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Translating grammatical metaphor in a scientific text: Implications of understanding 'favourite clause type' for translator training

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The goal of this paper is to analyse patterns used in scientific texts for the purpose of assisting trainee translators to better deal with the translation challenges stemming from the linguistic aspects of 'special language translation' as well as 'general language translation' (Snell-Hornby 1990: 33). As a kind of special language text, scientific texts are packed with information that often leaves non-expert readers, including trainee translators, feeling distanced and excluded. The difficulty originates not just from the technical terms and subject knowledge, but the 'favourite clause type' inherent in the scientific texts (Halliday 1998/2004: 74). Using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), this paper elaborates upon the favourite clause type used in scientific texts and now also widely used in most other forms of adult writing including special language texts (e.g. business, legal) and general language texts (e.g. some administrative texts) (Halliday 1999/2004: 104). The outcome of my research shows that trainee translators struggle in rendering the favourite clause type both in a scientific text and a visa application text, due to their partial understanding of the grammatical structure.

Key words: scientific texts, trainee translators, special language translation, favourite clause type, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

1. Introduction

Special language translation is important for translator training as it is, compared with general language translation, regarded as "the main concern of translation schools" (Snell-Hornby 1990: 33). The focus on special language translation in translation programs reflects the demand of the market. At the same time, special language translation is seen as difficult because of the many technical terms loaded in the texts, and thus it is taught at a later stage in translator training programs. However, the presence of technical terms is not the only factor that contributes to the perception that special language texts are difficult to translate, nor do technical terms pose the greatest challenge for understanding such texts. As Halliday observes, technical terms "are not, in themselves, difficult to master; and students are not particularly dismayed by them" (1989/2004: 161-162). Instead, the greatest problems with translating special language texts arise from the complex relations terms have with one another, in that these complex relations function to define the terms themselves (Halliday 1989/2004: 162).

The complex structures that configure the technical terms in a scientific text can be explained linguistically, drawing on a linguistic theory that specialises in explaining the functions of language. The complex structures of scientific texts can be better translated once it is understood that they exhibit certain patterns, which will be referred to as 'favourite clause type'. In this paper, the favourite clause type is dealt with using the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Specifically, a range of Halliday's writings on scientific texts will be used.

The favourite clause type used in scientific writing originates from the scientific discourse itself, and takes a simple structure comprising three components: two nominal groups, and one verbal group located between the nominal groups (e.g. *The test results do not mean that you have cancer*). The first nominal group, with a significant expandable space, functions as a summary of the preceding passage, and, together with the rest of the sentence, serves as the departure point for the next passage. This simple construction, which is frequently found in scientific texts, has now spread to other types of written texts and has become a vital part of adult writing.

This paper examines scientific texts for two reasons. First, scientific texts employ a prototypical favourite clause type with a long subject functioning as a signpost which indicates the movement of reasoning in a text. Because this favourite clause type now "pervade[s] most other forms of adult writing" (Halliday 1999/2004: 104), the findings in relation to scientific texts could likely be applied to other special language texts as well as to general language texts, which share similarities with scientific texts in their linguistic structure (i.e.

the two nominal groups and one verbal group structure). Second, though still limited in number, scientific texts and their translations are more available in their published form than other types of special language texts.

In the course of analysing scientific texts, this paper seeks to answer three questions: 1) How should the favourite clause type in English scientific texts be translated in Korean where the English preferred clause type may not be preferred? 2) What can trainee translators learn from published translations when dealing with favourite clause type-related translation challenges? and 3) Keeping in mind that specialised language translation, including translation of scientific texts, and general language translation aim for different readerships (experts vs. non-experts), should taking into consideration the different readerships make any difference when rendering the preferred structure? In answering these questions, this paper is mindful of the fact that students cannot master all areas in a couple of years of training and thus would be better off with “a good foundation in the more generic, transferrable subject areas”, of which clause structure is one kind (Byrne 2006: 6).

The favourite clause type in English scientific texts packages information as ‘things (nouns)’[1], whereas Korean does not tend to treat information as such, more frequently packaging it as ‘events (verbs)’ (c.f. Lee 2009: 36-37). The different ways of developing reasoning in texts between English and Korean are identified as a major translation issue for trainee translators, who have little experience in translating scientific texts and are more easily affected by the ‘interference’ of the source text structure (Toury 1995: 275; Baker 1998, 2001: 291). For this reason, trainee translators can learn from translators of published works (including translators who are also experts in a given subject area) how to treat and render the different linguistic structures in a scientific text.

As well as special language texts like scientific texts, general language texts use the favourite clause type (Halliday 1999/2004: 104), and it would be useful to examine general language texts which are an integral part of translation training. In this paper, a visa application text is used because it is one of the most commonly used general language texts in the country in which the author is based. In rendering the visa application text, consideration of the target

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[1] It is not just English that packages information as such. Other languages including Italian, French, Russian and some other European languages have displayed the same phenomenon since the Renaissance (Halliday 1989/2004: 174).

readership is found to be another skill trainee translators need to foster.

This paper is organised as follows. First, SFL's theory of levels of language is presented, and the concept of favourite clause type is positioned within this linguistic system. In doing this, the favourite clause type is compared with 'clause' configuration in a story text. Second, two criteria for writtenness (I use 'writtenness' to differentiate between 'written' and 'spoken' texts) are elaborated upon in order to highlight the favourite clause type in scientific texts. This elaboration will focus on grammatical metaphor (the substitution of one grammatical structure for another). Third, a comparison is made between a published translation and trainee translators' translations of an extract from a scientific text. Finally, the lesson the trainees can take from the comparison is used to assess their translations of an extract from a general language text, i.e. the visa application.

2. Theoretical framework: SFL and levels of language

As a functional variety of linguistic theory, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) places the functions of language at its centre. In other words, SFL pays special attentions to language as it is used in a social context. Specifically, it considers that language makes meaning through the use of several strata or levels (this concept is referred to as 'stratification'). This is explained below.

2.1. Stratification

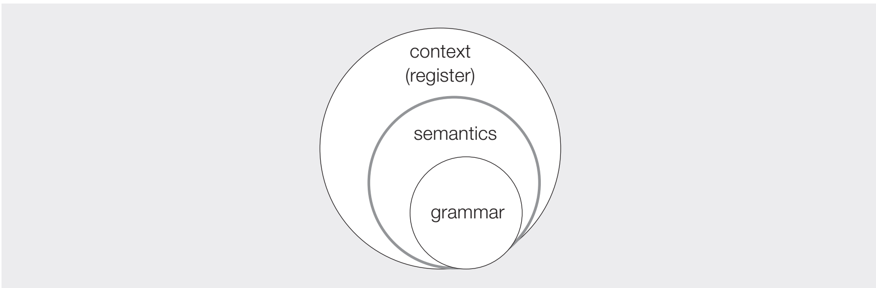
In SFL, language comprises a multiple number of levels which include context, semantics (meaning), and grammar (see Figure 1). Closely interconnected, they work together to make sense in a text in a relationship that is referred to as 'realisation': context is realised in semantics and grammar[2], and semantics is realised in grammar.

[2] In a stratified system consisting of, for example, context, semantics and grammar, the organising principle is not causation where context is realised in semantics and semantics is, in turn, realised in grammar. Rather, the organising principle is metaredundancy, where context is realised in both semantics and grammar, and semantics is realised in grammar (c.f. Halliday 1992/2002: 356-358).

‘Register’, which is an aspect of context[3], is used to account for the specific situation in which a text originates, and has three variables: field (what is happening), tenor (who is taking part) and mode (the role of language, e.g. written or spoken) (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985). Of the three variables, mode of language (written or spoken) is the focus within the context level in this paper.

Semantics (meaning) plays a core part in making sense in a text. The four modes of meaning (or metafunctions) are the experiential (who did what), the logical (the relations between experiential meanings), the interpersonal (the nature of the social interaction) and the textual (what makes the text a coherent whole). Each of the four modes of meaning is expressed in the grammar level: for example, logical meaning is realised in clause combining systems (how clauses are combined and the relationships between clauses), while textual meaning is manifested in ‘Theme’ systems (the point of departure for the clause) and ‘Information’ systems (what can be referred to as ‘Given’ and ‘New’, where the former is the information presented as recoverable while the latter is the information presented as unrecoverable to the listener [Halliday 1994: 298]). Of the four modes of meaning and their respective grammatical resources, this paper concentrates on clause combination as the grammatical resource of logical meaning, and the associated concept of grammatical metaphor, which will be detailed below.

Figure 1. Stratification (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 25, Fig. 1-10 adjusted)



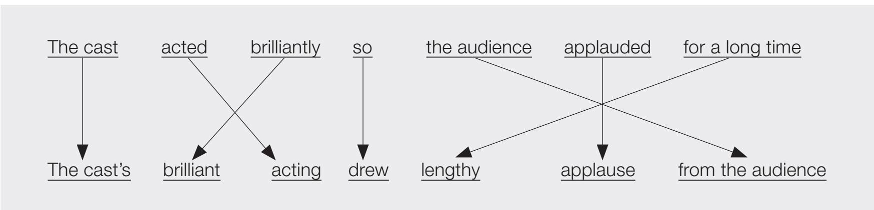
[3] In SFL, in the context stratum there is one more level called ‘genre’ which is located beyond the level of register. It is not included in this paper because it is not relevant.

2.1.1. Clause combination and grammatical metaphor

As noted, logical meaning is one of the four modes of meaning in the semantic level of language. It governs the relations between events (human experiences), and is realised in the clause combining systems in the grammar level. When we focus on clause combining systems, we are concerned with whether a particular clause is simple (referred to as a clause simplex) or complex (referred to as a clause complex); and, if it is a clause complex, with which relations the clauses are connected (i.e. logical-semantic relations such as cause and effect). In this light, clause combining systems manifest logical meaning in a text which is situated in a specific context.

In a text, the same message can be encoded in a clause simplex or a clause complex. For example, the sentence: *The cast acted brilliantly so the audience applauded for a long time*, has two clauses and they are linked by the logical-semantic relationship of condition (*so*). The sentence can also be expressed as a clause simplex: *The cast's brilliant acting drew lengthy applause from the audience*. In this second sentence, the same information is recomposed in a different structure (see Figure 2 below). The two clauses (*The cast acted brilliantly, the audience applauded for a long time*) have become nominal groups (*The cast's brilliant acting, lengthy applause from the audience*) and the linker (*so*) changed to a verbal group (*drew*)[4]. As a result, the clause complex has become simple in structure: a clause simplex comprising two nominal groups produced through nominalisation, with a verbal group that denotes the relation (more specifically, 'to be the cause') between the nominal groups. This structure corresponds with

Figure 2. An example of a clause complex repackaged in a clause simplex (Halliday 1989/2004: 173, adjusted)



[4] In the second example, the subject is removed and thus the clause is objectified (Thompson 2004: 230).

the favourite clause type used in scientific texts referred to above.

The restructuring of the clause complex is referred to as "grammatical metaphor", which in terms of stratification stands between the semantics (meaning) level and the grammar level (Halliday 2004; Martin 2008: 829)[5]. Grammatical metaphor refers to the substitution of one grammatical structure for another, just as lexical metaphor refers to the substitution of one lexical item for another. What is notable with grammatical metaphor is that the metaphorised clause simplex can be unpacked as a clause complex, or the congruent (i.e. literal, or de-metaphorised) version of the message. This means, clearly, that there are choices involved between using the congruent and the metaphorical options to deliver the same message. The two options (there could be more options, in that multiple congruent forms are possible, depending on how congruent or metaphorical a text is) represent the same state of affairs differently, which is to say, they express meaning differently (Thompson 2004: 223).

As the above discussion has indicated, at the heart of grammatical metaphor is nominalisation, which is achieved through replacing a verbal group (or a clause) with a nominal group. In English, a nominal group expands by a process known as modification, in which one noun functions as the head ('Thing') and the remainding words are organised around it with different functions (Halliday 1998/2004: 61). The items of a common type of noun group are as follows (It should be noted that function labels are used, such as 'Thing' and 'Qualifier', instead of class labels, like noun and verb, because class labels can be used for multiple functions and this may lead to confusion.). 'Deictic' refers to determiners such as *the* and *their*. 'Epithet' signifies qualities that could be considered somewhat transitory, e.g. a <u>*red*</u> *sedan*. 'Classifier', in contrast to 'Epithet', tends to represent long-term and inherent qualities, e.g. <u>*heart*</u> *failure*. 'Qualifier' is the only item that post-modifies the Thing that functions as head of a nominal group, e.g. *the black swan* <u>*in the pond*</u> (Martin et al. 2010: 166-167). The capacity of a nominal group to include all these elements is indicative of its ability to condense an event (a clause) into a thing, thus giving it greater mobility in a text than a clause (see below for more examples).

The first nominal group in a metaphorical clause (in the: nominal group +

[5] Martin and Rose see this state as being indicative of "inter-stratal tension" and they argue that the meaning of grammatical metaphor is more than the sum of its parts (2005: 39).

Deictic	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
The cast's	brilliant		acting	
The	natural	Buffering	capacity	of the agricultural soil
Griffith's		energy balance	approach	to strength and fracture

(Examples extracted from Halliday 1998/2004: 78, 1989/2004: 173, adjusted)

verbal group[6] + nominal group structure) functions as the driving force behind the development of a text, particularly in a scientific text. Functioning as the Subject of the sentence, the nominal group recapitulates the previous idea as the point of departure in a clause (the Theme) and at the same time presents the information that is recoverable by the listener as the old information (the Given) (Halliday 1995/2004: 19, c.f. Snell-Hornby 1990: 68)[7]. The interplay of the Theme and the Given "constitutes an immensely powerful discursive resource; it is the primary source of energy for the dynamic of scientific and technical argument" (Halliday 1998/2004: 72).

Without the knowledge of how grammatical metaphor works, the favourite clause type used in scientific texts cannot be understood, and this may pose a translation problem particularly for the language pair of English and Korean. While English has a highly expandable nominal group and favours grammatical metaphor in its written texts, Korean tends to work otherwise. Korean is inclined not to use the abstract 'non-human' nominal groups as Theme (Suh 1994, 2006: 444) but typically relies more on verbal groups (and thus clauses) in developing a text (c.f. Lee 2009: 36-37). These different ways of unfolding a text demand different translation strategies depending on the language direction of a particular translation (more congruence is required for the English into Korean translation; more grammatical metaphor is required for the Korean into English translation). In this paper, translation from English into Korean is investigated and thus a clear understanding of grammatical metaphor

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[6] The kind of verbal group used in the favourite clause type is referred to as 'relational Process'. The relational Process establishes the relations between the two nominal groups (Halliday 1994: 119).

[7] The nominalised Theme has the potential to become a technical term as points within a text are progressively developed. It can ultimately become a string of nouns after going through a series of metaphorisations (e.g. *glass crack growth rate*). The result is not just a rewording but a "remeaning", which is unrecoverable without the help of an expert from the given field (Halliday 1999/2004: 125; c.f. Martin 1990).

is crucial for grasping the meaning of the source text. In the next section, a further examination is made of the common types of grammatical metaphor. The section also presents the method that will be used for data analysis as well as the data itself.

3. Method and data

As noted, grammatical metaphor is used in the favourite clause type in a scientific text; and importantly, as also noted, grammatical metaphor has now become a fundamental indication of 'writteness/spokenness' in a wide variety of language environments. From the perspective of SFL, writtenness/spokenness provides the "context" for texts (here we are concerned with the level of register: mode of language). To determine how written the favourite clause type is, this paper uses two main criteria: the first is grammatical metaphor, which has been discussed, and the second is lexical density, which will be explained below. Of the two criteria, the concept of grammatical metaphor is particularly useful when making finer analyses, as it is relevant to both whole sentences and the constituents of sentences.

3.1. Lexical density

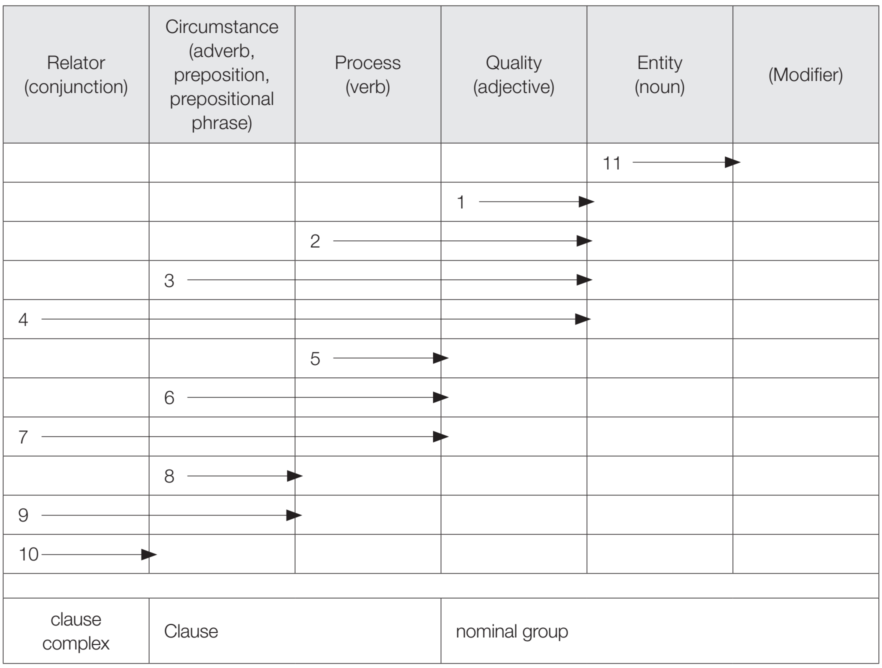
Lexical density refers to the number of content words in a clause. Content words include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and some adverbs, and exclude function words like pronouns, determiners, conjunctions and most prepositions. Lexical density is a reliable measure for determining whether a text is written or spoken. A distinct difference in average lexical density exists between spoken texts (1.5-2), and written texts (3-6) depending on the level of formality (Halliday 1985: 80). In general, written texts have twice the lexical density of spoken texts (Halliday 1985: 80). Of written texts, the average lexical density of scientific texts is observed to be "around six" (Halliday 1997/2004: 195).

3.2. Grammatical metaphor

As mentioned, the concept of grammatical metaphor is useful when conducting a detailed analysis as grammatical metaphor not only occurs in the clause rank, but the group rank (e.g. within verbal groups). For instance, using the above examples, the Epithet *brilliant* in *their acting was brilliant* can be transformed to the nominalised *brilliance* as shown in the Theme *the brilliance of their acting*. The metaphoric change tends to exhibit certain patterns in a scientific text, which are summarised in Figure 3 (Halliday 1998/2004: 76). (In Figure 3, function labels such as 'Relator' and 'Circumstance' are used together with class labels [e.g. 'conjunction' and 'adverb and postpositional phrase'] to give a fuller account of each component.)

In Figure 3, all components including 'Relator (conjunction)' and 'Process (verb)' tend to display metaphoric moves towards 'Entity (noun)' (see numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 in Figure 3), strongly indicating the phenomenon of nominalisation. Also, 'Relator (conjunction)', 'Circumstance (adverb)' and 'Process (verb)' can be construed as if they are 'Quality (adjective)' (numbers 5, 6, 7); 'Relator'

Figure 3. The 'general drift' of grammatical metaphor
(Halliday 1998/2004: 76, Figure 3.5 adjusted)



and ‘Circumstance’ can be construed as if they are ‘Process’ (numbers 8, 9); and ‘Relator’ can be construed as if it is ‘Circumstance’ (number 10) (Halliday 1998/2004: 76). Lastly, ‘Modifier’ is a nominal group which is metaphorised to be a modifier inside another nominal group, and it appears as either a Deictic (*Griffith’s*) or Qualifier (*to strength and fracture*) in *Griffith’s energy balance approach to strength and fracture* (Halliday 1998/2004: 77).

Providing examples of how Figure 3 operates, Table 1 below displays the Relator (conjunction) *so* and the Process (verb) *grow* ‘drifting’ towards the Entity (noun). In the first example, the Relator *so* is transformed into the Circumstance (prepositional phrase) *as a result of*, which is then changed into the Process *resulted from* and then the Quality (adjective) *resultant*, and finally into the Entity *the result*. In the second example, the Process *grow* becomes *is increasing* and then this is changed into the Quality *increasing* before finally becoming the Entity *the increase*. These examples, together with Figure 3, which represents the general drift of grammatical metaphor, provide a useful snapshot of some possible metaphoric moves one step at a time.

Table 1. Examples of how ‘general drift’ of grammatical metaphor works (Halliday 1998/2004: 77 adjusted)

Example 1: relator ‘so’		**Example**
relator: conjunction	Clause complex	(*a* happened) so (*x* happened)
10 (minor process in) circumstance: preposition	Clause	(*x* happened) as a result of (happening *a*)
9 process: verb	Clause	(happening *x*) resulted from (happening *a*)
7 quality: adjective	Nominal group	The resultant (happening of *x*)···
4 entity: noun	Nominal group	The result (of happening *a*)···
Example 2: process ‘grow’		**Example**
process: verb	Clause	(poverty) is increasing
5 quality: adjective	Nominal group	Increasing (poverty)
2 entity: noun	Nominal group	The increase (in poverty)

3.3. Data

In this paper, a total of three sets of texts are used (source texts and their translations): a story carried in the monthly magazine *Guidepost* entitled "Road Ready", an extract from Chapter 2 of Steven Hawking's *A Brief History in Time* (the first four pages)[8], and a part of the Applicant's Declaration in the "Radiological report on chest x-ray of an applicant for an Australia visa"[9]. The first text is an everyday life story, whereas the second is a scientific text and the third is a government administrative text.

The three texts and their translations are analysed in the following way. First, the two texts "Road Ready" (hereafter called 'the story text') and *A Brief History in Time* (hereafter called 'the scientific text') are compared in order to identify the differences with respect to writtenness and spokenness. The reason the story text is compared with the scientific text is to have a better understanding of where the latter is located within a range of written texts. The story text is considered to be located at a far end on the continuum of writtenness, closer to spoken texts with respect to lexical density and, in particular, grammatical metaphor, as shown below. With respect to grammatical metaphor, the two texts are analysed in terms of how metaphorical, or how demetaphorised or congruent they are (based on Figure 3 above). Second, the grammatical metaphors in the two source texts and their respective translations are compared. Third, the published translation in Korean of the scientific text is compared with translations produced by ten trainee translators (who enrolled in the T&I programs at Macquarie University and the University of New South Wales, Sydney in the second semester of 2012) to help develop some lessons for the latter from the former in rendering the favourite clause type. Finally, the applicant's declaration text is critically analysed along with students' translations, and an alternative to the student translations is suggested, which is rendered taking the target readership into consideration.

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[8] The reason this specific part of *A Brief History in Time* is chosen is that by this stage the text has developed a certain degree of reasoning, but the concepts are not yet considered too difficult to understand for non-expert readers including the author.

[9] The text can be found on http://www.immi.gov.au/allforms/pdf/160.pdf

4. Discussion

As a result of analysing the extracts from the story text and the scientific text using the method presented above, the two texts show a significant difference with respect to utilising grammatical metaphor. Although both texts display little difference in the number of clauses per sentence and a smaller gap in lexical density than would reasonably be expected of the two different text types, they show a noticeable difference in the number of items employing grammatical metaphor. These findings support the interpretation that, as a popular science book, the scientific text attempts to employ less complex sentence structure and lower lexical density, while still maintaining a high level of grammatical metaphor, which is the hallmark of a scientific text.

When comparing the two texts and their respective translations that were rendered by professional translators[10], the story text and its translation show a high similarity in the way clauses are combined (the number of clauses per sentence is almost identical) and also in the number of cases of grammatical metaphor, while the scientific text and its translation display both similarities and differences. The scientific text and its translation display a similar number of grammatical metaphors, but the two are different in the way they utilise subtypes of grammatical metaphor. Specifically, it will be noted that the 'translation shifts' allow us to highlight differences between the ST and the TT in the way grammatical resources are used to develop reasoning in a scientific text (Popovič 1970).This will be detailed below.

In comparison with the published translation, most of the trainees in their translations of the scientific text fall short of making translation shifts in rendering the favourite clause type. Their inability to render the favourite clause type successfully is also displayed in their translations of the extract of the visa application text (hereafter called 'the visa text'). Although it is a general language text, the visa text contains a heavily metaphorised part (which uses the favourite clause type), making it difficult for trainee translators to analyse and translate. Thus, we can say that the favourite clause type poses a significant translation challenge for trainee translators in both the special language translation and general language translation settings.

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[10] The translator of the scientific text is also an expert on the subject area. He is considered a professional translator in this paper because he has published his translations of a multiple number of books in the field.

4.1. Story text vs. scientific text: STs

As noted in the method and data sections, two criteria are adopted to determine the writtenness/spokenness of the story text and the scientific text: the first being lexical density and the second, grammatical metaphor. As can be seen in Table 2, the lexical density of the story text and the scientific text is 2.81 and 4.86, respectively, with a difference of around 2. Taking into account the typical range of lexical density (1.5-2 for a spoken text; 3-6 for a written text), the story text exceeds the typical range while the scientific text is located near the middle. In particular, the latter means that the scientific text does not stand high on the scale of formality for a special language text like a scientific text, whose typical lexical density is, as mentioned, around six (Halliday 1997/2004: 195).

The reason for a high lexical density of the story text and the lower-than-expected standing of the scientific text seems to be associated with register, particularly the mode of language. With respect to the story text, while most story texts may be regarded as ‘spoken’, this text, although containing features of spoken language, is nonetheless written to be read. It is this that causes it to be positioned between the typical range of spoken texts (1.5-2) and written texts (3-6). Meanwhile, the scientific text is written as “a popular book about space and time” for people without a specialised knowledge of science to understand (Hawking 1988: vii). The intention of the scientific text seems to be reflected in sentence structure. For example, some sentences (or clause complexes) are composed of five or even six clauses unlike in a typical scientific text where one-clause sentences are common. To better understand the atypical features just discussed, a more precise tool is needed in order to distinguish between the two texts.

Table 2. Lexical density of the STs

	Number of clauses	Number of content words	Lexical density (content words/clause)
Story text	54	152	2.81
Scientific text	110	535	4.86
Difference			2.05

As noted, a more elaborate analysis of the degree of writtenness of a text is possible when we focus on grammatical metaphor. While the scientific text has relatively low lexical density for a scientific text, it contains many more grammatical metaphors than the story text. In Table 3, grammatical metaphor is divided into two subcategories: 'pure' and 'extended'. In this paper, the former refers to grammatical metaphor in a stricter sense as set forth in Figure 3 (e.g. the transformation of adjective to noun, conjunction to verb)[11], while the latter refers to a broadened concept of grammatical metaphor or nominalised clauses[12]. The reason nominalised clauses are included and treated separately is because there are many of them in this paper and the TT shows a distinct preference for the 'extended' subcategory.

In Table 3, we see that the scientific text uses grammatical metaphor 3.7 times more than the story text. Of particular interest is the subcategory of pure grammatical metaphor, which appears 11 times more frequently in the scientific

Table 3. Grammatical metaphor of the STs

	Subcategories		
	Pure	Extended	
Story text	1	5	
Scientific text	11	11	
Difference (times)	11	5.5	
Total difference (times)			3.7

[11] One example of 'pure' grammatical metaphor in the scientific text is a sentence taken from the beginning of Chapter 2 (*Our present ideas about the motion of bodies date back to Galileo and Newton*). This is the favourite clause type: a clause simplex composed of a nominal group (*Our present ideas… bodies*) followed by a verbal group (*date back to*) and a nominal group (*Galileo and Newton*). In the first nominal group, there are two instances of grammatical metaphor: one is *our present ideas* which can be unpacked as *we now have ideas* (*we* → *our* [entity → modifier]; *now* → *present* [circumstance → quality] and the other is *motion of bodies* which can be transformed into more congruent *bodies move* (*move* → *motion* [process → entity]).

[12] A nominalised clause typically construes an embedded clause that modifies a nominal group (e.g. *Every morning I see the girl [[who goes for a walk]]*), or serves as a Participant (subject or object) in a relational clause (e.g. *Going for a walk every morning is good for your health*).

text when the same number of words from the two texts arecompared[13]. This significant difference indicates that, despite being a part of a popular science monograph, the scientific text's use of grammatical metaphor sets it apart from the story text. These findings are indicative of scientific texts in general, whose reasoning is frequently driven by grammatical metaphor.

4.2. Story text vs. scientific text: comparison between STs and TTs

The two source texts are now better understood in terms of register (mode of language); and in particular it has been ascertained that the scientific text utilises a favourite clause type that is not present in the story text. What is interesting about the translations of the two source texts discussed above is that the TTs produced by professional translators display a different inclination for the subcategories of grammatical metaphor ('pure' vs. 'extended'). Specifically, the translator of the story text favours the subcategory of 'pure' grammatical metaphor over the 'extended' subcategory, whereas the translator of the scientific text favours the 'extended' subcategory. In the story text (Table 4), the TT is almost identical to the ST with respect to the number of sentences (36 vs. 37) and clauses (54 vs. 55), but it contains five times the number of pure grammatical metaphors (5 vs. 1). Of the five items, four are Sino-Korean words (borrowed Chinese characters) (e.g. *I need to get that <u>checked out</u>* → *<u>점검</u>을 받*

Table 4. Comparison between the ST and the TT with respect to the use of grammatical metaphor: story text

	Sentences	**Clauses**	**Grammatical metaphor**		**Total (gram. metaphor)**
			Pure	Extended	
ST	36	54	1	5	6
TT	37	55	5	6	11

[13] This shorter extract from the scientific text is only used in this part of the subsection where the two texts are compared specifically with respect to the number of grammatical metaphors used. In the rest of the paper the first four pages of the book are analysed as indicated in 3.3.

Table 5. Comparison between the ST and the TT with respect to the use of grammatical metaphor: scientific text

	Sentences	Clauses	Grammatical metaphor		Total (gram. metaphor)
			Pure	Extended	
ST	<u>49</u>	110	38	16	54
TT	53	<u>90</u>	23	30	53

아 봐야겠어 I need to receive <u>an inspection</u>). This "metaphoric shift into another tongue" is found in many languages including Korean to be "typical of the technicalizing process" (Halliday 1998/2004: 64).

However, the number of cases with pure grammatical metaphors in the story texts is not large enough to be considered significant (6 items in the ST and 11 in the TT) (Table 4), when compared with the number of grammatical metaphors used in the scientific texts. In the scientific texts (Table 5), grammatical metaphors occurs 54 times (out of 110 clauses, or 49%) in the ST, and 53 times (out of 90 clauses, or 59%) in the TT, which can be interpreted as approximately every second clause involving grammatical metaphor. Thus, grammatical metaphor is considered to be the defining characteristic of a scientific text not only in the ST but in the TT[14].

As noted, the scientific text has a high number of grammatical metaphors in both the ST and the TT, and the ST and the TT show different preferences in subcategories. In Table 5, the ST favours the pure subcategory and the TT has more cases of the extended subcategory. What is noteworthy is that the TT's preference for extended grammatical metaphors (ST: 16, TT: 30) may have led to a decline in the number of clauses (ST: 110, TT: 90). In other words, these figures can be explained by arguing that the smaller number of clauses may have been obtained through the extensive use of nominalised clauses. As

[14] Some may argue that the large difference in the use of grammatical metaphor between the TT of the story text and the TT of the scientific text derives from the different writing styles of the translators, not from the different text types. However, this argument is not convincing because the two source texts themselves exhibit a significant difference in the number of grammatical metaphors used (Table 4 and Table 5). The story text does not have many metaphors, while the scientific text contains a significant number of them. It should also be stressed that the translator of the scientific text renders the pure metaphor subtype as the extended subtype.

a result, the nominalised clauses seem to have raised the TT's total number of grammatical metaphors to 53, which is similar to the ST's 54.

Example 1 shows an instance of how, in the scientific text, clauses in a clause complex in the ST are nominalised in the TT. The TT renders a clause complex composed of five clauses as a clause simplex. The two clauses ⋯ *Aristotle*, || *who said* (C1 and C2 in the ST) are translated as a nominal group (*Aristotle's remarks*) in the TT, and the last three clauses (C3, C4 and C5 in the ST: content of *who said*) are rendered as embedded clauses pre-modifying the nominal group Aristotle's remarks. What can be deduced from the example is that, while the ST favours the pure subcategory of grammatical metaphor, the TT prefers the more loose nominalised clauses which, though embedded, still contain clause(s)[15].

Example 1.

*S	C	ST	TT
2	1	Before them people believed Aristotle,	그 이전에는 [[물체의 자연스러운 상태는 정지하고 있는 상태며, 힘이나 충격을 받을 때에만 운동이 일어난다는]] 아리스토텔레스의 말을 믿었다. Before them, (people) believed Aristotle's remarks [[that the natural state of a body was a state of stopping, || and that the movement occ urred || only when (it) received a force or impulse]].
	2	who said	-
	3	that the natural state of a body was to be at rest	-
	4	and that it moved	-
	5	only if driven by a force or impulse.	-

∗ S refers to Sentence, while C refers to Clause

[15] In principle, this interpretation is consistent with the observation that the TT (Korean) typically depends more on verbal groups (thus clauses) to develop a text than the source language (English). However, the analysis in this study argues that these clauses should include nominalised clauses (c.f. Lee 2009: 36-37).

As discussed above, the TT's higher number in the nominalised clause subcategory seems to have motivated the decline in the number of clauses in the translation. Related to this, the drop in the number of clauses in the TT is also at odds with its increased number of sentences; in more detail, the number of clauses in the TT is lower than in the ST, but in the same comparison the number of sentences is higher (from 49 in the ST to 53 in the TT). The variance appears to be partially related to the translator's rendering of the favourite clause type in the ST[16], which will be explained below.

In Example 2, the ST has two instances of the favourite clause type (ST: S45, S48). Both comprise a nominal group (*The lack of an absolute standard of rest, The nonexistence of absolute rest*) followed by a verbal group (*meant*) and a nominal group (e.g. *that one could not*⋯). Of the two instances, the first plays a dual role: coming at the beginning of a new paragraph, it provides a summary of the previous idea (*there is no absolute standard of rest*) and also functions as a departure point for the next idea. Because of the greater complexity of its function, the discussion below will focus on the first instance.

In the first instance (ST: S45 in Example 2), the Theme is encoded in the pure subcategory *The lack of an absolute standard of rest* in the ST, while in the TT the Theme is de-metaphorised and rendered congruently in a separate sentence (*<u>That is,</u> an absolute standard of the state of rest does not exist*). This results in a clause complex in the TT, which is composed of two clauses (TT: S47, S48). What is conspicuous here is the way the TT divides the paragraphs. Unlike in the ST where the favourite clause type functions as the opening sentence of a new paragraph, the TT takes the favourite clause type and includes it in the previous paragraph. In doing this, the TT also adds an adverbial (Circumstance) 즉 *that is* to the beginning of the newly created sentence in the following paragraph (S47 in the TT) which functions as a cohesive link that connects to the preceding paragraph. In addition, the TT shifts the verbal group *meant* to the conjunctive *As a result* in the next sentence (S48 in the TT). Thus, the TT employs the favourite clause type as part of the conclusion of the preceding paragraph, and in this process the clause type is rendered in two sentences in the TT.

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[16] Other things responsible for the higher number of sentences in the TT include the presence, in the ST, of punctuation marks (colons) and the fact that the ST's sentences are packed with information. Sentences with such features are often divided into multiple sentences in the translation.

Example 1.

<table>
<tr><th>S</th><th>C</th><th>ST</th><th>S</th><th>C</th><th>TT</th></tr>
<tr><td>44</td><td></td><td>So there is no way to tell [[whether it is the train or the earth that is moving]].</td><td>46</td><td></td><td>그러므로 [[움직이는 것이 기차인지 지구인지를 분간할]] 방법이 없는 셈이다.
So there is no way [[to tell whether it is the train or the earth that is moving]].</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">45</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2">*|||| [[The lack of an absolute standard of rest]] meant [[that one could not determine whether two events that took place at different times occurred in the same position in space]].</td><td>47</td><td></td><td>즉 정지 상태의 절대적 기준이 없다.
That is, an absolute standard of the state of rest does not exist.</td></tr>
<tr><td>48</td><td></td><td>그 결과 [[서로 다른 시각에 일어나는 2개의 사건이 동일한 장소에서 일어났는지, 아니면 서로 다른 장소에서 일어났는지]]를 판가름할 수 없게 된다.
As a result, (one) could not determine [[whether two events that took place at different times occurred in the same place, or at different places]].</td></tr>
<tr><td>46</td><td>1</td><td>For example, suppose our PingPong ball on the train bounces straight up and down,</td><td>49</td><td></td><td>||||[17] 예를 들어 [[기차 속에서 탁구공이 수직 방향으로 탁구대를 튕기는]] 경우를 상상해보자.
For example, imagine the case [[where a pingong ball on the train bounces vertically]].</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>2</td><td>hitting the table twice on the same spot one second apart.</td><td>50</td><td>1</td><td>탁구공이 탁구대의 같은 곳을 1초 사이를 두고 두 번 튕겼다면
If the ball hit the table twice on the same spot one second apart, -</td></tr>
</table>

[17] Unlike in the ST where the favourite clause type appears at the beginning of the paragraph and is both the conclusion of the previous paragraph and the departure for the current paragraph, in the TT, the translator uses the same information purely as a conclusion.

S	C	ST	S	C	TT
47	1	To someone on the track, the two bounces would seem to take place about forty meters apart,		2	철로변에 서 있는 사람이 볼 때 When someone standing on the track sees,
				3	[[탁구공이 두번 튕긴]] 자리는 약 100m나 서로 떨어져 있을 것이다. the places [[the ball hit twice]] would be about as far as 100m apart.
	2	because the train would have traveled that far down the track between the bounces.	51	1	왜냐하면 공이 두 번 튕기는 동안 (1초)에 while the ball hit twice (one second)
				2	기차가 그만큼 달렸기 때문이다. Because the train would have run that far
48	1	The nonexistence of absolute rest therefore meant [[that one could not give an event an absolute position in space]],	52	1	따라서 절대적인 정지상태가 존재하지 않으면, Therefore, if an absolute state of rest does not exist,
				2	아리스토텔레스가 믿었던 것처럼 as Aristotle had believed
	2	as Aristotle had believed.		3	하나의 사건에 대해서 공간에서의 절대적 위치를 줄 수 없게 된다. (one) could not given an event an absolute position in space.

* |||| refers to the beginning of a paragraph

Moreover, the structural divergence in the TT carries on through the next several sentences. In the translation, the example part of the ST (*For example*, ⋯ in S46-1) constitutes the beginning of a new paragraph in the TT (S49). In the rest of the passage, the second part of the sentence (*hitting the table twice*⋯ in S46-2) is cut and formed into another sentence together with S47-1 (ST) in the TT. Like a falling domino, S47-2 (ST) is rendered as yet another sentence in the TT. We can see that these modifications result in the addition of two sentences in this short passage. Importantly, although in the translation the favourite clause type is divided into two sentences and placed in the previous paragraph, its function does not seem to be lost.

In the TT, it has been found that the reduced number of clauses is associated with a high number of nominalised clauses, while the increased number of sentences is connected with the different structuring of the favourite clause type. Further, the rise in the number of sentences seems to have brought about a significant translation shift at the paragraph level, though the fundamental function of the favourite clause type is retained. While the shift at the paragraph level is not necessarily the only way of rendering the favourite clause type, maintaining its function (providing a summary of the previous idea and a departure point for the next), as demonstrated by the professional translator, is important. Building on what has just been discussed, the next section deals with how trainee translators rendered the favourite clause type in the same scientific text. It then considers an extract from the visa text.

4.3. Trainee translators' rendering of the favourite clause type: the scientific text and the visa text

As just mentioned, in the translation of the scientific text rendered by the professional translator, the favourite clause type experiences a major translation shift in structure, but the main function of the favourite clause type is maintained. This section examines how trainee translators rendered the favourite clause type in two texts. With respect to the scientific text, most trainee translators rendered the favourite clause type congruently, but none were successful in rendering it as a summary of the earlier idea. This indicates that the trainee translators may have rendered part of the grammatical metaphor intuitively, while falling short of understanding the role of the favourite clause type in a scientific text. Meanwhile, the visa text presents a different kind of translation issue: the favourite clause type is used with no apparent function in the source text (e.g. developing a text as shown in the scientific text). The favourite clause type in the administration text seems to have posed some different challenges for the trainees. In their translations, most of the ST structure was retained (i.e. the pure grammatical metaphor). However it is possible that the retained pure grammatical metaphor may prove difficult for the Korean readers.

4.3.1. Trainee translators' rendering of the favourite clause type in the scientific text

In the scientific text, all ten trainee translators rendered the Theme of the favourite clause type congruently in a nominalised clause, while retaining the clause type itself as the structure of the whole sentence (also, they retained the paragraphing of the ST). In the Theme part of the sentence, the trainees translated the nominal group in the ST (*lack of an absolute standard*) as a clause (*절대적인 기준이 없다 an absolute standard does not exist*), where the noun *lack* was rendered as the verb *없다* (*does not exist*) and the nominal group *an absolute standard* became the Subject. As far as the Theme is concerned, there is little difference between the translations of the trainees and the published translation.

However, none of the trainees unpacked the overall structure of the favourite clause type (the first nominal group [Theme] + the verbal group + the second nominal group), and in the process the whole sentence seemed to end up being disconnected from the earlier point in the passage. Below is a typical example of the trainees' translations. In this translation, pure grammatical metaphor within the Theme is rendered congruently as a nominalised clause[18] (*절대적인 기준이 없다 an absolute standard does not exist*), but the outer structure of the sentence remains the same (*[[…없다는]] 것은 [[…없음]]을 의미한다 [[That… does not exist]] means [[that once could not…]]*). It would be premature to judge as erroneous in itself the retention of the structure of the favourite clause type, but it is certain that the TT fails to connect the favourite clause type to the previous idea.

An example of student translations and its back translation:

Ø [[정지상태에 대한 절대적인 기준이 없다는 것]]은 [[서로 다른 시점에 발생한 두 사건이 동일한 위치에서 발생했는지 여부를 결정할 수 없음]]을 의미한다.

Ø [[That an absolute standard concerning the state of rest does not exist]] means [[that one could not determine whether or not two events [[that took place at different times]] occurred in the same position]].

[18] The second nominal group is a nominalised clause in the ST, which is rendered as it is in the TT. So the translation of the favourite clause type still constitutes a nominal group followed by a verbal group and then another nominal group.

One possible reason for this failure could be the Deitic (determiner) *the* in the Theme *The lack of an absolute standard of rest* in the ST that is omitted in the student translation[19]. This omission can be remedied by adding a linking device such as *이와 같이 like this* or *이처럼 thus*.

Still, the linking device may be merely a partial solution which falls short of being explicit enough to indicate the logic between the passages before and after the favourite clause type. To indicate the logic more clearly, the global structure of the favourite clause type should be reconstructed congruently, for instance, as shown in the published translation or in the Example below[20]. The significance of the above discussion is that the TT's partial unpacking of the favourite clause type fails to maintain the impact the ST intends. The TT should unpack the entire favourite clause type (including the Theme part).

The following is an example of translation in which the favourite clause type is reconstructed more congruently in a clause complex.

An example of student translations and its back translation:

이처럼, 정지상태에 대한 절대적인 기준이 없기때문에, ‖ 서로 다른 시점에 발생한 두 사건이 동일한 위치에서 발생했는지 여부를 결정할 수 없게 된다.
Thus, as an absolute standard concerning the state of rest does not exist, one could not determine whether or not two events [[that took place at different times]] occurred in the same position.

4.3.2. Trainee translators' translation of the favourite clause type in the visa text

While a majority of the students also only unpacked a part of the favourite clause type in the visa text, what sets the text apart from the scientific text is the purpose of the favourite clause type within it. Interestingly, unlike in scientific texts, the favourite clause type in the visa text has no function in terms of "complex conceptual structure or [the] thread of logical argument" (Halliday

[19] Interestingly, all students omitted the determiner *the* in their translations.
[20] In addition to the two translations, there may be other ways of rendering the favourite clause type.

1989/2004: 179). Rather, it seems to be used, as in many other forms of adult writing, to give the discourse “a spurious air of being rational and objective” (Halliday 1989/2004: 179). The non-essential use of grammatical metaphor may lead to a problem in understanding on the part of the ST readers, which include the translator, and ultimately the TT readers. The sentence in question is encoded in the typical form of the favourite clause type: the first nominal group (*The reasons for this release of information*), a verbal group with a relational function (*may include, but are not limited to,*) and the second nominal group (*investigation of*…). The second nominal group in particular is packed with grammatical metaphor, containing four items of the pure subcategory which are numbered and underlined below.

> *The reasons for this release of information may include, but are not limited to, 1) <u>investigation of inconsistencies</u> between the Radiologist and/or Panel doctor's examination and a subsequent health assessment, 2) <u>investigation of a complaint</u> against the Radiologist or Panel doctor or 3) <u>follow up with</u> the Radiologist or Panel doctor 4) <u>of adverse audit results</u>.*

The favourite clause type may be rephrased as below in a more congruent version.

> *We have released the information because there may be a need to investigate 1) if the Radiologist and/or Panel doctor's examination is not consistent with a subsequent health assessment, 2) if the Radiologist and/or Panel doctor receives a complaint, or 3) if the Radiologist or Panel doctor needs to be followed up 4) if audit results are adverse. However, these may not be the only reasons why we release the information.*

In all ten student translations, the highly nominalised sentences caused the students to be confused about the sentence structure in one way or another (Table 6). In particular, they had problems understanding A) the overall structure of the grammatical metaphor, B) the distinction in structure between the second and third metaphorised items in the second nominal group, and C) the third and forth metaphorised items in the second nominal group (Table 6). In Table 6 we can see that 47% of the translations failed to get the structure right for each of the three chunks of the sentence (six students for segment A, three students for segment B and five students for segment C). The structure of segments B) and C) (the second nominal group) were mistranslated by most students. This will be investigated more closely below.

Table 6. Specific segments of the visa text which caused the students confusion regarding the use of grammatical metaphor

A) Overall structure of the grammatical metaphor	B) Structure of 2) and 3) of the second group	C) Structure of 3) and 4) of the second nominal group	Average
"but are not limited to" omitted or unnatural rendering		Translation errors caused by the ambiguous *of* in *of adverse audit results* in 3)	
6 (60%)	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	47%

For the second nominal group, a majority of the students rendered the grammatical metaphors as they found them (translating metaphor in the ST as metaphor in the TT). In particular, all of them either omitted the forth metaphor (*of adverse audit results*⋯) (one student) or rendered it as structurally ambiguous as in the ST (nine students) (Table 7). This will be further investigated below (Table 8). Such non-congruent translation may result in a translation which does not read well in the target language (Korean), which, as mentioned, tends to develop a text more congruently (c.f. Lee 2009: 36-37). Furthermore, the translation may not be very reader-friendly, which is problematic for a document whose function is to provide clear instructions.

Table 7. Students' handling of individual items of grammatical metaphor in the second nominal group of the visa text

	As is	**Congruent**	**Omitted**
1) investigation of inconsistencies	7	3	
2) investigation of a complaint	7	3	
3-1) follow up with	5	5	
3-2) of adverse audit results.	9	0	1

As noted, most students produced obscure translations of the forth metaphor (*of adverse audit results…*). In particular, they struggled with the relationship between the preposition of and the nominal group *adverse audit results*. Some of them unpacked the metaphor into a postpositional phrase or an embedded clause, but their translations were still either vague or erroneous. For example (Table 8), the postpositional phrase used in one of the translations (*부정적인 검사 결과에 따른 following negative checkup results*) does not seem to clarify its relationship with the previous metaphor *follow up with the Radiologist or Panel doctor*, while the embedded clause in another translation (*[[불리한 검진을 한]] [[who conducted an adverse checkup]]*) ends up having a wrong agent (*the Radiologist or Panel doctor*)[21]. Altogether, the reproduction of the ST's excessive use of grammatical metaphor in the TTs has caused the latter to be inaccurate.

Table 8. Students' translations of Item 4) of adverse audit results

Items	nominal group → nominal group	nominal group → postpositional phrase	nominal group → embedded clause
No. of students	2	5	2
Examples	e.g. 불리한 검사보고서를 adverse checkup reports	e.g. 부정적인 검사 결과에 따른 following negative checkup results	e.g. [[불리한 검진을 한]] [[who conducted an adverse checkup]] –

Below is a suggested translation (not necessarily a model translation), where all four metaphors are rendered as clauses (we need to investigate if A and B are not consistent; we need to investigate if A or B receive a complaint; we need to follow up… ; if audit results are…). By rendering the metaphors congruently in clauses, the sentence will be more explicit (Steiner 2002: 219) and easier to read. Ease of processing is important particularly for texts targeting the general

[21] The nominal form of the grammatical metaphor (*of adverse audit results*) also seems to have contributed to the error in rendering the word 'audit'. In the ST, audit refers to a professional audit, not medical examinations.

public, where the readers are visa applicants who need to quickly read and understand the text to fill out the form.

A suggested translation and its back translation:

이러한 정보공개의 사유[22] 로 아래의 내용이 포함될 수 있습니다. 방사선 전문의나 지정의의 검진과, 차후 건강검진 결과가 일치하지 않는 경우 조사를 하거나, 방사선 전문의나 지정의에 대한 불만사항이 제기된 경우 조사를 하거나, 본 진단과 관련하여 문제가 있다고 점검 결과가 나올 경우 해당 방사선의나 정부지정 의사에 대해 후속조치를 할 수 있습니다. 이외의 다른 이유로도 정보가 공개될 수 있습니다.

The reasons for this release of information may include the following. (We) need to investigate 1) if the Radiologist and/or Panel doctor's examination is not consistent with a subsequent health assessment, (we need to) investigate 2) if the Radiologist or Panel doctor receives a complaint, or 3) (we need to) follow up with the Radiologist or Panel doctor 3-1) if audit results are adverse. The information may also be released for other reasons than the above.

5. Conclusion

Drawing on SFL, and with reference in particular to extracts from a scientific text and a visa application form, this paper has examined what has been referred to as the "favourite clause type" in scientific texts. This clause type functions prototypically to summarise the previous idea that has been discussed and to provide a departure point for the next idea. To begin, the extract from a scientific text was compared with a story text to help identify the favourite clause type and clarify its use of grammatical metaphor (which occurs when one grammatical structure is replaced by another). Next, it was identified that the ST of the scientific text favoured the use of 'pure grammatical metaphor', while

[22] The Theme part may be translated more congruently (ex. *[[정보를 공개하는]] 이유는 …the reasons [[we release the information]]…*)

its translation favoured ‘nominalised clauses’. This different preference indicates the different grammatical resources with respect to logical meaning that are available as well as the different ways of developing reasoning in a scientific text between the source language (English) and the target language (Korean). Importantly, it was found that the translation of the scientific text made a translation shift in the paragraph level, but nonetheless retained the overall function of the favourite clause type. Student translations of the same text were found to have fallen short in replicating this difference, which seems to stem from the students’ inability to grasp how the favourite clause type functions in the development of a scientific text. The students’ lack of understanding was also displayed when translating a non-scientific text. Specifically, the students struggled when the text (a visa application form) made heavy use of grammatical metaphor (in the favourite clause type) without actually developing an argument. Most students rendered the grammatical metaphor just as they found it in the ST, producing difficult-to-read translations. In an attempt to remedy the reader-unfriendly translation, this paper suggests a congruent translation of grammatical metaphor when it appears in the favourite clause type in a general language text.

Understanding the roles of favourite clause type and grammatical metaphor in a scientific text is important for translators for two reasons. First, the favourite clause type is now used in many other special language texts as well as in most adult writing in English (e.g. the above visa text). The former (e.g. scientific, legal, economic and medical texts) fall into the category of special language translation whereas the latter belongs to general language translation (including community translation), and both of them are the object of institutional translation programs. Second, the ST and the TT may rely on different grammatical resources when utilising grammatical metaphor in the unfolding of a text. In the language pair of English and Korean, the former is identified in this paper as depending more on pure grammatical metaphor while the latter uses more nominalised clauses. With these reasons in mind, I argue that being aware of the different grammatical resources used in the two languages when translating a scientific text, and trying to narrow the gap between these resources, is vital in translation, in particular because such an approach will be useful when translating other types of special and general language texts.

However, the amount of data used in this paper is not sufficient to generalise all the findings. More source texts across various types of special language texts and their translations (rendered, if possible, by both professional and student translators) are desirable in a future project. Also, an in-depth analysis of how scientific and other special language texts develop reasoning in Korean would be beneficial because, in comparison with English, little research (frankly, almost none) on this topic has been conducted. I hope this paper can serve as a departure point for future investigations into how grammatical metaphor is used in special language translation (as well as general language translation), an area of translation that is under-researched, notwithstanding its extensive presence in translation practice.

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언론 매체 기관의 번역 게이트키핑 현황 조사
—한국어 기사의 외국어 재가공 과정을 중심으로[1]

강 경 이
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Kyoung Yi Kang (2012), Gatekeeping in Media Translation: Focusing on Rendering Korean Articles into Foreign Languages: *Through in-depth interviews with individuals engaged in translating news articles in major Korean media organizations, this paper examines gatekeeping practices in the translation of news articles by local media. By examining the local media organizations' understanding of the concept of translation, and the process of producing local news in foreign languages based on interviews with journalists and translators, approaches gatekeeping practice at each phase of news translation. (Ewha Womans University, Korea)*

Keywords: gatekeeping, media translation, process of producing news articles

1. 서론

언론 매체 상에서 독자가 접하게 되는 정보들은 미디어 기관에 의해 취사 선택된 메시지가 매체 내부의 여러 관문들을 거치며 걸러지고 포장된 결과물들이다. 다시 말해 미디어 커뮤니케이션에서 메시지는 최종 목표점에 도달되기까지 여러 채널들을 통과

[1] 본고는 이화여대 통역번역대학원 박사과정 '연구방법론' 수업에서 진행되었던 공동연구조사(참여자: 임선영, 서정아, 상우연, 강경이) 결과를 바탕으로 작성된 것임을 밝혀둔다.

하며 가감, 여과되어 새롭게 가공된다. 이처럼 중간 단계에서 메시지가 취사선택, 조절되는 과정을 커뮤니케이션학에서 흔히 '게이트키핑(gatekeeping)'이라고 한다. 슈메이커(Shoemaker, 1991)는 게이트키핑을 "매스미디어나 대인 채널을 통해 전달되는 메시지가 선택, 취급, 통제되는 전반적인 측면을 포함하는 의미"라고 규정하였고(최재환, 2001에서 재인용: 15), 부오리넌(Vuorinen, 1995: 161)은 "커뮤니케이션 채널들 안에서 정보의 흐름을 통제하는(controlling) 과정"이라고 정의하였다. 이 같은 게이트키핑 메커니즘은 '번역'이라는 관문이 별도로 추가될 경우 더욱 복잡한 양상을 띤다. 즉, 출발어 독자들을 위해 1차적으로 작성된 원천 텍스트 기사를 새로운 문화권의 독자들에게 제공할 목적으로 번역을 하게 되면 두 문화권의 언어적, 문화적 간극을 좁히기 위해 다양한 손질과 가공이 가해진다. 이러한 현상은 뉴스 기사의 원본과 번역본을 비교, 분석하여 뉴스 장르의 특수성과 번역 과정에서의 다양한 변형 양상을 고찰했던 다수의 선행 연구들을 통해 어느 정도 입증된 바 있다(강지혜, 2004/2008; 김한식, 2010; 박소영, 2007; Bassnett 2005).

하지만 이처럼 신문 기사들이 원형 그대로의 모습이 아닌 새롭게 변형된 버전으로 도착어 문화권의 독자들에게 선보여진다는 사실은 대부분 번역 텍스트 상에 드러난 변이전략들을 분석하여 기술론적으로 도출한 결과이다. 이러한 분석 결과에 좀더 설득력과 타당성을 부여하려면 표층적이고 미시적인 텍스트 담화 분석 차원에만 그쳐서는 안된다. 실제 언론기관 시스템 내면으로 파고들어 실질적으로 어떤 과정을 거쳐 텍스트 외관상의 재구성이 일어나는지를 보다 거시적인 안목으로 규명할 필요가 있다. 이에 주목하여 본고는 일선 언론사 기사 번역 과정에 참여하는 주체들과의 심층 인터뷰를 통해 기사 번역에서의 게이트키핑 현상을 보다 실증적으로 고찰하는 데 초점을 둔다. 단 여기서는 논의의 구체성과 일관성을 위하여 한국어 기사를 외국어로 제작하는 경우, 즉 AB방향[2]을 집중적으로 다루기로 한다. 본고에서는 뉴스 기사 번역 게이트키핑과 관련된 선행 연구들을 우선 검토해 본 후 실제 국내 언론 매체 기관의 '번역'에 대한 인식을 짚어보고, 외국어 기사 제작 절차 및 각 단계별 게이트키핑 양상에 대해 현장의 목소리를 바탕으로 분석해보고자 한다.

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[2] A는 모국어, B는 외국어를 지칭하는 것으로, 여기서는 '한국어–외국어' 방향으로의 번역을 뜻한다.

2. 뉴스 기사 번역의 게이트키핑

2.1. 미디어 맥락에서의 '번역'

수잔 바스넷(Susan Bassnett, 2005)은 뉴스 기사의 번역이 '문화 변용(acculturation)'의 경향이 강한 번역 유형에 속하므로, 전체 텍스트를 옮겨야 하는 기존의 번역 개념과는 차별화된 새로운 정의가 필요하다고 강조했다. 부오리넌(1995) 역시 번역에 대한 협소한 정의는 수많은 번역 유형 중에서 일부에만 적용이 가능하므로 실제와 괴리가 있을 수 있다는 문제를 제기하였다. 협소하고 단편적인 정의를 하기보다는 뉴스, 법률 번역처럼 특수한 생산 여건과 목적에 따라 편집(editing), 다시 쓰기(rewriting)가 불가피한 텍스트 처리 공정도 번역의 일부로 편입시켜야 한다고 주장한다. 이처럼 뉴스 기사 번역의 경우, 다단계적인 관문을 거치며 출발어 텍스트라는 원재료가 도착어 문화에 보급 가능한 하나의 '상품' 형태로 가공, 포장되기 때문에 이러한 프레임에 부합하는 또 다른 정의가 필요하다는 주장이 지속적으로 제기되어 왔다(Akio, 1988; Vuorinen, 1995; Bani, 2006).

바니(Bani, 2006)에 따르면 미디어 번역물은 독자의 이해 노력을 최소화하는 '가독성'이 중요하므로 번역 및 편집 과정에서 독자가 이해하기 쉽도록 조작되고 이질적 요소의 전달을 위해 텍스트 외적인 수단이 부가되기도 한다. 부오리넌(2005)은 핀란드 뉴스 에이전시에서 국제뉴스를 담당하는 저널리스트 대상 인터뷰 결과를 소개하며 대다수의 저널리스트들이 자신의 일을 '번역'이 아닌 '편집', 즉 외국어 아이템을 재료로 한 자국어 기사의 재생산으로 여기고 있음을 밝혔다.

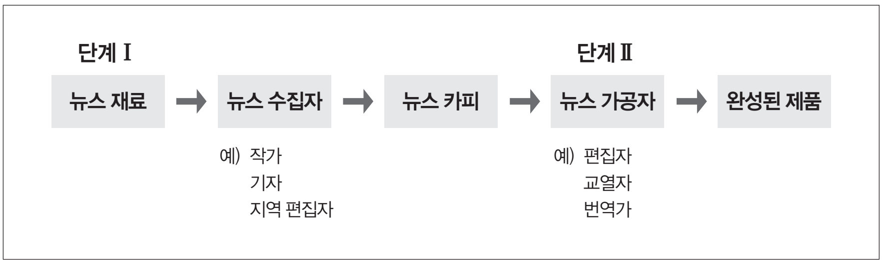
언론 매체는 대중을 위해 뉴스와 정보, 의견을 제공하여 이슈의 공론화 및 여론 형성 기능을 수행하는 공익 실현의 목표와 기업으로서 이윤을 추구하는 수익 창출 목표를 함께 고려해야 하는 이중적 속성의 조직이다. 따라서 특정 언론 매체의 '상품'격인 뉴스기사는 그 제작은 물론 타언어로의 번역 과정 전반에 걸쳐 적절한 중재, 조정, 여과 작업이 이루어진다. 이러한 특수성으로 인해 상술한 연구들의 주장처럼 실제 미디어 현장에서 실시되고 있는 '번역'은 출발어의 의미를 원형 그대로 재현하는 '번역' 본래의 의미와 달라질 수 밖에 없다. 이러한 점을 전제로 하여 다음으로는 미디어 뉴스 기사의 번역 과

정에서 어떠한 개입과 조정이 이루어지는지 선행 연구 중심으로 정리해보도록 하겠다.

2.2. 뉴스 기사 번역 게이트키핑에 관한 선행 연구

배스(Bass, 1969)는 뉴스 제작 과정을 '뉴스 수집'과 '뉴스 처리' 2단계로 구분하여 설명하였다(그림 1). 그에 따르면 뉴스 수집 단계에서는 뉴스 수집가(저술가, 기자, 부서 편집자)가 다양한 소스와 경로로부터 정보를 수집하고 이를 뉴스 카피로 변형한다. 뉴스 처리 단계에서는 뉴스 가공자(편집자, 교열담당자, 번역사)가 기사를 신문이나 방송 뉴스에 적합한 형태로 수정, 종합하여 최종 생산물을 산출하게 된다. 뉴스 내용의 선택 및 기각, 선정된 기사의 재가공은 바로 이 과정에서 이루어진다(Shoemaker, 1991: 최재한 역, 2001에서 재인용). 이러한 배스의 모델은 각 주체들의 구체적인 역할을 명시하지 않고, 번역사가 1단계에 참여할 가능성을 배제했다는 한계는 있지만 번역사를 뉴스 가공자의 일원으로 전면에 내세웠다는 점에서 의미가 있다.

그림 1. 뉴스 흐름에 관한 배스의 2단계 모델

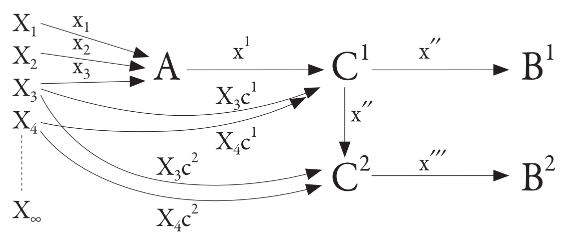


후지(Fujii, 1988)는 웨슬리&매클린(Westlery&MacLean)[3]의 게이트키핑 모델에 번역

[3] 웨슬리와 매클린(Westlery&MacLean) 게이트키핑 모델은 정보제공자(A)가 발화, 제공한 정보(X)를 미디어 채널(C, 게이트키퍼로서의 조직)이 수용자(B)에게 전달하는 과정을 묘사하고 있다.

과정을 추가한 응용 모델(그림 2)을 수립하여 일본어–영어 뉴스 번역 상황에 적용하고자 했다.

그림 2. 후지의 케이트키핑 모델



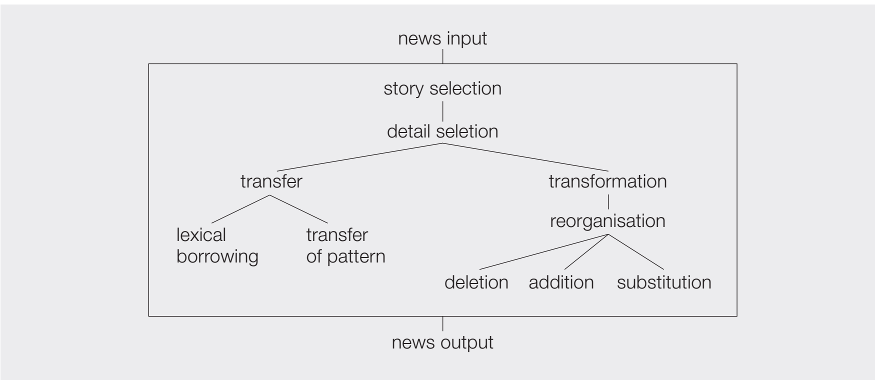
이 모델은 뉴스 보도자(혹은 뉴스 기관)(C^1)가 뉴스 제공자(A)로부터 제공받거나 자체적으로 선택, 추출한 메시지를 수용자(B^1)에게 전달하는 과정을 보여주는 웨슬리&매클린 모델에 번역 과정이 추가되는 상황을 상정한 모델이다. 후지는 번역이 개입될 경우 미디어 채널(C^1)로부터 받은 메시지를 번역기관(C^2, 또는 번역가)이 새로운 수용자(B^2)를 위한 또 다른 형태의 뉴스 메시지(x‴)를 생산한다고 보았다. 그의 설명에 따르면 일본 나카소네 야스히로 수상이 발언을 하고 이에 대해 아사히(Asahi) 신문 기자가 작성한 기사를 아사히 신문 독자가 받아본다면 나카소네 수상이 (A), 아사히 신문(기자)과 기사가 각각 (C^1)와 (x″), 독자는 (B^1)에 해당한다. 여기서 일본어로 쓰여진 기사(x″)가 아사히 신문사 산하 영자 신문인 아사히 이브닝 뉴스(AEN, Asahi Evening News), 즉 (C^2)로 넘어가면 영문 번역 기사(X‴)가 AEN의 독자(B^2)에게 전달된다. 후지에 따르면 이때 일본어 기사(x″)가 영문 기사(X‴)로 옮겨지는 과정에서 새로운 독자를 위한 의도적인 변형이 일정 부분 가해지기도 한다. 또한 이 같은 번역 게이트키핑이 "메시지 양조절(Controlling the quantity of message), 메시지 변형(Message transforming), 메시지 보완(Message supplementing), 메시지 재조직(Message reorganization)"의 형태로 나타난다고 설명한다(Fujii, 1985).

이 모델은 뉴스 번역과 게이트키핑을 구체적으로 접목했다는 점에서 획기적이긴 하

지만 뉴스 텍스트가 번역 기관 또는 주체(C^2)에서 독자(B^2)로 넘어가기까지의 여러 단계들이 단순하게 일축되었다는 한계가 있다. 즉, 도식만 봐서는 오리지널 기사 텍스트(x″)가 또 다른 형태의 타 언어 텍스트(X‴)로 바뀌었다는 사실만 확인할 수 있을 뿐, 그 과정에서 게이트키핑이 일어나고 있다는 단서를 찾기 어렵다. 물론 원용한 웨슬리&맥클린 모델 자체가 미디어의 개인 종사자들이 게이트키퍼로서 집단 행동을 하는 것으로 간주하여 미디어 조직을 하나의 단일 집합체로 취급한다는 특징이 있긴 하지만 조직 내부를 좀더 펼쳐서 보여줄 수 있다면 게이트키핑 실행 여부를 보다 여실하게 입증할 수 있을 것이다. 후지 역시 이를 보완하기 위해 일본어 텍스트가 영어 텍스트로 번역될 때 게이트키핑을 거친다는 부연 설명을 더하고 있긴 하나 도식 상에 명확하게 반영되지 않아 아쉬운 면이 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 커뮤니케이션학의 개념과 모델을 번역에 도입, 활용하고자 시도했다는 점에서, 이를 통해 소위 '보이지 않는' 과정으로 취급되던 번역 단계를 사회적 시스템 안으로 편입시켜 그 존재감과 중요성을 부각시켰다는 점에서 매우 긍정적인 의의를 갖는다. 또한 메시지(즉, 뉴스 아이템)의 흐름이 한 행위자에서 다른 행위자로 전환되어 가는 모습을 시각화해 동태적으로 보여줌으로써 언론 기관 내 번역 텍스트의 출처와 그 이동 과정을 한눈에 볼 수 있게 해 준다.

이에 비해 허스티(Hursti, 2001)의 모델은 실제 뉴스 번역 텍스트들을 분석하여 번역 게이트키핑 전략의 유형들을 기술론적으로 도출한 것으로 번역 과정에서 이루어지는 내부적 게이트키핑 현상에 좀더 천착하고 있다(그림 3).

그림 3. 허스티의 번역 게이트키핑



허스티 모델의 직사각형 내부는 뉴스 텍스트가 입력된 후부터 산출되기 전까지 중간 과정의 모습을 도식화한 것으로 번역이 어떤 게이트키핑 양상을 거치는지 총체적으로 보여준다.

허스티는 번역 대상 텍스트가 선정된 후 번역 전략에 관한 세부적인 의사결정이 진행된다고 보았다. 또한 이에 대해 ST 내 원형 요소를 그대로 취하는 '전이(transfer)'와 ST 내 원형 요소에 변형을 가하는 '변환(transformation)'으로 크게 양분한 후 다시 각각을 하위 항목으로 세분화하였다. '전이'는 '어휘적 차용(lexical borrowing)'과 '패턴의 전이(transfer of pattern)'로 구성되는데, 여기서 '어휘적 차용'이란 ST와 TT 간 어휘 요소(lexical items)의 유사성(similarity)을 의미하며 ST의 어휘를 TT에 그대로 차용하거나 직역하는 것을 말한다. '패턴의 전이'는 ST와 TT 간 형식(pattern)의 유사성을 뜻하며, 문장부호나 직접인용 등과 같은 ST의 문장 형식을 TT에 그대로 적용하는 것을 일컫는다. 한편 '변환'은 언어 간, 문화 간 차이로 인한 '재조직(reorganization)'이 필요한데 이는 '생략(deletion)', '부가(addition)', '대체(substitution)'라는 구체적 전략으로 나타난다. 허스티(2001)에 의하면 '생략'은 어휘, 문장, 단어 차원에서 ST의 정보를 삭제하는 방식이며, '부가'는 ST에 등장하지 않는 정보를 필요에 따라 추가해 넣는 방식이다. '대체'는 ST의 단어를 TT의 다른 단어로 대용하는 방식으로, 전문적인 용어를 일반적으로 바꾸거나 독자들에게 생경할 수 있는 표현을 익숙하게 바꾸는 등의 예들이 여기에 속한다.

살펴본 바와 같이 기사 작성의 전체 시스템 중 특히 '번역' 단계에 주목하고 있는 허스티 모델은 언론 매체 특성 상 각 단계마다 가동되는 외부 변수나 역학 관계들이 가시적으로 드러나지 않아 아쉬운 면이 있긴 하다. 하지만 실제 번역 기사를 추적, 분석하여 게이트키핑 전략 상의 공통 분모를 추출한 후 이를 기술론적으로 유형화한 것이므로 현실적이고 실증적이다. 게다가 수형도를 통해 번역에서의 의사결정 전략을 순차적으로 정리해 보여주고 있어 마치 '번역'이라는 관문의 내부를 들여다보는 듯한 인상을 준다. 뿐만 아니라 장르를 불문한 채 일반적이고 원론적인 번역 전략들을 나열하기보다는 뉴스 매체라는 특수 장르에 부합하는 맞춤형 번역 전략 모델을 선보이고자 했다는 점에서도 주목할 가치가 있다.

비록 구체적인 도식을 제시하지는 않았지만 바니(Bani, 2006) 역시 언론사 내 기사 번역 과정에 대해 비교적 상세하게 기술한다. 바니에 따르면 뉴스 번역은 'ST 선정→번역 초고 완성→편집국 번역 초고 감수→독자의 번역 기사 소비'의 과정을 거

친다. 이때 뉴스 번역가들은 비번역 기사와 구분되지 않을 정도의 완성도 높은 기사를 생산해야 하며, 기사 배치 공간에 따라 원천 텍스트의 구성이나 내용을 조정할 수 있는 능력과 연륜이 요구된다. 번역 초고 감수 및 편집 단계에서는 독자의 이해를 돕기 위해 생략, 부연 설명, 통사 구조 및 단락 재배열 등의 텍스트 재구성이 이루어지며, 이질적 요소를 전달하기 위해 부제, 사진이나 삽화, 용어 해설, 역주 등 텍스트 외적 수단을 추가하기도 한다(Bani, 2006).

상술한 선행 연구들은 주로 뉴스 번역 시스템의 과정을 도식화하여 일목요연하게 제시하고자 하거나 뉴스 번역이라는 특수 장르에서 관찰되는 텍스트 상의 변형 양상들을 귀납, 정리하는 데 초점을 맞추고 있다. 본고는 앞서 도출된 번역 게이트키핑 현상들을 바탕으로 국내 언론 매체에서는 어떤 모습으로 구체화되고 있는지를 살펴보고자 한다. 또한 텍스트 분석 중심의 기존 연구와 달리 기관 내 실제 번역 관계자들의 목소리를 통해 보다 상세하고 실증적인 자료를 제시하고자 한다. 이를 위해 한국어 기사의 외국어 버전 제작 과정에 실질적으로 참여하고 있거나 참여한 적이 있는 언론인 및 번역가들과의 심층 인터뷰를 실시해 언론사 내부의 게이트키핑 양상을 짚어보았다.

3. 연구 내용

— 국내 언론사 기사 AB번역 게이트키핑 현황 조사를 위한 심층 인터뷰

3.1. 조사 목적 및 방법

앞서 밝혔듯이 본 연구는 국내 언론 매체의 번역 게이트키핑 현황을 조사하기 위해 현업에서 한국어 기사의 외국어 제작에 직접적으로 참여하는 언론계 종사자(번역가 포함)들을 대상으로 심층 면접을 실시하였다. 조사의 목적은 실제 기사 번역 업무를 다루는 일선 관계자들의 진술을 통해 상술한 외국의 번역 게이트키핑 모델이 국내에서도 유효한지 검증해 보고, 한국어 기사가 외국어 독자를 대상으로 재가공되는 전반적인 과정을 탐색하고자 함이다.

해당업계 전문가로부터 현장의 상황을 듣고자 하는 것이 일차 목적임을 감안하여 구

체적인 조사 방법은 큰 틀의 질문 항목만을 설정한 뒤 해당 항목에 대해 상세한 설명을 듣는 식의 비구조화된 심층 인터뷰 방식을 채택하였다. 이에 앞서 질문의 윤곽을 결정하기 위해 외신 기관에서 영문 뉴스 작성과 뉴스 번역의 경험이 있는 전직 기자를 대상으로 예비 조사를 실시하였다. 예비 조사의 내용을 바탕으로 면접 질문지는 크게 '기사 선정에서 번역 기사 활자화까지의 전반적인 흐름'과 '각 단계별 게이트키핑 양상과 영향 요인'에 관한 문항으로 구성되었다. 먼저 응답자에게 사건 발생 후 기사를 선정하는 단계에서 번역 기사가 최종적으로 활자화되기까지의 과정을 전반적으로 설명해달라고 부탁했다. 그 다음으로는 피면접인이 소속된 각 매체가 '번역 대상 기사 선정', '기사 번역', '기사 편집 및 감수' 각 단계별로 어떠한 방침을 취하고 있는지에 관해 질문하였다. '번역 기사 선정' 관련 질문으로는 '기사 선정 기준 및 우선 순위, 번역사 배정 방식, 매체의 내부 성향 또는 외부적 요인이 기사 선정에 영향을 미치는지 여부' 등이 포함되었고, '번역 과정'과 관련해서는 '번역 시 우선 순위, 번역 지침 제공 여부, 번역 전략' 등이 포함되었다. 마지막으로 '편집/감수'와 관련된 문항으로는 편집 절차 및 방식, 편집에 영향을 미치는 외부 요소, 번역에 대한 피드백 방식' 등이 있었다(부록 참고). 각 항목별로 현황에 대한 피면접인의 답변을 들으면서 필요 시에는 즉석에서 세부적인 질문을 추가하기도 하였다. 심층 면접은 2011년 4월 29일부터 5월 18일까지 실시되었고, 사전 약속을 한 뒤 각 매체를 찾아가 피면접인의 구술 응답 내용을 녹음 또는 기록하는 방식으로 진행되었다. 면접 시간은 상황에 따라 약 40~60분씩 소요되었다.

3.2. 조사 대상의 특성

본 연구의 인터뷰에서는 다음에 소개된 바와 같이 총 6명의 언론 관계자를 대상으로 실시하였다(표 1). 인터뷰 대상 섭외 시 현재 지면 기사의 영문판 발행을 실시하고 있는 언론사 내에서 한국어 기사의 외국어 제작에 직접적으로 참여하는 주체들을 우선적으로 선정하고자 했다.

각 언론사별 특징을 간단히 정리하면 A사는 국내 모 종합일간지에서 창간한 영어 신문으로 소속 매체의 주요 뉴스와 논평을 엄선하여 영어로 번역한 기사와 내부 취재기자들이 직접 취재한 영문 기사를 제공한다. B사는 국내외 취재망을 구축하여 리얼타임 뉴

표 1. 조사 대상 언론인의 특성

	직책	성별	역할
1	A사 정치사회부 부장	남	정치, 사회면 기사 선정 및 배치, 지시
2	A사 책임에디터	남	오피니언 코너 번역 기사 선정, 할당, 번역, 최종 편집
3	B사 국제뉴스국 다국어뉴스부 부국장	남	한국어 기사의 외국어(영어를 제외한 5개 국어) 기사 제작 업무 총괄, 기사 선정, 배정 및 편집
4	C사 온라인 영문판 편집장	남	온라인 영문판 제작 기사 선정 및 편집 총괄
5	D사 한국인 감수자 /프리랜서 번역사	여 여	한국인 감수자: 원문과 대조하여 기사 감수(번역 경력 6년 중 기사 감수 경력 3년) / 프리랜서 번역사: 기사 번역(번역 경력 5년 중 기사 번역 경력 2년)
6	E사 전직 영한 번역기자	여	외신기자 출신, E사에서 영한 번역기자로 활동

스 체제로 운영되고 있다. 해외 주요 뉴스통신사와 제휴하여 국제 뉴스를 국내에 제공하고, 국내 뉴스의 해외방송에도 역점을 두어 세계 각국 통신사에 국내 주요 뉴스를 영어, 중국어, 일본어, 아랍어, 스페인어, 프랑스어로 제공하고 있다. C사와 D사는 종합일간지로서 C사는 온라인 상에 영문기사 서비스를 제공하고, D사는 영문, 일문, 중문 기사 서비스를 제공한다. E사는 영국계 경제뉴스 전문 통신사의 국내 자회사이다. 본 조사에서 E사 전직 기자와의 면접은 본격적인 심층 인터뷰 단계에 포함되지는 않고, 파일럿 테스트 차원에서 실시되었다. 언어 방향이나 매체 성격이 본 연구의 초점과 다르긴 하지만 언론사 내부 시스템과 전반적인 분위기 파악을 위해 전직 기자와의 사전 면접을 통해 본격적인 인터뷰 내용의 윤곽을 잡는 것도 유의미하다고 판단해서였다.

심층 인터뷰 결과로 살펴본 국내 지면 매체 기관의 한국어 기사 외국어 번역의 특징을 정리하면 다음과 같다.

3.3. 조사 결과

3.3.1 한국어 기사의 외국어 재가공을 위한 전반적 절차

본 연구의 인터뷰 내용을 수렴하여 조사 대상 언론사의 외국어 기사 작성 과정을 재

구성해보면 다음의 도식과 같다(표 2).

표 2. 각 언론사별 외국어 기사 작성 절차

<table>
<tr><th>A사</th><th>B사</th><th>C사</th><th>D사</th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>데스크 기사 선정,
편집회의</td><td rowspan="2">기사 계획 확정,
편집회의</td><td rowspan="2">기사 선정</td><td rowspan="2">기사 선정</td><td rowspan="2">1차 게이트키핑
(데스크)</td></tr>
<tr><td>최종안 확정
지면 구성</td></tr>
<tr><td>영문기사
작성 및 번역
(내부 기자가
기본적으로
작성하되 일부는
전속 번역사 의뢰)</td><td>언어별 할당
외국어 기사 작성
(내부 기사라이터
담당)</td><td>번역
(외부 업체에 의뢰)</td><td>번역
(전속 번역사에
의뢰)</td><td>2차 게이트키핑
(번역자)</td></tr>
<tr><td>감수, 편집</td><td>감수, 편집</td><td>감수, 편집</td><td>감수, 편집</td><td>3차 게이트키핑
(편집자, 교정자,
데스크)</td></tr>
<tr><td>발행</td><td>업로드</td><td>업로드</td><td>업로드</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

상기 도표에서 보여지듯이 각 기관의 설립 취지와 기사 제작 특성, 관행 등에 따라 세부 절차 상의 차이가 있긴 하지만 언론사 내 한국어 기사의 외국어화 과정은 대체적으로 '기사 선정→외국어 기사 작성 및 번역→감수, 편집→활자화 혹은 온라인 업로드'의 흐름을 보이고 있었다. 이를 본 연구가 주목하는 게이트키핑 양상과 결부시켜 살펴보자면 번역 대상 기사 선별 단계와 번역 실행 단계, 감수 및 편집 단계에서 각각 데스크, 번역가, 편집/교정자에 의한 게이트키핑이 이루어지고 있음을 알 수 있었다. 이러한 결과는 상술한 번역 게이트키핑 선행 연구들에서 도출된 결과들과도 상당부분 공통 분모를 가진다. 이를 바탕으로 각 언론사들이 미디어 환경에서의 번역 작업에 대해 일반적으로 어떤 인식을 가지고 있는지, 기사 선정과 번역, 편집 각 단계별 게이트키핑 양상은 어떠한지 구체적으로 분석해 보았다.

3.3.2 각 언론사의 '번역'에 대한 인식

미디어 환경에서의 번역이 출발어 의미에 상응하는 도착어를 만들어내는 단순한 작업이 아니라는 선행 연구들의 결과는 본 연구의 인터뷰를 통해서도 재확인할 수 있다. 상기 각 기관별 번역 절차에서도 드러났듯이 번역 기사는 최종 완성본으로 산출되기까지 여러 단계에 걸쳐 적절한 중재, 조정, 여과의 과정을 거치게 된다. 번역기사를 작성하는 과정에서 조직 구성원, 경영진의 철학, 정부와 광고주 등 외부 세력의 입김을 외면할 수 없는데다 무엇보다 독자들의 반응과 관심사를 우선적으로 고려해야 하므로 출발어 원문이 단계를 거칠수록 도착어 지향적으로 변형된다는 설명이 지배적이었다.

스코포스 이론에서는 번역의 유형을 원천 텍스트의 선형적인 단어 배치 순서를 그대로 따르는 '행 대응 번역(interlinear version)', 어휘나 문장 단위의 통사 규칙을 중시하는 '문법 중심 번역', 원천 텍스트 중심으로 낯선 요소들을 그대로 전달하는 '기록적 번역(documentary translation)', 도착어 텍스트 중심으로 해당 문화권의 규범과 관용 표현에 맞추어 번역하는 '소통적 번역(communicative translation)', 원천 텍스트가 특정 목적을 수행하는 데 있어 일종의 원재료로 기능하는 '개작(modifying) 번역' 다섯 가지로 구분한다(Snell-Hornby, 2006, 허지운 외 역에서 재인용, 2010:94−95). 여기서 뉴스 번역은 1차 정보를 외국어 기사 작성을 위한 원재료로 활용한다는 점에서 '개작'의 유형에 속하며, 원문의 지위가 퇴위된다는 스코포스의 전제를 전형적으로 보여주는 장르다.

실제로도 언론사 관계자들은 번역에 대해 "원천 텍스트와 동일한 의미를 지닌 도착 텍스트를 재생산하되, 사회적 풍토, 의뢰인, 독자 등 외부 요소들을 감안하여 필요할 경우 여과 및 재가공을 거치는 작업"으로 인식하고 있었다. 이는 뉴스 텍스트를 타언어로 옮기는 일이 단순히 수동적이고 복종적인 모방 작업이 아니라 능동적인 의사결정과 창의성이 요구되는 과정으로 여기고 있다는 사실을 방증한다. 다시 말해 미디어 맥락에서 '번역'은 단순히 텍스트를 외국어로 옮기는 차원에서 그치지 않고 적절한 선의 '편집' 요소가 가미된 '편역(trans-editing)(Stetting, 1989)'으로까지 확대된 개념이라고 볼 수 있다.

3.3.3 번역 대상 기사의 선정(1차 게이트키핑)

각 언론사는 외국어 기사 제작 시 주로 한국에 관심 있는 국내외 거주 외국인이나 국내 상주 외국 기관, 국외 한국 관련 기관들을 타켓 독자군으로 상정하고 있었다. 따라서

출발어 기사의 선정도 이러한 독자층의 관심사나 언론사의 선정 방침에 따라 데스크 선에서 주관하는 것으로 나타났다.

기사 선정 방침을 구체적으로 살펴보면 A사의 경우 소속 매체의 아젠다 세팅(agenda setting)을 그대로 따르기보다는 긍정적인 면이든 부정적인 면이든 현재 한국에서 벌어지고 있는 중요한 사안들을 객관적으로 전달하는 데 초점을 둔다고 한다. 즉, 특정 사건에 대한 판단과 가치 개입을 드러내기에 앞서 외국인들이 관심을 가질 만한 사안을 취사선택하여 사실(fact) 전달에 보다 주안점을 두고 있었다. 하지만 사안의 경중과 중요성을 판단하는 데 있어서는 각 언론사의 색채나 논조가 의식적 혹은 무의식적으로 반영될 수 밖에 없다고 한다. 또한 내용의 영향력이나 중요도 외에 한국에 관한 유용한 정보가 담겨있는지 여부, 흥미를 유발할 수 있는지 여부도 기사 선정의 중요한 기준이 되고 있었다.

B사와 C사 역시 외국인이 관심을 가질만한 영향력(impact) 있는 뉴스를 우선 순위로 선정한다고 응답하였으며, D사의 경우도 외국인의 관심사를 고려하여 국지적인 사회면 기사보다는 정치, 외교, 북한 관련 내용 등 주요 이슈가 되는 국내 사안이나 글로벌 대기업 동향, 한류를 비롯한 한국 문화 소개 관련 기사들을 주로 채택하고 있었다.

이를 종합해 보자면 번역 대상 기사들은 데스크 편집회의 선에서 외국인 독자들을 고려하여 영향력과 시의적절성을 갖춘 주요 사안 뉴스와 한국 내 문화 현상을 널리 알릴 수 있는 홍보성 뉴스 위주로 선정되고 있음을 유추할 수 있다. 이 같은 기사 선정 단계에서는 수많은 기사 중 일부를 취사선택하는 과정에 데스크의 가치판단이 개입될 수 있으므로 1차 게이트키핑이 일어남이 확인된다.

3.3.4 기사의 번역(2차 게이트키핑)

번역기사 제작 방식은 기관 내 인력 보유 상황과 언어별 방침에 따라 다소 차이를 보였다. 크게 분류해 보자면 내부 기자나 기사라이터가 직접 외국어로 작성하는 방식과 외부의 전속 프리랜서 번역사에게 의뢰하는 방식, 이 두 가지를 병행하는 방식으로 나눌 수 있었다.

A사는 분야에 따라 내부 작성과 외주 번역 두 가지를 병행하는 시스템을 채택하고 있었다. 주로 사전 편집회의 확정안과 데스크의 지시 내용에 따라 내부의 기자가 직접 영문으로 기사화하거나 번역하되 문화 면이나 오피니언 코너는 책임에디터가 프리랜서

번역사들에게 할당하여 외주 번역 방식으로 진행한다고 한다. 이때 번역은 앞에서도 언급했듯이 '편역'의 형태에 더 가깝다고 한다. 다시 말해 내부 기자들이 기사 번역을 할 때는 있는 그대로 옮기기보다 기존 기사를 원재료로 삼아서 '다시쓰기(rewriting)'하는 관행이 있었다. 또한 외부 번역사들에게 번역을 의뢰할 때도 원천 텍스트의 내용과 형식에 대한 충실성 원칙을 고수하기보다는 독자들의 이해를 돕고 가독성을 높이는 방향으로 재구성해주기를 요구한다고 응답했다.

B사의 경우 언어권 별로 내부 기사라이터들이 상주하고 있어 별도로 번역 외주를 주지 않고 내부적으로 기사를 작성하고 있었다. B사 역시 한국어 기사의 외국어화 작업을 원천 텍스트의 원형 그대로 옮기는 '번역'이 아니라 외국어로 별도의 기사를 만드는 작업임을 강조했다. 특히 언어권 별로 논리전개 방식이나 독자들의 이해 스타일이 다를 수 있음을 감안하여 생략이나 추가, 변형 등 기사의 재구조화 작업이 불가피하다는 입장이었다. 즉, 타국가에 존재하지 않는 지극히 한국적인 사물이나 현상에 대해서 부연설명을 하거나 동일한 사안이지만 한국 독자와 외국 독자의 해석이 다를 수 있는 부분은 기사 내용의 순서를 재조정한다고 한다. 일례로 남북회담 결과 북핵 문제에서는 진전이 없고 남북교류에 있어서는 합의를 도출했다고 가정하자. 이때 해당 사안에 대해 한국어 기사에서는 '진전이 있었음'을 부각시키기 위해 합의 부분을 먼저 다루고 '진척이 없는' 북핵 관련 내용은 부차적으로 다룰 수 있다. 그에 반해 해당 기사를 외국어로 작성할 시에는 외국인들이 북핵 문제 논의 결과에 더 촉각을 세우고 있음을 감안해 '북핵'을 핵심 아이디어로 삼아 기사의 리드로 잡을 수도 있다.

C사는 전적으로 외부 번역사에게 의뢰하는 형태를 취하고 있었다. 상당 기간 동안 동일한 번역사와 업무적으로 공조해왔기 때문에 번역 스타일이나 품질 면에서 만족하고 있었고, 번역사에게 재량권을 많이 할애해주고 있었다. C사의 경우 본 인터뷰에 참여한 여타 매체에 비해 원천 텍스트에 대한 충실성에 좀더 비중을 두고 있었다. 피면접자에 따르면 지나친 가공을 거칠 시 원문에서 의도한 목소리들이 제대로 담기지 않을 수 있음을 우려해서였다. 하지만 이 역시 원천 텍스트가 추구하는 논조(예: 한탄, 안타까움, 분노 등)나 의도적으로 사용한 어휘 색채를 잘 살려야 한다는 의미였지 한국어 기사 내용을 외국어의 틀에 억지로 맞춰야 한다는 것은 아니었다.

따라서 번역사들은 현실적으로 언론사들의 이러한 번역 경향에 부합할 수밖에 없는 입장이다. A, B, C 각 사의 기자 및 전속 번역사들은 원형 그대로 옮겨오는 번역을 하

기보다는 매체 내부의 성향이나 관행, 그날그날의 지면 구성 컨셉에 맞추어서 새로운 독자를 위한 변형 버전을 산출하거나 심지어는 새롭게 개작을 하기도 했다. 이러한 경향은 이번 조사에 유일하게 언론사 일선 번역사의 입장으로 참여했던 D사 영문번역사의 응답에서도 확인할 수 있었다. D사 역시 원천 텍스트에 대한 충실성보다 도착어 기사 자체의 맥락과 가독성을 중시하는 입장을 취한다고 한다. 때문에 번역사들도 자체적으로 배경지식을 활용하여 문단을 재구성하거나 비논리적 혹은 과장된 표현을 바로잡거나 수위가 높은 표현을 희석하는 등 원천 텍스트에 얽매이지 않는 비교적 유연한 자세를 취한다고 응답하였다. 특이할 만한 점은 번역 착수 전에 아예 데스크 선에서 길이 축소 등의 원천 텍스트 사전 가공을 하기도 한다고 한다.

이러한 응답 내용들은 기관에서의 번역 텍스트 제작 시 구체적인 번역 표현의 선택이 제도적 텍스트 제작 과정 및 절차와 밀접하게 관련되어 있는 경우가 많다는 강지혜(2005:15)의 주장을 입증하는 것이며, 조직적 세팅 속 개별 게이트키퍼의 제약성에 대해 언급한 슈메이커(Shoemaker)의 주장[4]과도 일맥상통한다. 종합하자면 기관에 소속된 라이터나 전속 번역사들도 번역 과정에서 조직 내 관행과 방침, 독자의 수용도 등을 전반적으로 고려하여 제2의 게이트키퍼 역할을 하고 있음을 확인할 수 있다.

그밖에 A사와 C사의 외주 번역사들이 대부분 언론사 기자 출신이거나 통신사, 영자신문사 근무 경력이 있었다는 점도 시사하는 바가 크다. 미디어 환경에서 외국어 번역 능력과 언론사 근무 경력을 동시에 갖춘 전문가들이 선호된다는 점은 언론사 내부 속성과 시스템에 익숙한데다 기사 작성에 대한 감각이 살아 있기 때문에 번역 과정에서의 시행착오가 덜하고 보다 만족스러운 결과물을 산출하리라는 기대감에서 비롯되었을 것으로 추측된다.

구체적인 번역지침서가 제공되는지 여부에 대한 질문에서는 정형화된 스타일북(외국어 기사 작성 가이드라인, 단어 사용 용법, 문장부호 사용법, 파일링 방법, 분야별 용

[4] "게이트키퍼는 개인적인 기호를 추구할 만큼 완전히 자유롭지는 않다. 그는 조직의 업무 방식에 지침을 제공하는 커뮤니케이션 처리 관행에 구속 받으면서 움직여야 한다. 이런 모든 것들은 커뮤니케이션 조직의 틀 내에서 발생한다. 조직 틀은 최우선성을 갖지만 또한 조직 외부의 영향력에 의해 끊임없이 시달리기도 한다. 물론 개인, 관행, 조직 또는 사회 제도 등은 그것이 사회 체계와 연결되어 있고, 또 그것은 사회 체계가 존재해야 생명을 유지할 수 있다는 것은 피할 수 없는 사실이다(최재한 역, 2001:129)."

어집 등 수록)이 존재한다고 응답한 곳도 있었고, 별도로 매뉴얼화하지는 않았지만 그때그때 구두로 전달한다고 응답한 곳도 있었다. 또한 지침서가 따로 없더라도 번역사들은 번역 과정에서 내부의 용어집이나 기존에 축적된 번역 기사문의 형식을 참고하는 것으로 나타났다.

3.3.5 기사의 감수와 편집(3차 게이트키핑)

원천 텍스트를 재료로 번역된 외국어 기사는 보다 효과적인 전달을 위해 감수, 편집 단계에서 재포장된다. 강지혜(2005:16)는 『뉴스위크 한국판』의 번역 텍스트 제작 과정을 사례로 제시했는데, 1차 번역을 담당하는 '리라이터(Rewriter)'가 원천 텍스트지의 기사를 가감 없이 충실히 번역하면 이에 대해 '네이티브 체커(Native Checker)'가 문화적 차이에서 기인한 오역과 난해한 부분을 원천 텍스트와 대조 및 확인하고, 최종적으로 '톱 체커(Top Checker)'가 전반적인 윤문과 분량 조절을 담당한다고 설명한다. 본 연구에서도 인터뷰 대상 기관들이 대부분 편집, 감수 단계에서 번역물의 내용과 분량에 손질을 가하는 것으로 나타났다. 세부 직책명과 인력 보유 현황 등에서 기관마다 차이가 나긴 하지만 일반적으로 외국어 기사의 제작 절차는 '기자/번역사의 기사 작성→원어민 에디터 및 편집장 교정→데스크 최종 감수' 순으로 진행되고 있었다.

감수, 편집 과정에서는 언론사 취향이나 아젠다에 따라 번역본 자체를 완전히 재구성하기보다는 한국의 입장이나 한국어 기사 원문의 논조를 외국에 정확히 알리기 위해 최대한 객관성을 견지하고자 한다는 의견이 대다수였다. 구체적으로는 1)외국어 독자의 시각과 외국어 기사 형식을 반영한 표제어와 소제목으로의 대체, 2)분량과 시각적 가독성을 감안한 내용 생략 및 단락 재배열, 3)독자의 이해를 돕기 위한 부연 설명 추가, 4)국지적인 표현 위주의 윤문과 어휘 강도 조절 등의 방식들이 동원되고 있었다.

우선 번역기사의 표제는 주로 원어민 에디터들이 수정하거나 새로 작성한다고 응답했는데, A사의 경우는 마감 전 최종 교정(proofreading) 단계에서 기사 특성 상 표제의 액면 의미와 저변 의미가 다를 수 있으므로 최종 협의를 통해 톤을 조절하기도 한다고 설명했다(특히 정치나 역사 문제 관련 기사). 『뉴스위크 한국판』의 사례를 중심으로 논한 강지혜(2008)의 연구에서도 한국 언론계는 일반적으로 편집부에서 제목 달기가 이루어지는 것이 관행이라고 언급하고 있으며, 『뉴스위크 한국판 스타일북』 상에도 번역기사 제목에 대해 '원문의 기사 내용을 참조하여 뽑는다', '가급적 쉬운 말로 붙인다', '원

천 텍스트 레이아웃의 길이에 맞추어 간결하게 지어야 한다'는 등의 세부 원칙을 명시하고 있다고 했다(강지혜, 2008:19).

다음으로 번역물의 생략, 재배열, 추가 작업은 개입 정도에 차이가 존재하긴 하지만 각 사마다 공통적으로 나타나고 있었다. 응답자 대부분이 편집 단계에서 외국어별 논리 구조나 담화 관행, 기사 형식, 도착어 독자의 이해 방식 등을 고려하여 번역문의 분량 조절, 재배열, 부연 설명 등의 재가공 전략을 탄력적으로 적용한다고 응답했다. 일례로 A사 관계자의 인터뷰 내용에 따르면, '교육부의 한국사 필수 과목 지정' 관련 기사는 외국 독자들에게 현실적으로 직접적인 연관성이 없을 뿐만 아니라 배경 지식과 맥락이 전무할 수 있으므로 편집 과정에서 배경 설명을 부가할 필요가 있다고 한다. 또한 '주한 외국인 범죄 사건'에 관한 기사의 경우도 한국 독자를 대상으로 할 때는 그다지 비중 있게 다루지 않지만 외국 독자들의 관심은 오히려 지대할 수 있으므로 별도로 보강 취재를 하여 원재료가 되는 텍스트에 내용을 더하기도 한다고 했다. 특히 정치나 역사와 관련된 번역 기사의 경우 한국의 입장이 잘못 전달되거나 사실에 어긋날 소지가 있는 부분에 대해서는 별도로 데스크와 편집장, 에디터 간에 의견을 조율하여 타협점을 찾아야 한다고 설명했다.

이로써 데스크에서 취사 선택되어 외국어로 새롭게 재맥락화된 기사는 '편집, 감수'라는 최종 관문을 거치며 독자에 더 가깝게 재차 여과되고 정제됨이 확인되었다.

4. 결론

본고는 한국어 기사의 외국어로의 재가공 과정에 실질적으로 참여하고 있거나 참여한 적이 있는 언론인 및 번역가들과의 심층 인터뷰를 실시해 언론사 내부의 게이트키핑 양상을 실증적으로 짚어봄으로써 기존의 게이트키핑 모델들을 검증해 보았다. 또한 실제 기사 번역 업무를 다루는 일선 관계자들의 진술을 통해 한국어 기사가 외국어 독자를 대상으로 재가공되는 전반적인 과정을 구체적으로 들여다볼 수 있었다. 본 인터뷰 결과 도출된 번역 게이트키핑 관련 현상들은 다음과 같이 요약해볼 수 있다.

첫째, 한국어 기사의 외국어화 과정은 대체적으로 '기사 선정→외국어 기사 작성 및 번역→감수, 편집→활자화/온라인 업로드'의 흐름을 거친다. 또한 번역 대상 기사를

선별하고 번역하고 감수 및 편집을 실시하는 각 단계마다 담당 주체에 의한 게이트키핑이 일어난다.

둘째, 국내 언론사 관계자들은 해외 선행 연구에서 나타난 결과들과 마찬가지로 '번역'을 단순히 텍스트를 외국어로 옮기는 개념으로 여기지 않고 '필요에 따라 적절한 여과와 변형을 가하는 재가공 작업'으로 간주하고 있었다. 즉, 미디어 맥락에서는 '번역=편역(trans-editing)'이라는 공식이 통용되고 있었다.

셋째, 번역 대상 기사로는 외국어 독자들에게 영향력이 큰 사안이나 한국 문화를 홍보하는 내용의 뉴스들이 우선 순위로 선정되고 있었다. 기사 선별 단계에서는 주로 데스크의 입김과 편집회의 결과가 가장 중요한 영향을 미치는데, 이때 다수의 기사 중 일부를 취사선택하는 과정 자체에 선정자의 가치판단이 개입될 수 있다.

넷째, 기관에 소속된 라이터나 전속 번역사들도 번역 과정에서 조직 내 관행과 방침, 독자의 수용도 등을 전반적으로 고려해야 하므로 원천 텍스트에 너무 기대지 않는 유연한 결과물을 산출하고자 한다.

다섯째, 데스크에서 취사선택되어 새롭게 재맥락화된 외국어 기사는 마지막으로 '편집, 감수'라는 관문을 거치며 제목 변형, 분량 조절, 단락 재배치, 부연 설명 추가, 표현 강도 조절 등의 재조정이 이루어진다. 이때 응답 대상 기관의 대부분은 한국의 입장이나 한국어 기사 원문의 논조를 외국에 정확히 알리기 위해 최대한 객관성을 견지하는 것을 원칙으로 한다고 응답했다.

본 연구는 뉴스 기사의 재가공 현상을 규명함에 있어 표층적인 텍스트 담화 분석 방식이 아닌 보다 실증적이고 구체적인 면접조사의 방식을 채택하였다. 따라서 실질적인 참여자들의 진술을 통해 언론사 내부의 실제를 탐색하였다는 점에서 의미가 있다. 하지만 본 연구조사에 참여한 일부 기관이 국내 모든 언론사를 대변하는 것은 아니므로 좀 더 광범위하고 세밀한 조사가 뒤따라야만 연구 결과의 보편성과 객관성을 확보할 수 있을 것이다. 또한 본 조사는 한국어 기사의 외국어 번역으로만 한정하여 살펴보았고, 일부 지면 매체 기관만을 대상으로 하였다는 한계점이 남아 있다. 따라서 향후에 번역 유형별, 언어권별, 언론사 기관 특성별로 텍스트 분석과 실증적 연구가 접목된 좀더 폭넓고 깊이 있는 후속 연구들이 이루어져야 할 것이다.

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부록

인터뷰 질문지 가이드라인

1. 응답자 배경 소개
   –경력은 몇 년 차입니까?
   –조직 내에서 어떤 역할을 맡고 있습니까?

2. 사건 발생 시점부터 번역을 거쳐서 기사가 활자화되는 시점까지 흐름을 얘기해 주세요.

3. 단계별 게이트키핑 양상과 영향 요인에 관한 질문

   1) 번역 기사 선정
      → 선정 기준 및 우선 순위(예를 들어, 정확성, 희귀성, 근접성, 갈등성 등), 번역사 배정 방식, 내부 성향 또는 외부 영향이 기사 선정에 영향을 미치는지 여부(편집회의 내용, 당시 사회적 이슈, 이익단체, 시민단체, 광고주, 독자 등)

   2) 번역 과정
      → 번역 시 우선 순위, 번역 지침 제공 여부, 원문 기자와 커뮤니케이션 여부, 번역 전략

   3) 편집/감수
      → 편집 과정 및 방식, 번역물들 중에서 또 다시 걸러지는지 여부, 조직 외부 요인(권력 기관, 광고주, 독자, 이슈) 등 편집에 영향을 미치는 요소, 독자 반응 측정 여부, 번역사에 대한 피드백 방식 및 내용

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A No-Fuss Approach to the Translation of Legal Terminology: Some Examples from Hong Kong's Law Translation Project

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1. Two hard facts about legal concepts

Let us take a look at two hard facts about legal concepts before we concern ourselves with the translation issues. First, legal concepts are system-specific and as such they have no equivalents in other legal systems. Second, a legal concept, however complex, is represented by a linguistic sign, a verbal label generally called a legal term. To understand the meaning of the term, we must acquire knowledge of the legal concept it designates. Obviously enough, such knowledge cannot be acquired simply by acquainting oneself with the linguistic meaning of the term. In other words, understanding the linguistic meaning of the term is not tantamount to understanding its legal meaning. The term, as a linguistic sign, merely functions as a meaning-pointer to the legal concept it designates. For example, the term *burglary* designates a specific statutory crime in English law.[1] The linguistic (ordinary) meaning of *burglary*, namely, *housebreaking*, does not fully capture the legal meaning of the term, which is defined in, for instance, section 11 of the Theft Ordinance (Cap 210) in Hong Kong as follows:

> *(1) A person commits burglary if-*
> *(a) he enters any building or part of a building as a trespasser and with intent to commit any such offence as is mentioned in subsection (2); or*
> *(b) having entered any building or part of a building as a trespasser he steals*

[1] It was a crime under statute and in common law before 1968.

or attempts to steal anything in the building or that part of it or inflicts or attempts to inflict on any person therein any grievous bodily harm.

(2) The offences referred to in subsection (1)(a) are-

(a) stealing anything in the building or part of a building in question;

(b) inflicting on any person therein any grievous bodily harm or raping any woman therein; and

(c) doing unlawful damage to the building or anything therein.

(3) References in subsections (1) and (2) to a building shall apply also to an inhabited vehicle or vessel, and shall apply to any such vehicle or vessel at times when the person having a habitation in it is not there as well as at times when he is.

(3A) The reference in subsection (2)(c) to doing unlawful damage to anything in a building includes-

(a) unlawfully causing a computer in the building to function other than as it has been established by or on behalf of its owner to function, notwithstanding that the unlawful action may not impair the operation of the computer or a program held in the computer or the reliability of data held in the computer;

(b) unlawfully altering or erasing any program, or data, held in a computer in the building or in a computer storage medium in the building; and

(c) unlawfully adding any program or data to the contents of a computer in the building or a computer storage medium in the building. (Added 23 of 1993 s. 6)

(4) Any person who commits burglary shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction upon indictment to imprisonment for 14 years.[2]

Being system-specific, burglary is a crime that exists only in English law, constituted by a cluster of crimes, namely, trespassing, theft, inflicting bodily harm, criminal damage, rape, and tampering with computer programs or data. While a crime unique to English law in the broad sense, burglary as defined in Hong Kong law is not exactly the same crime as defined in the laws of other common law jurisdictions, England for instance.[3] Also noteworthy is the extended meaning of the crime-scene word *building* under the statute which

[2] See the website of the Bilingual Law Information System of the Department of Justice, Hong Kong (http://www.legislation.gov.hk/eng/home.htm).

includes an inhabited vehicle or vessel.

For all its complexity, the concept of burglary is designated by a simple English word *burglary*. Like any other linguistic sign, the fact that it can designate the complex concept of burglary is not due to any property of its physical form, phonetic or graphological.[4] The sign in itself has no magical power of invoking in us the complex concept it designates. Rather it is through the conventional association of the physical form of the sign with its meaning established and acquired through experience, through learning in particular, that it can function as the meaning-pointer of the concept. It is impossible for any person without the knowledge of the nature and scope of burglary as defined in statute to grasp the legal meaning of the term *burglary* merely by understanding its linguistic meaning.

All this is a simple truism.

2. What is all the fuss about translating legal terminology?

2.1 Equivalence

In translating the term *burglary*, into Chinese for instance, there are two things we must bear in mind from the outset. First, it will be futile to ***find*** an equivalent term in Chinese which express the same concept of burglary in English law, for the simple reason that there is no such concept in the Chinese thought-world. Second, no single term in Chinese, however it is arrived at and whatever it looks like, can convey the concept of burglary to any Chinese reader/user who does not already have knowledge of the concept. Just like its

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[3] Rape is no longer a specific crime of burglary in England. The words "or raping any woman" in s. 9(2) of Theft Act 1968 were repealed (1.5.2004) by Sexual Offences Act 2003(c.142), ss. 139, 140, Sch. 6 para. 17 (Sch. 7); S.I. 2004/874, art. 2. See changes to legislation on the website of legislation.gov.uk (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/60/section/9).

[4] Unlike medical and scientific terms, legal terms are far simpler in morphological structure. A typical example of a complex medical term is *pneumonoultramicroscopicsillicovolcanconiosis*, which refers to a special lung disease. Despite its length, the amount of information (meaning) it conveys through its surface meaning is still limited. People who marvel at the profound meaning a simple word like *Zeitgeist* can express simply forget that the profound meaning attached to the word is not contained in the word itself but in the heads of language users.

English counterpart *burglary*, all it can do is function as a meaning-pointer of the concept.

The translation of English common law terms into Chinese in Hong Kong can serve as a typical example of the most demanding type of legal translation, namely, legislative translation, the end product of which will become the authentic text of the law. And under the bilingual legal system of Hong Kong, a Chinese term must convey exactly the same legal concept represented by its English counterpart. In the present case, absolute equivalence must be established between the Chinese term for *burglary* and its English counterpart. Equivalence of lesser degrees, whether functional, near, or partial, is not good enough.

Much has been written on equivalence. Many have contended that absolute equivalence is an illusion (Newmark 1981: x; Snell-Hornby 1988: 22; Bell 1991: 6). Ironically enough, Sadrini (1996; 1999) and de Groot (1987; 2006; 2008), who have often been cited to support such contention, expressly state that absolute equivalence is possible when translation is carried out within bilingual or multilingual legal systems, i.e., within the same legal system. What they contend is that absolute equivalence is impossible when translation is carried out between different legal systems. They are right in holding the first view, but wrong in holding the second. In what follows, we will show that absolute equivalence is possible in translation both within the same legal system and between different legal systems. What makes it possible in both cases is the same principle.

As has been noted, a term is simply a verbal label for a concept. The relation between the label and the concept is, as duly emphasized by Saussure (1983), completely arbitrary. The concept of burglary, while system-specific, is by no means language-dependent. That is to say, to understand the concept we don't have to rely on the phonetic or graphological feature peculiar to the English word *burglary*. The word *burglary* in the section cited above can in theory be replaced by an arbitrarily coined word, say *burblary*, without any change to the nature and scope of the crime. To parody Shakespeare's famous lines:

> *What is in a term? That which we call burglary*
> *By any other name would count as criminal*

What we are supposed to do in translating *burglary* into Chinese is simply re-label the concept of burglary in Chinese such that the resultant Chinese term of this re-labeling is ***created*** as an exact equivalent of the English term *burglary*. Whatever linguistic meaning the Chinese term carries, as a common law term in Chinese for the concept of burglary, it must be understood in light of the common law meaning of the concept of burglary. Absolute equivalence between corresponding terms in English and Chinese is established when they are stipulated to designate the same concepts, or in other words, when the common law is adopted as the "semantic reference system" (SRS). There is no magic in giving terms in different languages the same meaning. Equivalents abound in science, medicine, engineering, finance and even culture-laden fields such as philosophy and religion. Absolute equivalence in meaning is established by one simple speech act: Let Term X in Language A mean the same as Term Y in Language B. This is so simple an act that can be performed without fuss. In this connection, we would like to reiterate what we have said regarding the issue of equivalence (Sin and Roebuck 1996: 245):

> *In reviving total [absolute] equivalence as an achievable goal of bilingual legislation, we do not have to presuppose symmetry between English and Chinese, as Snell-Hornby has contended. We do not have to postulate the existence of the abstract entity called 'proposition' in order to establish something like the principle of 'effability' espoused by the realist Katz, which asserts that 'Each proposition can be expressed by some sentence in any natural language' (Katz 1978: 209). We do not have to postulate the mentalist notion of idea (see Ogden and Richards 1949: Ch 1) which finds its expression in different languages and serves as the ground for establishing equivalence in meaning. We do not have to subscribe to what Roy Harris (1981: 9-10) calls 'the language myth' to postulate a determinate correlation between words and ideas whereby the transferability of thoughts from one mind to another, from one language community to another, and from one culture to another, is made possible. Nor do we have to postulate 'linguistic universals' as propounded by Chomsky to justify the possibility of a complete match among different languages at the deepest level of their structures. In short, we need not get tangled in all unnecessary complexities of philosophical doctrines to be enlightened on the crux of the whole issue. All we need to do is to take a closer look at the plain and simple ways in which a language functions⋯*

We often forget that as language users, we can make language serve our purpose. For one reason or another, whether political or cultural, we need to have a legal system that operates in more than one language. Under such system the law has to be enacted in different languages and the different language versions must convey the same legal meaning. And as building blocks of the law, legal terms in different languages must convey the same legal concepts. This is the mandate of a bilingual or multilingual legal system. Complying with this mandate may seem a tall order where the law has to be translated from one language to another. Yet despite the complexity and technicality involved in the translating process, the principle that makes absolute equivalence achievable is a simple one. While legal terms in one language do not have equivalents in another language ***as it stands***, equivalents can be created through a variety of linguistic devices. The translation of legal terminology does not require the availability of equivalents in the target language as a pre-condition. The issue of equivalence is in the final analysis a pseudo-problem.

2.2 Translating between different legal systems

As has been noted, scholars such as Sadrini and de Groot, while admitting that absolute equivalence is possible when translating within the same legal system, contending that it is impossible when translating between different languages. The reason for Sadrini is that "legal concepts as part of a national system of laws are fundamentally different across legal systems and that only a comparative approach is possible; the establishing of equivalence is not." In a similar vein, de Groot maintains that "[w]here the source and target language relate to different legal systems, equivalence is rare" or even "proves to be a problem". For them, related but different legal concepts can only be compared such that "partial equivalence or overlapping characteristics" is uncovered.

It is common ground that different legal systems, however closely related, do not have identical legal concepts. As has been noted, the concept of burglary is not exactly the same under English and Hong Kong laws, even though both are common law jurisdictions (see Note 3). And it is also common ground that legal concepts of different legal systems can of course be compared so that the extent to which related concepts overlaps can be ascertained. However, analysis of legal concepts in comparative law does not entail that "we have to abandon the concept of equivalence" as Sadrini argues (1996: 5).

There are two points to note here. First, translation is a question at issue in comparative law because comparative law involves research in foreign law, which in turn often requires translation. Translation is necessary, as noted by Smith (1994: 268), "because we cannot always read the original language of the law or because the original language text is not available to us." Since comparative law relies to a large extent on translation, and since the source concepts must be accurately expressed in the target language before they can be compared with the related target concepts, absolute equivalence must be established between the source concepts and their designating terms in the target language. So it is wrong to assert that the notion of absolute equivalence has no place in comparative law, as has been contended by Sandrini and de Groot.

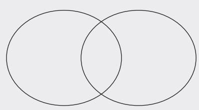
Let us take a simple example from Januleviciene and Rackeviciene (2011: 1082). If we want to compare in Lithuanian the term *barrister* in English law with its Lithuanian counterpart *advokatas*, we can either make the English term *barrister* a loan word *baristeris* and use it as a neologism in Lithuanian, or give a descriptive translation in Lithuanian as *teismo bylu advokatas* (advocate of court cases) or *teismu advokatas* (advocate in court). In either case the Lithuanian term for *barrister* has to be understood in light of the functions of barristers under English law and their place in the structure of the English legal profession if the comparison with its Lithuanian counterpart is to be of any significance. Put differently, comparative analysis of legal concepts in different languages requires that each of the concepts in question must be understood in light of its legal system. The present example can be illustrated as follows:

Translation

barrister *English Law* = *barristeris* *English Law* = *teisma bylu advokatas* *English Law* = *teismu advokatas* *English Law*

Comparison

barrister *English Law*
barristeris *English Law*
teisma bylu advokatas *English Law*
teismu advokatas *English Law*



advocatas *Lithuanian Law*

Obviously enough, partial equivalence exists between the English concept of barrister and the Lithuanian concept of advokatas whereas absolute equivalence exists between the English term *barrister* and its Lithuanian translations. Sandrini's contention that "[t]here is no equivalence on the level of terms" (1996: 2) holds true only for terms of different concepts, but not for terms of the same concept. Here we can see that the whole debate over equivalence versus non-equivalence arises purely from a muddled conceptual confusion.

Secondly, there is no *a priori* reason why the language of a legal system must be pegged to that particular legal system. As has been noted, legal concepts are system-specific but not language-dependent. That is to say, legal concepts are not pegged to any particular language, and *vice versa*. A good case in point is the evolution of the common law in England from law Latin through law French and eventually to law English (Mellinkoff 1963), and in Hong Kong, to law Chinese. As a matter of fact, that there is no necessary connection between the language of a legal system and that particular legal system is acknowledged by de Groot himself. He points out that "[a]ny given language can have as many legal languages as there are systems using that language as a legal language" (2008: 2). This flatly contradicts his contention that there can be no equivalence where the source and target language relate to different legal systems, which implies that terms in the source language must be understood in light of the legal system of the source language and terms in the target language must likewise be understood in light of the legal system of the target language. For de Groot, if the English term *barrister* is translated into Lithuanian as *teismu advokatas*, the Lithuanian term *teismu advokata*s must be understood in light of Lithuanian law, and as a result *teismu advokatas* cannot express the English concept of barrister. Likewise, in the case of Hong Kong, translating English law into Chinese would entail that all the translated terms in Chinese must be understood in light of the civil law system, because the legal systems in Mainland China and Taiwan belong to the civil law system. Consequently, there can be no equivalence between the English and Chinese texts of the law. If this line of thinking is followed out, all bilingual and multilingual legal systems would turn out to be castles in the air. In fact, there are many who adopt this line of thinking, arguing against the possibility of absolute equivalence on which bilingual and multilingual legal systems are built. But it is really hard to see why *teismu advokatas* cannot be understood in light of English law, or why it cannot be given an English legal meaning simply because it is expressed in Lithuanian. Neurons won't refuse to process such conceptual adjustment.

Nor our brain will blow up. We can't help but wonder why so many brilliant minds have failed to see the allegedly insurmountable difficulty in establishing absolute equivalence just requires a simple conceptual adjustment.

2.3 Comparative law

It goes without saying that translating legal terminology requires not only linguistic skills and knowledge but also legal knowledge. To translate the term *burglary*, we must first understand its legal meaning in English law. Knowledge of similar or related terms, if any, in the target legal language definitely helps, but is not, we would argue, necessary for producing an appropriate target term that can serve as a good meaning-pointer of its source counterpart.

As is widely known, de Groot is a strong proponent of the comparative-law approach to legal translation. For him, "comparative law forms the basis for translating legal texts" (1987: 797):

> *When translating legal texts, one must take into account that the fact that the terminology used deviates from the normal colloquial speech. The manner in which a concept functions within a legal system often causes it to obtain a meaning which deviates from or is more differentiated than colloquial language and which must be expressed when translating. An extra difficulty is that legal documents are often characterized by a usage which has already become obsolescent in colloquial language (1987: 797).*
>
> *As a consequence, it is of primary importance to establish that one legal language must be translated into another* ***legal*** *language. One should not translate from a legal language into the ordinary words of the target language, but also the legal terminology of the target language. If the target language is used in several legal systems as the language of the law, a conscious choice must be made for the terminology of one of the possible target legal languages. One target language legal system must be chosen, that is, a single legal system which uses the target language as its language. The choice of a particular target language contained in the terminology of the source language legal system must be represented by the terminology of the target language legal system (2008: 2).*

A similar approach has been proposed by Galdia (2003: 4):

> *A legal term under legal system A, understood as a systemic term, is transformed into another term under legal system B by finding a term that corresponds with the function of the legal term under legal system A. This allows, for example, the English legal term to be translated into German as* ***Treuhand*** *in certain instances.*

In a nutshell, the comparative-law approach consists in matching legal language with legal language and legal terminology with legal terminology in the source and target languages. Galdia's approach is also a functional one.

For what it is worth, de Groot and Galdia's approach has several drawbacks. For one thing, the approach presupposes a clear-cut distinction between ordinary language and legal language. But as is evident from the heated debates over what counts as legal language and whether legal language is reducible to ordinary language (see Morrison 1989; Pozzo 2005; Tiersma 2005), it is doubtful whether an approach based on such controversial grounds can be relied upon in legal translation. Without going into the arguments involved in the debate, suffice it to say here for our present purpose that legal language is a fluid and fuzzy concept. Whether a word is an ordinary word or a legal term depends entirely on the context in which it is used. There are indeed words which are mostly used in legal contexts, such as *mens rea, actus rea, estoppel, lien, mortgage,* and *voir dire* in English law. They constitute the small set of technical terms which represents only a small proportion of the entire vocabulary of English law. What is more, it doesn't take much to see that they can be used in non-legal contexts and cease to function as technical legal terms. A good case in point is the term *mens rea* used by Lakambini Sitoy in her story *Mens Rea* in which it is defined by one of the characters as a special kind of "psychological bleeding" (1998: 13). Conversely, an ordinary word can be given a technical meaning in law, as is often the case in English common law. The word *abandon* is a typical example:

> *The word 'abandon' is one in ordinary and common use, and in its natural sense well understood; but there is not a word in the English language used in a more highly artificial and technical sense than the word 'abandon'; in reference to constructive total loss, it is defined to be a cession or transfer of the ship from the owner to the underwriter, and of his property and interest in it, with all the*

claims that may arise from its ownership, and all the profits that may arise from it including the freight then being earned.[5]

There are a huge number of ordinary English words like *abandon* which have been involved in lawsuits, judicially interpreted, and given case law meanings. It would be difficult to follow de Groot's approach in such cases as we don't know whether we should translate them into ordinary words or legal terms in the target language. In either case, the approach leads us nowhere. It is hardly conceivable that we could find in any language a corresponding ordinary word for *abandon* or a related legal term which carries a similar, even remotely, technical meaning, ***unless*** it is understood in light of English maritime law, but that is precisely what we propose all along.

The issue of ordinary language versus legal language aside, an obvious drawback of the comparative-law approach, as we have seen above, is that while ***finding*** equivalent terms is bound to be futile, finding comparable terms may also turn out to be fruitless. If we want to translate *burglary* into Chinese by following the comparative-law approach, the closest term we can find in the criminal law of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is *入户盗窃* (ru hu daoqie, meaning *entering a residence to steal*) (Article 264 of Criminal Law (Amendment) 2013). There isn't a similar single term in the criminal law of Taiwan. Article 321 (1) of the Criminal Law specifies the venue and manner in which the crime of 竊盜 (larceny or theft) is committed:[6]

於夜間侵入住宅或有人居住之建築物、船艦或隱匿其內而犯之者.
Committing the crime by intruding at night into a dwelling house or an inhabited building or vessel, or by keeping oneself concealed therein (My translation).

The following is a comparative analysis of the three crimes:

[5] *Rankin v Potter* (1873) LR 6 HL 83 at 144, per Martin B.

[6] Note that the two Chinese terms carry the same meaning of theft, stealing, or larceny but have different written forms. The PRC term is *daoqie* whereas the Taiwan term is *qiedao*. And it is also worth noting that the Taiwan concept still preserves the element of night-time which was part of the archaic meaning of the English concept of burglary.

Law	Crime	Manner	Venue	Time	Crime Committed	Max Penalty
HK	burglary	trespassing	building; inhabited vehicle; inhabited vessel	unspecified	theft; inflicting bodily harm; criminal damage; rape	14 years' imprisonment:
PRC	入户盗窃 (ruhu daoqie)	entering	residence	unspecified	theft	life imprisonment
Taiwan	竊盜之一項 (a mode of qiedao)	intrusion + / - concealment	residential apartment; inhabited vessel	night	theft	5 years' Imprisonment + NTD$100,000 fine

Since there is no existing term in Taiwan law for the crime under comparison, the PRC term *入户盗窃* would be a reasonable candidate translation for *burglary*. But we will show that we can come up with even a better alternative without going through all the trouble of the comparative analysis.

Yet another drawback of translating a legal term of the source legal system with a comparable term of the target legal system is that the target term may mislead both the translator and the user. A typical example is the translation of the English term *possessory lien* as *留置权* (*liuzhi quan*)[7] in PRC's Maritime Law (see Fu 1999). Under English law, a lien is:

> *A legal right or interest that a creditor has in another's property, lasting usually until a debt or duty that it secures is satisfied. Typically, the creditor does not take possession of the property on which the lien has been obtained (Black's Law Dictionary 9th ed. 2011)*

There are many types of lien, and possessory lien is one of them. Prefixed by the adjective *possessory*, the term refers to:

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[7] *留置权* (*liuzhi quan*) is the accepted translation for lien both in PRC and Taiwan law.

A lien allowing the creditor to keep possession of the encumbered property until the debt is satisfied (Ibid.)

By contrast, under PRC civil law, a lien is already a legal right of the creditor to take possession of the encumbered property and hence *possessory lien* is a redundant term. This has led the translator to delete *possessory* in the translated term *留置权* (*lien*) (Fu 1999: 254-5), thus concealing the essential meaning of the right to take possession as a special type of lien under English law from the user and misleading him/her into treating it as a lien under civil law.

We can now see clearly that the comparative-law approach to legal translation suffers from one intrinsic flaw. It deprives translation of the important function of importing foreign law to the target culture and prevents the user from gaining access to new concepts, new ideas, and new ways of thinking.

Well aware of the potential danger inherent in this approach, the translators of the Law Translation Project in Hong Kong exercised great caution against being tempted to adopt PRC legal terms in translating the common law terms appearing in Hong Kong statutes (see Suen 2002).[8] In this connection, we can see the wisdom of the European Union in urging translators "to avoid using terms of national laws to designate EU concepts" (Gibova 2009: 150). Of course, comparative law can play an important role in translating legal terminology–it can warn us what terms to avoid!

3. Two levels of operation in translating legal terminology

Let us be clear. Our goal is to produce a term in the target language which is intended to be the ***equivalent*** for the term in the source language, i.e., with ***exactly the same*** meaning as the source term. As has been noted at the outset,

[8] Wai-chung Suen, currently Senior Assistant Law Draftsman of the Department of Justice, Hong Kong, was actively engaged in the Law Translation Project in the run-up to 1997 before the change-over of sovereignty. In this paper (in Chinese), he explained in detail why the English term *attempt* under Hong Kong criminal law should not be translated as *犯罪未遂* (*fanzui weisui;* meaning *commission of crime not accomplished*), a term which has a similar meaning under PRC criminal law. It is interesting to note that the PRC term has often been translated as *attempt* in English, a potential trap for unaware readers/users who may be tempted to understand the PRC term in light of English criminal law.

this goal can only be achieved under two conditions. First, the target term must refer to the same concept as designated by the source term. Second, the target term must not be regarded as having the magical power of enabling us to understand in a flash the entire meaning of the source term; rather, it can merely serve as a meaning-pointer that points us to the concept of the source term. Once this is clear, a methodology suggests itself to us.

3.1 The conceptual level

What we do at this level is to establish the conceptual framework within which the whole enterprise of terminological translation is to be carried out. Put differently, it lays the foundation for establishing absolute equivalence in terminological translation and devises strategies for producing appropriate terms. Furthermore, it provides explanatory comments and notes on how the terms are produced, and more important, how they should be used. The operation at this level is essentially brainwork without getting down to the nitty-gritty of translation.

The all-important first step is to fix the ***semantic reference system*** (SRS) (Sin and Roebuck 1996: 247-9). SRS is a very simple notion. It simply serves as a notional shorthand for drawing our attention to the system-specificity of legal terms, i.e., legal terms acquire their meanings from the legal systems to which they belong. In translating English legal terms, English law is the default SRS, regardless of the legal system of the target language. So strictly speaking there is no such thing as translating *between* legal systems. When we translate legal concepts from one language to another, we are translating concepts of a particular legal system. In other words, we always translate *within* the same legal system, the default SRS from which the translated terms acquire the same meanings as the source terms, as already shown in the translation of the English term *barrister* into the Lithuanian term *advokatas*. In the case of Hong Kong, the adoption of the common law as the SRS is enshrined in Section 10C (1) of the *Interpretation and General Clauses Ordinance (Cap 1)* of Hong Kong ordinances:

> *Where an expression of the common law is used in the English language text of an Ordinance and an analogous expression is used in the Chinese language text thereof, the Ordinance shall be construed in accordance with the common law*

meaning of that expression.

The section lays down the fundamental principle for interpreting English and Chinese terms of the common law in Hong Kong statute. Absolute equivalence between English terms and their Chinese counterparts is presumed under this principle. This settles once and for all the controversy over the possibility of absolute equivalence in the translation of Hong Kong laws.

The adoption of the common law as the SRS requires that the English terms be translated into Chinese in accordance with their common law meanings. Accordingly, it is not necessary to refer to Chinese law so far as translation is concerned. To translate *burglary* in the context of Hong Kong, the meaning we need to consider is already clearly stated in section 11 of the Theft Ordinance (Cap 210).

3.2 The term-formation level

Once the conceptual framework is established, we can proceed to the term-formation level with a clear understanding as to what translating legal terms is all about. The objective of the whole task before us is to produce appropriate meaning-pointers for source terms.

In this connection, the International Standard Organization (ISO) provides some useful suggestions for term-formation which can be applied to the translation of legal terminology. ISO 704-2009 is a special document on Terminology Work – Principles and methods. Section 7.4 of the document lays down the principles and methods for term-formation. The general principle, stated in Section 7.4.1, is as follows:

> *For a standardized terminology, it is desirable that a term be attributed to a single concept. Before creating a new term, it is required to ascertain whether a term already exists for the concept in question. Well-established usage has to be respected. Established and widely used designations, even if they are poorly formed or poorly motivated, should not be changed unless there are compelling reasons. If several designations exist for a single concept, the one that satisfies the largest number of principles listed below should be selected.*

The general principle comprises two components. First, monosemy: a term should preferably designate one and only one concept so as to avoid ambiguity. Second, respect for convention: a well-established and widely used term, even if ill-formed, should still be adopted.

Again, let us take the translation of *burglary* as an example.[9]

The first step is to find out whether there is an existing term for the concept. In Hong Kong, *burglary* is usually referred to as 爆竊 (*baoqie*, meaning *breaking in to steal*) in Chinese and also as 爆格 (*baoge*, a Cantonese slang word, presumably a Cantonese transliteration of the English word *burgle*), though not as often. The compelling reason not to use these two terms is obvious. First, 爆 is a colloquial word for *breaking in* and may also mean *to blow up something*, which is not part of the meaning of *burglary*. Second, both terms refer to only one of the four specific crimes within the statutory meaning of *burglary*. So in terms of style and meaning, neither of the two terms is an appropriate candidate. An alternative term has to be created.

To function effectively as a meaning-pointer, a term should be formed according to seven specific principles, namely, transparency, consistency, appropriateness, linguistic economy, derivability and compoundability, linguistic correctness, and preference for native language.

Transparency

Section 7.4.2.2 states:

> *A term or appellation n is considered transparent when the concept can be inferred, at least partially, without a definition or an explanation. In other words, the meaning of a term or appellation can be deduced from its parts. For a term to be transparent, a key characteristic – usually a defining characteristic – is used in the formation of the term or appellation itself.*

There are legal terms which are opaque, i.e., the concept they designate can

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[9] This is my own reconstruction of the line of thinking which might have led to the finalized translation of the term. As such, it is not intended as a factual report on how it was arrived at by the translators of the Law Translation Project in Hong Kong. Perhaps what qualifies me to suggest this reconstruction is my participation in the project as a member of the Bilingual Laws Advisory Committee (BLAC) from 1990 to 1997. BLAC was a statutory body established to advise the Hong Kong Government on matters relating to the translation of Hong Kong laws into Chinese.

To my knowledge, the terminological principles proposed by ISO were not relied upon at the time of the Project. But this doesn't prevent us from discussing the translated terms in light of the ISO principles.

hardly be inferred from their surface meanings. For instance, 牙保贓物 (*yabao zhuangwu*). Most Chinese users understand what 贓物 (stolen goods) means, but hardly any can tell from the surface meaning of 牙保 (牙 ya, meaning *tooth* literally, and *bao*, meaning *to keep, to take care of* literally) what it means. As it turns out, 牙保 is an archaic expression for *acting as an agent*. So 牙保贓物 means *acting as an agent dealing in stolen goods*. Another example is the Taiwan legal term 想像競合 (*xiangxiang jinghe*). 想像 means *imaginary*, *imaginative*, *or imagination*. 競合 is a complete enigma to most Chinese speakers. 競 might mean *to compete*, *to race*, and 合 might mean *to converge*, *to meet*, etc. The four characters together don't suggest any clue as to what concept the term can possibly designate. In fact, the term is a literal translation of the German term *Idealkonkurrenz*, meaning *commission of two or more crimes by one and the same act*. Unless you are a Taiwan lawyer, you can hardly infer the concept from the surface meaning of the four Chinese characters. Terms like these are not transparent meaning-pointers. Of course, as the two terms are already well established in Taiwan law, the general principle of respect for convention has to be followed.

Transparency is difficult to achieve. It is never easy to identify the defining characteristic or core meaning of a concept, and even when it is identified, compressing it in a term is no easy task. *Burglary* is a relatively easy case. The essential nature of the offence is clearly shown in section 11 (1) (a) of Cap 210 cited above. It can be characterized as the *trespassing into a building with intent to commit crimes*. The next thing to do is to construct a term in well-structured Chinese, which brings us to the principle of linguistic correctness.

Linguistic correctness

Section 7.4.2.7 states:

> *When neoterms or appellations are coined, they should conform to the morphological, morphosyntactic, and phonological norms of the language in question.*

While this seems the most natural thing to do, there are terms which violate such norms. The Taiwan terms 瑕疵通知 (*xiaci tongzhi; xiaci* meaning *defective* and *tongzhi* meaning *notice*) and 瑕疵擔保 (*xiaci danbao; xiaci* meaning *defective* and *danbao* meaning *guarantee*) are a case in point. According to the morphosystactic rule of Chinese, when the word *xiaci* is placed before the nouns *tongzhi* and *danbao*, *xiaci will function as an adjective* modifying *tongzhi* and *danbao* and the two terms are supposed to mean *defective notice* and *defective guarantee* respectively. But as it turns out, *xiaci tongzhi* means *notice made with respect to defective goods* and *xiaci danbao* means *guarantee against defective goods*, i.e., with *tongzhi* and *danbao* functioning as postmodifiers, which is an anomalous structure in Chinese.

In the case of *burglary*, its core meaning *trespassing into a building with intent to commit crimes* can be formulated as follows:

擅自	進入	建築物	意圖	犯罪
shanzi	*jinru*	*jiazhuwu*	*yitu*	*fanzui*
trespassing	*into*	*building*	*with intent*	*to commit crimes*

The formulation is well structured, but is undesirable for two reasons. First, it is a short sentence and cannot be used as a term, which must be a noun. Second, it is composed of 13 characters, much too lengthy for a legal term. So the formulation has to be condensed in line with the principle of linguistic economy.

Linguistic economy

Section 7.4.2.5 states:

> *A term should be as concise as possible. Undue length is a serious shortcoming. It violates the principle of linguistic economy and it frequently leads to ellipsis (omission).*

What to cut out and what to keep can be hard decisions to make. In the present case, the two-character word 擅自(*擅自*) can be shortened to a one-character word 擅 (*shan*), 進入 (*jinru*) to 入(*ru*), and the three-character word 建築物 (*building*) to a one-character word such as 屋 (*wu*), 戶 (*hu*), 室 (*shi*), 樓 (*lou*), 房 (*fang*), 舍 (*she*). 意圖 (*yitu* meaning *with the intent*) can be removed as it is presupposed in a criminal offence. 犯法 (commission of a crime /crimes) is a fixed two-character word and hence not reducible to a one-character word. Accordingly, the formulation can be shortened to 擅入屋犯法 (*shan ruwu fanfa* meaning *trespassing into a house to commit crimes*). But 擅入屋 (*shan ruwu*) is not phonologically neat (even-number syllables are preferred in Chinese), 擅 (*shan* meaning *trespassing*) can be removed to yield a two-syllable word 入

屋 (*ruwu* meaning *entering a house*). Although 擅 (*trespassing*) is removed, it is implied in the phrase 入屋 (*entering a house*).[10] As a result, we have condensed the formulation into a four-character term, namely, 入屋犯法 (*entering a house to commit crimes*). As this is an offence, the word 罪 (*zui* meaning *offence*) is included as a suffix and the term becomes 入屋犯法罪 (*ruwu fanfa zui* meaning the offence of entering a house to commit crimes).

One may argue that the term is inaccurate on the ground that the Chinese word 屋 (house) doesn't include inhabited vehicle or vessel as stipulated in section 11 (3) and that 犯法 (to commit crimes) refers to *any* crime, not the four specific crimes as stipulated in the section. But it can never be over-emphasized that the Chinese term is just another linguistic label for the concept of burglary. As such it has whatever meaning the English term *burglary* has, no more and no less. So 屋 (house) includes an inhabited vehicle or vessel and 犯法 (to commit crimes) is confined to the commission of four specific crimes as stipulated in the section, no more and no less. The Chinese term, which consists of only five characters, cannot perform the magic of conveying the entire meaning of the concept to the user. The exact meaning has to be found in the statute and understood in light of its statutory definition. This can be formulated as follows:

$$\text{入屋犯法罪}_{\text{Hong Kong Law}} = \text{burglary}_{\text{Hong Kong Law}}$$
$$\text{Chinese term}_{\text{Hong Kong Law}} = \text{English term}_{\text{Hong Kong Law}}$$

Accuracy (absolute equivalence) is a two-way traffic, so to speak. Nobody can produce an accurate term if the user doesn't understand it in light of the same SRS. Linguistic and conceptual adjustments must be made to the target language in the translation of legal terminology so that the target terms can function as equivalents for the source terms.

The term 入屋犯法罪 can be considered a concise meaning-pointer. But passing the conciseness test is not the end of the matter. We still have to ensure that it satisfies the other terminological requirements.

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[10] For the sentence *He entered a house* implies that he entered some else's house, not his. And it doesn't make sense in law to say that one commits burglary in one's own house. So "entering a house" in this particular context implies "trespassing".

<u>Appropriateness</u>
7.4.2.4 states:

> *Proposed terms and appellations should adhere to familiar, established patterns within a language community. Formations that cause confusion should be avoided.*

We can safely say that the term 入屋犯法罪 doesn't contain any element that causes confusion. But confusion doesn't have to be caused by the surface meaning of a term. It may be caused when the term has the same written form as another word, term or expression in the same language. In this connection, it must be noted that some of the official Chinese terms in Hong Kong laws fail to pass the appropriateness test. Let us just take a look at the term 代價 (*daijia* meaning *price*), which is the Chinese equivalent for *consideration* in contract law. The term itself is transparent, morphologically well formed, and concise, able to serve as a effective meaning-pointer for *consideration*, which, according to the famous leading case (*Dunlop v Selfridge [1915] AC 847 (HL)*), is defined as:

> *An act, forbearance, or promise by one party to a contract that constitutes the price for which he buys the promise of the other.*

The problem with 代價 as a technical legal term for *consideration* is that it may be easily confused with the word 代價 in ordinary use. This is particularly obvious when we are translating texts like the above-cited definition in which both *consideration* and *price* appear. As the English word *price* already has a well-established Chinese translation 代價 in this context, using the same word 代價 as the defined term for *consideration* will render the definition circular. For as a rule the defined term must not appear in its definition. Hence we have to come up with a different Chinese term. This shows that 代價 is not an appropriate term for *consideration*.

<u>Derivability and compoundability</u>
Section 7.4.2.6 states:

> *Productive term formations that allow derivatives and compounds (according to whatever conventions prevail in an individual language) should be favoured.*

A legal term doesn't stand alone in a legal system. It is also connected with other related terms to form a distinctive lexicon of that particular system. The term *burglary* is compounded with other words to form related terms such as *aggravated burglary, common law burglary, statutory burglary, generic burglary, burglary tool, burglarious intent.* To test the Chinese term 入屋犯法罪 for its derivative and compounding power, we can examine the extent to which it can be used in forming analogous terms. As it turns out, it passes the test. All the analogous terms can be formed easily. So we have 嚴重入屋犯法罪 (*yanzhong ruwu fanfa zu*), 普通法入屋犯法罪 (*putongfa ruwu fanfa zu*), 法定入屋犯法罪 (*fading ruwu fanfa zui*), 一般入屋犯法罪 (*yiban ruwu fanfa zui*), 入屋犯法工具 (*ruwu fanfa gongju*), and 入屋犯法意圖 (*ruwu fanfa yitu*) respectively.

In this connection it is worth noting the two competing Chinese terms for *contract* which provide an interesting and illuminating case of how the derivative and compounding powers of terms can make a real difference in term formations. In PRC law the term for contract is 合同 (*hetong*) whereas in Hong Kong law the term is 合约 (*heyue*). As can be seen easily, they differ only in one character, 同 (*tong*) as opposed to 約 (*yue*). 約 (*yue*) is a free morpheme which can stand alone as a one-word term for contract, whereas 同 (*tong*) is a bound morpheme which must be compounded with 合 (*he*) to mean *contract*. As a result, 約 alone can be compounded with other words to form the basic lexicon of contract law, whereas the PRC term 合同 must be used as an inseparable single unit for forming compound terms. This can be shown as follows:

English term	***Hong Kong term***	***PRC term***
contract	合約 (*heyu*)	合同 (*hetong*)
to enter into/sign a contract	定/簽 約 (*ding/qian yue*)	定立/簽訂 合同 (*dingli/qiandinga hetong*); 定/簽 約 (*ding/qian yue*)
breach of contract	違約 (*weiyue*)	違反合同 (*weifan hetong*); 違約 (*weiyue*)
Offer	要約 (*yaoyue*)	要約 (*yaoyue*)

While 合同 (*hetong*) is the established term in PRC law, the Hong Kong terms 定/簽 約 (*ding/qian yue*), 違約 (*weiyue*) and 要約 (*yaoyue*) are also used in PRC for the obvious reason of their conciseness. This clearly shows that a term with greater derivability and compoundability can prevail over a competing term even though the latter has a well-established usage. Furthermore, a term with greater derivability and compoundability is conducive to greater consistency between related terms and hence facilitates the construction of "a coherent terminological system corresponding to the conceptual system" (Section 7.4.2.3), another important principle for term formation.

4. Concluding remarks

For much too long we have been engaged in futile discussions on the pseudo-problem of equivalence. Biel reports that translators spend (waste) 75% of their work time looking for equivalents of legal terms (2008: 22). As we have endeavoured to show above, the translation of legal terminology, and for that matter, of any culture-specific concepts, must take the non-existence of equivalents as a point of departure. Its goal is not to find them, because equivalents can only be ***created***, not ***found***. They are created at two distinctive levels of the translating process. At the conceptual level, a meta-translation level, we specify the framework for establishing absolute equivalence. We don't have to settle for functional, near, or partial equivalence. At the term-formation level, we produce meaning-pointers in accordance with terminological principles such as those suggested by ISO. Remember that our task is translating legal terms, not doing comparative law. There is no need whatsoever to go through all the trouble of mapping the terms of one legal system onto those of another, or mapping one legal language onto another. All we need to do is take the legal system as the default SRS to guide us in the translating process. The approach is the same for every task of translation, regardless of its scale and nature, ranging from the translation of multilingual law, to the translation for legal research and even to the translation of private legal documents. The difference only lies in the amount of mental effort required for understanding. If we want for whatever purpose to understand the exact legal meaning of the Chinese term 入屋犯法罪 (*ruwu fanfa zui*), we must look up the law; otherwise, a quick glance at the dictionary will do. But in either case, 入屋犯法罪 (*ruwu fanfa zui*) is the equivalent for *burglary*, carrying whatever meaning *burglary* carries. If we are translating a legal document, private or otherwise, which contains a term not yet authenticated in legislation, e.g., the English term *frolic* in tort, we can produce an equivalent for it by following the terminological principles and make a note in the translation that the translated term is intended to be the equivalent for the source term *frolic*. Our translation may not be the best choice, but it is intended to function as the equivalent term regardless. We don't settle for any lesser degree of equivalence in legal translation.

There are two final points that need to be clarified. First, when we say that equivalents cannot be found, we mean that there are no natural equivalents between languages *as they stand*. They cannot be found when they have not yet been created. In the case of Hong Kong, equivalents did not exist before they were created and authenticated. Today all English legal terms appearing in statutes have Chinese equivalents. There is no need to go through the entire operation and process anymore. Translating legal terms has to a large extent become a look-up exercise. Of course, a great number of case law terms which do not appear in statutes still need to be translated. And the same approach will apply. Second, creating equivalent legal terms is not simply a terminological operation. What counts as an appropriate meaning-pointer must also depend on how well it can convey the core meaning of the legal concept it is intended to designate. In this connection, legal knowledge is essential and legal professionals should play an important role in the term-formation process. After all, given the multifaceted problems involved, law translation must be a multidisciplinary enterprise undertaken as teamwork. Yet for all the complexities and technicalities, once the conceptual problems are clarified, what remains is the nitty-gritty of translation. No more worries and qualms about equivalence. No more fuss about matching and mapping. All quiet on the translation front.

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Capacities expected of Chinese English Translation Students Surveying Prospective Employers in Australia and China

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This paper discusses findings of a recent survey of employability for Chinese English translation students in Australia and China. Basically the survey addresses two questions with a focus on the second. No. 1, what are job/career opportunities like in each jurisdiction? No. 2, what capacities are expected of successful candidates? The survey identified and coded keywords and then tallied their frequencies to generate evidence on the basis of which a list of findings were made. One finding was that a wide range of capacities in addition to translation skills was expected of the candidates. Another finding was that some of the additional capacities, including notably English competence and communication, are seen as more important and valuable than translation skills. Furthermore, some capacities and qualities (e.g., accuracy and faithfulness), which were of great concern to translation researchers and trainers, appeared to be irrelevant to prospective employers of translators. These and other findings of the survey provided cause for a number of academic reflections.

Keywords: Capacity, translation, teaching, need analysis, curriculum design

A real-life story that partially prompted this survey

I would like to open this paper with a real story. Late 2010, in the middle of lesson preparation, I received a phone call from a former graduate, who was working as a project manager for a major Australia-based investment and wealth-management bank. He had found an officially accredited translator/

interpreter to help to host a week-long exchange study tour of experts from a prestigious Chinese insurance company. The translator/interpreter strove to perform but had to abort in the middle of the first morning, prompting the emergency call to my office for help.

Sometime afterwards, the graduate told me the following, which I found highly credible, given my knowledge of the profession in Sydney. He had looked up a directory provided by the national accreditation authority in order to find a reliable person for the job. He found that most candidates listed lived in two postcodes of low social-cultural prestige, had very poor telephone manners, were not very articulate in English and had experiences limited in scope (understandable as they mostly freelanced), in fields (legal and medical) and in depth (with little specialised knowledge other than translation), and were inadequately informed in terms of even the basic social and workplace practice (e.g., billing, workplace insurance and professional remuneration rates). Furthermore, only a small minority were accredited as both translators and interpreters and, worse still, many were accredited one way only (i.e., into Chinese or into English).

On the first morning, many unfortunate events colluded to make the mission impossible for the freelancer. Several things brought his eventual downfall. First of all, he was very uncomfortable speaking and standing side-by-side with the presenter in front of an audience and so sounded very disorganized. When he interpreted, he struggled but nonetheless could not work in any style other than a so-called accurate and structured translation and therefore his output was unnecessarily wordy and time-wasteful to the knowledgeable Chinese audience. Then he was asked to translate a 10-page powerpoint presentation into Chinese and he requested an office where he could write up the translation without disruption. 'Universities teach a bunch of very privileged and starved specialists who don't live in the real world', my former student commented to me.

I am sure that many other translators would manage a similar assignment more competently. I also know that the freelancer is not an isolated case. I would have liked to be a charitable trainer who sympathises with the miserable freelancer, knowing that translation is intellectually a highly specialised activity, that users of translators need to be educated, and that translators need to hold out on job terms and conditions. Nevertheless, I would rather be a teacher to students who will have a future and a solid place in the real world.

Needs

Language teaching 'should be approached from the starting point of language needs' (Yalden 1987: 48). I believe three types of needs are central to the current landscape of the teaching of Chinese-English translation in Australian and Chinese universities and perhaps also in many comparable programs internationally. Type 1 is the need to attract maximum full-fee paying students into its education export industry. Type 2 is the need of large numbers of students from Mainland China to gain an international academic degree/experience and, in more than negligible cases, to gain a permanent visa to stay in the host country. Type 3 is rather pedagogical, embodied in the desires of the teachers to develop elitist translators. Types 1 and 2 needs have been discussed in Zhong (2010) and so will not be revisited here.

As to Type 3 need, it warrants special attention and is best articulated in trainers' aspiration to 'create the future generation of translators which we should be aiming at, namely, a generation in which the average translator is as good as the better translator of today' (Brian Mossop 2000, quoted in Davies: 43)—I must add that in actual teaching we tend to exhort students to learn from the better translators of yesterday, i.e., historic role models, their insight, knowledge and experiences. For example, role models used in the teaching of translation between English and Chinese include the likes of Chen Wangdao (i.e., Chinese translator of *Communist Manifesto*. The distinction between yesterday and today is of great significance as it influences the way we teach–more on this shortly.

In addition to the three types of needs, there is another type of need, i.e., knowledge, capacities and skills required of translation graduates by the modern society and the industry? Yet this need appears not to have been visible, let alone addressed adequately in many existing university translation programs, including especially Australia-based Chinese English programs in the best of my knowledge and experiences acquired from different institutions. Kiraly (2000), Folaran (2003), Pym (2003) and Massey (2005) discussed this failure in relation to electronic skills. Given my knowledge and experiences as an academic and practitioner, I believed there were other capacities and skills of the real world, which are also oblivious in translation classrooms. An aspiration to understand this need inspired the survey discussed in this paper.

The survey and its design

This survey was designed to understand better the need of the job market by addressing the following questions. What was the career prospect like for translators? Were the translators developed by existing curricula the kind of professionals required by the real-life industry? What translators were more employable? What capacities other than text-based translation would make translators more employable? How should the teaching of translation be improved to enhance the employability of translation students?

To accomplish the purpose of the survey, I adopted a sampling method quite time-consuming but fruitful and reliable, which involved surveying and monitoring job/career advertisements listed in online employment sites in Australia from January to August 2011 and in China within a 90 day period in mid-2011 before creating the three samples for analyses, which will be elaborated on shortly.

I analysed the data by a method known as stylistics, broadly known as a critical approach that used the methods and findings of linguistics in the analysis of texts (Barry 1995; Birch 1989). Precedents of using stylistics to analyse texts included Zhong's (2003) speech length-based analysis of Chinese television talk show and Fowler's (1966) collocation-based analysis of a novel by William. For my project, I started by sifting through the target sections of the target texts (i.e., the advertisements), which generally appeared under such subheadings as 'tasks and responsibilities', 'duties and responsibilities', 'competencies' and 'qualifications'. Next I picked and coded words and descriptions that appeared frequently throughout the samples. At this stage, I also grouped synonyms (e.g., 'fully conversant with IT tools' and 'good computer skills') together to form a list of keywords. Then I examined collocations, which 'refers to the habitual or expected co-occurrence of words' (Wales, 1989), in order to understand what different things were seen as important when together. With regard to Chinese language advertisements, I translated the keywords into English. I then tallied the frequencies of the keywords throughout all the advertisements because I believed that their frequencies could indicate the extent of their importance to the employers. This analysis formed the basis on which I derived generalizations.

Survey scope and samples

As I am based in Sydney, home to three sizable tertiary postgraduate Chinese-English translation programs, I chose to target for my survey the job markets in Australia and China. And assuming that most advertisements made their way into the World Wide Web in this modern age and knowing the impossibility and infeasibility of browsing all the print-media advertisements, I decided to focus on online sources, especially the most widely known and prestigious career and job sites. In order not to miss major data, I also searched a major search engine in Australia and China.

For the Chinese job market, I scanned a number of online job sites (e.g., http://www.01hr.com/, http://jobs.zhaopin.com and http://www.baidu.com/) and found that anyone of them would list hundreds or even more advertisements anytime for any of the major Chinese cities. I chose to limit the search to one job site so that I could generate data which was of significant quantity and which I was able to manage. I chose http://www.01hr.com/ on which I searched for translator vacancies advertised in the last 90 days in Guangzhou, one of the largest and developed Chinese cities. The search produced a total of 431 postings (including several of multiple positions) on 19 of August 2011. Of these, 34 clearly indicated a salary range (¥1,500-5000 a month) and none of the rest provided any information about remuneration. So these 34 advertisements comprised Chinese Sample I for my survey. There were 12 other separate advertisements posted by a translator agency known as Guangzhou Xinqiao, which also contained clear information about salary range (above ¥50,000 a month). The latter comprised Chinese Sample II for my survey.

For the Australian job market, I searched a number of online job sites regularly from January to August 2011. They include http://www.careerone.com.au/; http://www.indeed.com.au/; http://www.seek.com.au/; http://mycareer.com.au/ and http://www.google.com.au. For analysis of the present survey, I decided to use the search result from http://www.seek.com.au/ on 29 July 2011 because the search through the other Australian sites ended up fruitless. The search yielded no or little outcome except one or two advertisements for free lancers posted by translation agencies on each online site. Then on 29 July, I miraculously spotted 6 advertisements on http://www.seek.com.au/ (but regrettably none on other sites simultaneously). I decided to use this meagre but apparently valuable sample (known as Sample III) for my analysis.

Survey findings

I will discuss the survey findings next, starting with the search result in quantity and types of positions advertised. After reviewing these trivial-looking but straight factual data, I will be able to concentrate on the issue of capacities and skills.

Were there jobs in the two jurisdictions, how many and what jobs?

I will first discuss the findings in quantitative terms. The search for job advertisements involving translation was not fruitful for the Australian jurisdiction and quite disappointing for the Chinese jurisdiction. For the former, only six relevant advertisements were found dated sometime in the first seven months of 2011 that involved Chinese English translation. They included two fulltime positions (one by a mining company and another, a nine-month contract, by an engineering company) and four panel translator positions (two posted by a franchise law firm and another two posted by a translation agency).

For the Chinese job market, the search yielded a quantitatively greater but qualitatively somewhat disappointing outcome. Of the four popular commercial job sites, each listed hundreds of positions sometime from January to July 2011. There were positions involving many languages (e.g., Japanese, German, French and Arabic etc) other than English but more than 80% of them were for English-Chinese translators. Furthermore, more than half of all the advertisements were posted by translation agencies for panel translators or by translators for jobs. More disappointingly, translators tended not to be represented as professional jobs. For example, Zhaopin did not even include translators as professionals on its site (http://whitecollar.zhaopin.com/) even though it clearly marked marketers, project managers, accountants, quality controllers, financiers, human resource managers as professionals. An indicated monthly wage as low as ¥2,000 to 2,500 (about US$300-400) per month was not uncommon for translation positions advertised in all the Chinese job sites, which was hardly better than the wage given to lowly educated assembly-line workers employed by typical sweatshop manufacturers.

In short, this is what the search result said with regard to the quantity and quality of the career opportunities for students studying Chinese

English translation in Australia and China. There were barely any jobs of any kind, career-wise or freelance-type, in Australia. Opportunities appeared to be plentiful in China but the question is whether they would match the expectations of the Australia-trained students. For one thing, a wage of ¥2,000-2,500 (about US$300-400) per month or less than ¥30,000 (US$5000) per year is not much compared to an annual tuition of ¥140.000 (more than US$22,000) paid for an Australian education–more on this question shortly. This is depressing news for the hundreds of students enrolled to study Chinese and English translation in Australia and also cause for reflection for the training providers.

What were required of translation students?

I will now discuss the requirements for translation students in terms of educational qualification, professional accreditation/certification and experience. Some of the requirements in this regard may appear to be commonsensical but there are a couple of surprises.

First of all, what was the minimal educational qualification required? The Chinese employers required either a diploma or a degree. A big surprise was that none of the job advertisements sourced from Australia specified any requirements regarding education qualifications. Was it because a professional accreditation or certification was seen as more important? Not really, because as will be seen shortly, requirement of accreditation or certification was not absolute or stringent either. Was it an indication of the low professional prestige associated to translators? I tend to agree, on the basis of the sum of evidence available to me.

With regard to professional accreditation or certification, the requirement seemed to be anything but absolute or consistent—another surprise. Accreditation at the professional level (Level 3) by the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters was preferable but not essential as far as the six Australian advertisements indicated and accreditation at the paraprofessional level (Level 2) was only required in the two advertisements posted by the law firm. For the Chinese vacancies, only a small minority of the advertisements (i.e., 5 pieces) deemed a national Level 2 certificate as a desirable qualification. By comparison, requirement for certificates in English competence was clearly stated in two Australian advertisements and in seventeen of the Chinese advertisements sampled. The above mentioned law firm required an IELTS certificate of 7.5.

Requirement for work experience appears to be of even greater concern to most of the employers responsible for the sampled advertisements. The requirement is clearly spelled out in most advertisements (e.g., 'a minimum of 3 years experience acting as a translator' in the case of an Australian law firm). In some other advertisements, requirement may appear to be vague but nonetheless quite daunting (e.g., 'Extensive translating and interpreting experience in the construction field' as required by an Australian miner, or 'proven experiences in immigration-related translation' seen as an advantage by a Chinese immigration agent).

Capacities required of translation students

The term capacity in this paper is defined as professionally and occupationally related knowledge (including ethics), competence, skills, capabilities and attitudes, which can be used professionally or occupationally to fulfil work duties and responsibilities. Where I use capacity, other scholars (White 1959, Gilbert 1978) may use 'competence', which is usually defined as a combination of knowledge, skills and behaviour used to perform a task, to improve performance or to play a specific role. Between the two, capacity, a concept frequently discussed and cited in economics, emphasises enhancement and utilization (Berndt and Morrison 1981, Stiglitz 1993), hence the frequent citation of 'capacity building', 'capacity expansion' as well the more ominous-sounding 'under-capacity' and 'excess capacity'. Being an advocate for rethinking translation economically (Zhong 2006), I choose to talk capacity rather than its more common counterpart, which is why I have adopted the term for use in this paper.

Understandably, most employers expect their prospective employees to possess certain capacities in addition to hardcopy credentials (i.e., degree and certificate) and, to make their talent hunt purposeful, they would normally state these in job advertisements. My survey did spot a small number of advertisements stating little expectation of capacities, which were posted by small-scale manufacturers in China. These were limited exceptions and the majority of the advertisements were very clear regarding capacities expected of prospective employees.

To ascertain what capacities mattered to prospective employers of English Chinese translators, I read and analysed all the advertisements sampled for this survey, identified the capacities stated in the target sections (i.e., 'qualifications', 'your profile', 'competencies', 'required qualifications' and 'required skills and experiences') of the advertisements, grouped synonymous descriptions (e.g., computer literacy, conversant with MS Office and familiar with office software) into one capacity type represented by a keyword. Next, I will discuss the capacities valued by prospective employers of translators, starting with Chinese Sample I. I will then corroborate the findings by comparing other samples to this one. I should have started with *English proficiency* and can do (能力) because on the basis of available evidence these two capacities were of much greater concern to employers of translators. This paper is dedicated to the capacities required of translators, so I have decided to open with *translation competence*. The following discussions are based on data analysis of Chinese Sample I unless otherwise specified.

Translation competence

Naturally, translation expertise was of concern to prospective employers seeking talents in the profession. The word 'translation', including its Chinese variants 'written translation' (笔译), 'interpreting' (口译), 'two-way translation (互译), 'to translate' (译) and 'translator' (译员), made a total of 34 appearances in Chinese Sample I. This was a high word count but not as high as that of 'English' and '*can power*', which would be seen as a little surprise. These included appearances in 10 instances of collocations indicating requirement for translation competence, such as 'having translation expertise' (具有翻译能力) and 'being able to translate' (可以翻译); 6 instances of collocations indicating requirement of excellent translation competence, such as a 'well-trained translators' (熟练翻译), 'cultivated in translation' (精通翻译) or 'seasoned in translation' (翻译功底深厚) and 3 instances of collocations indicating requirement of a track record in the profession. There is also one advertisement by Yiming Trading, which required a person 'who can translate brochures and manuals by means of computer software'.

The biggest surprise was the absence of words or collocations often common and important to the translation discourse, especially to the official Chinese discourse of translation as discussed by Zhong (2012). There was no appearance of words like ‘equivalence’ (对等), ‘accuracy’ (准确 or 精确), ‘faithful’ (忠实), the like of which were often used to describe quality of translation. Indeed, I failed to find any clearly and specifically stated requirement in terms of translation speed or quality. I wonder if the absence of these words reflected appreciation of Reiss’ (1989) notion of functional translation, according to which translation should do justice to the function of the text rather than being faithful to the source text.

English proficiency

English was a capacity most frequently required of the candidates. The word ‘English’ (including its Chinese variants 英文，英语) appeared 69 times–this word count did not include ‘English’ when used in conjunction to ‘translation’. This was of a much higher frequency than the word ‘translation’ and other keywords in Chinese Sample I. Understandably, ‘English’ was one of those very common words having a greater probability of being repeated in everyday documents. Why did ‘translation’ appear only half as frequently as ‘English’ in advertisements for translators? A viable explanation was that English proficiency was of greater concern and importance.

This explanation was supported by the frequencies of words signifying educational levels and qualifications, which were usually seen as of vital concern to prospective employers of a modern society. ‘Degree’ and ‘diploma’ (including its Chinese variants 本科，大专 and 专科) recorded only 19 appearances in aggregate, including 8 appearances in conjunction to ‘English’ or related discipline. ‘Certificate’ (证书) recorded 17 appearances, almost all in conjunction with ‘English’ (e.g., certificates acquired from College English Test and Test for English Major). ‘Grade (级) and ‘level’ (水平) recorded 17 and 7 appearances respectively, all but two of which occurred in conjunction with English proficiency including especially English tests. By comparison, these descriptions of qualifications and levels appeared rarely in conjunction with ‘translation’, including 3 collocations involving ‘certificate’, 2 collocations involving ‘level’.

The word count also suggested that attention given to English went beyond possession of educational qualifications and that the ability to actually use English were central in the selection of appropriate candidates for vacancies. The word ‘fluent’ appeared 9 times in collocation with English, including ‘fluent and smooth’ (流利) 7 times and ‘fluent and unimpeded’ (流畅) 2 times.

Three advertisements clearly stated a requirement of 'comprehensive capacity in English' (综合能力) and another three advertisements specifically required 'English competence in listening, speaking, reading and writing'. The word 'expression' (表达) in conjunction with English appeared in five different advertisements. Furthermore, seven different advertisements specifically required prospective employees to have the ability to deal with (i.e., discuss, negotiate and consult with) international clients. In short, many prospective employers expected their staff to have English competence, to have certificates to substantiate their competence and, more importantly, to have the real capacity to use that competence for communication.

Can do (能力)

The prospective employers were looking for people who can do (能力), that is, those who had real-life knowledge and skills to perform, to complete workplace duties, to get things done and to produce results. This was obvious from the keywords used, including especially 'competence' (能力, i.e., *can power*), being the second most frequent word and appearing 44 times. Being able to substantiate the competence and to actually perform work duties seemed to be of great importance too as 'experience' (经验) and 'operate' (操作, a verb) recorded 23 and 9 appearances respectively. The frequency of these words was notable in comparison to that of many other keywords usually seen as important in relation to career developments, including 'translation' (34), 'degree' (19), 'certificate' (17), and 'knowledge' (1)–the digit in each bracket indicating the frequency of the word.

The collocations in which keywords (e.g., 'competence' and 'experience') signifying *can do* (能力) appeared were quite revealing too. Of its 44 appearances, 'competence' occurred in conjunction with 'language' 22 times. Remember the emphasis placed on 'fluent' English discussed previously? Apparently, being truly able to use English and to do it fluently really mattered in the Chinese job market. Furthermore, 'competence' also occurred with 'communication' (including 'coordination' and 'public relations') 12 times. Of its 23 appearances, 'experience' occurred in conjunction with 'office work' 7 times, with 'trading' 5 times, and with 'engineering' 4 times. By comparison, 'competence' and 'experience' in translation seemed to be of secondly concern as the two words co-occurred with 'translation' only 4 and 3 times respectively.

Communication skills

Communication, comprising a range of skills, was another capacity given much attention to on the basis of word frequency. In Chinese Sample I, the word 沟通 (literally meaning 'communication') appeared 16 times. A number of other words were used, which could be considered synonymous to 'communication', each 3 or 5 times in Chinese Sample I. These included 表达 (expression), 谈判 (negotiation) and 协调 (coordination). Furthermore, several other words, 'socialisation' (社交) and 'exchange' (交流), also synonymous to communication, were found each once or twice in Chinese Sample I.

There was evidence to suggest that the word count did not fully reflect the attention given to alternative channels of communication. None of the words mentioned in the preceding paragraph appeared in the statement 'ability to relate to other people through each of Sina Microblog, Tencent Microblog, Renren Net, Facebook and Twitter', quoted from an advert by Danxiao Information Technology. Furthermore, the company asked interested applicants to provide details of own Blog addresses and size of fan population. Yet the requirement in terms of communication capacity, albeit through new media and channels, was apparent in the advert. Nor did the word count seem to fully account for the attention given to attributes known for facilitating effective communication. For example, Meixin Service Centre had a very short and simple statement regarding the kind of people it would require to fill its translator's position: 'diploma in English, attentive to detail, able to listen and understand, and diligence. To me, 'ability to listen and understand' was equivalent to (or facilitative of) effective communication.

The linguistic structure in which 'communication' appeared reflected what the prospective Chinese employers thought of communication. The collocation of 'communication capacity' (沟通能力) indicated that communication was seen as a capacity. To fill its purchaser's position, Huidongsheng Building Materials wanted a candidate with, among other things, 'team spirit, strong communication and negotiation capacity', which signalled that communication was seen as a tool to sound teamwork and inter-personal work relations. Shangshou Information Technology expected its applicants to 'be keen to communicate' (乐于沟通), in which communication was seen as an attitudinal matter. Indeed, communication often appeared in conjunction with attitude or personality-related words including 'open and clear' (开朗), 'out-going' (外向) and 'optimistic' (乐观). For example, Shangshou Information Technology had the following requirement in relation to communication capacity:

> *The job fits a person with 'an out-going (外向), 'endearing and harmonising' (亲和力) personality, with 'good skills in communication' (善于与人沟通), with 'strong readiness to serve' (服务意向强) and with 'a good look' (形像好).*

People skills

The capacity to relate to, to cooperate with and to organize other people was generally classified as people skills in this paper. Actually it overlapped with communication because the two complement each other but I chose to separate *people skills* because the concept emphatically brought other people into the picture. In Chinese Sample I, prominence was given to both external and internal people, when 'client' (客户) and 'team' (团队) appearred 17 and 12 times respectively. Where either word was used, it was also highly likely to spot words like 'communicate', 'cooperation' and the like. For example, these words were all found in one of the requirements by Huihong High-Tech Trading: the candidate should 'express well, communicate effectively, have team cooperation spirit and communicate well with clients'. Furthermore, the use of the many attitude and personality-related words listed in the preceding paragraph also provided evidence of attention given to people skills.

Technological expertise

By technological expertise, I refer to a range of knowledge, abilities and experiences required for performing various modern office computer-based duties as specified by the advertisements sampled. Of the thirty-four advertisements, nineteen articulated some form of requirements for such expertise. Most of them required rather general capacity in operating and/or maintaining a 'computer' (电脑 and 计算机)–a word that appeared 8 times, in using software (软件)–a word that appeared 17 times and in working in an electronic environment–the word 'electronic' appearing 4 times. In relation to 'software', the word appeared 8 times in conjunction with 'office software' (办公软件) and the word 'office' appeared 8 times in Chinese (办公) and another 6 times in English. Of the office software, 'Email' and 'Photoshop' were mentioned 4 times while 'Excel', 'Powerpoint' and 'Word' were each mentioned 3 times.

Mostly, only a general technological capacity was required, as seen in this advert posted by Guangchuanjiajing Marketing, the applicant must, among other things, 'be able to fluently use a computer and Office and Power and related software'. Several prospective employers did have quite demanding expectations. For example, HK Lixin International expected expertise in 'using Office software', 'graphic editing by Photoshop' and 'profound abilities required for system repair, intranet maintenance, software and related system installation'. Danxiao Information Technology expected an 'ability to relate to other people through each of Sina Microblog, Tencent Microblog, Renren Net, Facebook and Twitter'. Three of the prospective employers also expected applicants to be conversant with e-commerce. For example, Ajiani Fashion wanted an English translator who was 'able to use Office software, familiar with online foreign trade, especially with Alibaba online platform'. Last but not least, there was the requirement by Yiming Trading mentioned earlier, which required 'a person who can translate brochures and manuals by means of computer software'.

Chinese and Cantonese

On the basis of the word count, a command of the Chinese language and Cantonese (i.e., dialect of Guangzhou) was also a capacity valued by a fair number of prospective employers of translators. In Chinese Sample I, there were a total of 10 appearances of words signifying a local language variety, including 4 for Chinese (中文 or 汉语), 3 for Mandarin Chinese (普通话) and 3 for Cantonese (粤语). This was additional to the appearance of the word in relation to translation between English and Chinese. In one instance, Huangtengda Information Service looked for a translator, who 'has a English Major Level 8 certificate, translates fluently between English and Chinese and expresses and writes logically, clearly and smoothly in Chinese'. In isolated instances, the expectation of Chinese competence exceeded that of English and translation competence. For example, Bona Consulting required for its vacancy an electric and gas engineer who 'competently uses standard Chinese' and 'is fairly good at translation'.

Other disciplinary expertise

Of the thirty-four separate advertisements of Chinese Sample I, many required specialized disciplinary knowledge in addition to translation. Only six of them offered vacancies of dedicated translators. Four others offered positions for which translation and language-related work, such as 'translation/customer relation' (翻译客服) constituted the primary work responsibility. All of the other twenty-four advertisements offered hybrid positions that required competence in translation or language service as well as qualifications, knowledge, training and experiences in other disciplines, including commerce, medicine, bio-engineering and information technology. Word count again provided evidence for this, including 15 appearances of 'net' (网页, 网络 or 网站), 6 appearances of 'commerce' (商务), 5 appearances of 'medical sciences' (医学), 4 appearances of information technology/system (信息 and 程序), 3 appearances of 'trading' (贸易), 'marketing' (营销) and 'bio sciences' (生物) respectively. Journalism, media studies, graphic design, animation, fine arts and teaching were other disciplines named in the advertisements.

The heart and other attitudinal elements

A number of words describing personality, emotion and attitudes were also frequent in the advertisements sampled, including 'heart', 'spirit' and 'responsible', etc. Most frequent was 'heart' (心), 16 times–including 6 times in 'heart for responsibility' (责任心), 5 times in 'careful heart' (细心), 3 times in 'patient heart' (耐心) and 2 times in 'career heart' (事业心). Second most frequent was the word 'spirit' (精神), 12 times–including 7 times in 'team spirit'/'cooperative spirit' (团队/合作精神), 4 times in 'dedication spirit' (敬业精神) and 1 time in 'inventive spirit' (创新精神). There was also a character (责) which appeared 10 times in collocations that meant 'responsibility'–including 6 times as part of 'responsible heart' (责任心), 3 times as part of 'responsible' (负责) and 1 time as part of 'responsible feeling' (责任感). These frequent words indicated that heart and soul, team spirit, dedication and a strong sense of responsibility were highly desirable qualities expected of translation students.

Several other words appeared to be quite frequent too, including 6 appearances of 'work pressure' (压力), 5 appearances each of 'bitterness' (苦), 'enthusiastic' (积极) and 'outgoing' (开朗), 4 appearances each of 'honest' (诚

实 or 踏实) and 'diligent' (认真), and 3 appearances each of 'motivated' (主动), 'dedicated to career' (敬业), and 'character' (性格). Use of these words signalled the attention given to the personality and characters of applicants as compared to qualifications and competencies. Use of the adjectives (e.g., enthusiastic, outgoing, diligent, motivated and dedicated) signified the kind of qualities desired of successful candidates. The nouns (e.g., bitterness and work pressure) were used in conjunctions such as 'ability to eat bitterness', 'ability to overwhelm bitterness' and 'ability to endure work pressure'. So they also concerned those desirable attitudes or characters expected of translation students.

The look and others

Surprisingly, the look of a candidate is of concern to some of the prospective employers. A 'good look' (外貌 or 形象) is stated 4 times in the advertisements. Three other advertisements specifically require applicants to send in their portraits, presumably due to the same concern. There is also one citation of a 'professional look' (职业形象), which is understandable especially if it is meant to be synonymous to dress code. As physical look is not a common requirement even with Chinese employers and it is definitely beyond the domain of professional requirement in Australia, this finding did not receive any further attention in my survey.

An advertisement with one of the most stringent requirements

As an example, I reprint the requirement stated in the advertisement by Laiyu Management Consulting, which offered a ¥100,000 annual salary (the highest pay recorded in Chinese Sample I) for a position of a technical translator/word engineer.

> *A bachelor's degree in information, automation, software engineering or English, minimum three years of work experiences in IT, minimum two years of experiences in English writing, excellent expression in English and Chinese writing and speaking, excellent communication skills, active and aspiring for*

excellence, good problem solving skills, clear thinking and own good vision, familiarity with software development and with XML/Java and with office software including Adobe and Microsoft.

Corroboration by Chinese sample II

The 12 advertisements of Chinese sample II sought talents to fill a range of professional translation vacancies (e.g., medical, chemical, geographical and philosophical translation etc.). They apparently shared a common structure and reflected the same requirement and expectation, which was understandable as they were authored by the same translation agency. I will present the extract of one of them after this paragraph as a sample to facilitate a brief upcoming discussion of the keywords. If any interested readers would like to get a big picture of the whole sample, they would only have to multiply the word count by 12 times. Following is the requirement segment of an advert seeking a medical translator.

Basic requirements: 1) Bachelor minimal degree, major in medical English or medical discipline; 2) Having medical discipline knowledge; 3) Perfect in medical discipline English; 4) Level 6 certificate in English, 5 years or more of translation experience, good English comprehension competence and Chinese articulation competence; 5) Having an academic spirit, loving translation, diligent, not impulsive, punctual, reliable and cooperative.

In this extract, 'English' and 'discipline' each appeared 4 times, 'translation' and 'competence' each 2 times. 'Medical/medicine' also appeared 4 times but it made no appearance in the other 11 advertisements and therefore its frequency was one-off. Other words that appeared only once in this extract but also appeared in the other eleven advertisements include 'bachelor', 'degree', 'major', 'level 6 certificate', 'comprehension', 'Chinese articulation', '5 years', 'experience', 'an academic spirit', 'loving', 'diligent', 'not impulsive', 'punctual', 'reliable' and 'cooperative'.

Analysis of the keywords largely corroborated the findings made on the basis of Chinese Sample I. Again much greater attention was given to English proficiency and qualifications (including degree and certificate) than to translation. Furthermore, 'discipline' always appeared in conjunction with medical English or medicine but not with translation while ‘translation’ appeared either in conjunction with ‘experience’ or as the object of the transitive verb ‘loving’. This seemed to me to reflect an association of English with disciplinary training and a perception of translation as an experience. And again great attention was given to specialised disciplinary knowledge. Each vacancy advertised in Chinese Sample II targeted very specific disciplines. As in Chinese Sample I, attention was given to Chinese language, especially good articulation in Chinese. With regard to professionalism, there was no evidence of attention given to ‘accuracy’, ‘equivalence’, ‘faithfulness’, ‘impartiality’ and the like even though work attitudes did matter.

The findings of Chinese Sample II deviated from those of Sample I in relation to *can do* (能力), communication, people skills, technology expertise and the like. It would seem to me that the translators described in Sample II were intended to fall into the traditional category. They must be well educated in English and/or another academic discipline, be proficient in English (and Chinese) and have a number of positive personal attributes. They do little else other than engage in sedentary translation and translate by hand from one language to another. They are not required to do much else, or communicate to the outside world, or to service clients, or to relate to colleagues.

What about the Australian sample?

It would not be reasonable or realistic to make meaningful generalisations on the basis of the small Australian sample, consisting of two advertisements by mining companies, 2 advertisements by a law firm and a translation agency and two repeats by the latter. Nevertheless, I present a brief word count, which appears to be more or less consistent with that of Chinese Sample I. ‘Experience’ recorded the highest frequency, with 5 appearances. ‘NAATI’, the national accreditation authority for translators and interpreters, and ‘communication’ were the next most frequent words, each with 4 appearances. In addition to ‘communication’, there were 2 instances of ‘interpersonal skills’. With regard to NAATI, only one advert required accreditation and only at the paraprofessional level whereas the other three regarded a NAATI accreditation only as an advantage. Words signifying specialized disciplinary knowledge recorded 4 appearances, include 2 for ‘construction’ and 2 for ‘engineering’. ‘English’ appeared 3 times in descriptions where speaking and/or writing in the language was emphasized. Notably, jargons such as 'accuracy', 'equivalence', 'faithful' and 'truthful' were again absent. Following is an extract of one of the advertisements, which describes the kind of capacities required:

- *Understanding of construction terminologies*
- *Strong verbal and writing skills (in English and Mandarin)*
- *Strong communication and interpersonal skills*
- *Extensive translating and interpreting experience in the construction field is an advantage*
- *NATTI accreditation is an advantage.*

In short, the very few job vacancies available in Australia offered opportunities not for highly specialized dedicated translators but rather for general-purpose bilingual speakers with a range of other knowledge, capacities and experiences. In other words, they were quite comparable to the job vacancies posted in the Chinese sample.

Conclusion and reflections

This survey made two major findings. Finding No 1 was that career opportunities for dedicated specialist translators were very scanty and limited in Australia and comparatively more plentiful in China. Finding No 2 was that, where there were vacancies, they primarily targeted non-dedicated specialist translators especially in China and Australia, that a wide range of capacities in addition to translation was required of candidates, that some of the additional capacities were seen as even more important than translation competence and that a number of matters of prominent concern in the traditional discourse of translation (e.g., accuracy) were not that relevant to the industry. Additional capacities given attention to by the industry included English, communication, ability to perform and get things done, people skills and familiarity with office equipment.

What did the survey findings say? They said many things with regard to the three types of needs listed in a beginning section of this paper: the need of the education export industry, the need of the student population and the need of the educators. In relation to the need of the education export industry, the findings questioned the sustainability and justification of the many specialist

Chinese English translation programs with huge enrolments especially in Australia (and internationally) and to certain extent also in China. There was a case for arguing that many of the existing programs should be reinvented to incorporate a greater component in bilingual and multimedia communication and to facilitate double degree or double major education. In relation to the need of students aspiring for a Chinese English translator's career, the findings said that anyone aspiring for a decent translation career in Australia (and comparable countries) must be prepared for a very negligible and mean market. More realistically, they should look to China and contemplate a career in that fast growing country. In this latter case, they should be prepared to accept the remunerations, responsibilities and work conditions of those available jobs however unsatisfactory they may seem. More importantly, they should be prepared to become a new species of translators with a range of capacities not expected of their predecessors. As to those students who aspired for a permanent visa to stay in Australia via accreditation as a professional translator, they must consider if a lean uninspiring career future was too high a price to pay.

As to the need of the educators to train great translators, I have more to say about this in the capacity of a teacher. The survey findings present a case for changing many of the practices commonly accepted as the norm. Top on the list of practices to be changed is the ideal of shaping a significant proportion of our students into the model of the great translators of yesterday (and perhaps today), who work indoor usually in a sedentary position, struggle day and night, heart and soul with the source and target texts. Also to be reformed are translation lessons and tests (including accreditation tests found in Australia and China) where students are expected to do little else other than 'read and translate' (Davis 2004), where they tackle a couple of short source texts provided, write out a translation with a pen on a paper, without any modern research or reference tools except a couple of hardcopy dictionaries, and where nothing other than accuracy, faithfulness and elegance matters. I agree with (Massey, 2005, Presas, 2000) that translation involves a diverse range of interdisciplinary skills and knowledge, including: knowledge of languages, subject matter and real-world knowledge, research skills and qualities such as creativity and problem-solving strategies. Informed by the findings of the present survey, I believe that translation in the real modern work entails many additional capacities. We may leave many of these other capacities to be dealt with in other non-translation programs or to be picked up by the students themselves. But is it not better if we can incorporate, converge and fuse these other capacities into the teaching of translation? I revisit an observation made earlier.

> *Ideally the teaching/learning of translation should reach outwardly to authors, readers, users, the market, and peer translators. Inwardly it should reach into the self to tap the student's hopefully ever-growing cognitive and physical resources. As teachers, we must also be prepared to reach out to connect with the cognitive capacities, learning histories, experiences, individuality, personality and aspirations of our students.*
>
> (Zhong 2011: 372)

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Face Management in Literary Translation
– Chinese translations of *Sense and Sensibility*

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Face constitutes an important interpersonal component via which people manage rapport with each other dependent on their interactional goals. Face behaviour throughout the course of an interaction can indicate or manifest an interlocutor's personality, attitude and intentions. The paper focuses on investigating how face is depicted in Sense and Sensibility where interpersonal dynamics feature and lead the plot, and how face is represented in the Chinese translation by Cheng Wei'an. Using three excerpts and their translation as data, it is found that interpersonal face markers are sometimes omitted or toned down in the translation, and bald-on-record face strategies changed into off-record manners or redressed with concerns of hearers' negative or positive face wants. This, I claim, may impact on a reader's interpretation of interlocutors' personality, attitude and intentions. The change of face features in literary translation, however, cannot fail to communicate a different idea of the personality of the characters in the literary work and of their attitudes towards each other. Therefore, this suggests that there is more work to do in literary translation from the perspective of face portrayal in order to assist readers from target cultures to better appreciate individual characters in the way that writers endeavour to portray and present to their readers. The difference may be due to the translator having adopted cultural filters to achieve naturalness in translating prefabricated orality, avoiding translationese. I further suggest that reader response tests could be carried out to provide evidence of translation impact on reader's interpretation.

Keywords: Politeness, Composite Model of Face Management, Chinese-English, Prefabricated Orality, Sense and Sensibility

1. Introduction

Although research on the representation of face features in audiovisual translation, in particular subtitling, are burgeoning rapidly (Mason 1989, Hatim and Mason 1997, Kovačič 1996b, 2000, Bruti 2006, 2009, Yuan 2012), the area of face management in literary translation remains under-studied and the literature addressing it is comparatively sparse.

Notably, Hickey (2000) concludes from his experiment[1] with English and Spanish subjects that the English group is able to quickly identify and recognise the negative politeness strategies manifested in the original English texts, while the Spanish group does not seem to perceive the linguistic behaviour in the literally translated texts to be politeness-related. In other words, the negative politeness expressions in the Spanish texts that are translated literally become unmarked for the Spanish readers. In the light of this finding, Hickey stresses the importance of communicating and making salient the illocutionary dimension of texts, including politeness markers, in translation activities so as to achieve functional equivalence (House 1998) in cross-cultural contexts.

In search for a framework conducive to the analysis of politeness in translation, House (1998:57) proposes that "Lakoff's simpler and more elegant approach [compared to Leech's maxims and Brown and Levinson's politeness model] seems to me more immediately applicable". Nevertheless, Lakoff's pragmatic rules of well-formedness serve merely as a prototype of politeness theory as it only sets normative standards for desired behaviour from an individual rather than provides a descriptive account of how people actually behave in interactions (Fraser 1990, Watts 2003). Therefore, Lakoff's rule of politeness is short of adequate capacity for analysing data that presents dynamic social interactions.

This issue becomes salient when House (1998:67) tries to apply Lakoff's politeness rules to analysing, with a view from the perspective of politeness, the representation of 'interpersonal functional components' in a business letter. In her analysis, grammatical elements of field, tenor and mode that comprise register are referred to, intertwined with discussions of covert and overt

[1] Six short fragments containing typical negative politeness expressions of request, apology and justification, giving thanks, request for forgiveness, thanks and justification of thanks, and apology or warning before giving bad news are extracted from David Lodge's novel *Therapy* as the experiment data.

translation types, which render the departure and the direction of the discussion rather discursive, unclear and distracted away from the focus of politeness. This may be attributed to the fact that Lakoff's general rules do not constitute any specific elements at the micro level with a capacity to unpackaging and facilitating the analysis of interpersonal markers.

In view of the above issue, I propose in this paper a Composite Model of Face Management (CMFM) as a comprehensive face model with cultural variables to aid the analysis of face interactions in literary translation and to highlight the cultural communication nature and function of translation activities. This proposition is underpinned in my recent work investigating face management in Chinese-English subtitling (Yuan 2012) where CMFM has proved its adequate sophistication and effectiveness for data analysis. I intend, in this paper, to investigate how face management features available in a source text are represented in the target text, using a Chinese translation of Jane Austin's novel as the data. The purpose is to illustrate and inform how to achieve interpersonal functional equivalence in translation from the point of view of politeness, which constitutes one of the crucial components manifesting cross-cultural difference.

The paper includes 5 sections in total. In section 2, the strengths and the weaknesses of two key theories in the area of face, namely, Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework and Spencer-Oatey's (2000) postulations are reviewed critically to illustrate the reason and the necessity for developing the Composite Model of Face Management for data analysis. This is followed by detailed expositions of the model and its main components, including the notions, the strategies, the cultural and the contextual variables within the model. This constitutes the theoretical framework applied in this study. Section 3 discusses the research data that comprise three excerpts demonstrating the occasions of disagreement, apology and blaming from the novel *Sense and Sensibility* and its Chinese translation by Chen Wei'an. Data transcription and coding are subsequently explained to inform the main methodological aspects of this research. Attention in section 4 then turns to the analysis of face features in each of the excerpts, followed by the analysis of face characteristics represented in the corresponding translation. Following the extensive analysis, discussion is made drawing the main analytical findings on how face features are (un)represented in literary translation and factors that may be responsible. Finally, section 5 summarises the main contributions of this research and discusses the implications for future research, in particular, in the areas of developing reader response experiments to elicit empirical evidence of the variation in impact due to differing approaches to face in translation on reader's interpretations.

2. Face Management

2.1. Development of the theory

Face management is oriented to politeness studies[2]. The milestone theories in this area are Brown and Levinson's (1987) face model and Spencer-Oatey's (2000) rapport management framework. Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that all competent adult members have two intrinsic wants of individual freedom and social recognition and inclusion. Departing from the wants, they set up three super-strategies that people adopt when negotiating wants with one another in order to build and maintain social harmony. For the first time, they use a descriptive theory to explain how language is used in social interactions to achieve politeness, which is much more dynamic, powerful and applicable to analysing interactions than prior prescriptive rules of politeness (Lakeoff 1973) and politeness maxims (Leech 1983), where guidance and desirable behaviour are simply laid out without much capacity for investigating what and how people interact, verbally and in body language, in social encounters.

Nevertheless, this theory suffers from two major drawbacks. Firstly, in terms of the scope of the super-strategies in the theory, they focus solely on interactions conducive to social harmony while behaviour that is intended to cause and augment friction and disharmony between interactants is not taken into account. This is rectified by Culpeper (1996) and Culpeper et al.'s (2003) impoliteness super-strategies which are devised in line with Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework, and, therefore, can be perceived as an extension of the latter.

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[2] The reason that we do not explicitly use the word 'politeness' is because it seems to wrongly indicate that research in this area has a salient focus on examining the social behaviour that is conducive to building and enhancing interpersonal harmony while neglecting interactions demonstrating the opposite purpose of ignoring and damaging harmony.

Secondly, with respect to the scope of the notion in Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, the two intrinsic wants cannot encompass the role of identity and that of sociality rights and obligations in relationship management, and neither do they acknowledge any cultural underpinnings. In comparison, Spencer-Oatey's (2000) rapport management notion proves to be more enriched and inclusive since it explores not just face wants, but also social rights and interactional goals in its conceptualisation. Moreover, important contextual factors that may influence the interaction and its outcome are investigated, including participant relations in power (P), distance (D), and the severity of an imposition (R), number of participants, associated rights and obligations in social roles, and the nature of a communicative activity. However, in spite of these strengths, the rapport management theory is limited in its applicability to data analysis due to a lack of a set of pragmatic strategies that are capable of unpackaging ongoing interactions.

2.2. In search of an analytical framework

In view of the above, a Composite Model of Face Management (CMFM) (Yuan 2012:77) is established as an overarching theoretical framework for analysing face features in interactional discourse and the representation of face characteristics in translation. CMFM can be illustrated as follows:

CMFM draws upon the strengths of Brown and Levinson's theory and Spencer-Oatey's rapport management notion. Specifically, the notion of *face* in CMFM denotes both the public self-image and the fundamental sociality rights that every competent adult member effectively claims in their interactions with others. These two claims are reflected in two related aspects of the face notion, which constitutes positive face and negative face.

1. Positive face: the fundamental desire for people to (1) approve our wants, (2) to positively evaluate our personal qualities and to uphold our social identities, and (3) to respect our rights of an appropriate association with others in consistence with the type of social relationship.
2. Negative face: the fundamental desire (1) to act freely from imposition and (2) to have our disassociation rights respected by others in keeping with the type of social relationship.

(Yuan 2012:71-2)

Table 1. Composite Model of Face Management (Yuan 2012:77)

<table>
<tr><th>Notion</th><th>Strategy</th><th colspan="3">Factors influencing strategy use</th></tr>
<tr><td>Positive face</td><td>Positive politeness
/ Positive impoliteness
/ off–recordness
protecting or attacking H's positive face</td><td rowspan="2">Face orientation

face-enhancement
face-maintenance
face-neglect

face-damage</td><td rowspan="2">Contextual variables

D, P, R

number of participants
social/ interactional roles
communicative activity</td><td rowspan="2">Interactional Goals</td></tr>
<tr><td>Negative face</td><td>Negative politeness
/ Negative impoliteness
/ off–recordness
protecting or attacking H's negative face</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cultural influence over weighting of face wants and rights</td><td>Cultural influence over strategy use</td><td colspan="3">Cultural influence over factor assessment</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Western: greater emphasis on volition ◄——► Far East : more sensitive to discernment</td></tr>
</table>

Face in CMFM can be threatened in two ways: through threatening the public self-image and through threatening sociality rights. I have argued and illustrated (Yuan 2012:72-5) that Brown and Levinson's three sets of super-strategies for enhancing harmony and their extensive strategies for damaging harmony, which are formulated by Culpeper et al. (2003) , have the adequate sophistication to illustrate the management of sociality rights between interactants. The reason is that sociality rights constitute our fundamental legitimate face wants which are conducive to building and maintaining the public self-image, and therefore we believe they deserve others' respect and they must be fulfilled.

Face is a vulnerable entity full of emotional stakes. In social interactions, it is in general in everyone's best interest to maintain each other's face due to the mutual vulnerability of face. To achieve this, a person is expected to be able to identify certain kinds of acts, classified as being intrinsically face threatening, and to assess the nature and the severity of these face-threatening acts (FTA) in order to determine the appropriate strategies for carrying out the FTAs. For example, asking for a favour is deemed to threaten the hearer's negative face since it encroaches upon his/her space, and the hearer may feel constrained and obliged to honour the favour. In the light of such face dilemma, any rational person will seek to employ appropriate strategies to minimise the face-threatening effect. Dependent on the size of an FTA and the feature of the interactional context, the possible sets of strategies in line with the downgrading effect of an FTA can be 1 doing the FTA bald-on-record, 2 redressing the FTA towards the hearer's positive or negative face, i.e., positive or negative politeness strategies, 3 carrying out the FTA in an off-record manner, 4 withholding the FTA (Brown and Levinson 1987).

With the bald-on-record strategy, a speaker carries out a face-threatening act with maximum efficiency where no mitigating devices are applied and face concerns are suspended in the interest of clarity. For example, it is often used in emergency where the face threat is considered insignificant, such as 'Watch out for that dog!'. When the FTA is primarily in the hearer's interest, the speaker tends to resort to bald-on-recordness. Sympathetic advice falls into this category, for example, 'Don't be so low. Cheer up!'. In the context of an obvious power imbalance between speaker and hearer, the bald-on-record strategy may be used by a speaker to exert authority, for example, 'Pull over! It's the police!'.

The bald-on-record strategy can only describe a very limited variety of phenomena as it generally occurs most often in interactions where the focus is task/information-oriented. However, in relationship-oriented interactions, which account for the majority of interpersonal encounters, appropriate management of face is deemed to be more important than clarity, hence, the necessity of employing relevant politeness strategies.

Specifically, positive politeness strategies refer to the acts that we initiate to protect each other's positive face wants, i.e., making others feel good. These can be expressed through claiming common ground with others, for example, attending to others' interests and wants, seeking agreement with others, using in-group identity markers such as 'mate', and presupposing common ground with others. The intention of protecting positive face can also be achieved via conveying that both speaker and hearer are co-operators, for example, making offers and promises, and assuming reciprocity belong to this category. Last but not least, fulfilling others' wants, such as giving gifts and sympathy can also help to protect face and to build rapport between interlocutors.

In the same vein, in social interactions, negative politeness strategies are devised to inform others of speaker's intention to protect their negative face, i.e., showing respect to others' space. In particular, such strategies can be broadly divided into two categories. Firstly, a speaker tries to communicate to others his/her intention not to coerce or to impinge. For example, s/he may endeavour to be conventionally indirect, using hedges, or giving deference to minimise the imposition when making a request. When acts involving possible imposition on a hearer have to be initiated, such as asking him/her to follow instructions, the speaker tends to make an apology first, to impersonalise both speaker and hearer, or to state the act as a general rule, such as 'It is required by the board that…'. Secondly, a speaker can claim indebtedness to a hearer, which expresses his/her awareness of the hearer's negative face, for example, 'I'd be very grateful if you would…'.

Both positive and negative politeness strategies can be expressed in on-record or off-record manners. The crucial difference is that for an utterance expressed in the off-record manner, more than one communicative intention may be attributed. Hence, a hearer has to infer the speaker's intention contained in the utterance through interactional contexts. The off-record manner may be resorted to when a speaker is unsure of the appropriateness for him/her to initiate a face-threatening act in a direct or on-record manner where the communicative intention is explicit. For example, A and B have been friends for just over a year. One day, A says to B 'I owe the water company £300. The debt collector has threatened to knock on my door if I don't pay it off by this Friday. But I won't get paid till the Monday after next week. Oh dear! What shall I do?'. Although in this context, A's intention may well be interpreted as prompting B to lend A some money, A, nevertheless, cannot be held responsible for saying that, and A can easily deny it if challenged. In this way, A not only achieves protecting B's face by avoiding being imposing and intrusive, but also manages to avoid losing his own face which would have otherwise incurred should the request be put in an on-record way and then subsequently suffer from refusal[3].

When assessing the nature and the severity of an FTA and choosing appropriate face strategies, the speaker will take into account a few important

[3] For reference, full lists of positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies are provided in Appendix 1.

factors which contribute significantly to his/her decision-making. These factors, as shown in CMFM, include face orientation, contextual variables, and interactional goals.

Face orientation indicates people's desire to manage their relations with others according to their preconceived intentions. In particular, people may hold any of the four types of face orientations:

1. Face-enhancement orientation: the speaker's desire to enhance the hearer's face-wants and/or right-claims in strengthening harmonious relations between them;
2. Face-maintenance orientation: the speaker's desire to satisfy the hearer's face-wants and/or right-claims in maintaining harmonious relations between them;
3. Face-neglect orientation: the speaker's lack of interest in the hearer's face-wants and/or right-claims detrimental to the relations between them (perhaps due to a focus on self);
4. Face-damage orientation: the speaker's challenge to, attack on or denial of the hearer's face-wants and/or right-claims impairing the relations between them.

The contextual variables that influence people's use of face strategies include 1) distance (D), power (P), and ranking of impositions (R), 2) number of participants, 3) people's rights and obligations associated with their social roles, and 4) the nature of a communicative activity.

Power (P) is believed to be in existence when an individual is able to control the behaviour of the other in a certain area, and both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour (Brown and Gilman 1960). The social distance (D) between speaker and hearer encompasses three possible components that could impact on people's expressions of semantic solidarity. They are social similarity/difference, length of acquaintance, and sense of like-mindedness. R indicates how people rank an imposition in the particular culture. The degree to which an FTA is perceived as a serious imposition can depend on the power and social distance parameters (Watts 2003). For example, asking for a cigarette from someone with much higher social status or a complete stranger constitutes a stronger FTA than asking a close friend.

A second important contextual variable influencing people's strategy use relates to the number of participants taking part in a communicative event, either as addressors/addressees or as audiences. In most cultures, face-management norms are number-sensitive, which means that what is said and how things are said could often be influenced by the number of people present, and whether they are all listening. For example, in many countries, it is far more face-threatening to be criticised publicly than privately.

A third contextual variable is related to participants' rights and obligations in interactive events. Through affecting people's assessments of rights and obligations, social/interactional roles influence their use of face management strategies. Thomas's (1995) example describing how two women initiated the request for stopping on a country bus serves as a good illustration of the importance of rights and obligations. The first woman simply called out: 'Next stop, driver!' before the bus approached a scheduled stopping place; while the second made the following verbal request for stopping at an unofficial stop: 'Do you think you could possibly let me out just beyond the traffic lights, please?'

In this case, parameters of power, social distance and imposition all held constant without any changes. The role relations are the same and it cost the driver no more effort to stop beyond the traffic lights than at the bus stop. The only difference lies in the rights and obligations of the event: the driver has an obligation to stop at the scheduled place, but has no such obligation in the second case. Therefore, the second woman chose very different linguistic strategies to pose her request, probably after assessing the implied rights and obligations in the event.

A fourth major factor influencing people's use of rapport management strategies is the type of communicative activity that is taking place, for example, a training course or a court hearing.

The above four contextual variables may play both a standing and a dynamic role in influencing strategy use. The standing role perception is very similar to Fraser and Nolan's (1981) conversational contract, which postulates that based on previous experience we may have relatively stable conceptions of these contextual variables prior to the interactional event. However, in the course of an interaction, assessment of the variables can change dynamically with the unfolding of the event as the perception of power imbalance may have changed, and therefore an interlocutor may, for example, become more arrogant. To make interaction successful in terms of rapport management, interlocutors need to combine the dynamic assessment of context with their original standing assessment to determine an appropriate linguistic strategy choice.

It is very important to highlight in the postulation of CMFM that the face notion, face strategies and contextual factors all have to be considered against the background of cultural influence; such as what are regarded as legitimate rights in different cultures (e.g. abortion constitutes a right in China and sometimes in extreme circumstances could even be enforced as an obligation, but by no means is it regarded as a right in Ireland); what sort of behaviour is perceived to be appropriate for face-enhancement (e.g. a guest's burping after a meal is seen in Chinese culture as a compliment to the host's cooking but this is not the case in the UK); and what kind of power one holds in different cultures (e.g. according to Chen and Starosta (1997), a senior Chinese government official not only holds reward, coercive, legitimate powers over his/her subordinates, but also automatically acquires expert power, which may not be applicable in a Western culture). In addition, propositions drawn from Hill et al.'s (1986) findings are also incorporated into the formulation of CMFM. Specifically, the propositions are that, firstly, discernment[4] constitutes a universal concern in all sociolinguistic systems, and secondly, people from different cultures may attach different weight to factors subsumed under discernment and volition.

This Composite Model of Face Management provides a dynamic theoretical framework for analysing how face management, which demonstrates the character's personality, attitude and intentions, is delineated in the original literary work and how it is represented in the translation.

3. Data

The data used in this study comprise three extracts from Jane Austin's novel *Sense and Sensibility*, and its corresponding Chinese translation by Cheng Wei'an (Cheng). The novel is indisputably one of Austin's best-known masterpieces and is rich in intelligent exchanges between characters. It tells the story of two sisters' thorny paths of pursuing love. Elinor is the elder sister who is mature, sensible and responsible. She falls for Edward, only to find out that he is already engaged to Lucy. Therefore, she can only keep her affection

[4] Discernment is an instrumental way of understanding politeness behaviour, which is determined by discerning appropriate ongoing social interactional features and choosing appropriate strategies. Volitional politeness refers to the fact that an individual can decide whether he/she wants to be polite or not, and what constitutes a polite behaviour. Discernment is an instrumental way of understanding politeness behaviour, which is determined by discerning appropriate ongoing social interactional features and choosing appropriate strategies (Hil et al.1986).

towards Edward to herself, which Marianne appreciates. Compared to Elinor, Marianne is naïve and trusting. She quickly falls in love with charming but manipulative Willoughby, who is actually a womaniser and untrustworthy. Unbeknown to Marianne and her family, Willoughby has just made a young girl pregnant and then abandoned her before he meets Marianne. His patron, Mrs Smith, drives him away upon discovering this. But Willoughby lies to Marianne and her family that he is dispatched away for business and is unable to visit the family within a year. Marianne is heart-broken but still cherishes the hope to be with him again until she finds out that he is married to another woman. Marianne rises above her sorrow with Elinor's help and finally finds happiness with Colonel Brandon who has always cared for her. In the meantime, Elinor and Edward are able to confess their love for each other when Lucy decides to dissolve her engagement to Edward and marries his brother who is wealthier.

The exchanges vividly portray the characters' distinct personalities and contribute to fascinating twists and turns featuring dynamic changes of interpersonal relationships through joint constructions. Therefore, they provide optimal contexts for investigating the representation of interpersonal components in the novel and in the translation.

The three excerpts constitute the occasions of disagreement with compromise, apology before sudden farewell, and expressions of blame. When constructing the data, I believe that it is necessary and productive to examine interactional features in the original texts and in the translation over an extended course of context and beyond the boundary of a single turn. This approach has proven pertinent and fruitful in analysing audiovisual dialogue and its translation (Pérez-González 2007, Yuan 2012). Hence, the three excerpts selected for this study reflect such an approach to data construction.

The Chinese translator for *Sense and Sensibility* Cheng is a reputed and experienced professional translator who holds a Doctorate Degree in Language and Literature Studies from the University of Columbia, USA. He has translated many other classic masterpieces. His translation of the novel is described as 'elegant, natural and fluid in language use. [It] vividly presents characters' subtle inner world, and fully re-exhibits the witty and refined exchanges between the interlocutors' (Meng 2009, my translation)[5]. Therefore, it serves as a good example to investigate whether and how face management is (un)represented in the translation of interpersonal exchanges, the impact of achieving naturalness when translating prefabricated orality on the (un) representation of face features in literary translation, and in turn the ultimate impact on translated text users.

The data is transcribed in a tabulated format for the ease of comparison and analysis. Specifically, lines of the original excerpts are denoted by Arabic numerals, and their corresponding translations by the same sequence of numerals plus the letter t indicating translation. Each line of the Chinese translation follows immediately after the original utterance or narration. Literary back-translation into English is also provided below the Chinese rendition. Due to the length of each extract, a shortened transcription is provided in the body of the paper and a full version is given in the Appendix 2 for reader's reference.

4. Data analysis and discussions

1) Disagreement with compromise

Introduction of plots before the interaction

Elinor is Marianne's elder sister. Their relationship is close, loving and harmonious. They are expressing their views on Edward's taste for painting. Elinor is in love with him in secret, which Marianne appreciates.

Transcription of the interaction

1	"What a pity it is, Elinor,"said Marianne, "that Edward should have no taste for drawing."
1t	"好可惜,艾丽诺,"玛丽安对姐姐说道,"爱德华不喜欢绘画。" "Good pity, Elinor," Marianne to sister said, "Edward not like drawing."
2	"No taste for drawing," replied Elinor, "why should you think so?
2t	"你怎么会这样想? "You how will this think?

[5] The original comment in Chinese '语言优雅，自然流畅，生动地展现了人物细腻的内心世界，充分再现了主人公之间妙语连珠的精彩对白'。

3	He does not draw himself, indeed, but he has great pleasure in seeing the performance of other people,
3t	他自己是不画，可是他很喜欢看别人画呀！ He himself is not drawing, but he very much like watching others drawing ya!
4	and I assure you he is by no means deficient in natural taste, though he has not had opportunities of improving it.
4t	我认为，他并不缺少天分，只是没有机会表现而已。 I think, he not lack talent, just is no chance show.
5	Had he ever been in the way of learning, I think he would have drawn very well.
5t	如果他学过画画， 我相信他一定会画得很好。 If he learned drawing, I believe he is bound to draw very well.

Analysis

In the source text (ST), Marianne initiates the exchange with Elinor by expressing her view, or rather her judgment, of a certain attribute of Edward in a bald-on-record manner that entails a salient face-threatening act (FTA) to Edward's positive face (line 1). Marianne opts for such a direct verdict, the FTA of which is further argumented by the model should highlighting the speaker's marked surprise. The reason may be attributed to the short distance and great familiarity between her and Elinor, which renders politeness strategies for mitigating the FTA unnecessary, and to the fact that the FTA addressee – Edward – is absent during the exchange. Marianne's linguistic directness could also be used by the author to depict the character's straight-talking personality, which forms a stark contrast to that of Elinor's. In the Chinese translation (1t), an off-record statement that 'Edward does not like drawing' is made, in which Marianne's non-mitigated personal judgment of Edward's attribute or capability is blurred. The statement constitutes an off-record strategy because more than one communicative intention could be attributed to the utterance, and the hearer has to infer the speaker's intention through the context. This renders Marianne's attitude to be more indirect and implied.

In the excerpt, Elinor appears to be shocked by Marianne's direct comment as she repeats it and follows it with an enquiry about the reason for her belief (line 2). In the Chinese translation (2t), the repetition highlighting Elinor's great surprise at the comment is omitted. Elinor's question to Marianne in line 2 functions as a disagreement expressed in an off-record manner rather than a gesture showing interest in or eliciting Marianne's explanations as Elinor continues with her own viewpoint of Edward's talent and taste (lines 3 to 7). She strongly defends Edward's talent by applying emphatic expressions such as 'I assure you' (line 4), 'by no means' (line 4), 'distrust…so much that' (line 6), and markers for emphasis including 'ever' (line 5), 'always' (line 6) and 'perfectly' (line 7). These expressions and markers could be adopted to underline Elinor's tremendous affections for Edward, hence the urge for her to defend his positive face. In the Chinese translation, although Elinor's viewpoint is communicated, her strong feelings manifested in her linguistic style are generally toned down. For example, in 4t, the emphatic expression 'I assure you' is rendered into an unmarked and conventionalised expression 我认为 [I think] which does not demonstrate the speaker's intention to persuade the hearer. In the same utterance, the adverbial phrase illustrating Elinor's determined tone in her claim 'by no means' is replaced by the Chinese adverb 并 which is normally used before the negative marker 不[not] for emphasis, but the tone is much weaker than 'by no means'. In 6t, the emphatic pattern 'distrust…so much that' is downgraded as 只不过 [it is only that], and the marker 'always (unwilling)' is toned down as 不太愿意 [not too willing], so is the marker for stress in line 7 'perfectly right'.

In the ST, Elinor then tries to enhance the validity of her standpoint by reminding Marianne bald-on-record of her own cordiality towards Edward (lines 8 to 10). In line 8, Elinor informs Marianne in a rather direct and imposing tone of what Marianne's thought actually is, which is slightly mitigated by the conventionalised manner hedge 'I hope'. The imperative command 'you do not do…' explicitly manifests Elinor's non-negotiating attitude on the argument, and in turn her immense affection towards Edward. In the Chinese translation (8t), the bald-on-record claim is changed into a rhetorical question redressed towards the hearer's negative face wants, with the particle 吧 serving as a device indicating speaker's hesitance, uncertainty, and the willingness to give the hearer the right to judgments or decisions (Xu 2008). Therefore, the negative politeness in the translation renders Elinor's linguistic style more indirect and less authoratative. Elinor's marked tone in the original is further diluted in 10t when the emphatic expression foregrounding her belief 'I am sure' is not included in the translation.

Elinor's passionate defence of Edward's talent has inevitably put Marianne in a great dilemma (lines 11-13). To accentuate this, emphatic descriptives 'on any account' (line 12) and 'impossible' (line 13) are adopted in the narrative to exaggerate Marianne's intense inner struggle between her care for Elinor's feelings and her inability to speak against her beliefs. In the corresponding translation (11t-13t), the dilemma and the intensity of her struggle are mitigated with the former descriptive omitted and the latter rendered as 'not willing', in which Marianne's marked efforts and intention to protect Elinor's feelings are understated.

Similar mitigations in the effect of interpersonal markers can be further found in the translation of Marianne's effective statement of compromise (lines 14-17) which demonstrates her intensified efforts and intention to reach a common ground with Elinor's salient standpoints. For example, manner hedge 'not in everything equal' (line 14) is adopted in the negative politeness strategy to reduce the extent of their disagreements. This is omitted in the translation (14t). Moreover, when paying compliments to Edward's personality (line 16), exaggerative positive face markers 'highest' and 'in the world' are employed to accentuate Marianne's extremely positive views. These are considerably toned down in the translation (16t). The same applies to the positive politeness enhancer 'everything that is' in line 17.

2) Apology before sudden farewell

Introduction of plots before the interaction

In the novel, Willoughby is a despicable character who is good at manipulating young women with his charm and then abandons them afterwards. He manages to form a loving relationship with Marianne and to secure her mother and her sister's trust and fondness after spending some quality time with them. Now he has to make a sudden and false farewell to them as he claims that his patron – Mrs Smith – dispatches him to London for business. But the real reason for his hasty departure, unbeknown to Marianne and her family, is that Mrs Smith is driving him away after finding out that he has just abandoned a teenage girl after making her pregnant. He is trying to explain, with pretence, to Marianne, her mother and her sister the urgency of the business and that he will probably not pay a visit again to the family this year. Marianne is heart-broken at the news. Her mother tries to assure Willoughby that he will always be welcome to her family.

Transcription of the interaction

1	"Is anything the matter with her?" cried Mrs Dashwood as she entered. "Is she sick?"
1t	"马丽安是怎么了？身体不舒服吗？"才一进屋，达什伍德太太就迫不及待地追问。 "Marianne is what up? Body not comfortable ma?" just once entered, Dashwood Mrs then hastily ask.
2	"I hope not," he replied, trying to look cheerful, and with a forced smile presently added,
2t	威洛比勉强挤出了一丝微笑："希望不是， Willoughby forced a faint smile, "hope not is,
3	"It is I who may rather expect to be ill – for I am now suffering under a very heavy disappointment!"
3t	感到不舒服的应该是我，因为我遇到一件 令人沮丧的事情。" Feel not comfortable should be me, because I meet a frustrating thing."
4	"Disappointment!"
4t	"令人沮丧的事情？" "Frustrating thing?"
5	"Yes, for I am unable to keep my engagement with you.
5t	"是的，本来答应和你们共进晚餐的，可是现在不行了。 "Yes, originally promised to you together having dinner, but now cannot.

Analysis

Willoughby is delivering the news to Marianne, who is profoundly saddened and traumatised by it. She leaves the room weeping upon seeing her mother – Mrs Dashwood and her sister – Elinor entering the room. Mrs Dashwood is greatly concerned of her daughter's well-being, hence initiating the conversation with Willoughby (line 1). Willoughby's awkwardness and pretentiousness are highlighted in the narration as 'trying to look cheerful, and with a forced smile presently added' (line 2). In the Chinese translation (2t), the manner adverbial 'presently added', accentuating Willoughby's conspicuous efforts to pretend, and another similar attempt of his 'trying to look cheerful' are omitted. In the exchange, he then uses an emphatic sentence pattern 'it is…that…' to stress the 'very heavy disappointment' he is suffering (line 3). In the translation (3t), the marker 'a very heavy disappointment' is replaced by an unmarked expression ‘a frustrating thing’. The downgrading of his description of the terrible situation he is in, combines with the effect of the omissions in 2t, rendering the depiction of the pretentiousness in his personality and his intention to hide the reason for leaving less marked than that in the novel.

In turn, Mrs Dashwood’s great shock at what Willoughby said is demonstrated in her immediate repetition of the marker ‘disappointment’ followed by an exclamation mark (Line 4). In the translation, the shock is rendered into an unmarked question, hence the loss of the representation of her attitude. In the exchange, Willoughby tries to protect his own positive face of not being perceived to be inconsiderate and to show his respect for Marianne’s family’s association rights with him by offering an explanation (line 6). In the explanation, he stresses the unfavourable situation by describing how his powerful patron, who has considerable reward and cohesive powers over him, has dispatched him with an order, conveying in an off-record manner that he is unwilling to leave the family but has no other options. In the translation (6t), Willoughby’s marked efforts and intention are significantly mitigated in a plain and brief statement.

In his next utterance (line 7), a sarcasm ‘by way of exhilaration’ is used to express his bitter disappointment of having to take his farewell. The literal meaning of the sarcastic expression violates the contextual expectation, conveying in a salient manner, his marked sentiment of utter annoyance. This marker showing Willoughby’s attitude is not represented in the translation and renders 7t plain and unmarked.

In the exchange, Mrs Dashwood is noticeably surprised at this sudden farewell and enquires about the urgency of the business (line 8). Willoughby’s reply is featured with an exaggerative emphasis, accentuating how urgent the business is, which serves as a convincing reason for his hasty farewell. This feature is translated into an unmarked ‘yes’ (9t) that cannot convey his attitude. Mrs Dashwood is clearly disappointed at the news (line 10), but still tries to show her respect for Willoughby’s negative face want by acknowledging that it is Mrs Smith’s order which detains him. Willoughby implies in his reply (lines 11-12) that he will not be able to revisit the family this year in an off-record manner to avoid direct FTAs to his own face and Mrs Dashwood’s face. The off-record strategy is represented in the translation (11t-12t).

Nevertheless, Mrs Dashwood seems to be somewhat unhappy with Willoughby’s reply as she initiates three rhetorical questions in parallel (lines 13-15). They demonstrate her great eagerness and determination to encourage

Willoughby's visit. Her attitude is strong and passionate, mixed with a kind of annoyance at his retreating answers. This seems to have touched Willoughby's innate sentiments, who may have mixed feelings of guilt, regret and gratitude, which is reflected in his markedly short response (line 16). The reserved response, in turn, triggers a moment of awkward and inexplicable silence (line 17).

Then Mrs Dashwood breaks the silence by making great efforts to communicate to Willoughby her respect for his negative and positive face wants. For example, a hedge to minimise the imposition in her repeated invitation – 'I have only to add' – features the beginning of the efforts (lin18). This negative politeness hedge is translated into an FTA 我再说一遍 [I again say it] in 18t, mitigating the speaker's intention not to impose. Then, she immediately expresses her full respect for Willoughby's judgement (lines19-20) with the distal marker 'that' (Brown and Levinson 1987:205), and follows it by a positive politeness strategy exaggerating her unconditional trust of his integrity and inclination (line 21). The salient positive politeness utterance is omitted in the translation, weakening the representation of Mrs Dashwood's efforts of showing camaraderie with Willoughby.

Mrs Dashwood's repeated invitation and her passionate expression of camaraderie in the ST may have awakened Willoughby's sense of guilt even more (line 22). At last, he seems to intend to conclude such a difficult conversation where he could hardly offer any meaningful information by conveying his profound misery of not being able to enjoy the loving family's society (line 25). Using that as a sorrowful and rather convenient excuse, he leaves in haste. In the translation (25t), the excuse of misery is not presented. Hence, the representation of his intention and personality is missing in 25t.

3) Expressions of blame

Introduction of plots before the interaction

Willoughby has left Marianne and her family for London. After a few months, family friend Mrs Jennings invites Marianne and Elinor to visit and stay at her home in London. Marianne readily accepts the invitation with the hope to hear from or encounter Willoughby there. She sends him a letter upon her arrival. She has been waiting for his reply or visit in great eagerness. After a week's disappointment, Marianne becomes uneasy and agitated. One day, the servant comes in with a letter. The following interaction ensues.

Transcription of the interaction

1	"For me!" cried Marianne, stepping hastily forwards.
1t	"是我的！"玛丽安抢上前去接过来。 "Is mine!" Marianne rushed forward to take it.
2	"No, ma'am, for my mistress."
2t	"小姐，是给太太的。" "Ma'am, is for mistress."
3	But Marianne, not convinced, took it instantly up.
3t	玛丽安不信，拿起信来看。 Marianne not convinced, picked up letter to read.
4	"It is indeed for Mrs Jennings – how provoking!"
4t	"是给珍宁斯太太的，真气人！" "Is for Mrs Jennings, really provoking!"
5	"You are expecting a letter then?" said Elinor, unable to be longer silent.
5t	"你在等信吗？"艾丽诺再也忍不住了。 "You are waiting letter ma?" Elinor not longer can be silent.

Analysis

Marianne rushes to take the letter with great excitement and with a firm belief that the letter is for her from Willoughby, regardless of what the servant says (lines 1-3). When she finds out that it is for Mrs Jennings, she seems more than upset (line 4). Having observed Marianne's highly fluctuating mood over the past few days, Elinor asks line 5 with great concerns. Marianne's reply (line 6) demonstrates her foul mood due to being upset and her unwillingness to open up to Elinor. This is represented in the translation 6t.

Elinor initiates a bald-on-record FTA in line 7 and shows her intention to press for greater openness in Marianne. In the translation 7t, the bald-on-record FTA is changed to a question redressed to Marianne's negative face wants, mitigating Elinor's firm claim and her salient intention. Marianne's reply (line 8) is markedly direct and confrontational. She explicitly points out the target of her retaliation – Elinor, and reinforces the FTA by purposefully repeating the target you with emphasis in tone. This is not represented in 8t.

She then follows the blame with a sarcastic comment – 'you have confidence in no one'. The echoic mention (Sperber and Wilson 1992) in the sarcasm explicitly refers to Elinor's blaming Marianne for having no confidence in her. In return, Marianne expresses her strong attitude of disapproval of such a blame by accusing Elinor of the same. The sarcasm via echoic mention is represented in the translation.

Elinor, in the ST, is observably surprised and confused by Marianne's response. She tries to defend her innocence in an affirmative manner by making another bald-on-record statement – 'I have nothing to tell', which is further accentuated by an emphatic adverbial – 'indeed'. Such a style is consistent with her assertive tone from the beginning of this interaction, which demonstrates her determinedness to press Marianne for openness. This is mitigated in the translation 9t when Elinor's bald-on-recordness is changed into a question redressed to Marianne's negative face – 'What do I have to hide from you?'.

In this exchange, Elinor's firm attitude in the ST shown in her consistent bald-on-record manners when conversing with Marianne is diluted due to the application of negative politeness in the translation. Although this may not affect the reader's understanding of the content of the exchange, it may impact on their interpretation of the interpersonal dynamics between Marianne and Elinor, for example, Elinor's attitude and intention.

The above presents a comparative analysis of face management features exhibited in the three excerpts from Jane Austin's novel *Sense and Sensibility* and their representation in Cheng's translation. It is found that interpersonal face markers are sometimes omitted or toned down in the translation, and bald-on-record face strategies changed into off-record manners or redressed with concerns of hearers' negative or positive face wants. Such omissions, mitigations and changes in the translation of the face markers and strategies available in the ST, over the course of an interaction, can present a very different picture/scenario in terms of the protagonists' personality, attitude and intentions. For example, in extract 1, Elinor's linguistic and interactional style is marked, direct and firm, which can be attributed to, and in turn reflect her profound affection towards Edward and her insurmountable zest to defend his talent. Such style is predominantly achieved by bald-on-record face strategies and emphatic expressions. However, in the translation, face markers are omitted, and bald-on-record strategies changed into off-record strategies, rendering Elinor's style unmarked, indirect, and less firm. This, I claim, inevitably affects communicating effectively via the translation to the reader the author's particularised and intended portrayal of Elinor's strong feelings and salient attitude. In other words, although this will not affect a reader's understanding of the unfolding plots, it may have an impact on his/her interpretation of interlocutors' personality, attitude and intentions. Therefore, it is imperative to achieve interpersonal functional equivalence from the perspective of face portrayal in literary translation, to enable and to facilitate/assist the reader from the target culture to adequately appreciate the particularities of each individual character's characteristics that the author endeavours to communicate. This claim can be further tested and corrected in future studies by reader-response experiments which could provide evidence of translation impact on text users.

Literary texts, although composed and planned, must sound spontaneous, natural and credible so as to enhance a reader's participation. They are scripted in such a way as to develop the plot, portray characters, involve the reader, and promote certain values as well as beliefs. Such a dual function of literary dialogue – which may be classified as 'prefabricated orality' (Chaume 2004a: 168) – could influence an author in his/her preference for selecting specific discoursal features, including face features, when portraying a character.

Prefabricated orality also features translated literary dialogue. Nevertheless, because of the translator's rewriting and re-creating activities during translating, exercise of judgement as to what constitutes and contributes to the spontaneity and naturalness of the dialogue in a certain culture and during a certain period of history may be made by the translator. For instance, the novel is written in the 19th century in England, and the translator may have adopted a cultural filter to ensure the naturalness of the interaction in the translation whose readers are Chinese in the 21st century, with a possible view to avoiding translationese. This may impact on how face is represented in the translation. Nevertheless, as demonstrated, the translation cannot fail to communicate the particular portrayal of individual characters that the author may intend to impress the reader. Therefore, this may suggest that there is more work to do in literary translation, at least between Chinese and English as shown in this study, from the perspective of face management. Further studies can be carried out on the representation of interpersonal dynamics in literary translation via interviews with translators, for example, how interpersonal components across cultures and time are translated and the function of culture filter in assisting translation best representing authors' preference of fictional character portrayal.

The current research on translator's adopting cultural filters to avoid translationese is very rare and deserves in-depth investigation. On translationese, in the area of audio-visual translation, Romero-Fresco (2006) investigates its features in the translation of the TV series *Friends*, focusing on phraseological translation as a parameter. He finds that the target text (TT), where a higher number of phraseological units are present, actually sounds less idiomatic than the ST due to shift and inconsistency in the TT register which undermines its pragmatic comic effect. This is in line with Baños-Piñero and Chaume's (2009) conclusion that translated dialogue is less natural and idiomatic than domestic audiovisual dialogue. Moreover, Quaglio (2009), using corpus-based analysis, compares the language features of the American situation comedy, *Friends*, and natural conversation, focusing on the use of vague language. The empirical investigation shows that although there are striking linguistic similarities between the two groups of data, *Friends* demonstrates higher frequencies of emotional and informal language which may interfere with the natural flow of the dialogue. The researcher suggests that this may result from scriptwriters' deliberate efforts to adopt overly elaborated language to highlight the types of social relationships shared by the characters. By the same token, literary authors may resort to equally elaborated language to exaggerate some particular interpersonal and interactional features between the characters. Therefore, findings on translationese in audio-visual dialogue could well be applicable to the translation of literary dialogue. Some translators, such as Chen, may be aware of such an issue and has adopted a filter to accentuate the naturalness of the flow of conversations in the translation, which may have impacted on the representation of face dynamics unfolded in the original dialogue. As suggested, interviews with translators may help to unveil such myths.

Last but not least, influence from publishers who may prefer novels to be translated in a certain style, for example, simple and readable, or sophisticated in language use and elaborate in expressing viewpoints, may also impact on the representation of interpersonal components in the translation.

5. Conclusions

This study has for the first time drawn from a Composite Model of Face Management (CFMF) to investigate face management in literary translation. It proves to be more effective and systematic than prescriptive politeness rules in the assistance of explaining and illustrating the face features presented in the literary texts and their representation in the translation. The study is also the first to use English literary texts translated into Chinese as the data to illustrate how face is represented in literary translation. Chinese and English are markedly remote from each other in both linguistic and cultural terms. Therefore, people from China and England may initiate very different linguistic face behaviour when they manage rapport with each other. In the context of translation, the remote distance may indicate that there is more work to do in the process of translating between Chinese and English in order to facilitate reader's comprehension. As a result, using data which display such distinct features could offer enhanced insights into some of the face management issues at play in literary dialogue and the corresponding TL translation.

In future research, the semantic differential technique can be used to elicit reader's response to face management features displayed in the novel and to those represented in the translation in order to provide independent empirical evidence of translation impact on text users.

Appendix

1. Illustrations of positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies

1	Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, need, goods)	Goodness, you cut your hair! You look really cool with your new hair style! → (FTA) By the way, I came to borrow some flour.
2	Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)	A: Look at the weather! B: Oh, yeah, isn't it just ghastly the way it always seems to rain just when you've hung your laundry out! → (FTA) So may I borrow your iron?
3	Intensify interest to H	I come down the stairs, and what do you think I see? – A huge mess all over the place… → (FTA) So, can I borrow your hoover?
4	Use in-group identity markers	(FTA) Help me with this bag here, will you pal?
5	Seek agreement with safe topics or repetition.	Oh, you got a new car! Isn't it a beautiful colour! → (FTA) Do you still have any paint left?
6	Avoid disagreement	I kind of want Florin to win the race, since I have bet on him.
7	Presuppose/raise/assert common ground	I had a really hard time learning to drive, didn't I? You know it well! You taught me.
8	Joke	Ok. Would you mind if I tackle those cookies now?
9	Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	Look, I know you want the car back by 5pm. → (FTA) So should I go to town now?
10	Offer, promise	I'll drop by some time next week → (FTA) if you can pick up the mail for me.
11	Be optimistic	Good pal, I knew I'd find you here. Look, I'm sure you won't mind → (FTA) if I borrow your typewriter.
12	Include both S and H in the activity.	It's been 3 hours since the lunch. Let's have a cookie, then (i.e., me).

13	Give (or ask for) reasons	What a beautiful day! Why don't we go to the seashore! → (FTA) Come on!
14	Assume or assert reciprocity	I'll do the garden for you, → (FTA) if you write the homework for me.
15	Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)	A: A small gift, Mom. Happy Mother's Day. B: Thanks Tom. It's really nice of you. A: I am glad you like it, Mom. → (FTA) May I borrow some money?

Positive Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987)

1	Be conventionally indirect	You are just beside the cupboard. Can you please pass the salt to me?
2	Question, hedge	You're quite right in commenting on this matter. I do agree in a way.
3	Be pessimistic	The bag is quite heavy. Perhaps you'd care to help me.
4	Minimise the imposition Rx	I just ask you if you could lend me a single sheet of paper.
5	Give deference	Excuse me, Sir, but would you mind if I close the window?
6	Apologise	I hate to impose, but···
7	Impersonalise S and H	It is said to be so.
8	State the FTA as general rule	International regulations require that the fuselage be sprayed with DDT.
9	Nominalise	It is real regret that we can not do that.
10	Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H	I'd be eternally grateful if you would···

Negative Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987)

1	Give hints	It's cold in here. (c.i.[6] Shut the window)
2	Give association clues	Are you going to market tomorrow···? There's a market tomorrow, I suppose. (c.i. Give me a ride there)
3	Presuppose	At least, I don't go around boasting about my achievements. (c.i. someone else does)
4	Understate	A: How do you like Josephine's new haircut? B: It's all right. (c.i. I don't particularly like it)
5	Overstate	There were a million people in the Co-op tonight! (c.i. That's why I am late)
6	Use tautologies	If I won't give it, I won't. (c.i. I mean it!)
7	Use contradictions	A: Are you upset about that? B: Well, yes and no.
8	Be ironic	Beautiful weather, isn't it! (to postman drenched in rainstorm)
9	Use metaphors	Harry's a real fish. (c.i. Harry swims like a fish)
10	Use rhetorical questions	How was I to know···? (c.i. I wasn't)
11	Be ambiguous	John's a pretty sharp cookie.
12	Be vague	Looks like someone may have had too much too drink.
13	Over-generalise	Mature people sometimes help do the dishes.
14	Displace H	Could you please pass me the stapler? (One secretary in an office asks another, in circumstances where a professor is much nearer to the stapler than the other secretary. Professor's face is not threatened, and he can choose to do it himself as a bonus 'free gift')
15	Be incomplete, use ellipsis	Well, I didn't see you···

Off-record Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987)

[6] c.i. stands for 'conversationally implicates'.

2. Full transcription of the three excerpts

Excerpt 1

1	"What a pity it is, Elinor," said Marianne, "that Edward should have no taste for drawing."
1t	"好可惜，艾丽诺，" 玛丽安对姐姐说道，"爱德华不喜欢绘画。" "Good pity, Elinor," Marianne to sister said, "Edward not like drawing."
2	"No taste for drawing," replied Elinor, "why should you think so?
2t	"你怎么会这样想？ "You how will this think?
3	He does not draw himself, indeed, but he has great pleasure in seeing the performance of other people,
3t	他自己是不画，可是他很喜欢看别人画呀！ He himself is not drawing, but he very much like watching others drawing ya!
4	and I assure you he is by no means deficient in natural taste, though he has not had opportunities of improving it.
4t	我认为，他并不缺少天分，只是没有机会表现而已。 I think, he not lack talent, just is no chance show.
5	Had he ever been in the way of learning, I think he would have drawn very well.
5t	如果他学过画画， 我相信他一定会画得很好。 If he learned drawing, I believe he is bound to draw very well.
6	He distrusts his own judgement in such matters so much that he is always unwilling to give his opinion on any picture,
6t	他只不过是对自己的鉴赏力缺乏自信， 所以不太愿意对任何画作发表意见。 He only is to own taste lack self confidence, so not too willing on any drawings express opinions.
7	but he has an innate propriety and simplicity of taste, which in general direct him perfectly right."
7t	不过， 他有一种与生俱来的品味，能够果断地赏评。" But, he has a kind inherent taste, able to decisively evaluate.
8	"I hope, Marianne," continued Elinor, "you do not consider him as deficient in general taste.

8t	艾丽诺接着说:“玛丽安，我想你不会认为他连一般的鉴赏力都不具备吧? Elinor continue say : “Marianne, I think you not will consider him average taste yet not possess ba?
9	Indeed, I think I may say that you cannot, for your behaviour to him is perfectly cordial,
9t	你不会有那种想法的, 对吧? 因为你对他也很亲切, You not will have that kind thinking, correct ba? Because you to him as well very cordial,
10	And if *that* were your opinion, I am sure you could never be civil to him.”
10t	要是你真有那种想法的话, 肯定不会对他那么热情的!” if you really had that kind thinking, sure not will to him that enthusiastic!”
11	Marianne hardly knew what to say.
11t	玛丽安不知该说什么才好 Marianne not knows say what would be good
12	She would not wound the feelings of her sister on any account,
12t	她不想伤害姐姐, She not want hurt sister,
13	and yet to say what she did not believe was impossible. At length she replied:
13t	又不愿说些言不由衷的话, 只好说 and not willing say some words against belief, have to say
14	“Do not be offended, Elinor, if my praise of him is not in everything equal to your sense of his merits.
14t	“要是我的赞赏和姐姐所看到的优点不一致, 请你不要生气。 “If my praise to sister seen merit not match, please you not angry.
15	I have not had so many opportunities of estimating the minuter propensities of his mind, his inclinations and tastes as you have,
15t	因为我没有太多机会去了解和体会他的想法, 爱好和志趣等方面的细微倾向。
16	but I have the highest opinion in the world of his goodness and sense.
16t	但是, 我很欣赏他的善良和见识。 But, I very appreciate his kindness and insights.
17	I think him everything that is worthy and amiable.”
17t	我觉得他是很可敬可亲的。” I think he is very worthy and amiable.”

Excerpt 2

1	"Is anything the matter with her?" cried Mrs Dashwood as she entered. "Is she sick?"
1t	"马丽安是怎么了？身体不舒服吗？" 才一进屋，达什伍德太太就迫不及待地追问。 "Marianne is what up? Body not comfortable ma?" just once entered, Dashwood Mrs then hastily ask.
2	"I hope not," he replied, trying to look cheerful, and with a forced smile presently added,
2t	威洛比勉强挤出了一丝微笑："希望不是， Willoughby forced a faint smile, "hope not is,
3	"It is I who may rather expect to be ill – for I am now suffering under a very heavy disappointment!"
3t	感到不舒服的应该是我，因为我遇到一件 令人沮丧的事情。" Feel not comfortable should be me, because I meet a frustrating thing."
4	"Disappointment!"
4t	"令人沮丧的事情？" "Frustrating thing?"
5	"Yes, for I am unable to keep my engagement with you.
5t	"是的，本来答应和你们共进晚餐的，可是现在不行了。 "Yes, originally promised to you together having dinner, but now cannot.
6	Mrs Smith has this morning exercised the privilege of riches upon a poor dependent cousin by sending me on business to London.
6t	今天早上，史密斯太太派我到伦敦去办事。 Today morning, Smith Mrs dispatched me to London do things.
7	I have just received my dispatches, and taken my farewell of Allenham, and by way of exhilaration I am now come to take my farewell of you."
7t	我刚刚受命出差，就要离开艾伦汉了。现在来向各位辞行。 I just accepted order to be dispatched, going to leave Allenham. Now to everyone farewell.
8	"To London! And are you going this morning?"
8t	"去伦敦？非得今天 上午就出发吗？" "To London? Must this morning leave ma?"
9	"Almost this moment."

9t	“是的！” “Yes!”
10	“This is very unfortunate. But Mrs Smith must be obliged, and her business will not detain you from us long, I hope.”
10t	“真遗憾。不过史密斯太太的话你必须遵办。希望你去的时间不会太久。” “Really pity. But Smith Mrs’ words you must follow. Hope you gone time not will too long.”
11	He coloured as he replied, “You are very kind, but I have no idea of returning into Devonshire immediately.
11t	威洛比的脸涨得通红：“不过我没把握会很快回来。 Willoughby’s face flushed with bright red : “But I no confidence will very soon come back.
12	My visits to Mrs Smith are never repeated within the twelvemonth.”
12t	我很少在一年之内来拜访史密斯太太两次。” I seldom within one year come visit Smith Mrs twice.”
13	“And is Mrs Smith your only friend?
13t	“难道你在这里只有史密斯太太一个朋友吗？ “You here only have Smith Mrs one friend ma?
14	Is Allenham the only house in the neighbourhood to which you will be welcome?
14t	只有艾伦汉庄园欢迎你吗？ Only Allenham estate welcomes you ma?
15	For shame, Willoughby. Can you wait for an invitation here?”
15t	亲爱的威洛比！你也可以接受我们的邀请呀！” Dear Willoughby! You too can accept our invitation ya!”
16	His colour increased, and with his eyes fixed on the ground he only replied, “You are too good.”
16t	威洛比的脸更红了。他盯着地板，低声说道：“您真是太好了。” Willoughby’s face more red. He stares at the floor, low voice says : “you (V) really are too good.”
17	Mrs Dashwood looked at Elinor with surprise. Elinor felt equal amazement. For a few moments everyone was silent. Mrs Dashwood first spoke.

17t	达什伍德太太有些惊讶地看了艾丽诺一眼，艾丽诺也同样惊讶。沉默了一会儿，达什物德太太又开口。 Dashwood Mrs has some surprise looks at Elinor, Elinor too the same surprised. Silence for a while, Dashwood Mrs again open mouth
18	"I have only to add, my dear Willoughby, that at Barton cottage you will always be welcome,
18t	"亲爱的威洛比，我再说一遍，巴顿乡舍永远欢迎你。 "Dear Willoughby, I again say once, Barton estate for ever welcome you.
19	for I will not press you to return here immediately,
19t	我不勉强你立即回来， I not force you immediately come back,
20	because you only can judge how far that might be pleasing to Mrs Smith,
20t	因为只有你才能判断，这样做会不会让史密斯太太不高兴。" because only you can judge, this way do will not cause Smith Mrs unhappy."
21	And on this head I shall be no more disposed to question your judgement than to doubt your inclination."
21t	
22	"My engagement at present," replied Willoughby confusedly, "are of such a nature… that…I dare not flatter myself."
22t	威洛比有些慌乱地说："我要办的差事，是那种，那种…唉，我实在说不出口…" Willoughby has some panic says: "I will do business, is that kind, that kind…ahh (sigh), I really say cannot from mouth.
23	He stopped. Mrs Dashwood was too much astonished to speak, and anther pause succeeded. This was broken by Willoughby, who said with a faint smile,
23t	他没再继续说。达什物德太太十分惊讶，大家又静默半晌。威洛比打破了缄默，淡然一笑，说道： He not again continues to say. Dashwood Mrs very surprised. Everyone silent for a while. Willoughby break the silence, faint a smile, says
24	"It is folly to linger in this matter.
24t	"这样耗下去，真蠢。 "This way linger on, really stupid.
25	I will not torment myself any longer by remaining among friends whose society it is impossible for me now to enjoy."

25t	我就不再久留了。” I then no long stay.
26	He then hastily took leave of them all and left the room.

Excerpt 3

1	“For me!” cried Marianne, stepping hastily forwards.
1t	“是我的！”玛丽安抢上前去接过来。 “Is mine!” Marianne rushed forward to take it.
2	“No, ma’am, for my mistress.”
2t	“小姐，是给太太的。” “Ma’am, is for mistress.”
3	But Marianne, not convinced, took it instantly up.
3t	玛丽安不信，拿起信来看。 Marianne not convinced, picked up letter to read.
4	“It is indeed for Mrs Jennings – how provoking!”
4t	“是给珍宁斯太太的，真气人！” “Is for Mrs Jennings, really provoking!”
5	“You are expecting a letter then?” said Elinor, unable to be longer silent.
5t	“你在等信吗？”艾丽诺再也忍不住了。 “You are waiting letter ma?” Elinor not longer can be silent.
6	“Yes, a little – not much.”
6t	“是的！但也不完全是。” “Yes! But too not completely is.”
7	After a short pause, “You have no confidence in me, Marianne.”
7t	稍停片刻后，艾丽诺接着说：“你是不是有什么事瞒着我？” Pause a bit while after, Elinor followed saying “you yes or not have something not tell me?”
8	Nay, Elinor, this reproach from *you* – you who have confidence in no one!”
8t	“才不呢！你才有事瞒我呢！” “Actually no ne! You actually have something not tell me ne!”

9	"Me!" returned Elinor in some confusion. "Indeed, Marianne, I have nothing to tell."
9t	艾丽诺感到错愕, "玛丽安, 我有什么事瞒着你?" Elinor felt confused and wronged, "Marianne, I have what thing not tell you?"
10	"Nor I," answered Marianne with energy, "our situations then are alike. We have neither of us anything to tell – you because you do not communicate, and I because I conceal nothing."
10t	"我也没有。" 玛丽安口气坚决地说, "我们的情况一样! 没有什么好说的, 你是什么也不肯说, 我是什么也没隐瞒。" "I too not have." Marianne tone determined saying, "Our situation the same! Nothing good to say, you are nothing not would say, I am nothing not tell."

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Why Do Students Learn Interpreting at the Graduate Level?
– A survey on the Interpreting Learning Motives of Chinese Graduate Students in BFSU

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Motivation is identified as one of the most powerful influences on learning. However, in interpreter training, motivation has not been given due attention, especially in China when most interpreter training programs are newly-established and are still focusing on hard-skill acquisition. This paper reviews the existing researches on interpreting learner motivation and reports the initial results of a questionnaire survey conducted in 2012 among the students of the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University. Factor analysis on the survey data identifies 8 major interpreting learning motives of the students surveyed and shows that the dominant learning motivation at the graduate level is of instrumental and extrinsic nature. Comparative analysis of the two student groups also supports the SDT continuum of learning motivation.

Keywords: interpreting learning, motivation, postgraduates, continuum

1. Introduction

Motivation is identified as one of the most powerful influences on learning and has become a topic of great interest along with the development of psychology, especially educational psychology. It is closely related with the learner's learning behavior, performance and outcome. Indeed, it is the 2^{nd}

strongest predicting factor of learning outcome in the eyes of Skehan (1989) and was identified as one key factor of second language learning (Gardner & Lambert 1972; Gardner 1985; Wu et al. 1993). Extensive studies of motivation in psychology and education have all pointed to the necessity of understanding and leveraging it in learning to achieve good learning outcomes. In Second Language Acquisition, its importance and various strategies to promote it have been studied and explored. However, in interpreter training, motivation has not been given due attention, probably because of the wrong perception that trainees, especially at the graduate level, come to learn interpreting with adequate motivation. In China, with the rapid economic growth in the past decades, demand for English-Chinese interpreters has been ever increasing, leading to the establishment of interpreting training schools both at college and graduate levels one after another. However, without a clear understanding of the learning motivation of the trainees, curriculums developed would be ineffective in generating the expected or optimal learning outcome. This paper reviews the existing researches on interpreting learner motivation and reports the initial findings of a questionnaire survey conducted in 2012 among the students of the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University, the first and a leading interpreter training graduate school in China. The study aims to better understand the status quo of the interpreting learners in China and contribute to develop appropriate motivational strategies in a social constructivist learning framework to improve the learning/training outcomes.

2. Motivation and Interpreting Learning

In Psychology, motivation is a broad term referring to the drive that produces goal-directed behavior. It is concerned with the initiation, direction, intensity and persistence of behavior and therefore covers many different and overlapping factors such as curiosity and a desire to achieve. With the changing psychological approaches, the concept has undergone different interpretations and there are many theories of motivation developed through the years. For instance, Behavioral theories emphasize the drive and reinforcement aspect of motivation and define motivation as anticipation of reinforcement (Brown 1994). They study the specific conditions that give rise to a certain behavior and how its consequence affects future behavior. In other words, they "tend to consider motivation largely in terms of external forces" (Williams & Burden 2000:113) and human actions are "at the mercy of external forces such as rewards" (ibid: 119). Cognitive theories, in contrast, consider motivation as a function of an individual's thoughts rather than of some instinct, need, drive or state (Xu 2009). It is more about the informed choice of an individual and he/she enjoys control over the actions. In other words, cognitive theories focus on "individuals making decisions about their own actions" (Williams & Burden 2000:119). Along with these two major theories of motivation there exist a wide variety of motivational theories such as the Need Theories represented by Maslow's famous Hierarchy of Human Needs and Psychoanalytic theories represented by Freud. Every theory studies and enriches the concept of motivation from its own perspective and it is therefore difficult to find a widely-accepted definition for it.

Despite the diversified definitions of the term motivation, a simple dichotomy of intrinsic and extrinsic has been accepted by many cognitive psychologists when studying motivation. Csikszentmihalyi and Nakamura (1989) offer a very clear distinction between the two: if the reason for performing an act lies within the activity itself, it is an intrinsic motivation. Otherwise, it is extrinsic. When students are said to be intrinsically motivated, this means that they derive satisfaction from the task itself. Extrinsically motivated students, on the other hand, are motivated to perform the task because they anticipate some kind of reward (which may be immediate, e.g. a good exam mark, or longer term, e.g. job opportunities). Csikszentmihalyi and Nakamura also point out that even though intrinsic motivation is highly desirable, most of the activities in which teachers, students and other human beings engage are most directly influenced by extrinsic rather than intrinsic motivation. Alternatively, social psychologists also use the terms integrative and instrumental motivations. In language learning, Gardner (1985) gives the distinction that a student who is integratively motivated has a genuine interest in the language he/she wishes to master and in the foreign language community and culture while an instrumentally motivated student studies the foreign language for a practical reason such as finding a job.

Though originally conceptualized as a stable and static arousal of human actions, motivation has been increasingly studied through new perspectives. The current phase of motivation studies view motivation in a situated complexity of the whole process and is more interested in "its organic development in dynamic interaction with a multiplicity of internal, social and contextual factors" (Dörnyei 2012:301). One of the emerging theories of motivation is the self-determination theory (SDT), which is proposed by Deci and Ryan employing both traditional empirical and organismic metatheory to highlight the importance of human evolved inner resources for personality development and behavioral self-regulation. This theory differentiates types of motivation into autonomous motivation, controlled motivation and amotivation according to the degrees of which human behaviors are self-determined or volitional while also adopting the classical dichotomous categorization of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Most importantly, it views motivation as a continuum with amotivation and intrinsic motivation at the two ends and the extrinsic motivation cover the whole continuum varying in the extent to which their regulation is autonomous (Ryan & Deci 2000). Internalization of the extrinsic to the intrinsic motivation is categorized into 5 distinct regulations: *external regulation* (i.e., motivation coming entirely from external sources such as rewards or threats); *introjected regulation* (i.e., externally imposed rules that students accept as norms they should follow in order not to feel guilty); *identified regulation* (i.e., engaging in an activity because the individual highly values it and sees its usefulness); *integrated regulation* (i.e., involving choiceful behavior that is fully assimilated with the individual's other values, needs, and identity); and pure *intrinsic regulation* (for an overview, see Dörnyei 2012:74-75). This theoretical framework of motivation has been increasingly explored as it accommodates many complicated factors in the dynamic and organismic construct of motivation. For instance, Noels (2001) argues that applying this continuum can be helpful in organizing learning goals systematically and educating autonomous, self-regulated learners.

In the field of second language acquisition, motivation has been thoroughly researched. Many models have already been developed to relate attitude, motivation and personality traits such as extraversion and anxiety to language users' communicative competence and their language learning processes (for an overview, see Dörnyei 2005). Researchers agree that positive attitude, motivation and communicative competence contribute to the language learning process and are at the same time learning goals themselves. It has even been found that personality variables including motivation may account for up to 15% of the variance in individual difference in second-language learning achievement (Bontempo & Napier 2011).

In interpreter training, the importance of learner motivation is more highlighted as interpretation skill acquisition counts on the initiative taken by the individual learner to internalize the skills and achieve a certain level of automaticity when applying the skills. Motivation can be considered as a platform where external factors begin to exert influence and the internal factors demonstrate themselves. Lack of motivation means the learner does not actively engage in skill learning and will lead to poor learning outcome. In particular, in the current world of knowledge explosion and rapid changes that requires life-long learning, motivation may be the critical factor that determines the achievement of an interpreting learner and practitioner. Just as Bontempo and Napier (2009) reported, motivation is now of paramount importance in determining or jeopardizing a student's career. It has already been found that motivation as a general construct and in interaction with stress appears to play an important role in successful completion of training (Gringiani 1990) and is considered as an important trait in admission tests (Timarová & Ungoed-Thomas 2008).

However, the focus of interpreting training remains often on the various skills of interpreting instead of the human elements. Interpreter training was quite of a behaviorist approach and was explained as "the factory model affected by the design of curriculum, instruction, and assessment" (Bransford et al. 2000:132). This is not surprising, as "the traditional focus of interpreter training was always on the cognitive skills rather than on the soft skills such as motivation and other personality traits" (Shlesinger & Pöchhacker 2011: 2). Therefore despite its importance, motivation remains to be an untapped potential of sound interpreting training outcome and few interpreting schools have adopted well-targeted motivational strategies to facilitate interpreter training.

Since the early 2000s, researchers have taken up the issue of personality research in interpreting studies (Rosiers et al. 2011). Motivation as an important personal trait or a soft feature/skill begins to attract attention from interpreting researchers. Considering motivation as an aptitude and a predictor of student success in interpreting programs, some researchers proposed to test motivation at the admission tests of interpreter training programs (Szuki 1988; Dodds 1990; Sunnari 2002; Schweda Nicholson 2005; Timarová & Ungoed-Thomas 2008). Others believe motivation is a soft feature which affects interpretation learning outcomes and studied the relevance of motivation and academic achievement/interpreting performance (Arjona-Tseng 1994; Lopez Gomez et al. 2007; Timarová and Ungoed-Thomas 2008; Shaw et al. 2008). However, as it is a complicated psychological construct, motivation is rarely tested (Timarová & Ungoed-Thomas 2008) and systematic testing or research on motivation in interpreter training has not been in existence (Timarová & Salaets 2011). Only a few researchers have conducted empirical studies on motivation in interpreter training. Rosiers et al. (2011) studied 3 individual difference (ID) variables, i.e., language anxiety, motivation and self-perceived linguistic competence, and found that the ID variable "motivation" is not associated with the other two ID variables under examination. Shaw (2011) explored the motivation aspects of interpreting students and used standardized performance and motivation tests to study the differences between spoken and signed language interpreting students. However, these researches only study the motivational status and fail to yield pragmatic proposals of motivational strategies in interpreting training.

In China, the first interpreting training program was established in Beijing Foreign Studies University in 1978. It was a UN-designated interpreter training program and was reformed into a professional interpreter training program at the graduate level in the early 1990s, followed by the establishment of dozens of such programs in the past decade in various universities in China. As newly established, the programs are still exploring the pedagogical approaches and motivation of English-Chinese (E-C) interpreting learners, especially at the graduate level remains a virgin topic of research. An online query of published journal papers and degree theses/dissertations on interpreting learning and motivations in the cnki.net, the China Network of Journals showed that there are only 5 journal papers and 1 master degree thesis with all of the subjects of the researches being college undergraduates. For interpreter training at the graduate level, only Wang (2012) surveyed her 45 graduate students who studied E-C simultaneous interpreting (SI) and found that they were mainly motivated by the instrumental motivation of being a professional SI interpreter. Given the importance of motivation in learning and the fact that there are to date over 160 interpreter training programs at the graduate level established in China yet focusing only on hard-skill acquisition without adequate attention to the motivational aspect of training, it is necessary to further study the interpreting learning motivation and apply adequately targeted motivational strategies in the training.

This paper presents a survey study on interpreting learner motivation conducted in Sept. 2012 in the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University. It tries to answer the question "what motivates interpreting learners at the graduate level" in order to develop specific motivational strategies for professional interpreter training programs. Therefore, the term "motivation" in the following is used as a noun, defined as the drives of interpreting learning or the learning motives. Survey findings will be used as a baseline for proposing appropriate motivational strategies in interpreter training. It will also be followed by subsequent surveys to reveal the motivational developments of interpreting students at the graduate level so as to provide an empirical test of the SDT continuum of motivation.

3. Survey

Participants

All of the 225 students (both the 111 first-year and the 114 second-year of the program) of the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University agreed to participate in the study and responded to the survey. The overall gender profile of respondents was 82.7% female and 17.3% male. 74.7% of the respondents came to the graduate school (the interpreting learning program) right after they received their college degrees. Moreover, 85.8% of the respondents majored in foreign language (non-Chinese) study in their college years. Table 1 presents a detailed breakdown of the two student groups.

Table 1. Breakdown of the Student Groups

	No.	Gender				Major in foreign language(s)				Directly from BA to MA			
		M	%	F	%	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%
First-year graduates	111	17	15.3%	94	84.7%	96	86.5%	15	13.5%	80	72.1%	31	27.9%
Second-year graduates	114	22	19.3%	92	80.7%	97	85.1%	17	14.9%	88	77.2%	26	22.8%
Total	225	39	17.3%	186	82.7%	193	85.8%	32	14.2%	168	74.7%	57	25.3%

The Instrument

The survey instrument was a 2-page questionnaire of 32 items which are designed based on a national longitudinal study of English learning motivation of college students in China, which first used the bottom-up exploratory factor analysis on a nationwide survey and generalized 7 English learning motivations among Chinese college students (Gao et al. 2003).

Adapted from Gao et al.'s questionnaire, the items in the survey (except the first 3 items which ask about previous experience or exposure to interpreting) are all about the various interpreting learning motives. Some of them are also developed from the results observed and identified during previous open-ended interviews with graduate students asking them "Why do you choose to learn interpreting at the graduate level?" In general, graduate students come to learn interpreting out of various motivations. Some are intrinsic. For instance, they are quite interested in the multi-tasking and challenging work of interpreting and are very curious about the profession. They want to learn the interpreting skills in order to have fun from this exciting work. Mastering the interpretation skills can bring them intellectual satisfaction and the sense of achievement. Others are extrinsic as interpreting is often reported to generate high income and offer a lot of comfortable travelling chances (quite falsely after a careful analysis, though). As most people do not know much about professional interpreting, interpreters are regarded as mysterious and top-notch achievers of language learning and enjoy a lot of respect and admiration. It is fair to say every graduate student comes to interpretation training programs out of his/her own perception of the profession and mostly, a mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Therefore only by knowing the status quo of the learning motivation of the learners can we apply appropriate motivational strategies to promote the positive motivational internalization and achieve sound learning outcome. The items are all of 5-point Likert scale and each response option is assigned a number for scoring purposes, with "strongly agree" = 5, "strongly disagree"=1 and for the negatively worded items the scores are reversed before data analysis.

Procedure

The survey was conducted during the first week of the fall term, 2012 (the first term in the academic year 2012) among all students of the Graduate School. As students of the same year only gather together for the translation class every week (they have different class schedules of interpreting), the survey was separately conducted for the first year and the second year students during the break of the translation classes. Students remain anonymous during the study as to encourage true responses. All questionnaires returned are examined to be complete and valid. Analysis of the questionnaires used the simple descriptive statistics and exploratory factor analysis in SPSS 19 for initial findings of the major interpreting learning motives of the subjects.

Results

Factor analysis is conducted as the KMO measure is 0.812 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is significant ($p \leq 0.05$). 8 factors were generated by Varimax with 60.842% Cumulative Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings. Table 2 and Table 3 present the results of factor analysis on the data.

Table 2. Eigenvalue, Variance and Cumulative Variance of the Factors

Factors	Labels	Eigenvalue	Variance	Cumulative Variance
Factor 1	Communication Facilitation	3.307	11.404	11.404
Factor 2	Career Development	3.177	10.955	22.359
Factor 3	Intrinsic Interest	2.317	7.989	30.349
Factor 4	Social Prestige	2.137	7.368	37.716
Factor 5	Degree & Certificate	2.092	7.214	44.930
Factor 6	External Encouragement	1.721	5.935	50.865
Factor 7	Overseas Development	1.546	5.331	56.196
Factor 8	Foreign Language Study	1.347	4.646	60.842

Table 3. Survey Item Loading and Communality

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Communication Facilitation	Q20. I learn interpreting to facilitate better communication among people of different languages.	0.810	0.766
	Q21. I learn interpreting to promote China's development and foreign communication.	0.768	0.639
	Q23. I feel proud of facilitating communication.	0.681	0.610
	Q31. I learn interpreting to better know other fields.	0.578	0.571
	Q6. I learn interpreting because I enjoy communicating with others.	0.569	0.626
Career Development	Q29. Interpreting will be an important step in my career though I do not wish to be a professional interpreter.	0.765	0.670
	Q32. I learn interpreting to gain access to other fields to achieve my career goal.	0.673	0.656
	Q28. To be an interpreter is my ultimate career goal.	0.643	0.490
	Q27. Interpreting is a tool for me.	0.586	0.550
	Q5. I learn interpreting because the profession is promising.	0.564	0.719
Intrinsic Interest	Q4. I learn interpreting because I am interested in foreign language learning.	0.661	0.663
	Q18. I learn interpreting because I feel I have language talent and can do well in interpreting.	0.631	0.443
	Q7. I am especially fond of interpreting.	0.531	0.656

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Social Prestige	Q25. I learn interpreting because interpreting can bring me a decent life.	0.716	0.599
	Q8. I learn interpreting because I hear that interpreters are well-paid.	0.675	0.610
	Q26. I learn interpreting because interpreters often work with the outstanding people in the society.	0.566	0.692
	Q16. I learn interpreting because I want to gain access to the professional interpreters' community, which is quite prestigious.	0.563	0.600
Degree & Certificate	Q14. I learn interpreting to get the interpreter certificate.	0.779	0.702
	Q17. I learn interpreting to get a certificate to migrate to other countries.	0.707	0.626
	Q15. I learn interpreting to get the master degree.	0.688	0.593
External Encouragement	Q12. I learn interpreting because my parents and friends encourage me.	0.705	0.674
	Q10. I learn interpreting because my teacher encourages me.	0.687	0.542
	Q22. I learn interpreting to live up to the expectation of my parents, relatives, teachers and friends.	0.560	0.585
Overseas Development	Q13. I learn interpreting to gain opportunities to go overseas for more development.	0.701	0.671
Foreign Language Study	Q30. I learn interpreting because good interpreting equals good foreign language competence.	0.672	0.598
	Q19. I learn interpreting because I want to improve my English.	0.664	0.671

Survey answers of the first-year and the second-year graduate students are then separated for further factor analysis to see if there is any difference in motivation between the two groups. For the 1^{st} year graduate students, the KMO measure is 0.751 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is significant ($p \leq 0.05$). For the 2^{nd} year graduate students, the KMO measure is 0.713 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is also significant ($p \leq 0.05$). Table 4, 5, 6 and 7 show the factor analysis results of the two student groups respectively.

Table 4. Eigenvalue, Variance and Cumulative Variance of the Factors, 1^{st} Year

Factors	Labels	Eigenvalue	Variance	Cumulative Variance
Factor 1	Communication Facilitation	3.094	10.668	10.668
Factor 2	Interpreting Attraction	3.065	10.568	21.236
Factor 3	Degree & Certificate	2.647	9.128	30.363
Factor 4	Self Aspiration	2.424	8.358	38.721
Factor 5	External Encouragement	2.171	7.488	46.209
Factor 6	Exposure Access	2.105	7.257	53.466
Factor 7	Foreign Language Attraction	1.792	6.178	59.644
Factor 8	Language and Interpreting	1.676	5.778	65.422

Table 5. Survey Item Loading and Communality, 1^{st} Year Graduates

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Communication Facilitation	Q21. I learn interpreting to promote China's development and foreign communication.	0.798	0.685
	Q20. I learn interpreting to facilitate better communication among people of different languages.	0.783	0.737
	Q6. I learn interpreting because I enjoy communicating with others.	0.757	0.683

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
	Q23. I feel proud of facilitating communication.	0.654	0.632
Profession attraction	Q29. Interpreting will be an important step in my career though I do not wish to be a professional interpreter.	0.763	0.644
	Q5. I learn interpreting because the profession is promising.	0.633	0.771
	Q32. I learn interpreting to gain access to other fields to achieve my career goal.	0.598	0.613
	Q7. I am especially fond of interpreting.	0.574	0.733
	Q16. I learn interpreting because I want to gain access to the professional interpreters' community, which is quite prestigious.	0.562	0.570
	Q28. To be an interpreter is my ultimate career goal.	0.530	0.533
Degree & Certificate	Q17. I learn interpreting to get a certificate to migrate to other countries.	0.812	0.697
	Q14. I learn interpreting to get the interpreter certificate.	0.777	0.674
	Q15. I learn interpreting to get the master degree.	0.736	0.717
Self Aspiration	Q11. I learn interpreting as I have been inspired by the outstanding interpreters.	0.741	0.640
	Q27. Interpreting is a tool for me.	0.662	0.681
	Q9. I learn interpreting because I want to challenge myself.	0.628	0.655
External Encouragement	Q12. I learn interpreting because my parents and friends encourage me.	0.768	0.715
	Q22. I learn interpreting to live up to the expectation of my parents, relatives, teachers and friends.	0.699	0.687
	Q10. I learn interpreting because my teacher encourages me.	0.587	0.508

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Exposure Access	Q31. I learn interpreting to better know other fields.	0.746	0.711
	Q26. I learn interpreting because interpreters often work with the outstanding people in the society.	0.567	0.698
Foreign Language Attraction	Q4. I learn interpreting because I am interested in foreign language learning.	0.769	0.728
	Q19. I learn interpreting because I hear that interpreters are well-paid.	0.676	0.719
Language and Interpreting	Q18. I learn interpreting because I feel I have language talent and can do well in interpreting.	0.759	0.700

Table 6. Eigenvalue, Variance and Cumulative Variance of the Factors, 2nd Year

Factors	Labels	Eigenvalue	Variance	Cumulative Variance
Factor 1	Profession Attraction	3.865	13.328	13.328
Factor 2	Communication Facilitation	3.436	11.849	25.177
Factor 3	Social Prestige	2.234	7.702	32.879
Factor 4	Career Development	1.945	6.706	39.585
Factor 5	Overseas Development	1.806	6.227	45.813
Factor 6	Degree & Certificate	1.579	5.444	51.256
Factor 7	External Expectation	1.575	5.433	56.689
Factor 8	Foreign Language Study	1.528	5.268	61.957
Factor 9	Foreign Language and Interpreting	1.439	4.961	66.918

Table 7. Survey Item Loading and Communality, 2nd Year Graduates

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Profession Attraction	Q5. I learn interpreting because the profession is promising.	0.708	0.758
	Q24. I learn interpreting even though I have not planned to be an interpreter.	0.669	0.562
	Q7. I am especially fond of interpreting.	0.666	0.731
	Q4. I learn interpreting because I am interested in foreign language learning.	0.641	0.647
	Q11. I learn interpreting as I have been inspired by the outstanding interpreters.	0.627	0.561
	Q27. Interpreting is a tool for me.	0.537	0.540
	Q6. I learn interpreting because I enjoy communicating with others.	0.523	0.644
Communication Facilitation	Q20. I learn interpreting to facilitate better communication among people of different languages.	0.851	0.800
	Q21. I learn interpreting to promote China's development and foreign communication.	0.771	0.652
	Q23. I feel proud of facilitating communication.	0.688	0.640
	Q31. I learn interpreting to better know other fields.	0.546	0.506
Social Prestige	Q16. I learn interpreting because I want to gain access to the professional interpreters' community, which is quite prestigious.	0.733	0.709
	Q26. I learn interpreting because interpreters often work with the outstanding people in the society.	0.678	0.750
	Q25. I learn interpreting because interpreting can bring me a decent life.	0.641	0.578

Factor	Survey Item	Loading	Communality
Career Development	Q32. I learn interpreting to gain access to other fields to achieve my career goal.	0.809	0.789
	Q29. Interpreting will be an important step in my career though I do not wish to be a professional interpreter.	0.771	0.722
	Q28. To be an interpreter is my ultimate career goal.	0.591	0.714
Overseas Development	Q17. I learn interpreting to get a certificate to migrate to other countries.	0.805	0.722
	Q13. I learn interpreting to gain opportunities to go overseas for more development.	0.774	0.704
Degree & Certificate	Q15. I learn interpreting to get the master degree.	0.844	0.752
	Q14. I learn interpreting to get the interpreter certificate.	0.657	0.665
External Expectation	Q22. I learn interpreting to live up to the expectation of my parents, relatives, teachers and friends.	0.799	0.705
	Q8. I learn interpreting because I hear that interpreters are well-paid.	0.631	0.663
Foreign Language Study	Q19. I learn interpreting because I want to improve my English.	0.849	0.801
Foreign Language and Interpreting	Q30. I learn interpreting because good interpreting equals good foreign language competence.	0.850	0.807

Discussion

This exploratory and cross-sectional survey shows that interpreting learners of BFSU at the graduate level are initially motivated by a mixture of external and internal factors/drives: communication facilitation, career development, intrinsic interest, social prestige, degree & certificate, external encouragement, overseas development and foreign language study.

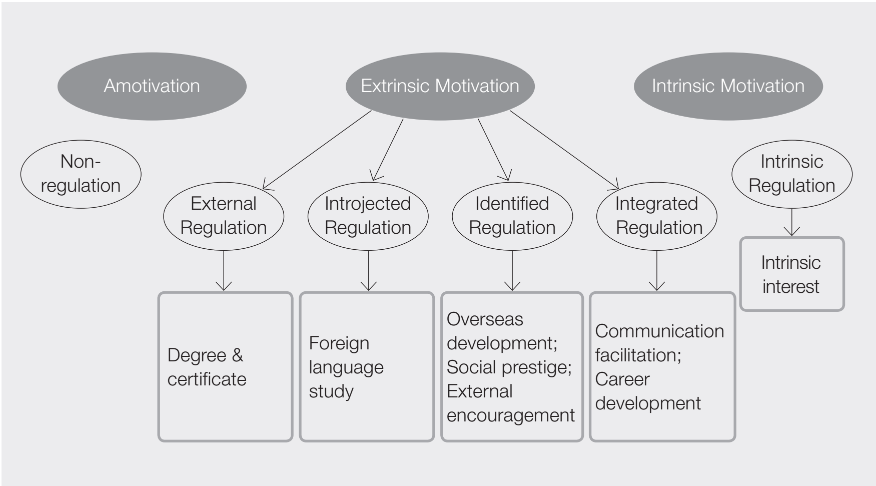
For the whole survey subjects (Table 3), Factor 1 contains 5 items related with the communication nature of interpreting and is named "communication facilitation". Factor 2 also includes 5 items which are related with career planning. It is named "career development". Factor 3 has 3 items about interest in foreign language and interpreting learning. Such interests are just personal preference and the factor is named "intrinsic interest". Factor 4 has 4 items related with the social status of the interpreting profession which is quite positively reported and perceived, and is therefore named "social prestige". Factor 5 consists of 3 items which are about professional certificates and academic degrees. Item 17 is about migrating to other countries. The underlying fact is that migration policies of countries such as Canada provide that professionals with a professional certificate shall enjoy preferential treatment. Still, the purpose to receive such certificates and degrees is to be a professional interpreter and thus, certificates and degrees are just instruments for that end. Factor 6 has 3 items about people other than the learner. Their support and encouragement also influence the learner and this factor is named "external encouragement". Factor 7 has only 1 item but with a fairly high loading value of 0.701. This is quite surprising to the researcher but may be explained as interpreting is regarded as a way towards overseas exposure and opportunity and thus an instrument for future development. So this factor is kept and named "overseas development". Factor 8 has 2 items about foreign language learning and is named "foreign language study". This factor is not combined with Factor 3 "Intrinsic Interest" as foreign language study and competence described here is more of an instrumental nature to facilitate future development instead of intrinsic interest in learning or being integrated into another culture.

Compared with the English learning motives found by Gao et al.(2003) among Chinese college students which are intrinsic interest, immediate development, learning situation, going abroad, social responsibility, individual development and information medium, the learning motives of these former English learners are similar in some aspects. Intrinsic interests, immediate development (good scores in exams of undergraduates and degree/certificates of graduates), overseas attractions and individual development (career development of the graduates) remain among the learning motives. Such similarity indicates that motivational strategies of foreign language learning and individual development can still be applied to the interpreting learners at the graduate level. For example, a sociocultural component should continue to be included in the syllabus to develop the students' cross-cultural awareness systematically; students are encouraged to set attainable subgoals to develop their self-confidence and decrease their learning anxiety.

However, a further analysis of the learning motives reveals that interpreting learners at the graduate level are more motivated by the interpreting profession and their own career development which are more of a longer term than the immediate and the individual development of the undergraduates. This is also supported by comparative researches of occupational value between graduate and undergraduate students in developmental and educational psychology (Yu et al. 2004; Yang 2006). Moreover, if we use Gardner and Lambert's classical model of motivation, we will find the motives identified from the survey are more dominated by the instrumental nature. Integrative motivations, on the other hand, are not of major importance any more. This finding is consistent with Wang's survey of her graduate students in interpreting in another training program. Therefore it is necessary to better leverage the profession and career development motives in designing and applying motivational strategies. It is suggested to make the syllabus of the interpreter training courses relevant with the interpreting profession, increase the attractiveness of the course content by using authentic interpreting materials and offer more professional exposure such as interpreting internship chances and mock-conference interpreting experience.

The 8 motivations of the interpreting learners at the graduate level can be further generalized conceptually. Using the SDT continuum, they can be grouped into intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Factor 3 "Intrinsic Interest" is the intrinsic motivation. All the remaining 7 factors are extrinsic ones which can be further sub-grouped into: external regulation: Factor 5 "Degree & Certificate"; *introjected regulation*: Factor 8 "Foreign Language Study"; *identified regulation*: Factor 7 "Overseas Development"; Factor 4 "Social Prestige" and Factor 6 "External Encouragement"; and *integrated regulation*: Factor 1 "Communication Facilitation" and Factor 2 "Career Development". Amotivation is not identified in the survey as a major factor. This can be explained as interpreting learners at the graduate level have all been motivated to learn interpreting, or they would not have been able to be enrolled after a very challenging process of admission and placement tests and interviews. Figure 1 illustrates the various motives identified in the survey with the SDT continuum developed by Ryan and Deci (2000).

Figure 1. Interpreting Learning Motives in the SDT continuum



A further analysis of the breakdown data reveals that there are similarities and differences of learning motivation between the first-year and the second-year postgraduates. Clearly, both of the learner groups have been motivated by Communication Facilitation (Factor 1 for the 1st year graduate students and Factor 2 for the 2nd year graduate students) and Degree & Certificate (Factor 3 for the 1st year graduate students and Factor 6 for the 2nd year graduate students). However, their rankings indicated by the Eigenvalues among the factors, are not the same, showing the importance attached by the students is different. Communication Facilitation is the No.1 interpreting learning motive for 1st year learners but for the 2nd year learners, it is only the second major motive. Instead, the 2nd year learners are most motivated by the Profession Attraction which is more interpreting profession-oriented. Degree & Certificate is the 3rd major motive for the 1st year learners but only the 6th major motive for the 2nd year learners. This may be explained by the fact that most of the 2nd year graduate students in the school have passed the national certificate exam of the interpreting profession and received the junior professional certificate in their previous year. And master degree is not difficult to get in the Chinese higher education system where the enrollment exam is much more challenging and the master graduation requirement is fairly easy to satisfy. Foreign language-related motives also exist in both of the student groups with fairly low ranking (Factor 7 & 8 for the 1st year graduate students and Factor 8 & 9 for the 2nd year graduate students). This is because the majority of interpreting learners used to be major in foreign language study in their college years and it is generally believed that interpreters are people with language talents and strong interest in foreign languages.

Differences in the remaining motives of the two learner groups also imply the necessity to adopt different motivational strategies. The 1st year graduate students are attracted by interpreting (Factor 2) but have not been clearly motivated by the interpreting profession like the 2nd year graduate students who have Profession Attraction as their first learning motive. The 1st year graduate students also come to learning interpreting as a way to explore their potentials (Factor 4 and 6) encouraged by people around them such as their parents and former teachers (Factor 5). But the 2nd year graduate students have already formed clear understanding of the interpreting profession and are motivated by profession and career related factors like Social Prestige (Factor 3), Career Development (Factor 4) and Overseas Development (Factor 5). Such profession or career orientation is remarkable as it dominates the first 5 factors of interpreting learning motivation among the 2nd year graduate students. In other words, the 2nd year graduate students are more profession and career-focused than the 1st year graduate students. This finding can be explained as the 2nd year graduate students are about to look for employment in the job market in a few months and they have gradually developed their professional self-identity during the previous year of interpreting learning. The motivational strategies for 2nd year graduates should therefore be more at the learner level, focusing on the students' self-identity and self-confidence rather than the language or the learning situation levels which focus on the learning experience.

The similarities and differences of the two interpreting learner groups also reveal that learning motivations do change along the learning process, which provides empirical evidence to the organismic SDT continuum. The two learner groups come from similar education background of foreign language study and come to learn interpreting directly after they receive their bachelor degrees (as shown in Table 1). They are different in whether they have received 1 year of interpreting learning at the graduate level. Besides a few stable motives, it is found that motives are different and developing. Most remarkably, they are developed to be more profession and career oriented as they approach graduation and job-hunting. This development also supports the internalization of extrinsic to intrinsic motivation in the SDT continuum, even though 1 year of learning is not long enough to completely demonstrate the continuum.

4. Conclusion

Motivation is an important factor in learning and interpreting training. The survey uses a bottom-up approach to investigate the structure of learning motivation of interpreting learners at the graduate level. It shows that there are 8 major types of interpreting learning motivation among the Chinese students surveyed: communication facilitation, career development, intrinsic interest, social prestige, degree & certificate, external encouragement, overseas development and foreign language study. Most of them are of instrumental nature and are extrinsic. The profession and career orientation is especially remarkable, suggesting that interpreting learners at the graduate level are more pragmatic. Motivational strategies that give them access to professional experience will be well received and generate positive learning outcome while the second language learning motivational strategies can be persisted especially for the 1st year graduate students. Analysis of the initial survey results also supports the SDT continuum framework of motivation and the interpreting learning motivational structure developed can be used as a baseline structure in further researches and experiments of the SDT framework.

Since the survey is conducted only in the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation, Beijing Foreign Studies University, a leading but one of the 160 interpreter training programs at the graduate level in China, the survey results are not nationally representative. Hence a more sophisticated survey of a larger scale is necessary to develop a general model of interpreting learning motivation in China. Moreover, cross cultural studies have shown that social and cultural contexts have profound influence on the structure of the learning motivation and there are differences between Chinese and non-Chinese students. It would be helpful to see the differences of the learning motivations between Chinese and non-Chinese interpreting learners at the graduate level and adopt different motivational strategies accordingly.

Motivation is a complicated construct and this survey is just an exploratory study to identify the major motives of interpreting learning at the graduate level. The proposed motivational strategies are therefore general, tentative and not empirically tested. More in-depth analysis of the survey data and experimental studies are expected to help us adopt more targeted motivational strategies in interpreter training.

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Practitioner's Notes

번역가의 글쓰기(Translation and Writing)

– Keynote speech at the 5th GSTI International Conference

정 호 영(**Hoyoung Chung**)
Ewha Womans University, Korea

이번 대회의 전체적인 흐름을 볼 때, 저는 아무래도 현장에서 번역을 하는 사람으로서 제 개인적인 경험을 드러내는 것이 보탬이 될 듯합니다. 저 자신을 학자로 생각해본 적이 없는 만큼 학술대회라는 것이 상당히 부담스럽지만, 그렇게 역할을 규정하고 나니 마음이 조금은 편해집니다. 실제로 이제부터 할 이야기는 번역은 이래야 한다는 어떤 당위를 주장하거나 논리를 내세우기보다는 제 경험이나 느낌을 묘사하는 쪽에 가까울 것입니다.

혹시 제 이야기가 번역자 다수를 대변하는 것으로 받아들이는 분이 계실까봐 미리 말씀드리지만, 저 자신은 제가 그런 쪽이라고 생각하지 않습니다. 그러나 더 중요한 것은 제가 다수에 속하느냐 소수에 속하느냐가 중요하지 않다는 점이겠지요. 번역이 다수결로 무엇을 결정하는 문제는 아닐 터이니 말입니다. 어쨌든 이제부터 할 이야기는 그저 현장에서 번역을 하는 한 사람으로서 저 자신을 들여다보는 이야기 정도로 들어주시면 고맙겠습니다.

이렇게 말하는 것은 겸손한 척하려고 해서가 아니라, 어떤 번역 방식을 하나의 당위로 제시하는 것이 큰 의미가 있겠느냐 하는 생각, 나아가서 그런 당위를 제시한다고 해서 뭐가 크게 달라지겠느냐 하는 생각이 있기 때문입니다. 좀 비관적으로 들렸는지 모르지만, 그런 것은 아닙니다. 제가 하고 싶은 이야기는 그것이 선택의 문제가 아닐 수도 있다는 겁니다. 우리는 이런 저런 번역 방식을 제시하면서 그 가운데 어떤 것을 선택할 수 있다고 생각하곤 하지요. 하지만 과연 그런지는 잘 모르겠습니다. 제가 보기에는 오

히려 어떤 번역자가 이런 저런 번역 방식을 의식적으로 선택을 한다기보다는, 그런 선택이 이미 번역자 안에 주어져 있는 것 같습니다. 극단적으로 말을 하면, 어떤 사람이 어떤 방식으로 번역을 할 것이냐 하는 것은 그가 선택을 하기 전에 이미 정해져 있는 것이고, 그 사람의 이야기는 이미 자기 안에 주어진 것을 정당화하는 말일 뿐이라는 것이죠. 왜 이렇게 말을 하느냐 하면, 번역하는 방식을 결정하는 것은 번역의 수준에서 이루어지지 않는다고 보기 때문입니다. 더 깊은 수준에서 이루어진다는 것이죠. 과대망상일지는 모르겠지만, 번역은 기본적으로 타자와 매우 긴밀하게 관계를 맺는 행위이며, 그렇기 때문에 번역에는 번역자가 한 인간으로서 타자와 관계를 맺는 일반적 방식이 반영되는 듯하다는 것입니다. 따라서 가령 번역을 하는 방식을 바꾸려 한다면, 또는 다른 번역 방식을 선택하려 한다면, 단지 번역 차원이 아닌 상당히 깊은 수준에서 뭔가가 바뀌어야 하는 것이겠죠.

'나'의 글쓰기

마음의 부담을 덜어보려고 장황하게 전제를 깔았지만, 부담이 덜어지는 느낌은 잠시일 뿐 실제로 번역과 글쓰기를 어떻게 연결시킬 것이냐 하는 문제를 앞에 놓고 생각할 때 머릿속에 떠오르는 것이 없습니다. 그도 그럴 만한 것이 "내가 번역을 하면서 그것을 글쓰기라고 생각했느냐?"라고 자문한다면, "그렇다"라고 대답하기가 쉽지 않기 때문입니다. 실제로 아주 오래 전 일입니다만, 어떤 번역가가 사석에서 자신은 번역을 글쓰기의 한 방식으로 생각한다는 취지의 말을 한 적이 있습니다. 저는 그 분의 확고한 태도에 감명을 받고 또 그 태도를 존중하기는 했지만, 저 또한 그렇다고 말할 수는 없었습니다. 직관적으로 나와는 다른 것 같다는 느낌이 들었기 때문인 것 같습니다. 그럼에도 그 말은 그 뒤로 지금까지 쭉 제 머릿속의 한 자리를 차지하고 있는 말이 되었습니다. 아마 저도 그 분과 같은 생각이었다면 오히려 금세 잊어버렸을 것입니다. 달랐기 때문에 저 자신이 번역하는 방식을 늘 의식하게 하는 일종의 거울 역할을 하지 않았나 하는 생각이 듭니다. 물론 단지 다르다는 이유만으로 그 말이 이렇게 오래 남아 있지 않을 것입니다. 그 말에는 쉽게 잊어버릴 수 없는 매혹이 있었던 것이 틀림없습니다. 따라서 나와 다르기는 하지만, 나도 그런 쪽을 지향해야 하는 것은 아닐까, 그런 의미에서 어떤 선망

같은 것을 가지고 있는 것은 아닐까 하고 늘 자문해온 것이라고 말할 수도 있습니다.

물론 저는 지금 여기서 글쓰기라는 말의 의미를 한정해서 이야기하고 있습니다. 번역도 어차피 글로 쓰는 것이니까 넓은 의미에서 일종의 글쓰기라고 한다면 누가 아니라고 하겠습니까. 하지만 그렇게 말하면 아주 많은 이야기를 하는 것 같으면서도 사실은 아무 이야기도 하지 않는 셈이 될 수도 있겠지요. 저한테 그 말을 하신 분은 아마 번역이 '나'의 글쓰기의 한 방식이라는 의미로 그런 말을 했을 것입니다. 물론 이제 와서 그 분이 어떤 의도로 말했느냐 하는 것은 별로 중요하지 않겠지요. 지금 제가 말씀드리는 것은 제 머릿속에 자리 잡고 있는 하나의 명제이니까요. 어쨌든 저는 그 분이 번역을 자기 자신을 표현하는 글쓰기의 일환으로 생각한다고 받아들였고, 그래서 그것을 '나'의 글쓰기라고 표현한 것입니다. 그리고 저 자신은 번역이 '나'의 글쓰기라는 쪽으로는 생각이 가지 않았다고 말씀드린 것입니다. 아주 단순하게 생각해 보면, 제 경우에는 별 것 아니지만 '나'의 글을 쓸 때, 예컨대 지금 말씀드리고 있는 이런 글을 쓸 때, 심지어 역자 후기를 쓸 때도 번역을 할 때와는 태도가 완전히 달라졌기 때문입니다. 저에게는 그 두 가지가 통일되기 힘든, 분리된 두 영역이었습니다. 그런데 그 분은 그것이 통일된 것처럼 말씀을 하신 거죠. 비유적으로 말한다면, 저라는 피아니스트는 다른 사람이 작곡한 작품의 악보를 간신히 피아노 소리로 바꾸어내는 수준에 머물러 있는데, 어떤 피아니스트는 똑같이 다른 사람이 작곡한 작품을 연주하면서도 자신의 연주는 작곡의 한 방식이라고 말하는 것, 또는 그렇게까지는 아니더라도 악보는 재료에 지나지 않는다고 말하는 것을 듣는 느낌이었습니다. 또 다른 식으로 표현하면, '나'의 글쓰기란 작가적인 태도를 드러내는 말인데, 제가 보기에 번역자는 굳이 말하자면 작가보다는 배우에 가까운 존재가 아닌가 하는 생각이 들었던 것입니다.

번역 같지 않은 번역

사실 번역은 '나'의 글쓰기라는 명제는 그것이 제시하는 통일성만으로도 번역자들에게 큰 매혹으로 다가올 수 있습니다. 번역을 하는 사람들은 그 작업의 특성상 분열적 상태에 놓이기 십상이기 때문입니다. 예컨대 번역다운 번역이란 무엇일까요? 우리말에서 '~답다'는 말을 붙이면 대체로 그 정체성의 핵심을 가리키게 됩니다. 가령 공자의 말

‘君君臣臣父父子子’를 우리는 ‘임금이 임금답고, 신하가 신하다우며, 아버지가 아버지답고, 자식이 자식답다’고 번역합니다. 하지만 번역이 번역다워야 한다고 하면 우리는 무슨 생각을 하게 됩니까? 번역이든 아니든 어떤 글을 두고 “번역 같다”고 하면 대개 비난하는 말이 됩니다. 심지어 ‘번역투’라는 말도 사용하지요. 반대로 번역을 두고 “번역 같지 않다”고 말하면 그것은 대개 칭찬으로 여깁니다. 이렇게 되면 번역다운 번역은 번역 같지 않은 번역이 되는 건가요? 뭔가 모순이 있다는 느낌이 들지 않습니까? 번역을 하면서 번역 같지 않게 하려고 노력을 해야 하는 것이니까요. 이것은 실로 번역자의 정체성에 분열을 일으킬 만한 모순이라는 생각이 들기도 합니다. 이때 번역이 ‘나’의 글쓰기의 한 방식이라고 생각하면, 그런 모순에 빠져 허우적대지 않을 가능성이 보입니다. 번역은 ‘나’의 우리말 글쓰기이므로, 번역 같지 않은 번역을 하려고 노력하는 것이 아니라 처음부터 우리말로 이루어진 나의 글을 쓰는 것일 뿐이라고 생각할 수 있기 때문입니다. 물론 모순을 해결한다기보다는 처음부터 모순이 있다는 사실을 인정하지 않는 쪽에 가깝지만, 번역을 ‘나’의 글쓰기 안에 통합함으로써 모순이 발생할 소지를 남기지 않으니 매혹적이지 않을 수가 없습니다.

그러나 매혹이 강한 만큼 반발도 생기는 것이 인지상정이지요. 능력 부족 때문이든 기질 차이 때문이든 그런 해법으로 분열적 상황이 해소되지 않는 사람에게는 더욱 그럴 것입니다. 제가 아마 그런 경우였는지 몰라도 저는 조금 다른 각도에서 생각을 해 보게 되었습니다. 아니, 완전히 반대로 생각하는 것도 가능하지 않겠냐는 의문을 품게 되었습니다. 즉 번역은 ‘번역 같은’ 것이 정상 아니냐, 따라서 진정으로 ‘번역 같은’ 번역을 하는 데서 의미를 찾을 수도 있는 것 아니냐 하는 생각을 해보게 된 것입니다. 어차피 독자도 번역이라는 것을 알고 읽는데, 지금 읽고 있는 것이 번역이 아니라는 가상의 느낌을 만들어내는 데 주력할 것이 아니라, 번역이라는 전제 위에서 번역 자체의 의의—그것이 뭔지는 잘 모르겠지만—를 구현하는 방향으로 가는 것은 어떠냐 하는 것입니다.

이런 생각을 하게 된 데에는 또 번역의 분열적 상황을 아예 무시하게 되면, 번역의 결과물이 지나치게 규격화, 보수화될 수 있다는 우려도 있었던 것 같습니다. 번역 같지 않는 번역이 찬사를 받아 번역이 아니라는 가상의 느낌을 만드는 데 주력하게 되면, 번역은 ‘번역 냄새가 나지 않는, 매끄럽게 잘 읽히는 가독성 높은’ 글로 규격화되고 표준화되어 갈 가능성이 있습니다. 처음부터 우리말로 쓴 글에는 제1 요구 조건이 되기 힘

든 '가독성'이 번역의 결과물에는 제1 요구 조건처럼 등장한다는 것 자체가 그런 위험의 신호일 수도 있지요. 그런 조건을 충족시키기 위해 어떤 규격에 미달할 경우, 또는 어떤 틀을 비집고 나오려 할 경우에는 이른바 '윤문'(潤文)을 거쳐 규격품으로 만들어 놓기도 합니다. 이런 상황에서 A라는 번역자가 번역한 것과 B라는 번역자가 번역한 것은 무엇이 다를까요? A와 B의 차이가 있다면 규격에 얼마나 접근했느냐의 차이일 뿐이고, 그 차이는 또 그 방면의 전문가가 얼마든지 메울 수 있는 상황인데 말입니다.

번역은 번역이라는 동어반복

상당히 다른 경우이기는 하지만 어떤 면에서는 비슷한 모순에 빠질 수 있는 그림의 예를 참조해 볼 수도 있을 것 같습니다. 아마 그림이 눈에 보이는 풍경이나 정물을 똑같이 모사하는 것 자체를 중시하던 시절도 있었습니다. 이때에는 그림을 두고 "진짜 같다", 즉 "그린 것 같지 않다"고 말하는 것이 큰 찬사였겠지요. 따라서 화가는 '그린 것 같지 않은' 그림을 그리려고 노력했을 것입니다. 이런 식으로 그림을 그리려는 노력을 극한까지 밀어붙이다 보면 혹시 눈에 보이는 것을 넘어서 버리는 그림도 나오지 않았을까요? 예를 들어 '진짜보다 더 진짜 같은' 그림도 나오지 않았을까요? 이런 역전이 벌어지면서 이번에는 눈에 보이는 것을 두고 "그림 같다"는 말도 하게 되었을지 모릅니다. 물론 이런 그림에서 한 걸음만 나아가면 이발소에 걸린 풍경화, 즉 어떤 규격에 맞추어 찍어낸 듯한 그림이 나왔겠지만요.

이런 상황을 생각하면서 지금은 번역을 두고 "번역 같지 않다"고 말하는 것이 칭찬이지만, 나중에는 번역이 아닌 글을 놓고 "번역 같다"고 말해주는 것이 칭찬으로 들릴 때가 올지도 모른다고 말하면 너무 황당할까요? 황당하기는 해도 한번 상상해 보는 것은 가능할 듯합니다. 앞서도 말했듯이 번역된 글은 일반적으로 그렇지 않은 글과는 달리 읽는 데 걸리지 않도록 매끄럽게 다듬어 놓는 데 주력하게 됩니다. 게다가 번역물의 경우에는 상대적으로 편집자가 손을 댈 여지가 많으니 그만큼 기존의 통념이 영향력을 발휘할 여지도 넓어집니다. 따라서 번역의 경우에는 매끄럽고 반질반질하여 가독성이 좋은 글, 나아가서는 이발소에 걸린 그림처럼 규격화된 글이 위세를 떨치게 될 수 있습니다. 반면 창작물의 경우에는 기존 언어의 구속을 뚫고 나가려는 진지한 시도가 이루어

질 경우, 가독성만 놓고 보았을 때는 외려 번역물보다 못할 수도 있습니다. 그럴 경우 번역에서 위세를 떨치는 잘 읽히는 보수적인 언어가 이상적인 언어로 여겨지는 사태가 벌어질 수도 있지 않을까요? 그래서 의외로 잘 읽히는 창작소설을 두고 번역 같은 소설이 나왔다고 말하는 일이 생기지 않을까요? 마치 어떤 풍경을 놓고 "그림 같다"고 말하듯이.

아마 그림이 자기 자리를 찾는 일은 "그림 같지 않다"는 찬사를 찬사로 인정하지 않으려는 노력에서부터 시작되었을지도 모릅니다. 그런 생각을 한 화가들은 그림과 눈에 보이는 것을 동일시하려는 시도를 허망한 짓이라고 여기고, 그림은 설사 눈에 보이는 것을 그렸다 해도 어디까지나 그림일 뿐 눈에 보이는 것을 대체할 수도 없고 눈에 보이는 것이 그림을 대체할 수도 없다고 생각했을 것입니다. 이렇게 그림은 그림일 뿐이라는 생각을 하게 되면서 오히려 눈에 보이는 것 너머로 파고드는 길도 열렸을지 모릅니다. 이와 비슷하게 번역다운 번역도 번역은 번역일 뿐 번역이 아닌 것이 될 수는 없다는 생각에서 출발할 수 있을지도 모릅니다. 어떤 모순된 상황에서는 "君君臣臣父父子子" 처럼 동어반복 자체가 의미를 가질 수도 있기 때문입니다.

원문에 '관한' 글

물론 이렇게 말하는 것은 설득력이 떨어지는 설익은 번역을 합리화하기 위한 강변이 될 위험이 있습니다. 그래서 저는 실제로 그런 면이 없는지 늘 경계해야 한다고 생각해 왔습니다. 그러나 다른 한편으로는 아주 매끄럽게 보이는 번역이 오히려 설익은 번역이 될 수도 있다는 생각도 들었습니다. 이것도 또 오래 전에 들은 이야기지만, 어떤 번역가가 자신은 문단 단위로 번역을 한다고 말한 적이 있습니다. 한 문단을 쭉 읽고 그 다음에 원문을 보지 않고 번역을 한다는 이야기지요. 물론 문단을 암기한 다음 안 보고 한다는 뜻은 아니었을 것입니다. 단어 대 단어 번역에 얽매이지 않고, 피상적인 것보다 이면에 있는 더 깊은 것을 포착하려 한다는 의미였을 것입니다. 어쨌거나 저처럼 단어 하나를 가지고 쩔쩔 매는 사람에게는 가히 입신(入神)의 경지로 느껴질 수밖에 없었습니다.

이런 번역 방식에서 대단히 매끄럽고 강력한 우리말 결과물이 나올 것이라는 사실은 충분히 짐작할 수 있겠지요. 그러나 이것이 우리말로 잘 읽힐지언정 완전히 익은 번역

이냐, 완결된 번역이냐 하는 점에 관해서는 의문을 품을 여지가 있는 듯했습니다. 번역을 보는 관점에 따라 다르겠지만, 어떤 사람들은 그것이 해당 원문에 '관한' '나'의 글이지 번역은 아니라고 반박을 할 수도 있다는 것이죠. 이런 관점에서 보자면, 요약이나 설명이나 풀어쓰기가 번역을 대체할 수는 없는 것이겠지요. 아마 그런 것들은 원문을 이해하고 해석하는 단계에서 이루어지는 연습 행위일 뿐이고, 완성된 번역은 그 다음 단계로 밀고 올라가려는 노력의 산물이라고 말할 듯합니다. 따라서 보기에는 매끄럽고 이해도 쉬운 번역이 오히려 설익은 번역이 될 수도 있는 것이겠지요.

'너'의 글쓰기

지금까지 말씀드린 것들이 오래 전에 들었던 '나'의 글쓰기와 관련하여 그 동안 제 머릿속을 떠돌던 생각들입니다. 생각이란 것이 늘 자기 관성에 따라 흘러가기 마련이어서 말하기가 조심스럽기는 합니다. 번역을 하는 실감에서 벗어나지 않는 이야기를 하려고 애를 쓰지만, 사실 생각과 실감은 서로 앞서거니 뒤서거니 하는 면도 있는 것이니까요. 물론 '나'의 글쓰기와는 반대편에 서 있는 이야기를 들은 적도 있습니다. 제가 직접 들은 이야기는 아니지만, 어떤 번역가는 번역을 할 때 저자가 자신에게 빙의(憑依)하는 느낌이 든다는 말을 했다고 합니다. 조금 전에 입신의 경지라는 말을 이미 썼기 때문에 여기에 쓸 말을 찾아내기가 힘듭니다만, 어쨌든 부럽기 짝이 없는 경지인 것은 틀림없습니다. 이런 번역이라면 번역자가 저자로 변신하여 글을 쓰는 것이므로, 다시 말해서 내가 매체가 되어 너의 글을 대신 써 주는 것이므로, '너'의 글쓰기라고 불러도 무리가 없을 듯합니다.

'빙의'라는 독특한 표현이 나와서 그렇지, 사실 이런 '너'의 글쓰기라는 입장도 드문 것은 아닙니다. 예를 들어 저자가 우리말로 쓴다면 어떻게 쓸 것인가를 생각하며 번역하라는 말도 비슷한 이야기가 아닐까요? 또 번역자가 투명한 유리가 되어 저자를 있는 그대로 보여주어야 한다는 이야기도 비슷한 흐름에 속할 것입니다. 사실 저 자신도 물론 빙의까지 생각해 본 적은 없습니다만, 오랫동안 이런 것이 번역의 이상이 아닌가 하는 생각을 해왔습니다. 그리고 이런 지향이 소중하다는 생각에는 지금도 변함이 없습니다. 그냥 상대적인 관점에서 이야기하자면 이쪽이 제 번역 기질에 더 맞는다는 느낌이

지요. 그리고 앞서도 말씀드렸듯이 번역을 하는 사람은 일단 자신에게 주어진 번역 기질에서 출발할 수밖에 없는 것이고요.

하지만 예컨대 번역자가 투명한 유리가 되어야 한다는 이야기를 어떤 이상으로 삼을 수는 있겠지만, 그것은 현실에서는 실현 불가능한 이상이 되기 십상입니다. 오히려 이 이상이 실현되었다고 느껴지면 걱정을 해야 할지도 모릅니다. 특별한 경지에 이른 분들이 아니라면, 저자와 자신을 무조건적으로, 직접적으로 동일시하는 환상에 빠진 것인지도 모르니까요. 그렇다고 이 이상이 실현 불가능하다는 사실을 늘 자각하는 것도 쉬운 일은 아닐 것입니다. 무슨 원죄라도 지닌 것처럼, 자신이 투명한 유리가 아니라 왜곡되고 때가 낀 유리라는 사실을 평생 속죄하며 사는 일이 생길지도 모르니까요. 이 또한 분열적인 상황인 셈인데, 이것은 그냥 안고 가기가 괴로워서라도 생각을 달리 해 보아야 하겠다는 생각이 들었습니다.

만일 번역하는 인간이 투명한 유리가 된다는 것이 애초에 가능하지 않은 일, 따라서 그렇게 될 수 있다는 것이 정말 환상에 불과하다면 어떨까요? 언어라는 것이 애초에 투명한 유리가 아니라, 혼자 서 있으면서 동시에 뭔가를 희미하게 비추는 흐린 거울 같은 것이라면? 사실 같은 원문이라도 번역하는 사람에 따라 다르게 나오는 것은 당연한 일 아닌가요? 번역은 사람이 하는 일이기 때문이겠죠. 왜곡과 때처럼 보이는 것은 흠이 아니라 원래 그렇게 생겨먹은 모습, 즉 모양과 색깔이 서로 다른 것일 뿐 엄연히 정상적인 상태라고 생각할 수도 있다는 것입니다. 그렇다면 반성하고 속죄할 것이 아니라, 그 다양성을 즐기고 누릴 수도 있지 않겠느냐 하는 것입니다.

관계를 구축하는 글쓰기

이렇게 되니 저는 '나'의 글쓰기와 '너'의 글쓰기를 모두 피하려고 하는 어정쩡한 입장이 되고 말았습니다. 그러나 제가 오늘 이야기에서 계속 되풀이하듯이 그런 어정쩡한 상태가 번역하는 사람의 정상적인 상태라고 생각해 볼 수도 있는 것 아닐까요? 다만, 그렇게 둘 다 피한다는 식으로 소극적으로 표현하기보다는 '나'와 '너'의 관계를 설정해 나가려 한다고 적극적으로 표현해보고 싶은 마음은 있습니다. 번역이 글쓰기라고 한다면, 그 글쓰기는 그런 관계를 구축해 나가는 행위 자체 또는 그 과정을 가리킨다고 말할

수 있지 않겠느냐 하는 것입니다.

이 또한 '빙의'의 환상을 다른 환상으로 대체하는 것이라고 손가락질을 받을지 모르지만—사실 저는 '빙의'라는 말씀을 하신 분도 자신의 어떤 실감을 표현하기 위해 그런 말을 빌려왔다고 생각하는 쪽입니다.—실제로 번역을 하는 것이 저자와 저 사이에서 어떤 관계를 구축해 나가는 과정이라는 느낌을 받을 때가 있습니다. 하지만 저는 기질적으로 제 언어로 저자를 굴복시킨다는 생각을 잘 못하지요. 사실 그런 능력도 없고요. 그렇다고 반대로 저자에게 굴복당할 생각도 전혀 없습니다. 차라리 안 하면 안 했지 그런 식의 일방적 통일은 별로 원치 않는 것입니다. 그런 무조건적 합일이 아니라, 둘 사이에는 흔히 말하듯이 별과 별 사이처럼 서로 너무 멀어져서 헤어지지도 않고 너무 가까워져서 합쳐지지도 않는 어떤 이상적인 거리, 그런 팽팽한 긴장과 균형이 있을 수 있다고 믿습니다. 착각일지도 모르지만, 다른 분들의 좋은 번역에서도 그런 긴장과 균형이 느껴지는 것 같습니다. 그래서 저도 그 긴장된 거리를 어떻게든 확보하려고 텍스트를 헤집고 다니는 것이지요. 그 결과로 탄생한 번역의 언어는 이상적일 경우, '너'의 글쓰기도 아니고 '나'의 글쓰기도 아닌, 저자의 언어도 아니고 저의 언어도 아닌, 또 어떤 면에서는 외국어도 아니고 한국어도 아닌, 그 긴장 관계 속에서 잉태된 제3의 언어가 아닐까 하는 생각이 들기도 합니다.

PhD Thesis Abstract

A Study on English-Korean Translation of Tabooed Slang and Vulgarism: Focusing on Shifts in Lexical Formality

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1. Background and Objectives

This PhD research compares and analyzes the transition of tabooed slang and vulgar expressions in translated novels and DVD subtitles in terms of shifts in lexical formality, aiming at identifying both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that affect such formality shifts. Tabooed slang and vulgarism, which are the focus of this study, are defined as "slang and vulgar expressions universally regarded as taboo". The reason this study pays attention to formality shifts in these terms lies in the recognition that there is a close relation between formality and the emotional tone of words or expressions (Newmark 1988, 13; 김동언 2009, 9-10). This means that formality shifts are more likely to lead to failures in preserving the emotional intensity of the source text in translation.

Tabooed slang and vulgarism arouse unpleasant feelings in the hearer (Jay 1992; Dewaele 2004; Janschewitz 2008; Jay & Janschewitz 2008), and they tend to lower the formality levels of speech. Such languages function as literary devices that highlight characters in novels and movies or in certain genres, make up the author's writing style. Tabooed slang and vulgar words also carry the meta-linguistic function of conveying the author's intended message. Therefore, in order to achieve the intended stylistic effect and pragmatic function, the emotional force that these words contain should be reproduced as closely as possible to the original in translation.

However, such terms are likely to pose challenges in translating because of inherent features that make them hard to translate. These features include: perceptional differences in the emotional force of tabooed words between the 'L1' (mother tongue) and 'L2' (later acquired language) (Jay 1992; Harris, Aycicegi & Gleason 2003; Dewaele 2004; Janschewitz 2008; Jay & Janschewitz 2008); differences in reception between cultures and languages; and differences in lexical segmentation, which varies from language to language and from culture to culture due to differences in the emphasis placed on concepts and values in a given language or culture. Because of these inherent characteristics, translators tend to face difficulty in meeting the expected standards of readers in the target culture. Accordingly, translators often have to choose between whether to be faithful to the original and its author, or whether to preserve as closely as possible the emotional intensity of the original in the translated text, which in turn would make the reader (or the audience) unpleasant.

This PhD research pursues the following objectives: 1) Drawing on empirical data, this study seeks to examine problems that may occur when tabooed words are toned down in emotional force or omitted regardless of their textural functions; 2) Based on the analytical outcomes of empirical data, this research will suggest a desirable way of translating tabooed slang and vulgar expressions; 3) In addition, this research also aims to identify factors that affect translators' choices in translating such words.

2. Research Questions and Methods

This PhD research sought to answer the following four research questions: 1) Do shifts in lexical formality occur between original novels and subtitles, and their translated counterparts?; 2) Are there any differences in formality shifts between translated novels and subtitles?; 3) What impact does the discordance of lexical formality between the ST and the TT have on the text?; 4) What extra-linguistic factors affect formality shifts in the translation of novels and subtitles?

Through the analysis of extracts from novels and DVD films comprising the corpus used in this research, this dissertation examines translations of tabooed slang and vulgarisms in terms of formality shifts in translated novels and film subtitles; differences in formality shifts between novel and film translations; and the impact of discrepancy in the formality levels between ST and TT on the text as a whole or on its immediate context. In order to analyze formality shifts, a model[1] composed of five scales of lexical formality in both English and Korean was formulated. By applying the lexical formality scales to these collected language pairs, three types of formality shifts were identified: "elevated," "preserved," and "lowered."

Following the text analysis, a survey was conducted in order to identify extra-linguistic factors affecting formality shifts in novel translation and subtitles. Thirty professional translators–experienced novel translators and film subtitle translators–were asked to answer a questionnaire consisting of 27 questions.

3. Research Findings

3.1. Lexical Formality Comparison

An analysis of 707 ST/TT pairs from thirty copies of novels showed that the predominant pattern in translating tabooed slang and vulgar expression was the 'preserved' type, where tabooed slang and vulgar words are translated into words with the same level of lexical formality in the target language, thus preserving the emotional force contained in the original expressions. On the other hand, an analysis of the 1,547 ST/TT pairs form thirty copies of DVD subtitles showed that the most frequently occurring pattern of formality shift was the "elevated" type, where the expressions in the original are replaced with toned-down words of higher formality in the translation.

This research examined formality shifts in terms of the type of tabooed slang and vulgar expression. The results indicate that in both novels and film subtitles, words associated with sex showed the highest ratio of the "elevated" formality shift, followed by expressions related to body parts and excretion, while swear words showed the lowest ratio of formality shift in both types of translation.

Inherently offensive, tabooed slang and vulgar expressions are characterized by the triggering of self-censorship in the speaker (Allan & Burridge 2007,

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[1] The model is formulated based on suggestions by Newmark (1988), 클레어(1995), 김동언(2009), and 김태엽(2007). The model is composed of five levels of formality: formal, general use, euphemism, slang, and taboo words or expressions (the degree of formality lowers as each word goes to the right.).

24). Hence, when examining the translational features of these expressions in view of formality shifts, this study considers genre and the translator's gender as factors that could result in self-censorship in the translation of subtitles and novels, respectively. It was found that female translators showed a greater tendency, compared to their male counterparts, to match the degree of lexical formality of the original in their novel translations, thus preserving similar emotional force.

In subtitling, translation tendencies varied depending on the film genre. Drama was the genre that showed the most distinctive tendency to translate violent and obnoxious expressions into those with less emotional force and higher lexical formality, or the "elevated" type of formality shift, followed by comedy, and violence and crime. On the other hand, the highest ratio of the "preserved" type, designed to reproduce similar stylistic and pragmatic effects in the TT, was found in violence and crime, followed by comedy and drama, which is the exact reverse order to the "elevated" type.

Next, differences in formality shifts between translated novels and subtitles were examined. The results showed that the "preserved" type was found to be the predominant pattern of formality shift in translated novels, whereas the "elevated" type, in which tabooed slang and vulgar words are replaced with expressions of a higher level of formality with neutralized emotional force or are deleted completely, was predominant in subtitle translations.

The researcher also analyzed which methods were employed to lower the emotional intensity of tabooed slang and vulgar expressions in the ST in the translation of novels and subtitles and classified them into-replacement, omission, reduction, and semantic modification. Differences were found between the two different types of translations. Replacement was the most frequently used method in translating novels, whereas omission was most common in translating subtitles.

96.3% of the 'elevated' type of formality shifts in translated novels, and 95.3% in subtitles were translation into expressions of much higher formality than those in the original. It is understandable for translators to tone down emotional intensity of such expressions to meet the expected standards of readers in the target culture. However, a real problem lies in the fact that tabooed slang and vulgar expressions tend to be used as a linguistic device to highlight genre features in violence and crime, or to trigger laughter in comedy. Therefore, either alterations to emotional force and formality or complete omission implies that a similar effect on the ST cannot be achieved in the translated work, thus posing difficulties for TT readers in understanding the story, characters, and contexts.

3.2. Extra-linguistic Factors Affecting Translators' Choices

In order to identify extra-linguistic factors that influence shifts in lexical formality in translated novels and subtitles, a survey of thirty professional translators was conducted. The survey revealed remarkable differences in attitude between novel translators and subtitle translators in regard to attenuating levels of intensity in tabooed slang and vulgar expressions. Novel translators were strongly against toning down the intensity of words, whereas the majority of subtitle translators were in favor of the idea. These results correspond with the results of the corpus analysis, which show that the "elevated" type is more dominant in subtitles than in translated novels.

The result indicates that translators have differences in the perception of offensiveness expressed in their L1 and in L2. The "elevated" type of formality shift is most frequently found in the order of expressions with sexual references, body parts and excretion, and swear words, which also coincides with the results of the corpus analysis in this study. Among the three types of tabooed words, swear words show the highest ratio of replacement with words of a similar degree of emotional force.

It seems that certain rules governing translators' choices for such sensitive expressions lead to differences in formality shifts between translations of novel and DVD subtitles. According to the survey, subtitle translators are more likely to be influenced by institutional censorship than novel translators. Aware of the existence of institutional censorship, they are also more likely than novel translators to carry out preemptive self-censorship and thereby lower the emotional intensity of certain expressions that seem to go against the general expectations of audiences or are inappropriate for media or publishing in the target culture.

4. Conclusion

This PhD research formulated a model composed of five levels of lexical formality as an objective tool to analyze formality shifts between ST-TT language pairs. The outcomes of the analysis suggest that tabooed slang and vulgarisms in the source language should be translated into words with the same degree of formality in the target language, which would be a desirable way of translating such expressions. Moreover, the findings of the survey indicate that extra-linguistic factors greatly affect translators' choices in translating these expressions. This PhD research started in the hope that, by achieving the aforementioned objectives, it will contribute to broadening our insight into the translation of slang and vulgar expressions, which have been regarded as a minor language variety and thus neglected by the social and academic communities as a whole.

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PhD Thesis Abstract

Relationship between Text and Images in the Translation of Picturebooks

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1. Background and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to study the importance of illustrations and their interaction with the verbal text when translating picturebooks. The translation of literary texts for children has been studied for a little over 30 years: the Austrian scholar Bamberger mentioned for the first time the necessity of translation studies in children's literature at the Symposium of the International Research Society for Children's Literature in 1978. At the beginning, this field retained the attention of comparative literary theorists more than those of translation. With time some approaches of translation studies including functionalism and polysystem have shown interest in this literary genre.

Whether the approach belongs to translation studies or not, most scholars have shared one point of view: translation of literary texts for children considers "the reader of the target linguico-cultural community" as the most important factor. Two of the most influential theorists, O'Sullivan (2005) and Oittinen (2000), also affirm that reader-oriented translation constitutes the mainstream in translation for children. Because children's literature is in and of itself defined by the existence or the relation to its addressee, reader-centered translation seems to be taken for granted. Child readers are not inferior to but different from adult readers in terms of linguistic competence and the knowledge of the world.

Reader-centered translation strategies don't make an exception for translation of picturebooks which are mentioned as representative of children's literature. What makes them one of typical genres for children is the presence of pictures.

That's why picturebooks are called "iconotexts"(Nerlich 1990: 268). The graphic feature doesn't only play an aesthetic role but also contributes to narrative development. Inasmuch as literary translation aims at transferring the 'wholeness' of text into target culture, visual text, like verbal text, of a picturebook is involved in the translation process. It seems ironic to view images, which are non-verbal, as a factor to take into consideration in translating. Pictures are undoubtedly non-verbal but not non-textual. This way of visual communication copes and interacts with its verbal counterpart to elaborate narrative construction. Therefore picture-related aspects are as significant as the 'reader' to the translation process.

This research aims to achieve two following purposes: firstly, showing an inextricable link between the verbal and the visual in iconotexts; secondly, demonstrating how the visual text and intersemiotic relationship have an impact on translation strategies.

2. Research Methods

For that purpose, our study is based on the interpretive theory of translation, in particular, the notion of effect. The interpretive theory of translation is an approach developed by Seleskovitch and Lederer in order to demonstrate that translation is not 'a direct conversion' of the linguistic meaning of the source language but 'a conversion of the source language to sense and then an expression of sense in the target language'(Seleskovitch 1977: 32). Translation is thus not considered as a linear transcoding operation, but as a dynamic process of comprehension and reformulation of sense. This approach had remained a critical paradigm in interpretation and non-literary translation studies, before the notion of effect was introduced by Israël (1990). That has made this theoretical approach applicable to literary translation.

The effect, as defined by Israël, is a comprehensive notion associated with the sense which is the key concept of the interpretive theory of translation. This notion of effect doesn't refer to impression, feeling or impact that a reader experiences while reading, but rather to textual strategies able to produce cognitive, affective and aesthetic pleasure for the 'model reader' (Eco 1985: 68-71). Translation is thus aimed at constructing a target text with the textual strategies in order to engender similar effects to those of the original text.

This broad concept of effect is appropriate to examining a hybrid text, as in a picturebook, composed of various modes of expression. The verbal, the visual and their intersemiotic bond are used together to develop textual strategies establishing a narrative construction. Furthermore the notion of effect can contribute to taking into consideration the status of the original while the translation for children is influenced or justified solely by 'target reader-oriented' tendency. The source text and target text converge on the effect, that is to say, an interaction between textual strategy and readers who actualize it.

To explore this theoretical perspective and its applicability to the literary field in question, this research has analyzed diverse picturebooks: French picturebooks translated into Korean, Korean picturebooks translated into French, picturebooks of English speaking nations translated into French and vice versa.

3. Research Findings

3.1. Translator of the visual as well as of the verbal

A translator's reading act is not just to make sense of his/her text but rather to explore it deeply and identify its narrative structure and strategies. This means that translators try to assimilate with the "model reader" as much as possible, in order to trace back to the textual elaboration of the original text and to estimate the reading experience of a target reader as well. A translator is thus an active and critical reader, who sees himself as a second author for his own readers.

Since picturebooks consist of the verbal, the visual and their intersemiotic dynamics, a translator is not only a reader but also a beholder. His analytical and penetrating reading act needs to be applied to the interpretation of pictures and their interaction with words. To explore and recreate an iconotextual fictional world, the translator needs to acquire knowledge of visual language and graphic grammar, as well as other sorts of encyclopedic knowledge. Hence this dissertation has made a list of visual elements such as line, color, the position of objects in relation to each other, frame, framing and typography, in order to dissect pictorial aspects. Nevertheless this list is not exhaustive but experiential, because visual vocabulary can't be analyzed like verbal language. Especially, two graphic elements of the list play an essential role in exploring translation strategies: color and typography are thus considered as "directly translation-related visual factors."

Iconotexts work not just on visual aspects but also on the interaction between pictures and words. Therefore this research has emphasized the role of this intersemiotic relationship which is used as a narrative strategy. Interaction picture-words were examined on the basis of two key concepts of narrative text, that is to say, description and narration. Intersemiotic relationship is classified as two categories: alternation and opposition. The Verbal-visual dynamic is one of the pillars which the iconotext is based on to engender humoristic or ironic effects or narrative rhythm. Therefore this interaction is also a significant aspect to take into consideration in the interlingual and intercultural transfer. Otherwise the effect related to the intersemiotic dynamics would not be similar between the original and the translation.

3.2. Graphic aspects as a source of inspiration for a translator

A translator can be influenced by the presence of pictures while translating an iconotext. This means that he sometimes verbalizes the meaning he extracts out of the visual text, while rematerializing the iconotext in target language. This verbalization of images can alter the intersemiotic dynamics and bring about an unnecessary explicitation and an overtranslation. It is thus essential for a translator to be aware of any negative impact that graphic factors can have on his translation process.

However visual elements can help the translator to figure out a creative solution, in particular while transferring ingenious and humorous proper names and wordplays. In children's literature, proper names often have a particular significance: they are neologisms invented by authors to convey a particular meaning or generate playful effects. At times the intent of inventive proper names get lost with plain and dull ones through phonetic transcription or a simple semantic translation. Drawing on the association between characters and their pictorial representation, a translator can create new proper names. The visual text can lead the translator to the "limited adaptation strategy" (Bastin 1993: 473-478) which means the adaptation of some expressions in target text, contrary to the "global adaptation" of the entire text.

3.3. Translation of intersemiotic collision: intraiconic text

Picturebooks show the dynamics between the verbal and the visual: that is a virtual relation that readers actualize while reading an iconotext to extract meaning out of it. There is another particular marriage of the two texts: verbal expressions penetrating pictures. A word inside an image catches the attention of readers, because the first is a heterogenic factor in the second. That's why this iconotextual writing is a textual strategy with some specific intentions: contribution to narrative or emphasis of the main theme. Intraiconic text appear to be a constituent part of pictures, which leads us to consider it unnecessary to translate. However the verbal expression, inserted into visual text, is often a significant textual strategy to take into account in the translation process. Furthermore, given the limited number of words in a picturebook, intraiconic text is not a fortuitous narrative device. Translation of intraiconic text is thus transfer of textual strategy aiming to produce aesthetic and cognitive pleasure.

4. Conclusion

This research demonstrates the consideration of the importance of illustrations and their interaction with the verbal text when translating the composite text. For that purpose, this study is based on the interpretive theory of translation and, in particular, the notion of the effect developed in this theoretical approach. We first identified several key features of this literary and artistic genre to understand the workings of picturebooks and to show that the visual and its interaction with the verbal serve to create iconotexts, that is, constitute iconotextual strategies. The second part shows that the variety of verbal-visual interactions constitute fundamental iconotextual strategies to produce and interpret a picturebook. That's why the intersemiotic dynamics have significance regarding the translation process which is to discern the internal mechanism of the text in order to recreate a text with it. In the last part, we attempted to determine how to interpret the visual text and the intersemiotic relationship and to translate an iconotext, that is, to recreate it. The interaction between the verbal and the visual is actualized by the reader-beholder: this means that the effect of the intersemiotic relationship emerges from the confrontation between the intention of the author and the illustrator and the response of the reader-beholder. The verbal-visual interaction thus is meaningful for the production of an equivalent translation in terms of its effectiveness.

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Review of Exploring Translation Theories

Anthony Pym, Exploring Translation Theories, London and New York: Routledge, 2010. x+186

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Exploring Translation Theories is written by Anthony Pym, a director of postgraduate programs in Translation and Intercultural Studies at Rovira i Virgili University in Tarragona, Spain. This book presents a comprehensive analysis of the paradigms of major western translation theories since 1960s, including equivalence, purposes, description, uncertainty, localization, and cultural translation. Instead of being a general overview of major western translation paradigms, the book is innovative and contributory in offering insights in the particular strengths and weakness of paradigms by actively engaging each of them with the other. Thus, the contesting of ideas will help to further explore the possibility of translation and develop the awareness of what translation can be. The book altogether consists of eight chapters.

In chapter 1, *'What is Translation Theory?'* (1-5), the questions concerning the differences and correlations between theorizing, theories and paradigms have been answered. Theorizing is seen as a departure point where theories come from, and when different theories develop names and explanations for multiple aspects of translation, paradigms come into being. The author further gives introductions to the chronological arrangement of the paradigms, the relations between those paradigms and the basic questions that all paradigms attempt to answer, concerning the conflict between uncertainty and equivalence.

In chapter 2, *'Natural Equivalence'* (6-22), the broad "equivalence paradigm" is divided into two sub-paradigms, which are "natural equivalence" and "directional equivalence". These two sub-paradigms both hold that "what we can say in one language can have the same value (the same worth or function) when it is translated into another language (Pym, 7)", but natural equivalence differs from directional equivalence in presuming the existence of equal value prior to the act of translation, which means "it should be the same whether translated from language A into language B or the other way around". The procedures and modes of analysis of natural equivalence are further introduced. The author close this chapter by both admitting its validity in defending the very existence of the act of translation against the structural view of language and presenting some criticisms.

In Chapter 3, *'Directional Equivalence'* (25-38), the author points out that "directional equivalence is an asymmetric relation where the creation of an equivalent by translating one way does not imply that the same equivalence will also be created when translating the other way (Pym, 26)", which implies that the decisions made by translators play a key role in the forming of translated texts. Since the translators constantly make decisions, the basic opposition concerning translating choices ensued such as free vs. literal, dynamic vs. formal translation, which is also the focal points of debates in Andrew Chesterman's theory of similarity, Nida's dynamic equivalence theory, Kade's typology of equivalence, and relevance theory. The author close this chapter by pointing out its virtues such as allowing translators more freedom, compatibility with skopos paradigm, as well as some skepticism against it, which include the presumed symmetry between languages, the superiority of source texts and unnecessary dichotomy.

In Chapter 4, *'Purposes'* (43-59), the author sees various theories belonging to this paradigm as based on a consensus that the priority should be given to the target-text purposes, and that it's not necessary that a translation is equivalent to its source text. Different purposes require translators to be provided with information by participants in the professional chains. The various theories in this paradigm hold different views of the roles translators are expected to play. Translator is seen as the decider of target text purposes by Vermeer, an expert in cross-cultural communication by Holz-Manttan. For Gouadec, translator should work in teams, and translator' decisions are determined by the complete information from the client in the pre-translation phase. At the end of this chapter, the author presents some criticisms against this paradigm, such as its inability to resolve cases of conflict purposes, not being cost-effective, contradicting ethics of truth and accuracy, etc.

In chapter 5, *'Descriptions'* (64-85), the author points out that "descriptive approaches describe what translations actually are, rather than just prescribe how they should be (Pym, 64)". The key concepts in this paradigm include translation shifts, systems, assumed translations, norms, universals and assumed laws of translation. Two approaches towards the description of translation shifts are "bottom-up" analysis and "top-down" analysis, the translation theorists who are quite successful in apply top-down models include Anton Popovic and James Holms. Top-down models try to situate these shifts in different historical situations and seek their causal factors. With the attention given to "what translations are usually like" in particular historical context, the norms, possible laws and universals of translation can be analyzed and theorized. While admitting the contributions made by the descriptive paradigm, such as the revelation of historical variety and validity, the author presents some criticisms, which include its lack of attention to people and practical help for translators.

The basic assumption of chapter 6, '*Uncertainty*' (90-113), is that "translators cannot be absolutely certain about the meanings they translate (Pym, 90)". Uncertainty paradigm can further be divided into two sub-paradigms, one concerning the uncertainty about translations and the other concerning general uncertainty about all meanings. Several theories are introduced as ways of solving the problem of translation under the condition of uncertainty, such as theories of illumination developed by Augustine of Hippo, Martin Luther, and Ernest-August Gutt, theories of consensus by John Locke, Jerrold Katz and Quine, Hermeneutics by Heidegger, Antonie Berman, Constructivism by Donald Kiraly, Game theory by Jiri Levy, and theories of semiosis. Deconstruction is introduced as a further move to revealing uncertainty rather hiding it. The general criticism of the paradigm of uncertainty is its lack of rigor and actual help for translators.

Chapter 7 is '*Localization*' (120-138). Localization is seen as a response to the paradigm of uncertainty by creating artificial language and cultures (Pym, 120). Localization, as a paradigm, is new in the use of translation technologies and one-to-many patterns of translation, with the effect of introducing non-linear modes of text production and reception. The use of new technologies such as management systems, extensive controlled languages and translation memories will generate fixed glossaries and decontextualized translation. This is why localization can also be seen as a partial return to equivalence. Localization is often criticized for belittling translators, generating low-quality texts and reducing cultural diversities.

In chapter 8, '*Cultural translations*' (143-159), the author points out that the primary focus of this paradigm is cultural processes rather than products. "Translation is seen as a general activity of communication between cultural groups". The early works on this cultural process include Bhaba's non-substantive translation, Jacobson's semiosis, Even-Zohar's transfer theory and Pym's theory of movements, and these can been seen as developed from social anthropology. Other theories in this paradigm draw on translation sociology, German work on communication between different cultural group and psychoanalysis the representative figures in this field include Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, and Spyvak. This paradigm revolutionized the traditional concepts of translation and separate languages and cultures can no longer be assumed; however it is generally criticized for weak interdicsipinarity and lack of direct implications for translation professions.

This book is contributory to translation studies as a whole in the following aspects.

Firstly, it offers a comprehensive analysis of the strengths and weakness of each paradigm by enacting confrontations between ideas instead of presupposing any of them to be the "right" or "wrong". During this process, the relations between different paradigms are also explored. This book considers different paradigms as a response to the fundamental conflict between uncertainty and equivalence; therefore, different from traditional views of dismissing equivalence paradigm as naïve, it treats equivalence paradigm as the fundamental paradigm by which all other paradigms can be defined, and presents natural equivalence and directional equivalence as its two sub-paradigms. Equivalence with its complexity and longevity is valued as a necessary social illusion that defends the very existence of translation practice, yet it is becoming more refined and exact in the process of constantly being contested and accommodated by other paradigms. The skopos theory admit the existence of equivalence in "special case" scenario, and the localization paradigm largely incorporate the ideas of equivalence, whereas, uncertainty paradigm can be seen as a fight against equivalence theory by classifying skopos and equivalence as essentialisms.

Secondly, this book extends the scope of translation studies by establishing cultural translation as a new paradigm. The paradigm of cultural translation in this book is used in a metaphorical way to indicate the general activity of communication between cultural groups, which is much wider than that defined by Jeremy Munday. The theories in this paradigm incorporate the developments in social anthropology, translation sociology and psychoanalysis, the interdisciplinary nature of which indicates the trend of nowadays translation studies, and it is helpful both in terms of translation professions and relevant fields such as post-modern sociology and postcolonialism, etc.

Thirdly, the book is stimulating for readers to do their own researches. At the end of each chapter, the author presents the frequently hold arguments of each paradigm without giving judgments. These questions can be further topics for independent researches.

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Gile's (1995) Effort Model for translation …
Goffman (1981: 8) states that …
According to Kiraly (1995: 7),
이범수와 김민영(2006: 23)에 따르면
Kiraly(1995)는 …
Gonzalez et al. 1991:100) demonstrate that …
… (Denton and Hahn 1986; Dorsey 2008), (이창수 2000; 김순미 2002; 김순영 2005 등)

End-text referencing: English references followed by non-English references.
Hanging indent (1cm): The first line of each reference is fully left justified while subsequent lines are indented to the right. The width of the hanging indent should be 1cm.

Single author:

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