is purely accidental, and in Czech,
as a result of its inflectional character, is limited to individual word forms (instead of whole
paradigms). However, as our data shows, polysemy is also a problem: although Schröter (2010,
p. 143) argues that "the similarity of polysemous relationships across different languages, and
possibly across language families, is greater than has usually been recognized in the discussion
on pun translation", arbitrariness works here, too.

Take the seemingly simple case of the lexical item *man* in example (8): the noun is ambiguous
between "adult male" and "human being". Though Czech has cases where one sense of a lexical
item is included in another,[27] in this particular case there are two lexical items, namely *muž* and
člověk, respectively. This makes any punning on this English noun extremely difficult to translate:
the only context where a female referent might perhaps (by a cooperative reader willing to suspend
disbelief; see Chiaro [2010, p. 3]) be tolerated for the noun *muž* is the phrase *muž činu* ("man of
action"). This, however, can hardly be incorporated in the context of promoting the best person

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26 The verb *object* does not have an entry in FrameNet, and we feel hesitant about providing a name for
the frame here (the verb has rather idiosyncratic valence properties, which rule out the existing frames
at hand, such as the COMPLAINING frame or the PROTEST frame).

27 The polysemy of the noun *pes* "dog" ("canine animal" and "male canine animal") has even been exploited
for punning in the Czech film *Holky z porcelánu* ([Girls from the Crockery Shop], 1974, dir. Juraj
Herz). A young woman walking a borrowed dog was approached by an older man, who wanted to
start a conversation with her; apparently, she did not want to talk to him:

   i. [Man:] „*Slečno, to máte psa?*" "*Miss, is that a dog?*"

      [Girl:] „*Ne, velblouda.*" "*No. It's a camel.*"

      [Man:] „*No dovolte, já se vás slušně ptám, jestli je to pes nebo fena.*" "*I beg your pardon? I just politely
asked whether it is a dog or a bitch.*"

for the job (who, ideally, at least according to the permanent secretaries, should be a male). As demonstrated in (8), using a nominalized adjective does not help either, and the pun is lost in translation (the PUN→NON-PUN translation method is used here; cf. Delabastita, 1996, p. 134):

(8) *"I* [Hacker] *gave my view: namely, that we must always have the right to promote the <u>best man</u> for the job, regardless of sex."* (CYM, p. 369)
„*…my prostě musíme mít vždycky právo povýšit na každou práci <u>toho nejlepšího</u> – bez ohledu na pohlaví.*" (JPM, p. 142)
Backtranslation [henceafter BT]: *"…we simply must always have the right to promote <u>the best one</u> for the job, regardless of sex."*

Our *port* example in (2) is similar in that both senses of the noun *port* are (ultimately) etymologically related: the origin of the word denoting this kind of fortified wine can be traced to the Portuguese city of Oporto, "a major port in Portugal from which the wine is shipped" (*OALD*).[28] But while in other cases the metonymy PLACE FOR PRODUCT works for Czech (note e.g. the use of the city name *Plzeň* "Pilsen" for the beer which is produced there, i.e. plzeň), here it does not; Czech has a Slavic word for the "harbour" reading, not a borrowing from Latin like English. Still, the humorous effect is not entirely lost in the official translation; it is achieved by exploiting the collocability of the Czech equivalent of the verb *mature*. Civil servants, who tend to hold their positions for a very long time, are compared to smelly cheese:

(9) [Humphrey:]   „*Chtěl jsem říct, že <u>dozrávají jako portské</u>.*"
                       BT: *"I wanted to say that they* [civil servants] <u>*mature like port*</u>."
     [Hacker:]   „*Nebo <u>jako plesnivé sýry</u>?*" (JPM 2, p. 129)[29]
                       BT: *"Or like <u>smelly cheese</u>?"*

The translation of the pun revolving around the connector *shoot* in example (4) is also an unexpected challenge. Although Czech has surface realizations of the metaphorical mapping between ARGUMENT and WAR, these do not include dictionary equivalents of *shoot*.[30] Hacker's *Okay, shoot!* is thus simply rendered as *Dobře, tak spusťte!* "Well, go ahead", where the verb *spustit* can be used for starting more activities, not just speech or fire.

Another pun lost in the official translation is the one exploiting the ambiguity of the words *inflation*, *deflation*, and *reflation* in (2). The Czech dictionary equivalent is not a polysemous word, and the translator chose the PUN→ZERO translation method (cf. Delabastita, 1996, p. 134),

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28 *Oporto* is Portuguese for "the port".

29 It should be noted, however, that in idiomatic Czech, *port* would be replaced by a general word for *wine*: *zrát jako víno* "to mature like wine".

30 The Czech stem *střílet* "shoot" can only be used metaphorically for fast motion; cf. *Vystřel!*, literally "shoot out", means *Get out!*

i.e. they omitted the whole of Hacker's afterthought (*What do they think I am? A Minister of the Crown, or <u>a bicycle pump</u>?*). An alternative solution, one which preserves the pun, was nonetheless found by our students: using the noun *recese* ("economic stagnation" and "practical joke") as the connector enables a smooth passage from the economy frame to the frame referred to as prank:

(10) *„Všichni si lámou hlavu nad tím, jak to zařídit s <u>recesí</u>,"* oznámil mi Bernard. *„Kdo si myslí, že jsem? <u>Ministr Jejího Veličenstva, nebo Král komiků</u>?"* (PU)

BT: *"They all want to know how to sort out the <u>recession</u>* [= economic stagnation/practical joke]*,"* Bernard told me. *"What do they think I am? <u>Her Majesty's minister, or</u> <u>the king of the comedians</u>?"*

Similarly, punning disappears in the official translation of example (3), which plays on the double meaning of the adjective *apparent*: the use of the adjective *zdánlivý* "seeming" rules out the first reading ("obvious"). The PU translation under (11), on the other hand, enables the activation of both by introducing the phrase *na první pohled* "at first sight"; the phrase is ambiguous in the same way as the English expression *apparent*. The disambiguating mechanism selects the meaning "right away, immediately", while Hacker's metalinguistic comment triggers the meaning "seemingly – only at first sight, not at the second".

(11) *„Samozřejmě že by ve vrcholných funkcích mělo být víc žen. Samozřejmě že nás všechny trápí, že tu na první pohled existuje nerovnováha."* Všiml jsem si, jak obratně tam použil *„na první pohled".* (PU)

BT: [Humphrey:] *"Of course there should be more women at the top. Of course all of us are deeply concerned by the imbalance which exists here at fi rst sight." I* [Hacker] *noted how skilfully he used the phrase "at first sight".*

Punning also disappears in the official translation of example (5), which plays on the ambiguity of the noun *briefs*, and, unlike the other examples discussed so far, involves a disjunctor idiom. This brings in further idiosyncrasy restricting the translator's choices. Though the translator made an attempt to employ the frame-shifting mechanism by using an idiom (one that means "to catch sb. red-handed," i.e. the person was doing something illegal), the Czech version lacks a connector which would trigger relexicalization of the idiom; when one is caught scrumping plums, hiding behind a heap of papers will not help:

(12) [Hacker:] *„Rád bych věděl,… proč ministři musí na každé jednání nosit takový <u>štos papírů</u>."*

BT: *"I wonder … why Ministers bring such <u>a heap of papers</u> to every meeting."*

[Bernard:] *„Aby se za něj mohli schovat, když je <u>načapají na švestkách</u>."* (*JPM* 2, 94)

BT: *"So that they could hide behind it in case they <u>get caught scrumping plums</u>* [= red-handed]*."*

In (13)a), too, a phraseological unit is introduced at all costs: what we have here is an attempt to compensate for the loss of the original pun playing on the homonymy of the verb *to lie* in example (6) by referring to folk wisdom and introducing a Czech saying. With the pun lost, however, there is no longer anything enigmatic about Hacker's answer. In one of our PU translations, presented in (13)b), on the other hand, the frame-shift is preserved; the reader is invited to rework the collocation *tahat čerta za ocas* "pull the devil by the tail":

(13) a) [Hacker:]   *„Vy mi radíte, abych <u>lhal</u>?"*

BT: *"Are you suggesting I should lie* [= prevaricate]*?"*

[Humphrey:]   *„Ne, to ne," zněla <u>záhadná odpověď</u>. „Radím vám, abyste se řídil <u>lidovou moudrostí</u>."*

BT: *"No, I'm not," came <u>the enigmatic response</u>. "I'm suggesting that you should follow the <u>folk wisdom</u>."*

[Hacker:]   *„Kterou?"*

BT: *"Which one?"*

[Humphrey:]   *„<u>Co tě nepálí, nehas.</u>" (JPM 2, p. 237)*

BT: *"<u>Don't put out what doesn't burn you.</u>"* [= Czech saying]

b) [Hacker:]   *„<u>Tahat za nos</u> bych je snad neměl?"*

BT: *"I should not be <u>pulling them by the nose</u>* [=idiom. pull sb.'s leg], *should I?"*

[Humphrey:]   *„<u>Tahat</u> byste rozhodně neměl," odpověděl tajuplně.*

BT: *"No, you should definitely not <u>pull</u>," came the enigmatic response.*

[Hacker:]   *„<u>Co bych neměl tahat?</u>"*

BT: *"Pull what?"*

[Humphrey:]   *„<u>Čerta za ocas.</u>" (PU)*

BT: *"<u>Pull the devil by the tail.</u>"*

Finally, example (14) introduces a PU attempt at the translation of the pun on *Round Objects* (see example [7]). While the professional translator renders the phrase *Round Objects* as *bezpředmětné* "groundless" and omits the following punning segment (PUN→ZERO), a PU student exploits the homonymy of an individual word form. In this solution, the Czech pun revolves around the connector *omyl*, which can either be a noun ("mistake") or a past participle form of the verb *omýt* "to wash":

(14) *„<u>Omyl nějakého hlupáka.</u>"* …

BT: *"<u>An idiot's mistake / He washed an idiot.</u>"*

… *Humphrey na okraj napsal: „<u>O jakém hlupákovi tu mluvíme a kdo ho omyl?</u>" (PU)*

BT: *"… Humphrey wrote in the margin: "What <u>idiot</u> are we speaking about and who <u>washed</u> him?"*

4 BACK TO THE ORIGINAL TV SITCOM

The BBC sitcom appeared on Czech TV in 2000 in a dubbed version,[31] and it was very well received; in 2001, the authors of the Czech dubbing were even awarded a special prize for dubbing.[32] In 2008 the sitcom came out on DVD as part of the Cult BBC TV series library (*Kultovní seriály BBC*). This DVD version, which includes both English and Czech audio and Czech subtitles, was also used in our study.

First, our comparison of the book format with the original TV version of the sitcom revealed that the book contains puns that cannot be traced to the TV version, i.e. they were added later.[33] This is not surprising: as Coulson et al. (2006, p. 246) state, the "frame-shifting needed for joke comprehension exerts a processing cost", which is more of a problem for the TV version, where all processing has to take place in real time.[34] Of the puns discussed here, this concerns the one playing on the ambiguity of the word *apparent* (example [3]): while the adjective is explicitly mentioned in the televised version, its ambiguity is not further exploited for punning purposes there.

Second, in the TV format, the PUN→ZERO translation method cannot be used; according to Pedersen, it would be admission of failure (2015, p. 176). Not only do the audiences expect the characters to speak whenever they look as if they are speaking, but usually the dialogue is explicitly marked as funny by canned laughter. This becomes evident when the pun playing on the ambiguity of the phrase *Round Objects* is considered (see [7] above); the whole scene in which Bernard tells Hacker about Humphrey's comment on Hacker's new code for irrelevant documents takes 16 seconds (including laughter): the conversation between Bernard and Hacker simply cannot be left untranslated.

(15) [Hacker:]   „*Já nejsem státní úředník, použiju vlastní šifru. Napíšu sem* <u>*Psí hromádka*</u>.“
                BT: *"I am not a civil servant, I will use my own code. I will write* Dog's load. …"

     [11 minutes later]
     [Bernard:]   … <u>*Hromádka čeho?*</u> <u>*A někomu to nevoní?*</u> (*Yes Minister* S03E01)
                BT: *"Load of what? Someone finds it smelly?"*

In fact, in cases such as these the authors of the dubbing always tried to achieve a humorous effect. For the pun on *shoot* in Hacker's exchange with Commander Forest (example [4]), the authors tried to find a Czech verb which allows the use of the mechanism employed in the

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31 The Czech Republic (and former Czechoslovakia) is traditionally a "dubbing country".

32 http://dabing.info/ceny.html.

33 On the other hand, the fact that we systematically proceeded from book to screen and not otherwise does not allow us to say whether the screen version has puns in it that did not make it into the book; this is left for future research.

34 But it is likewise possible that the authors only saw an opportunity to add a pun later.

English original: the Czech imperative form *Palte!* "Fire!" is supposed to activate both the QUARRELLING frame (in Lakoff and Johnson's [1980] terms, the target domain of ARGUMENT), and the USE_FIREARM frame (the source domain of WAR).[35]

(16) [Hacker]: „*Tak do toho. <u>Palte!</u> Ne, totiž …*" [LAUGHTER] (*Yes Minister* S02E03)
    BT: *"Go ahead. <u>Fire.</u> No, I mean …"*

Admittedly, in two of our examples the pun was saved at all costs; in the Czech version of the pun based on the double meaning of the word *port* (see example [1]), Hacker ends up comparing civil servants to inferior Czech rum (*tuzemák*). While collocating "rum" and "mature" can perhaps be interpreted as irony (in Delabastita's [1996, p. 134] terms, the PUN→RELATED RHETORICAL DEVICE method was used), the introduction of a Czech brand of rum brings in (not quite desirable) associations with Czech culture. Similarly, *Šípková Růženka* "Sleeping Beauty" in the disjunctor function of the pun revolving around the ambiguity of the verb *to lie* in (6) is very problematic, since the Czech verbs explicating the two meanings of the verb, namely *lhát* (PREVARICATION) and *ležet* (POSTURE), are formally too distant to count as paronyms (in other words, the Czech verb *lhát* cannot function as a connector):

(17) [Hacker:] „*To mám jako lhát?*"
    BT: *"Am I supposed to lie* [= prevaricate]*?"*
    [Humphrey:] „*Ale vy ne, pane ministře, ne.*"
    BT: *"Not you, minister, no."*
    [Hacker:] „*A kdo má lhát?*"
    BT: *"So who is supposed to lie* [= prevaricate]*?"*
    [Humphrey:] „<u>*Šípková Růženka.*</u>" (*Yes Minister* S03E06)
    BT: "<u>*Sleeping Beauty.*</u>"

This also happens to be the case of the most problematic pun in our data: the one playing on the ambiguity of the noun *briefs* (example [5]). The audiovisual format of the TV version complicates the translation of this pun even more: the relexicalization of the idiom that triggers the frame-shift, namely *to get caught with one's trousers down*, is reinforced by the visual channel: while in the book Bernard's pun is followed by Hacker's metalinguistic comment, on the screen it not only takes Hacker a couple of seconds to get Bernard's joke, but he also makes a quick gesture indicating pulling up his trousers (to make sure that he got Bernard's joke right); and then he bursts out laughing – apparently he appreciates the joke. Unfortunately, what we are dealing with here is a "monocultural metaphor" (cf. Pedersen, 2015) which does not work in

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35 As native speakers of Czech, we have doubts about the activation of the QUARRELLING frame by this verb if used without a prefix; moreover, we found no evidence of this use in the synchronic corpus of spoken Czech Oral 1.

Czech: its literal equivalent *nachytat bez kalhot* "to catch sb. with their trousers down" has only a literal (usually sexual) meaning, and the semantically close Czech phrase *zastihnout v nedbalkách* "to catch sb. in their underwear" does not match the gesture: the phrase means either that one is caught not dressed properly for the occasion (usually this means wearing pyjamas or the sort of comfortable clothes you only wear round the house) or caught showing one's true colours, i.e. revealing what one is really like.

Thus, what a Czech viewer ends up hearing is a pun on the ambiguity of the noun *výtah*, potentially meaning not only "a draft", but also "a lift", which can "get ministers to the top". This, again, is at odds with the visual channel – Hacker's gesture simply does not match either Bernard's words or his own. As a result, what we get is a classic case of "intersemiotic tension" (cf. Pedersen, 2015):[36]

(18) [Hacker:]   „*Čím to, že se ministři nehnou bez těchhle <u>výtahů</u>?*"
                    BT: *"How come ministers <u>won't make a single move</u> without these <u>lifts/drafts</u>?"*
      [Bernard:]   „*Protože díky nim <u>vyjeli nahoru</u>.*"
                    BT: *"Because <u>thanks to them they got to the top</u>."*
      [Hacker:]   „*Myslíte, že bez nich by se tam nedostali?*" (*Yes Minister* S02E07)
                    BT: *"Do you mean they wouldn't have <u>got there</u> without them?"*

Luckily enough, Hacker's gesture is only a small one, and perhaps not too unsettling, at least for a cooperative viewer who is aware "that as far as humour is concerned, disbelief is suspended" (see Chairo, 2010, p. 3).

5 CONCLUSIONS

In many cases of the puns exploiting lexical ambiguity in the *Yes Minister* series it was not possible to pun on exactly the same item in the Czech translation; this applied to homonymy and polysemy alike. On the other hand, the PUN→PUN (see Delabastita, 1996) translation method could still be used: in most cases it was possible to pun on a word present in the active frame and the frame-shifting mechanism (cf. Coulson et al., 2006), which is not specific to English, could be preserved. In some cases, this meant the relexicalization or reconstruction of an idiom (or its part) in the disjunctor function or, very exceptionally, the collocability of an item was exploited (a simile).

All of this, however, applies more to the PU translations than to the official translation by Jan Klíma, who often used the PUN→NON-PUN method and even resorted to the PUN→ZERO method. The reason could be that, unlike the students, he was working under time pressure. He may have used compensations, i.e. he could have created puns where there were none in the original (the ZERO→PUN method); at this stage of our research, we are not able to tell.

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36 The same intersemiotic tension would be created if the Czech translation of the pun in the book version of the sitcom (mentioned in [12]) were used.

When comparing the book format to the TV format, we noted that the ambiguity of some of the items punned on in the book version was not exploited in the original sitcom for punning purposes, i.e. these puns were only added later in the process of converting the TV format to the book format. We suggested that the written format possibly allows for more punning than the screen, where all processing has to take place in real time; again, however, at this stage of our research we are not able to rule out the possibility that the original TV version has puns in it that are not found in the book version; this is left for future research.

The TV version, overall, was more problematic to translate than the book version: restrictions are imposed on the translator not only by the demand for lip-synchronization imposed by dubbing, but also by the polysemiotic character of the TV format. The PUN→NON-PUN and PUN→ZERO translation methods can hardly be used since humour is explicitly brought to the viewer's attention by background laughter, characters have to speak when they look as if they are speaking, and speech is accompanied by gestures that further limit the choice of idiom to be reconstructed or relexicalized. In one case, the latter aspect became insurmountable and possibly approached untranslatability, when for a monocultural pun only a translation creating intersemiotic tension could be created.

Last but not least, in some of the translations in the official Czech versions of both the book and the TV format it appears as if the translators did try to employ the frame-shifting mechanism. However, this often only involved the introduction of an idiom or a saying at any cost as the Czech version did not contain any expression in the function of a connector whose alternative reading could be activated. This suggests that while "linguistics will never have the last word about wordplay and its translation … linguistic structure may well be" (Delabastita, 1996, p. 131) the place where the education of future translators should begin.

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ABSTRACT

Small talk used to be considered as a peripheral resource within interactions. However, subsequent contributions discard these ideas and grant small talk a particular value that goes beyond casual contexts, since it allows interpersonal relationships to be established among participants, which later on can help to facilitate specific tasks being performed in the workplace. In medical contexts, small talk enables to carry out essential tasks, such as building a therapeutic relationship. However, the coexistence of several ethnic populations within Spain's geography demonstrates that patients and doctors do not always share the same language or cultural background. In this first stage of our ongoing research, we will examine real recordings of medical consultations, which are classified into the three groups and will be compared: (a) monolingual consultations, (b) monolingual consultations with a foreign patient and (c) interpreter mediated consultations. We will perform a quantitative and qualitative analysis for each of our groups of study, which will allow us to observe the distribution of small talk in different phases of the medical interview, its purposes and the most recurrent topics.

Cristina Álvaro Aranda and Raquel Lázaro Gutiérrez
Small Talk as a Communicative Resource in Monolingual and Interpreted Medical Consultations: A Comparative Analysis

1 INTRODUCTION TO SMALL TALK

Until relatively a short time ago, small talk interactions used to be often overlooked and only received scarce attention. As a consequence, small talk was relegated to a peripheral and marginal dimension of communication processes. Several authors link the beginning of its study to the introduction of the term *phatic communion* by Malinowski (1923, 1972). He defined this concept as a type of superficial, obvious and introductory discourse which, far from pursuing instrumental goals, is linked to human social interaction and helps to fulfil people's needs to communicate with each other. This vision is long perpetuated in other contributions, where small talk is presented as a conventionalised and ritualised resource (Thomas *et al.* 1982, p. 148) that speakers use to acknowledge their mutual presence (Hudson 1996, p. 109) or avoid discussing other problems (Robinson 1972).

Apart from serving relational or interactional purposes, language also presents a transactional dimension that allows speakers to pursue different goals through a complex network of communicative resources, aimed to promote a change in the existing relationship between speakers (McCarthy 1991). As stated before, traditional conceptions of small talk restricted its usage to the first dimension mentioned, but subsequent studies grant it an additional value and a specific role.

Coupland's (2000, 2014) collection of articles played a decisive part in such a change of perspective. Participating authors used approaches from different fields, such as sociolinguistics and pragmatics, to study the functions of small talk in casual, professional and institutional contexts. A great number of activities developed in the latter are performed using language as a means of communication (Valero Garcés 2014) and, at the same time, communication serves as a tool that allows the creation of a specific work environment (Holmes and Stubbe 2015, p. 169).

However, we cannot ignore that determining whether discourse pursues relational or transactional goals is not an easy task, as the boundaries between both of them are usually fuzzy (Maynard and Hudak 2008) and talk is intrinsically multifunctional (Holmes 2000, p. 34). As for small talk, it is believed to be located in the "pragmatic space between and among the transactional and the relational functions of talk" (Candlin 2000, p. xv). Coupland (2000, 2014) goes a step further and states that it is impossible to isolate our object of study from talk produced in the workplace, as it is part of its dynamics and has a direct impact on achieving goals within the institution. Talk in the workplace is considered to be mainly transactional, but in such contexts interactions may not run smoothly without the small talk that "oils the social wheels" (Holmes 2003).

To sum up, we can state that long-established conceptions of small talk give way to a new line of research which stems from a shared perception: small talk allows interpersonal relationships to be established among participants, which later on can help to facilitate specific tasks being performed in the workplace (Holmes, 2000; 2003, Coupland 2000; 2014, Pullin 2000, Hudak and Maynard 2011, Holmes and Stubbe 2015).

After this brief introduction, we will proceed to examine the functions of small talk in medical contexts. However, before we move on it is convenient to direct attention to the high degree of difficulty when it comes to establish what constitutes an example of small talk. Following Valero Garcés' approach (2014, p. 134), we will focus on discourse segments where no information specifically related to the reason for consultation is provided, i.e. use of routine expressions or discussion of personal issues that move away from topics usually discussed in doctor-patient encounters and the instrumental tasks associated with them.

2 IMPORTANCE OF SMALL TALK IN HEALTHCARE ENCOUNTERS

Medical consultations present a series of distinctive features. First, there is a noticeable level of asymmetry between participants that Heritage (1997, p. 175) situates at different levels: conversational participation, specialised knowledge and understanding of the know-how of the institution. In addition, specific roles are assigned to participants in every institutional

encounter, where we can identify several restrictions, procedures and frameworks specific to each institution (Heritage 1997; Drew and Sorjonen 1997). This statement is clearly illustrated in the structure traditionally linked to medical encounters, which includes the following sections: (a) initial greetings, (b) eliciting relevant information from patient, (c) physical examination, (d) diagnosis and prescription of treatment or further testing, and (e) farewells (Borrell 2004, Blázquez-Manzano *et al.* 2012).

In all of these stages, effective communication between physician and patient is a key variable to guarantee a successful consultation (Moore *et al.* 2010). Over the last years, communication skills have gathered increasing attention from scholars and practitioners, and they have been presented as essential components in new models of patient-centred care (Costa Alcaraz and Almendro Padilla 2009) and also included in medical curricula (Ruiz Moral *et al.* 2017).

Communication in medical consultations is an example of institutional discourse and, as such, there is "a dialectic between institutional frames (…) and socio-relational frames of talk" (Coupland 2000; 2014). Thus, small talk needs to be examined beyond its role in building a relationship between physician and patient, in order to include in its study how this relationship affects the achievement of other goals within the institution examined (ibid.).

There are some pieces of research that prove that small talk promotes developing an interpersonal relationship and establishing a climate of trust between participants, which is essential in certain work contexts (Pullin 2010). Closely related to this statement, there is a trend towards minimising the formality of institutional discourse so as to "conversationalize" this type of encounters (Fairclough 1995). This statement leads Valero Garcés (2014) to infer that small talk contributes to reduce any initial tensions between the parties, facilitates communication and, remarkably, helps to soften the existing asymmetries between doctor and patient. Small talk also allows professionals to show concern for the patient (Macdonald 2016), which in turn facilitates achieving the general objectives of the session, namely physical examination, diagnosis and prescription of treatment, as patients feel comfortable. Consequently, they are more willing to disclose important information, which often includes discussing personal (Hudak and Maynard 2011) and sensitive topics (Macdonald 2016).

On another note, small talk can alleviate anxiety, discomfort and embarrassment regarding medical tests or unpleasant procedures, which may require patients to be naked or involve bodily invasions (Maynard and Hudak 2008, Macdonald 2016). Small talk can also increase patients' emotional adherence to treatment (Aranguri *et al.* 2006). It also promotes patients' cooperation when it comes to performing tasks related to medical practice, as well as acceptance of the physician's indications after the encounter (Ragan 2000). In addition, both doctors and patients resort to small talk in the course of the consultation to ignore or hide certain aspects that can potentially become conflictive. Maynard and Hudak (2008) express that doctors use small talk to avoid getting sidetracked by concerns of the patient deviating from the actual reason of the medical appointment. For patients, small talk offers an escape route to disattend to some of the physician's recommendations, such as exercising, and even to show pain management or resistance.

3 SMALL TALK IN MEDICAL CONSULTATIONS WITH FOREIGN PATIENTS OR THE INTERVENTION OF AN INTERPRETER

The coexistence of several ethnic groups within the same geographical territory entails that patients and doctors do not always share the same language or cultural background. When individuals join a community different from their own, they need to face more than linguistic barriers, as their cultural perceptions may prevent them from understanding the relational patterns imposed by the host society. This new system has specific rules regarding social interaction and newcomers need to manage them correctly so as to guarantee their successful integration and acceptance. However, they may have different ideas regarding how one should apologise, complain, give orders or engage in small talk (Holmes 2005, p. 346).

Jaworsksi (2000, p. 114) affirms that even though small talk is a universal sociolinguistic component, there exist remarkable differences among communities regarding its use and tolerance. Small talk is closely linked to culture (Endrass *et al.* 2011), and it so much so that bringing up a topic deemed as acceptable in one community, such as asking about family members, may be seen as totally inappropriate in another (Isbister *et al.* 2000), since it deviates from its politeness rules (Thibodeaux and Money-Doyle 2013, p. 30). In addition, there are some culturally-bound differences concerning the frequency of small talk use, as Hernández López (2008) demonstrates in her comparative analysis of medical consultations taking place in Spain and United Kingdom. It is also interesting to point out that the amount of small talk that a patient needs to feel comfortable in a medical consultation also varies from one culture to another (Aranguri 2006).

Some studies shed light on the usage of small talk in intercultural medical encounters. After examining small talk distribution with patients from different ethnic groups, Hudak and Maynard (2011) suggest that it may be more recurrent when doctors and patients share the same background. However, Valero Garcés (2014) compares monolingual consultations with local and foreign patients and detects that small talk usage is heightened in the second group: more explanations different to those covered in medical consultation as such are provided, with clarifications of official procedures related to the workings of the health care system and discourse markers that serve as small talk (e.g. Does that make sense?).

Interpreters and intercultural mediators can help to bridge the gap between doctors and patients in intercultural and multilingual consultations. There is a large body of research on different dimensions of healthcare interpreters and their work, but small talk in interpreted interactions is rarely discussed in scholarly publications (Van de Mieroop 2016). In this limited literature we find the contribution of Aranguri *et al.* (2006), who detect a generalised absence of small talk usage in medical consultations mediated by *ad hoc* interpreters. Penn and Watermater (2012) study uninterpreted asides in healthcare interactions, which according to the authors are sometimes essential to yield diagnostic and therapeutical information. They indicate that uninterpreted small talk utterances increase patients' comfort level, by means of aligning them with interpreters or offering guidance. For her part, Van de Mieroop (2016) observes that

virtually all small talk is directed towards interpreters when doctor and patient do not share the same language, as they can communicate with them directly.

4 AIMS, OBJECT AND METHODOLOGY

With our piece of research we would like to dive deeper into the use of small talk in multicultural medical consultations. For so doing, we have gathered a corpus of audio and video recordings of medical consultations, which have been transcribed prior to analyisis. The recordings were made in Spanish hospitals and healthcare centers after permission and consent were granted by healthcare staff, patients and interpreters. A total number of 75 conversations has been classified into three groups: (a) monolingual consultations (25 conversations), (b) monolingual consultations with a foreign patient (25 conversations) and (c) interpreter mediated consultations (25 conversations). With the aim of observing the distribution of small talk within the groups and its charactaristics, we have performed a qualitative and quantitative analysis. The main results are presented in the following sections.

5 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The first stage of our analysis consisted of the isolation of examples of small talk in the three groups and later classification of the examples. Two classifications were issued. The first one included two groups: successful and unsuccessful examples of small talk, whereas the second classification grouped examples of small talk into topics.

5.1 SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL SMALL TALK

Extract 1. Successful small talk

74. P: llevo la tirita pero adiós que te ha criao, no me dura ná, ahora me la, me cae, me la tendré que quitar allí en en la natación la tirita, a ver si, si me van bien un poco los huesos ahora, a mi padre en paz descanse fue a (xxx), y yo me acuerdo de que le había hecho mucho efecto, eso sí me acuerdo yo siendo una niña, tenía el peor que había ido, pero al mes notó una mejoría, ya entonces que él no se podía ni vestir, ni calzar ni nada, yo me acuerdo como si fuera hoy, preguntar a mi madre porque lo sabía, que lo había visto mucho tiempo, lo había visto que (xxx), que lo tenía peor que había ido, pero (xxx), me acuerdo como si fuera hoy, y esa es una herencia que nos han dejao ellos, ay

75. D1: pero a usted le ponemos lo mismo, ¿eh?

76. P: ¿cómo dice?

77. D1: a su marido

78. F: no

79. D1: ¿no le ponemos nada?

80. P: no, [no quiere]

81. D2: [no quiere]

82. P: no quiere ir

83. D1: ¿no quiere?, ¿y sólo quiere ir usted?

84. P: no pero si viene él si si me

85. D1: ¿de acompañante?

86. P: si si me toca luego pues se dice a casa

87. F: (xxx) la tierra vacía

88. D1: ¿pero de acompañante sí que va?

89. P: va, ¿no?

90. D1: ¿pero usted no quiere tomar aguas ni nada de eso?

91. P: no, él no va allí, no

92. D1: ¿entonces no le apuntamos?

93. P: no no me lo apuntes porque no no ha querido, y le ha preguntado una señorita y no no ha querido

94. D1: pues vale pues nada más ¿mmm?

74. P: I'm wearing the plaster but bye bye it doesn't stay with me long, now if falls down, I will have to take it off there, for my swimming lessons, the plaster, let's see, if my bones go a little better now, my father, rest in peace, went to (xxx) I remember it did him good, yes I remember when I was a child, he was as bad as ever, but after a month he felt better, and this even when he was no longer able to get dressed on his own or to put on his shoes or anything else, I remember as if it was today, I asked my mother because she knew, she had seen it for a long time, I had seen that (xxx), he was worse, he had gone, but (xxx) I remember as if it was today, and this is the inheritance they left us, ouch

75. D1: but then we give the same to you, don't we?

76. P: pardon?

77. D1: to your husband

78. R: no

79. D1: we give nothing to you?

80. P: no, [he doesn't want it]

81. D2: [he doesn't want it]

82. P: he doesn't want to go

83. D1: he doesn't. Only you want to go?

84. P: no, but if he comes, if if

85. D1: accompanying you?

86. P: if it is my turn to go then he says let's go home

87. P: (xxx) just the empty earth

88. D1: but accompanying her, then you do go?

89. P: you go, don't you?

90. D1: don't you want to go to the spa?

91. P: no, he doesn't go there, no

92. D1: then, don't we sign him in?

93.: P: no, don't sign him in because he doesn't want to go, a lady asked him and he didn't want to

94.: D1: ok then, nothing else, mmm?

In successful examples of small talk, such as the one which is presented in Extract 1, both participants in the conversation engage in small talk. Here we can see how the patient starts the telling of a personal story in which her husband plays a major role. The doctor, instead of refocusing the conversation, contributes to the story making jokes about the treatment the husband could receive. Small talk here is useful to build a strong relationship between doctor and patient which may later have a positive influence in aspects such as the adherence to treatment.

Extract 2. Unsuccessful small talk

37. P: [además] se lo dije a mí hija, digo no sé por qué cualquier cosina es que lloro y lloro y no sé por qué, no sé por qué me entran a mí ganas de de llorar. Estaba ahí sentá y me estaba haciendo la fuerte. Digo que no me pase lo del otro día que [(xxx) me me llevaron a Barcelona]

38. D1: [(xxx)] ¿pero está más triste ahora, o no está más triste?

[37. P: [besides] I told my daughter, I said I don't know why for any little reason I cry and cry and I don't know why, I don't know why I feel like like crying. I was there sitting down and I was resisting. I said I don't want to repeat the situation of the other day that [(xxx) I was taken to Barcelona]

38. D1: [(xxx)] but do you feel more miserable now or not?]

The opposite situation can be found in this second extract, where the doctor tries to reconduct the topic of the conversation towards the main purpose of the encounter: finding out about the emotional and psychological situation of the patient.

5.2 CLASSIFICATION INTO TOPICS

Four were the main topics to which small talk was attributed: the condition of the patient, the patient's relatives, the evaluation of the performance of the doctor, and jokes and anecdotes.

Extract 3. The condition of the patient

176. P: sí yo lo entiendo que puede ser sí, pero además de esto yo se lo digo a mis hijos, digo yo, digo mira he estao toda mi vida por vosotros, por todos, digo para mí no hay nada

necesito un descanso y es que no hay nadie que me lo de, es que no puedo descansar de ninguna manera porque yo así de irme siquiera aunque no sea más que una semana a la playa porque por la circulación por lo que sea, pero ¿cómo?, mi marido me dice ¿pero cómo?, ¿qué haces?, porque el (xxx) sería lo de menos, porque mi hijo me llevaría con aire acondicionado el mayor nos llevaría si cogiéramos el apartamento, diría llévame y llévatela a ella pero es que tengo (xxx) que con que en casa funciona medio medio medio bien pero [no puedes] dejársela a nadie

[176. P: yes, I understand this may be, yes, but apart from this I tell my children, I say, I say look, I've been all my life for you, all of you, I say for me there is nothing, I need a break and what happens is that there is no one that allows for this, I cannot rest in any way because leaving for me, even if it is just for a week to the beach… because the circulation, for whatever reason, but how?, my husband says, but how?, what will you do? Because (xxx) is not important, because my son would take me with air conditioning, the eldest, he would take us, if we rented the appartment, I would say take me and take her but the thing is that I have (xxx) at home she functions more or less more or less well, but you cannot leave her to anyone]

The third extract shows an example of the patient expanding the account of her symptoms and relating them to possible causes and solutions. This kind of small talk might be very useful for doctors in order to find out more about the conditions of patients.

Extract 4. Patients' relatives

86. D1: uy que nos tiras
87. P: todo
88. D1: ¿todo lo que pillas?
89. P: todo le estorba

[86. D1: hey, you threw…
87. P: everything
88. D1: everything at hand?
89. P: everything bothers him]

Patients' relatives, either absent or present, may play a major role in the small talk during medical consultations. Extract 1 consisted of a patient telling a story related to her absent husband. In Extract 4, it is the son of the patient, who is present in the consultation. The doctor acknowledges his presence and talks to him about his behavior both in the consultation and in general.

Extract 5. Evaluation

188. P: no señor yo la verdad desde que estoy con usted con (xxx) que me han pasao que con el primero lo he pasao muy mal y usted sabe que me ha dao unas pastillas y he ido muy bien y ahora también
189. D1: mmm
190. P: la verdad no puedo decir eso
191. D1: mmm
192. P: mi hija se fue, porque dice que una vez porque usted y mi marido estamos contentísimos, dice es que yo estoy contenta con él pero es que me dio un día una contestación que no me sentó bien (xxx)
193. D1: mmm
194. P: le dijo que le tomara la tensión y usted le contestó le dijo a ver si se piensa que esto es un mercao
195. D1: sí algo así
196. P: y ella se (xxx) y por eso se fue, pero la verdad es que yo estoy contenta con usted
197. D1: bueno
198. P: la verdad, que sí, porque me ha pasado

[188. P: no sir, to tell the truth since I am with you with (xxx) that I have suffered that with the first I had a really bad time and you know that you gave me some pills and it went really well and now as well
189. D1: mmm
190. P: to tell the truth I cannot say that
191. D1: mmm
192. P: my daughter left, because she says once... because you... and my husband we are very happy, she says: I'm happy with him but one day he answered me back in a way I didn't like (xxx)
193. D1: mmm
194. P: she asked you to have her blood pressure taken and you said: and now you think this is a supermarket
195. D1: yes, something like that
196. P: and then she (xxx) that's why she left, but to tell the truth I'm happy with you
197. D1: fine
198. P: to tell the truth, it is so, because I've suffered...]

In this extract (Extract 5) we can find another example of small talk revolving around the patient's relatives. However, it also presents another interesting topic, which consists of the evaluation of the doctor's performance.

Extract 6. Jokes and anecdotes

34. P: es na más aquí, uy ahora lo estoy viendo con mi marido ahí afuera, porque le digo parece que me van a los dedos a mí las cosas, y el, el autobús este me cortó la yema del dedo, el autobús, precisamente me analizaron por el dedo porque ha sido culpa del conductor, que llevaba la puerta mal pues yo salí y y a mí me llevó la yema, digo este me lo corté con un hacha yo siendo pequeña, era pequeña, había en mi casa dos criaos, y le dice a mi madre, ¿usted ha visto a la niña que va sangrando por un dedo?, y es que había cogido el hacha y
35. D2: pues si quiere lo que podemos hacer es cortarle los diez

[34. P. it's just here, now I'm commenting this with my husband out there, because I told him it seems as if everything happens to my fingers, that bus cut my fingertip, the bus, my finger was even examined because it was the driver's fault, the door of the bus was wrong, I got off and my fingertip was cut, I cut this one with an axe when I was a child, I was a child, there were two servants at home and one told my mother, have you seen the girl's finger bleeding?, I had taken the axe and
35. D2. then if you agree we can cut your ten fingers off]

The last item of our classification includes small talk based on jokes and anecdotes, as is represented in Extract 6. The patient tells an anecdote and the doctor answers with a joke.

6 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The quantitative analysis of our corpus revealed that many more examples of small talk were produced in monolingual conversations (18) when compared to conversations with a foreign patient (1) and interpreter-mediated conversations (2). Taking into account our classification of topics, we found out that the most common one was the condition of the patients, which appeared 9 times. Small talk related to the patients' relatives occurred 8 times, whereas 4 examples of comments related to evaluation and only 2 jokes and anecdotes were noticed.

The following graph shows the prevalence of the types of small talk in the different groups of conversations:

Graph 1: Distribution of small talk
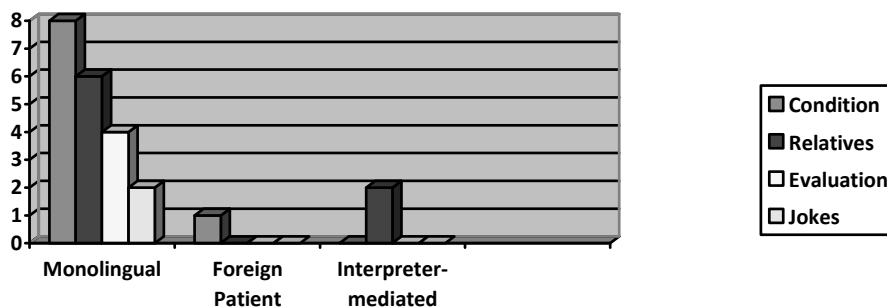
In monolingual conversations we can find a high number of examples of small talk which are distributed into those about the condition of the patient, those related to the patients' relatives, the ones which constitute evaluations of the doctor's performance and jokes and anecdotes. However, in conversations with foreign patients only one example of small talk is found, which revolves around the condition of the patient. The number of examples of small talk lightly increases in interpreter-mediated conversation, where small talk appears exclusively related to the patients' relatives.

7 CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The most important conclusion that can be achieved is that small talk decreases dramatically in conversations with foreign patients (with or without an interpreter). Small talk related to the patient's condition is the most popular one and also a useful tool for doctors in order to learn further details about the patient's health. These are very valuable points of departure for our study, which has to be continued and completed to find out more about the functions and occurrence of small talk.

The interpreters which took part in the conversations of our corpus were *ad hoc* interpreters, that is, patients' relatives or companions who were performing as interpreters only in these particular situations. An interesting further piece of research could consist of replicating the study analysing the influence of professional interpreters.

Last but not least, we think that culture and communicative styles should be considered a variable to further analyse our data. This would allow us for a better understanding of the purposes and functions of small talk.

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ABSTRACT

The article presents findings of an empirical research into how cognitive skills required in the process of translating can be developed through writing and understanding cognitive processes in writing. Its underlying theories – Polanyi's theory of tacit knowing and a cognitive process theory of writing developed by Flower and Hayes – explain why cognitive skills benefit from writing and what the preconditions for cognitive capability development are. The research findings brought the article to focus on two valuable cognitive processes in writing, namely, text organizing and goal setting, and on the cognitive processes that ensure learning and mean learning. The article attempts to demonstrate how seemingly basic writing assignments – if structured and combined with metacognitive activities – help translation students, first, discover their aptitudes and then develop some core, translating-related skills, tacit technical and tacit cognitive.

Ieva Vizule

Maturation of Translation Student Capabilities through Understanding Cognitive Processes in Writing

1 WRITING IN TRANSLATION PROGRAMS: RESEARCH LANDSCAPE

Translation programs hope to produce translators able to successfully and continuously demonstrate their translation competence; however, the allocated time and program capacity may turn out to be insufficient for achieving all the projected program outcomes. Besides, the underdeveloped cognitive capacities of many school leavers who enrol as translation students compound the problem, since it is where logical fallacies originate the most and may disrupt any act of communication within a single language; in translating – a dichotomous process rich in various cognitive activities related to both working languages and cultures – such disruptions may bear more serious consequences. Therefore, translation programs should seek to develop student translation capabilities through any subject they study in the program. The present article argues that written practice offers a very effective platform for developing some core translation skills[1] – from text-creation skills to cognitive ones – through writing *and* analysing the thinking and learning processes behind this writing. Such an approach gradually develops habitual actions in translation students that allow to move from conscious learning effort to subconscious performance – from capabilities to competence or, as defined by the Australian

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1   "Skills" and "capabilities" are used as synonyms in the present article.

colleagues, from "potential ability" (Darwish, 2010, p. 155) to "repeatable applicability" (ibid), or "proven ability" (EMT, 2017, p. 3), which means maturation of translation student capability.

1.1 UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS: "WHAT WE BELIEVE IN THE END, IS WHAT WE OURSELVES CREATE"[2]

The research and the present article rely on the assumption that written practice in translation programs is one of the main contributors in teaching cognitive skills and developing some of the core translator competencies; however, it is underestimated and underused. Colleagues from Zurich University of Applied sciences, Switzerland, have voiced this concern: "That writing is a part of translation or even more – that translation is a writing profession, was always taken as a fact. But a fact not rooted in a writing or literacy theory" (Kruse, 2012, p. 404). Since then, their translation program has seen serious changes – they moved from no written practice in the program to writing as the dominant mode of learning in many classes. They moved from students not being required or taught how to find ideas, structure a text or do creative writing to them being assigned a range of writing or research-based writing assignments tailored to develop student text creation skills, and to enhance their creativity and independent learning.

With or without a firmly rooted recognition of written practice as an invaluable asset in translator education, few would seriously doubt it. The question arises how to better translate student writing capabilities into translating capabilities, and eventually into translation competence. The current study proposes *combining iterative and targeted written practice assignments with metacognitive processes*, which has a twofold benefit: iterative and targeted assignments of various complexity and size complemented by metacognitive processes help to internalize text-creation capabilities or knowledge; they make it tacit. *Tacit knowledge*, as the opposite of explicit, measurable or textbook knowledge (Davenport and Prusak, 1998), is about, first, embedded or dwelt in technical skills or know-how, which in the context of the present research would be about language use and text creation technicalities. The other dimension of tacit knowledge is cognitive, about "passion and commitment" (Polanyi, 1974, p. 303) and deep-seated beliefs, perceptions, ideals, values, ways of thinking and mental models (Takeuchi, 1998). Any personal or professional behaviour and its outcome in terms of quality stems from the latter dimension, most of the time the individual being unaware of it. Besides, few are aware that an improved professional behaviour requires a quality change in their tacit cognitive knowledge, and even fewer might be ready to question it, to question their existing beliefs, perceptions, understanding, including understanding of processes. Metacognitive activities such as reflecting on one's practices, evaluation and analysis of the thinking processes behind the writing assignments are like a key to the individual's mind, which opens it and makes it more favourable to some possible change, a second massive benefit.

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2   Eisner, Eliot E. (1993): Objectivity in Educational Research. In *Educational Research: current issues*, Volume 1, Hamersley (Ed), Paul Chapman Publishers Ltd. p. 53.

1.2 UNDERLYING THEORIES: FROM CAPABILITY TO COMPETENCE

But we know well that our personal or professional behaviour enjoys, or suffers from, more influences than our individual, which in *Polanyi's tacit knowing theory*, developed in the middle of the 20th century, can be viewed as "subsidiary particulars", the first of the three centres of tacit knowledge, the second centre being "the focal target" and the third – "the knower who links the first to the second" (Polanyi and Prosh, 1975, p. 38). This means that various relevant contexts, frameworks, backgrounds, etc. (subsidiaries) exert an influence on the assignment or act of personal or professional behaviour (the focal target) depending on what the actor (the knower) sees or fails to see, as well as what he does, how he does or what he fails to do:

> We can say that the knower integrates the subsidiaries to a focal target, or we can say that for the knower the subsidiaries have a meaning which fills the centre of his focal attention. Hence the knower can dissolve the triad by his own specific action: by merely looking differently at the subsidiaries. The triad will disappear if the knower shifts his focal attention away from the focus of the triad and fixes it on subsidiaries. … If we focus our attention on a spoken word and thus see it as a sequence of sounds, the word loses the meaning to which we had attended before. Polanyi and Prosh (1975, p. 38)

In other words, this may mean a deviation from the given assignment and, eventually, a possible failure to complete it to the desired degree or standard. However, in the learning process such deviations, which dissolve the triad, are even necessary, because typically they reveal some gaps in the knowledge or capabilities of the knower. Intentional and purposeful dissolving of the triad enables the knower (or the learner) to first identify these gaps and then to reduce or eliminate them.

In writing classes, text creation typically represents the focal target, yet, temporary shifts away from it to an isolated text creation element or technicality (a subsidiary) is a routine activity targeted at developing separate skills or enhancing student understanding of various processes. The main emphasis is on metacognitive processes in writing as a means for a sought-after quality change in tacit cognitive knowledge. It is the combination of writing and metacognition that represented the necessary encouragement and guidance for such a change; translation students were expected to regularly analyse their own learning and reflect on their writing and thinking processes. Some technical skills managed to become tacit through iterative assignments, which allows their holder or possessor to subconsciously tap on it, apply it repeatedly without conscious effort, i.e., automaticity in text production processes is believed to have been achieved. This, in its turn, suggests that student text-creating capabilities advanced closer to maturity.

The other underlying theory – *a cognitive process theory of writing* developed by Linda Flower and John R. Hayes – also refers to the factor of automaticity: "Well-learned skills, such as sentence construction, tend to become automatic and lost to consciousness" (Flower and Hayes, 1981, p. 374). They maintain that "If the writer must devote conscious attention to demands

such as spelling and grammar, the task of translating can interfere with more global process of planning what one wants to say" (op.cit., p. 373). First, it should be noted that "translating" within a cognitive process theory of writing represents the second part of the writing process (planning, *translating*, reviewing) and is defined as "the process of putting ideas into visible language" (ibid); second, the ideas expressed by Linda Flower and John Richard Hayes closely relate to Polanyi's tacit knowing theory, or rather, both theories nicely complement each other. The three basic elements in a cognitive theory of writing – the task environment, the writer's long-term memory, and the writing process may bear some similarity to the triad of tacit knowledge, as subsidiary particulars, the knower, and the focal target respectively: a shift of conscious attention from 'more global process of planning' (= the focal target) to spelling and grammar (= gaps in the knower's memory) is indicative of an immature writing/translating ability and knowledge or capability that has not become tacit yet.

At the same time a cognitive process theory of writing explicitly emphasises cognition both as a process and also a target, the targeted capability or knowledge as a learning outcome in writing classes. The present study benefits also from the research report on cognitive models of writing by Deane *et al.* 2008, which offers a revised model of cognitive processes in writing by Hayes and other relevant research findings that seem to be revolving around one central axis – writing being "a complex cognitive activity, which involves solving problems and deploying strategies to achieve communicative goals" (Dean et al., 2008, p. 1). The same can be attributed to translating, in complexity which by far exceeds writing and requires advanced reasoning skills/capabilities. The present article reflects on a number of learning activities tailored to advance maturation of these skills through metacognitive processes. Deliberate and purposeful metacognitive strategies have led to translation students analysing how they think and how they manoeuvre through the many cognitive processes writing involves.

1.3 RESEARCH LANDSCAPE: RESEARCH OBJECTIVES, FIELD AND PROCESS

With this in mind, the article and the research sought to find out (1) what translating and writing as two akin disciplines shared in terms of core cognitive processes; and (2) which types of writing assignments and tasks were or might be considered very effective for developing translating-related cognitive skills. This empirical research was conducted within the action research paradigm, content analysis being its main qualitative research method – analysis of (a) theoretical sources, (b) writing assignments submitted by 24 second-year translation students, and also of (c) their written feedback after each assignment, a metacognitive activity. The research field: English Written Practice classes within a 4-year professional bachelor translation program in a regional higher education institution in Latvia, which also offers the master-level education in translation and is a member of the European Master's in Translation (EMT).

The research process covered one academic semester – the total of 8 classes or 16 academic hours, an equivalent of ridiculous 1.5 ECT points in total, half of all the time allocated to English writing classes in the program. The second-year translation students were assigned increasingly

complex writing tasks, each followed by a reflective or metacognitive activity, and it revealed or suggested the maturity level of student capabilities. To identify this level, attention was paid to the concerns expressed in the reflective analysis or feedback given by the students: (a) whether these concerns were about explicit or tacit knowledge (tacit technical and tacit cognitive), with tacit being an equivalent of more mature or more advanced capabilities; and (b) whether these concerns were more about telling knowledge, or transforming it, criteria used by Bereiter and Scardamalia when contrasting a novice writer and a skilled or expert writer. They explain that novice writers perform on the level of *"knowledge-telling"*, i.e., they merely translate the idea on the page, but their literacy skills are undeveloped, strategic writing skills non-existent, topic-specific knowledge insufficient, awareness of the rhetorical goals rudimentary or unformed, and reasoning and research skills weak. While expert writers demonstrate "*knowledge transforming* approach" to writing, which means "an active process of questioning, research and thinking": more time for planning and revising and more attention on managing the development of content (Bereiter and Scardamalia, quoted in Deane et al. [2008, p. 35–45]).

It should be noted though that the cognitive capabilities required in the translation process can be trained without unnecessarily sophisticated writing assignments; some basic writing activities proved themselves very effective, particularly, if built upon by gradually adding more knowledge-transforming and creative activities, which is discussed in the next chapter. It also presents the translation competence frameworks, which define the required sets of skills/competences, or the desired learning outcomes; however, neither the research, nor the article, attempts to measure precisely how far on the axis 'capabilities – competence' students have managed to get. Rather, these benchmarks are used to substantiate the belief that writing assignments alone are able to largely contribute to translation competence development.

2 WRITING AND UNDERSTANDING: FINDING ANALYSIS

2.1 COGNITIVE PROCESSES/SKILLS IN WRITING, AND TRANSLATION COMPETENCE

The cognitive processes that translating and writing share have been selected largely giving credit to the Deane *et al.* group of researchers (Deane et al., 2008), who have carried out a comprehensive study on cognitive models in writing. To perform each process, a corresponding skill is required, therefore the list that follows contains skills and also examples of the related cognitive process/es (in brackets): reasoning skills, strategic skills (planning, goal-setting, organization of ideas, etc.), text production skills, social skills (such as ability to learn), editing or proofreading (detecting errors), reviewing (evaluating), and revising (comprehending, evaluating and defining problems). The students were engaged in all these processes, by this having been provided an opportunity to develop the required skills. The present research was designed to focus on two valuable cognitive processes in writing, namely, text organizing and goal setting, i.e., strategic skills, but it is not possible to analyse these processes without considering the cognitive processes that ensure learning, especially developing long-term skills, which means making them tacit.

It is important to note that all these skills have been included, for example, in the EMT translation competence framework[3], which despite its focus on translation competences expected of master program graduates, represents a set of highly desired targets to be attained for undergraduate translation students as well. The study finds that writing assignments contribute to maturation of student capabilities in all the five competence groups of this framework, but in the translation competence in particular (ten of the given 14 competencies or learning outcomes have been addressed, see EMT [2017, p. 8]). The second competence framework that was consulted has been developed by Australian colleagues, for accreditation purposes, and presents the cognitive capabilities of expert translators: (a) *information integrity* – "the ability to retain the same information in terms of accuracy, correctness, completeness and original intentions"; (b) *linguistic integrity* – "the ability to render the text in a sound language in terms of grammar, structure and coherence and cohesion by conforming to the lexical and syntactic norms and principles of the target languages"; and (c) *translation integrity* – "the degree of matching, correspondence and approximation within the parameters of the original text and the dimensions and boundaries of meaning. A translation that is operating outside the boundaries of meaning is a translation that has failed to ensure the integrity of approximation" (Darwish 2010, p. 111). Within this competence framework, Evans and Lindsay have come up with the following translation quality variables (or criteria): *accuracy, precision, correctness, completeness, consistency, clarity,* and *fitness for purpose* (ibid). All of them are important also in writing as an act of communication; therefore writing assignments, if appropriated, can enable development of all these capabilities, even translation integrity, and can teach to work towards meeting the quality criteria that are relevant in translating.

2.2 WRITING ASSIGNMENTS AND METACOGNITIVE ACTIVITIES

This subchapter introduces three types of the writing assignments translation students were expected to complete and reflect upon (see [1]–[3]). It moves *from basic to more sophisticated* activities, but all the performed assignments and activities necessitated strategic planning, the focal cognitive process in the current study. The discussion of findings draws on the underlying theories, presented in Chapter 1, as well as translation competence benchmarks given above.

(1) The first – very basic – task assigned to the students involved *sentence combining*: in this example, students had to combine nine separate sentences into one, considering the pragmatic goal, sentence structure, punctuation, logic, cohesion, and avoiding not only wordiness, is-ness or of-ness, but also the idea loss or change, all of which are important in producing good quality translations in English.

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3   European Master's in Translation Competence Framework: first published in 2009 and known as the "Wheel of Competence", then recently revised to its 2017 version. It is one of the leading standards for translator training and translation competence throughout the European Union and beyond; it is used to assess the delivery of a common set of learning outcomes by universities wishing to join the EMT network.

Separate sentences given in the task[4]:

"Ralph summons the boys to meetings in a certain way. / He blows into a shell. / The shell is called a conch. / The conch is a large shell. / The conch emits a loud noise at a certain time. / Someone blows air into it. / The boys respond to the sound for a certain reason. / The conch is a symbol of authority./ It is also a symbol of order".

Examples of student productions below:

(a) "When someone blows air into the conch it emits a loud noise, so Ralph summons the boys to meetings in a certain way to respond to the sound, then Ralph blows into a shell that actually is called a counch and is a symbol of authority and order."

(b) "Ralph summons the boys by blowing into a conch – a large shell, which emits a loud noise when someone blows air into it, and the boys respond to it, because it is a symbol of authority and order."

(c) "Ralph summons the boys to meetings by blowing into a large shell called a conch, which emits a loud noise when blown into; the boys respond to the noise because the conch is a symbol of authority and order."

One student's production (1a) failed to meet all of the translation quality variables drawn up by Evans and Lindsay (Darwish, 2010, p. 111), at the same time a determined effort of others to succeed produced sound and neat pieces that meet all of the criteria, see (1b) and (1c). The quality varied for the productions in the space between the first and the two latter versions, with each work missing on some text creation aspect. Having identified this gap in the knowledge, typically a subsidiary (see tacit knowing theory above), it was put in the focus and worked upon until the knower felt more comfortable with a similar task. Since sentence combining is a small scale and easily manageable task, it can be iterated and flexibly built upon, adapting the purpose of the assignment for developing many translation competences, this way ensuring "repeatability of action and applicability of learning to different contexts and situations" (Darwish, 2010, p. 156). Besides, even though a seemingly simple task, its performer is required to go through a range of cognitive processes essential for developing translation competence. Students admit the effect of such an activity on their translating strategies in translation classes: "I have started paying more attention to combining sentences in a nicer manner, so the text is easier to read. Maybe try to relate sentences more to each other", or "When I complete a translation, I always read the whole translated text to make sure all the sentences are logically connected and the meaning of the text isn‹t lost".

(2) The second task was *sentence combining + goal setting and organising*; the given 24 separate sentences contained information on a celebrity (Jessy Owens) and had to be converted into a single paragraph of cause or effect. The absolute majority of the students just "translated knowledge", i.e., presented the original information in a descriptive manner, developing a narrative

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4   Gordon, Ian. (1996): *Practical Punctuation*. Heinemann.

or a weak argumentative piece at best. Flower and Hayes maintain that "The organization of a piece quite faithfully reflects the remembered information, but it often fails to transform or reorganize that knowledge/information to meet the different needs of a reader" (1981, p. 372), which seems to be the reason for student underperformance. On balance, it should be noted that no prior instruction on how to develop a paragraph of cause/effect was provided in the class; students were expected to, first, identify such a gap in their knowledge themselves and then to close it through self-education. The structured review of the produced pieces by the students themselves and the critical friends of their choice (from among the group students) resulted in a revised – much better – performance, transition to which required engaging in a number of cognitive processes relevant for both writing and translating: planning, goal setting, organising, comprehending (the text and the rhetorical problem), evaluating, and learning through defining problems and seeking their solutions. In the result, a number of the learning outcomes included in the EMT Competence Framework 2017 have been explicitly addressed, such as that translators expected "to know how to continuously self-evaluate, update and develop competences and skills through personal strategies and collaborative learning" (EMT, 2017, p. 10), No 26 of the personal and interpersonal competence category; or "to check, review and/or revise their own work and that of others according to standard or work-specific quality objectives" (op.cit., p. 8), No 11 of the translation competence category).

Besides, reflective analysis of the text reviewing and revising processes surfaced the student awareness of their individual capabilities or their absence. Their nature suggested the approximate position of the students on the 'capabilities-competence' axis. An assumption was made that (a) *more time was needed for maturation* of translation student capabilities if student responses to the question "Which reviewing/revising activities helped you the most?" featured comments that *focused on their explicit knowledge*: "identifying cohesive devices, because I was not using them before", "checking for grammar, spelling and punctuation errors", or "finding the topic and closing sentences as well as the support points"; and that (b) the *focus on tacit technical and tacit cognitive knowledge* was indicative of a student capabilities being *closer to the maturity stage*: "Checking cohesion helped a lot, because it made me think of my own paragraph and whether or not it made sense and I wasn't changing topic all the time", "The most valuable activity was talking with my critical friend when he was first reading my paragraph to see if it conveys the message well", "finding information on the Internet and reading books about the main subject."

(3) The third writing assignment included converting a 15-minute long audiovisual expressive text into an advertisement of about 150–200 words, without being given clear guidance or imposing any restraints; the complexity elements were extended to *the rhetorical problem + freedom*. To complete the task, students were expected to individually define the rhetorical goal, identify or select the target audience, the medium, to find creative solutions rooted in the original text, and eventually to create a vocative text. Most of the produced pieces had suffered from student inability to enjoy the granted freedom and to distance themselves from the original text and text type, typical problems with novice translators. Analysis of the text creation process and its

product proved effective in drawing student attention to the gaps in their understanding and knowledge: "free texts prove more difficult to write than texts on a specific [pre-defined] topic", "need to make sure that the text matches the medium", "the text should not contradict itself", "being able to convince and not to confuse", "keeping focus and not moving away from the main point", "reading your own piece and asking questions: Do I believe in what I have just written?", "I learned that even if you are writing a free-style text, paragraph structure is really important, so is punctuation, relevance and wordiness issues". This awareness is not tacit yet, but the students' ability to identify gaps in their reasoning and strategic choices, is an accomplishment in itself, and with continued practice it is bound to become a competence.

2.3 STUDENT ATTITUDES TO WRITING AND HOW THEY CHANGED

The attitudes and understanding the students have of writing as a process and a subject represent their tacit cognitive knowledge and shape their performance. To remind, such knowledge is not easy to change, but the continuous reflection on and analysis of the written pieces and the processes students had to perform engaged their minds and made them – student minds – work. The extracts from the student feedback (see below) suggest some quality change on the tacit cognitive level having taken place.

At the beginning of the course "English Written Practice", translation students demonstrated a very good initial understanding of what writing and translating as two akin disciplines shared, including the cognitive processes; students considered that both were about decision-making, thinking, improving your skills, information mining and sharing, communication, "helping people communicate", "understanding text types, "understanding intricacies of the language and the medium", "the ability to see mistakes, admitting them and then fixing them", "hard work", "creativity and inspiration, passion", "high accuracy". They also claim[ed] that through both activities "you learn something new about yourself or the topic", that "both [were] about clear vision of what you want[ed] to deliver to the reader", and "PURPOSE!" (original emphasis).

However, some student responses lead to the assumption that students initially treated writing as a slightly inferior discipline: "Translating is about being aware of the requirements to fully translate the text, while writing is about understanding the text and understanding grammar" or "in writing there are no limitations or rules you need to follow" – a poor and erroneous way of looking at writing, but a rich way to ignite a bigger desire to prove the worthiness of this subject. Finishing the course, students reviewed their initial assumptions: "written practice is not only about understanding the text and grammar, it is important to look for other important elements too – purpose, target audience, main idea", or "There are many rules and limitations to writing. Writing is like driving a car – you need to stick to the rules. Otherwise it could cause problems to you and others around you."

3 CONCLUSION

Writing assignments, even the very basic, such as sentence combining, do engage students in numerous cognitive processes, but it is the structured analyses of these processes that enhance student cognitive capabilities the most. The necessity to analyse our performance or reflect on it should become intrinsic for any individual willing to grow professionally or personally, which means that, ideally, it should become tacit and automatic, a sign of professional and personal maturity. The road to such maturity can be viewed as the one paved by good intentions, since it takes time and distracts from the sizeable content we – instructors – so much desire to pour into the students. However, regular and targeted small scale metacognitive tasks assigned to the students have proved sufficient to advance both learning capabilities and translation capabilities, because "students are capable of significant performance gains when instructed in reasoning skills, at least when it is explicit and involves deliberate practice (Kuhn & Udell, van Gelder, Bissett & Cumming in Dean et al.), deliberate, iterative practice in a conducive for it environment, which undoubtedly is true about the writing classes, or writing assignments as a learning activity.

It can therefore be concluded that:

(1) Good writing is a precondition for good translating; all cognitive processes in writing are present in the process of translating; however, translation student awareness of how they can benefit from writing assignments was found rather incomplete, and in some instances very incomplete. The structured reflective analysis they had to perform and feedback to give managed to win their attention and raise their awareness, but tacit it is unlikely.

(2) Metacognition is a high-effort cognitive process that must be guided and even imposed upon the students, at least until students develop it into a necessity or routine behaviour.

(3) Content of the student written feedback and comments suggest the maturity level of their capabilities; particularly, if paying attention to what type of knowledge and capabilities are of concern for them – explicit/tacit technical or tacit cognitive. Besides, the research findings agree with the tacit knowing theory: maturation of technical capabilities takes less time than that of cognitive ones.

(4) Developing learning skills through the selected cognitive and metacognitive activities proved effective: students demonstrate good capability of identifying their own learning needs and those of others, as well as of understanding cognitive processes in writing. However, their strategic planning skills in writing require much more practice to mature and become competences. What students tend to lack is commitment to their own individual growth and readiness to invest time and effort – the problem is on the tacit cognitive level of their knowledge.

(5) After the research, additional writing classes in the native – Latvian – language have been introduced in the first year of the bachelor-level translation program under study. Nevertheless, only by extending writing-based approach beyond the writing classes and throughout the program we may enable expansion of student tacit knowledge base to the degree that students should be able to easily frame complex problems in writing and translating and also subconsciously 'offer' writing or translation solutions to them.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview
of sociological approaches to translation within
the Western translation tradition. The sociological turn
in Translation Studies and the sociology of translation
are discussed along with the critical objections
to the use of sociological methods in Translation
Studies. The concept of "open structure" is explored
with reference to the Czech and Slovak translation
traditions. Finally, as a means of narrowing the scope,
studies employing sociological approaches in drama
and theatre translation research are introduced and
assessed critically.

Josefína Zubáková
Sociological Approaches in Translation Studies: An Overview

1 INTRODUCTION

Shifts or changes of paradigms are constituent parts of the development of any discipline (see Snell-Hornby, 2006). The *sociological turn* in Translation Studies (henceforth TS), that marked the turn of the millennium, broadened the horizons of the discipline by bringing to the fore the translator as cultural agent and by acknowledging the act of translation as a social practice. Although not necessarily an original shift, as the social dimension had been present in TS research long before the *sociological turn*, the "sociological eye" of TS researchers has indisputably sharpened since the turn of the millennium (Wolf, 2007). The present paper aims at mapping the sociological approaches to translation. The *sociological turn* is appraised in connection with the development of the discipline. Key sources and the authors of the sociology of translation are introduced along with the critical responses to the sociological approaches. The strengths and weaknesses of the sociologically-driven research in TS are illustrated using the example of drama and theatre translation research.

2 THE SOCIOLOGICAL TURN IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The history of TS has witnessed several turns, or "shifting viewpoints" as Snell-Hornby (2006) puts it. To name the most significant turns in TS, let us enumerate 1. the pragmatic turn in linguistics in the 1960s that marked the emergence of the discipline of TS; 2. the cultural turn in TS in the 1980s; 3. TS as an interdiscipline in the 1990s; and 4. the sociological turn in TS in the 2000s. Viewed from the perspective of key publications in the field of TS, the development of the discipline may be visualised as in Figure 1.
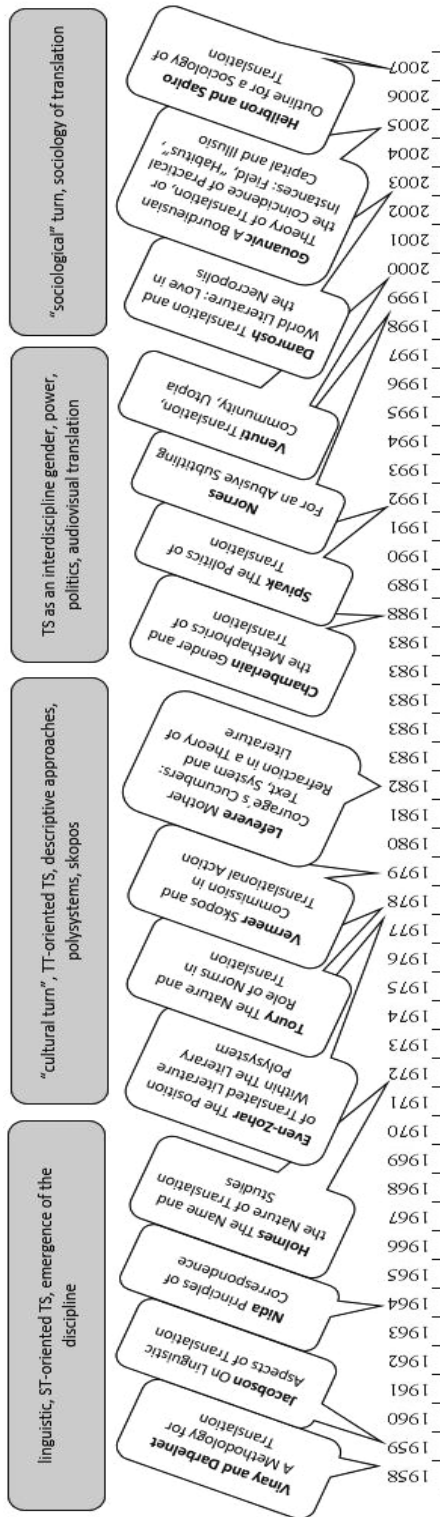
Figure 1: Development of the discipline and turns in TS (see Venuti, 2012; Munday, 2016)

While the *cultural turn*[1] is usually viewed as a move away from textual concerns to wider cultural concerns, the *sociological turn* derives from the criticism of the cultural approaches, primarily pointing out the lack of interest in the human agent or more specifically the translator in polysystemic and descriptive translation studies (henceforth DTS) (Hermans, 2009; Pym, 2009). As such, the *sociological turn* advocates a shift of interest of TS research to the agency of translators and interpreters, as well as the wider social factors that influence the translation process (see Angelelli, 2014).

It would be inaccurate, however, to claim that cultural approaches (Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Toury's norms, Lefevere's translation as rewriting) lack the social dimension. On the contrary, they are often labelled as socio-cultural approaches as they already recognize translation as a "social practice" and thus precede the sociological approaches to translation[2]. From this perspective, the *sociological turn* may be classified as a constitutive part of the *cultural turn*, or better – its natural extension.

3 SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

As one of the first proponents of explicitly sociological approaches to TS, Gouanvic (1997) introduces Pierre Bourdieu's sociology as a more capable theoretical background for portraying "complexities of cultural products" (1997, p. 126). Similarly, Simeoni (1998) advocates the studying of "translatorial habitus" as a complementary concept to Toury's norms, not necessarily invalidating DTS as such, but suggesting incorporating the concept of *habitus* into the concept of norms and thus focusing more not only on the practices of translating but also authoring. Wolf's contributions can also be counted amongst the pioneering sociological works (Wolf, 1999).

Most of the sociological studies that follow draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and refer primarily to his terms: *field*, *habitus*, *capital* (economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital aka status) and *illusio* (see Gouanvic, 2002, 2005; Sella-Sheffy, 2005; Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a. The rising interest of TS scholars in sociological issues at the turn of the millennium may be well illustrated by the publication of a special issue of *The Translator* in 2005 entitled *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting*, followed by the iconic *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (2007) edited by Wolf and Fukari. The sociology of translation becomes a recognized sub-field within TS with further diversification. Within the broader category of sociology of translation the following "sociologies" are listed (Wolf, 2007, p. 13–18):

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1   The term "cultural turn" is first referred to in the preface to the collection of works *Translation, History, Culture* (1992) and is usually associated with the works of André Lefevere, Gideon Toury, Susan Bassnett, and others that directly oppose the preceding mostly ST-oriented studies.

2   Social/sociological issues in TS studies may be traced back to Nida, Levý, Popovič, Vermeer, Holz-Mäntarri and others.

a)   *sociology of agents* represented by studies concentrating on individual translators (Delisle and Woodsworth, 1995; Pym, 1998) or agents in the translation process (Gouanvic, 1997; Wolf, 2002),

b)   *sociology of the translation process* where the descriptive approaches and concept of norms may be utilized (e.g. Brisset, 1996),

c)   *sociology of the cultural product* represented by Heilbron and Sapiro (2007), Heilbron (2010) where apart from the agents in the production and the reception of translation also "the respective power relations and the relevance of the translation as a cultural product which circulates in inter- and transnational transfer" are explored (Wolf, 2007, p. 16–17).

Pierre Bourdieu's perception remains the most frequently employed theoretical framework in the sociology of translation (see Angelelli, 2014). Special attention is paid specifically to the investigation of the term *habitus* (apart from the works mentioned above, see also Meylaerts [2008] and Vorderobermeier [2014]). The works and theoretical frameworks of other sociologists, Niklas Luhmann's Social System Theory or Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory, are referred to less frequently (Buzelin, 2005; Hermans, 2007; Abdallah, 2012; Tyulenev, 2012). Other sociologists who inspired TS research, and who are worthy of mention, include Joachim Renn, Bernard Lahire and Martin Fuchs (see Wolf and Fukari, 2007).

The rise in the number of works in TS aimed at researching the translator instead of the text is reflected by a proposition made by Chesterman in 2009 to establish Transla*tor* Studies and incorporate it into Holmes' canonical map of TS as a cover term for cultural, cognitive and sociological subfields. Chesterman's suggestion carries a twofold implication: 1. TS is a constantly developing discipline and there is a need to reassess its object of research, theoretical frameworks and methods used, 2. there is a need for the interconnection of the theoretical and methodological conceptualizations of cultural and sociological approaches (see Pym, 2004; Wolf, 2010, p. 342). In this context it is suitable to recall the Czech and Slovak translation traditions as an example of a unifying translation theory that naturally encompasses most of the above-mentioned movements in TS.

4 CZECH AND SLOVAK TRANSLATION TRADITIONS AND THE TERM "OPEN STRUCTURE"

Due to the historical development and isolation of the Czech and Slovak translation theorists from Western mainstream translation theories during the Communist regime, the Czech and Slovak translation traditions evolved a translation theory and aesthetic poetics of their own. Building upon the legacy of Prague structuralism (Prague Linguistic Circle), at the time of writing his iconic work *Umění překladu* (1963) Jiří Levý (and supposedly also Anton Popovič, Levý's successor) had "a fully-fledged theoretical and methodological framework at [their] disposal" (Jettmarová, 2008, p. 16).

Open structure is a concept introduced within Prague structuralism by Jan Mukařovský as early as 1946 (see Mukařovský, 2000). As Jettmarová states, Mukařovský sees the *open structure* as a dynamic, energetic whole, as a "networked set of components, whose inner equilibrium is in turns constantly being disrupted and then re-established again, and therefore manifesting itself as a set of dialectic contradictions, i.e. while the identity of a structure is what survives over time, its internal hierarchical composition and the interrelationships of its components are in constant change due to reception processes" (Jettmarová, 2008, p. 20). Mukařovský's concept has direct implications for the understanding of the complexity not only of a text (or any other cultural artefact), which may have a number of different meanings, functions and values, but also for its recipient (the reader). Felix Vodička, another Czech structuralist, applied the concept to the literary field and significantly influenced the development of literary historiography. Levý's theory, which stems from the structuralist premises, then incorporates these views and applies them to translation.[3]

In a certain way, the questions of the Western translation tradition had been discussed by the Prague structuralists and Czech and Slovak translation theorists long before their emergence in TS. One should note, for example, the trichotomy of a) the immanent development of literary structures (with their *centres* and *peripheries*); b) the author's individual agency in the production of a literary work (including deviations from contemporary models); and c) the contextual factors that constitute the basic theoretical framework of Prague structuralism (see Jettmarová, 2008, p. 21). Thus, both Prague structuralism and the Czech and Slovak translation traditions incorporate the sociological dimension as an integral part.

5 CRITICAL OBJECTIONS TO THE USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS IN TS

Returning to sociological approaches in the Western translation tradition, a discussion of the critical objections to their use in TS follows. As any other sub-field or theoretical framework employed in TS, sociology of translation has met with a range of critical responses aimed primarily at:

- validity of the sociological concepts and import of concepts from sociology: Tyulenev points out the feigned sophistication of the Bourdieusian terms by his observation that "sometimes the term 'habitus' sounds rather like a sophisticated replacement for the pedestrian 'biography'" (2010, p. 167), while Pym (2004) opposes paying "undue allegiance to heroes imported from Sociology" (2004, without pagination);
- biased and narrow definitions of the terms: according to Lahire, the term habitus disregards the "multiplicity and variability of individuals' disposition" (Lahire cited in Sela-Sheffy, 2014, p. 44), similarly Wolf (2007, p. 21) questions the applicability of

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3   Levý's theory points out the role of the reader; "the interrelationship between semantics and pragmatics in phenomenological, sociological and ideological terms" is omnipresent (Jettmarová, 2016, p. 148).

Bourdieu's terms to research in the translation field namely due to its inherent dynamism and heterogeneity[4];

- <u>lack of worked out methodologies</u>: Jettmarová (2008, p. 39) points out that Bourdieu's model lacks a methodologically worked out structure on hierarchically lower levels;
- <u>neglect of the textual aspect (the text per se)</u>: Wolf, with reference to the standpoint of Bourdieu (2007, p. 17–18), warns against the lack of integration of textual analysis in sociological studies (e.g. in Heilbron).

The above-mentioned integration of various approaches – cultural, sociological, textual, etc. (in other words, triangulation of approaches and methods) belongs to one of the reappearing suggestions for the future of sociological research in TS (see Pym, 2004; Wolf, 2010).

6 SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES IN DRAMA AND THEATRE TRANSLATION RESEARCH

This part introduces and attempts to discuss critically recent drama/theatre translation[5] studies that have employed sociological perspectives: Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production (Hanna, 2016), Bourdieu's *habitus* in interconnection with the translatorial style (Yannakopoulou, 2014) and Latour's Actor Network Theory (Aaltonen, 2013).

The most comprehensive application of Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production to the study of drama translation can be found in Sameh Hanna's (2016) *Bourdieu in Translation Studies. The Socio-cultural Dynamics of Shakespeare Translation in Egypt.* As the subtitle suggests, Hanna explores the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies in Egypt through the lens of Bourdieu's theory of fields of cultural production. The book provides a detailed overview of the development of the sociological approaches in TS, concentrating primarily on Bourdieu, while narrowing the scope and application of the concepts of *field*, *cultural capital* and *habitus* to the researched genre – drama. The overall structure of the book conforms to Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Hanna presents provocative findings concerning e.g. the cultural capital of translators. A comparison with Drábek's (2012) *České pokusy o Shakespeara* also comes to mind. Drábek's thorough, historically and biographically well-embedded textual analyses, unburdened by the sociological concepts, might provide a comparable depiction of the "translation field" as Hanna's study.

Yannakopoulou (2014) explores the applicability of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* on a micro-level. She focuses on the question of the translator's own style and its possible interconnection

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4   Compare with Mukařovský's "open structure" discussed above.

5   Some researchers (e.g. Aaltonen, 2000, 2010) prefer to distinguish between drama and theatre translation as they strive to point out the difference between "translation for page" and "translation for stage". Theatre translation thus inherently suggests a translation activity in which the change of the medium is expected; the theatre text is primarily intended for the stage performance and not for a literary production (Aaltonen, 2000, p. 41).

with the macro-level contextual factors (such as the translator's whole life trajectory, class, education). As she claims "the existence of patterns of translation choices, as well as cases of deviance from the expected translation practices constitute strong indicators that these choices are motivated by the translators' habitus" (2014, p. 163). As an advocate of Wolf's (2007) call for textual analyses within sociological approaches, Yannakopoulou aims to explore the recurring translational patterns in Yorgos Himonas' translation of *Hamlet* into Greek and interpret them against other contextual data. While in the case of "translation for page", Yannakopoulo's aim at looking for the "translator's voice" might prove fruitful, if the focus shifts to the "translation for stage" her premise of "the translator's voice in translation" might need to be reformulated or it might even prove invalid (see the discussion on Actor Network Theory below).

Sirkku Aaltonen (2013) combines Actor Network Theory (henceforth ANT) with the concepts of Performance Studies and applies them to an analysis of the Finnish translation of the play *Incendies* by the Lebanese/Canadian playwright Wajdi Mouawad and its subsequent stage production. Through the analysis of both *human* and *non-human actors*[6] (or *inscriptions* in Abdallah's (2012) terms, i.e. various versions of the play in original and translation versions, written exchanges between the *human actors* – dramaturg/translator/director, etc.), she explores the translation agency in the translation/staging process of the play. As suggested above, apart from the translator there are several other *human actors* (or *players* in Schechner's [2002] concept) participating in the translation and staging process, and as Aaltonen shows, the chosen sociologically-driven theoretical frame and its application help to prove that the translator's role in the revisions of the text of the play (abridgement, insertions, etc. prior or during the staging process) is a rather minor one. Thus the final text of the performed play is a result of the collaborative effort of the entire theatrical team and not only of the translator[7]. All in all, ANT seems to provide an effective theoretical framework for the theatre translation research.

7 CONCLUSION

In summary, based on the assessment of the above discussed studies on drama/theatre translation employing Bourdieu's and Latour's theoretical frameworks and with respect to the critical objections to the use of sociological approaches in TS enumerated in the present paper, the following suggestions for sociologically-driven research (applicable not only to the discussed genre) can be listed:

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6   The concept of "actors" in Latour's ANT is not limited to human individuals; the definition also embodies non-human, non individual entities.

7   Aaltonen's claim concerning the collaborative aspect of the theatre translation is also supported by the findings introduced in a recent publication *Adapting Translation for the Stage* (2017) by Brodie and Cole (eds). The book does not directly derive from the sociological premises, but it is anchored in the ethnographical research as well.

1. exploration of Bourdieusian concepts in relation to other sociological theories (ANT in theatre translation research);
2. triangulation of sociological approaches and other intra-disciplinary (cultural/socio-cultural approaches) or interdisciplinary perspectives (in the case of drama/theatre translation Performance Studies or Adaptation Studies);
3. a combination of sociological approaches and methods with textual analyses (or analyses of stage productions in theatre translation research).

The validity of the sociological methods and approaches also needs to be questioned and further tested in TS research.

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ABSTRACT

There is no doubt that translation quality assessment (TQA) represents a significant research area at present. Translation quality has always been, however, a controversial issue, which has brought about division rather than unity between translation scholars. Bowker (2000, p. 183) states that "evaluation is one of the most problematic areas of translation." Moreover, it is not a topic which reverberates only in the world of academia. Quite the opposite. The issue of translation quality and evaluation has also been gaining importance in professional and commercial settings. Given its growing importance in today's globalized world and given the impact that translation has had on cultures and language communities, it comes as no surprise that Chesterman (quoted in Zehnalová (2013, p. 15)) has singled out translation quality as one of the main areas of current and further research. Thus, the objective of the present paper is to embrace the topic of translation evaluation, with a particular focus on the recent development of this research area, zooming in on Juliane House's model of TQA and her view of translation as re-contextualization.

Ondřej Molnár
Translation Quality Assessment

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE NOTION
OF TRANSLATION EQUIVALENCE

It would probably be pointless to discuss the topic of TQA without touching upon one of the fundamental criterion of translation quality and concept in translation theory: translation equivalence, which epitomizes the nature of the relationship between a source text and its translated text, and as such lies at the heart of all concerns with TQA. As Catford (1965, p. 21) puts it: "The central problem of translation-practice is that of finding TL (target language) equivalents. A central task of translation theory is therefore that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence."[1] It is not as simple, however, as it might seem at first sight. Equivalence is a relative concept, having nothing to do with the identity of linguistic units across languages. "Absolute equivalence would in fact be a *contradiction in adiecto*" (House 2006, p. 344; italics in original). Working on the assumption that translation is essentially an operation in which the meaning of linguistic units is to be kept equivalent across languages, we can distinguish between at least three different approaches to meaning, each of which leads to different schools of thought and conceptions of translation evaluation (House 2001, 2015).

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1   The concept of equivalence has always been extensively discussed in translation literature and different approaches have been adopted. Apart from the overt-covert dichotomy discussed in this paper, Newmark speaks about semantic versus communicative translation; Toury distinguishes between adequacy and acceptability translations; Levý adopted an opposition between illusory and anti-illusory translation; Nord speaks about instrumental versus documentary translations; Gutt discusses indirect versus direct translations (cf. Pym 2010). As Pym (2010, p. 32) puts it: "All these oppositions fit into this alternative branch of the equivalence paradigm, marked by a general refusal to recognize just one equivalent as being 'natural'."

They can generally be called psycho-social approaches, response-based approaches, and text and discourse-oriented approaches (House 2015). I will very briefly introduce them, focusing on the development and trends in TQA after the year 2000.

In the mentalist or psycho-social view of meaning as a concept residing in language users' heads, translation is regarded as an individual creative act, which entails subjective-intuitive approaches to translation evaluation. It follows that judgements regarding how a particular translation is good or bad are based on simple impressions and feelings, and cannot be taken seriously. In light of this, translation equivalence is rejected outright.[2] The principles of this approach are critically discussed by Savory (1963).

In contrast to proponents of the above-mentioned subjective-hermeneutic approach to TQA, followers of response-based approaches—for whom the meaning results from an externally observable reaction—aim at a more scientific way of judging translations. There are at least two movements of response-based approaches that are particularly relevant for TQA: the behaviourist approach and skopos-related approaches.

The behaviourist approach, influenced by structuralism and behaviourism, is associated with Eugene Nida's (1964) work on dynamic equivalence. Nida took readers' reactions to a translation as the main yardstick for evaluating a translation's quality. In other words, a 'good' translation is that which leads to "equivalence in response". Despite the fact that Nida and his followers tried to apply various tests and techniques to measure equivalence in response, this approach failed to grasp something as complex as the overall quality of translation.

Whereas Nida took readers' reactions as the primary criterion for measuring quality, adherents of the functionalistic or skopos-related approach (cf. Reiss and Vermeer 1984) claim that it is the purpose of a translation, or its skopos, that is crucial in judging a translation's quality. The translator is supposed to follow a translation brief, which defines the function the translation is to fulfil in its new environment. This leads to a lack of interest in the source text. Put differently, the source text is thus reduced to a simple "offer of information," as the crucial role is assigned to the purpose or *skopos* of a translation (cf. Reiss and Vermeer 1984).[3] But as House (2001, p. 245) bluntly puts it: "… the word 'offer' [makes] it immediately clear that [the] information can freely be accepted or rejected as the translator sees fit."

In the skopos theory, the starting point for a translation remains the source text. In contrast, according to Holtz-Mänttäri's (1984) model of *translatorial action*, the source text is virtually non-existent; it is "viewed as a mere tool for the realization of communicative functions" (Baker 1998, p. 120). It has no role to play and may undergo radical modifications in the interest of

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2   Proponents of this anti-positivist approach believe in the legitimacy of subjective interpretations, with subjectivity being a centrally important category (cf. Stolze 2003; Gadamer 1960; Steiner 1975).

3   It is often the *translation brief* which shapes the final function or *skopos* the translation is about to fulfil. Using Vermeer's (1984) terminology, the demand for fidelity is subordinate to the skopos rule and the observance of the skopos is performed prior to intertextual coherence with the ST (cf. also Nord 2005).

the target reader.[4] In terms of equivalence, skopos-oriented approaches to translation either reduce the notion of equivalence to a special form of 'adequacy' (Reiss and Vermeer 1984) or completely abandon it (Holtz-Mäntäri 1984). Moreover, it remains unclear how the skopos of a text is realized linguistically and how it should be determined whether a given translation fulfils its skopos. In reliance on what has just been said, the skopos theory does not seem to represent a suitable paradigm for TQA.

The schools of thought which can be placed in the category of 'text and discourse-oriented approaches' include literature-oriented approaches (cf. Toury 2012),[5] postmodernist and deconstructionist views (cf. Venuti 1995),[6] as well as linguistically-oriented approaches to TQA. All of them view meaning as emerging from larger textual stretches of language in use, involving both a situational and cultural context surrounding individual linguistic units. Due to space limitations, I will only focus on linguistically-oriented approaches, as they represent the most significant contribution to the field of TQA.

It is self-evident that linguistically-oriented approaches to TQA stem from pioneering linguistic works in translation studies, for instance, by Nida (1964), Catford (1965), Reiss (1971), Wills (1974), Koller (2011) and the many contributions of the Leipzig school (cf. Neubert 1985), albeit these did not make any significant contribution to the development of TQA itself as a field of study. In contrast, in more recent times many linguistically-oriented works on TQA have appeared, such as Baker (2011), Hatim and Mason (1997), Erich Steiner (1998), Munday and Hatim (2004), to name but a few. Although none of the above-mentioned contributions were directly concerned with TQA, they all widened the scope of translation studies to include speech act theory, pragmalinguistics and sociolinguistics.

Generally speaking, linguistically-oriented translation scholars take the notion of equivalence and the relationship between source text and target text seriously, despite the fact that the way they analyse texts to be translated and translations may differ. More importantly, however, they take account of the relationship between context and text, a link which is inseparable from any discussion concerning TQA. Such a view of translation as re-contextualization, has

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4   Holts-Mäntäri even deliberately refuses to use terms such as "translate" or "translation," in an attempt to avoid the connotations attached to these terms.

5   The literature-oriented approach is focused primarily on the translation text, evaluating a particular translation in terms of its forms and functions inside the system of the receiving culture (Toury 2012). As in the case of the functionalist approach, the original is of subordinate importance. Although this approach provides a solid descriptive work at the micro-level of the reception situation and the macro-level of the receiving culture, it fails to provide criteria for systemic translation criticism.

6   Proponents of the post-modernist and deconstructionist approach tend to critically examine translation practices from a psycho-philosophical and socio-political stance in an endeavour to unmask unequal power relations and ideological manipulations. Although they attempt to analyze the relationship between features of the original text and the translation text, the focus lies primarily on shifts and biases stemming from ideologically motivated manipulations.

also been advocated by Juliane House (1977, 1997, 2009, 2015), one of the most well known linguistically-oriented scholars dealing primarily with TQA.

DEVELOPMENTS OF TQA AFTER 2000

While the previous section dealt with a number of general approaches to translation, the following paragraphs will now focus on the development of TQA after 2000, zooming in on the view of translation as recontextualization and House's model of TQA (1997, 2015), a model which continues to be the most significant model of translation evaluation. In order to better understand, however, the development of TQA at the beginning of the new millennium, I will have to begin from the moment I have just concluded.

Generally speaking, in terms of their understanding of the concept of translation equivalence, the approaches to translation discussed above can be divided into two major groups. First, linguistic approaches (source text-focused scholars) analyse the source text and interpret its meaning potential at all textual levels together with the relevant discourse and the pragmatic and socio-cultural aspects of context. These approaches find their counterparts in traditional and contemporary *translation criticism*, which focuses on literary or otherwise significant texts. Second, functionalist approaches (target text-focused scholars) concentrate on the target text and its effectiveness in a given situation and its adequacy for the recipients. It follows that their understanding of TQA deals primarily with pragmatic texts for which it is crucial to specify assessment criteria based on the translation brief. Nevertheless, after 2000, there has been general agreement that these two different approaches have achieved a significant degree of consensus on the definitions, methods and objectives of assessment. The traditional problem of subjectivity is to be resolved by foregrounding the importance of the human factor. This results in an increased interest in TQA in the training and certification of translators with the concept of translation competence, its acquisition and application becoming an important research area and an intersection of the academic and professional domains of translation (cf. Zehnalová 2015).

The number of scholars contributing to the discussion of TQA has been increasing since 2000. To name but a few, I will mention Nord (2005), Schäffner (2012), Williams (2004), Drugan (2013), Mossop (2007), Zehnalová (2010, 2013, 2014, 2015), etc. Due to the limitations of the present paper, I will only briefly touch upon the work of Williams and Zehnalová, the latter of which is connected with the Czech environment.

Williams (2004) builds his TQA model on the argumentation theory, an idea which was originally suggested by Tirkkoken-Condit (1986). According to Williams, argumentation represents a reasoned discourse which attempts to exert influence upon the audience rhetorically. He sets up the following two categories as underlying his procedure for TQA: 1. argument macrostructure; 2. rhetorical topology with five subcategories: organizational schemas, conjunctives, types of argument, figures and narrative strategy. His model then operates as follows: first the source text is analysed in relation to its argument schema and organizational scheme.

Secondly, the target text is similarly analysed with an attempt to assess its overall coherence. Thirdly, a comparative evaluation takes place with reference to the categories mentioned above. Finally, an overall argumentation-centred translation evaluation is provided. This model of TQA has been criticised, as the argument structure is crucial only to a limited number of texts and to take an argumentation structure as a yardstick for translation evaluation is limiting because other aspects, such as linguistic and micro-textual considerations are not accounted for.

In the Czech context, the issue of TQA was not discussed for a long time, only to be recently tackled by Jitka Zehnalová (2010, 2013, 2014, 2015). Aware of the complexities of the domain of TQA, she argues that problems related to translation evaluation can be reduced by researching evaluation processes and by developing assessment procedures appropriate for specific situations and purposes of evaluation. To support the thesis, she proposes a three-level model of TQA (discussed in detail in Zehnalová [2015]).

THE FUNCTIONAL-PRAGMATIC MODEL OF TRANSLATION EVALUATION

Juliane House's model of TQA (1977, 1997, 2015) represents a widely respected linguistically--oriented model of translation evaluation. Its core lies in the analysis and ensuing comparison of linguistic-discoursal as well as the situational-cultural features of source and translated texts, and an evaluation of their relative match. The model draws on pragmatic theory, Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics, the Prague school notions, stylistics, as well as discourse analysis.

In congruence with other linguistically-oriented approaches to translation, the fundamental concept in House's model is that of equivalence. According to House (2006, p. 344), a translation can be understood as a text which is doubly contextually bound: "on the one hand to its contextually embedded source text and on the other to the (potential) recipient's communicative-contextual conditions." This double linkage is the basis of the equivalence relation. However, as stated above, equivalence is a relative concept and is determined by the socio-historical aspects in which the translation is embedded as well as by a range of other linguistic and contextual parameters. These include source and target languages with their specific structural and systemic constraints, the linguistic conventions of the translation and of the target language and culture, the extra-linguistic world and the way this world is conceived by the two language communities, connotative and aesthetic features of the original, the translator's comprehension and interpretation of the original and his or her creativity, translation tradition in the target culture, etc. (cf. House 2006). Being aware of the nature of translation as a decision process (Levý 1967), the existence of the above-mentioned aspects and parameters, as well as the semantic, pragmatic and textual aspect of meaning, House is a proponent of pragmatic functional equivalence, which underpins her systemic-functional model of TQA. It follows that a translator should aim at a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in a target language. First of all, this equivalence should be reflected in the function of the text insomuch as "a translation text has a function equivalent to that of its source text" (House 2015, p. 23). A text's function is

defined pragmatically as the application or use of the text in a particular context.[7] This context is of particular importance, as it reflects a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand and the functional organization of language-in-text on the other. In order to deconstruct the broad notion of context into graspable parts, House (1977) in her first model adapted the scheme of situational dimensions of Crystal and Davy (1969), whereas in her revised model House (1997, 2015) she took over the Hallidayan notion of register defined in terms of the contextual factors of *field*, *tenor* and *mode* of discourse.

According to House, register is a "functional language variation" or linguistic realizations in a text, which is in agreement with Bhatia's (1993, p. 5) statement that registers enable "surface--level linguistic descriptions" of texts.

The dimension of *field* captures the topic and the content of the text, including differentiations of degrees of generality or specificity in lexical items according to the rubrics of specialized, general and popular. *Tenor* refers to the relationship between participants involved in the communication in terms of social power and social distance, as well as the degree of emotional charge. Moreover, *tenor* captures the text producer's temporal, geographical and social provenance and his or her intellectual, emotional or affective stance through the content he or she is presenting and the communication performance he or she is engaged in. Last but not least, *tenor* refers to social attitude or different styles (formal, consultative and informal). *Mode* captures the channel (spoken or written) and the degree to which potential or real participation is allowed between writer and reader.

The description of linguistic features on a sentence level (register) does not allow, however, for a more complex analysis of longer textual units or text types. This is why, in her revised version of the model, House (1997) integrated the category of genre, defining it as "a socially established category characterized in terms of occurrence of use, source and a communicative purpose or any combination of these" (ibid., p. 107). Thus the consequent revised model consists of four levels: function of the individual text (consisting of interpersonal and ideational functional components), genre, register and language/text – genre serves as a category linking register (which realizes genre) and the individual textual function (which exemplifies genre) (cf. House 1997, 2007), illustrated in Figure 1. Although the category of genre seems to be superordinate to the register (cf. Halliday 1978; Martin 1997), both work in mutual interplay, complementing one another.

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7   House's (1997, 2015) emphasis on a *text's function* should not be equated with *functions of language* discussed by many linguists and philosophers, for instance, Malinowski (1923), Bühler (1934), Jakobson (1960), Popper (1972), Halliday (1973).
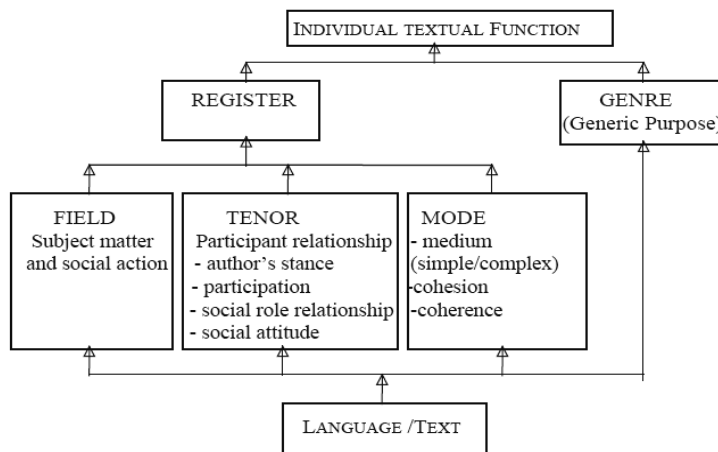
Figure 1: A schema for analysing and comparing original and translation texts (borrowed from House 2015, p. 65)

By means of the schema presented in Figure 1, one can obtain a text-context profile which characterizes the individual textual function of a text. Nevertheless, whether this function can be attained depends on the type of translation sought for the original. Distinguishing these translational types is indispensable in any discussion of functional equivalence, primarily when it comes to the crucial conflict in translation between universality and culture specificity (cf. House 2015). I will discuss them in the following section.

Before doing so, I will, however, briefly discuss House's new idea of looking at translation as a phenomenon of Third Space, as it is also related to the *overt-covert* dichotomy. The underlying assumption goes back to Chesterman (2004) and Baker (1993) in that translations constitute a *third code*. In Chesterman's (2004, p. 218) words "translations should not be thought of as deficient target texts nor as corruptions of source texts, but as a type or variant in their own right, a hybrid distinct from both source and target codes. They have a right to be different from both." From this perspective, a translation will always be somehow different and "located in-between, existing in Third Space", because of the disruptive temporality and locality inherent in all translations (House 2008). House (2008) believes that this view might build bridges between the cultural and the linguistic approaches to translation.

OVERT-COVERT DICHOTOMY

Following empirical research with the original model, House (1997, 2015) proposed a basic division into two major translation types, that is *overt* translation and *covert* translation.

An *overt* translation is, as the name suggests, overtly a translation, it does not have a status of a "second original". Thus, the addressees of the translation text are not directly addressed. In an *overt* translation, "the original is tied in a particular way to the culture enveloping it. It has independent status in the source culture, and is both culture-specific and pointing beyond

the source culture because the original text is also of potential general human interest" (House 2014, p. 159). Such source texts include: *overt historically-linked source texts*, i.e. those connected with a particular non-repeatable historic occasion, in which an exactly specified source language audience is/was being addressed (for example a political speech given by a prominent politician); and *overt timeless source texts*, which are source-culture-specific with a unique status as a literary text. As a result, it is impossible to attain the original function of the source text in an *overt* translation. The translator thus must try to reach what House (1997, p. 67) calls a *second level function* (topicalization of the original function), that is "an equivalence of a removed nature, a sort of shifted equivalence at Third Space" (House 2008, p. 160), enabling the access to the function which the original had in its discourse world. As a result, members of the target community are enabled to 'eavesdrop' on the function of the original—albeit at a (linguistic and cultural) distance at Third Space. This implies, for example, that the text would be marked as archaic, while it was clearly not marked archaic for the original addressees in a particular period of time in the past. In sum, in *overt* translation, "the source text as a piece of work with a certain status in the source language community must remain as intact as possible given the necessary transfer and recoding in another language" (ibid., p. 68). Since the source text in an *overt* translation is to some extent perceived as 'sacrosanct', *overt* translations are plainly transplanted or engrafted into a new environment, irrespective of the target text addressee's expectations. *Overt* translations are embedded in a new speech event in the target culture, as they operate in a new frame, a new "discourse world", resembling a quotation or citation.

In contrast, *covert* translation is "a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture" (House 1997, p. 69), it is not marked pragmatically as a translation at all, but may have been created in its own right. In contrast to the *overt* type, *covert* translation is more deceptive and psycho-linguistically less complex, resulting in a certain cultural distance from its original. This *covert* type of translation is usually required by texts which are not culture-bound, that is, pragmatic texts and texts designed for ready consumption, such as instruction manuals, ephemeral and transitory texts, scientific texts, etc.[8]

A covert translation has equivalent functions with its source text, seeking to reproduce the function the original has in its linguacultural frame. As House (1997, p. 75) puts it: "it is only in cases of *covert* translation that it is in fact possible to achieve functional equivalence". This is definitely not an easy task, however, due to a number of underlying socio-cultural differences between the source text and the target text. Nevertheless, equivalence can be achieved by using what House calls a *cultural filter* (discussed later). This process certainly entails more profound changes, and before any change in the source text is undertaken, it must be carefully considered

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8   House (2006) explains that there may be source texts for which the choice of *overt–covert* translation
     is a subjective one, providing an example concerning fairy tales, which may be viewed as products of
     a particular time, which would predispose the translator to opt for an *overt* translation, or as non-
     culture specific texts, anonymously produced, with the general function of entertaining and educating
     the young, which would require a *covert* translation.

and justified. The translator must re-recreate an equivalent speech event and reproduce in the translation the function the original has in its linguistic-cultural framework. This *cultural filter* is thus the means with which the translator tries to compensate for the culture specificity that is foreign to the target community.[9] The source text is then viewed through the glasses of a target culture member, with an invisible translator who tends to be hidden (cf. Venuti 1995). An indirect and polite tone in English is changed, for example, into a neutral but more direct tone in Czech. I agree with House (1997) that it is primarily the interpersonal component which represents the most difficult problems to achieve equivalence. Needless to say, it depends on more variables (the function of the translation, translation brief, etc.) whether a source text requires *overt* or *covert* translation. In sum, in *overt* translation the camera eye is pointed at the source text while in *covert* translation it is focused on the target text. Nevertheless, as House (2008, p. 162) points out, we cannot claim that with the application of a *cultural filter* a translation ever achieves full functional equivalence, "rather it will remain in Third Space—a foreign body in the context and in its old one from which it was removed."

The difference in the discussed *covert-overt* dichotomy might be clarified through reference to the four levels of House's (1997) revised model: function, genre, register and language/text. Table 1 shows the relationship between an original text and its *overt* or *covert* translation. In terms of the relationship between an original and its *overt* translation, a genuine functional equivalence, as discussed above, is not possible. At best, a shifted second-level functional equivalence can be achieved, which enables "access to the function which the original has (had) in its discourse world, frame and context" (House 2008, p. 160). This access is realized, however, in a different language and takes place in the target linguistic and cultural community: the translation is differently framed and contextualized, it operates in its own frame, context and discourse world. This is why it can reach at best second-level functional equivalence, which is achieved by means of an equivalence at the level of language/text, register and genre, which together facilitate the co-activation of the source text's frame and discourse world (House 2015).

In the case of *covert* translation, at the levels of language/text and register (with its dimensions of field, tenor and mode) the original and a *covert* translation need not be equivalent: the original is transmuted in varying degrees or even betrayed by means of the *cultural filter*. That is why *covert* translations are often received as though they were original texts. Nevertheless, they are not originals, but are texts in Third Space. At the level of genre and the individual textual function, equivalence is necessary, however. A *covert* translation operates in the context, frame and discourse world provided by the target culture "with no attempt being made to co-activate the discourse world in which the original unfolded" (House 2006, p. 348).

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9   It is important to emphasize that the application of a *cultural filter* should not be based exclusively on the translator's subjective, accidental intuitions, but be in line with relevant empirical cross-cultural research. Such research of context-based English-German differences has been conducted by House (1996; 2006).

Table 1: Comparison of the overt-covert translation (taken from House 1997, p. 115)

Level	Is strict equivalence the translational goal?	
	Overt translation	Covert translation
Primary level function	NO	YES
Secondary level function	YES	(does not apply)
Genre	YES	YES
Register	YES	NO
Language/Text	YES	NO

CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Since the notion of *cultural filter* is the core aspect of *covert* translations, I will briefly deal with its relevance in TQA, primarily in connection with contrastive pragmatics and international communication. In her original model, House (1977) hypothesized that, in some of the test cases examined, the *cultural filter* was not legitimately applied. With the aim of giving substance to the notion of *cultural filter* and providing a more solid foundation for judgements of the legitimacy of the application of a *cultural filter* in *covert* translations, House (1996) conducted and was involved in contrastive pragmatic analyses focused on similarities and differences in the socio-culturally determined communicative preferences in two lingua-cultures involved in translation (in her case English and German), comparing the discourse of German and English native speakers. This empirical research was conducted primarily in order to establish the presence or absence of pragmatic differences in the verbal behaviour of English and German speakers. Due to space limitations, I will concentrate on the results to demonstrate the relevance of contrastive pragmatics to TQA, for the individual results of the entire series of cross-cultural pragmatic analyses based on different subjects, data and methodologies, see House (2003, 1996, 1989), Blum-Kulka and House (1989), House and Kasper (1981).

A comparison was made in the following areas: *discourse phases* (opening and closing phases, their various structural elements, sequencing and interactional functions of these structures); *discourse strategies* (supportive moves used in an anticipatory and prophylactic manner); *gambits* (discourse elements that serve to smooth an ongoing discourse in different ways); and *speech acts* (especially requests and complaints and different levels of directness and politeness). The results of the analyses basically confirmed the following tendency: German speakers tended to interact in ways that were more direct, more explicit, more self-referenced and more content-oriented. Moreover, they were found to be less prone to resorting to verbal routines than English speakers. The pattern of cross-cultural differences that emerged from this German-English contrastive pragmatic analysis can be displayed along five dimensions as in Figure 2. The oppositions represent end-points on different clines, with German subjects tending to give preference to positions on the left-hand side of the dimensions. It is important to note that the dimensions displayed above are not to be mistaken for clear-cut dichotomies, they simply display tendencies.
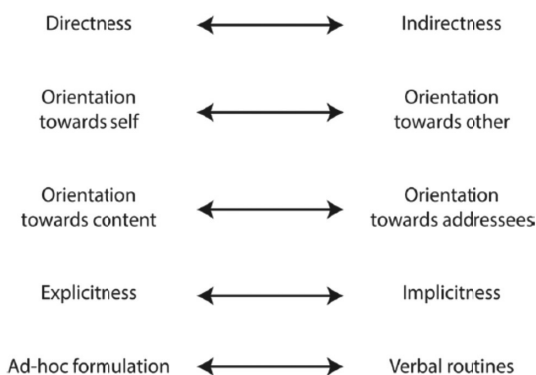
Figure 2: Dimensions of cross-cultural differences (German versus English)

With the above long-term research, House demonstrates that language use is linked to culture and mentality, and that "linguistic differences in the realization of discourse phenomena may be taken to reflect 'deeper' differences, at a conceptual-cognitive and emotive level, in cultural preference and expectation patterns. This type of 'deep difference' can have serious consequences for the process of translation as it is likely to influence translators' decisions about changes in the original text" (House 2015, p. 89). It follows that the translator applying the *cultural filter* should take into account socio-cultural differences in shared conventions of behaviour and communication, preferred rhetorical styles and expectation norms in the two speech communities. Moreover, these differences should not be left to individual intuition, but should be based on empirical cross-cultural research. In other words, "given the goal of achieving functional equivalence in a *covert* translation, assumptions of cultural difference should be carefully examined before interventions in the original's meaning structure is undertaken" (House 2001, p. 251).

TRANSLATION VERSUS VERSION

When discussing the distinction between *overt* and *covert* translation, House (2001, 2015) makes another theoretical distinction, that is between a translation and a 'version'. Producing a version results from a deliberate turning away from the original text's function, a re-evaluation and often renunciation of the original. Put differently, versions are "freed" to become their own originals: primarily in highly practice-oriented and mostly technical translation activities, "in which considerations of equivalence would only stand in the way of achieving client satisfaction and consumer service" (House 2001, p. 252). Despite the seemingly huge liberty of a translator to deal with linguistic correspondences at the word, group and sentence levels, in a *covert* translation, his or her actions should contribute to the overall functional equivalence of the entire translation to its original. When this is not the case, that is, when new purposes are superimposed on the translation, a version comes into existence. *Overt* versions are produced whenever a special function is overtly added to a translation text (for example, to reach a special audience), leading

to omissions, simplifications, additions or different alterations of the original. A *covert* version results whenever the translator (in an attempt to preserve the function of the source text) has applied a *cultural filter* randomly manipulating the original. It follows that a *covert* version is by definition an inadequate translation because the application of the *cultural filter* is unjustified.

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION VERSUS SOCIAL EVALUATION

House (2001, 2015), in connection with TQA, has been consistently emphasizing the crucial importance between linguistically based analysis and what she calls "social judgement", made solely on the basis of social, political, ethical or individual grounds. If we take translation seriously, that is as a linguistic-textual operation, it should not be then "confused with issues such as what the translation if for, what it should, or must be for" (House 2015, p. 142). In other words, a distinction must be made between describing and explaining the linguistic features of the original text and comparing them with the relevant linguistic features of the translation text on the one hand and judging 'how good a translation' is on the other hand, as the very application of the functional-pragmatic approach to TQA does not enable the evaluator to pass judgement on what is a 'good' or 'bad' translation. It follows that "the primary concern of translation criticism should be linguistic-textual analysis and comparison, and any consideration of social factors—if it is divorced from textual analysis—must be of secondary relevance in a scientific discipline such as translation studies" (House 2001, p. 255). Unfortunately, it is often the case that the difference between linguistic analysis and value judgement is ignored or misunderstood. This does not mean, however, that value judgement does not have its role in TQA. According to House (2015), translation evaluation has two functional components in the Hallidayan sense, an ideational and an interpersonal one. They lead to two separable steps. The first, primary step accounts for linguistic analysis (based on linguistic knowledge and research) while the second, secondary one, refers to value judgements (social and ethical questions and personal taste). In translation, both components are needed.

CONCLUSION

In the present paper I discussed the research area of TQA, focusing primarily on its recent development and the model created by Juliane House. I briefly presented different approaches to the notion of translation equivalence and how proponents of these two divergent positions, that is source text-focused (advocating translation criticism) and target text-focused (advocating TQA) scholars, have reached a considerable degree of consensus on the definitions, methods and objectives of assessment.

In the second half of the paper I dealt with House's functional-pragmatic model of translation evaluation and her view of translation as a Third Space re-contextualization, discussing in detail a number of TQA-related issues, which include the relationship between register variables and genre, *overt–covert* dichotomy, the role of contrastive pragmatics in intercultural communication, dimensions of cross-cultural differences, the difference between translation and version, concepts

of Third Space and as well as the distinction between linguistic description and social evaluation. It remains to state that evaluation of translation quality remains a complex issue with many problems and challenges. Having said that, the field has a strong tradition and great potential for further research.

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ABSTRACT

This article offers some preliminary findings concerning
the use of speech-to-text technology (hereafter STT)
as a tool be used in training for simultaneous interpreters.
The article presents a set of practical exercises designed
around speech-to-text solutions to facilitate more
precise feedback which does not require the instructor
to rely solely on their notes. Moreover, based on a pilot
study on the practical application and assessment
of STT at an academic setting conducted in 2016
and 2017, I present students' reactions to the exercises
and STT as a didactic tool in simultaneous interpretation
workshops. I also indicate some possible research
avenues for further studies in the didactics
of interpretation involving STT.

Tomasz Korybski

Speech-to-text Technology as a Tool for Assessing and Improving the Quality of Interpretation

1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The last three or four decades have seen very dynamic technological developments affecting all fields of science and many professions, including the profession of the interpreter. New communication tools and data transmission solutions have permeated the translation and interpreting business and it is now fair to say that conferences of all sizes depend on technology to a huge extent. The didactics of interpreting have had to keep pace with these developments, and more innovations seem to be on the way. One such innovation is STT, with its roots dating back to the basic processing of simple commands for chess players developed at Bell Labs and later at Stanford University in the 1960s. However, it was not until the early 1990s that STT gained momentum with the rapidly growing capabilities of computers. A decade later, after the year 2000 and the advent of artificial neural networks and deep learning (e.g. Schmidhüber and Hochreiter 1997, Schmidhüber 2015) the development of practically and commercially viable solutions accelerated. The most recent five years or so have seen rapid developments in many STT tools have which have become much more reliable and are now widely applied in computers, tablets, smartphones and other electronic devices, with the market dominated by large players such as Google, Apple, Amazon and Nuance Communications.

2 SPEECH-TO-TEXT AS A TEACHING AID IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION CLASSES

2.1 SOME QUESTIONS RELATED TO SELECTION OF SPEECH-TO-TEXT SOFTWARE AND ONLINE TOOLS FOR IN-CLASS USE

As with many other tools and software packages, there is a variety of speech-to-text solutions to choose from on the market. Although this article focuses on the use of one free-of-charge and open tool (Google Voice Typing) for reasons mentioned later, it is important at this point to briefly mention other available options and the key issues worth considering before buying (or accessing) a speech-to-text solution. It seems natural and common sense to opt for free-of charge solutions at the beginning of the application of speech-to-text in interpretation classes. However, factors other than the economic one need to be taken into account when one considers regular application of such tools. The first point to consider is the software's compatibility with the operating system applied in the simultaneous interpreting laboratory (or outside of the laboratory, if speech-to-text is applied in consecutive interpreting classes). Most commercial solutions including Dragon Dictate and ViaTalk work across all major operating systems and offer voice recognition service on smartphones, too. An important point to consider is also the word-editing software with which the STT solution will work seamlessly. This is important as there is an added value to the possibility of on-line editing of transcribed content (and more exercises for students of interpreting can be built around editing the transcribed interpretation to offer better solutions and eliminate errors). Typically, commercial solutions work well with the MS Office Suite (MS Word in particular), and transcriptions from Google's voice recognition can be easily exported to most commercial and open-source word editors to facilitate intervention, reformulation, highlighting content, etc. Another question worth considering is the voice training functionality: the licensed solution offered by Dragon will improve upon its delivery over time as it will learn the speaker's specific pattern and phonetic features, while the readily and freely available voice recognition from Google does not offer that functionality. Voice training may turn out to be important and useful for interpreter trainers who deliver a lot of texts themselves, especially at initial stages of interpreter training. With the voice training option, they can rely on high accuracy of the software and the transcripts it produces after a relatively short period of use. If a number of interpreter trainers within the same institution use the same software package, a commercial license will also facilitate accurate speech recognition for multiple voice profiles with multiple accents, voice characteristics and pronunciation patterns. Added functionalities of STT solutions which may prove relevant in class include the possibility to customize and preset some most frequently used commands (e.g. the "mute" command to pause speech recognition for some time), thus contributing to increased usability. As far as hardware is concerned, it is crucial for the software to be tested before the first use with and without an external microphone. Some software packages will not work with in-built computer or laptop microphones as they require a higher degree of microphone sensitivity. This needs to be checked before the first in-class application. In the case of STT solutions that work both with and

without an external microphone, there can be a difference between the solution's performance, so a prior test run seems inevitable. Despite these necessary technical considerations it is fair to say that most voice recognition solutions available on the market have been developed with ease of use in mind, so mastering their key functionalities should not take long and should be quickly off-set by the benefits the tools deliver in interpretation classes.

2.2 USING STT AS A TEACHING AID IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING CLASSES

The idea of using STT as a teaching aid and in feedback was sparked by the use of several recordings with transcripts that I prepared with feedback accuracy and concreteness in mind. The idea was to offer students something more concrete than the very often vague instructor comments such as "the fragment about the harassment scandal seemed incomplete". I assumed that the quality of the output (the interpretation) depends, among other factors, on the quality of the feedback that students receive in training. Commenting on interpretation is a highly demanding task often requiring simultaneous listening skills (when both the source and the target are taken into account) and if there is a way to streamline the process and make it more precise, it is worth giving it a try. Taking notes with comments may not reveal some significant mistakes or tendencies in the interpreted text, and this may contribute to flattening the learning curve of the student and overlooking significant quality issues. I therefore assumed that a reference to a full transcript of the original (and also of the target, as will be shown later the article) may be far more revealing and effective as a feedback tool. The evaluation of quality is therefore based on the complete source, in alignment with claims by a number of researchers investigating interpretation quality who underline that the focus on only recipient or "client" quality assessment does not reveal the full picture of quality issues (Bühler 1996). I therefore needed transcripts of the recordings I wanted to use in class and, better still, I needed transcripts of texts delivered *impromptu* in class. Anyone who has ever transcribed a speech longer than a minute knows how tedious and time-consuming a task it can be. It was, therefore, a natural choice to think of faster alternatives. One is using speeches which have already been transcribed (including, among others, famous political speeches and addresses or speeches from pools of recordings either specifically prepared for interpreters (such as the European Union's Speech Repository[1]) or from sources whose principal function is different but which can serve as a valuable training resource (such as selected speeches from Ted.com with their accompanying transcripts). This does not, however, provide access to transcripts of texts improvised in class, so we need an alternative: the existing STT and live transcriptions of whatever speech is delivered impromptu in an interpreting class. Prior to application of STT in class I had tested several solutions, including older versions of Dragon Dictate, the Polish software Skrybot and, finally, the open-source speech recognition tool by Google. After running a series of trials in

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1   https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/sr/.

the language pair in question (Polish and English), the latter solution proved to be the most reliable, with a marginal number of errors in both languages[2].

2.3 EXAMPLES OF PRACTICAL EXERCISES

2.3.1 Exercise 1

In Exercise 1, the initial in-class application of the idea is based on a pre-recorded text (transcribed live using Google's speech-to-text solution[3]). A text for simultaneous interpreting of about 9–10 minutes is played back to the students, and one or two students are recorded while interpreting. Then the recordings are played back with the pre-transcribed text displayed on the screen for all of the students to see. The advantage of this feedback method is that it is possible to look at the original while listening to the target, possibly indicating the current fragment with a pointer or the cursor, and pausing for comments and peer feedback whenever an issue is spotted. One of the most obvious advantages of this procedure is that it very clearly shows any omissions, surplus fragments, or "departures of the translation from the original" (Barik 1971) in the target. Another is that the student can be assessed very objectively, and the comments are not just limited to what the instructor managed to jot down during the delivery of the target.

2.3.2 Exercise 2

A natural extension of the first exercise is Exercise 2, which implements the same procedure as in Exercise 1, but the source transcribing and recording this time take place live in class, without any pre-recording and pre-transcribing. In this exercise, the speaker (a student, the instructor or an invited speaker) delivers the speech with voice typing switched on (but not visible to the students if the laboratory is equipped with student monitors). What follows is the same procedure as in Exercise 1.

2.3.3 Exercise 3

The scenario in Exercise 2 can be further extended to include one more element, i.e., transcription of the student's target. Here, however, there are a number of assumptions and constraints of a technological nature. First of all, students will need to have access to the tool, so they need to work with their own computing devices. The good news is that the solution tested as part of this study is accessible not just on PCs or laptops but also on smaller portable devices such as tablets or even smartphones, which most students own these days. Another requirement is access to a stable and fast Internet connection. Yet another condition is sufficient sound quality,

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2 It must be noted that there are technical constraints that accompany the use of any STT and impact its accuracy, including the speed of data transfer, the quality of the device's built-in microphone, the availability of a connection to an external microphone, lack of background noise, etc.

3 The easiest way to access the tool is through Google Documents: every registered Google Mail user can access Google Docs, where the Voice Typing functionality can be found in the Tools tab.

which for some devices and computers may mean the need to connect an external microphone. Most importantly, the first application needs to be explained step-by-step to students: from launching the Google Docs environment through clicking on the right tab to selecting the language and testing the sound and the speed of transcription. This needs to be planned ahead, and around 10 minutes of technical preparation are necessary before the first deployment (this preparation time may be significantly shorter if most of the students are familiar with the Google environment). In this exercise scenario, after the interpretation it will be possible to compare the two transcripts on the screen: selected students send their transcripts to the instructor, who edits the source and the original into a table to facilitate a rapid and detailed comparison. The table is then displayed on the screen or on an interactive board for all the students to see. The advantage of this exercise is that apart from the audio input from the target interpretation (the recording), students clearly see the two texts (the source and the target) and can see the issues or spot the strategies applied; this can be literally a minute or two after the interpretation has been completed. This can facilitate further work and analytical exercises, e.g., students can be split into groups and are asked to brainstorm on a particular aspect of the interpretation (i.e., terminology, omissions, best practice examples, tendencies, etc.) This appears to be a particularly useful awareness-building exercise, where the entire group of students can benefit from analysing the text delivered by one of them. As such, it may prove valuable at the initial training stage in simultaneous interpreting.

2.4 AFTER THE APPLICATION OF STT IN CLASS: STUDENT FEEDBACK

This section is based on the results of a study performed in 2016 and in 2017 among 32 students at Warsaw University's Institute of Applied Linguistics, all of whom specialised in Interpreting. The students were asked to answer three simple questions to gauge their evaluation of the tool: 1. Do you find the tool useful for students of interpreting?; 2. What advantages of the application of the tool do you see, if any?; and 3. What disadvantages of the tool do you see, if any? An overwhelming majority of the students (29 out of the 32, or 90.6%) considered the tool useful. The advantages indicated most frequently by the students include the following statements:

(1) "It is much more precise than regular oral feedback."
(2) "I can see the mistakes very clearly."
(3) "More information than from typical feedback, more details."
(4) "It facilitates a detailed analysis at home."

However, the respondents also mentioned several disadvantages of the application of speech-to-text technology in simultaneous interpreting workshops:

(5) The tool is not very reliable and it doesn't recognize some of my words."
(6) "I need to speak slower for the tool to work correctly."

(7) "The comparison is time-consuming."

(8) "I'd rather listen to the recordings."

As we can see, one the most frequent negative comments pertains to the technological constraints which clearly accompany the application of the tool. A stable and fast Internet connection is most definitely necessary if one wants to work with an open-source online tool of this sort, but the constraint does not seem to be a major one as most universities nowadays rely on broadband Internet anyway. Another concern is connected with the accuracy of the tool. As with any algorithmic speech-to-text solution, a certain degree of standardisation of the audio input is also assumed in Google's tool. However, I suggest we perceive this reported disadvantage as an actual advantage: is a certain degree of standardisation of one's phonetic output not expected of interpreters? Catering to the communication needs of mixed audiences often requires accents to be flattened in order to be understood by as many recipients as possible. In their interpreter recruitment procedures, many institutions (such as the European Union and its interpreting services) clearly prefer standardised and not heavily marked accents for the sake of the audience. Furthermore, even advanced students of interpreting are not free from pronunciation errors, especially when they interpret in the *retour* mode, i.e., into their foreign language (their B language). Taking this into account, I feel I can actually argue that the application of the tool may prove to be a valuable phonetic self-awareness building exercise which all interpreters (and teachers of interpretation) may need from time to time, even though it can turn out to be a rather humbling experience. As for the reported disadvantage concerning the duration of the feedback, further research is necessary to compare the "conventional" feedback to feedback with STT output. Most definitely, feedback provision based on the scenario of Exercise 3 (see section 2.1) can take a long time, depending on the level of detail and the tasks given to students. However, such detailed analysis may be very revealing and the investment of time may yield a positive return at a later stage, when students consciously avoid certain tendencies they had spotted in the transcripts (or enhance some good practices they discovered during the comparison).

3 FINAL REMARKS

The application of STT in interpreting workshops appears to be capable of providing added value to both instructors and students. The former can rely on a more robust material and back up their oral feedback with transcribed data and, possibly, discover new shortcomings or best practices in student output which are missed when no live transcription is made. The latter can benefit from detailed and concrete corrections and can also improve their standard pronunciation. STT is not a silver bullet solution for interpreter training, but it offers a range of advantages which must not be overlooked. With the constraints in mind and a well-thought-out approach, it seems it can complement the conventional methods of interpreter training and carries with it the added benefit of making both students and their teachers aware of how fast technology is developing--technology which, by the way, may in future pose a threat to the profession of the interpreter.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The exercises presented in this article and the account of student reactions are by no means an exhaustive treatment of the subject. There remain many possible research questions pertaining to the use of STT in interpreting workshops. First of all, it is worthwhile also considering the application of speech-to-text solutions in consecutive interpretation classes – all original texts delivered live in class (either by the trainer or by students) can be transcribed using an STT solution and later used as a point of reference for detailed feedback, without the need to resort to playing the recordings of both the source and the target. Secondly, if consistently applied, STT can become a source of a valuable corpus of transcribed interpretations which can facilitate various linguistic analyses and further research in the field. Thirdly, the technology at some point may go beyond a training setting and become a viable assessment tool for professional interpreters employed by international institutions such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, the United Nations, etc.; this is in line with the growing attention of researchers in the field to the quality of interpreter output (e.g. Gile 1990, Schlesinger 1997, Pöchhacker 2001). Last, but not least, the usability of the technology should be investigated across a variety of language pairs to verify its accuracy, with user feedback not just from students of interpreting but also from teachers of future interpreters.

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a study into quality assurance applied to the translation of Czech legislation into English for documentary purposes. The qualitative methodology applied aims at exploring quality assurance on two levels: on the part of the contracting authority awarding the translation public contract and on the part of the successful bidder. In the former case, the quality assurance is explored through comparison of the tender requirements (which in fact constitute a translation brief) with those identified to be included in a legal translation brief by Scott (2015). In the latter case, a legal-translation quality assessment model by Prieto Ramos (2014) is used to analyse the quality of the English translation of the Companies and Cooperatives Act in various categories. The results of the analysis are then categorized and discussed in terms of their possible (not only) legal implications. The whole paper is framed in a risk analysis model developed for translation by Canfora and Ottmann (2016) to discuss the risks involved in translation of legislation.

Ondřej Klabal

Quality Assurance
in Translating National
Legislation: The Case
of Czech Companies
and Cooperatives Act

INTRODUCTION

Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 12) has argued that it was the demand for quality that led to the recognition of Legal Translation Studies as a discipline. Despite this fact, literature on quality assessment and assurance in legal translation is rather scarce (e.g. Vanden Bulcke and Héroguel 2011, Chromá and Klabal 2015, Kochaert and Rahab 2017) and most of the works published thus far have focused on quality assurance and assessment in institutional settings (e.g. Vlachopoulos 2009, Strandvik 2012, Svoboda, Biel and Łoboda 2017). This paper therefore attempts to contribute to the research into quality by presenting a case of quality assurance in the translation of legislation. It uses the holistic model developed by Prieto Ramos (2014) to analyse the quality of a piece of legislation translated from Czech into English, with respect to the translation process, competence and product.

TRANSLATION OF LEGISLATION

Legislation may be translated for instrumental or documentary purposes. Instrumental translation (cf. Nord 1997, p. 47) refers to situations in bilingual or even multilingual jurisdictions where

a piece of legislation is translated into another language and where the target text should produce the same effects as the source text. This applies, for example, to Switzerland, Canada or Hong Kong. The instrumental nature of translations makes it a very difficult and challenging task as the courts within different linguistic regions of the same country need to interpret the legislation in a uniform way, and thus interpretative consistency is of paramount importance.

Documentary translation (cf. Nord 1997, p. 50) is encountered in situations where there is only one authentic (and binding) language version, but a piece of legislation may be translated for recipients who need to be informed of the contents of foreign law. The function of documentary translation of legislation is therefore only informative and may not be relied on in courts. If there is an interpretative problem, the source language version must be referred to and therefore, the requirement for interpretative consistency is not as strict as in the case of instrumental translations. This does not, however, imply that the translation should not be clear and intelligible, and in an ideal case convey the same legal sense as the authentic original version. As the Czech Republic is a monolingual country, any translation of its legislation falls within the category of documentary translation, and thus has no binding effect.

Instrumental translations of legislation, also referred to as bilingual or multilingual co-drafting are, as a rule, handled by the respective governments. In the case of documentary translation, the array of commissioners is more varied. Such translations may be commissioned by lawyers, be it merely a translation of a relevant excerpt for one client, or an entire legislative text for regular use in a law firm. If there is a high demand for a translation of a particular piece of legislation, such translations may also be commissioned by legal publishing houses. In such cases, the quality of the translation may vary greatly, even within the same publishing house in different countries. Wolters Kluwer, for example, published a high-quality English translation of the Italian Code of Criminal Procedure in an edition complemented with a preface on translation issues (Scarpa et al. 2014). Its Czech branch has published a number of translations of Czech laws, the analysis of which reveals numerous deficiencies (see Chromá and Klabal 2015, p. 212).

Documentary translations of legislation may also be commissioned by various government agencies, legislative or judicial bodies. In the case of the Czech Republic, such translations are not regulated in any way, which has a number of implications. First, one piece of legislation may be translated several times and the individual translations can vary to a large extent both as regards the terminology and phraseology used and the quality of such translations. Second, there is no established procedure for commissioning such translations, so no information is usually available about the procurement process. One such attempt at a translation of Czech legislation into English will be under scrutiny in this paper.

Risks Involved in Translation of Legislation

The fact that legislation is translated for documentary purposes only does not mean that it is risk-free. Canfora and Ottmann (2016) list a number of possible risk of a translated text such as impaired or irritated communication (misinterpretation of the law with a varying severity

of legal consequences) or the fact that the reputation of the contracting authority is damaged for not being able to secure a usable translation, and thus wasting the money of tax payers. An added risk not mentioned by the authors lies in the propagation of inadequate translation solutions – if users of the translation fail to identify the problems in the target text (TT), the provisions as translated and terms as used in the translation will be used further and thus may contribute to the fossilization of such translation solutions, and possibly result in the creation of "legal translation stereotypes" as discussed by Chromá (2014b). In addition, a mere fact that a translation is published on an official website makes it look binding, and it requires significant efforts to make people aware of possible shortcomings[1]. Therefore, Canfora and Ottmann (2016) argue that the client (i.e. the contracting authority) should always identify the risks involved in any translation assignment, and adjust the process accordingly. To do this, they propose a risk matrix which should be created for any translation project by the commissioner rather than by the translator. Depending on the risk assessment, a strategy to deal with the risk should be adopted. The authors propose four possible strategies. The risk may be avoided by not having the document translated. It may be accepted if it is too low. It may be passed on and shared with the translation service provider, or it may be reduced. I believe that reducing and passing on the risk are appropriate strategies for translations of legislation for documentary purposes, which constitute a moderate-risk translation. Canfora and Ottmann suggest that the process for such a translation should include the following phases:

Figure 1: Risk-based translation processes: Moderate risk (Canfora and Ottmann 2016)

Translation of Czech Civil Legislation

Czech civil law underwent a revolutionary change as of 1 January 2014. As part of the reco-dification, three new laws were adopted in 2012: the Civil Code, the Companies and Cooperatives Act and the Private International Law Act. The recodification brought about not only substantial legal changes, but also linguistic ones (for details on the linguistic and legal changes see Chromá 2014a, 2014b and Elischer et al. 2013 respectively). The extent of the changes may have been what made the Czech Ministry of Justice conceive of the idea that it would have all three laws translated into four world languages (English, German, French, and Russian) with the translations being available on the website of the Ministry.

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1   This can be attested by recent experience of the author. At a summer course of legal translation for prosecutors and judges, the author had difficulties persuading the participants not to use translation equivalents as used in an English translation of the Czech Code of Criminal Procedure commissioned by the Supreme Prosecuting Attorney's Office even if such equivalents have been demonstrated to be clearly wrong.

This section will describe the procurement process on the basis of the publically-available tender documents and requirements. The call for tenders for a below-the-threshold public contract was published within a project entitled New Private Law No. CZ.1.04/4.1.00/80.00003 funded from the European Social Fund in 2013. The public contract was divided into four parts for each of the languages, and *a legal translation (author's emphasis)* was required.

Contracting authority: Ministry of Justice of the Czech Republic.

Volume of source text to be translated into English: 929.5 standard pages (of 1800 characters with spaces).

Further requirements set by the contracting authority for the supplier:

1. Adhering to the formatting as required by the contracting authority.
2. Revision by a native speaker; the native speaker shall draft a report on the revision assignment and all the issues pointed out in this report must be solved so that the final report is free of such issues.
3. Correct and consistent use of established terminology.
4. Consistency with the legal terminology used in the legislation of the target-language countries.
5. Preferential use of the established terminology as used in publicly accessible documents (legislation, case law, etc.).
6. Consulting the contracting authority for terminological issues and respecting the instruction to the effect.
7. Sending the translated parts every month, i.e. a quarter sent every month; the translation shall be submitted the last month in full together with the report by the native speaker.
8. A translation certified by a sworn translator is not required to perform the public contract.

Estimated value of Part 1 (i.e. translation into English) of the public contract: CZK 399,190 exclusive of VAT[2].

Time limit for performance: 150 days from the date of the awarding of the contract.

Leaving aside the requirements for the financial standing of the tenderers, the requirements to prove the technical qualifications are as follows (abridged).

1. The tenderer is required to present a list of important services provided over the past three years. An important service means a service similar to the public contract, i.e. a translation of legal documents (e.g. legislation, contracts, annual reports, powers of attorney, by-laws, decisions, judgements, arbitral awards, notarial deeds, terms and conditions, etc.) from Czech to the respective foreign language or from the foreign

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2   *This corresponded to EUR 15,349 on 15 May 2013, which was the day for opening the envelopes – author's note.*

language into Czech of a minimum extent of 50 standard pages. The tenderers are required to provide important services of a minimum of 300 standard pages over the past three years, either as one job or more jobs of 50 standard pages. The fulfilment of this requirement is established by means of a statutory declaration and confirmations by clients or contracts with clients.

2. The tenderer is required to present a list of members of the translation team consisting of a minimum of three translators and one native speaker proofreader. One of the translators is to be appointed head of the team. The qualification requirements for the individual positions within the team are as follows:

   a) translators: state language exam for translators or interpreters or an equivalent exam at C1 level of the CEFR. Note that this is not an MA in translation/interpreting;

   b) head of the team: at least an MA degree in law, state language exam for translators or interpreters or an equivalent exam at C1 level of the CEFR and professional experience as a legal translator from Czech into the respective foreign language of a minimum of 100 standard pages over the past three years;

   c) native speaker proofreader: at least an MA degree in law or an equivalent abroad. The fulfilment of these requirements is established by means of authenticated copies of university diplomas or respective certificates.

TRANSLATION QUALITY ANALYSIS

This section performs translation quality analysis of selected samples of the Companies and Cooperative Act, i.e. one of the laws translated as part of the project (hereinafter the "Act"), and these observations are used to point out issues in translation quality assurance. As proposed by Prieto Ramos (2014), quality assessment in the field of legal translation must comprise three areas: assessment of the translation process, translation competence and the translation product.

Translation Process

When defining the factors that affect the quality of the translation process, Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 18) emphasises the analysis of the translation brief as well as the communicative situation and conditions of the translation; the factors listed are similar to those of Scott (see below).

As the details of the translation process are not publically available, the analysis will be based on an analysis of the tender requirements, which constitute the translation brief. Table 1 shows the information that should be present in any legal translation brief as identified by Scott (2015, p. 123), and whether it has been provided or can be inferred from the tender requirements.

Table 1: Parameters defined by Scott (2015) for legal translation briefs as applied to the case of the Czech Companies and Cooperatives Act

Requirement	Discussion
Intended purpose of the source text	Normative.
Intended purpose of the target text	This is not specifically mentioned in the call for tenders, but it could be inferred by the translator that it is a case of documentary translation. There is no information, however, as to whether the translation is to be made available to the public (which it was), or for the internal use by the Ministry or the judicial system.
Whether the original or the translation is to be enforceable/binding	The original is enforceable and binding, the translation is not.
Author/originator of the source text	The institutional author of any Czech law is the Parliament of the Czech Republic, which adopts the laws. The proposed Act was sponsored by the Ministry of Justice. The usual case is that the actual drafters of the law are not known by the public. The case of the civil legislation was an exception due to its revolutionary nature, and the names of the actual drafters found their way into the public domain and discussion. The main author of the Act was Professor Bohumil Havel.
Recipient/dissemination of the target text	This is closely related to the intended purpose of the target text, and is a detail which the translator could only determine by implication. It is a crucial piece of information, however, as the purpose and the recipient define the entire translation strategy as emphasised for the case of legislation among others by Scott (2018, p. 12) who discusses three possible scenarios for translation of legislation, each of which requires a different approach.
Reference material	No reference material provided.
The required register of the target text	All language-related instructions in the call for tenders applied to terminology only. It could be implied by the translation team that a translation of legislation requires the formal register to be used.
How to deal with ambiguities/errors	No guidance provided.
Applicable law	N/A
The position of the target text on a covert-overt cline	This is again not specified by the commissioner with the exception of terminology where the requirements are in fact contradictory. Point 4 above requires the translator to be consistent with the terminology used in the target-language legislation, whereas Point 5 requires the translator to use the terminology used in publicly accessible documents translated from Czech into English. While the former is a case of covert translation, the latter is a case of overt translation. This criterion must again be determined by the translators by implication.

It clearly follows from Table 1 that the brief provided by the commissioner is not only incomplete, but in some respects contradictory.

The tender requirements also clearly demonstrate certain misconceptions on the part of the contracting authority concerning legal translation, which may have influenced the quality. It was required that the translation be proofread by a native speaker with a law degree. Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 25) rightly warns, however, against the use of subject matter specialists without any expertise in legal translation. Such specialists possess the thematic competence, but usually lack the other competences required for legal translators, such as contrastive, linguistic or methodological. Logically, the reviser should have the same competence as the translator, and possibly even higher. Requiring the reviser to have an MA degree in English law could be justifiable if the translation was intended for English lawyers. It may, however, be used both by native and non-native recipients, and a reviser with a degree in foreign law may introduce foreign legal concepts, which may resemble the Czech concepts, but may have different legal implications. Therefore, one must concur with Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 25) who claims that when the reviser does not have the right expertise and does not work under the right conditions, "a single qualified legal translator might produce a better translation than a combination of a translator and a revisor."

As mentioned above in the tender requirements, the contracting authority required *legal translation* of the Act. This may either be seen as redundant requirement, as any translation of a piece of legislation is, by definition, a legal translation. Alternatively, the use of the adjective *legal* may indicate a belief on part of the contracting authority that *legal translation* is a level of quality of provided service as opposed to general (non-legal) translation. The correct use of terminology, which is required, is a rather vague and undefined term not used in TQA. Any decision on what is correct would have to be considered in light of the *skopos* of the translation. The requirement of using terminology as used in target-language countries ignores one of the basic "traps" of legal translation into English, i.e. the multitude of countries that use English as its official language (cf. Chromá 2016). Finally, the requirement that the terminology used in publically accessible documents be adhered to is also problematic, as public accessibility is no guarantee of correctness. In addition, it remains unclear whether authentic English documents or English translations of Czech documents are meant.

Translation Competence

The issue of legal translation competence has received quite extensive treatment and a number of models specifically designed for legal translation have been proposed (for a detailed comparison see Klabal, Knap-Dlouhá and Kubánek 2017). Unfortunately, the legal translation competence of the team is not readily assessable as the identity of the people involved is not in the public domain and neither the contracting authority nor the translation agency have been willing to disclose it. Therefore, assumptions on translation competence can only be made indirectly on the basis of the quality of the product and the qualification requirements. The former will be

treated in the following section. As concerns the latter, the requirements are only formalistic: education, experience defined by amount of translation, possibly even in a different direction. Instead of requiring a specialized post-graduate course in legal translation offered by two Czech universities, which is, for example, a requirement for sworn translators, a state language examination for translators or interpreters is required. This a C2 level examination that has existed in the Czech Republic for many decades and has no counterpart in other countries. Each of the examination consists of a written and oral part including many tasks not directly related to translation or interpreting (e.g. written summaries, knowledge of the *realia*). According to the official information of the State Language School[3], the texts used can be either general or specialized focusing on the culture of English speaking countries, and translation in both directions is tested, which may disqualify many English native speakers who translate from Czech. As an alternative, an equivalent C1 (one level below) examination is required. To my knowledge, there are no other translation/interpreting C1 level examinations, so what is probably meant by the contracting authority is a standard language exam such as CAE, TOEFL etc. I am positive that such requirements do not guarantee in any way that the translator actually has the required competence. It could be argued that a sample translation could serve as a basis for determining competence.

Translation Product

The following part analyses the quality of the translation product. In line with Brunette (2000, p. 171), I believe that translation assessment need not be performed on the entire text. Of a total of 786 sections in the Act, a sample consisting of the first 150 sections of the operative part of the Act was selected for the analysis, which corresponds to approximately 17,000 words, and accounts for 20% of the whole text. It could be argued that a sample from different parts of the text would be more convenient. However, Czech laws, unlike EU legislation, usually lack preambles and only include a short enacting formula directly followed by the operative part. The initial part of the Act was chosen for analysis as it governs general aspects of company law applicable to all company forms, whereas the latter parts of the Act regulate the individual legal forms of business.

As stated by Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 15) the existing general models of TQA represent certain shortcomings when it comes to legal translation. Therefore, Prieto Ramos (2014) proposed a model which is specifically designed for legal translation and includes three areas of assessment: legal semantic accuracy and legal consistency, adequacy of the translation decision on legal discursive features, and general linguistic correctness. My analysis will focus on the first two categories, which are law-specific. A native speaker would be needed to assess the linguistic correctness.

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3   http://www.sjs.cz/zkousky-a-certifikaty/statni-jazykova-zkouska-specialni-pro-obor-tlumocnicky-c2. html.

The examples presented below are a mere sample of the problems identified during the analysis and other instances of the problems discussed have been identified. As the analysis is not standard quality assessment, but rather aims at using qualitative methods to identify any problems and the model by Prieto Ramos to classify these problems, and thus discuss the risks. Quantitative analysis is not performed as the examples are meant to show the variety of issues across all the categories. The examples below always demonstrate the Czech ST, the official translation (TT) and, if relevant, an alternative version of the TT.

Legal Semantic Accuracy and Consistency

In order to achieve legal semantic accuracy, the equivalents should be established by means of comparative law methods, namely conceptual analysis (de Groot 1988, Chromá 2014c, Engberg 2015).

Although the issue of false friends in legal language has been widely discussed (cf. Campos Pardillos 2011), the translation manifests a number of errors in this area. The TT uses *statutory body* as an equivalent for Czech *statutární orgán*. Czech law defines *statutární orgán* as the body of a company responsible for acting on behalf of the company in all matters. It is a general label and the exact name differs for different types of companies (e.g. *Board of Directors*). The cognate used in the TT does exist in English, but is defined as 1. *an organization with the authority to check that the activities of a business or organization are legal and follow official rules: The General Medical Council is the statutory body which regulates doctors* and 2. *an organization that has been created by a parliament: The commission is a statutory body to combat discrimination against disabled people* (Cambridge Online Dictionaries). These two meanings, overlapping to a certain extent, imply that it is basically a government regulatory body, and thus it is not an adequate equivalent for the Czech term, which could be translated as *governing body*, which is defined in English as *a body of persons or officers having ultimate control* (USLegal*)*.

The following example of terminological inadequacy is not as simple as a false friend conundrum. There are two steps involved in the end of the life of a company under Czech law. The first is *zrušení* (*dissolution*), which is an act by the shareholders and is followed by *zánik*, corresponding to the deletion of the company from the Companies Register. The TT uses *winding-up* to denote the second phase. Garner (2009, p. 1738) defines *winding up as the process of settling accounts and liquidating assets in anticipation of a partnership's or corporation's dissolution*, which corresponds to the period between the two phases, i.e. *likvidace* in Czech. The essential element of *zánik* is the (formal) termination of the legal existence of the company, which must be emphasised in a translation equivalent. The term *termination* without any further modification would not be sufficient as it can be used to denote both *zrušení* and *zánik* (Cassidy 2018). In addition, it is also an example of lack of consistency. In Section 37 *winding up* is used for *zrušení* and in Section 41 *dissolution* is used for *zánik*. Such usage also raises doubts as to whether the translator (reviser) was aware of the difference, i.e. their subject-matter competence is challanged.

Legal semantic accuracy errors need not relate to terminology only, but may also involve inaccurate transfer of cohesive markers, such as subordinating conjunctions.

Example 1: Inaccurate transfer of a subordinating conjunction involving shift of meaning

CZECH ST	*OFFICIAL TT*	*ALTERNATIVE TT*
§ 223 *určení druhu podílů, připadá-li nový vklad společníka na nový podíl*	*Section 223 (c)* *the specification of the type of business shares **in case** that the new contribution of a member accounts for a new business share or, if applicable*	*the specification of the type of shares **if** the new contribution of a member accounts for a new business share or, if applicable*

Example 1 shows a transfer error involving lack of legal accuracy. Conjunctions *in case* and *if* have different meanings (cf. Swan 2005, p. 24) in English corresponding to Czech *pro případ* (a conjunction used for expressing precautions) and v případě (a conditional conjunction) respectively. In Example 1, however, *in case* is used in the TT to introduce a conditional clause. This may involve serious interpretative difficulties as conditionals are an important element of legal reasoning (cf. Sarčević 1997, p. 166).

Example 2: Legal accuracy errors

CZECH ST	*OFFICIAL TT*	*ALTERNATIVE TT*
§ 7 odst. 4 *Odstavce 1 až 3 se použijí obdobně ve vztahu k závodu zahraniční kapitálové společnosti nebo zahraničního družstva nebo k jeho pobočce. Údaj o zápisu zahraniční osoby do evidence podnikatelů ve státě, **jehož právem** se zahraniční osoba řídí, se nevyžaduje, ledaže **toto právo** zápis do takové evidence ukládá nebo umožňuje.*	*Section 7(4)* *Subsections (1) to (3) shall apply mutatis mutandis to enterprises of foreign capital companies or foreign cooperatives and to their branches. Information about the registration of a foreign entity in the register of entrepreneurs in the country, **the law of which** is applicable to the foreign entity, shall not be required unless the registration in such register is required or permitted by **this Act**.*	*Section 7(4)* *Subsections (1) to (3) will apply by analogy to enterprises of foreign limited companies or cooperatives or their branches. Information of the registration of such a foreign entity in the register of businesses in the country, **the law of which** is applicable to the foreign entity, is not required unless such **applicable law** requires or permits it.*

Some accuracy errors are a result of plain mistranslation. Example 2 involves a shift in meaning, where foreign applicable law is translated as *the Act*, thus completely changing the reference. Such an error may entail serious legal consequences as requirements for registration under the Czech Act and foreign applicable law may differ. In addition, an error like this cannot be spotted by the reader of the TT, which further increases its seriousness.

Legal consistency seems to have been a particular challenge for the translation team. It is not infrequent in the TT that the same concept is translated in more than one way. The Czech

term *výkon funkce (service as a director)* is translated, for example, in as many as four different ways: *performance of function* (Section 48), *exercise of office* (Section 59), *execution of function* (Section 54), *execution of office* (Section 64), and sometimes even within a single paragraph. Such an approach is in violation of the golden rule of legal drafting and interpretation to always use the same term to refer to the same thing, person, entity or concept, and use different terms to refer to different things, persons, entities, or concepts (cf. Haggard and Kuney 2007, p. 293).

As mentioned above, the Act was not the only piece of legislation translated as part of the public contract. The Act is in many aspects *lex specialis* in relation to the Civil Code (CC) and as such the two must be applied in conjunction, which makes inter-textual consistency of paramount importance as its absence may hinder its use in practice. It is, therefore, surprising that the translations differ to a great extent and many concepts display variations: *good manners* (Act) / *good morals* (CC); *receivable* (Act) / *claim* (CC); *fruits and benefits* (Act) / *fruits and revenues* (CC) to name only a few. In certain cases, the lack of consistency may even prevent anyone using the laws from arriving at the correct interpretation. Section 59 of the Act, which makes a direct reference to the CC, is translated, for example, as follows: *Unless agreed otherwise, the contribution administrator shall act in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Code governing **an order**. Order* is used as an equivalent for Czech *příkaz*, which is a polysemous term in law. It may mean *soudní příkaz*, in which case the English equivalent would be *court order*. The CC uses it, however, as a legislative shorthand for *příkazní smlouva* through which one person agrees to arrange something for another person. This meaning conceptually corresponds to *mandate*, which is defined as *a commission by which a party is entrusted to perform a service, especially without payment and with indemnity against loss by that party* (Oxford Dictionaries). The equivalent used thus not only lacks semantic accuracy and consistency, but also makes it impossible for the user of the English translations to actually find out how the office of the contribution administrator is regulated, as looking for *order* in the translation of the CC would not render any results, as the CC uses the appropriate term *mandate*.

Adequacy of Legal Discursive Features

According to Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 24), the adequacy of translation decisions in this area includes legal terminology and phraseology and legal discursive features, and should be assessed against the overall translation strategy as well as the microtextual priorities. The fact that the choices made by the translation team are very often conflicting suggests that there may have been no overall strategy which could be used for assessment. The example of *výkon funkce* discussed above may be used as case in point. The literal translation of the term is *performance of office*, but the actual meaning is service of a member of a corporate body. The agreement governing the service is called in Czech *smlouva o výkonu funkce* (literally: *agreement on the performance of function*) and is translated in the Act as *Executive Service Agreement*, which is a very TT-oriented equivalent as *service agreement* in English means *a formal agreement between a company and an employee in a high position about their pay and conditions of employment* (Cambridge Dictionaries

Online), and thus could be an equivalent of the Czech term. In all other instances where the term *výkon funkce* is used outside the name of the contract, however, an ST oriented literal translation (in four different forms) is used. This demonstrates a tension between the domesticating and exoticizing approaches which indicates the absence of any strategy, because whatever strategy is adopted, it should be used consistently (cf. Nielsen 2010).

To illustrate the problems involved in adhering to legal discursive features, one example related to legal phraseology and one to legal genre conventions will be discussed.

Example 3: Legal phraseology: quorum

CZECH ST	*OFFICIAL TT*	*ALTERNATIVE TT*
§ 169	*Section 169*	*Section 169*
Neurčí-li společenská smlouva jinak, je valná hromada schopná se usnášet, jsou-li přítomni společníci, kteří mají alespoň polovinu všech hlasů.	*Unless provided otherwise in the memorandum of association, the general meeting **shall have a quorum** if the members attending have at least a half of all votes.*	*Unless provided otherwise in the memorandum of association, shareholders holding at least half of the votes at a general meeting **constitute quorum**.*

A number of tools are available to translators in order to explore legal phraseology and thus increase the communicative dimension. As argued by Biel (2017), the optimal way is the use of comparable corpora, which make it possible to see the usage of terms in context and explore their collocational profiles. Oftentimes, a reconceptualization is necessary as in the case of Example 3. The Act uses the term *usnášeníschopnost,* which is literally translated as *ability to pass resolutions*. An analysis of a comparable corpus comprising company laws from the major English speaking jurisdictions indicates that the term *quorum* is used in similar contexts (Klabal 2017). *Quorum* is defined as *the smallest number of people needed to be present at a meeting before it can officially begin and before official decisions can be taken* (Cambridge Dictionaries Online), thus it is not an ability, but the actual people. This implies that the collocational profile (Czech: *být usnášeníschopný – be quorate*, English: *constitute quorum*, *quorum is present*) of each of these will be different, and if *quorum* is to be used in contexts where *usnášeníschopnost* is used in Czech, an in-depth reconceptualization is required as suggested in the alternative translation in Example 3.

Legal discursive features also include the hallmark of legal English (Butt and Castle 2013), i.e. the verb *shall*. Although the status of *shall* in legal drafting is debatable and there are proponents for both its eradication (e.g. Kimble 2011 or Garner 2012) and its disciplined use (e.g. Adams 2014), legislation is a genre where it is disappearing the most quickly (see Williams 2005, 2006). It is therefore surprising that the English translation makes use of the verb in the multitude of its meanings, which is so often criticized (see Example 4).

Example 4: *Shall* as used in the TT

*The delegates and substitute delegates representing absent delegates **shall be obliged** to attend the assembly of delegates.*

*Upon a business corporation's winding-up with liquidation, each member **shall be entitled** to a share of the liquidation balance.*

*In case of doubt as to whether an objection was raised, it **shall be deemed to** have been raised.*

*The general meeting **shall appoint** its chairman, minute taker, minute verifier and scrutiniser(s).*

*The controlled entity **shall provide** the expert with all cooperation necessary for the preparation of the expert opinion.*

As the examples clearly demonstrate, *shall* is used in the TT to express a number of different meanings: language of policy, language of obligation or language of prohibition, which is contrary to current trends (cf. Chromá 2016). In addition, the same language functions are expressed in more than one way (obligation: *shall provide / shall be obliged to attend*), which violates the requirement of legal consistency.

Interference

Although the category of interference is not explicitly mentioned by Prieto Ramos (2014), due to a number of errors identified in this area, it deserves to be a separate category. Some cases of lexical interference (false friends) have already been discussed above.

Example 5: Grammatical interference (involving a meaning shift)

CZECH ST	OFFICIAL TT	ALTERNATIVE TT
§ 34 odst. 3 *Má se za to, že ti členové statutárního orgánu, **kteří s vyplacením podílu na zisku v rozporu s tímto zákonem souhlasili**, nejednali s péčí řádného hospodáře.*	*Section 34(3)* *The members of the statutory body, **who agreed to the payment of the profit share in violation of this Act**, shall be deemed to not have acted with due care.*	*Section 34(3)* *The members of the governing body **who agreed to the payment of the profit share in violation of this Act** are deemed to not have acted with due managerial care.*

Example 5 shows a case of punctuation interference. In Czech, all relative clauses are preceded by a comma, whereas in English only non-defining are (cf. Swan 2005, p. 479). In legal contexts, the difference can be crucial and even expand or limit liability. In Example 5, the presumption only applies to the members who agreed to the payment whereas the English translation implies that all members of the governing body agreed.

Another example of lexical interference involves a calque translation of the Czech term *právní předpis/y*, which means any laws and regulations. In the analysed part of the TT, it is systematically translated word by word as *legal regulation/s*. The problem is, however, that *regulation* in English is defined as a *rule based on and meant to carry out a specific piece of legislation* (Business Dictionary), which means that it is a piece of legislation not on par with law and is usually passed by the government, but not the legislature. Such a word-for-word translation thus narrows the meaning and excludes the possibility of the matter being specified in a statute.

The last example of interference is the literal translation of *zdánlivé právní jednání* as *apparent legal act* (Section 45(3)). Section 551 of the CC stipulates that if an element of legal act, such as the will of the acting person, is missing, then such an act is *zdánlivý*, which means that it is disregarded as being *non-existent*, which is also the equivalent suggested by Chromá (2014, p. 123), who also advised against the use of any literal equivalents such as *apparent*, *ostensible*, *colourable*, *seeming* or *pretended*. Adjective *apparent* used in the TT not only fails to convey the intended legal sense, but also makes the interpretation ambiguous as it an example of the phenomenon of enantiosemy (cf. Böhmerová 1997), where a single word has two opposing meanings (*apparent death* vs. *apparent defect*). In addition, it is yet another example of lack of inter-textual consistency as the equivalent used in the respective provisions of the CC is *putative*.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis presented above has demonstrated that the translation of the Act shows errors on a number of levels, and can serve as an illustration of the fact that inadequate and contradictory translation brief revealing lack of understanding of the legal translation process will very likely result in quality problems in the translation product. The focus of the analysis of the translation problems was not to provide an exhaustive and comprehensive quality assessment, but pinpoint problems whose mere presence undermines the trust in the translation. Not all of the analysed provisions of the Act necessarily suffer from a quality issue of one kind or another, and some of the problems identified may seem minor. Nevertheless, the very fact that most of them are not obvious at first sight, and that their identification requires a deeper analysis and a ST-TT comparison, further increases the risk involved as such errors may go unnoticed by non-expert or monolingual users, some even entailing legal consequences. I believe that these additional factors justify their classification as major. Prieto Ramos (2014, p. 25) proposes five quality grades in legal translation: excellent (A/5), acceptable (B/4), borderline (C/4), poor (D/2) and unacceptable (E/1). Given the results of the analysis, the TT should be graded as Poor (D/2): "Major problems of accuracy, consistency and adequacy or even of linguistic correctness even if the text is readable." The lack of both intra-textual and inter-textual legal consistency is a feature common to most of the analysed categories.

The entire process could also be viewed as a case of failed risk management. Even though the translation and revision requirements as envisaged by the contracting authority in the tender documents could be, *prima facia*, deemed robust enough to mitigate the risks, the examples of linguistic interference, inadequate legal terminology, or lack of consistency in the above analysis indicate that some of the tender requirements were not met to the required standards. Otherwise, a revision by a native speaker as required should eliminate collocational errors (see Example 3) or terminology which does not make legal sense (*a statutory body* in the context of companies). Moreover, some of the requirements, sometimes contradictory, were impossible to be met (consistency with the legal terminology used in legislation of the target-language countries as the individual countries have extensive variation). Despite the contracting authority's

legitimate efforts to mitigate the risks, the risk management was not adequate. In Scott's (2018, p. 389) terms, the constraints affecting the performance of the outsourced legal translation were not appreciated enough.

The reported case shows the importance of the role of the commissioners of legal translations in quality assurance and risk management. They should use the available tools and recommendations, for instance, the risk management model by Canfora and Ottmann (2016), and take appropriate steps to mitigate the risks. Such steps can include terminology management or development of a terminological glossary by experts in comparative law, provision of some guidance on translating Czech legislation into English (see e.g. the Guidance on English Usage published by the Finnish Prime Minister's office where English is not an official language), or even not establishing the price of the translation as the most important criterion. This is frequent practice in the context of public procurement because it reduces the risk of challenging the award procedure by unsuccessful tenderers when qualitative criteria are applied. When publishing the translation, the press release of the Ministry (2015) contained the following disclaimer: "Given the nature of translation, a possible nuance which may occur in specialized translation cannot be ruled out and must be taken into account when using the published translation"[4]. Such a disclaimer seems to indicate that the Ministry may have realized that the translation contains some errors. Unfortunately, no steps have been taken to remedy the situation.

This study also reveals that public procurement procedures may not be the best tool to award translation contracts. If a highly qualified lawyer-linguists had been employed, who would be working in close cooperation with the commissioner, a better-quality final product might have been achieved. When commissioning translations of legislation in the future, contracting authorities better adhere to the practices proposed by Scott (2015, 2018), thus contributing to an increase in legal translation quality, not the contrary.

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4   Translation by the author of the paper.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents data from a study which involved the translation of culture-specific lexis (CSL). A study was conducted on two groups of 10 students at a university in Seoul, South Korea. Five translation classes were provided for each group. Presenting qualitative excerpts from the data, the study looks at students' considerations of word connotation and culture-specific concepts, and the translation decisions made based on these considerations. Results show that the translation of CSL can direct students' attention to perceptions, emotions, attitude, and values conveyed by a word, in addition to its referential meaning, thus strengthening their roles as mediators between cultures.

Vivian Lee

Connotations Embodied within Language and Culture: A Look at Culture-specific Lexis and its Translation

1 BACKGROUND

The translating of culture-specific lexis (CSL) requires processing of the word from ST language into TT language, and requires the ability to surpass the denotation of a word and to know, and have the ability to, convey any connotations the word may contain and which may be challenging to translate into the target language. The relationship between translation and culture, and the way of transferring signs of the source culture into the target text, is viewed as an integrative process which comprises two aspects: the recognition of the aim of using CRs and the way of responding to that aim in translation (Savic and Cutura, 2011).

CSL refers to items in a text which are deemed to be unique to a particular culture, and may pose problems for translation from the ST into the TT. CSL are loaded with implicit information, and such lexis contain connotations which assume a shared knowledge of the target reader. An important area in translation studies, such culture-specific content has been investigated by many (Baker, 1992; Newmark, 2010; Nord, 1997). Nord defines such culture-specific content to be those which are present in culture X but not in culture Y (Nord, 1997), and according to Aixela, such items can be "recognized only with indication to a certain ST" (Aixela, 1997, p. 57). These items are a challenging area for translation as the way these are dealt with directly affects the finished product – potential problems could be for example, what Venuti (1998) calls the 'foreignization', when the characteristics of a text unique to the source

text culture are preserved as much as possible at the sake of readability, or on the opposite side, 'domestication' of a text.

Examining students' knowledge of culture-specific words and connotations for both source and target text languages and the way they may translate in order to communicate to the target audience will provide insight to their roles as mediators between cultures.

2 METHODOLOGY

Five translation classes were provided for the project, which involved translation tasks of texts from news articles containing culture-specific lexis. The participants were undergraduate students studying translation and interpreting at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea. The university is one of the leading universities in South Korea for foreign language studies, and is renowned for its interpreting and translating graduate school program. Two groups of 10 participants were recruited, with one of these being a control group. Although the study was of a small-scale, a control group was used to enable comparison and confirmation of the possible influence or effects of the taught sessions with an approach focusing on communication, context and relevance derived from the relevance theoretic approach to translation. For the experimental group, translation sessions placed an emphasis on context, communication and relevance. The sessions involved in-session translation tasks and group discussions. While the pre-and post-tasks included the same translation brief and target reader, the translation tasks for the five classes specified different briefs with a different target audience/reader each time. The control group had the same translation sessions with the same translation texts, but the emphasis on relevance was not made. While translation tasks specified target reader and purpose of the text, no emphasis was made on the culture-specific lexis contained within. Participants were recruited on a first-come, first served voluntary basis from students who had either previously taken, or who were taking at the time of the study, a translation class which involved Korean into English translation. All 20 participants participated in the research and completed all assigned work successfully.

The translation tasks used authentic news articles in Korean. These texts were ideal for the current study as news articles are informative and tend to contain CSL rich in connotations which the readers, or members of the given society, are expected to share a context of. According to Olk (2001), texts written for a specific cultural audience presuppose familiarity with the culture, and require culture-specific background knowledge. Such texts often feature references which "either explicitly locate the readership in space or time or imply a certain cultural positioning of the readers" (Olk 2001, p. 13). News articles contain everyday issues and reflections of a given society. A writer of a given text is the product of a particular culture at a particular moment in time, and the writing reflects various factors including race, gender, age, class and birthplace in addition to stylistic and idiosyncratic features (Bassnett 1998, p. 136). The use of such texts can enable the exploration and analysis of cultural information contained within.

3 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The current study focuses on extracted data from the participants' learning journals. This section will present 12 excerpts from the data to discuss the considerations participants showed in relation to connotation contained within CSL. All names used are pseudonyms. In Week 1, Hyo-jin wrote:

> Excerpt 1
> [For culture-specific words, I couldn't find universal substitute which was relevant to all cultures but I looked for the core meaning in these words and expressed these with regular vocabulary in my translation.]

As Hyo-jin mentions, she found it challenging to find a universally applicable equivalent for CSL in the ST; as such, she decides to focus on the central meaning of the words and aimed to communicate these to the target reader.

In her Week 2 learning journal entry, the dictionary solution to CSL in the ST does not satisfy Jae-hee (relevance-theoretic) and her peers:

> Excerpt 2
> For the cultural words, everyone in my group agreed that '차례상' *chalyesang* [ancestral offering table] was especially difficult to translate. We just went by using 'the memorial service/ceremony' which we found out on the dictionary. It was not very satisfying but we had no other options.

Seven of the participants in the relevance-theoretic approach and 5 in the conventional group had subjective observations in relation to word nuances throughout the five weeks. Jae-hee (relevance-theoretic approach group) writes about subjective aspects she observed during the translation:

> Excerpt 3
> The word '낭만' *nangman* [romantic] was very challenging here. I thought the feeling was quite different but didn't know what word I could replace with. So I just went with 'romantic' but this was very unsatisfying. Again, I realized that it's very important to 'understand' the exact feeling of the word so that I can find relevant words.

Seon-hee (conventional group) also writes in her Week 3 journal entry about this word in the same week:

> Excerpt 4
> [Also, the word 'romance' appears quite frequently in the text. I really wonder if the '낭만적이다' *nangmanjeokida* [romantic] that we use can be translated as 'romantic'. It

seems the word 'romantic' is used to describe the atmosphere for lovers or members of the opposite sex. But aside from this word I couldn't find another suitable word for '낭만' *nangman* [romantic].]

Both Seon-hee in the conventional group and Jae-hee in the relevance-theoretic approach group feel a difference in the nuances of the counterparts of the words. However, they struggle to find a suitable word which they are satisfied with. The same word also gives Dong-gi in the relevance-theoretic approach group food for thought:

Excerpt 5
The second translation brief was an online magazine for foreign community in Korea. Needless to say, the focus was to convey cultural differences in expressions that are relevant in the target language. Overall, the second paragraph was much easier to translate in that it was fairly dry without overly-Korean expressions except for '낭만적인' *nangmanjeokin* [romantic]. While trying to translate it into English, I realized that in Korean '낭만적인' *nangmanjeokin* [romantic] and '로맨틱한' *lomaentikeuhan* [romantic] have two very different meanings and connotations. The latter can be easily put as romantic. On the other hand the former is not romantic by any means. Instead, it is more along the line of idealistic, rather unrealistic and happy-go-lucky. I wanted to bring out the sarcastic implication of this Korean word into the translation and wrote it as falsely idealized to stress that what is portrayed in Korean TV programs as rooftop flat alienates viewers from the reality.

Dong-gi thinks of the difference between two seemingly similar words in Korean, '낭만적인' *nangmanjeokin* [romantic] and '로맨틱한' *lomaentikeuhan* [romantic]. Dong-gi attempts to convey the meaning the former word implies according to his feeling, and decides to translate this as "falsely idealized" in order to "stress that what is portrayed in Korean TV programs" "alienates viewers from the reality", which is not at all 'romantic'. In Week 5, Jae-hee also writes about word nuances:

Excerpt 6
For the first paragraph, with which I translated with Brief 1, words such as 뚝심남 *ttuk-simnam*, 뚝심있게 *ttuksimissge*, 선도부장 *seondobujang* and 엄친딸 *eomchinddal* were difficult to translate. For 뚝심남 *ttuksimnam* and 뚝심있게 *ttuksimissge*, I went with endurance and patience while my partner chose to use perseverance and some other word. I hesitated that which I should choose between 'guy' and 'man' for 뚝심남 *ttuksimnam*, but now that I think that guy is more proper because the word 'man' doesn't seem to have a feeling of student. For 선도부장 *seondobujang*, I chose student/school rule keeper and my partner had a similar choice. 엄친딸 *eomchinddal* was difficult to translate because of its own unique connotation in Korea, but I just went with jack-of-all-trades which I searched up on online dictionary because I thought that was enough to somehow convey the meaning. The article is not about

Korea's own unique culture; it's rather universal, I think. Universities all over the world have their own images. Therefore I didn't want to be extremely Korean-culture-oriented here. Which is to say, I didn't feel the need of 선도부장 *seondobujang* or 엄친딸 *eomchinddal* to be written down directly in alphabet with brackets. After translation my partner said that jack-of-all-trades means somebody who can do everything a little bit but not very good at it and that it has some negative connotation. 엄친딸 eomchinddal is somebody who is good at everything, so the meaning goes different. Instead she suggested all-rounder which has a similar meaning with 엄친딸 *eomchinddal* and I thought that was reasonable.

The learning journal excerpt shows Jae-hee's subjective considerations of words and ST intention, which the translation activity draws her attention to. Jae-hee thinks of the word nuance between 'guy' and 'man', and finds the former for fitting to describe a university student. She also feels that the ST article is not about "Korea's own unique culture" but it "rather universal". As Jae-hee believes all universities around the world have their own images, she did not want to be "extremely Korean-culture-oriented" in her translation.

Such considerations of the subjective aspects of word and language are also observed in the conventional group. Hee-geun (conventional group) writes in Week 3:

Excerpt 7
[I liked the fact I added an explanation in my translation to explain about the reality, I was not satisfied with my word choice of 'studio' for '원룸' *wonlum*, ['one-room', a studio flat] which sounds a bit luxurious. I had explained it all, and then because of that one word it felt like it was missing all the nuances.]

Hee-geun is exploring nuances of the ST words; she feels her word choice is unsatisfactory as it seemed to be lacking the nuances of the ST word. In Week 5, she also mentions more about ST words:

Excerpt 8
[This week the text had some really fun slang words. '볼매' *bolmae*, '엄친아' *eomchina*, '차도녀' *chadonyeo* and such words. In Korea shortened words are trendy and we take them for granted. Even if we don't know origins of the words, we can still understand the nuances. But for foreigners who are encountering these words for the first time, if we translate them literally then not only will they not understand the meaning of these words, but the sentences will also be awkward. So instead of going for literal translation, I chose the method of using descriptive words. This is because I have little knowledge of English slang words and I couldn't find a way to appropriately explain the terms briefly. Even if my translation could look awkward, I believe it wasn't too far from the original meaning, and not impossible to understand. As such, I think it's quite a good translation.]

Hee-geun finds the neologisms in the ST "fun" but considers the possible difficulty in understanding them from the perspective of the target reader. She decides to translate the meaning of these "fun slang words" using descriptive English words instead of going for the literal meaning, which she believes will not convey the meaning of the culture-specific newly-coined terms.

Participants also wrote about the sentiment or feeling contained in parts of the ST. Three of the participants in the conventional group and five in the relevance-theoretic approach group wrote about aspects in relation to sentiment or feeling. Jae-hee (relevance-theoretic approach group) writes in Week 1:

> Excerpt 9
> The most struggling part was '쇠고기해장국 느낌의 구수한 맛' *soegogi haejangguk neukkimui gusuhan mat*. I wondered how I can convey the exact feeling to the foreigners. One of my group members suggested 'beef soup with deep flavor' and I thought that was quite nice. About the '정체성' *jeongcheseong*, I chose to translate directly to 'identity' adding up further explanation 'as a hot spicy ramen'. However, our group members thought it was awkward and we came to 'originality' which I think quite relevant to this context.

Jae-hee comments on the "exact feeling" contained in the ST CSL '쇠고기해장국 느낌의 구수한 맛' *soegogi haejangguk neukkimui gusuhan mat* – the CSL contains the description of a Korean dish, a type of soup, and its flavour, '구수한 맛' *gusuhan mat*. This is a word often used to describe certain savoury types of food in Korea, but is difficult to translate as it applies to the unique taste or aroma of certain Korean food types. In Week 3, she writes:

> Excerpt 10
> The most challenging part was the descriptive three sentences of the paragraph one. These have strong feelings of Korean culture and I wanted and tried to include it rather than going word-to-word. The original sentences are noun phrases but I wanted to change the sentence structure because I thought that that would be more relevant for English articles.

As the excerpts show, Jae-hee is highly aware of the nuances and sentiments contained in the STs, and she makes attempts to convey these in her translations. She further comments on her choice of sentence structure for her TT.

The subjective concept also shows participants' interpretations of the ST content. In Week 1, Eun-joo (relevance-theoretic approach group) writes:

> Excerpt 11
> [During the class one student pointed out the irony in the article. They changed the taste of the new Shin ramyeon to a savoury haejangguk taste, but on the packaging they are emphasizing the spiciness. This made me think about what Nongshim means when it says

they want to "emphasize the identity of Shin ramyeon by magnifying the 'shin' character". Although the character for 'shin' can mean spicy it is also the name of the ramyeon brand. If I think about it from that perspective, with all the different brands of ramyeon spilling out onto the market, it can also be interpreted that the company wants to be eye-catching on the supermarket shelves by magnifying the character.]

The translation task and discussion with her peers has led Eun-joo to think deeply about the ST text intention and meaning. She expresses her subjective interpretation of possible ST meaning and intention, which is different to how her peers interpreted it.

Meanwhile, in the conventional group Bo-young reflects on ST words in her Week 4 entry:

Excerpt 12

[The word for '독신남성' *doksinnamseong* in the dictionary is just 'single man' which surprised me as it really is a simple word. It also made me think that Korean is a really difficult language. I also looked up '희화화' *huihwahwa* in the dictionary and it said 'make a caricature', which is a bit different from the meaning I had of 'caricature'. Also, the word '야릇한' *yaleuthan* gives me the feeling of something slightly erotic, but the dictionary came up with words like 'strange', 'weird', 'odd' which made me think I had the wrong knowledge of words.]

It is interesting to see Bo-young reflect on her knowledge of ST words. Although she is an L1 user of the Korean language, the translation task seems to make her question and doubt her existing knowledge of ST words.

As the data show, the translation of texts containing CSL encourages subjective considerations of language such as those in relation to connotations. Due to the culture-specificity of CSL, the participants are met with challenges during the translation process. However, they seek to overcome such challenges by using various strategies to communicate the ST CSL to the target reader.

4 CONCLUSION

Results show that the translation of CSL can direct students' attention to perceptions, emotions, attitude, and values conveyed by a word, in addition to its referential meaning, thus strengthening their roles as mediators between cultures. Further, the translation of texts containing ST CSL encouraged the participants to think more deeply about the connotations contained within, as well as the actual intended meaning of the ST. Consequently, they were able to develop their awareness and sensitivity to ST and TT text context and cultures, and strive to communicate between the two as effectively as possible.

The current study serves as a piece of evidence for the pedagogical usefulness and potential of using CSL in translation tasks for heightening learners' sensitivity to differences in the

cultures of the languages they are working with, and this enhancing and developing their communication skills.

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ABSTRACT

This study compares Wh Movement in English and Czech, concentrating on (in)direct wh-questions. It demonstrates that Wh Movement exists in both languages, and within the local domain, its properties are fully comparable. The main distinctions concern two aspects. First, as for extraction domains, Czech tolerates a violation of the Left Branch Constraint while English tolerates preposition stranding. Second, contrary to English, Czech avoids long distance movement and allows multiple wh-elements fronted. The lack of Superiority Effect, That-trace Effect and Doubly Filled Complementizer Constraint suggest that apart from (+wh) there is also a syntactically active Focus feature involved in Czech.

Ludmila Veselovská
Comparing Wh Movement in English and Czech

1 INTRODUCTION

Comparing Wh Movement in English and Czech, this study demonstrates simple non-echo wh-questions in section 2.1 and embedded (indirect) wh-questions in section 2.3. In section 3, extraction of the wh-element from infinitival structures is analysed, and examples of long-distance Wh Movement are provided for both languages. The position of the [+wh] complementizers is discussed in section 2.3, and then in section 3 with respect to multiple wh-element fronting. In section 4, I will compare long distance Wh Movement, which is fully grammatical in English but only marginal in Czech. Some characteristics of the so-called LF filters are provided in section 4.3 as they apply to English (but not Czech), and in the same section a descriptive generalization of bridge structures is suggested based mainly on Czech data.

This study presents both English and Czech as languages with a syntactic movement of the interrogative wh-element into a SPEC(CP) position (i.e., including movement from the embedded infinitival structures analysed as IPs or VPs). The diagnostics used for the movement analysis are going to be mentioned in passing.

2 WH MOVEMENT IN SIMPLE WH-QUESTIONS

Wh Movement in direct and indirect questions has long been analysed as a kind of fronting of a wh-element generated inside the verbal domain into the pre-sentence position.[1] In his seminal study, "On Wh Movement," Chomsky (1977) summarised all paradigms for English,

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1   For early accounts of question formation and Wh Movement, see, for instance Ross (1967/86) or Bach (1974). Accounts of this kind of wh-fronting also appear in many textbooks on syntax and grammar, e.g., Riemsdijk and Williams (1986), Radford (1981, 1988, 2004), Tallerman (2005), Carnie (2013).

and his analysis still remains the starting point of reference for present day studies of the topic. Apart from (in)direct wh-questions, Chomsky provided similar analysis for relative clause extractions, topicalisations, etc.[2] I am not going to deal with any of the other structures, even if in the generative framework they are still all analysed as examples of the same phenomena, the main reasons being a lack of structural equivalents of some of the English structures in Czech and a lack of space for a more detailed analysis of all the distinctions.

2.1 DIRECT WH-QUESTIONS

In simple direct questions, Wh Movement applies cross language within one clause as a mono-cyclic transformation.[3] Wh Movement is, however, a movement that can (at least in English and many other languages) operate across more than one clausal boundary, being a form of an unbounded dependency construction. As an example of a more general *Move Alpha* transformation, Wh Movement is subject to general rules of movement and language specific parametric variation.[4] Its inter-clausal application is restricted with the COMP-to-COMP Condition (Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986, p. 64ff) to a movement from the COMP position to a higher COMP position only. The obligatoriness of Wh Movement is a result of interacting principles of subcategorization and interpretation. Riemsdijk and Williams (1986) give examples (repeated below) of the obligatory Wh Movement in English (1a), and of the optional Wh Movement in French (1b). (1c,d) presents the Czech equivalents showing the obligatory syntactic movement of the wh-element in a direct non-echo wh-question. The left column provides the so-called 'echo questions' with the wh-element (underlined) in situ, while the right column shows the same wh-element fronted.

(1) Echo questions and wh-questions

    a) *John ate what?*   a') <u>*What*</u> *did John eat?*

    b) *Tu as vu <u>qui?</u>*   b') <u>*Qui*</u> *as-tu vu?*
       you have seen who?   who have you seen?

    c) *Jeníček snědl <u>co?</u>*   c') <u>*Co*</u> *snědl Jeníček?*
       Johnny$_{NOM}$ ate what$_{ACC}$ what$_{ACC}$t ate Johnny$_{NOM}$

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2   Apart for Chomsky (1977), English candidates for the Wh Movement are described also in detail in Stroik (1992) and Zwicky (1986).

3   For cross language data related to Wh Movement, see already many studies from the last three decades of the twentieth century, e.g., Riemsdijk (1978), Taraldsen (1978), Cheng (1991) and Suner (1994). Slavic is analysed in, e.g., Wachowicz (1974), Toman (1982) and Veselovská (1993), and more lately in Donati (2006), Bošković (1998, 2002, 2007, 2011) or Kondrashova and Šimík (2013).

4   General typology of movement, including the Wh Movement, is discussed in Lasnik and Saito (1992).

d) *Ty   jsi   viděl   <u>koho?</u>*   d') <u>*Koho*</u>   *jsi   viděl?*
you_{NOM} aux_{2S} saw_{PAST} who_{DAT}   who_{DAT} aux_{2S} saw_{PAST}

The arguments in favour of movement include (i) s-selection and c-selection of the verb (which requires a complement with specific interpretation) and (ii) the morphology of the wh-element (which can be justified referring to the original position). The examples in (1) demonstrate that all these diagnostics are equally relevant for both English and Czech.

In English, also the '*wanna contraction*' is often cited as an argument in favour of the movement analysis, as long as it explains the ungrammaticality of *wanna* in (2b).[5]

(2) a) <u>Wh*o*</u> *do you <u>want to</u> / <u>wanna</u> defeat?*   – *I want to defeat X (= who)*

     b) <u>Wh*o*</u> *do you <u>want to</u> / <u>*wanna</u> defeat John?* – *I want X (= who) to defeat*

In (3), I am illustrating the analysis assuming a movement – the wh-element is co-indexed with its assumed original position marked as *t* (trace, gap), and it is precisely the gap, the presence of which prevents the *wanna* contraction in (3b). If the declarative and interrogative structures were taken for unrelated independent constructions, i.e., with no gap assumed, there would be no prima facie explanation of the phenomena.

(3) a) <u>Wh*o*_{*i*}</u> *do you <u>want to</u> defeat [t_i]?*   – *I want to defeat X (= who)*

     b) <u>Wh*o*_{*i*}</u> *do you <u>want</u> [t_i] <u>to</u> defeat John?*   – *I want X (= who) to defeat*

The position of the moved wh-elements in direct non-echo questions was, in the early G&B framework, stated as 'pre-C position' for the specifier-initial languages, such as English or Czech. In, e.g., Emonds (1976, p. 188) Wh Movement in English is presented as a "substitution of a phrase node dominating WH for the sentence-initial COMP node" (see also Radford, 1988, p. 501). In the following sections, I am going to presume the 'C-specifier analysis' of Wh Movement as presented, e.g., in Chomsky's *Barriers* (1986). This analysis assumes a universal and uniform phrasal projection accepted after Stowell (1981), who argued that the head C (complementizer) projects its SPEC, and this SPEC hosts the wh-element.

2.2 SIZE AND CATEGORY OF THE MOVED CONSTITUENT

The following examples present the variety of constituents (bracketed in the gloss) that can undergo Wh Movement in English and in Czech direct non-echo wh-questions: in (4), a subject NP and its internal constituents, i.e., AP and PP. The traces are marked, but without detailed analysis of the original extraction site, simply to aid understanding. I mark CZ for the Czech

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5   I am not aware of any equivalent argument in Czech.

example and ENG for its English formal equivalent (it is in italics and, if possible, it at the same time serves as a translation of the Czech structure.)

(4) a) CZ: *Kdo t Ti to dal?*
    [who]$_w$ t_w you$_{DAT}$ it$_{ACC}$ gave$_{3S}$
  ENG: *'Who$_w$ t_w gave it to you?'*

 b) CZ: *Které děvče T se ti   líbí nejvíce?*
    [which girl]$_w$ t_w REFL you$_{DAT}$ likes best
  ENG: *'Which girl t do you like best?'*

 c) CZ: **S čím muž t přinesl Pavlovi tu knihu?*
    *[with what]$_w$ man$_{NOM}$ t_w brought Paul the book
  ENG: * *'With what man t did bring the book to Paul?'*

 d) CZ: **Muž s čím$_w$ t$_w$ přinesl Pavlovi tu knihu?*
    *[man with what]$_w$ t_w brought to-Paul the book
  ENG: **'Man with what t did bring the book to Paul?'*

In (4), we see that to extract a wh-subject NP is possible; to question an adjective phrase within the extracted subject, a noun phrase is possible as well. (4c, d) show that to question a noun phrase within the prepositional phrase postmodifying the subject noun phrase is ungrammatical. The grammaticality judgements are identical for both English and Czech.

The examples in (5a, b) show the same as (4) for an object noun phrase and its internal constituents. Notice that in Czech it is possible to extract an adjective phrase from the object noun phrase, as shown in (5c). I will return to the phenomena in the following paragraphs.

(5) a) CZ: *Koho má Mášenka nejraději t?*
    [who]$_w$ has Mášenka most-like t_w
  ENG: *'Who does Mary like most t?'*

 b) CZ: *Jaký dům / jak velký dům si chce koupit t?*
    [which house]$_w$ / [how big house]$_w$ REFL wants$_{3S}$ buy t_w
  ENG: *'Which house / how big a house does he want to buy t?'*

 c) CZ: *? Jaký si chce koupit t dům?*
    ? [which]$_w$ wants$_{3S}$ buy t_w house
  ENG: **'Which does he want to buy a t house?'*

d) CZ: *S čím   si chce   koupit   dům   t?*

            *[with what]$_w$ wants$_{3S}$ buy   house t_w

   ENG: *"With what does he want to buy a house t?"*

Next in (6), we can see that there is no significant asymmetry between the extractions from NP in the positions of subject (as in (4)) and adjunct; both are equally wrong.

(6) a) CZ: *Kam / Na co   jsi   to   položil   t?*

            [where]$_w$ / [on what]$_w$ did$_{3S}$ it   put t_w

   ENG: *'Where / On what did you put it?'*

    b) CZ: *? Na jaký   jsi   to položil   [$_{PP}$ t stůl?*

            ? [on which]$_w$ did$_{2S}$ it put   [$_{PP}$ t table?

   ENG: * *'On which$_w$ did you put it on t_w table?'*

    c) CZ: *Jaký   jsi   to položil   na t stůl?*

            *[which]$_w$ aux$_{2S}$ it put   [$_{PP}$ on t_w table]

   ENG: *"Which did you put it on t table?"*

Setting aside the explanation of the distinctions between acceptability in (5c, d), it is possible to say that extraction from within the noun phrase is not possible in Czech in a way comparable with English: The previous examples present extraction from the NP, which is an external argument (4), an internal argument (5) and an adjunct (6).

However, these examples also show that, in Czech, contrary to English, the nominal complex is not an island for the extraction from its left branch. Concerning the lack of left branch islands in Slavic languages, see already Ross (1967/86, p. 145), Corver (1990, section 2.7) or Roberts (1997, p. 189). Both Corver (1990) and Bošković (1998) relate the violation of the left branch constraint to the absence of the DP projection in some Slavic languages. I argue in favour of a distinct (remnant movement) analysis in Veselovská (2014, 2018, section 3.4.1). Regardless the analysis, the data show that the extraction domain in Czech includes the left branch of the complex nominal projection.

On the other hand, consider then the following (7), demonstrating the English stranding of prepositions. In Czech, even if some English examples can be paraphrased by a single verb, pied piping of the preposition is obligatory for Wh Movement and excluded for NP Movement in Czech. Example (7b) shows preposition stranding in Wh Movement, and (7c) in NP (passive) movement, where the stranding becomes 'doubly' unacceptable, because while in (7b) it would be theoretically possible to relate the adequately case-marked wh-pronoun to the stranded preposition, in (7c) the nominative case demanded for the subject of a passive verb clashes with the case required by the preposition – contrary to English, no form is grammatical in Czech.

(7) a) CZ: *O čem*   *mu bude*   *povídat*   *t?*

              [about what]ᵥᵥ   him will   tell t_w

      ENG: *'About what will he tell him t ?'*

    b) CZ: **Čem*   *mu bude*   *povídat*   *o*   *t?*

              *[what]ᵥᵥ   him will   tell   about t_w

      ENG: *'What will he tell him about t?'*

    c) CZ: **Něco / *Na něco*   *bylo dohodnuto*   *na*   *t.*

              *[something] / [on something]   was agreed   on t_{ACC}

      ENG: *'Something has been agreed on t.'*

The 'reanalysis' of a verbal complex (of a 'Natural Predicate'), as presented for NP Movement in English in, e.g., Radford (1988, p. 431–433 or p. 496-498) into one 'semantic unit' is not possible with a Czech [verb+ preposition].

In Kayne (1981), the impossibility of stranding the preposition is presented as a result of a different Case assignment by a verb and a preposition: "P can assign oblique Case only to an NP for which it is subcategorized whereas V can assign objective Case somewhat more freely, in p articular to any NP that it governs" and "reanalysis between two lexical categories is possible only if the two govern in the same way." (Kayne, 1981, p. 363–364). This would mean that in Czech, as in French and contrary to English, prepositions cannot govern structurally. Kayne's hypothesis relates this phenomenon to the absence of 'exceptional Case-marking' in French.[6]

The impossibility of stranding a preposition in Czech together with the previously mentioned NP constraint violation show that, in Czech direct non-echo wh-questions, it is possible to extract only the complete constituents (maximal projections) immediately dominated by IP or some V projection. Extraction of a wh-element of any lower maximal constituent in a simple direct wh-question is never fully grammatical. An interim summary is given below.

(8) **Wh-constituent in English and Czech**

In Wh Movement, the extracted (moved, copied[7]) constituent is a phrase of D/A/P category containing a feature +WH

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6   However, in section 4, some examples of IP infinitival clauses are presented, which are analysed as 'exceptional Case-marking' structures. There are also prepositions in Czech (marginally) introducing infinitival (IP) clauses, and therefore Kayne's suggestion for French cannot be applied to Czech without more detailed analysis. For more discussion, see also Roberts (1997, p. 212f) and Radford (2004, p. 278ff).

7   The technical description of the transformational change is subject to framework development. I am using the traditional label 'movement from X to Y' here without any special claim about the nature of the relation between the positions X and Y.

a) Czech (but not English) allows violation of the Left Branch Constraint,

b) English (but not Czech) allows extraction of the DP out of the complement P.

2.3 INDIRECT WH-QUESTIONS

While direct questions are structures in which the interrogative clause is an independent sentence (e.g., all the examples in the previous section), indirect questions are complex sentential structures with the interrogative part embedded as a clausal argument of a matrix clause verb. In other words, an indirect question is a kind of indirect speech in which the reproduced proposition has the form of a question.

At least since Baker (1970), indirect wh-questions have been accepted as presenting the same kind of Wh Movement as the direct non-echo wh-questions. However, a number of distinctions between direct and indirect speech are attested to. Some are discussed in, e.g., Banfield (1973) and demonstrated in (9) (Banfield's simplified 1.): e.g., the underlined personal pronoun (*you/me*) and spatial and temporal demonstrative elements (*here/there, tomorrow/today*) are changed according to the new context. The same changes are found in the Czech translation as well.

(9) a) CZ: *Řekla   mi: "Zítra tě   tady   potkám."*
            told-she   me: tomorrow you   here   meet$_{FUT.1S}$
    ENG: *"She told me, 'I will meet you here tomorrow.'"*

b) CZ: *Řekla   mi: že dnes   mě tam   potká.*
        told-she   me   that today   me there   meet$_{FUT.3S}$
    ENG: *'She told me that she would meet me there today.'*

In English also the tense is related to the new context *(will/would)*, following the English tense shift rule for indirect speech, while in Czech the tenses in direct and indirect speech are identical (in (9) it is the future).

As for the Subject – Aux inversion (T-to-C movement) in direct wh-questions, this is obligatory in English. As attested to in all the examples in the preceding section, in Czech there is no obligatory inversion even if at least some auxiliaries or finite verbs appear preferably in pre-subject position (in case of a standard clause with no element stressed). A possible example is given in (10a). As for the indirect questions, where the inversion is banned in English, the Czech example (10b) shows that the level of acceptability of the standard affirmative word-order in the indirect question is even higher.[8]

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8   The differences between grammatical vs. ungrammatical word-order can in most cases be better viewed as differences between marked vs. unmarked varieties. In the following text, I am going to use the marking '?' or '??' for the marked word-order, where 'marked' means 'pragmatically marked', i.e.,

(10) a) CZ: *Komu*   *bude*   *Kryštůfek*   *(?? bude)*   *pomáhat?*
              [who]$_w$ will   Kryštůfek   (?? will)   help t_w
      ENG: *'Who(m) will Chris help?*

    b) CZ: *Ptal se,*   *komu*   *bude Kryštůfek*   *(? bude)*   *pomáhat?*
              asked REFL   [who]$_w$ will Kryštůfek   (? will)   help t_w
      ENG: *'He asked who(m) Chris would help?'*

Whether the inversion in the Czech examples is a syntactic movement of the auxiliary or finite verb into the C position (as in English questions) or some later 'stylistic inversion' adjoining the subject to the VP, which is mentioned in, e.g., Bouchard (1984), is not going to be decided here.[9]

3 THE LANDING SITE OF THE WH MOVEMENT

The preceding chapters provided many examples of English and Czech wh-questions, both direct and indirect. All of them (with the exception of echo questions) contain an overt [+wh] element in a 'pre-sentential position'. As suggested already in the introductory part of this study, the presence of a wh-word or wh-complementizer at the beginning of a sentence is supposed to indicate the presence of the CP projection, which is the position of either the wh-element itself or of some operator binding it.

Within Stowell's (1981) concept of the CP projection in the universal and uniform format, however, two positions are available: a specifier CP = SPEC(CP) and the head COMP/ C. In the previous section, the extracted wh-words (i.e., constituents) were assumed to be moved into the phrasal position, i.e., SPEC(CP). On the other side, complementizers, e.g., the English [-wh] *that,* are standardly expected to appear in the head position, i.e., C. However, in English, the distinct positions are argued for the two [+wh] complementizers *if* and *whether* because of their distinct behaviour in several structures. In Bresnan (1970), the following examples (11) are used to show that *if* is ungrammatical when the indirect question appears at the beginning of a complex sentence in the subject, i.e., NP, position.[10]

(11) (Bresnan, 1970, p. 310f) a) *Whether he'll come is not known.*
                         b) **If he'll come is not known.*

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possible and fully acceptable but in some context only, to make it distinct from the starred examples, which are ungrammatical, i.e., not acceptable in any context.

9 Bouchard (1984, p. 155) cites Kayne and Pollock (1978), who claim that in French a wh-phrase in COMP triggers the subject adjunction to the right of the VP.

10 Similar data are discussed in a minimalist framework in Parra-Guinaldo (2013).

Another structure where *if*, contrary to *whether*, is not acceptable is introducing the infinitival clause, as shown, e.g., in Borer (1985, p. 76) in the examples (12).

(12) (Borer, 1985, p. 76)   a) *John doesn't know whether to leave.*
                              b) **John doesn't know if to leave.*

In a footnote, Borer (1985, p. 106) cites B. Palek, who claims that a similar distinction appears also in Czech. In the following, I will demonstrate that, contrary to English, in Czech, with the exception of semantic distinctions, there is no difference between the syntactic behaviour of the wh-complementizers, and at the same time, their position is plausibly distinct from that of the other wh-constituents.

3.1 CZECH WH-COMPLEMENTIZERS

The English *whether* and *if* introducing indirect yes/no questions are translated as *zda, -li, zdali* or *jestli* in Czech. (see, e.g., Petr (1986, p. 220ff). Their use is presented in (13), which shows that when introducing a finite subordinate clause, all of the wh-elements, as in English, are grammatical. With an infinitival verb, however, none of the complementizers seem to be ideal, while the wh-words (10c) are fully acceptable. (The complementizers are represented in the translation only as '?COMP' or '?'.)

(13) 'John doesn't know, whether/ where he will go' / 'to go'

   a) *Jan neví*   *JESTLI/ ZDA/ ZDALI*   *přijde.*   */?? přijít.*
      John not-know$_{3S}$? COMP   come$_{FUT.3S}$ /?? to go.

   b) *Jan neví,*   *přijde-LI.*   */*přijít-li.*
      John not-know$_{3S}$ come$_{FUT.3S}$-?COMP   /*to come

   c) *Jan neví,*   *KAM/KDY*   *přijde.*   */přijít.*
      John not-know$_{3S}$ WHERE/WHEN   come$_{FUT.3S}$ /to come.

Among other differences between *whether* and *if* in English, as mentioned in Emonds (1985, p. 286–291), the impossibility of *if* occurring in case-marked NP positions following prepositions is discussed. The following (14a) shows that all Czech complementizers are ungrammatical when preceded by a preposition. The correct form appears in (14b) with a case-marked resumptive pronoun *to* 'it'.[11]

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11 Any complementizer would be ungrammatical following a preposition, however, in Czech. A resumptive pronoun would be necessary after the preposition with all of them, suggesting that the case assigned by a transitive preposition must be realized in an adjoined nominal element (i.e., Case is to be realized morphologically).

(14) a) *Pátrání   po   ZDA/ZDALI/JESTLI   přišel-LI,   bylo marné.
        *investigating   of   ?/?/? COMP   came$_{PAST.3S/}$?   was in vain
        'Investigating of whether / *if he came, was in vain.'

   b) Pátrání   po tom,   zda/ zdali/ jestli   přišel,   bylo marné.
      Investigating   of it $_{(LOC)}$?/?/? COMP   came$_{PAST.3S}$ was in vain.

Example (15) demonstrates that all Czech wh-complementizers also lack the inherent 'positive meaning', which seems to be contained in *whether* but not in *if*.

(15) *Chtěl vědět   ZDA/ZDALI/JESTLI   nebo ne   prší.
     He wondered   whether/*if   or not   it rains.

The previous examples show that, contrary to English, no difference in the behaviour of the variety of Czech complementizers can be observed, leaving aside the fact that only *zda* 'if' is used introducing causative and only *jestli* 'if' introducing conditional clauses. At the same time, the position of all the Czech wh-complementizers was demonstrated as distinct from the other wh-words. Therefore, I conclude that it is the position of C (i.e., the position of the English *if*) that hosts all Czech wh-complementizers.

The analysis of the *-li* postfix complementizer supports this claim. Assuming the movement of the finite, inflected verb, i.e., of the verb containing the Tense and other agreement features, into the INFL/I/T position[12] (as presented for, e.g., French in Emonds (1976, p. 165) or Pollock (1989, p. 366)), there is no reason to expect the infinitival verb (containing no Tense or agreement features) to undergo the same process. The distance between the position of the infinitive inside the VP and CP may be enough to prevent a suffix appearing anywhere inside the CP to appear on infinitival forms (as presented in (13b) and (16b)).

Then there are still two possibilities of how to relate the finite verb and the affix complementizer: either to suggest both of them in T, or both of them in C. The former variant would predict that in such structures the subject will precede the verb. Consider then the following example (16), demonstrating the obligatory postverbal position of the overt subject in clauses with the *-li* postfix complementizer.

(16) a) *Ptal se,   Mášenka   přišla-LI
        *asked-he,   Mášenka   came$_{PAST.3S}$-?
        Lit: 'He asked, whether Mášenka had come.'

   b) Ptal se,   přišla-LI   Mášenka.
      asked-he,   came$_{PAST.3S}$-?   Mášenka
      'He asked whether Mášenka came.'

---

12 I am going to use the label T here, for the functional projection related to modality.

The latter variant assumes the movement of the T head containing the finite verb into the C position, excluding again the infinitival forms simply by the fact that an infinitival verb cannot become a member of the V+T cluster. The movement of T into C, however, would be blocked by the presence of a complementizer, if *-li* were present in C, because the [+wh] features are, contrary to *that* and similar 'neutral' complementizers, supposed to be present in the D-structure (see, e.g., Bresnan (1970, p. 315f). The solution would be to assume that the [+wh] features are present in SPEC(C) but become overtly realized by the *-li* suffix on the head C later on (as may be suggested by its position at the end of the word). The postverbal position of the subject, as presented in (16), would then be predicted. A similar analysis is suggested in Toman (1981).[13]

This analysis, then, may be enlarged to cover the other Czech [+wh] complementizers as well. I will assume their position in C (even if they contain the [+wh] features appearing in SPEC(CP)), and the position of the other wh-constituents in SPEC(CP).

3.2 FILTERS RELATED TO THE CP PROJECTION

In their influential pre-minimalist study, Lasnik and Saito (L&S, 1984) propose a number of *LF filters*, which define the characteristics of interrogative complements. Two of these filters related to the Wh Movement are cited here as (17).[14]

(17) a) L&S   i)   A [+wh] Comp must have a [+wh] head.
     p. 183–184   ii) A [-wh] Comp must not have [+wh] head…

     b) L&S, p. 187   'if a language L has syntactic Wh Movement it must apply at
        S-structure in L.'

As part of their argumentation, L&S demonstrate an example of an interrogative relative clause in Polish, which contains an interrogative wh-element following a relative wh-element. For the authors, the relative pronoun occupies the SPEC(CP) position, and the interrogative wh-element is 'adjoined to IP.' That is why they take the filters (17) as LF filters and not s-structure filters for Polish. Let us consider the comparison of English, Polish and Czech.

(18) Polish: (L&S, 1984, p. 75)
     Spotkałeś   mężczyznę,   który   kogo t_2 zabił
     you met   the man   who   whom killed t_1
     Lit.: 'Whom$_1$ did you meet the man who killed t_1?'

---

13 Toman (1992) presents *-li* and the finite verb as "a zero-bar phrase resulting (in somewhat simplified terms) from Agr^0 or $NegPhrase^0$ Incorporation. In this structure, *-li* is the complementizer, hence it appears C^0." (Toman, 1992, p. 117).

14 Othe filters are discussed in section 4.4.

Comparing the Czech and English examples in (19) with the Polish embedded relative clause/question (18), we can see that while Polish bans a [+wh] interrogative COMP specified at S-structure, i.e., a relative clause can be understood as an indirect question as well, both the English and Czech equivalents in (19a) are ungrammatical. (19b) is acceptable as an echo question only, and (19c) shows the impossibility of a movement of the wh-word to the higher SPEC(CP) position, presenting a Complex NP Constraint violation (i.e., wh-extraction from the finite relative clause modifying a noun), which applies to both Czech and English.

(19) a) CZ: *Potkal jsi muže, který koho zabil?*
           *you met aux man   who$_{NOM}$ whom$_{ACC}$ killed
     ENG: *"You met a man who whom killed?"*

   b) CZ: ?Potkal jsi muže, který zabil koho?*
           ?you met   the man who$_{NOM}$ killed whom$_{DAT}$
     ENG: ?"You met a man who killed whom?"*

   c) CZ: *Koho$_i$ jsi potkal muže, který zabil t_i?*
           *who$_i$ did you meet the man who killed t_i
     ENG: *"Who(m) did you meet a man who killed t?"*

The difference between the Czech verbs taking embedded questions and embedded propositions is demonstrated in (20) and (21) (notice the distinct complementizers).[15]

(20) a) *Kdo ví,* *jestli/* **že* *si* *to* *Kuba* *koupil?*
        Who knows whether/ *that REFL it   Kuba   bought?

   b) *Kdo ví,* *co/* **že* *si* *Kuba* *koupil?*
        Who knows what/ *that REFL Kuba   bought?

   c) *Kdo ví,* *jestli/* **že* *si* *co* *Kuba* *koupil?*
        Who knows whether/ *that REFL what Kuba   bought?

Example (20) shows that in Czech, unlike Polish, if the verb subcategorizes for an interrogative clausal complement, i.e., for an embedded question, its C must contain a fronted [+wh] element in S-structure: either a [+wh] complementizer (20a) or wh-constituent (20b). The L&S LF filter (p. 183, here in (17)) seems relevant for the s-structure in Czech.

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15 I am not providing English equivalents here because of the characteristics of English complementizers and a presumably language-specific subcategorization.

The following (21) demonstrates that if a verb subcategorizes for a [-wh] complement only (see 18a), i.e., for an embedded proposition, its complement must not contain a [+wh] element in the s-structure (22b), suggesting that L&S's LF filter (p. 184, here (17)) applies in the s-structure in Czech as well. (21a) is acceptable as an echo-question only.

(21) a) *Maruška   sí   myslí,   že   si Tomášek   koupil   co?
          *Maruška   REFL   thinks   that   Tomášek   bought   what?

      b) Maruška   sí   myslí,   že   /*jestli / *co si Tomášek   koupil.
          Maruška   REFL   thinks   that   / *whether/ *what Tomášek   bought.

There are two ways that the [-wh] embedded proposition in Czech can be questioned, both of them enlarging the scope of the [+wh] to the matrix clause. The following (22) shows the standard correct form where the wh-word is syntactically related to (is subcategorized and case-marked by) the matrix verb. The embedded clause is not an indirect question but a kind of relative clause with a resumptive pronoun (in (22) *to* 'it', which is a clitic) related to (is subcategorized and case- marked by) the matrix verb in the embedded clause.[16]

(22) *O čem si   [Maruška myslí t   [že si to   [Tomášek   koupil t]]]*
      About what$_i$ [Maruška thinks t_i [that it$_i$ [Tomašek   bought t_i.]]]
      'What does Maruška think that Tomašek bought?'

(23) presents a colloquial variant containing the long-distance movement of the wh-word to the matrix clause SPEC(CP).

(23) *%Co si   [Maruška myslí   [že si   [Tomášek   koupil t$_i$]]]*
      What$_i$ [Maruška thinks   [that   [Tomašek   bought t$_i$.]]]
      'What does Maruška think that Tomašek bought?'

The characteristics of the matrix-clause complementizer position in Polish are given by L&S: "We assumed that Polish is distinct from English in that the matrix Comp is not specified for a value of [wh]." (1984, p. 284). (23) shows, however, that a matrix clause in colloquial Czech may be specified for a value of [+wh] in the same way as it is in English. Moreover, a long-distance Wh Movement is not strictly prohibited in Czech. I will return to this topic in section 4.

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16 For detailed data about the clitic distribution in Czech, see Veselovská and Vos (1999), and for clitic climbing in Slavic, see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) or Veselovská (2009).

3.3 MULTIPLE WH MOVEMENT IN SLAVIC

In the following paragraphs, I am going to demonstrate the phenomena that are related to the topic discussed in the preceding section and which are often cited in linguistic literature as specifics of Slavic languages.

First notice that in English, the Wh Movement can remove only *one* unique wh-element, even when the structure contains more than one constituent. (24) shows the so-called *Superiority effect*, which requires the structurally highest wh-element to be fronted and the hierarchically lower wh-element(s) to remain in situ. In English, the violation of superiority leads to ungrammaticality.

(24) a) *Who bought what where?*   a') **What did who buy where?*

     b) *What did Emily buy where?*   b') **Where did Emily buy what?*

     c) *What did Mary buy why?*   c'   **Why did Mary buy what?*

The following examples show that, in Czech, there are no superiority effects attested to. Notice that the bolded subject wh-pronoun *kdo* 'who$_{NOM}$' (representing the top argument) can be in any position among the other wh-words. In English, only one order is correct – with the subject wh-pronoun initial.

(25) a) <u>*Kdo*</u>   *komu*   *kdy*   *co*   *koupil?*
        who   whom   when   what   bought$_{3SM}$
        'Who bought what to whom when?

     b) *Co*   <u>*kdo*</u>   *komu*   *kdy*   *koupil?*
        what   who   whom   when   bought$_{3SM}$

     c) *Komu*   *kdy*   <u>*kdo*</u>   *co*   *koupil?*
        whom   when   who   what   bought$_{3SM}$

     d) *Kdy*   *komu*   *co*   <u>*kdo*</u>   *koupil?*
        when   whom   what   who   bought$_{3SM}$

The cross-language availability of a multiple Wh Movement was introduced by Kuno and Robinson (1972). For Polish, it was described in detail by Wachowicz (1974), while for Czech by Toman (1982) and Veselovská (1993). The analyses range from multiple SPEC, coordinated wh-elements, to free adjunction, depending on the framework.

Early minimalistic analyses of a variety of Slavic languages appear in Lasnik and Saito (1984), in more detail in Billings and Rudin (1996), Rudin (1988) and in Bošković (1998, 2002). All the authors assume that only the *first* wh-element is fronted to the SPEC(C) – because of

the [+wh] feature, presumably – similarly to English. They claim that the other wh-elements are not fronted to the same position because of the [±wh] feature, but they are in fact focused and appear either adjoined to the IP/TP projection or in the domain of a specific functional head Focus. The proposed Focus projection is below the CP projection, and it allows multiple adjunction to be able to host all the wh-elements. The lack of superiority effects is still left unexplained, plausibly because the Focus projection is not sensitive to a hierarchy.[17]

4 LONG-DISTANCE WH MOVEMENT

I demonstrated some examples of the so-called long-distance Wh Movement in examples (20)–(23). In this section, I will first illustrate the phenomena on embedded infinitival structures.

4.1 EXTRACTION FROM INFINITIVAL STRUCTURES

The following examples show that extraction of the wh-element from the infinitival structures is fully standard in both Czech and English. The following (26) shows infinitival complements of modal and *want* verbs. In the Czech example, notice the obligatory climbing of the clitics *mu* 'him' and *to* 'it' originating in the embedded clause, and the obligatory subject control of the infinitival subject. Clitics are written in capital letters (for their distribution, see footnote 16).

(26) CZ: *Komu   TO   Karel   musel/chtěl   (*komu)   odevzat t   t ?*
to-who$_{w1}$ it$_{cl2}$ Karel   must-ed/wanted   (*to-who)   to-give t_w t_{cl2}
ENG: *'Who did Charlie have/wanted to give it?'*

The following (27) presents Exceptional Case Marking structures selected by the verbs of perception and the *believe* type of matrix predicates. In the Czech (27a), the obligatory clitic climbing (of *TO* 'it') and obligatory object control of the infinitival subject are indicated again.

(27) CZ: *Co   HO   Karel   viděl/nutil   (*co) dělat t?*
what$_w$ him   Karel   saw/made   (*what) to-do t_w?
ENG: *'What did Charlie saw/made him do?'*

In neither (26b) nor (27b) is the wh-element acceptable as an element introducing the English or Czech infinitival structure. This indicates that the embedded infinitive in (26) and (27) do not present CP clauses. Using the concept of the missing CP projection, the previously indicated properties fall out naturally: when the landing site for the extracted wh-word is in SPEC(CP) position, then the only one available is the matrix-clause SPEC(CP). Since no subjacency

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17 For a detailed discussion of the superiority condition in Slavic, see Bošković (1998) or Billings and Rudin (1996). The argumentation works with Southern Slavic data mainly. Czech data, if the authors provide any, are not so convincing. The structure related to sentence dynamism is discussed also in Poletto and Pollock (2004) or Cardinaletti (2009).

effects are noted (and a clitic movement is obligatory), these English and Czech structures are plausibly VP structures in (26), and IP structures in (27).[18]

Compare the standard Czech obligatory Wh Movement from the structures in (26) and (27) with the infinitival complements in (28). Following the previous criteria, (28) is assumed to be a CP structure. In contrast to (26) and (27), notice that in (28) (i) the clitics cannot appear inside the matrix clause, (ii) the subject of the infinitive has an arbitrary reference, and (iii) the insertion of the wh-element in front of the infinitival clause is possible (and necessary).

(28) CZ: *Komu   Míša   věděla/vyzvídala   (TO)   odevzat (TO)?
            *to-who   Míša   knew/wondered   (it)   to-give (it)
      ENG: *'Who did Míša know to give it?'

The matrix clause predicates in (28) are subcategorized for a [+wh] complement, and the embedded infinitival complement must be overtly marked for [+wh]. (28b) shows that further extraction of the wh-element is not possible, since the infinitival clause would lack any overt [+wh] complementizer.

4.2 EXTRACTION FROM A FINITE CLAUSE

The ungrammaticality of (28) resembles the ungrammaticality of the extraction of the wh-element from the embedded finite clause as presented in (29), which gives a Czech equivalent acceptable example of an English long-distance Wh Movement (see Chomsky's (1986, p. 29)).

(29) CZ: ??Jak si Jan   myslí   že   ty jsi   opravil   to auto t?
            ??how John   thinks   that   you aux   repaired   the car t
      ENG: 'How does John think you fixed the car t?'

Notice that the English example in (29) is acceptable, as well as the following (30). I mark the finite clausal boundaries as [CP to demonstrate that the wh-element in English is able to cross more than one and result in a so-called 'long distance Wh Movement.'

(30) a)   ***Who*** did Emily tell you [CP (that) Bill met at the railway station?

      b)   ***Which jacket*** did John persuade Emily [CP (that) she should take on the trip?

      c)   ***When*** do you think [CP (that) Bill thought [CP that Emily arrived?

      d)   ***Who*** did Emily say [CP (that) Bill thought [CP would arrive late?

18   For the taxonomy of infinitives, see Wurmbrandt (1998) or Veselovská (2009) for Czech.

While productive in English, long distance Wh Movement is said (see L&S (1984), Radford (1981, p. 237), Anyadi and Tamrazian (1993), Riemsdijk and Williams (1986, p. 294)) not to appear in Polish, Russian, Armenian, or German, and in Chomsky's early works is presented as restricted (the wh-island condition[19]) also in English.

L&S (1984, p. 274), however, show examples of long distance movement of the wh-elements extracted out of subjunctive complements in Polish. Their Czech equivalents are given in (31), including the example of substandard long-distance Wh Movement from the embedded finite clause. Notice that those examples are fully acceptable in English.[20]

(31) a) CZ: *?Co chtěl   Jakub,   aby   Lenka   koupila t?*
            What wanted   Jakub   that   Lenka   bought t
       ENG: 'What did Jakub want that Lenka buy t ?'

    b) CZ: *?Kdo věděl   Jakub,   že   t má   koupit chleba?*
            who knew   Jakub   that   t should   buy bread
       ENG: 'Who did Jakub know that t should buy bread?'

Comparing the introductory matrix-clause clause in Czech with similar structures in English, allows only little variety of predicates and seems to demand the simplest form, if it is followed by a structure analysable as CP. Both these characteristics will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.3 BRIDGE VERBS

In Riemsdijk and Williams (1986, p. 294) the matrix clause verbs, so-called 'bridge verbs', are a subset of verbs that can make the following CP A'-transparent, which means that the COMP (non-argument) position in the embedded clause becomes accessible to external government.[21]

It seems that the criteria restricting the number of possible 'bridge verbs' can be derived from the fact that indirect questions are always wh-complements of the matrix-clause predicates. As stated in Grimshaw, "…for a predicate-complement pair to be well formed, three conditions must be satisfied. The predicate and its complement must be semantically compatible; the complement must meet the idiosyncratic selectional conditions encoded in the semantic frame of the predicate; and the complement must meet the (also idiosyncratic) syntactic conditions encoded in the subcategorization frame of the predicate." (1979, p. 325).

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19 For general accounts of island phenomena, see for instance Riemsdijk and Williams (1986, p. 23ff), Roberts (1997, p. 186ff.), Borsley (1999, p. 205ff.), and Carnie (2013, p. 374ff.).

20 Both (28a) and (28b) have standard forms connecting the wh-word directly to the matrix-clause verb with resumptive pronouns in the embedded clause, as shown in (22).

21 For more detailed characteristics of the introductory predicates in English, see, e.g., Grimshaw (1979). Some are presented in the following paragraphs, too.

The subcategorization frames of matrix verbs express co-occurrence restrictions on predicates *in* terms of syntactic categories, specifying the optionality or obligatoriness of the sister phrasal constituents for which the predicate is subcategorized. Embedded questions are characterized by the subcategorization frame containing an optional or obligatory sentential complement, e.g., *find out*, V: + [S, WH].

The Czech verbs of communication are mostly ditransitive, and their complements are both +__ NP, NP and +__ NP, clause. At the same time, the complement selection is only optional, and they may be used as the verbs of action requiring no internal argument. The vague subcategorization frames of most of the semantically acceptable 'bridge verbs' present a problem, since they hardly ever exclude the possibility of relating the fronted wh-word to the matrix clause predicate, which may be subcategorized for optional complements of the same kind. Consider also that there is only a limited number of asynthetic complex sentence structures in Czech, and that a subordinate clause must be introduced by an overt complementizer (as seen in the ungrammatical (29)).

Combining the obligatory presence of a complementizer with a possible requirement of the matrix clause verb on the overt [±wh] specification of its clausal complement, the results may be predicted: if a connecting element is obligatory and subcategorized as [+wh], then it cannot be removed from the embedded clause. On the other hand, if the selected connector may be [-wh] as well, the wh-element may move to the main clause SPEC(CP) and be replaced with a neutral *that*. If the selected connector must be [-wh], then the wh-element moves.

Consider then the example (32) respecting the above requirements – the embedded clause is introduced with a subcategorized [+wh] complementizer, while another wh-word is removed into the SPEC(CP) of the matrix clause.

(32)   *??Komu se ptá,*   *jestli*   *to dala?*
      ??whom REFL ask$_{3S}$ whether   it gave$_{3S}$
      'Who did he ask whether she gave it to?'

The (32) example presents a Wh Island Constraint violation, which is in L&S analysed as resulting from the position of the [+wh] element in the SPEC(CP) of the embedded clause, where it blocks the cyclic movement of the other wh-element. The [+wh] features in Czech occupy the SPEC (CP) position also in Czech, and therefore the L&S (1984) analysis can be used for the Czech examples as well.

Comparing the wh-extraction from infinitival vs. finite structures, and the previously mentioned restrictions, the conditions that restrict the acceptability of the long distance Wh Movement in Czech are as the following (33).

(33)   a)   the unambiguous analysis of the relations between the wh-word and matrix
         clause vs. embedded clause predicates,

b) a [+wh] specification of the matrix clause predicate,

c) the presence of the CP projection

The analysis of long distance Wh Movement presented in, e.g., Chomsky (1986) refers to the notion of proper government. The restriction on movement presented by Lasnik and Saito (1984) for Polish, i.e., prohibition of the syntactic movement from an A' position, would on the other hand present a kind of subjacency violation. The bounding nodes for subjacency may be felt in colloquial Czech to be distinct from standard Czech. In *Barriers*, Chomsky discusses the difference between Italian and English, and "the parametric variation is restricted to subjacency, not government, so that 'extra barriers' have no effect on adjunct movement." (1986, p. 39) Assuming that standard Czech takes both a tensed IP and CP for barriers to movement, while in colloquial Czech only one of them is relevant, we may get the observed distinctions. Any such statement would, however, require more detailed discussion, and analyses of also other possibilities of extraction, which is beyond the scope of this work.

4.4 MORE FILTERS

In comparing English and Czech, it is also necessary to mention two distinctions related to the Wh Movement. The following example shows that, in English, the extracted wh-subject does not allow the overt complementizer *that*, because in the structural description, the complementizer *that* is followed by a trace of the extracted wh-subject, a constraint called a That-trace Filter. Such a filter does not apply in Czech, as demonstrated in (31). The presence of a complementizer is in fact obligatory.

(31) CZ: *Kdo$_i$*   *si myslíš*   ***že***   *přijede?*
           [who]$_w$ REFL think$_{2S}$ $[_{CP}$ that $[_{IP}$ t_w arrives $]]$
      ENG: 'Who do you think (*that) will arrive?'

Another filter that applies in long distance Wh Movement structures is called the Doubly filled COMP Filter. In the following English example, the proposed analysis assumes that the wh-element *whom* is located in the SPEC(CP) and the overt complementizer *that* in C of the embedded clause. Notice that such a structure is ungrammatical with the complementizer but acceptable without it. The Czech equivalent below is colloquial, but fully acceptable both with and without the complementizer.

(34) CZ: *Ptala se ho*   *komu*   *(že)*   *to*   *dal*
           asked$_{PAST.SF}$ him $[_{CP}$ whom$_w$ (that)   it   gave$_{PAST.SM}$ t_w
      ENG: 'She asked him whom (*that) he gave it.'

The same analysis is used to explain the ungrammaticality of the English example in (35), where one wh-element is long-distance moved and another fronted within the embedded clause. Because the long distance moved wh-element uses the SPEC(CP) as an 'escape hatch', it must remain empty, and the second wh-element must stay in situ.

(35) a) *[CP*Wh*om$_i$ did she ask [C t_i [IP you saw t_i when]]]?*

     b) **[CP*Wh*om$_i$ did she ask [C when $_k$ [IP you saw t_i t_k]]]?*

     c) **[CP*Wh*om$_i$ did she ask [C *whether / ^{OK}if [IP you saw t_i yesterday]]]?*

The following Czech examples show that no such restriction applies on the (substandard) long-distance moved constructions.

(36) *Komu   si   myslíš   co (že)   Marie   dala   ?*
     whom$_i$ REFL   think$_{2S}$ what$_k$ (that)   Mary   gave t_i t_k
     'Whom do you think Mary gave what?'

This distinction can be explained (as in, e.g., Rudin (1988) or Bošković (2002)), assuming that the Czech complementizer does not occupy a fixed structural position, and the wh-element in the position of the embedded wh-element is therefore in fact lower that in SPEC (CP), e.g., in the domain of Focus.

5 SUMMARY

The syntactic Wh Movement of a wh-element into the pre-sentential position in direct non-echo wh-questions in Czech was introduced in section 2. Section 2.2 introduces the variety of moved wh-elements which in both languages include the maximal NP, AP, and PP constituents immediately dominated by IP or some V projection. The difference between the wh-element in the pre-complementizer position and in situ (i.e., in echo-questions) is clear and suggests the original post-verbal extraction site of the removed internal argument constituents.

In section 2.3, some properties of indirect questions were presented, showing that the complementizer of the embedded question is obligatorily specified for a [+wh] interrogative feature at the S-structure, and the complementizer of the matrix clause can be specified for [+wh] in colloquial Czech. The [+wh] complementizers in Czech appear in the form of a suffix realized on a finite verb, and as separate words. The position of all the [+wh] complementizers is assumed to be in Comp, while those of the wh-words are in SPEC(CP), as in Chomsky (1986).

In section 3, some examples of extraction of the wh-elements were demonstrated. The Wh Movement from the infinitival complements argued to be non-CP structures was shown as obligatory in standard Czech, while the movement from within the CP infinitival complements

was presented as acceptable only for some speakers. The CP projection represents a barrier for external government, movement of clitics and Wh Movement. Another restriction for a movement of the wh-word into the main clause pre-sentential position was derived from the obligatory overt [+wh] marking of the clause interpreted as a question. The long-distance Wh Movement is presented as a substandard variant motivated by the obligatory selection of [+wh] clausal complements by matrix clause predicates. The distinctions between English and Czech are summarised below:

(37)
I. <u>Islands</u>
    A) Czech (not English) allows violation of the Left Branch Constraint,
    B) English (not Czech) allows extraction of the DP out of the complement PP,
II. <u>Characteristics of the CP domain</u>
    A) Czech (not English) allows multiple wh-fronting,
    B) Czech (not English) does not respect Superiority effects with Wh Movement,
III. <u>Domain of the movement</u>
    A) English (not Czech) allows a successive cyclic Wh Movement,
    B) English (not Czech) obeys the That-trace Filter and the Doubly filled COMP Filter.

In this study, I argued that the distinctions in (37) can be explained by a plausibly parametric variety, which is systematically reflected in the two languages in a wider range of syntactic structures.

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ABSTRACT

This study considers one of the most celebrated short poems by Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Parliament of Fowls* (c. 1382), and its recent translations into Spanish (one by Luis Costa Palacios, 1982; another by Jesús L. Serrano Reyes, 2005), Italian (by Vincenzo La Gioia, 2000), Russian (by Sergei A. Alexandrovsky, 2005), and Polish (by Marcin Ciura, 2013), trying to determine various strategies which modern translators have employed when dealing with a work that itself is a partial translation and belongs to a larger family of texts, within which it was originally meant to be understood. The paper indicates that there is no clear consensus among contemporary translators when working with medieval intertextuality and that each of the versions offers a highly individual reading, depending on a number of factors, such as the translator's erudition, his or her own preferences, or the form in which the target text should be presented to the intended audiences.

Filip Krajník

Translating the Translator: On Rendering Chaucer's The Parliament of Fowls into Modern Languages

1 TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATIO IN THE MIDDLE AGES

It may come as a surprise for a 21st-century reader to see Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343–1400), the first great English poet and author of *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Legend of Good Women* and *The Canterbury Tales*, called a "translator" – a profession which we intuitively (and somewhat simplistically) tend to associate with mediation rather than creation, and derivation rather than originality. Although it has been acknowledged that Chaucer indeed translated at least a portion of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meugn's allegorical masterpiece *Le Roman de la Rose* (13th cent.) into English and is the author of the complete English prose rendition of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëthius's prosimetrical philosophical treatise *De consolatione Philosophiae* (c. 524 AD), Chaucer's image in our cultural awareness largely remains one of the "father of English poetry", as John Dryden and Matthew Arnold called him.

Yet it appears that for Chaucer himself and his contemporaries the label of a translator was significantly less controversial than it is for us. When, in the mid- or late 1380s, the preeminent French poet Eustache Deschamps (1346–1406) wrote a ballad to Chaucer, he praised the English author as a "Grant translateur" (great translator)[1] rather than a poet, stressing that Chaucer translated the *Roman de la Rose* into English and thus started a garden of poetry for

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1   I am quoting from the poem as reprinted in Wimsatt, 1991, p. 249.

"ignorans de la langue" (those ignorant of the [French] language). Although, by the time of the ballad's composition, Chaucer would have penned *The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, and, perhaps, *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Legend of Good Women*, according to Deschamps, the most noteworthy piece by Chaucer was his rendition of the notorious French dream-vision. In other words, at the beginning of the great English poetic tradition was a *translation*, not an independent creative genius.

Even Chaucer himself, who, in a number of his poems, shamelessly advertised the titles of other works of his and boasted about his learning, did not shy away from calling himself a translator. When in the Prologue to his *Legend of Good Women* the God of Love castigates the poem's speaker (named explicitly Geoffrey Chaucer) for committing a crime against Love through his writings, the god's companion, lady Alceste, defends the poor poet by claiming that he merely did "translaten that olde clerkes wryten" (F 370; translated what old scholars wrote),[2] which is not as great a sin "As though that he of malice wolde enditen / Despit of love, and had himself yt wrought" (F 371–372; as if he would have conceived these works in spite of Love and he himself wrote them). Indeed, for Alceste, Chaucer "ys nyce" (F 362; is unwise), "for he useth thynges for to make; / Hym rekketh noght of what matere he take" (F 364–364; because he writes books without paying attention to the subject), implying that a translator is less responsible for a possible offense than the original author. A less comical (and perhaps more sincere) attitude to his own translations is present in the Retraction appended to the unfinished *Canterbury Tales*, written towards the end of Chaucer's life. In this literary testament of a kind, Chaucer disowns his sinful secular works, asking Jesus Christ to "foryeve me my giltes; and namely of my translacions and enditynges" (X (I) 1084–1085; forgive me my sins, namely my translations and writings), which include the *Tales* themselves. Among the works which Chaucer retrospectively endorses are, on the other hand, "the translacion of Boece de Consolacione, and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitee and devocioun" (X (I) 1088; the translation of Boëthius's *De consolatione Philosophiae*, and other books of legends of saints, homilies, moralities and devotion). If we decide to believe his words, we cannot help but conclude that Chaucer ultimately preferred his translations over his original "enditynges".

Chaucer's understanding of what is, what is not and what can possibly be a translation might, however, significantly differ from our perception of the term and would deserve some clarification. As Ernst Robert Curtius has demonstrated, the concept of *translatio* – meaning the transfer of power and learning – was a widespread topos in the Latin West and medieval authors were familiar with it (Curtius, 2013, p. 128). When related to translative activity, however, "[t]ranslatio is in fact rarely only a close translation", as Douglas Kelly notes. "The translator has a specific intention in making the translation," stresses Kelly. "And that intention may differ from the original author's" (Kelly, 1978, p. 292). Jeanette Beer elaborates on a similar idea with regard to the form of the translated text, arguing that, unlike in modern translations, "[a]ppropriateness

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2   All the quotations from Chaucer's poems are drawn from Chaucer, 2008; references are made to lines of specific poems rather than pages of the volume.

of form was determined from the predicted response of a particular target audience, never from an attempted match between presumed past response and presumed present one" (Beer, 1989, p. 2). In other words, medieval translators often took liberties both with the form and actual contents of their sources, following their own intentions and tastes of the supposed audiences of the newly introduced works. The *that* and *then* of, oftentimes, centuries old originals became *this* and *now* in the translated texts, potentially leading to a product so ideologically, thematically and formally different from its source that we would nowadays hesitate to call it a translation at all. Yet, for medieval translators, this method of translative process was not something that would need any special justification.

Such handling of source texts in the medieval period, Beer concludes, led the majority of modern theorists to "categorize a millennium of translative vitality as one thousand years of non-translation" (ibid., p. 2) – an attitude which, to an extent, prevails even at the present time. To describe Chaucer's reshaping of, and elaborating on, passages from other authors which he incorporated into his own works, Helen Phillips talks about the poet's "inventiveness within intertextuality" rather than calling some of his pieces (at least partial) translations (Phillips, 2010, p. 420). In order to disperse the "disappointment" of modern readers over learning that "the *Troilus* is an adaptation of a preexisting poem, or that the Canterbury tales have identifiable sources", Donald R. Howard hastens to explain that "Chaucer *improved* on what he borrowed" and that "his version of a preexisting work is a different kind of work" which calls for "different treatment" (Howard, 1987, p. 525, original italics). While for translation scholars, rewriting a pagan treatise as Christian poetry defies the common definition of translation, for literary historians, admitting that an author might have been a translator of a kind would undermine his greatness and his position within the literary canon.

If we, however, accept the proposition that many of Chaucer's works could indeed be thought of as "translations", a series of questions arise, perhaps the most crucial one being: If we are reading a translation, what is then the original? Or, in other words: Should we understand works of Chaucer (or, indeed, any medieval author) as more or less stand-alone pieces of literature, or consider them members of an intricate family of texts, whose relationships with, and dependence on, each other are sometimes more and sometimes less clear, sometimes even entirely obscure? And what does this mean for a modern translator who decides to render a medieval text into his or her own language? What is "the original" with which he or she is supposed to work? Is it even productive, given the differences between the translative process and its dynamics in the Middle Ages and nowadays, to apply our categories on a culture which understood the same concepts very differently or did not understand them at all?

To outline some of the dilemmas which a modern translator may come across when rendering a medieval literary text into a different language (or, perhaps, just modernising it for new generations of readers),[3] I decided to compare five recent translations of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls*, a 700-line allegorical dream-vision, written in a sophisticated stanzaic

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3   For the discussion of the issue of translating Chaucer into modern English, see Ellis, 2000, p. 98–120.

form and composed most probably in the early 1380s for the occasion of the wedding of King Richard II of England and Princess Anne of Bohemia. These include Luis Costa Palacios' 1982 prose translation *El parlamento de las aves* (hereafter **LCP**); another Spanish prose translation of the same title by Jesús L. Serrano Reyes, published in 2005 in the collection *El parlamento de las aves y otras visiones del sueño* (**JLSR**); Vincenzo La Gioia's verse translation into Italian *Il parlamento degli uccelli*, published within the collected works of Geoffrey Chaucer in Italian (*Opere*) in 2000 (**VLG**); a verse translation into Russian by Sergei Alexandrovsky *Птичий парламент* (Ptichiy parlament), published together with Alexandrovsky's version of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* in 2005 (**SA**); and Marcin Ciura's Polish version *Sejm ptasi*, published in 2013 by the translator in a limited print-run of 50 copies (**MC**). Although, due to space restrictions, the present article will not be able to offer a thorough analysis of any of these versions, it is the hope of the author that the array of possible solutions of some issues associated with translating a medieval work – which itself is a partial translation – will become apparent.

2 CHAUCER'S PARLIAMENT OF FOWLS AS A WORK OF TRANSLATION

In spite of the fact that *The Parliament of Fowls* was never considered a translation as such (even Chaucer never explicitly mentioned it in this context), its dependency on numerous works is undeniable and, from the purely textual perspective, a significant portion of the poem is a patchwork of motifs and passages drawn almost verbatim from older texts by various authors.

The story of the *Parliament* opens with an English paraphrase of Hippocrates's aphorism Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή ("The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne", 1), better known in the Middle Ages in its Latin form *Ars longa, vita brevis* (art is long, life is short). Then the speaker of the poem introduces himself as an avid reader and goes on to retell the contents of a book which he has recently read, entitled "Tullyus of the Drem of Scipioun" (31; *i.e.*, *Somnium Scipionis*, a segment of the political treatise *De re publica*, written by Marcus Tullius Cicero in the 1st century BC). What follows is almost 50 lines of a faithful summary of Cicero's Latin text and its main arguments, including some direct speeches from the characters of the original work. In spite of the change of form from a Socratic dialogue to a section of an allegorical poem, we may confidently call this passage of the *Parliament* an early attempt at a translation of Cicero's work into English. It is perhaps interesting to note one of the aforementioned strategies of medieval translators, who used to appropriate the source texts for their own audiences: whereas Cicero was, of course, a pagan, Chaucer places his text in the Christian moral-theological framework, claiming that "Chapitres seven it [*i.e.*, Cicero's work] hadde of hevene and helle" (32). In fact, hell is not mentioned a single time either in Cicero's original (the concept of hell was unknown to ancient Romans) or in Chaucer's translation, and Chaucer's remark only testifies to the common medieval practice of re-interpreting classical works within the frame of Christian orthodoxy.

Immediately after finishing Cicero's story, Chaucer seamlessly quotes a couple of lines from Dante's *Inferno* ("The day gan faylen, and the derke nyght / That reveth bestes from here besynesse…", 85–86; cf. "Lo giorno se n'andava e l'aere bruno / toglieva li animai che sono in

terra / dalle fatiche loro", ɪɪ, 1–3),[4] only to finish the stanza with a close paraphrase of Boëthius ("For bothe I hadde thyng which that I nolde, / And ek I ne hadde that thyng that I wolde", 90–91; cf. "Nonne quia vel aberat quod abesse non velles vel aderat quod adesse noluisses?", 3, 3, 19–20).[5] While the English poet could reasonably expect his audiences to recognise the echo of Boëthius's treatise, which was immensely popular in the Middle Ages, Dante's poem (completed in 1320) would have been virtually unknown in Chaucer's England and the quotation would probably remain unrecognised.[6] Each of the translated passages thus possibly served a different purpose or, perhaps, was intended for a different kind of audience.[7]

The dream portion of the poem, being the longest part, takes place in an idealised allegorical garden, whose description (more than 100 lines) is taken nearly word for word from Book ᴠɪɪ of Giovanni Boccaccio's medieval romance *Teseida* (c. 1340), namely from the passage describing the garden of Venus, who resides in an opulent temple at the garden's centre. While the central portion of Chaucer's poem, the assembly of birds itself, is largely original, Chaucer openly borrows one of its characters, Lady Nature, from Alain de Lille's 12th-century moral treatise *De planctu Naturae* and even adds at one point that the character looks "right as Aleyn, in the Pleynt of Kynde, / Devyseth Nature of aray and face" (316–317; just as Alain, in *De planctu Naturae*, describes her in both clothes and face), effectively advising his audiences to imagine Alain's lengthy description of Nature as part of his poem.

At the very end of Chaucer's poem, the speaker wakes up to promise that he will continue reading old books in order to have better dreams, opening the possibility that his dream – like Chaucer's text itself – is, in fact, to be understood as a collage of preexistent writings.

3 TRANSLATING THE TRANSLATOR

We have just seen that, even within the space of a short narrative poem, Chaucer has adopted several different translation techniques and strategies. At times, he openly admits that he is translating; in other instances, he seamlessly incorporates a translated passage as his own. Sometimes he seems to respect the tone and purpose of his source and invites the audience to understand his work in the context of the older one; at other times he merely uses the textual material to promote his new argument. Chaucer's method of translation could hardly be described

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4   Alighieri, 1998; references are made to lines of the poems rather than pages of the volume.

5   Boethius, 2000; references are made to section numbers and lines of the work rather than pages of the volume.

6   According to Paget Toynbee, even for Chaucer's learned contemporary and friend Gower, "Dante appears to have been little more than a name" (Toynbee, 1909, p. xvii); the acquaintance with Dante of Chaucer's follower Lydgate "was not much more extensive than that of Gower", while Lyndgate's contemporary Occleve "apparently had no knowledge of him whatever" (ibid., p. xviii). The first post-Chaucerian author to show significant knowledge of Dante was apparently Milton (ibid., p. xxiv–xxvii).

7   Alfred Thomas suggests that, while the taste of the *inner sanctum* of King Richard's court was probably rather conventional, the intellectuals from Chaucer's circle might have been familiar even with less known literary forms and authors (see Thomas, 2016, p. 22).

by a single term and it is possible that the medieval author himself would have seen little difference between the individual instances of his translation effort. We can, however, assume that his aristocratic and intellectual audiences would have been aware of the poet-translator's play with intertextuality and could most certainly appreciate it.

The same understanding of Chaucer's text on the part of a modern translator, who decides to render it anew into a different language, can thus potentially influence his or her work with the poem not only on the level of isolated details, but also of the interpretation of the whole work. Let us, therefore, examine some of the instances when the knowledge of Chaucer's sources might be of significant help for a translation of Chaucer himself.

One kind of the aforementioned details which are mostly limited to a word or a short phrase is physical descriptions of objects and characters scattered throughout the text, some of which make more sense if we take "the originals" into consideration. When the speaker of the *Parliament* approaches the temple at the centre of the allegorical dream garden (Boccaccio's temple of Venus), he observes that it stands "upon pilers greete of jasper longe" (230; on great and tall columns of jasper), although in a garden filled with classical deities one would expect a Roman style temple formed by pillars (columns) rather than standing *on* them. Chaucer's rather unusual description becomes clear when we compare it with the parallel expression from Boccaccio, which reads "in su alte colonne di rame" (LVII, 1–2).[8] Although the Italian preposition "su" is, in most cases, indeed the equivalent of the English "on", in this context, the Italian author clearly meant "made of".[9] When rewriting the passage into English, Chaucer was obviously following the Italian structure (which he could or could not fully understand), ending up with an unidiomatic English expression. The question is whether a modern translator should consider the English wording as a mistake (and, if so, whether he or she should correct it) or a calque, a word-for-word loan from another language, which is meant to have the same meaning as the original:

LCP: sobre largas y gradnes columnas de jaspe
JLSR: sobre grandes y largas columnas de jaspe
VLG: su pilastri di diaspro
SA: На яшмовых столпах
MC: na kolumnach z jaspisu niezłomnych

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8 Boccacio, 1969; references are made to stanzas and lines of the work rather than pages of the volume.

9 Cf. the Italian translation of Ovid's sentence *Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis* (*Metamorphoses*, II, 1) by Boccaccio's contemporary Arrigo Simintendi, "La casa regale del Sole era dirizzata in su alte colonne", using exactly the same phrase as Boccaccio. I am grateful to Paolo Divizia for bringing this passage to my attention.

As we can see, all the translators accepted Chaucer's reading, despite its semantic and logical difficulty – including, rather surprisingly, the Italian one (in modern Italian, "su" only means "on"). It is, perhaps, interesting to mention in this context some of the modern illustrations of the scene, such as the one by Warwick Goble, published in John S. P. Tatlock and Percy MacKaye's edition of the *Complete Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (see fig. 1). It is apparent that, in his visual rendition of Chaucer's words, the artist, unlike the aforementioned translators,[10] has eliminated Chaucer's clumsy wording and restored the image of the temple as originally envisioned by Boccaccio.
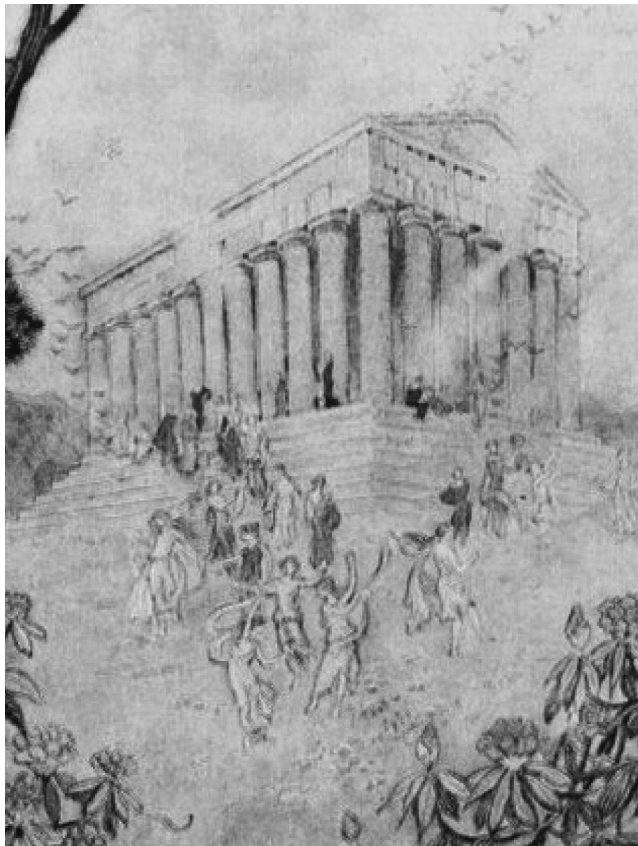

Figure 1: *The Parliament of Birds* by Warwick Goble (a detail)

Another such detail is Chaucer's description of the dancing nymphs in the very same stanza, reading "some ther weere / Fayre of hemself, and some of hem were gay" (233–234). In accordance with all the recent critical editions of Chaucer's poem, the majority of the

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10 Indeed, not only those: the text of the edition in which Goble's illustration is printed is, in fact, a modernised prose version of Chaucer's Middle English text. Even this rendition reads "upon great high pillars of jasper", providing a rather confusing verbal image of the temple (Chaucer, 1921, p. 345).

translators interpret the adjective "gay" as splendidly dressed (**LCP:** "vistosamente vestidas"; **JLSR:** "vistosamente vestidas"; **VLG:** "ben vestite"; **MC:** "w suknie śliczne / Odziane"), with the exception of Sergei Alexandrovsky, whose ladies are just "almost naked" ("Разоблачась едва ль не догола") and have "slim bodies" ("стройные тела"). Although the context of the phrase indeed suggests a reference to the nymphs' dress, this understanding of the passage largely rests on Boccaccio's original, which uses the more explicit expression "d'abito adorno" (ʟᴠɪɪ, 4). In fact, the *OED* lists a number of other possible meanings of "gay" in Middle English, including "bright or lively-looking", "noble" or "exuberantly cheerful" (which could all fit the situation quite well), while giving no safely pre-Chaucerian use of the word as "finely or showily dressed".

An instance of the Italian source being a potential hindrance rather than a help for the interpretation of the English text is Chaucer's description of Priapus, a god of fertility, whose statue is erected inside the temple. The *Parliament*'s narrator tells the reader that the god "stonde / In swich aray as whan the asse hym shente / With cri by nighte" (254–256), referring to the story from Ovid's *Fasti* of Priapus's attempted rape of the nymphs Lotis and Vesta, which was in each case prevented by the braying of an ass. While the Italian phrase "in abito" in the corresponding passage (ʟx, 2) means just "in the clothes", Chaucer's wording "In swich aray" might easily indicate the "arrangement, order, or position of matters" (one of the Middle English meanings of "array" according to the *OED*), especially if we consider the situation to which Chaucer refers and the standard way of depicting Priapus in ancient iconography (see fig. 2).[11] Unlike Boccaccio's straightforward text, Chaucer seems to introduce a bawdy wordplay into his work, toying with the double meaning "in the same clothes" and "in the same position or state" (*i.e.*, with the erect penis). None of the translators, however, exploited this possibility and decided, more or less, to follow the meaning of Chaucer's source:

LCP: con la misma apariencia
JLSR: con la misma apariencia
VLG: Priapo … che fa per rivestirsi
SA: выряжен
MC: W takim stroju

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11 Cf. "Thou standest yet … in swich array / That of thy lyf yet hastow no suretee", where Chaucer uses the same phrase clearly to signify "to stand in such condition" (*The Wife of Bath's Tale*, 902–903). Cf. ll. 316–318 of the *Parliament* ("And right as Aleyn, in the Pleynt of Kynde, / Deyseth Nature of aray and face, / In swich aray men myghte hire there fynde"), which employ both meanings of the word "array" within a single physical description.

Figure 2: Statue of Priapus (Pompeii, 1ˢᵗ century AD)

Only, perhaps, the rather vague Spanish reading "con la misma apariencia" (with the same appearance) could open the possibility for another interpretation. It appears, however, that both of the Spanish translators primarily had Priapus's robe in mind and did not think about his body parts. The Russian translator even felt the need to stress the robe's lavishness (the word "выряжен" could mean "lavishly dressed") – a detail present neither in Boccaccio nor Chaucer.

Another significant issue related to translating *The Parliament of Fowls* is the allegorical figures who populate the fictive world of the poem. In the course of their journey through the poem's dreamy landscape, readers are introduced to such characters as Disdain and Danger, who are just mentioned by name, Cupid and his daughter Will, Pleasance, Array, Lust, Courtesy, Craft, Delight and a number of others, including the goddess Venus with her guardian Richness, and Lady Nature, who presides the titular parliament of birds. Most of these characters have identifiable models in *Teseida* or the *Roman de la Rose*, while a handful of others remain veiled in obscurity.

It is, perhaps, not a great sin against Chaucer's text that both of the Spanish translators have turned a group of four nymphs ("Plesaunce", "Aray", "Lust", and "Curtesye", 218–219) into

a company of two males ("Placer" and "Adorno") and two females ("Lujuria" and "Cortesía"), especially if Chaucer himself changed the third member of Boccaccio's original group, whom the Italian author had called "Affabilitate" (LV, 2; Affability) rather than "Lust". After all, even Vincenzo La Gioia, by translating Chaucer's "Lust" as the masculine "Desiderio" into Italian, disturbs the all-female crowd. Translating Chaucer's "Richesse" (261; Boccaccio's "Ricchezza", LXIV, 2), who guards the door leading to Venus's chamber, as a male (as in the Russian version, "Достаток", and the Polish, "Majątek") is perhaps more questionable, since it means changing the gender of the companion of the goddess of love. It is, however, highly undesirable to translate (the absent but mentioned) "Resoun" (632) as a male, as in the Polish version ("Rozum"), or omit her from the text entirely, as in the Russian translation (Alexandrovsky renders Chaucer's phrase "If I were Resoun" as "коль уместно", meaning "if it is appropriate"), since Lady Reason ("Raison" in French) is an important character of the *Roman de la Rose* and Chaucer surely wrote her into his poem to have her recognised as such by his audiences.

A rather interesting and more complicated case is the name of Cupid's daughter, whom Chaucer calls "Wille" (214; Will) and who is, in Boccaccio's *Teseida*, mentioned as "Voluttà" (LIV, 4; Voluptuousness). Although Chaucer might have chosen "Wille" as a word with a similar sound to the Italian model and conveniently short to fit the strict decasyllabic meter of his line, the semantic difference between the two names should not be explained away so quickly. Given the fact that it is Cupid's daughter who, according to Chaucer's poem, makes and arranges the god of love's arrows "after they shulde serve" (216; *i.e.*, according to the purpose for which they should be used – a detail absent from Boccaccio's text) and that the core topic of the central portion of the *Parliament* is the will in love (see Lynch, 2000, p. 83–109), it is possible (and even probable) that this change was part of Chaucer's greater plan to create a thematic unity of his piece and link the translated part from Boccaccio to his original portion which follows later on. The solutions of the individual translators vary from the open preference of Boccaccio (**VLG:** "Voglia", which is synonymous with "Voluttà"),[12] to rendering the name as "Desire" (**LCP:** "Deseo"; **JLSR:** "Deseo"; **MC:** "Żądza") or omitting it completely (**SA:** just "дочь его" – "his daughter").

The last example to be presented here demonstrates how a single word and its translation might potentially change, or at least significantly influence, the meaning of the whole poem. It has already been said that, for the delineation of his idealised garden of love, Chaucer borrowed and adapted the description of Venus's garden from Boccaccio's *Teseida*, including the temple in which Venus herself is to be found. However, whereas Boccaccio is explicit about who the mistress of the temple is (calling it "di Citerea il tempio e la magione" – Venus's temple and mansion, L, 5), Chaucer's attribution is much more subtle. On the one hand, the English poet preserves the flock of turtle-doves, Venus's sacred birds, over the temple's roof (237–238); on the other, he removes Boccaccio's "mortine" (LI, 8; myrtle), another symbol of Venus, from the garden to weaken the link. Yet, for the reader of the poem, it is ultimately important to know

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12   Both the names "Voluttà" and "Wille" are mentioned in the endnote to the Italian translation, suggesting that Vincenzo La Gioia intentionally restored the meaning of Boccaccio's original.

whether the temple is sacred to Venus or not, since, upon leaving it, the speaker is presented with the harmonious and rational world of Lady Nature, which seems to be in sharp contrast with the wild and passionate world inside the temple.

Larry D. Benson argues that Chaucer's ambition in the *Parliament* was "defining the two types of love", by which the poem "tactfully urges the young king [*i.e.*, Richard II] to follow the path of political virtue" (Benson, 1982, p. 132). For the purpose of this contrast, Venus and Nature would be two logical candidates: Alain de Lille's *De planctu Naturae*, which Chaucer explicitly mentions in the *Parliament* when describing Nature's appearance (see above), introduces Venus as Lady Nature's former aid in preserving the order in love. Since Venus, however, left her husband, Hymenaeus, and gave birth to an illegitimate son named Jocus (Jest), in contrast to her legitimate son Cupid, the harmony and order in love has been lost and, with the help of Nature, needs to be restored. Presenting, therefore, the temple as the domain of Venus and the meadow behind it as the world of Nature would support Chaucer's poem's allegory.

A detail which might help the reader to identify the temple in the garden as the seat of the goddess Venus is the material from which it is made. Boccaccio explicitly mentions that the temple is formed from long columns of copper ("in su alte colonne di rame", LVII, 1–2) – a metal traditionally associated with the goddess. Chaucer's poem, however, in the parallel passage talks about "the temple of bras" (231; a phrase that William Caxton, in his 1477 edition of Chaucer's work, even used as the title of the entire poem),[13] changing the material of the columns themselves to jasper. The question is whether Chaucer and his audiences saw any difference between copper and brass. The *OED* lists at least one 14th-century example of the use of brass as a complete synonym of copper and mentions that the term was historically used for any alloy of the metal. It is, therefore, possible that Chaucer, in need of a monosyllabic word, opted for an expression that was perhaps less technical than the Middle English "coper", but close enough to its meaning. The modern translator, therefore, has two options: 1) to understand Chaucer's term in a more strict and technical sense and see it as Chaucer's strategy to divorce his text from Boccaccio's original meaning; or 2) to understand Chaucer's description in the context of Boccaccio's and take into consideration the original Italian term in order to stress the possible overall interpretation of the poem's key message.

All the translators but one (Alexandrovsky, who does not mention the material of the temple at all) – including the Italian, who surely knew Boccaccio's text – opted for the first choice and have rendered Chaucer's term as bronze or brass, thus leaving Venus's role in the poem in obscurity:

    LCP: un templo de bronce
    JLSR: un templo de bronce
    VLG: un tempio che nel bronzo
    MC: Chram z mosiądzu

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13   STC (2nd ed.) 5091.

4 CONCLUSION

Although there have been several substantial studies addressing the topic of translation and translation practices in the Middle Ages in recent years and decades,[14] this issue still deserves more scholarly attention on the part of both literary history and translation theory. The present article has briefly outlined how complex the question of medieval translation is and what challenges it may pose not only to modern readers of medieval texts, but primarily to their translators into modern languages.

Intertextuality is often one of the key aspects of medieval works and any translator who decides to render these texts into a modern language needs to find his or her own way to address it. It is only logical that a single text will ultimately look very different when rendered by a university professor and literary researcher (such as Luis Costa Palacios), a professional translator and poet (such as Sergei Alexandrovsky) or an amateur enthusiast (such as Marcin Ciura). On the one side of the spectrum, the translator's work may end up in a critical edition, whose contextual material is of ultimately greater value than the translation itself; on the other side, we might end with a truly modern work with a literary merit of its own. One may recall Otokar Fischer's 1927 selection from François Villon's poetry in Czech, which quickly entered the national literary canon as a contemporary work and has influenced entire generations of Czech authors since.

The present study has examined five recent renditions of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* (c. 1382) – a poem which itself is largely a collage of several preexistent works translated into English by the poet – into Spanish, Italian, Russian, and Polish. It has been shown that, although intertextuality plays a crucial role for an informed reading of Chaucer's work, each of the modern translators employed a different strategy when dealing with this issue, paying a different level of attention to it. While, in terms of literary merit, Alexandrovsky's rendition is perhaps the closest of the five texts to what we would call "true poetry", his handling of Chaucer's material is, at times, rather arbitrary and, despite rich textual notes accompanying his text, the English poet's translation effort does not seem to have really been Alexandrovsky's primary interest. A different approach was adopted by the Spanish translators, Luis Costa Palacios and Jesús L. Serrano Reyes, both university professors, who strived to produce an authentic image of Chaucer from a scholarly perspective rather than making their own literary achievement. Even their versions, however, do not go very far beyond the standard acknowledgement of Chaucer's sources in the introductory studies and textual notes. Perhaps the highest awareness of Chaucer's sources and their translations can be found in the Italian rendition of Chaucer's poem by Vincenzo La Gioia, who was obviously best acquainted with Chaucer's older (chiefly Italian) models and whose strategy of rendering Chaucer into his mother tongue was compared by the Italian literary scholar Piero Boitani to Chaucer's own translative activity (see Boitani, 2000).

Boitani's neologism "transcreatore", applicable to any translation effort, seems to be especially apposite when dealing with a medieval text and its modern translation. While being aware of

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14 These include Beer, 1989; Campbell–Mills, 2012; Fresco–Wright, 2013; or Dearnley, 2016.

their own dual role as a mediator and original creator, modern translators of medieval works should always bear in mind that, for the authors of their source texts, this issue was perhaps even more relevant and acute, and significantly contributed to the final shape of their works.

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ABSTRACT

The topic of the paper is the phenomenon
of English itinerant players who travelled across the
European continent at the end of the 16th and
during the 17th centuries. Especially in the lands
of the Holy Roman Empire, the Englishmen enjoyed
an enthusiastic reception at court as well as in public.
Even though the Englishmen's merit consisted mainly
in the enrichment of German theatrical practice,
the medium of dramatic translation also contributed
to the dissemination of new motifs and ideas from
London as German translations of English plays were
soon produced. This paper discusses one such instance
of early modern drama translation, namely Johann
Georg Gettner's play Die Heylige Martyrin Dorothea
(1691?), which is a remarkably faithful, if shortened
German translation of Phillip Massinger and Thomas
Dekker's Jacobean play The Virgin Martyr (1620).
Gettner's translation represents an interesting link
between English Renaissance drama and its later
German Baroque counterpart.

Anna Mikyšková

Translation as a Means of Dramatic Exchange: St Dorothy's Play in the 17th Century

The activity and the scope of influence of English itinerant actors in Central and Eastern Europe from the 1580s until the 1660s represents an intriguing topic for scholars of theatre history. The presence of such English players has been recorded in Denmark, Poland, Latvia but more importantly for this paper, in the areas of the then Habsburg monarchy, i.e. regions of today's Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. During their continental career, the English companies presented to the new audiences their London tragedies and comedies, some of which were later in the course of the century adapted or translated into German. This paper discusses one such translation: Johann Georg Gettner's *Die Heylige Martyrin Dorothea*. It is a German rendition of the legend of St Dorothy from the second part of the 17th century, discovered in 2011 by the Austrian scholar Christian Neuhuber. Gettner's play is without any doubt based on an older version of this hagiographic story from the pen of two English early modern playwrights Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger, who wrote their tragedy *The Virgin Martyr* for London stages in 1620. The aim of this paper is to assess the German text in relation to the original English version. First, the circumstances of Anglo-German theatrical contact in the 17th century will be outlined, then, the paper's methodological base will be established, and lastly, the two plays will be compared. As the German manuscript is an example of an intercultural dramatic exchange between two different regions and periods,

the English Renaissance and the German Baroque, the paper concludes with a discussion about the changes in genre that it is bound to display.

Generally, it can be said that the English strolling players brought professional theatre to Germany. At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, England, with its London playhouses, university educated playwrights and sophisticated theatre culture supported by the Elizabethan government, was an admired model for other European countries. The regions of the Holy Roman Empire, on the other hand, were underdeveloped in this respect. There was no single cultural centre as was London in England or Paris in France, as the German empire resembled a rather heterogeneous configuration of states and provinces under the control of various electors and princes (Brandt, 1993, p. 3–4). There were forms of non-professional theatre, of course, for instance various performances during courtly festivities; especially in the countryside, there were still remnants of medieval religious or guild drama, and there were Latin performances at schools and universities (Brennecke, 1664, p. 3). However, the fragmented nature of the Empire prevented any development of German professional theatre on its own accord.

The first professionals who appeared in the Empire were the Italians, who visited the region in the 1560s and left their mark in Germany with their famous *commedia dell'arte* (which literally means professional theatrical art). However, since they performed only in Italian their influence remained solely at the courtly level (Brauneck, 1996, p. 52). Consequently, when in the 1580s and 1590s troupes of English players visited not only the courts of German nobility but also the provincial towns, and presented their new exciting plays and elaborate acting skills to ordinary subjects, they created quite a stir and people – to quote one witness account – "flocked wonderfully to see their gesture and action, rather than hear them, speaking English which they understand not" (qtd. in Limon, 1985, p. 1). Among other things, the quote tells us that the English comedians initially played for their German audiences in the English language, having no knowledge of German, which very much predetermined their acting style at the beginning of their continental career. As a result, they compensated this natural linguistic barrier with a new spectacle, and as various witness accounts confirm, a play by the English included music, dancing, fencing, singing and various acrobatics (Stříbrný, 2000, p. 9). A very important aspect of early English shows was the character of the clown. He was the first character to speak German in the English plays, and, apart from providing amusement for the audience with bawdy jokes and critical social comments, also served as a mediator between the foreign actors and their spectators (Stříbrný, 2000, p. 19). Even later after the English had incorporated German and employed German and Dutch actors, the clown continued to draw crowds, and it is not an exaggeration to say that the Germans had grown to appreciate English theatrical art via the role of the jester.

The living and working conditions for English itinerant players were anything but easy. The majority of them managed to acquire temporary employment at court (e.g., Vienna, Graz, and Warsaw); however, usually they were compelled to offer their skills at the annual fairs and festivals in cities all over Central Europe (Cologne, Prague, Gdańsk). However, they had to rely on the good will of local gentry or the indulgence of local authorities to grant them permission

to travel and perform. Though they were well-known for their excellent acting, dancing and musical skills, their bawdy jokes sometimes led more conservative authorities to forbid them from playing. For instance, Emperor Ferdinand III granted them a licence in 1650 on the condition "they refrain from all improprieties as well in their words as in their actions" (Limon, 1985, p. 123). Nonetheless, their popularity ensured that they were sufficiently sought after. This was demonstrated by the facts that, firstly, they were touring Europe for around seventy years, and, secondly, even the later wholly germanised strolling companies promoted themselves as *Englische Komödianten*, clearly relying on the popularity of their predecessors. No matter the cost, be it financial need, distrust or danger of war, the potential profit of wandering lifestyle was apparently worth it. After 1618 when the Thirty Years' War broke out, the theatrical activities decreased but did not cease entirely. Some English troupes returned home but others found refuge at the court of the Polish king and the Duke of Prussia (Limon, 1985, p. 30). The era after the war saw a few companies travelling around the European courts and towns until approximately the 1660s, when it was suddenly the Italian opera and French Baroque theatre that were demanded and imitated at Continental courts.

As far as the actual repertoire of English actors is concerned, they exported what they knew best: their London tragedies and comedies. In the extant performance lists and bills, titles have been identified of plays by William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Dekker, and several others. However, for the period under study, it is paramount not to overestimate the sophistication of the staged pieces. What Englishmen would do is to take a time-proven London play and turn it into a shorter and less complicated version for their travelling condition and inexperienced spectators. (Obviously, the situation was entirely different at courts, where educated audiences and suitable resources were provided.) The matter is even more complicated by the fact that the few extant German versions of English plays (e.g., the German collections of Englishmen's plays printed in 1620 and 1630)[1] are simplified and even crude versions of what might have been staged at that time (Stříbrný, 2000, p. 16). Indeed, the gap between the dramatic text and the actual stage practice was unfortunately huge. However, that being said, this does not mean that the extant German texts harbour no informative value and have no dramatic merit; one only has to be aware of the constraints imposed by the ephemeral nature of the 17th century strolling theatre companies. In short, the approximately seventy years of Englishmen's presence on the Continent initiated the birth of German itinerant companies (the so-called *Wanderbühne*) and enriched them not only with play text material, but also with the staging skills and the know-how of running a travelling theatre business.

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1   The first collection of Englishmen's plays staged on the Continent was published in 1620 under the title *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* and was followed by an enlarged edition in 1624. Another collection titled *Liebeskampff oder ander Theil der Englischen Comoedien und Tragoedien* came out in 1630. Yet another anthology, *Schaubühne Englischer und Französischer Comödianten*, appeared in 1670 which also included German versions of French plays.

Several notes concerning the methodology of my research have to be pointed out before the textual analysis is presented. First, the abovementioned manuscript of Gettner, which is the subject of this study, is here understood as a German *translation* of an English original source. Even though the German version is significantly different, it contains only a few word-for-word translations and, as such, could be viewed as an adaptation rather than translation, the period of its origin is taken into account and argues for the use of the term *translation*. The 17th century was still very much under the influence of medieval scholarship, where the discipline of translation had enjoyed a much more flexible definition. As Rita Copeland explains, the medieval understanding of translation, apart from being built on the ancient tradition of rhetoric, was embedded in the theory of hermeneutics (Copeland, 1991, p. 222), thus allowing for various degrees of interpretation. In practice it meant that any text transferred into another language, no matter how deviated from the original it might have been, was considered a translation. Gettner's play is approached with this medieval perspective in mind, its status is, thus, being recognized as translation.

Second, it is essential to identify the relationship of Gettner's text to Dekker and Massinger's tragedy. As the founder of the German manuscript, Christian Neuhuber, argues, it is very unlikely that Gettner had the English original in his hands when writing his Dorothea play (Neuhuber, 2014a, p. 91). The English play was brought to the Continent most likely during the Thirty Years' War and there are multiple productions of a play about St Dorothy recorded before Gettner's time. Therefore, it is more likely that Gettner worked with an older German translation, whose text has not survived. If this was the case, we need to abandon the simple dichotomy of source text and target text and rethink the way in which the exchange between English and German playwrights worked at that time. To do so, I will turn to the methodology proposed by Pavel Drábek in his *Czech Attempts at Shakespeare*. For the texts from the 17th century, apart from the *source text* and *target text*, we need to add one more stage to the process of text transmission: the *original text*, which might have inspired more source texts (Drábek, 2010, p. 23). Our situation then looks as follows: Dekker and Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* is our original text, which was probably followed by at least one German version which constituted the source text for Gettner's *Die Heylige Martyrin Dorothea*. Gettner's manuscript is then in this translatological chain viewed as the target text. There is, unfortunately, no hard evidence to confirm this conjecture about the inter-text; nevertheless, the probability of its existence is so high that our methodology has to account for such a possibility. It is clear that the 17th century Anglo-German theatrical contact ran through many phases, and we have to work with the texts that we do have at our disposal. Additionally, a clear distinction between the terms *dramatic* and *theatrical* has to be established, where the former refers to the text and the latter denotes the actual stage practice. Lastly, whenever an excerpt from the German manuscript is quoted in English, it is taken from Christian Neuhuber's edition of the play in Neuhuber and Havlíčková's publication *Johann Georg Gettner und das barocke Theater zwischen Nikolsburg und Krumau* (2014) and translated by the author of this paper.

Let us turn to the texts themselves. As mentioned above, English playwrights Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger contributed to the long tradition of stories about St Dorothy with their tragedy *The Virgin Martyr* in 1620, and the three quartos of 1631, 1651 and 1661 testify to the play's popularity (Bowers, 1966, p. 375). It retells the story set in the Roman Province Caesarea under the reign of Emperor Diocletian during the 10th Christian persecution. Dorothea is a noble lady who secretly professes Christian faith. She is betrayed by her servants and captured by Theophilus, the zealous persecutor of Christians. He is resolved to make her recant her Christian faith by all means possible. Dorothea undergoes various tortures but miraculously escapes unharmed with the help of an angel-figure. She is eventually executed, dies a martyr and is united with Christ in heaven. The final plot twist consists in converting Theophilus himself to Christianity when Dorothea sends him a basket of flowers and fruit from paradise. This is why her symbol of fruit and flowers is present in all the saint's depictions.

What is new about this rendering of the well-known story is the fact that some of the plot's features seem to come from the legend of Saint Agnes, who suffered the same fate as Dorothea in the same era (Gasper, 1995, p. 18). However, the biggest contribution is the dramatic sophistication of the piece; as Julia Gasper argues: "from the earliest medieval calendars down to the plushy baroque prose of Counter-Reformation authors, *The Virgin Martyr* is easily the best" (p. 32). The play follows the time-proven combination of serious scenes with scenes of comic relief. The characters display a profound psychological dimension, and the majority of the story must be inferred from their dialogues, which was a typical tool of English early modern drama. Therefore, the play requires an educated and experienced audience. Lastly, a significant innovation to the Dorothy canon was the elaboration of two allegorical figures, the Angel and the Devil, who are here turned into fully-fledged characters and drive the plot forward.

It can be assumed that this influential play was brought to the Continent by English comedians during the Thirty Years' War. A play about Saint Dorothy was staged in Europe by the English at least six times, and those are only the extant records.[2] It is very likely that at least some of those stagings were adjusted versions of the Dekker and Massinger play. However, until 2011, there had been no direct link between the English play and the Continental productions to prove this hypothesis. Fortunately, with Christian Neuhuber's discovery of Gettner's manuscript in Swiss Solothurn in 2011, the connection of this Anglo-German exchange has been found.

The German version of the story is apparently a close, though not necessarily the first, translation of the English tragedy. The texts overlap not only thematically, but also in terms of character constellation, plot, imagery, and a few word-for-word translated passages. The manuscript leads us to the court of Bohemian nobleman Johann Christian I von Eggenberg in Krumau, who is important for theatre history because he had a fully equipped baroque theatre

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2   There are at least six other accounts of a German play on the same topic. For example, a play *Tragoedia von der Märtherin Dorothea* was twice played in Dresden in 1626 (Cohn, 1865, p. 115), in Cologne in 1628, later performed in Prague in 1651 with the title *Tragedy of Dorothea* (Limon, 1985, p. 115), and in Würzburg in 1655 or in Rothenburg in 1671 (Drábek, 2015, p. 500).

built in his chateau, which can be seen there to this day. Moreover, from 1676 to 1691, he employed a German-speaking professional theatre company, whose manager was none other than the playwright and actor Johann Georg Gettner. In 1691, Gettner was granted permission to go on tour, travelled with his company in the Bohemian, Austrian and south German areas and is in 1696 recorded in Solothurn, Switzerland (Neuhuber, 2014b, p. 18). This tour proved to be his last as he fell from the stairs and died after one of his Faust performances (Neuhuber, 2014b, p. 9). His company continued with their tour, having left Gettner's manuscript behind. Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact year of the manuscript's production. Gettner's play about St Dorothy is recorded on the Krumau theatre programme in 1685, but the text itself (which was clearly adjusted for the purposes of travelling) was probably written between 1691, Gettner's departure from Krumau, and his death in 1696 (Neuhuber, 2014a, p. 90).

At first sight the German manuscript seems to be inferior to its original text in all respects. It is shorter (Gettner's version is less than half the length of its English original), and the number of characters is cut down as well (Dekker and Massinger's list of personae comprises of 22 characters, Gettner employed only 12) (Neuhuber, 2014a, p. 93). Also, their portrayal was severely simplified with Gettner's characters coming on stage and explicitly announcing who they are and what their role in the story is:

> ANGEL: I have put on this shape on the highest command and been sent to aid the poor and oppressed Christians, above all to wait on the virgin Dorothea, to teach her in the matters of faith and to strengthen her good resolution. (Gettner, 1691?, p. 96)

Whereas the English dramaturgy weaves the plot's dynamic smoothly together so that the single character entrances make sense, many entrances in Gettner's text are purely functional. The same applies to the characters' psychological dimension; the figures in the German version often enter the stage without credible motivation.

Furthermore, the linguistic richness of the English original was victim to simplification too. Whereas the English play is in verse (apart from the speech of two clown figures), Gettner gave up on rhyme almost entirely, with the exception of a few scenes where rhyme serves as a means of emphasis and decoration of Dorothea's eloquence. Moreover, even the scenes of comic relief were simplified (Neuhuber, 2014a, p. 93). The traditional jokes based on clever puns of the English clowns are here replaced with shallow jokes about drinking. Gettner's text is generally more comical at the expense of serious scenes: the Devil character is often mocked and Dorothea's torturing scene is turned into a sketch with her tormentors eventually beating each other instead of the martyr. In a purely literary analysis, Gettner's text seems to be dramatically weaker that his model.

Nevertheless, we have to account for the different staging conditions for which Gettner was writing. Even though he could not match Dekker and Massinger in their dramatic skill, he did know his trade and the taste of his spectators. We have to bear in mind that Gettner was turning a sophisticated original text (or a very faithful translation of it), which was meant

to be staged in a fully equipped London theatre house for educated theatre-goers, into a play performed on the go for spectators of all classes. No wonder that the number of characters was cut down. First, it accommodated the limited number of actors on the tour, and second, the simpler character constellation made the play less demanding for common audiences to follow. Another strategy employed to make the play more accessible to inexperienced audiences is the addition of a prologue. The prologue consists of a dialogue between the Devil and the Angel, who make a wager on who is going to win the souls of Dorothea and Theophilus. This is dramatically the most interesting of Gettner's innovations, not only does it make the story more comprehensible, it also skilfully provides the play with a frame, which is then completed by the Angel's victory at the end. A closer look at other German translations of English plays reveals that such prologues with allegorical figures were rather common. For instance, the German version of *Hamlet*, entitled *The Tragedy of Fratricide Punished*, features the figure of Night who explains the plot of the ensuing play. The main motivation for the addition of the explicatory prologue might go back to the early phase of the Englishmen's career when they struggled to make themselves understood. The last part of Gettner's prologue in English translation is provided here:

Note: In the first part of the prologue, the Devil, here named Harpax, boasts about his power over mortal men, and the Angel decides to prove him wrong. To demonstrate his supremacy over the Devil, he proposes a wager on the souls of Dorothea and her tormentor Theophilus.

> ANGEL: [on the souls of] Dorothea and Theophilus
> HARPAX: whom I will seduce
> ANGEL: Thou will fail
> HARPAX: I have no doubt,
> ANGEL: Neither do I
> HARPAX: that Theophilus is bound to be mine
> ANGEL: that he will escape thee
> HARPAX: I will employ my powers
> ANGEL: and I will bring them to naught
> HARPAX: I take my leave,
> ANGEL: to thy flight!
> HARPAX: To victory. (exit)
> ANGEL: to defeat. (music and preasentationes) (Gettner, 1691?, 97)

Moreover, the analysis of these two texts reveals more than just a deviation of the target text from its original. It bears witness to the complicated journey that the story of St Dorothy undertook during the 17th century across time, space, and genre. Some changes which Gettner incorporated into his play clearly point to a different theatrical tradition that was evolving in Europe at the end of the 17th century. The English comedians were a huge inspiration for German playwrights; however, it was the dramatic and stage art of the French Baroque theatre that they

were attracted to and started to imitate. Therefore, we can watch here the dramatic exchange between two theatrical traditions, the English early modern and the German Baroque dramatics.

To account for the formal aspects of Gettner's play which locate it in the drama of the German Baroque, two aspects can be described here. It has already been said that the original English verse was replaced by ordinary prose except for a few situations. These passages, almost solely reserved for the saint and her conversations with people whom she has moved to Christianity, are rhymed while the rhyme functions as decoration and emphasis (which is the more effective the more scarcely it is used). More importantly, these passages are written in alexandrine – a type of verse consisting of two half-lines of six syllables, separated by a caesura. The following are Dorothea's last words before her execution:

> Schlag henker mache fort | izt bin ich schon bereit
> Durch diesen zeiten tod | such ich die ewigkeit. (Gettner, 1691?, p. 120)

> Strike hangman and go forth | (now) at last am I ready
> Through this my timely death | I seek eternity.

The use of alexandrine clearly associates Gettner's manuscript with the conventions of German drama in the late 17th century. Another formal innovation from the original is the more frequent use of *stichomythia*, which is a dramatic technique for acceleration of the pace of dialogues. It consists in a quick exchange of one-liners between two or more characters (Niefanger, 2000, p. 150). For example, that is how Gettner's prologue is constructed (see above) and how the theological argument between St Dorothea and her persecutor's daughter Cristetta is escalated in the third act. It must be admitted that such a device might be found in the canon of English early modern plays too, however, this classical device is more characteristic of German Baroque drama.

Evidence of the prevalent influence of the German cultural tradition is traceable also in the rhetoric of the saint. Whereas the English Dorothea simply proclaims her wish to enter the Paradise, the German version elaborates on that and stresses Dorothea's role as the bride of Christ. This resonates with the contemporary treatment of martyr figures in German plays, e.g., the same *imitation christi* topos is central in Andreas Gryphius's tragedy *Catherina von Georgien* (1657), a play that Gettner might have been acquainted with (Niefanger, 2000, p. 152). Moreover, both saints base their religious stance on the critique of mortal life. However, it is again Gettner's Dorothea who exceeds her English counterpart in her pious zeal. For instance, she describes herself as "a mortal and transient creature of the earth" and chastises her suitor with the argument that "if you love the outward illusion, you love nothing, for beauty is transient" (Gettner, 1691?, p. 106). Truth be told, although the recurrent condemnation of life's transience makes the message in the German text more prominent, it does so at the expense of dramatic subtlety. No wonder that the martyrs on the German stage, having to follow a strict code of behaviour, often seem shallow in comparison to their raging tormentors (Niefanger, 2000, p. 146).

In short, even though Gettner based his play on Dekker and Massinger's original (though possibly via an older German source-text), his work is deeply rooted in the German style of drama writing, emerging at that time. As a principal of the Krumau court theatre, he surely had access to contemporary German dramatic texts, modelled on French Baroque conventions, which shaped the formation of his (adjusted for travelling purposes) Dorothea manuscript.

To conclude, even though Johann Georg Gettner's *Die Heylige Martyrin Dorothea* and its English original *The Virgin Martyr* are thematically and dramatically intertwined, they represent two independent texts and, thus, have to be credited with merit of their own. The differences stem from the complicated transmission of the text material and from different staging conditions. No matter how dramatically unsophisticated Gettner's manuscript might seem to be, he managed to produce a functional text suitable for his staging conditions that was attractive and relatable for his spectators. The most prominent innovation of the German play is the addition of the prologue. Moreover, the German text also displays tendencies of the tragedian dramatic genre of Gettner's time, the German Baroque. Although there are problems such as the existence of a German inter-text, which was probably Gettner's immediate source text, the German translation provides us with an invaluable window into the theatrical possibilities and genre implications of the Anglo-German dramatic interrelatedness of the 17th century.

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