Language Practice in Multilingual Communities

CONTENTS

A task-based approach to improving the communicative skills of university students learning Afrikaans as an additional language

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Abstract

This paper reports on a qualitative study which was conducted with first-year Afrikaans Language Acquisition students in the Department of Afrikaans and Dutch of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. The aim of the study was to determine how task-based activities contribute to the teaching and learning of communication skills in Afrikaans as an additional language. The aim therefore was not to present quantitative data, but to look at the attitudes and perceptions of the students and the lecturer through questionnaires and interviews. This study was explorative in nature and made use of task-based activities for the teaching of Afrikaans as an additional language to university students by using authentic material in pedagogic tasks. A secondary aim was to prove the acquisition of Afrikaans by way of spontaneous communication and interaction with the target language. The study was undertaken specifically on the teaching and learning of Afrikaans as an additional language in the context of the language acquisition classroom. The framework which was used and implemented in this study was a combination of qualitative research and the task-based approach to language teaching. A brief review is provided of the implementation of a task-based syllabus after a needs-analysis was conducted with students registered for the Afrikaans Language Acquisition module at the university. In addition, a brief review will be given of the criteria used in the design of the syllabus, the teaching materials and the teaching programme. The outcome of the tasks was formulated according to what students needed to do with Afrikaans in the university context and is therefore focused on the students' needs. The focus was not on the formal linguistic aspects of the language but rather the functions thereof. The students were encouraged to participate and they learned Afrikaans by completing the tasks. The communicative potential of the task-based activities in the teaching programme is evaluated. This study showed that task-based activities contributed to the communication skills of students in the Afrikaans Language Acquisition class.

Keywords: Task-based teaching and learning, qualitative study, communication skills, Afrikaans language acquisition

1.   Introduction

The implementation of a multilingual language policy in higher education in South Africa (2002) requires the teaching and learning of Afrikaans as a second or additional language, which also includes the teaching of Afrikaans for specific purposes to adult learners. The latter has not received much attention in the South African context, especially in the form of research on the learning and teaching of Afrikaans for specific purposes in a university context. The research on Afrikaans as a second language has as its framework task-based language learning and teaching (Ellis 2003, Nunan 2004, Willis and Willis 2006, Samuda and Bygate 2008). Task-based learning is a different way to teach languages. One way of helping students to learn and acquire a new language is to place them in real-life situations, where oral communication is essential for carrying out a specific task. One of the advantages of task-based learning is that it gets students to use their language skills at their current proficiency level, and develop their proficiency in the language by using it. Another advantage is that it places the focus of students on achieving a goal where language becomes a tool, making the use of language a necessity. Task-based learning is language learning by doing. By using this method, the focus of the learning process moves away from the teacher to the student. It provides a helpful framework for creating classes that are interesting and address students' needs.

The aim of this article is to present data on a qualitative study undertaken to determine how task-based activities contribute to the teaching and learning of communicative skills in Afrikaans as an additional language to university students. The aim of the study was to present qualitative data by looking at the attitudes and perceptions of the students through questionnaires and interviews. A secondary aim was to demonstrate the acquisition of Afrikaans by way of spontaneous communication and interaction with the target language.

The aim of the study focused on three research questions:

- Can a task-based approach contribute to the successful acquisition of Afrikaans?
- How does a task-based approach contribute to the successful acquisition of Afrikaans?
- Can a qualitative study be used to research task-based activities?

The article begins by first giving information on the broader research study before the methodology of the qualitative study is described. The tasks used in this study are then described before a brief review of the findings is given.

2.   Background

This study forms part of a broader research study undertaken by Adendorff (2012a) in which a multi-perspective approach[1] to a task-based syllabus design was followed. It formed part of the implementation of a task-based syllabus in the Afrikaans Language Acquisition module, which is presented in the Department of Afrikaans and Dutch at Stellenbosch University.

The aim of the multi-perspective approach was to research the full spectrum of approaches available in the design of a task-based syllabus for beginner learners of Afrikaans at a university. This research on a multi-perspective approach had as its aim the design of a

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[1] This multi-perspective approach is described in Adendorff (2012b).

defensible syllabus for Afrikaans at university level, as the interlanguage[2] development of every student can be answered in each approach. The adequacy of the different approaches lies in the architecture of the compositionality and combination of the individual researchers' frameworks, of which each has its own elements of incompleteness regarding the components of complexity for the development of the students' interlanguage.

The study has as its framework the task-based approach to the teaching and learning of a language. Nunan (2003:216) gives a definition of task-based language teaching as "an approach to language teaching organized around tasks rather than language structures". One of the reasons for choosing the task-based approach is that it engages language learners in real language use in the classroom by designing and using tasks which require the language learners to use the language. Tasks are also used for syllabus design as it is, according to Nunan (2003:113), more than a methodological tool to be used in the classroom – "it is a central curriculum planning tool".

The researchers whose work on complexity in the design of a task-based syllabus was used in the broader study are Van Avermaet and Gysen (2006) and Duran and Ramaut (2006) on needs-analysis; Pica, Kangy and Falodun (1993) on task typology; Robinson (2001, 2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010) on cognitive complexity, as well as his research on task conditions and task cognitive complexity in his Triadic Componential Framework; a linguistic analysis according to the research on AS units[3] undertaken by Foster, Tonkyn and Wigglesworth (2000); the research of Michel (2011) on conjunctions as indicators of complexity; and the research of Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993) on task utility, task essentialness and task naturalness.

The methodology of the research was six-fold. The starting point in the design of a task-based syllabus was a needs-analysis which was conducted through the use of questionnaires and interviews with university students. It indicated that students whose first language is not Afrikaans have to acquire communicative skills in Afrikaans in order to communicate effectively with fellow students and lecturers at the university. In the second place, the language-use situations and language tasks of the target task[4] were described according to Van Avermaet and Gysen (2006:28). The parameters for the type task and the information processing levels were then determined, again using Van Avermaet and Gysen's (2006) study. By using the complexity scale of Duran and Ramaut (2006:51), the parameters of the task's complexity were determined. The task was then represented graphically on a complexity scale. The reason for doing this was to start determining the complexity level of the task to help with the grading thereof in the syllabus. Thirdly, the task was analysed according to the task typology of Pica et al. (1993) in order to see whether, and how, it would help with the interlanguage development of the students. Fourthly, the task conditions and then the task complexity were analysed according to Robinson's (2005) Triadic Componential Framework. Fifthly, the task was described linguistically by using Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993), Foster et al. (2000) and Michel (2011). Lastly, a discussion of whether, and how, the different approaches

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[2] Interlanguage is described by Ellis (2003:344) as "the system of L2 knowledge that a learner has built at a single stage of development". It is the language produced by learners in the course of second language acquisition.

[3] Foster et al. (2000) describes an analysis of speech units (AS units) as mainly a syntactic unit, and is a single speaker's utterance which consists of an independent clause or sub-clausal unit.

[4] A target task is a task found in the real world (Ellis 2003:351). It can be something like painting a fence, making a dinner reservation or filling in a form. It contrasts with pedagogic tasks which are tasks used in the classroom.

supported one another followed to see how each approach could be used in the grading and sequencing of tasks in a task-based syllabus.

From this research, as further elaborated by Adendorff (2012c) and Adendorff (2010), the study described in this article evolved to investigate the use of pedagogic tasks in the classroom, and if and how they contribute to the teaching and learning of Afrikaans at university.

3.   Methodology

The participants used for this study were the 48 first-year students enrolled in the Afrikaans Language Acquisition module of the Department of Afrikaans and Dutch in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The Language Acquisition module is a year module of 24 credits. It consists of three main lectures and two tutorials per week, each lasting 50 minutes in duration. The task-based activities were carried out mainly in the tutorial classes.

There were 16 male and 32 female students (see Figure 1) who were enrolled for different BA degrees, with many enrolled for the BA in Social Work (see Figure 2).
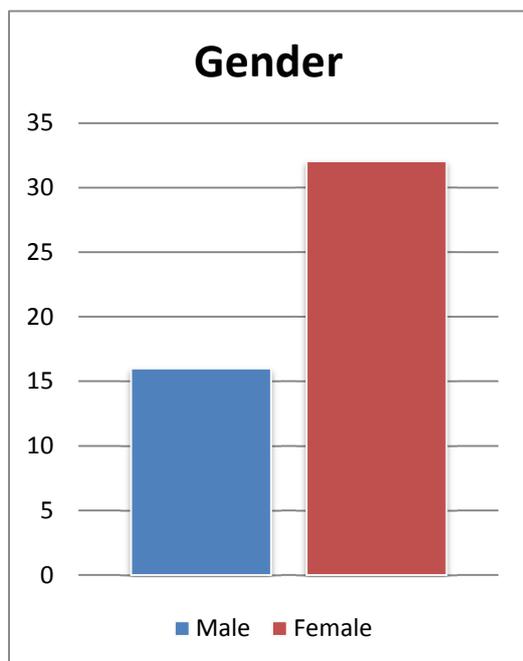
Figure 1. Distribution of gender
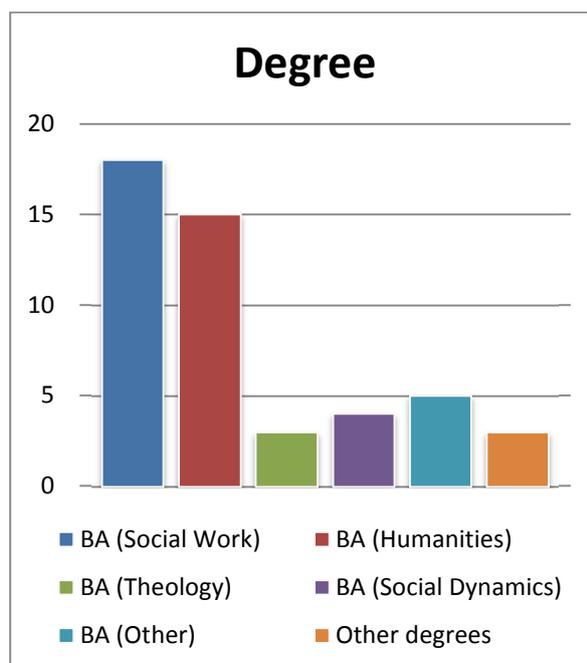
Figure 2. Distribution of respondents' degrees

The students were mostly from South Africa, but students from African countries like Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Nigeria, and from European countries, such as Italy, also formed part of the group. Although studies have been undertaken on the role of culture in language acquisition, this study did not focus on that aspect. It is also important to remember that language acquisition also involves the acquisition of the culture of the new language. In the Afrikaans Language Acquisition module, the different cultures are used as topics so that the students can learn more about each other.
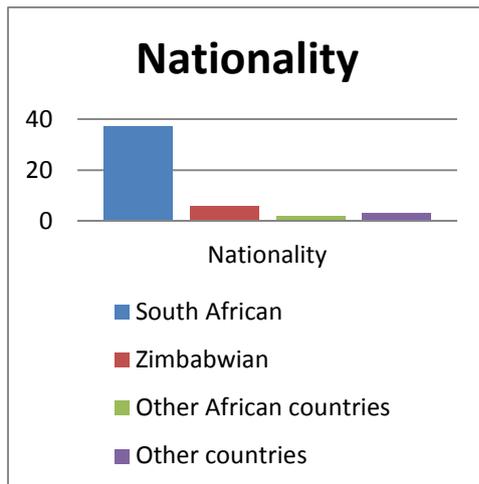
Figure 3. Distribution of nationalities
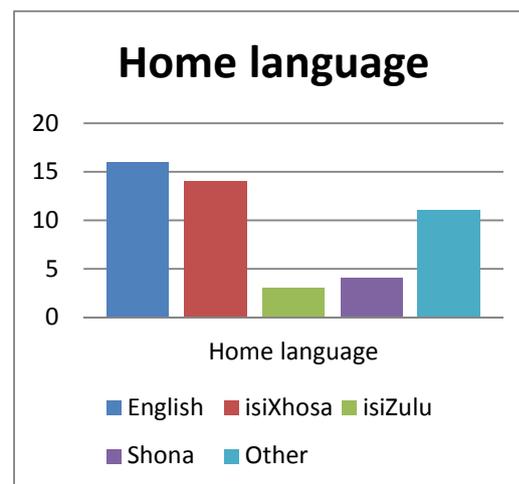
Figure 4. Distribution of home language

The South African students' home languages included isiXhosa, Shona, isiZulu and English. In task-based learning and teaching, and in other language acquisition approaches, the role of the first language has been studied, but the home language of the students taking part in this study was not taken into account.

The students did not have any prior exposure to Afrikaans before enrolling for the course. As part of the needs-analysis, they had to self-evaluate their Afrikaans language proficiency levels on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) scales. Most of the students placed themselves on A1, the very basic proficiency level (for example, understanding basic greetings and words). Some could not even place themselves at this level and filled in "non-existent" in response to the question regarding how they would rate their general Afrikaans proficiency. Finally, a few of the students had very informal contact with Afrikaans in their home towns or cities.

4.   The study

The four language skills were taken into account, from receptive (listening, reading and viewing) towards productive (speaking) skills. Each task contained new language knowledge. The tasks were intrinsically motivating which stemmed from the students' interest to communicate in the target language. The students' curiosity was aroused and they engaged actively in the tasks. Furthermore, the students had active roles in the tasks and they were encouraged to use the target language, Afrikaans. The tasks were completed individually and/or as a group, and were then graded and sequenced from concrete information tasks and here-and-now situations to more abstract information and there-and-then situations. Students were allowed to make mistakes as it is seen as part of the natural learning process.

Tasks can be described as activities where the target language, in this case Afrikaans, is used by the students for a communicative purpose (goal) in order to achieve an outcome – depending what the focus of the task is (i.e. reading, vocabulary, oral, problem-solving, decision-making). To determine how task-like a given activity was, the following questions were used as a guideline:

- Does the activity engage students' interest?
- Is there a primary focus on meaning?
- Is there an outcome?
- Is success judged in terms of outcome? Is completion a priority?
- Does the activity relate to real world activities?

The notion of engagement was important in the tasks, as without engagement and genuine interests, there will be no focus on meaning. A task-based approach is a meaning-based approach. It means that the teacher (or in this case, the lecturer) does not control learner language as the focus is not on grammar (or form), but on successful communication or interaction. In the task-based approach, the students and the lecturer will at some time focus on language, not the correct linguistic form to use but rather on how the student expresses him-/herself. More time needs to be spent on tasks which promote more communicative language use.

For the tasks to be successful, it was important to ensure that the students knew the final outcome of each one. Preparation time was also incorporated into some of the tasks to stimulate engagement, but other tasks were completed without this time period. The interaction patterns were different for each task; some were done individually, some in pairs or in whole-class situations. Roles, for instance chairperson or timekeeper, were sometimes assigned to students. Post-task activities included games, writing or oral tasks, but the main activity was reflection on the tasks by completing a questionnaire and/or being interviewed.

The tasks were structured according to Willis' (1996:155) framework of pre-task (preparation), task and task focus:

PRE-TASK
Teacher introduces topic, activities to activate the existing vocabulary or introduce the new vocabulary, gives examples of task completion and gives instructions on how to complete the task

TASK(S)
Cycle/s of Task > Planning > Reporting back

TASK FOCUS
Moves from focus on meaning to focus on form, develops and enhances accuracy by using different focus activities (e.g. word analysis, semantic analysis, syntactic analysis)

4.1 Task 1

The first task took place over two tutorials about a month after the module began. The students looked at a picture depicting school life (see Figure 5).
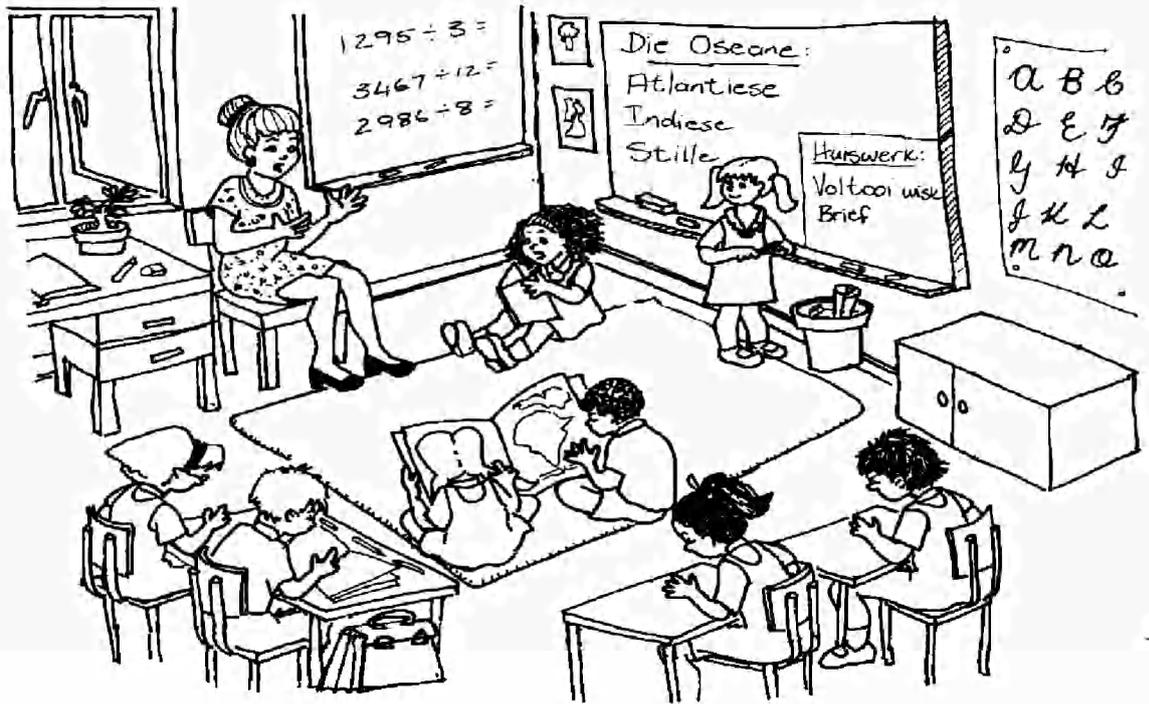
Figure 5. Picture for Task 1 depicting school life

The students had to work individually and had to identify objects and people in the picture, such as "onderwyser" ('teacher'), "lessenaar" ('desk') and "bordkryt" ('chalk'). The use of a dictionary was important as they had to look up the Afrikaans word in order to know the English one. After a certain time limit, students worked in pairs to compare their words and the number of objects and people they identified. Information transfer took place as they gave out information to the other students in the group. The whole class worked together to ensure that all the objects and people were identified. During all of these phases, the tutor repeated the words and gave the correct pronunciation. The students then had to repeat after her so that they practised the correct pronunciation. She also gave the plural and diminutive forms without explicitly focusing on the grammar rules regarding these forms in Afrikaans (for example, "stoel" ('chair'), "stoele" ('chairs'), and "stoeltjie" ('little chair')).

Next, the students were each given a verb on a flash card and then had to choose a picture of an item which connected with the verb, like "lees" ('read') and "'n boek" ('a book'), "sit" ('sit') and "'n stoel" ('a chair'). These separate words and pictures all linked back to the picture in Figure 5. Finally, the vocabulary was tested with a bingo game where they had to listen for the word and mark it off.

4.2 Task 2

Task 2 was carried out quite early on in the course and focused mainly on vocabulary. As a pre-task, the students had to say which profession they were studying for and why. The students received pictures and words of different professions, four of which are given below as examples:

Figure 6. Skrynwerker ('joiner'/'cabinetmaker')

Figure 7. Dokter ('doctor')
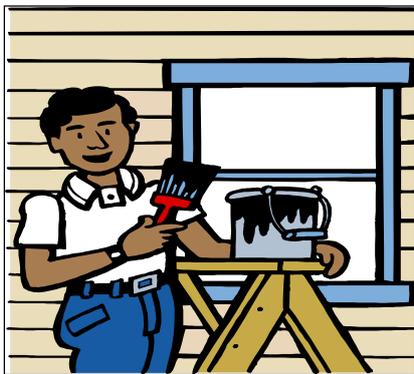
Figure 8. Verwer ('painter')

Figure 9. Polisieman ('policeman')

In groups of three or four, the students first had to identify the professions in English and then use the dictionary to obtain the correct Afrikaans terminology to pair the word and profession. They then received sentences like the ones given below, which they had to match correctly with a corresponding picture.

- 'n Skrynwerker is iemand wat houtwerk doen. ('A cabinetmaker is somebody who does woodwork.')
- 'n Dokter is iemand wat siek mense gesond maak. ('A doctor is somebody who heals sick people.')
- 'n Verwer is iemand wat mure van huise verf. ('A painter is somebody who paints the walls of houses.')
- 'n Polisieman is iemand wat misdadigers vang. ('A policeman is somebody who catches criminals.')

Following this, the students were required to write a similar sentence about their profession. These sentences were placed in a box from which each student then picked a random sentence, after which they had to walk around in the class and ask each other (for example) "Studeer jy om 'n maatskaplike werker te word?" ('Are you studying to become a social worker?').

4.3 Task 3

Task 3 took place over two tutorials about halfway through the module. The students listened to the following story once:

Ben en sy nuwe buurman, Sipho Malope, het buite in die tuin met mekaar gesels. Ben kom by die huis in en sê vir sy vrou dat die nuwe bure hulle die volgende aand vir ete genooi het. Babsie wonder of sy en Ben die Malope-gesin nie eerste moes oorgenooi het nie. Babsie dink sy is reg aangetrek. Indien hulle te formeel aangetrek is, gaan sy skaam kry. Babsie dink dat Miriam pragtig lyk in haar etniese klere. Miriam Malope sê vir haar gaste dat die ete reg is. Miriam verras die bure met die heerlikste kos wat sy gemaak het. Babsie behoort nie vrouens van ander kultuurgroepe te onderskat nie. In die toekoms kan sy by Miriam gaan kuier, dan kan hulle resepte uitruil. Die waarheid in die nuwe Suid-Afrika is: 'n Mens leer altyd iets nuuts by ander kultuurgroepe.

['Ben and his new neighbour, Sipho Malope, talked to each other outside in the garden. Ben comes into the house and says to his wife that the new neighbours have invited them over for dinner the next evening. Babsie wonders whether they should not have invited the Malope family for dinner first. Babsie thinks she is dressed correctly. If they are too formal, she will be ashamed. Babsie thinks that Miriam looks lovely in her ethnic clothes. Miriam Malope says to her guests that the dinner is ready. Miriam surprises her neighbours with the tastiest food that she had prepared. Babsie should not underestimate other cultures. In the future she can visit Miriam and they can exchange recipes. The truth in the new South Africa is: we always learn something new from other culture groups.'][5]

The students then received five pictures depicting this story (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Dinner at the Malopes

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[5] One aim of this story was to discuss cultural differences, as language learning also means learning something about the culture of the language speakers.

After hearing the story, the students first had to work individually to put the pictures in the correct order to complete the story, and then check with their group partners if their picture order was correct. They then listened to the story again to check whether they had arranged the pictures correctly.

Next, the students received random alphabet letters and, in groups of four, had to build words which were connected to the story, for example "buurman" ('neighbour'), "eerste" ('first'). Following this, the students received parts of sentences which were connected to the story and had to work in pairs to complete the sentences. Finally, they had to complete the dialogue in the pictures individually according to what they could remember from the story.

4.4 Task 4

This task was a follow-up from task 3 and took place about six months after task 3 was completed. The students were divided into groups of four and the following Afrikaans dialogue was handed out[6], which the tutor read aloud while the students followed along:

'N GROEP TIENERS BESPREEK GEDURENDE POUSE HUL TOEKOMSTIGE BEROEPE EN VAKKEUSES

Ryan: Kan julle dit glo! My Wiskunde-onnie, mnr. Zikalala, het gesê ek moet volgende jaar Wiskunde neem. Ek het 12% vir my Wiskunde-eksamen in Julie-maand behaal en nou wil hy hê ek moet die vak neem. Nooit!

Preshani: Ryan, moenie simpel wees nie! Dit is nie mnr. Zikalala wat jou so graag in sy klas wil hê nie; dis net hoe die nuwe onderwysstelsel werk, my skat. Almal moet Wiskunde as vak neem. Ek is seker dat hy baie bly sou wees as jy Wiskunde los!

Refilwe: Ek stem! (Almal lag) Dit ontstel my so, want ek wil 'n aktrise word (vol drama sit sy haar hand teen haar bors). Ek gaan NOOIT Wiskunde gebruik nie. Ek moet net hard aan my tale werk dan kry ek dalk werk op *Isidingo*, *Sewende Laan* of *Muvhango*. Ek wil nie soos daai mense wees wat net Engels kan praat nie. Ek gaan in matriek A's in Engels, Sesotho en Afrikaans behaal. Hou my dop!

Stefan: Ja, ja, Refilwe, en my ma is Charlize Theron! Ek hou van ernstige vakke: Wiskunde en Wetenskap. Ryan, ten minste kan jy en Refilwe Wiskundige Geletterdheid neem. Dink net, ek wil 'n ingenieur word en ek moet twéé tale neem. Dit is so onregverdig! Wie het in elk geval Sesotho en Afrikaans nodig? Engels is die besigheidstaal. Kan julle Refilwe as 'n aktrise sien? Sy kan nie eers 'n toespraak in die klas lewer sonder om histeries rond te hardloop nie. En het julle na haar klere gekyk? Net handelsmerke waar jy kyk! Hoe gaan sy soos 'n arm aktrise leef? Siestog!
(Hulle lag saam, behalwe Refilwe, wat Stefan net aangluur.)

Refilwe: Stefan, nee! Jy dink dat jy so slim is, maar jy is te vreklui om ooit 'n ingenieur te word. Jy moet liewers 'n ryk vrou kry sodat sy kan werk en jy by die huis kan sit, na die kinders kyk en die hele dag lank saam met hulle jou simpel rekenaarspeletjies speel.

Preshani: Kalmeer julle, ouens! Onthou net dat 'n mens nie net vakke kies wat jy dink jy dalk vir die toekoms nodig sal hê nie. Vakke wat verpligtend is, soos Wiskunde en jou tale, ontwikkel jou brein en laat jou beter dink. As enigiemand 'n probleem behoort te hê, is dit in elk geval ek! Ek wil my eie skoonheidsalon begin. Daar is amper niks hier op skool wat ek eendag gaan gebruik nie. Dalk is dit goed as ek tale aanleer, dan sal ek baie klante hê. Besigheidstudie is ook 'n goeie vak vir my om te kies, maar

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[6] An English translation of this text appears directly after the Afrikaans original in this paper; note, however, that the students were only given the Afrikaans dialogue.

my droom is om skool te los en vir 'n diploma in skoonheidsterapie in te skryf by een van die VOO (Verdere Onderwys en Opleiding) Kolleges, maar my pa wil niks daarvan hoor nie …

Ryan: My pa sou mal word as ek vir hom sê ek gaan 'n akteur of 'n haarkapper word. Hy wil hê ek moet eendag sy besigheid oorneem en dus moet ek Wiskunde, Wetenskap en Rekeningkunde neem. Al my sterk vakke, natuurlik. Hy wil nie hoor dat ek daarvan droom om met diere te werk nie.

Refilwe: Ek het altyd geweet jy's 'n wilde dier, Ryan.
(Terwyl hulle nog skater, lui die klok.)

Stefan: Wel, ouens. Ek het nou Kuns en Kultuur en ons gaan vandag skilder. Ek is so rigtingloos soos mnr. Zikalala wanneer dit by kuns kom.

Almal: Sien julle tweede pouse.

A GROUP OF TEENAGERS DISCUSS THEIR FUTURE PROFESSIONS AND SUBJECT CHOICES DURING BREAK TIME

Ryan: Can you believe it! My Maths teacher, Mr. Zikalala, said to me that I must take Maths next year. I got 12% for my Maths exam in July and now he wants me to take the subject. Never!

Preshani: Ryan, don't be stupid! It is not Mr. Zikalala who so badly wants you in his class; it is how the new education system works, my dear. Everybody must take Maths as a subject. I am sure he would have been glad if you did not take Maths!

Refilwe: I agree! (Everybody laughs) It upsets me so because I want to be an actress (puts her hand against her chest in a dramatic pose). I am NEVER going to use Maths. I just need to work hard on my languages and then maybe I can act on *Isidingo*, *Sewende Laan* or *Muvhango*. I don't want to be like those people who can only speak English. I am going to get A's in English, Sesotho and Afrikaans in matric. Watch me!

Stefan: Yes, yes, Refilwe, and my mother is Charlize Theron! I prefer serious subjects like Maths and Science. Ryan, at least you and Refilwe can take Mathematical Literacy. Just think, I want to be an engineer and I have to take two languages as subjects. It is so unfair! In any case, who needs Sesotho and Afrikaans? English is the business language. Can you see Refilwe as an actress? She cannot even make a speech in class without running around hysterically. And did you see her clothes? Just brand names wherever you look. How will she live as a poor actress? Shame!
(They laugh, except Refilwe, who glares at Stefan.)

Refilwe: Stefan, no! You think that you are so intelligent, but you are too lazy to ever become an engineer. You should rather marry a rich woman so that she can work and you can stay at home to look after the children who can play your stupid computer games with you.

Preshani: Calm down, you lot! Remember that we do not only choose subjects that we think we will need for the future. Compulsory subjects, like Maths and your languages, develop your brain and let you think logically. If anybody should have a problem, it should in any case be me! I want to start my own beauty parlour. There is almost nothing here at school which I will use one day. Maybe it will be good to learn languages because then I shall have many clients. Business Studies is also a good subject for me to choose, but my dream to leave school and enrol for a diploma in beauty therapy at one of the FET (Further Education and Training) colleges is not going to happen as my father does not want to hear of it.

Ryan: My dad will get mad if I tell him I want to be an actress or hairdresser. He wants me to take over his business one day and therefore I need to take Maths, Science and Accountancy. All my best subjects, of course. He does not want to hear of my dream to work with animals.

Refilwe: I always knew you were a wild animal, Ryan.
(While they are all laughing, the bell goes.)

> **Stefan**: Well, guys. I have Arts and Culture now and we are going to paint today. I am as clueless as Mr. Zikalala when it comes to art.
>
> **Everybody**: See you at second break.

Each group received a picture of a profession and an information sheet (see Figure 11) which they had to complete before reporting back to the class. First, they had to identify the profession, after which they had to write in the upper left block which subjects/qualifications are important for the profession. Then, in the upper right block, the students were required to write down the characteristics necessary for the profession. Finally, the students had to write down the pros and cons of the profession, in the bottom left and bottom right blocks, respectively.

Subjects/Qualifications	Characteristics
Pros	**Cons**

Figure 11. Picture of a profession and information sheet students received in Task 4

4.5 Task 5

4.5.1 Pre-task

For the pre-task of Task 5, the students were divided into groups of three and were required to choose a leader. The tutor introduced the topic, namely favourite school subjects. The students were asked what subjects they studied at school and they were written on the blackboard. The students were allowed to say them in English and then the tutor would ask the class if somebody knew the Afrikaans equivalents; if nobody knew them, she would then say them. When all the subjects were written down, the students had to classify them in groups, for example languages, sciences, etc. The tutor told the students her subjects, the ones she liked the most and why. The

students were then tasked with telling the group which was their favourite subject and why, as well as the one they disliked the most and the reason why. They received three minutes preparation time before they started talking and they had to try and speak Afrikaans.

4.5.2 Task

The leader of the group had to allow every group member to talk for two minutes only, after which the leader was the last to speak. Every student had to give feedback on somebody else in the group, i.e. he or she had to repeat what a specific group member said (the group leader decided who talked about whom). This was designed to enhance the students' listening skills.

4.5.3 Task focus

Feedback was given to the whole group by the leader, with the aim of finding out which subjects were the most and which were the least preferred. Phrases such as "Ek hou van …" ('I like …'), "Ek was mal oor …" ('I loved …'), "Die vak wat ek verkies, is …" ('The subject I prefer is …') or "Ek het … gehaat." ('I hated …') had to be used. The tutor wrote these phrases on the blackboard and the reasons which were given were also written down. The aim of this was to see whether the male and female students liked and disliked the same or different subjects.

4.5.4 Post-task

The post-task involved the students and tutor anonymously completing a questionnaire containing the following questions:

- Did you enjoy doing the tasks in general?
- Which one of the tasks did you like the most?
- Which one did you like the least?
- Did you enjoy working with somebody? Why/Why not?
- Did you have to ask your team member(s) to help you with the task?
- Did you ask the tutor to help you?
- Do you feel that the tasks helped you with your vocabulary?
- Were all group members involved in the task?
- Do you think the task will help you improve your vocabulary?
- Do you think the task gave enough opportunity for meaningful communication?

The lecturer (researcher) also interviewed some of the students as well as the tutor. The questionnaire was used as a guideline for the interview in order to clarify some answers given by the students on the questionnaire.

5.   Findings

It was clear from the questionnaire and the interviews that the students enjoyed the task-based activities. A few responses included: "I liked the interaction with the other students" and "I got to know my class members better". The task-based activities improved the communication skills of the students. For example, one student wrote: "I wanted to learn how to apply Afrikaans better, and that was achieved through these activities". It was found that the students were more confident in answering questions in the main lectures as their vocabulary improved.

The gap between the students' knowledge and the new knowledge mainly concerned the vocabulary for communicating in Afrikaans. Most of the students expressed that it was their lack of Afrikaans vocabulary that hindered them understanding the tasks at first. The opportunity for interaction proved that those with a better command of the language helped those students who struggled, as exemplified in the following response by one student: "If I did not know an answer, I asked one of the other group members". The tasks led to better interaction between the individual students and the groups, as well as being inherently motivational. Consequently, the students were actively busy during the completion of the tasks.

These findings correspond with the findings of Kruger and Poser (2007) in which a research programme in a senior primary school was conducted using task-based activities. Kruger and Poser (2007:9-10) concluded that task-based activities improved the communication skills of the learners of Afrikaans in the senior phase. They also concluded that both the teachers and the learners enjoyed the activities. Although Kruger and Poser (2007) did not statistically look at and compare the differences between communicative teaching and formal form-focused teaching, they found that the learners had improved in their ability to identify nouns and verbs, and to formulate sentences with the help of task-based activities. It was also clear in their study that English had an influence on the learners' Afrikaans and that fossilization occurred.

6.   Conclusion

This study has investigated the use of task-based activities in the learning and teaching of Afrikaans to university students. From the findings detailed in the previous section, certain conclusions can be made. Firstly, the task-based activities did indeed improve the communicative skills of the students. Secondly, most of the students reacted positively to the task activities ("My expectation was to learn some basic Afrikaans and I learnt that"); however, there were also some negative comments: "I expected to learn basic Afrikaans. It was not accomplished" and "It was very easy work to learn. I got frustrated with the other students who found it difficult". Finally, this study showed that a qualitative study can be undertaken to research task-based activities.

There are certain limitations of this study that need to be pointed out. Firstly, the use of students' first languages was not monitored; this could be a possibility for future research opportunities. Secondly, the influence and use of the tutor as a knowledge resource was also not investigated. Finally, this study only took place over several months and the time span might be too short to indicate automatisation of the target language as described by Robinson (2010); therefore, a longitudinal study is necessary.

The study was explorative in nature and made use of visual and concrete material. The questionnaires and interviews indicated that language learning is a holistic process. It showed that language is a social tool which can be used to negotiate meaning. The focus of the study was not on the formal linguistic aspects of language, but rather the function of language. Correct pronunciation and new vocabulary was taught in the context of the task-based activities, and modelling of task-based teaching strategies, as preferred by Ellis (2003), took place.

Despite the shortcomings and limited scope, the present study contributes to the learning and teaching of Afrikaans language acquisition to university students.

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Agency in translating *Une Vie de Boy* into English: Exploring translator identity and translation strategies

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Abstract
Recent research in translation studies has underscored the role of translators as agents. This implies that a translator is not just a neutral conduit of a message from one language to another, but someone who is very much involved in the power interplay that determines the decision making leading to the translation product. It is within this context that this paper seeks to analyse the concept of 'agency' in translation, with specific focus on African literature in European languages. It is worth mentioning that while this type of literature has been the subject of much research, less attention has been given to it in terms of translation. Focusing on a translation by the late John Reed of Ferdinand Oyono's *Une Vie de Boy*, this paper seeks to show how an understanding of the identity of the translator can lead to an appreciation of his/her translation strategies. It should be noted that translating African culture from one European language to another can be quite a challenging task – especially if the culture is foreign to the translator – due to the fact that cultural value systems are difficult to grasp as they are intricately woven into the texture of the native languages (Bandia 2008). Such a task is even more intriguing since the original text is in itself a form of translation, initially conceived in the African language of the author before being rendered into a European language. In this case, the agency role of the translator would therefore be more significant given that s/he is dealing with a peculiar source text that is different from most source texts which are translated between relatively close or non-distant cultures. Through an ethnographic study involving an exploration of the context of the translation production, as well as an interview with Reed, this paper posits that the translator's socio-cultural background tends to influence the nature and extent of his/her intervention in the translation process. This will contribute in shifting the focus of translation assessment from solely the end product to an inclusion of the translator's identity.

Keywords: agency, translator identity, ethnography, African literature

1. Introduction

Recent research on translation studies is increasingly incorporating sociological models in translation analysis. This approach underscores the fact that the translator can no longer be viewed merely as a neutral conveyor of a message; rather, s/he should be viewed as an agent involved in a situation of power relations which influences the nature of his/her interventions

during the translation process. This agency role enables the translator to make decisions in the translation process that have far-reaching impacts on the target culture. It is worth mentioning that, while this area is increasingly dominating research in translation studies, much of the research is based on the Eurocentric model, with only a few researchers advocating the incorporation of other geo-cultural models (see Tymoczko 2007, Marais 2011). It is within this context that this paper seeks to explore how a translator's agency operates in African literature. It thus seeks to aid in understanding how the different power actors within a translation context relate to each other, and how this relationship influences the translation product. Given that African literature is more oratory in its originating culture, it would be useful to understand the agentive role of the translator in the representation of such literature. Furthermore, given that African literature in European languages is peculiar in that it is a form of translation in itself (Bandia 2008), it would be interesting to explore how translation agents handle this type of transfer. Focusing on *Houseboy*, a translation by the late John Reed of Ferdinand Oyono's novel entitled *Une Vie de Boy*, this paper seeks to show how an understanding of the identity of the translator can lead to an appreciation of his/her translation strategies. This paper adopts an ethnographic method that elucidates the translator's perspective so as to give a better understanding of the translation process. This could lead to further research on the extent to which a translator's socio-cultural background can influence the nature and extent of his/her intervention in the translation process.

2.   Literature review

As far as agency in translation studies is concerned, it is necessary to first situate this paper within the context of what previous research has exposed. Agency theorists have highlighted the fact that translation analysis should take a sociological approach, given that translation is carried out within a conflicting network of a sociological nature. In this light, Munday (2010, 2012) utilises Bourdieu's sociological model to argue that the translator's background is always an influence on the decisions s/he makes during the translation process, resulting in him/her being (un)consciously biased either towards the source or target text. In the same vein, Kung (2009) argues that translation is carried out within a context of power relations, and that there are macro-level factors which influence the choices and strategies of the process. Using Latour's Actor Network Theory model and Bourdieu's notion of 'capital', she highlights the fact that the translator's identity determines his/her agentive position in this network of power relations. Mialet (2010) asserts that translators are not just neutral mediators, but are social agents who have a key role to play in introducing new ideas and perspectives, and in shaping ideologies. As such, sociological considerations should be incorporated in the analysis of translation.

Other theorists highlight the fact that translators are not neutral conduits of messages, but are power agents who work within a context of political and cultural power relations. In this light, Tymoczko (2010) argues that translation takes place within a context in which dominant and resistant cultural narratives conflict with each other. This places the translator as a third force in a power interplay, whose choices are always (un)consciously partial to one side of the conflict or the other. The problem with this view is that it is based solely on literary translations, and does not seem to consider oral cultures. This is contrary to what recent research in translation studies has emphasised, which is that the frontiers of theorising translation should be extended to consider other cultures. Even though, in her recent works, Tymoczko emphasises the need for these new frontiers of translation theories, much of her analyses are still based on Western

data. Similarly, Baker (2006, 2010) considers translation to be involved in a conflict of narratives that shape, promote or resist political ideology. This implies that, instead of being a simple conveyor of a message, a translator becomes a powerful agent who can choose what (not) to translate, and manipulate a message in order to impact in a particular way upon the recipient's cultural narrative. She holds that, in this way, the translator contributes to the political idealisation of one narrative or the other. Again, the focus here is on written texts and no other text types or communication forms are incorporated, such as the oral forms that prevail in communities of which the languages do not have written versions.

Some theorists also argue that there needs to be a shift from the Eurocentric model of translation analysis to a more holistic one which incorporates other geo-cultural realities. Accordingly, Tymoczko (2007) asserts that the theorisation of translation studies needs to be more flexible to include non-Western realities. She holds that there are limitations to the Eurocentric approach, which concentrates on written communication and literary texts, and advocates a more holistic approach which considers other cultural forms of communication and text types. This position is significant in translation studies because it highlights the fact that there are differences in the Western and non-Western models of communication and such differences should be considered in any translation analysis. For example, the African form of communication is generally oral in nature, and the contexts of translation on the continent also differ from those in the West. In the same vein, Marais (2011) argues for a "localisation" process in translation studies that would incorporate forms of communication and functions of translation. Focusing on the African example, he highlights the fact that communication is more oral in African societies, and translation is employed in various ways in different situations as well as having different functions. He therefore suggests that, instead of trying to apply a universal approach, translation studies should be theorised according to the different realities of the various geo-cultural situations that exist in societies. The strength in Marais' (2011) argument is that it raises a new perspective in translation studies, namely localisation. In other words, instead of having an incorporating theorisation of the discipline, he argues for an approach that theorises differently according to the specific realities of each socio-cultural context.

Other proponents of the agency approach to translation studies hold that, in the domain of translation analysis, translators should be viewed as agents involved in a binary conflict of domination versus resistance. In this regard, Venuti (1998, 2013) argues that translation operates within the context of Western cultural domination over minority cultures. He calls for a resistant approach in the field of translation which would valorise more of the marginalised cultures, to the detriment of the canons of the dominant culture. Milton and Bandia (2009) view this conflict of domination and resistance as the context in which translation takes place. The authors (2009:3) argue that translators in such situations become agents of resistance and identity creation by adopting an approach which enables their marginalised cultures to resist

> the onslaught of dominant global languages through a deliberate translation of themselves into such global languages, which they subvert through innovative linguistic practice to assert their identity on the world stage.

This raises the issue of the translator's identity and how it may influence the way s/he translates. In other words, adopting a translation strategy that resists a dominant force or creates a particular identity would very much depend on the cultural identity of the translator in question.

Other researchers of the sociological approach to translation studies consider translators to be agents of cultural mediation who represent the Other in the target culture. In this light, Sturge (2007) argues that translators are important agents of representation since the source text is inaccessible to the target culture except through the translator-agent. The translator's interventions during the translation process then become the means through which s/he can shape the way the target culture views the source text. Sturge (2007) thus suggests that, for a translator to carry out this role successfully, s/he needs to have full knowledge of the source text's content, culture and author. The strength in Sturge's argument is that it calls for an ethnographic approach on the part of the translator, so as to be able to fully interpret the source text. Bandia (2008:159) relates this to African literature in European languages and argues that translators of such literature are important agents of representation who deal with a different text type, since

> [t]he writing of orality and the practice of literary heteroglossia
> involved in African Europhone literature makes for a peculiar
> source text that is uncharacteristically different from most texts
> translated between relatively close or non-distant languages and
> cultures.

Bandia (2008:161) then raises the question as to who is better placed to translate such texts:

> Is it the Western-educated African writing in what is for some a
> second language, but who is intimately familiar with the logos of
> African culture? Or should it be a native European translator for
> whom the colonial language is a mother tongue, but who may not
> be able to internalise the deep structures of African sociocultural
> reality?

This also raises the issue of how the translator's cultural identity plays a major role in determining the nature of the interventions s/he carries out during the translation process. The strength in Bandia's argument is that he emphasises the peculiarity of the text type involved in African literature in a European language, and the need for this peculiarity to be considered during the translation process. He also highlights the fact that the identity of the translator of such literature is important since it is most likely going to influence his/her choices and strategies during the translation process.

3.   *Une Vie de Boy* and *Houseboy*

Ferdinand Oyono's *Une Vie de Boy* was published by Julliard in Paris in 1956. It denounces the ills of French colonialism in Africa in general, and in Oyono's native Cameroon in particular. It should be noted that Oyono remains one of the most prolific anticolonial novelists from Africa and has published two other novels: *Le Vieux Nègre et la Médaille* ("The Old Man and the Medal") in 1956 and *Chemin D'Europe* ("Way to Europe") in 1960. A fourth novel, *Le Pandemonium*, was announced for publication in 1960 (Brown 2004:40), but it is said to have

been withdrawn from the publisher immediately after Cameroon gained independence from France and Oyono became part of the new administration. This was because the novel's anticolonial tone was harsh, and it was thought that it would adversely affect the relationship between France and the new Cameroonian administration.

Une Vie de Boy presents the situation in which colonial rule was introduced as something beneficial to Africans, while it was actually intended to subjugate, humiliate and exploit them. The novel narrates the story of Joseph Toundi, a young African who works for a white colonial administrator. Toundi initially regards his association with the white administrator as a lucky opportunity for him which puts him above his African peers in terms of social status. However, he subsequently learns the dark side of colonialism through unfortunate events that see him finally run away from Cameroon to die in neighbouring Spanish Guinea. Toundi's rhetorical question "[…] what are we black men who are called French?" highlights the deceptive ideals of French colonialism as something that was meant to bring civilisation and development to Africans, thereby elevating them to the same level as the French. The story is told by Toundi himself in a diary he keeps, a practice he learns from his white master. The novel is written in a simple and satirical style very much embedded in the cultural orality of the author. The preamble in the translation states that the original was written in Ewondo (a language of central Cameroon) which highlights the fact that the author intended the style to carry much of his native oral structure.

It should be mentioned that, at the time of publication of *Une Vie de Boy*, it was not easy for the works of African writers to be accepted by the publishing houses in France as these works were not considered to be of the same standard as the European classical ones. Another reason was that the publishing houses were not very open to works denouncing European colonisation. However, after the Second World War, French public opinion was more sympathetic towards the marginalised and, as such, major publishing houses began to accept colonial works by African writers, which were usually published as marginal publications. It was within this context that Julliard, one of the major Paris-based publishing houses at the time, became involved in African literature and, in addition to Oyono's, published many other francophone works from Africa.

The English translation of the novel was done by the late John Reed (1929-2012) and was published as *Houseboy* by Heinemann in 1966 as part of its African Writers Series. Reed was British and spent more than 15 years in southern Africa working as an English teacher. He was also an expert in African literature and taught, edited and translated other published works from the continent. It must be noted that the publishing policies in France during the colonial period were similar to those in the United Kingdom (UK). British publishers were reluctant to publish works by Africans, as their works were judged to be inferior and would not interest the British readership. It was for this reason that the African Writers Series was set up to cater for the works of African authors. The fact that the series was established as a marginal trend is an indication that the literature which was indeed published was not of the same standard as that of the mainstream Heinemann publisher. This in itself portrays the position of the publisher as far as African literary works are concerned, and it would be interesting to see how translators of literary works relate to publishers' ideological positionings.

4.   Interview findings

For the purposes of this study, an ethnographic methodology was employed. This method is predominantly used in sociological and anthropological research, but it is increasingly being incorporated in translation studies. An ethnographic methodology enables the researcher to understand the context surrounding human actions from the perspective of those involved in the actions. According to LeCompte and Schensul (2010:2), ethnographic research requires the researcher to

> first discover what people actually do and the reasons they give
> for doing it before trying to interpret their actions through filters
> from their own personal experience or theories derived from
> professional or academic disciplines.

What this implies is that, rather than subjectively analysing actions, it is necessary to understand their cultural context and obtain the target population's opinion of these actions in order to understand what goes on. The use of this research design usually requires the researcher to inhabit the world of the target population and conduct interviews with its members, so as to be able to frame their behaviours and beliefs within a socio-political and historical context (LeCompte and Schensul 2010:12).

As previously mentioned, this research design is increasingly being incorporated in the analysis of translation processes (see Sturge 2007, Hubscher-Davidson 2011) because it provides an insider's view of the context of translation. This is important as an understanding of the translator's perspective can go a long way to shed more light on the nature of the translation process. It is within this context that I conducted an interview with John Reed. This was carried out via email because he was based in Ireland and it was not possible for me to meet with him physically. The interview questions focused on issues of initiation, communication with the publishers and author, exposure to source-text context, the purpose of translation, the translation process and the outcome of the translation. Reed's responses were then analysed according to the context of production (section 4.1), the translation process (section 4.2) and the end result (section 4.3).

4.1 Context of production

From the interview findings, it emerged that the translation process was actually initiated by Reed himself. This in itself is an example of the translator's agency role in that s/he can decide whether or not to translate a particular work, so as to either support or contest a particular ideology. It is in this light that Tymoczko (2007:xxi) asserts that translation is "a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication". Furthermore, Baker (2006) notes that, rather than being "passive receivers of assignments" (2006:105), many translators and interpreters actually "initiate their own translation projects and actively select texts and volunteer for interpreting tasks that contribute to the elaboration of particular narratives".

However, it should be mentioned that, in the case of *Une Vie de Boy*, the initiation process was complex in nature given that Reed did not initiate it for translation in its entirety, as he had only translated an excerpt of the novel in an article he published on African literature (see Reed

1963). This caught the attention of the target-text publisher who then initiated the process to have the whole novel translated. The publisher's decision to order for the translation was, however, subject to a motivational report from Reed. This portrays another level of the agency role a translator can play in a translation project given that, in this case, Reed had to influence the publisher's decision on the importance of a translation of this novel.

According to Fisher (cited in Baker 2010:28), "[a]ll forms of human communication function to influence the hearts and minds of others – their beliefs, values, attitudes, and/or actions". Relating this to the translation of *Une Vie de Boy*, it can be asserted that Reed became an advocate of a translation that promoted a particular ideology, and contributed in shaping the publisher's mindset into endorsing that ideology. Considering the influence of publishers in shaping societal mindsets in general, it becomes obvious that Reed's contribution had a far-reaching impact on the target-text society. Would he ever have thought of translating the entire text for the purpose of translation? Would the target-text publisher have become interested in a translation of the novel had they not been given a glimpse of it through the translated excerpt? These questions highlight the complex nature of the initiation process in question.

It is also worth mentioning that, during the initiation process, Reed had no contact with either the author or the source-text publisher. Given that, for copyright reasons, the publication of a translated work cannot take place without the authorisation of the source-text publisher or author, the exclusion of the translator at this level of the negotiations shows the limit of the translator's influence when it comes to the interaction of other agents within the context of a translation production. However, the translator plays a significant role in the initiation process when one considers the fact that the source-text publisher and author could not have been approached without the prior willingness of the translator to translate the work; the translator is, as such, an important agent in the power relations of a translation's context of production.

Another significant aspect that emerged during the interview was that Reed was remunerated for the translation. This raises important questions when one seeks to understand the translator's position as an "interested represener" (Munday 2012). If the translator is an interested party in the translation process, in relation to the ideologies of the source- and target-text cultures as well as the translator's habitus, what place does economic power occupy in the equation? Does it feature as another power centre or is it a tool in the hands of a power agent who, in this case, is the publisher? Would economic power be able to shift the translator's allegiance from one ideology to another? Translators, like other professionals, have economic needs, and there are bound to be situations in which those needs clash with personal ideologies. Translation studies therefore need to explore the role that economic power plays in positioning a translator as an agent of the translation process by considering how this role may differ from one society to another. The economic situation of the West is different from that of developing countries and, as such, the impact of economic power would not be the same. In Africa, for example, translation is carried out with an aim towards development (Marais 2011), the implication here being that poverty is widespread and economic empowerment is a main priority. How would an African translator resolve the problem of satisfying his/her economic needs and resisting or adhering to a particular ideology? These are issues that have been neglected by translation studies and which need to be addressed in order to better understand the role of the translator as an agent.

The final issue to consider in the context of the translation of *Une Vie de Boy* is that of time pressure. It was revealed in the interview that Reed was given four months in which to translate the novel. The argument here does not concern whether or not this time frame was adequate; rather, the argument is that when a deadline for the completion of a translation assignment is set by the publisher, or any other concerned party, it may become a source of pressure if the translator's opinion is not sought in relation to his/her ability to work within the deadline. Such pressure may influence some of the choices made during the transfer process, which may not be the same if the translator is given enough time for a thorough analysis that ensures a more comprehensive interpretation and transfer.

Another aspect that may have put pressure on Reed is the fact that the translation was done manually. It is true that today's technological advancements have significantly lessened this type of pressure, since translators now have computers and facilitating software to make their work easier. However, there are still different challenges pertaining to the context in which translators operate. The provision of briefs, or the absence thereof, is one of the issues which can either facilitate or complicate the translator's job. While a brief would usually serve the purpose of ensuring the translator aligns him-/herself with the position of the client, its absence may lead to the position of the translator dominating the process, which may subsequently create a conflict between translator and client ideologies. A brief can therefore contribute in the harmonisation of positions between the translator and the client during the transfer process.

4.2 Translation process

Concerning the translation process, it is worth beginning this section by stating that Reed had an interest in the promotion and dissemination of African literature. His exposure to this literature came as a result of his 17 years of experience as an English teacher in Africa, since African literature in English was part of his syllabus. This fact raises the issue of the translator as an interested "representer of the source words of others" (Munday 2012:2). The implication here is that part of Reed's interest as an agent of the translation process was the desire to disseminate and promote African literature, as his record indicates that he had completed scholarly works of translation, editing and research on this type of literature. It then becomes obvious that his interest would most likely have influenced the choices made in the nature of the transfer from the source text to the target text. Venuti (1998) argues that depending on whether a translator wants to promote the dominant literary poetics of the West or valorise the minority literature, s/he may either adopt a domesticating or foreignising approach respectively. If this was a factor in Reed's case, it would further substantiate the fact that his choices would have been influenced by his relationship with African literature.

A second important issue regarding the translation process is that, as previously mentioned, Reed had no contact with Oyono, the source-text author. This implies that Reed's interpretation of the source-text context would have been mostly circumstantial and, as such, prone to stereotyping. Bandia (2008:161) asserts that a European translator of African literature "may not be able to internalise the deep structures of African sociocultural reality". It can be argued that the years of exposure to African literature could have given Reed the necessary insight into the embedded realities of this literature type. However, it should be noted that he mostly lived and worked in southern Africa and only rarely travelled to other parts of Africa. This is compounded by the fact that his infrequent travels to other parts of Africa never included Cameroon, where the novel in question is set. Sturge (2007:22) argues that, in order to have a

comprehensive understanding of the source-text culture, an "emic approach" is necessary as meaning is context-specific. Consequently, Sturge (2007:24) argues that the representation of the source-text culture should be carried out "through an interpretative reconstruction of the original words' linguistic context, cultural context and immediate setting".

Therefore, to say that exposure to one part of Africa is sufficient to fully grasp the socio-cultural realities of other parts of the continent, is holding on to the erroneous assumption that Africa is homogeneous. Such assumptions are themselves borne of Western stereotypes which are shaped by narratives which contribute to the development of an identity.

When asked about the challenges of cultural transfer in the process, Reed said that he did not find it difficult because French and English functioned similarly, if not identically, in their colonial settings. Again, this indicates an assumption of homogeneity in the colonial experiences of Africa. Recall that the French and British colonial systems differed significantly from each other, implying that the language of the coloniser functioned differently too (Abdulaziz 2003). The French policy was that of assimilation which aimed to convert Africans into black French persons. There was thus a vigorous policy of cultural transformation aimed at eroding the African culture and replacing it with that of the French. Africans were therefore educated to dress, eat, talk and think like the French. The French language was to be embraced by the colonised Africans which led to a process of domestication of the language, especially amongst the uneducated. The result was a French version that was limited to a particular socio-cultural region. The British colonial system, on the other hand, implemented an indirect rule system without attempting to transform the culture of the colonised. In this case, English was more a language of administration and education and was never intended to replace the African languages (Abdulaziz 2003:185). This difference in functionality implies that the local varieties of French and English that emerged in the respective colonial settings were different in nature.

4.3 Analysis of the product

An analysis of the translation of *Une Vie de Boy* has been carried out utilising findings from the interview with Reed, the context of the translation production and the parallel comparison of the source- and target texts. The first issue to address in this case is the success (or failure) of the translation. It is important to note that I have not assessed the translation in terms of accuracy, since individual assessment is likely to be subjective. Instead, I have attempted to explore contextual factors to determine what conclusions can be drawn from them. The main factor to consider here is the degree of the target culture's acceptance of the translation. According to Reed, "[…] *Houseboy* has had long print runs both in the UK and in America" (personal communication). Moruwawon (2012:46) also states that the novel and its translation remains one of the favourite literary works written by an African author to have been published, and has "consistently featured in academic institutions across the globe". This clearly indicates that the published translation was a great success. The question now arises as to whether this type of translation acceptance can be used to conclude that the translation *process* was successful in this case. Given that the target culture had no exposure to the source text due to the language barrier, and had to rely on Reed's representation, could the members of the target culture be in a position to know whether or not the translation is a successful representation? In addition, Reed said in the interview that his purpose was to give the target-text readers "an experience corresponding to that of a francophone reader of Oyono's original" (personal communication). It is important to note that, while the original is considered one of the most

prolific African colonial novels in French, the translation is equally known to be one of the best African colonial novels in English. This implies that Reed's objective has been met by his translation and, if one were to go by the Skopos school of thought (Vermeer 2000), can be deemed successful. This then raises the issue of translation as manipulation, and the question then arises as to what extent the translator's intervention can shift the source-text content and style in order to shape a particular perspective in the target culture. In this light, Paloposki (2009:189) argues that

> [t]he extent to which translators are free to decide on the contents
> of their work varies, depending on the position of the translator in
> question, on the literature to be translated, and the expectations of
> the readers, among other factors.

An assessment of the success (or failure) of a translation is thus very much based on the position of the assessment. Furthermore, the analysis of such an assessment would need to consider the various factors that are likely to influence it.

Going back to a previously mentioned yet important point, it is intriguing that the English version of the novel has been accepted as an original and not as a translation. In other words, it has been read and studied as "African literature in English". This again raises the question as to whether this implies a success on the part of the translation, or ignorance on the part of the readership. One reason that may explain this phenomenon is the fact that African writers in European languages write in a style which is in itself a type of translation (Bandia 2008), since they conceive the stories in their native languages before translating them into the European languages. Bandia (2008:161) argues that, in this way, "the colonial language of writing seems to serve as a mere conduit for an indigenous literature with its own content and modes of expression". This then makes it difficult to distinguish between original and translated African literature in European languages, unless one is exposed to the two languages and cultures in question.

It is also important to mention that Reed adopted a predominantly foreignising approach in the translation. While I do not intend to venture into the sensitive debate of foreignisation versus domestication (Venuti 1998), I consider Reed's translation one which preserves the local colour and oral structure of the source text. Reed explained that he wanted to give the target readership the same experience as the original readership. If one interprets "same experience" to mean "same target audience response", then it can be argued that he intended to domesticate, as this approach would most likely elicit sameness of response (Venuti 1998). However, it would be hasty to assert that this was Reed's intention. Recall that he was an expert in African literature in his professional life, which implies that he was well exposed to the nature of African literature in English. Consequently, his intention might have been to elicit the same response in his English translation that an original African text in English would have elicited. With this in mind, I assert that Reed has generally taken a foreignising approach, which preserves the local colour of Oyono's source text, as is demonstrated in his transfer of culture-bound terms such as idioms, exclamations and local names.

It is important to note that there are cases of mistranslation in Reed's version, which can be attributed to his lack of sufficient exposure to the source-text world. Examples include *les essessongos* (translated as "essessongo trees"), *gâteau maïs* (translated as "maize cake") and

bâton de manioc (translated as "cassava sticks"). These three French phrases are coinages from the local languages that have been embraced by the French dialect spoken in Cameroon.

In the first phrase, *essessongos* means "elephant grass", but Reed translated it as "essessongo trees". Any reader not exposed to the Cameroonian connotation of this word would be lost, or even misled, as to its meaning. This is because the notion of 'tree' in the translation is very misleading from 'grass' which is the original connotation.

The second phrase, *gâteau maïs*, is actually a coinage from French to denote a local dish made from mashed maize that is wrapped in banana leaves and then boiled. The notion of 'cake' actually refers to the shape of the food. Rendering it as "maize cake" is thus misleading, especially as there is no paratext for guidance.

The final phrase, *bâton de manioc*, came about in the same way as *gâteau maïs*. *Bâton de manioc* is a local dish of cassava paste wrapped in banana leaves which is then formed into the shape of a baton and boiled. "Cassava sticks" is therefore a mistranslation as it may give the impression that people from this setting eat sticks.

As previously mentioned, these mistranslations are the result of insufficient exposure on the part of the translator given that, as Bandia (2008:187) argues, cultural items present "[s]pecific challenges as their occurrences in the European language are often the result of the author's creative endeavour to capture them as they exist in African languages". Insufficient exposure to such contexts may then lead to interpretations based on generalisations, assumptions and, in certain situations, stereotypes. These stereotypes in themselves are born of narratives that develop a particular identity that influences the perception of the Other.

Another important feature to include in the analysis of Reed's translation is his use of Cameroonian Pidgin to translate *français petit nègre* (FPN). I contend that Reed's use of Cameroonian Pidgin to translate FPN is an error of judgement because the two languages are different in nature and function differently in their societies. FPN is a form of "broken French" that was spoken by uneducated Africans who worked for the European colonialists, whereas Cameroonian Pidgin is a creole of which the development in West Africa can be traced back to the 15th century with the arrival of Portuguese slave merchants on the West African coast (see Awung 2013). FPN developed from the combination of African languages and European languages such as Portuguese, French, English and German. Its current English-based form took shape with the extended presence of the British along the coast of West Africa. It is thus a language on its own with distinct grammatical and prosodic structures (Neba, Chibaka and Atindogbé 2006). Cameroonian Pidgin can therefore not function as the equivalent of FPN because the latter is a sort of slang, while the former is an autonomous language with mother-tongue speakers and is even spoken in some non-Anglophone West African countries (see Awung 2013). This argument is clearly evidenced by the fact that Cameroonian Pidgin was equally spoken in the French-speaking Cameroonian community during the colonial period. Furthermore, this explains why Oyono also uses it in the source-text, as can be seen with the term *washman* which Reed maintains in the English translation.

It is thus evident that a more thorough investigation of the source-text context would have prevented the instances of mistranslation discussed in this paper. I therefore argue that Reed's

interpretation of Oyono's text has been influenced by the general perception of Western narrative that views Africa not only as a homogeneous entity, but also as inferior to Europe.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have highlighted the fact that the translator is not a neutral mediator of a cultural message, but an interested actor whose product is the result of his/her interaction with other power agents involved in the translation process. Focusing on John Reed's translation of Ferdinand Oyono's *Une Vie de Boy*, I have investigated the various agents involved in the translation process and how their roles may have influenced Reed's choices. The analysis of the context of production has revealed that, generally speaking, the translator has to position him-/herself in relation to the power interests of the source-text author and culture, the source-text publisher, the target-text publisher and the target-text culture. Further, I have argued that, in such a complex situation, the translator's identity is highly instrumental in determining how s/he positions him-/herself in relation to the other power agents involved. It has also been highlighted in this paper that a translator's identity is the product of a particular cultural and societal narrative that leads to a particular ideology, and subsequently influences the decisions s/he makes during the translation process. This has been demonstrated by an exploration of the workings of John Reed, whose European ideology has played a significant role in determining his perception of the source-text culture, despite the fact that his exposure has to some extent limited the impact of said ideology in the interpretation and transfer of the source text's message.

Based on the findings of the paper, I support the view that an analysis of the translation process should extend beyond the product and incorporate the translator's perspective and context. This is because translators operate within different cultural contexts which have different communication dynamics. An inclusive approach to translation studies would thus produce a more holistic picture as well as newer insights into the theorisation of the discipline.

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A contextual perspective on presupposition, with reference to translation studies

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Abstract
This paper aims to elaborate on the notion of 'presupposition' from the contextual perspective in consideration of translation studies. Presupposition plays an important role for researchers to understand translation or the process of translating, work out the implications of translated texts, and explain various issues concerning translation. As far as translation is concerned, context can be regarded as the source for presuppositions, as translators usually work according to their own presuppositions regarding the target readers and context. In this study, we have established a framework of presuppositions relevant to translation research, covering such aspects as human needs, communicative rules, and textualisation strategies. A case study is provided to demonstrate how the presuppositions are applied in discussing translation issues.

Keywords: presupposition, context, translation

1. Introduction

This research is based on a prior study which reviews semantic, pragmatic, and experiential approaches to presupposition and concludes that context actually determines presupposition (see Cui 2013). According to Tannen (2007:37), no text of any kind would be comprehensible without shared context and background. Context is also essential for understanding presupposition in translation. Presupposition plays an important role in translators' work and decision-making, and it is helpful for explaining various issues related to translation. However, studies on presupposition in the light of translation are rare, and we have not found any similar explorations. This study aims to establish a framework of presuppositions from the perspective of context, and to provide reference for translators. First of all, we will briefly review the research on presupposition in Linguistics.

2. Three approaches to presupposition

In the field of Linguistics, there are three major approaches to presupposition. The first is semantic presupposition which is based on the concept of 'truth value'. It implies that proposition P presupposes proposition Q if, and only if, Q is necessitated both by P and by the negation of P (Stalnaker 1998:61). In other words, presupposition is seen as a precondition for

a sentence to have a truth value. In contrast, the pragmatic approach is not concerned with logic or truth value; instead, it is more about a propositional attitude than a semantic relation. To be more specific, pragmatic presuppositions involve speakers' and hearers' knowledge, expectations, desires, interests, claims, and attitudes towards the world (Mey 2001:186). Therefore, pragmatic presuppositions have been located in a wider communicative setting, covering such contextual factors as speaker, hearer, belief, appropriateness, and mutual knowledge (Segerdahl 1996).

Both the semantic and pragmatic approaches encounter problems like the defeasibility problem, as some presuppositions are liable to disappear in certain contexts (Abbott 2006). Presuppositions are defeasible whenever background assumptions about the world or specific communicative situations are not compatible with what is presupposed. For instance, in the sentence, "Jane cried before she left him", the word "before" presupposes that she left him. However, in the sentence, "Jane had a dream and in the dream she cried before she left him", the word "before" apparently does not carry the presupposition that she left him; on the contrary, it implies that she did not leave him, because common sense has it that if something is dreamed, it is not real. (For further discussion on defeasibility, see Cui 2013:199-200.) While neither the semantic nor the pragmatic approach can properly solve this problem, the experiential approach offers an explanation from a different perspective.

In the experiential approach, context is regarded as the determining factor for the defeasibility or projection of presupposition. For example, in the sentence, "Mary imagined that she had stopped smoking", the word "stop" presupposes that Mary had smoked before. According to the explanation of the experiential approach, whether the presupposition can ascend to the complex sentence depends on whether the speaker knows if Mary smoked before or not. If the speaker knows Mary had smoked before, then the presupposition can be applied to the main sentence; if the speaker does not know, whether the presupposition can survive depends on the reality. (For further discussion on the experimental approach, see Cui 2013:201-205.) While it may be questioned that the experiential explanations are subjective, subjectification is closely related to our cognition of information and the organisation of information in a context (Ferrari and Sweetser 2012:55).

We can see that within the three approaches, the pragmatic and the experiential ones are concerned with context. The pragmatic approach applies context in its general sense and covers almost everything that may be involved in the communication. For this reason, there is no fixed or workable framework to which translation studies can refer. In addition, the pragmatic approach is not clear about the relationship between context and presupposition, and in many cases the two are confused. The experiential approach is clear about the relation between context and presupposition. Its illustration of presupposition is essentially a matter of contextual compatibility, and presuppositions are regarded to be determined by context. This is in line with the practice of translation. Translators need to consider the reception of their translations in the target context and work according to their presuppositions about the target readers. In this sense, the target context or translators' perception thereof actually determines what presuppositions translations may carry. As in the pragmatic approach, the components of context are not explicitly analysed in the experiential studies either. In the next section, we will discuss the content and general classification of context.

3. Components of context

3.1 Review of context

Despite its "omnipresence" in different domains, "context has remained fuzzy and seems almost impossible to come to terms with" (Fetzer 2004:3). This is why context has been regarded by Mey (in Widdowson 2004:41) as "a notoriously hard concept to deal with". A theory of context was first put forward by Malinowski (in Widdowson 2004:38), who divides context into context of culture and context of situation. In other words, context includes extralinguistic factors such as those more permanent, like speakers' cultural backgrounds, and those more immediate, like the communicative situation in discussions on discourse. Our illustration of presupposition in translation, to be presented in section 4, covers both of these two aspects.

Applying context to the field of Linguistics dates from the mid-1960s when, with the influence of sociology and anthropology, it was realised that language cannot be analysed as a formal system as abstracted from society and culture (Georgakopoulou 1997:17). Firth (in Widdowson 2004:39) seeks to incorporate the idea of context into the theory of language and, for him, factors like the relevant features of participants as well as the character of the communicative situation must be taken into account when analysing language. However, Widdowson notes that how Firth's program operates as a means of analysis is not clear (Widdowson 1998:39).

In a more detailed way, Hymes (in Brown and Yule 1983:38-40) sets about specifying the features of context as follows: "speakers" include the addressor and the addressee; "topic" refers to what is being talked about; "setting" is to be understood both in terms of where the scene is situated in place and time, and the physical relations of interactants with respect to their postures, gestures, and facial expressions; "channel" refers to how contact between participants is being maintained; "code" refers to what language is being used; "message-form" refers to what form is intended, e.g. a chat, debate or sermon; "event" refers to the communicative event; "key" involves evaluation; and "purpose" refers to what participants intend (Brown and Yule 1983:38-40). When analysing a text, we may choose from these contextual features which are necessary to characterise a communicative event (Brown and Yule 1983:39).

3.2 Three major divisions of context

Although major subdivisions of context are variant and open-ended in different studies, as was shown in section 3.1, there are three foci which are "highly stable and well attested in the traditional linguistic literature" (Givón 1989:74), namely generic, deictic, and discourse foci. Firstly, the generic focus refers to the shared world and culture. It subsumes knowledge and beliefs regarding the real world, the universal cognitive systems underlying the human mind, and the universal capacities for logical inference (Givón 1989:74). In other words, generic context refers to something that is relatively more stable or universal for human beings. Context of culture, mentioned in section 3.1, falls under this category. Secondly, deictic focus refers to the shared speech situation. Three sub-categories are included: deixis, which refers to knowledge of the immediate speech situation by virtue of being together on the same scene at the same time; socio-personal relations, such as respective power, status, long-term social goals, obligations, entitlements, needs and expectations; and speech-act teleology, which refers to shifting goals of the communicative transaction (Givón 1989:75). Hymes' contextual features listed in section 3.1, which outline the factors involved in a communicative situation, belong to

this situational context. Thirdly, discourse focus refers to shared prior text, covering propositions which are directly uttered or any other entailed propositions that hearers can derive, and meta-propositional modalities, or knowledge of the strength of belief, certainty and evidential support (Givón 1989:75).

Following the contextual framework, in this research, when viewing generic context or the most basic category, we will mainly explore human needs, which all participants share regardless of their cultural heritage. Translations are intended to realise specific aims or functions (Nord 2001:27-28). The realisation of such aims or functions is up to the target readers who have special needs to be addressed. For this reason, translators need to take into account the target readers' needs and expectations in order to improve or enhance the effect of their work in the target context. As to how to appeal to these needs, it is up to the decision of the translators, which is influenced by their presuppositions about the target readers' expectations, interests, and values. Situational context is mostly related to the immediate communicative elements such as the Co-operative Principle (CP) and Politeness Principle (PP), which are the means to gratify people's various needs or the manifestations of satisfying the needs. Under general circumstances, translators follow these communicative maxims or presuppositions about the target readers' expectations. In terms of the discourse context, we will mainly investigate the organisation of a text, especially textualisation principles which are intended to make it easier for readers to understand a text. Similarly, under general circumstances, translators follow such principles when organising translations. There are more principles or theories concerning communication or textualisation than those which have been addressed here. However, exploration in these three aspects will help to reveal translators' presuppositions about what needs the receptors of translations have, how to appeal to these needs properly in communication, and how to realise such needs gratification in textualisation. When analysing a translation, we normally start with the wording and organisation of the text – the textualisation level – then explore the functions or reasons of the textualisation – the communication level. Finally, we figure out the most fundamental reasons of designing the text in those ways – the needs-gratification level.

4.   A framework of presuppositions concerning translation

In this section, we will elaborate on the framework of presuppositions in relation to translation studies, including the definition of "presupposition" in relation to the activity of translation, and the ways to identify such presuppositions.

4.1 Definition of presupposition

When studying presupposition in translation, the purely logic approach does not work, as translators work in a context and need to consider the reception of their works in the target context. In fact, concerning the research on presupposition, it is claimed that the elements interesting to translation studies are often "those which the linguists would like to put beyond the pale" (Fawcett 1998:123). Viewed from the contextual perspective in the field of Translation, presupposition can be regarded as translators' assumptions about the target context and the target readers, especially their needs and expectations. As to the methods of identifying presuppositions, "even with the best of wills and the cleverest techniques", sometimes it is impossible to identify all the presuppositions (Mey 2001:188). In the present investigation, the sources for presupposed information in the translation are analysed with reference to the context

framework presented in section 3.2. Presuppositions can be determined, though never exhaustively, by referring to the contextual framework with its specified components, as will be explained in section 4.2. The viewpoint of regarding context as sources for presuppositions is also found in Givón (1989:135-137), where such presuppositions are considered to be based on "contextual assumptions" (Levinson 1983:167).

4.2 Identification of presuppositions

As clarified in section 4.1, we have taken a contextual perspective to explore presuppositions in connection with translation. Translation is an activity that takes place in context, and context covers almost everything involved in communication, from the readers' knowledge and social background to the co-text. As a result, investigation in this regard is potentially endless, as there is always more to notice in terms of readers' knowledge than has been discovered. This is one of the reasons why, for this study, we chose to specify and confine the components of presuppositions to the discussion of human needs, the CP and PP for communication, and textualisation principles (as noted in section 3.2).

4.2.1   Presuppositions related to generic context

As a rather broad and general category, generic context refers to the shared world and culture, and in this research we choose to focus on human needs which are applicable to people of different cultural backgrounds. Texts and their translations are intended to address readers' needs, and translators have their own presuppositions about the target readers' needs as well as the proper ways to gratify these needs. Maslow's theory, which is frequently cited by all types of professionals in different industries (Stephens 2000:1), generalises three types of human needs, namely conative, cognitive, and aesthetic needs, which can serve as reference for translators. The theory is in part an attempt to account for the "unity behind the apparent diversity from culture to culture" (Maslow 1987:28). It is intended to take a closer approach to common human characteristics, and be "relatively more ultimate, more universal, and more basic than the superficial conscious desires" (Maslow 1987:28). Conative needs cover categories such as physiological needs, safety needs, social/love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualisation needs. Physiological needs are most basic, and their fulfilment is necessary for people to survive, such as food, air and water; safety needs involve security, stability and protection, freedom from fear, anxiety, and chaos, as well as the need for structure, order, law, and limits; social/love needs refer to giving and receiving affection, including the desire for association, belonging and companionship, and involves an individual's ability to exist in harmony with others; esteem needs cover self-esteem and respect from others; and self-actualisation means the desire to realise one's potential (Maslow 1987:15-22; Muchinsky 2003:375). Cognitive needs refer to the desire to know and to understand, or impulses to satisfy curiosity, to know, to explain, and to understand (Maslow 1987:23-26). Aesthetic needs refer to the desire for order, symmetry, closure, the completion of an act, a system, and structure (Maslow 1987:25-26). These needs are related to the cognitive needs of knowing/understanding, the satisfaction of which results in order, symmetry, closure, completion, system and structure. When any text is translated, it needs to address the target readers' specific needs, sometimes addressing more than one category of needs. Consciously or subconsciously, translators make decisions about how to organise and design the translation according to their presuppositions about the target readers' needs as well as the proper ways to gratify these needs.

4.2.2   Presuppositions related to situational context

The situational context is more concerned with the immediate communication. As has been emphasised in section 3.2, in this study, presuppositions from a situational context are confined to the discussion concerning the CP and PP, which are ways to satisfy others' various needs (as described in section 4.2.1).

The CP has been proposed in the belief that all speakers observe these rules under normal circumstances. The principle can be elaborated on in terms of the following maxims:

- Quantity: Give the right amount of information.
    - Make your contribution as informative as is required.
    - Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
    - Do not say what you believe to be false.
    - Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
- Relation: Be relevant.
- Manner: Be perspicuous.
    - Avoid obscurity of expression.
    - Avoid ambiguity.
    - Be brief.
    - Be orderly.   (Grice 1975:47)

Although the CP has been developed to analyse spoken language, it is also relevant to written language and therefore to translation (Fawcett 1997:130). For translation studies, the CP can work as a general theory of the act of translation or "intercultural cooperation", and as an instruction to translators to act properly (Fawcett 1997:130). Normally, text receivers have expectations concerning the amount of information they are provided with, the quality of the information, and the way of presenting the information. Accordingly, writers or translators hold the presuppositions that the right amount of information should be given, the information should be true and relevant, and the way of presenting the information should be clear, brief, and orderly, as receivers' expectations need to be respected.

The CP is not the only principle for communication, and politeness is a complementary rule in this regard. Politeness as a basic guideline for human interaction, which refers to the consideration of others, not only works for spoken discourse but also for written texts. It is a system of interpersonal relations to facilitate interaction by minimising the potential for conflict and confrontation (Lackoff, in Hickey 1998:54). Leech (1983:131-133; see also Hickey 1998:56) puts forward the following six maxims of politeness as an extension of the CP:

- Tact maxim: Minimise cost to other. Maximise benefit to other.
- Generosity maxim: Minimise benefit to self. Maximise cost to self.
- Approbation maxim: Minimise dispraise to other. Maximise praise to other.
- Modesty maxim: Minimise praise to self. Maximise dispraise of self.
- Agreement maxim: Minimise disagreement between self and other. Maximise agreement between self and other.
- Sympathy maxim: Minimise antipathy between self and other. Maximise sympathy between self and other.

Leech's maxims of politeness are more flexible than the CP. Participants in communications have expectations concerning their benefit, cost, praise, dispraise, sympathy, and disagreement, which reflect their safety needs, esteem needs and social/love needs. Text producers or translators hold the presuppositions that listeners or text receivers should be given more benefit, less cost, more praise, less dispraise, less disagreement, and more sympathy. Leech's politeness maxims illustrated above are proposed in the English[1] context and are of a universal nature, as already noted. However, in specific cases, different politeness maxims exist. For example, in the Chinese context, there is a maxim which emphasises respect for others, and requires that one should show difference between the old and the young or the superior and the subordinate when addressing others (Yang 1999). Therefore, translators need to investigate the target culture and design translations in accordance with the relevant politeness maxims.

4.2.3   Presuppositions related to discourse context

Presuppositions related to the discourse context involve the organisation of texts. There are four basic principles in textual rhetoric, namely the processibility principle, clarity principle, economy principle, and expressibility principle. Firstly, the processibility principle recommends that texts should be designed and presented in a way that is easy for readers to decode (Leech 1983:64). It is in line with the presupposition of manner in the CP that a text should be perspicuous, avoiding obscurity and ambiguity, and the effort to make a text processible for readers is also one of the ways of being polite. Processibility of a text is mainly to gratify readers' cognitive needs to know/understand. Secondly, the clarity principle suggests that texts be presented in a clear way with enough detail so that they are easy for readers to understand (Leech 1983:66). Similarly, clarity of text is in keeping with the presuppositions of manner and information quantity in the CP, which also helps to satisfy readers' cognitive needs to know/understand. Thirdly, the economy principle, which is almost "at war" with the clarity principle, aims to shorten a text while keeping the message unimpaired in order to reduce the amount of time and effort involved in the process of comprehension (Leech 1983:67). This is related to the presupposition of quantity in the CP that only the necessary amount of information is needed, and the presupposition of manner that a message should be presented in a brief way, which also helps to satisfy readers' cognitive needs to know/understand. Fourthly, the expressivity principle is mainly concerned with effectiveness in a broad sense, which includes both efficiency and aesthetic aspects of communication (Leech 1983:68). In this way, in addition to cognitive needs, readers' aesthetic needs are addressed.

Like presuppositions in the CP and PP, presuppositions concerning textualisation may apply differently to different contexts and to variable degrees (Leech 1983:69). Being processible is the fundamental condition for readers to proceed, being clear is helpful for receivers to work out the textual implications, being brief makes a text easier to be remembered than complicated expressions, and being expressible makes a text stand out – any deviation can attract receivers' attention. Generally speaking, text receivers expect that a text should be processible, clear, economical, and expressible; accordingly, text producers or translators hold the presuppositions that a text should be processible, clear, economical, and expressible.

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[1] By "English", we do not refer to a specific country or region; instead, we pay more attention to its general implications, especially the cultural elements shared by people who speak English. This is partly because the English texts in our data are intended for those who are English-speaking, and no region has been specified.

4.3 Summary

To summarise, as demonstrated in Table 1, the presuppositions to be referred to later in our analysis mainly cover those arising from generic, situational, and discourse contexts. While some of these values are proposed in a particular context, they are shared by other contexts, though there may be differences in particular cases. There are more presuppositions that can be applied to explain communicative situations, however, as mentioned in section 3.2, these presuppositions include target readers' needs to be gratified, general rules of communication, and principles of text organisation.

Table 1. Framework of presuppositions in relation to translation

Context category	Presuppositions
1. Generic context	People have conative, cognitive and aesthetic needs to be gratified.
2. Situational context	One should provide the right amount of information to others; the information one provides should be true and relevant; the way of presenting the information should be clear, brief and orderly. One should be polite to others, such as by giving others more benefit and praise, and showing more agreement and sympathy.
3. Discourse context	A text should be organised with reference to the processibility, clarity, economy, and expressibility principles.

This framework of presuppositions is composed of three layers: firstly, in considering presuppositions related to the generic context, we have focused on basic human needs, which are universal across cultures. Secondly, in exploring presuppositions related to the situational context, we have considered the CP and PP. Presuppositions related to the CP and PP are specific manifestations of these basic needs. Some of these presuppositions are of a universal nature, and some may show different emphasis on certain aspects across different cultural backgrounds. Thirdly, when studying presuppositions related to the discourse context, we have investigated the textualisation principles. This third category is the textual means to fulfil what is specified in the second category of communicative rules and the first category of needs. Having outlined the three aspects of context for identifying presuppositions, we will discuss the functions of presupposition in translation and provide a case study in the next section.

5.   Presupposition in translation

5.1 Functions of presupposition in translation

Concerning presuppositions in translation, the following observations have been made: firstly, the translator may not necessarily share the knowledge that the author presupposes their readers to have (Fawcett 1997:125). This then necessitates that translators undertake special research to acquire such knowledge. However, in most cases, translators merely carry out translation tasks based on their own presuppositions about the target readers and the target context.

Secondly, translators must estimate to what extent the target readers are likely to share their presuppositions, which is "a difficult judgment to make and involves a delicate balancing act" (Fawcett 1997:125). The translator has two choices: either to patronise the target readers by treating them as if they know nothing and lack the means to find out, or to leave them "in the dark" by not supplying the necessary information to make sense of the text (Fawcett 1997:125). In other words, in order to translate a text properly, the translator needs to know what presuppositional information may be lacking in the target culture as well as what presuppositions exist in that culture which may influence the reception of the translation (Fawcett 1997:126). Therefore, presuppositions play an essential role in translators' decision-making processes regarding what information to provide and how to provide it. In fact, the presupposition discussed here covers much more than our definition, as the former has involved anything that could possibly be related to translation or communication, such as the knowledge the target readers have, and the information that is shared between translators and target readers; however, in this study, the discussion is restricted to the three levels of human needs, communication principles, and textualisation principles, as detailed in section 4.

5.2 Analysis of an advertisement translation

In this section, we will analyse an excerpt from a bilingual advertisement for a restaurant according to the framework of presuppositions established in section 4, focusing on the use of second-person reference. What follows is the text which appears on the advertisement for the restaurant. (Note that a back-translation of the Chinese text into English appears immediately after the Chinese text.)

> Chef Rene's philosophy is very simple, quality produce cooked precisely and presented with the minimum of fuss, utilizing the freshest and finest of products. La Terrasse is organizing an exquisite menu on the occasion of Le French May anniversary!

> 主厨 Rene 相信食物质量才是餐厅的灵魂，无论对烹调手法还是材料选择均一丝不苟，今年更为了庆祝法国五月欢度十五周年，特别为您设计了一系列精选菜式，富有品味的您又怎可错过这次一尝法式风味的机会呢？

> ['Chef Rene believes that the food quality is the soul of the restaurant. He is meticulous in cooking methods and choosing materials. Particularly, he has prepared a selected menu for you in order to celebrate the 15th anniversary of French May. How can you, who are tasteful, miss this opportunity to try the French style?']

In both of the versions, direct address is applied. Addressing the readers directly involves them in the construction of textual meaning, which facilitates their understanding and enhances the textual effect. In this sense, it can be traced back to the presuppositions concerning the processibility, clarity, and expressibility of textualisation as stated in section 4.2.3. The use of direct address is intended to increase readers' participation in the communication and sympathy between the text producer and text recipients, which shows cooperation and politeness. Therefore, it is also related to the presupposition about readers' social/love needs and esteem

needs. As to how the original readers and the target readers are addressed, this can be analysed in connection with the translator's presuppositions about the target readers' values, interests or expectations. A comparison of the two versions shows that second-person reference is handled flexibly in the translation. In the English version, no second-person pronoun is used; the text merely describes the chef's working philosophy without addressing anyone specific. Still, the last sentence can be interpreted as that the restaurant is preparing an exquisite menu for the customers: "La Terrasse is organizing an exquisite menu <u>for you</u> on the occasion of Le French May anniversary!" In this sense, it is also a case of second-person address. In the Chinese version, direct address is applied via the second-person pronoun "您" (*nin*, 'you'), a respectful form of address in Chinese, in the last sentence, "富有品味的您又怎可錯過這次一嘗法式風味的機會呢？" ('How can you, who are tasteful, miss this opportunity to try the French style?').

Such flexibility in handling second-person reference in advertisement translation is closely related to translators' understanding or presupposition concerning how to address the target readers' social/love and esteem needs properly, show cooperation and politeness, win their favour, deepen their impression, and promote the product or service. It is possible that the quality of translation and the application of second-person reference are related to the individual translator's competence and preference of style. However, we believe that the translator has taken into account the target readers' needs and expectations, consciously or subconsciously, when making the decisions to adapt the ways of second-person reference; this is because he/she has clear aims in translating the advertisement, that is, to involve the target readers' participation, deepen their impression, win their favour, and promote the product. In this sense, the adaptations made about second-person reference in advertisement translation are considered to be in accordance with the target readers' needs and expectations.

As explained in section 4.2.2, an important politeness maxim for the Chinese readers states that one should show difference between the old and the young, or the superior and the subordinate, when addressing them. In other words, respect is presupposed to be shown to others, particularly to those who are superior in terms of age or social ranking. This is why the respectful form is applied in the Chinese text to address the potential customers. While the English system also mentions that one is supposed to show more agreement and sympathy with others, the ways to address others are not as specified as in the Chinese politeness maxims. How to properly address the readers is related to the satisfaction of their social/love needs and esteem needs. The difference in terms of addressing the readers in the two versions shows that the ways to satisfy the readers' needs differ across cultures, at least according to the translator's perceptions. In short, translators make decisions as to how to address the target readers properly according to their presuppositions about the target readers' needs and expectations, and analysing the textual differences can shed light on the translator's presuppositions which further help to reveal the nuanced cultural and linguistic differences.

6. Conclusion

In this research, we have elaborated on the concept of 'presupposition' with reference to translation studies, and discussed presuppositions which are closely related to context. Exploring presuppositions from the contextual perspective shows insight into translators' decision-making processes, and provides reference when analysing specific translations. Although the workings of presuppositions are often subconscious, translators can make conscious use of such presuppositions to produce more effective translations which are in line

with the target readers' needs, values, interests, and expectations. In future research, the presuppositions analysed in this paper which are involved in translation can be further specified and tested.

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The multiple possibilities of interpretation in products of bilingual writing: André Brink's *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* as a total text[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores the concept of 'bilingual writing' by examining two products of André Brink's bilingual writing process, namely *Praying Mantis* (2005) and *Bidsprinkaan* (2005). After a brief overview of Brink's oeuvre, a theoretical perspective on bilingual writing is provided, along with a discussion of related concepts such as 'translation' and 'self-translation'. Following the theoretical perspective, a stereoscopic reading of the two versions of the novel aims to show how multiple possibilities of interpretation are opened up by the use of two languages of production, and how the two versions, when read together, form a total text that travels beyond traditional conceptions of both writing and translating. In *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*, Brink employs magical realism to challenge various traditional boundaries, such as between reality and fiction, history and myth, etc. Situating both versions of the novel in a sphere of magical realism, where boundaries are constantly transgressed and where even the ordinary is given "a sense of the extraordinary" (Brink 1998:31), Brink confronts his readers with different perspectives and provides them with an almost endless range of possibilities of interpretation that leads to various possible readings of the text. Not only is the magical as well as the real world opened up in the text, but also the magical and the real world as conceptualised in two different languages and cultural environments.

Keywords: André Brink, Bidsprinkaan, bilingual writing, Praying Mantis, total text

1. Introduction

South African literator André Brink is best known as a novelist, in South Africa as well as internationally. He is the author of some 25 novels to date, of which his latest, *Philida*, was published in 2012. Brink has received literary awards in various countries and has been nominated for prestigious international prizes such as the Booker Prize and the Nobel Prize in Literature. His works have been translated into more than 30 languages, and prominent English-language newspapers in the United Kingdom and the United States, such as *The New York*

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[1] This paper is based on research for a PhD in Translation at the Department of Afrikaans and Dutch at Stellenbosch University.

Times, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Economist*, continue to publish reviews of Brink's novels as well as interviews with the author (cf., for instance, Dovey 2013, Day 2012, Flanery 2012, and Author Unknown 2012).

During the 1970s and 1980s especially, Brink was a well-known anti-apartheid political activist, and the novels he published during this time were mostly of a political nature. In 1973, Brink published *Kennis van die Aand* (lit. "Knowledge of the Evening"), a novel that tells the story of Joseph Malan, a black South African man awaiting his execution after having been found guilty of murdering the white woman with whom he had a relationship. The book was banned in South Africa under the Publications Act of 1962 due to, among other things, the depiction of a sexual relationship between a black man and a white woman, which was illegal in South Africa during that time. After it was banned, Brink decided to translate the novel into English and to approach an international publisher in order to enable him to keep writing and publishing. This decision resulted in the novel *Looking on Darkness* (1974), Brink's own English translation of *Kennis van die Aand*. This translation represents a new phase in Brink's writing process, given that after translating *Kennis van die Aand*, he has produced an English as well as an Afrikaans version of all of his novels. Although Brink initially self-translated (in the traditional sense of the word) his works, by first completing the Afrikaans version of a novel and subsequently translating it into English, this process started to evolve into one of simultaneous bilingual writing. Brink now writes both the Afrikaans and English versions of a novel at the same time, and creating the work in both languages has become part of his writing process[2].

Brink continues to be one of the most respected figures in Afrikaans literary circles and enjoys international esteem as an award-winning author. His significant contribution to Afrikaans literature and his role as an anti-apartheid activist played important parts in establishing his privileged position, and many critics are of the opinion that Brink continues to add important works of literature to an impressive oeuvre. In a review of Brink's Afrikaans novel *Bidsprinkaan*, Painter (2005) states that Brink deserves all the attention that this novel, as well as Brink's career in general, has received. According to Painter (2005), Brink not only helped shape Afrikaans literary prose, but, through his creative works, reviews and translations, he significantly broadened the frame of reference of his readers by consistently challenging the political imagination and sensitivity of white Afrikaans readers in particular. In his novels, Brink has not only challenged his readers with regard to political and social issues, but also Afrikaans literary conventions. Constantly reinventing his literary and narrative styles and techniques in order to challenge and explore limits and possibilities of writing and fiction, Brink has employed various literary styles in his novels over the years.

This paper will focus on Brink's *Praying Mantis* (2005) and *Bidsprinkaan* (2005), the English and Afrikaans versions of his novel, both of which are products of a bilingual writing process[3]. Firstly, a theoretical perspective of bilingual writing will be provided, focusing on experiences of bilingual writers and common features of bilingual texts, such as hybridity and multiple

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[2] For accounts of Brink's writing process as well as his own perspective on how he writes, see, for instance, Brink's account in Viljoen (2005), as well as De Roubaix (2012).

[3] Brink's texts *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* are viewed and published as two autonomous novels. For terminological consistency however, since it is my argument in this paper that these two novels should be considered one "total text", I refer to *Praying Mantis* as the "English version" of the novel and to *Bidsprinkaan* as the "Afrikaans version".

possibilities of interpretation. Following the theoretical perspective, *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* will be read stereoscopically with the aim of showing, by discussing examples from both versions of the text, how multiple possibilities of interpretation are opened up by the use of two languages. A discussion following the textual examples indicates how the two versions, when read together, form a total text that travels beyond traditional notions of both writing and translating and that challenges readers to do the same. The paper concludes with final remarks on bilingual writing and the notion of a 'total text'.

2. Theoretical perspective

Krause (2007:150) argues that "the very possibility of self-translation demands certain socio-cultural attributes", citing bilingualism and biculturalism as preconditions for self-translation. The term "self-translation", as used by Krause and as it will be used in this paper, refers to a process by which "the author of a literary text completed in one language subsequently reproduces it in a second language" (Whyte 2002:64)[4], or the product resulting from such a process. Krause's argument, that self-translation as a process requires a bilingual and bicultural author, could also be said to hold true for bilingual writing. Bilingual writing can be defined as the practice of writing in which an author creates two versions of a text in two languages at the same time. The term can be likened to the notion of 'dual creation', used by Beaujour (1989) to refer to Samuel Beckett's bilingual works. According to Beaujour (1989:112), Beckett "practiced something that is in fact a kind of dual creation" when he translated his own works. The term "dual creation" emphasises the idea that both texts are autonomous creative works produced by the author, rather than one being a translation of the other (also cf. Krause 2007:161). Dual creations or products of bilingual writing therefore "render the distinction between original writing and translation impossible" (Krause 2007:161).

Although emphasising bilingualism and biculturalism with reference to self-translation and bilingual writing might appear redundant at first glance, focusing on these characteristics of self-translators and bilingual writers becomes particularly important when studying products of self-translation or bilingual writing. The notions of 'bilingualism' and 'biculturalism' also accentuate various problems faced by self-translators or bilingual writers, and these problems or challenges often find their way into the texts produced by these authors. Anita Desai (2003:13), for instance, recounts her initial reactions to life in America as a state of continuous confusion: "I found it hard to understand what was said to me, and people found it equally hard to understand me. […] Also I found that I laughed at things others considered serious and that they spoke at length of matters I would not think of divulging in public. I was a foreigner". Many other self-translators or bilingual writers recount similar experiences of displacement and feeling lost in a new linguistic and cultural environment, especially initially.

For some authors who negotiate bilingualism and biculturalism, a more positive experience of living in two languages and cultures seem to arise eventually. Ursula Hegi (1997), who has written about her experience of being German in America, says that being bilingual is "a deeper way of seeing". This sense of heightened awareness of cultures, languages, identities, and all of the interplays between them, is often alluded to by self-translators and bilingual writers, as

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[4] Providing a detailed account of self-translation and/or bilingual writing falls beyond the scope of this paper. For a comprehensive overview of the history and theory of self-translation, see, for instance, Hokenson and Munson (2007) and Grutman (2009). For recent accounts of the study of self-translation and bilingual writing, see, for instance, Boyden and De Bleeker (2013) and Cordingley (2013).

well as by migrant writers. According to Ariel Dorfman (2003:30), for instance, "all migrants through history have invariably transferred with them the syllables and significances enclosed in the language they learned as they grew". The constant challenge of having to negotiate their entire existence and their identity in (at least) two languages and two cultures not only causes various problems and crises in the lives of bilingual authors, but it can also sharpen their awareness of languages and cultures. Perhaps one of their biggest challenges can be said to eventually become one of their most valuable abilities.

Assia Djebar (2003:20), an Algerian novelist writing in French, has come to think of language and writing as part of her identity:

> I present myself first as a writer, a novelist, as if the act of writing,
> when it is daily, solitary to the point of asceticism, might come to
> modify the weight of belonging. Because identity is not made up
> of only paper or blood but also of *language*. And if it seems that
> language, as is frequently said, is a "means of communication," it
> is above all for me as a writer, a "means of transformation,"
> insofar as I practice writing as an *adventure*.

The multiplicity of identity, and especially the fluidity of it, is also discussed by Nayak. According to him, any notion of identity, whether it be cultural, political, national, etc., in a postmodern, postcolonial world "is a fluid one and is in a constant state of flux" (Nayak 2010:43). This also holds true for the identity of the writer, and Nayak (2010) emphasises that "the postcolonial critic needs to be aware of the fluidity of identities and the constant mingling of identities which leads to an "in-between" identity that challenges the notion of an authentic national/cultural/literary identity". For Nayak (2010:43):

> [i]t is when such a postcolonial perspective is brought forth that
> the importance of a bilingual writer in a multi-cultural and multi-
> linguistic framework […] can be properly understood. The
> bilingual writer, by his very linguistic choice is a testimony to the
> postcolonial experience of hybridity that deconstructs the notion
> of polarities and binaries and embodies the existence of a 'third
> space' (Bhabha 1994:37) that is not limited by historically ill-
> informed identity politics.

It is not the aim of this paper to delve into postcolonial or cultural theories of translation, but Nayak's (2010) assertion is of particular significance. Bilingual writers, occupying spaces between two languages and cultures, create texts that call for readers, especially critics, to be aware of their in-between positions. Perceiving an "original" or "translation" created by a bilingual writer as the sole or as an autonomous version of a text fails to recognise the multicultural and multilingual framework within which the text was created and is situated.

According to Gaddis Rose (1997:7), a translation "proclaims that this is what the work in question meant to that translator on the date he or she declared the translation finished. It marks an understanding that is time-bound or ideology-cued."[5] The finished translation product

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[5] The notion of translation as interpretation comes to mind here, as well as considerations of agency and the power of the translator.

represents the translator's interpretation of (the meaning of) a text, and that product is likely to be marketed and read as the original author's work in the new language. In the case of self-translation and bilingual writing, the situation is altered; the new version of the text created by the author represents the author's interpretation of (the meaning of) the text in a different language.

Gaddis Rose (1997) uses the notion of 'stereoscopic reading' to emphasise the importance of reading a source text alongside its translation(s). She ascribes the term "stereoscopic reading" to Joanne Englebert, and defines it as follows: "It means simply using both the original language text and one (or more) translations while reading and teaching. Stereoscopic reading makes it possible to intuit and reason out the interliminal" (1997:90). For Gaddis Rose (1997:7), stereoscopic reading is essential, since:

> [i]f we do not juxtapose a work and the translations it elicits, we risk missing many a gift inside the borders. Each phrase, each sentence, each paragraph has a boundary that is more a threshold than a barrier. Those are the boundaries of the original, the text as first composed and those of its counterparts in translation. Each boundary can be crossed inasmuch as a threshold provides an entry.

These "thresholds", as Gaddis Rose describes the possible interpretations of a (part of a) text, creates a space for readers to bring their own worlds of experience and frames of reference to the text and to construe their own interpretations. When considering stereoscopic reading in the case of self-translation or bilingual writing, the question arises as to how the author's interpretation of the text in a new language influences the possibilities of interpretation. Gaddis Rose (1997:36) uses Baudelaire's translation of Poe as a case study to examine how the presence of an authoritative translator influences the reader's response:

> As a reader, Baudelaire has so much authority that we may feel initially that this is the only authentic expansion of Poe's text. But what Baudelaire has provided in fact is another set of bornes [sic] for our own interliminal spaces.

Translators, as readers, bring to the text their worlds of experience and frames of reference which form the basis of their interpretations of the text. A translator's version of a text could thus present the reader with an additional interpretation – it could open up the text to more possibilities and expand the original. Even in the case of an authoritative translator, as Gaddis Rose argues, this is possible as a translation produced by a well-known translator will not limit readers' interpretations of a text, but could rather create for the reader additional possibilities of interpretation.

With reference to self-translation and bilingual writing, the question then arises as to whether a "translation"[6] created by the author could equally achieve this opening up of the text for the reader, or whether an author's own translation deprives the reader of an interpretation by

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[6] I use the word "translation" here, but I am referring to any version(s) of a text created by the author, such as two products of a bilingual writing process, even if they may not be viewed as "translations" in the traditional sense of the word.

another person – a translator – that would stem from a different world of experience. This is linked to the question of whether authors are the best or ideal translators of their own work (cf. Krause 2007:167). This question is examined further in section 4 but, in my opinion, the (rare) stereoscopic reader can in fact gain from reading two versions of a text created by the author, since such readers become privy to another interpretation imagined and intended by the author him-/herself. Since self-translators and bilingual writers are generally believed to take more liberties with their own texts than translators will with the works of other authors (cf. Boyden and De Bleeker 2013:180), products of self-translations and bilingual writing often constitute significantly different versions of the same text. In this regard, the stereoscopic reader gains access to a broader story-world than the one represented in one version of a text.

Cordingley (2013:3) emphasises the hybridity of cultures and claims that writers who self-translate are especially aware of "both the hybridity of the culture(s) s/he is writing within and of her or his own writing". The same can be said of bilingual writers. Because self-translators and bilingual writers are able to expertly function in more than one language and culture, they are constantly aware of the interplay between the two languages and cultures. Consequently, Cordingley (2013:3) argues that "self-translators share with many other writers from the margins the tendency to subvert the possibility that their writing affirms a singular national culture or literature". This heightened awareness of hybridity is often also textually realised in the works of self-translators and bilingual writers whose literary scenarios typically include "wanderers and their confrontations with the limits of language(s), characters who are faced with their doubles, identities which morph with the use of different languages, the mystery and frustration of the untranslatable or that which falls between the cracks when two cultures meet" (Cordingley 2013:3). This description is particularly relevant with reference to *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*, since the main character is challenged with almost exactly these problems, as will be discussed in following sections.

It becomes evident, then, that hybridity characterises not only the external and textual environments of self-translators and bilingual writers, "but the internal bilingual and bicultural space out of which their creativity emerges" (Cordingley 2013:3). Fitch (1988:158) phrases it as follows: "The bilingual writer is not merely aware of the existence of a multiplicity of tongues but lives in the continual presence of this awareness during the very act of writing". In the case of Brink, he frequently explores such multiplicities in terms of the limits of narration. Brink's novels often have different voices telling different versions of the same stories, especially when he employs fiction to write or rewrite history. The "typically postmodern phenomenon" of "[the] blurring of borderlines between history and storytelling" is also considered one of the key features of Brink's post-apartheid novels (Kauer 2007:57).

In *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*, Brink employs clashing narrative perspectives, and some stories in different parts of the two versions contradict one another. For Brink, these conflicting stories, and especially the possibility of conceiving of them, are of essential importance (cf. Brand 2005:15). In the opening sentence of the novel, the reader is told that Cupido Cockroach, the main character, was not born but "hatched from the stories" his mother told about him. Different accounts of his birth are then provided, and already in the very first sentence of the novel, the reader is prompted to consider various alternatives in the interpretation of an event. Burger (2007:82) points out that the possibility that everything can be called into existence by narration is often addressed throughout Brink's oeuvre.

According to Bowers (2004:57), "[…] the need to reconsider [South Africa's] history and its mythologies in the light of the nation's new post-apartheid political conditions provide a motivation for Afrikaner writers to employ magical realist techniques". Bowers (2004) claims that Brink has played an important role in establishing magical realism in both Afrikaans and English literature. She argues that Brink's novels *Imaginings of Sand* (1996) and *Devil's Valley* (1998), specifically, "are attempts to rethink the position of Afrikaners in the new cross-cultural South Africa, particularly in relation to the denial of influence of indigenous African myth in a mainly strict protestant Christian context". *Bidsprinkaan* and *Praying Mantis* can, in my opinion, be added to this list, even though they might not have been written in a period when "cross-cultural South Africa" could be said to be "new". The relationship between the Christian missionaries and the indigenous African inhabitants not only forms the basis of the storyline, but in the magical realistic narrative style it becomes the story used by Brink to address complex interplays between religion and tradition, history and myth, truth and fiction, etc.

One of the effects of the use of magical realism in the novel is that there is a constant interplay between the real world and the supernatural world, and between what is real and what is imagined. As such, a shadow of the supernatural world seems often to be present in references to the real world, and depictions of the real world frequently carry with them a hint of the supernatural. An example from the English version that depicts this presence of the extraordinary in the ordinary is where the reverend, James Read, after a conversation with Cupido about faith, describes Cupido walking away from him as follows (Brink 2005:157):

> He walked away, into the sun. It was shining directly in my eyes,
> so I could only see his slight, angular silhouette – resembling
> some stick insect, a grasshopper or a harvester cricket or a mantis
> perhaps – as it dwindled into the distance, a small cloud of dust
> surrounding his head like a halo. A most curious impression, as if
> he did not so much move towards the sun as right into it. Until he
> disappeared in the blinding blaze.

Brink's use of magical realism in *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*[7] provides almost endless possibilities for narration as well as for interpretation. One of the key features of magical realism, the "matter-of-fact, realist tone of its narrative when presenting magical happenings" (Bowers 2004:3), is a common narrative strategy used in *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*. By creating a text that "naturalises the supernatural, integrating fantastic or mythical features smoothly into the otherwise realistic momentum of the narrative" (Warnes 2009:151), Brink blurs the boundaries between real and imagined, story and history. According to Burger (2007:85), the magical-realistic narrative style in which the unbelievable combines with the believable and is narrated in a tone of realism, leads to an increased awareness of the possibilities of narration. Furthermore, magical realism in the text undermines the notion that rationality is the only way in which the world can be investigated and understood (Burger 2007:85). In addition to the multiple layers of interpretation created by Brink's use of magical realism, simultaneously writing the text in two languages is likely to add further possibilities of meaning and interpretation, a possibility that will be investigated by stereoscopically reading *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*.

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[7] Brink's use of magical realism has received mixed reviews (cf., for instance, Visagie 2005, Roos 2007).

3.   A stereoscopic reading of *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*

3.1 Background of the story

Praying Mantis (and *Bidsprinkaan*) is the story of the colourful character Cupido Cockroach, a historical Khoi native. The novel recounts his life story, from his magical birth – he wasn't born, but "hatched from the stories" told about him (Brink 2005b) – and early years to his first encounter with Christianity, his struggles with the oppositions between his culture and Christianity, and his experiences after becoming the first Hottentot to be sworn in as a missionary. Brink employs magical realism and, at times, an almost surrealist style (cf. Painter 2005) to emphasise various dichotomies, such as between fact and fiction, reality and imagination, scientific historiography and oral tradition (cf. Brand 2005:15), and history and memory. In the novel, constant tensions between local spirituality and Christianity, between oral tradition and the written word, between native and colonial (cf. Painter 2005), form the central themes that challenge the characters as well as the reader.

A stereoscopic reading of the Afrikaans and English[8] versions of the novel proves to be a functional experiment that highlights a number of particularly interesting aspects of both versions as well as the creative process[9]. Starting with the paratexts[10], the titles of the two versions of the novel, specifically the subtitle of the Afrikaans version, represents one of the first and most notable differences between the two versions. The main titles, *Bidsprinkaan* and *Praying Mantis*, are the Afrikaans and English names of the insect to which they refer. Both words have a religious connotation: "praying" in English and "bid" in Afrikaans[11]. The Afrikaans version then has the subtitle, *'n Ware storie* ('A true story'), which does not occur in the English version. Brink has said that he had originally wanted the subtitle *A true story* to be included in the English version as well, but his publishers discouraged this. Apparently, they were worried that the committee awarding the Booker Prize would not accept the novel as fiction if it had the subtitle of *A true story* (cf. Brand 2005). The English version has the phrase "a novel" as a kind of metatextual subtitle instead. The subtitle of the Afrikaans version, even with the paradox of "true story", immediately frames this version as historical fiction and lends a sense of reality to the events in the text. A reader examining the titles of both versions of the novel, who might not be familiar with the reasoning behind excluding the subtitle *A true story* from the English version, might wonder about this considerable difference between the two versions. This then leads to the question of whether the subtitle influences the perspective from which the reader approaches the text, and if a reader confronted with both versions of a subtitle might look for differences between the two versions that point back to the differences between the subtitles.

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[8] The specific editions of *Bidsprinkaan* and *Praying Mantis* used for the analysis are listed in the bibliography. It did not fall within the scope of this paper to compare different editions of both versions of the novel, but further research on the topic might provide interesting insights, especially with reference to paratextual elements.

[9] Due to limitations of space, the stereoscopic reading will not be conducted as a systematic analysis of both versions. Instead, the titles of and relevant examples from both versions will be discussed in order to give an indication of some of the differences in the two versions of the text. The focus is especially on differences between *Bidsprinkaan* and *Praying Mantis* that could give rise to different interpretations, as the main aim of this article is to establish whether the two versions could be said to constitute a total text that is "more than the sum of its parts" (Brink 1998:31).

[10] See Genette (1997) for a definition of "paratext".

[11] The name of the praying mantis alludes to the physical appearance of the insect – its front legs are often folded together in a prayer-like fashion.

The sense of reality and historical factuality alluded to by the Afrikaans subtitle (*'n Ware storie*) is reinforced by the text on the blurb of the Afrikaans version, of which the first sentence reads "Dokumente vermeld dat Kupido Kakkerlak omstreeks 1760 tot 1825 geleef het" ('Documents state that Cupido Cockroach lived from approximately 1760 to 1825'). Conversely, the blurb of the English version focuses on summarising the rather dramatic life of Cupido Cockroach, and does not include a reference to historical documents. In the final paragraph of the blurb, however, the reader is made aware of the historical basis of the novel: "In a heady mixture of comedy and tragedy, the real and the mystical, *Praying Mantis* explores through the historical figure of Cupido Cockroach the origins of racial tension in the shadowlands between myth and history" (Brink 2005b). This last sentence effectively introduces the reader to the magical realist style of the novel, where the "shadowlands", the boundaries between myth and history, fact and fiction, etc., become the space in which everything takes place.

According to Beaujour (1989), self-translation "makes a text retrospectively incomplete" and therefore "both versions [of a text] become avatars of a hypothetical total text in which the versions in both languages would rejoin one another and be reconciled". This idea could also be applied to bilingual writing, and a stereoscopic reading of *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* will serve to explore the notion of a 'hypothetical total text'. In the following section, a stereoscopic reading of *Bidsprinkaan* and *Praying Mantis* will be conducted. This reading will focus on comparisons of the portrayal of cultural customs, characterisation and the recounting of events in the two versions of the novel. The aim here is not to conduct an in-depth micro-level analysis of word choices, syntactic patterns, style, shifts, etc. Rather, the goal is to attempt to establish whether a stereoscopic reading of the two versions of the text is functional, whether it can lead to insights regarding the relationship and interplay between these parallel versions, and whether it can be said that a "hypothetical total text" exists.

3.1.1 Cultural customs and beliefs of the Khoi

Cupido Cockroach is a Khoi native and the customs, beliefs and traditions of the Khoi play an important role in the novel. One of the central tensions in the narrative rests on the contrast between the Khoi culture and traditions, and western – especially Christian – religion. Cupido grapples with abandoning his traditional cultural customs and beliefs in favour of Christianity, and the implications that his conversion to Christianity has not only for himself, but also for his family. Brink's use of magical realism highlights the mystical nature of the Khoi culture and constantly challenges the reader to adjust to new perspectives – different ways of looking at the world, religion, history, etc. The novel begins with the story of how Cupido Cockroach was born, a story of which multiple accounts exist. According to one account of his birth, Cupido was a twin – the weaker one – and in keeping with Khoi custom, he was left out in the veld after birth so that wild animals could dispose of him. While lying in the veld, an eagle snatched him up and later dropped him somewhere far away. When the eagle dropped him, Cupido fell into the lap of the woman who would become his mother.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:3-4)
> Many of her listeners favoured the version that Cupido had been one of twins and, being very obviously the weaker of the two, had been laid out in the veld **according to the immemorial custom of the Khoikhoin** (or, as they were commonly known late in the eighteenth century where it happened, the Hottentots). At some stage, the story goes, an eagle came diving down from the heavens, a magnificent bateleur

from the distant mountains, scooped up the barely wriggling infant in its talons and then, in the way these birds would kill a tortoise, lost – or dropped – it very far from there, in the godforsaken upper reaches of the Great Karoo known as the Koup, where distance loses all meaning and pure space takes over. The baby landed in the lap of the woman who was sleeping in the veld, and when she woke up, the child was there, and hers.

Bidsprinkaan (2005:10)
Party van haar toehoorders het verkies om haar te glo as sy vertel dat Kupido een van 'n tweeling was. Synde die swakste van die twee, is hy volgens ou Khoikhoigewoonte op die veld uitgelê **waar die wilde diere van hom ontslae kon raak**. Op die een of ander tydstip, so loop die storie, het 'n arend, 'n pragtige bergarend uit die verste verte, die bloedjie uit sy kloue opgeraap en met hom weggevlieg asof hy 'n skilpad was en hom baie ver daarvan laat val, bokant die godverlate haaivlak van die Koup in die dorte van die Karoo, waar afstand nie meer sin maak nie en daar nog net pure ruimte oor is. Die baba het op die skoot van 'n vrou beland wat daar op die vlak gesit-slaap het, en toe sy wakker word, toe was die kind daar, en hare. *Al wat sy geweet het – hoe, sou niemand kon sê nie – was dat die arend weer eendag, eendag, sou terugkom om die skepseltjie saam met hom terug te neem na waar hy ook al vandaan gekom het.*

['Some of her listeners chose to believe her when she told them that Cupido was a twin. Being the weaker of the two, he was laid out in the veld, according to the old Khoi tradition, **where the wild animals could dispose of him.** At one stage or another, so the story goes, an eagle, a beautiful bateleur from the furthest far, snatched up the little creature in his claws, flew away with him as if he were a tortoise and dropped him very far from there, above the godforsaken plains of the Koup in the drought of the Karoo, where distance no longer makes sense and where only pure space is left. The baby landed on the lap of a woman who sat sleeping on the plain, and when she woke up, the child was there, and hers. *All that she knew – how, nobody could say – was that the eagle would return someday, someday, to take the little creature back with him to wherever he came from.*']¹²

The Afrikaans version mentions that the Khoi custom according to which Cupido had to be left in the veld because he was the weaker twin, entailed that wild animals were meant to dispose of him – a detail that is absent in the English version. The addition of the specifics of the custom, the appalling act of leaving a newborn baby out in the veld for wild animals to most likely kill and eat, adds to the reader's perception of the Khoi people as they are portrayed in the Afrikaans version. The matter-of-fact style in which this custom is related by the narrator leads to an almost factual, textbook-like account that points back to the subtitle of the Afrikaans version, *'n Ware storie* ('A true story'). The reader is immediately and almost shockingly made aware of the interplay between story and fact that will continue throughout the Afrikaans version.

In the English version, in contrast, the custom is described by saying that the newborn would be "laid out in the veld according to the immemorial custom of the Khoikhoin". The more subtle, almost ritual-like depiction of the custom seems to lend a quality of dignity not only to

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¹² Back-translations into English of all Afrikaans examples are provided below the Afrikaans examples.

the ritual itself but, by extension, to how the Khoi people are portrayed in the English version. This quality is enhanced by the use of the word "immemorial", which stands in contrast with the adjective "ou" ('old') used in the Afrikaans version. The narrator's portrayal of the Khoi tribe in the two versions of the text thus differs significantly, and readers who read either one of the two versions would likely have different initial perspectives on the Khoi people. In a stereoscopic reading, however, the reader is presented with both options, as it were. The contrasting depictions of the Khoi people in the two versions not only allow for the reader to unconsciously "choose" their own perspective, but they also hint at one of the central themes of the novel itself, namely the interplay between versions of a story – whether it be a story, a factual description, a version of history or a true story – and the questionable reliability of factual accounts and histories.

The excerpts provided above also show differences between the two versions which are not directly related to cultural customs, but are nonetheless important to mention here. One such difference that can be seen concerns additional, mostly explanatory, information presented in the English version. For example, the information about the name of the Khoikhoin people is included in the English version – most probably for the benefit of English readers outside of South Africa who might not be familiar with the country's historical background. An indication of the date ("late eighteenth century") is also provided for further contextualisation.

In this paragraph, the Afrikaans version, as shown in the excerpt above, ends the account of Cupido's birth with a prophetic vision that Cupido's mother had had about an eagle that would eventually come to take Cupido away. This vision points toward the end of the novel when Cupido leaves with a character named Arend, the Afrikaans word for "eagle". This sense of the unknown mixed with the supernatural – Cupido's mother knew he would be taken away by an eagle (or Arend), but she did not know how she knew it – emphasises the magical element in the novel. In the same way that the stories surrounding Cupido's birth contain an element of uncertainty and magic, this prophesy of his eventual departure with an eagle is vague and seems to be the result of a supernatural or magical vision. Cupido's mother seems to somehow know that an eagle will take Cupido away to wherever it is that he came from. It is thus not certain where Cupido came from, or where he will go when he eventually departs, only that an eagle is instrumental in both these events. Thus, the addition of the prophesy of the eagle in the Afrikaans version points to a full circle of Cupido's life – he was picked up and dropped into the lap of his mother by an eagle, and will be taken away by an eagle at the end. In this way, Cupido's character, his entire life, is situated within a sphere of magic and uncertainty in the Afrikaans version from a very early stage in the story. The prophesy of the eagle is absent in the English version, and the account of Cupido's birth in this version ends with the eagle dropping him into the lap of the woman who adopts him as her own son. There is thus no foretelling of the eagle's role at the end of Cupido's life and, as such, the symbolism of the eagle as a figure instrumental in Cupido's birth and death – almost a kind of a guide – is not as strong as in the Afrikaans version. The English version presents the reader with mysterious accounts of Cupido's birth but then leaves the reader to discover the rest of Cupido's story for him-/herself.

A stereoscopic reading of this last section of the paragraph illustrates how readers can be pointed towards different possibilities of approaching certain aspects of the novel. For instance, the Afrikaans version, with its symbolic representation of the circle of life and the figure of the eagle central to it, encourages the reader to envisage not only Cupido's birth or his arrival, but

his death, or rather departure, as well. As such, the Afrikaans version almost seems to create an expectation that the novel will also deal with Cupido's death or departure, and that the reader will be confronted with it. In this paragraph, the English version focuses on the magical nature of Cupido's birth or arrival. The reader is given the opportunity to view Cupido's life as more open-ended, without mention of an ending. The sense of the unknown adds to the mystery of reading – the reader is not given any hints about which aspects of Cupido's life the novel will deal with, or where in Cupido's life the novel might end, for instance, but rather has to discover it for him-/herself. Reading both versions allows the reader to access both options of approaching Cupido's life story – as a symbolic full circle filled with mystery and uncertainty, or as an open-ended possibility equally alive with mystery and uncertainty.

Another custom of the Khoi described in the novel is the way of paying tribute to the god Heitsi-Eibib by adding a stone to a pile of stones in his honour. As a result of this custom, piles of stones erected in honour of Heitsi-Eibib were visible throughout the landscape as monuments to the god. After his conversion to Christianity, whenever Cupido would come across piles of stones built for Heitsi-Eibib, he would destroy them. In the excerpts below, Cupido's mother takes him to one of these piles of stones shortly after his birth and adds a stone to it.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:10)
> After the birth […] the woman […] took him […] into the veld […] where there was a pile of stones erected by her people, a *heitsi-eibib*, one going back to the beginning of time […]. Because those were the days when the hunter-god Heitsi-Eibib was still going about freely among the people, **dying many times and in many ways**, and getting reborn all over the place. And whoever passed such a mound was required to add a stone to it, so that one could form part of the people who had lived before, and those still living, and those yet to come, united in the death and life of Heitsi-Eibib.

> *Bidsprinkaan* (2005:16)
> Ná die kind se geboorte […] het die vrou die kind […] die veld in geabba […] tot waar daar 'n klipstapel van haar mense was, 'n heitsi-eibib, een wat ver in die tyd teruggegaan het […]. Want dit was in die vroegtyd toe **die jagter-god Heitsi-Eibib, die maan-god Heitsi-Eibib, die boodskapper-god Heitsi-Eibib**, nog los onder die mense geloop het, en orals doodgegaan het en orals weer opgestaan het. En soos jy by so 'n stapel verbykom, **tot vandag toe**, sit jy nog 'n klip op die stapel, sodat jy saam met al die mense wat al was en wat nou nog is en wat later sal wees, deel kan hê aan die dood en die lewe van Heitsi-Eibib.

> ['After the child's birth, the woman carried the child on her back into the veld to where there was a pile of stones of her people, a heitsi-eibib, one that went far back into time. Because it was in the early time when **the hunter-god Heitsi-Eibib, the moon-god Heitsi-Eibib, the messenger-god Heitsi-Eibib**, still walked freely among the people, and died everywhere and rose again everywhere. And as you pass such a pile, **to this day**, you add another stone to the pile, so that you can have part of the death and the life of Heitsi-Eibib with all the people who have been and who are and who are yet to be.']

The English version of the text describes Heitsi-Eibib as a hunter-god who walked freely among the people. He died "many times and in many ways", and was "reborn all over the place". The Afrikaans version describes him as a hunter-god, a moon-god, a messenger-god who walked freely among the people, and died everywhere and rose again everywhere. When reading the two versions stereoscopically, a more complete description of Heitsi-Eibib arises that is not accessible by reading only one of the two versions. Such a complete description of Heitsi-Eibib would include his various roles or embodiments (hunter-god, moon-god and messenger-god), and that he died everywhere, many times and in many ways, and was reborn everywhere. A complete description of Heitsi-Eibib and the link between him and the custom of adding a stone to a pile in his honour would also include the observation from the Afrikaans version that this custom is still upheld today. This statement seems to anchor the narrator's description of a cultural custom in the real world, pointing towards the boundaries between the real world and the story world, between fact and fiction.

Along with their various cultural customs, many superstitions govern the daily activities of the Khoi. One of these superstitions, related to hares, is mentioned when Cupido is taught to hunt by the god Heitsi-Eibib.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:25)
> But it is when it comes to hunting that Heitsi-Eibib really takes him in charge. It begins with small buck – oribi, grysbok, suni, steenbok (**never a hare, as this repulsive creature with its split lip is the messenger of death**).

> *Bidsprinkaan* (2005:25)
> Dit is veral wanneer dit by jag kom dat Heitsi-Eibib hom onder hande neem. Eers is dit net klein bokkies – oorbietjie, soenie, steenbok, grysbok (**nooit hase nie, want dié ding met sy lip wat deur die Maan self gesplyt is, bring die tyding van die dood**).

> ['It is especially when it comes to hunting that Heitsi-Eibib takes him in charge. First it is only small buck – oribi, suni, steenbok, Cape grysbok (**never hares, because that thing with its lip split by the Moon itself, brings the tiding of death**).']

The belief that hares are messengers of death keeps Cupido from hunting them. Here again, combining the depictions of the hare in both versions of the text creates a more detailed, complete portrayal. The hare is viewed as a repulsive creature (as mentioned in the English version) whose lip was split by the moon (as the Afrikaans version recounts). The addition of the belief that the moon split the hare's lip adds to the myth surrounding the creature. The references to the moon and its being a messenger of death also hark back to the description of Heitsi-Eibib discussed above, namely him being a hunter-god, moon-god and messenger-god. Furthermore, the two different versions can lead to different interpretations of how the hare and death are related. In the English version of the text, it is stated that the hare is "the messenger of death", which could be interpreted as the hare delivering messages on behalf of death. The hare would thus work with or even for death, an interpretation that adds to the "repulsive" nature of the creature as depicted here. According to the Afrikaans version, the hare brings the tiding of death. Although this description could be interpreted in the same way as the English version, it seems as if in the Afrikaans version the hare is portrayed as a messenger who has to bring the

tiding of death and is not necessarily instructed or employed by death itself. Naturally, the interpretation would depend on the reader, but a stereoscopic reading of this description of the hare shows how considering even the slightest differences between two versions of a text can open up possibilities of interpretation that might not have been equally obvious or accessible when only one of the versions was read.

3.1.2 Characterisation

An investigation of how characters are portrayed in the text, by reading the two versions stereoscopically, can be particularly insightful. Cupido Cockroach is characterised by using various narrative techniques[13]. One of the most common narrative techniques of characterisation, namely a description of the character by the narrator, is shown in the excerpts below:

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:8)
> What was more, as the mother approached the bundle for the second time, it stirred. As if to make quite sure that they would not be mistaken, it even uttered a feeble little sound of whining. And when the black tatters of the scarecrow's tailcoat were unfolded, **the baby** was alive and staring up at them in mild amusement.

> *Bidsprinkaan* (2005:14)
> Wat meer is, toe die ma weer buk om die bondeltjie op te tel, toe roer dit. En asof **die dingetjie** wil seker maak dat niemand hom vergis nie, uiter hy 'n kermgeluidjie. En toe die swart doodskleed van die **apiegesiggie** wegggevou word, lê hy daar met die sweem van 'n glimlaggie na hulle en kyk, behoorlik asof hy geamuseerd is.

> ['What was more, when the mother bowed again to pick up the little bundle, it stirred. And as if **the little thing** wanted to make sure nobody thought they were mistaken, he uttered a small whimpering sound. And when the black shroud was folded away from the **little monkey face**, he lay there looking at them with the hint of a smile, almost as if he were amused.']

In the Afrikaans version, baby Cupido is described as a creature-like little thing with a face resembling that of a monkey. He is portrayed as barely being human, which refers back to the mysterious accounts of his birth as well as to the opening line of the novel which states that Cupido was "hatched from" the stories told about him (Brink 2005b:3), rather than being born in any natural way. The English version of the text, on the other hand, refers to him as "the baby", making the figure seem more human, and makes no mention of his face resembling that of a monkey. The Afrikaans version therefore seems to depict Cupido as more creature-like than human-like through detailed references to his features that are not present in the English version. The following excerpts serve as further examples:

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:14)
> For his mother always keeps him close to her, scared that something might happen to him. One never knows, with **a little thing as frail as that**, when someone might just give him a shove in passing – and what would happen to him then?

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[13] This paper does not aim to provide a narratological analysis of the novels, and therefore a discussion of narratological elements will not be provided here. Terms such as "characterisation", "narrator", etc. are used here in their most common senses. For a detailed account of narratology, see, for instance, Bal (1999).

Bidsprinkaan (2005:20)
Want sy ma probeer hom altyd naby haar hou, bang hy sal iets oorkom – hy is so **'n tingerige skepseltjie met sy stokkiesdun arms en sy graatjiebene**, netnou gee iemand hom in die verbygaan sommer 'n oorveeg of 'n trap en wat word dan van hom?

['Because his mother tries to always keep him close to her, scared that something might happen to him – he is such **a frail little creature with his stick-thin arms and fish-bone legs**, what if someone just smacked or kicked him in passing, what would become of him then?']

Here, the Afrikaans version refers to Cupido as a frail little creature, with arms as thin as sticks and equally skinny legs[14]. The imaginative use of language results in a vivid and even comical image created of the young Cupido (a 'frail little creature with his stick-thin arms and fish-bone legs'). In a stereoscopic reading, this image would be accessible to all readers, along with the effect of using rich descriptive language, especially when comparing the above-mentioned description of Cupido in the Afrikaans version with the English version's less colourful description of him as "a little thing as frail as that".

Brink also employs various other narrative strategies to enable readers to construct an image of a character, such as characterisation through dialogue and the direct words of the characters. The owner of the farm on which Cupido and his mother lived when he was a young boy, for instance, is portrayed as an ill-tempered man prone to violence. These characteristics are emphasised by the expletives that the farm owner uses.

Praying Mantis (2005:6)
[A]ll he could do […] was to mutter, "These **goddamned** creatures multiply like **bloody** cockroaches, they must be drawn by the smell of food." Whereupon the farmer turned on his heel and left, peevishly slapping the virgin whip against the bottoms of his mole-skin trousers.

Bidsprinkaan (2005:12)
Al wat hy deur sy baard gebrom het, was: "Die goed teel ook aan nes kakkerlakke. Kom al agter die ruik van kos aan." Klap-klap met die nuwe sweep teen sy molvelbroek se pype, is hy daar weg […]

['All that he muttered through his beard was, "These things breed like cockroaches. Keep following the smell of food." With the new whip slap-slapping against the legs of his mole-skin trousers, he left.']

The farmer's use of expletives in the English version makes him seem more callous and ill-tempered than he does in the Afrikaans version. A reader examining both versions is confronted with two quite different images of the farmer, and the contrast between the images leads to questions about the creative process and particular decisions made by the author while composing the text. For instance, the reader might be led to question whether or not it was a deliberate decision by the author to portray the character differently in the respective versions,

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[14] The Afrikaans word *graatjie* is often used to refer to an exceptionally thin person (mainly a child). The word can also refer to a small fish-bone or to a meerkat.

or whether the target audience was a motivation for the differences. The stereoscopic reader is thus presented with two different versions of a character, but is also drawn in to consider the creative process and the impact that word choice or style can have on characterisation, for instance, as this example has shown.

Another important difference between the two versions of the novel that influences the portrayal of a character is the narrator's description of Cupido's sexual prowess.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:63)
> There is no need to enter into more embarrassing detail, except to mention that in the course of the following years Cupido also availed himself of every **willing** girl-child on the farm. **As well as of a selection of ewes from the goat and sheep flocks, the three turkeys, and whatever else it pleased the heavens to place within his reach.**

> *Bidsprinkaan* (2005:61)
> Oor verdere ontugtige besonderhede is dit beter om nie uit te wei nie, behalwe om te vermeld dat Kupido in die loop van die volgende jare toegang gevind het tot **al wat vroutjieskind** op die Baas se werf was.

> ['On further immoral details it is better not to expand, except to mention that Cupido, in the course of the following years, found access to **every girl-child** in the Boss's yard.']

Cupido is portrayed here as a virile man who had his way with many different women, but not only women – also sheep, goats, turkeys, etc. Cupido's sexual encounters with animals are only mentioned in the English version, and this refers back to the blurb thereof where it is said that "Cupido Cockroach became the greatest drinker, liar, fornicator and fighter of his region". The Afrikaans version seems to address this aspect of Cupido's characterisation with more modesty, and merely mentions that Cupido found access to all females within his reach. A stereoscopic reader, faced with two different images of Cupido, might be drawn in to consider motivations for and implications of including or excluding such details from the two versions.

3.1.3 Textual accounts of events

The final category of examples that will be discussed is the textual accounts of events, described either by the narrator or by particular characters. In the first example, both versions of the novel provide a brief account of battles fought between white farming communities and Xhosa tribes.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:82)
> As the Xhosa incursions from across the Great Fish River became more and more unstoppable, **the general feelings of apprehension and open distress were aggravated** by stories of San raids in the north and even a slave rebellion at Stellenbosch.
> …
> Entire farmer families were massacred, **all their names duly recorded in official registers.** Numerous Khoi and Xhosa were shot, **unrecorded.**

Bidsprinkaan (2005:78)
Terwyl dit by die dag moeiliker was om die Xhosas se invalle oor die Visrivier te keer, was daar stories van Sanstrooptogte uit die noorde en selfs 'n slaweopstand by Stellenbosch.
…
Hele boerefamilies is uitgemoor. Tallose Khoi en Xhosas is doodgeskiet.

['While it became more difficult each day to stop the Xhosas' invasions across the Fish River, there were stories of San raids from the north and even a slave rebellion at Stellenbosch.
…
Entire farmer families were massacred. Countless Khoi and Xhosas were shot dead.']

According to the English version, reports of raids by the San and slave uprisings in Stellenbosch contributed to increased apprehension and distress during the time. The Afrikaans version mentions the reports of the San raids and the slave rebellion, but does not comment on the emotional impact of these reports. The incursions had many casualties among farmer, Khoi and Xhosa families. The English version states that after the battles, historical records showed that the names of the farmer families who died were recorded, but the names of the Xhosa and Khoi families who died, were not. This allusion to the questionable reliability of history and the subjectivity of historiography links to one of the central themes of the novel, as well as a common theme in many of Brink's works. The description of the battles in the English version seems to be more emotional – especially with the focus on the injustice of history in recording the casualties. The Afrikaans version does not refer to the historical records of these battles. Instead, it is stated matter-of-factly that farmer families as well as Khoi and Xhosas were killed. In a stereoscopic reading, the reader is made aware of different approaches to relating historical events in a novel – either by using a more emotional approach likely to evoke stronger feelings from the reader, or a more matter-of-fact approach. The difference between these two approaches becomes clear to the stereoscopic reader, and allows them to consider on a metatextual level why the author used these different approaches to recount these events to his different audiences.

Details of events in the narrative, even small events in the lives of characters with no obvious significance, as seen from the perspective of various characters, enable readers to form their own interpretations of the events. Where the details of events differ between the two versions of the novel, readers' interpretations of the event as well as their image of a particular character, in some cases, could be different. In the example below, Reverend James Read speaks of his daughter and mentions that Cupido built her cradle.

Praying Mantis (2005:136)
It is gratifying to note here that it was Brother Cupido who **insisted on making** the child's cradle.

Bidsprinkaan (2005:124)
Dit verskaf my heelwat genoegdoening om hier te vermeld dat broeder Kupido **die kind se wiegie gemaak het**.

['It gives me considerable satisfaction to note here that brother Cupido **made the child's cradle**.']

Reverend James Read's account of the event differs in the two versions of the text: in the Afrikaans version, he merely mentions that Cupido made the cradle, but in the English one, he emphasises that Cupido "insisted" on making the cradle. Not only does this difference portray two different accounts of Cupido's involvement in making the cradle – a pronounced desire to do so versus something that merely happened – it could also cause readers to construct different versions of Cupido's character.

A similar situation arises in the following example, where two different accounts of an event influence the construction of a character's image. In this example, a description of the skies at nightfall includes a reference to a past event, namely when the evil god Gaunab fled from the good god Tsui-Goab after losing a battle. According to this tale, the Milky Way marks Gaunab's trail across the skies.

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:7)
> By that time the moon was out, a mere sliver of light in the sky, the Milky Way strewn with star dust that marked the route followed by the evil god Gaunab as he fled from the spot of the last in his long line of battles with the good god Tsui-Goab, **to die out of sight in peace**.

> *Bidsprinkaan* (2005:13)
> Die maan was al uit, skaars 'n blinkerige skerfie in die donker, die Melkweg bestrooi met sterstof soos die bose god Gaunab vanslewe die aftog geblaas het ná die laaste in sy lang reeks gevegte teen die goeie god Tsui-Goab, toe hy gevlug het **om eenkant moerig dood te gaan**.

> ['The moon was already out, merely a shiny shard in the dark, the Milky Way strewn with star dust as the evil god Gaunab once beat a hasty retreat after the last of his long series of fights against the good god Tsui-Goab, when he fled **to die alone and angry**.']

According to the English version, Gaunab fled from Tsui-Goab to be able to "die out of sight in peace". The Afrikaans version, however, says that Gaunab fled to die alone, out of the way, and "moerig" (an Afrikaans colloquialism meaning "angry"). In comparison with the English version that has Gaunab die in peace, him dying "moerig" in the Afrikaans version leads to two markedly different interpretations of the event, and the stereoscopic reader – faced with both possible interpretations – is invited to consider them both.

4.   Discussion

Central to many theoretical explorations of the phenomenon of self-translation is the question of whether authors are the best or ideal translators of their own work (cf. Krause 2007:167). Whyte (2002:68) quotes Paul Valéry, who argues that:

> [t]here is no such thing as 'the real meaning' of a text. The author
> has no special authority. Whatever he may have wanted to say, he

has written what he has written. Once published, a text is, so to speak, a mechanism which everyone can use in his own way as best he can: it is not certain that its constructor uses it better than the next man. Besides, if he really knows what he wanted to do, this knowledge always interferes with his perception of what he has done.

With regard to bilingual writers such as Brink, it could be argued that they have double the chance to write what they want to say, to paraphrase Valéry. Producing two versions of the same text that are not meant to be viewed as translations sets these authors free from any (possible) constraints that fidelity to an original might have imposed on a translation or subsequent version of a text. The freedom to compose two (or more) texts that, in theory at least, could be completely different from one another enables bilingual writers to pursue potential avenues of interpretation or exploration that might not have been possible when producing only a single text or even when self-translating. Bilingual writers are free to change the courses of their stories, the characteristics of their characters, the portrayal of events and whatever they want to in the different textual versions. Evidence of such differences is clear and can be seen in the examples from *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* provided above.

Stereoscopic readers are transported by the two parallel versions to an "interliminal space" (Gaddis Rose 1997) between two languages where they are made aware that "there is no meaning transfer as such" (Pym 2009:112). Constructing meaning is based on interpretation, which remains a personal and subjective activity influenced by a reader's entire world of experience, including their own experience of the text. Authors thus create texts that lead readers to various and varying interpretations. Features of these texts, such as the genre, style and setting, as well as textual elements such as word choice, metaphors, imagery and sounds, lead readers toward certain possible interpretations to which they are always free to add their own. Accordingly, versions of a text, such as *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*, written in the style of magical realism with a strong focus on the blurring of boundaries between reality and fiction, history and myth, real and imagined, etc., lead readers to interpretations that might otherwise have seemed far-fetched or impossible.

The subjective nature of interpretation makes it a particularly difficult phenomenon to address scientifically. With reference to the differences between *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan*, one is continuously tempted to speculate how certain omissions or additions might influence a readers' interpretation of an event or image of a character. Without studying real readers' responses, however, implications of differences between the two versions of the text remain speculations.

Just as every time a storyteller tells or retells a story to different audiences s/he might tell it somewhat differently (on account of, for instance, the audience, the place, the context, even the mood of the storyteller), the bilingual writer creates an alternative version of his story for various readers in two different languages. Reading these versions stereoscopically reveals how the two versions point to one another. It highlights the similarities and the differences not only between the versions themselves – the stories told, events recounted, characters described, and the language and style used to do so – but also between the two contexts or cultural environments for which each version was created. The stereoscopic reader is thus granted insight into the author's creative process, and also into the larger contexts surrounding both

versions. Additional explanatory information, for instance, is often included in one version of a bilingual work (such as in the first example in section 3.1.1) in order to clarify something for readers of that version. In the other language version, where the author feels that readers would not require additional clarification, it would be left out. Reading the two versions stereoscopically and perceiving these differences thus make the readers aware of different audiences reading the text from perhaps different perspectives or worlds of experience. Stereoscopically reading both versions of a bilingual text highlights the dual existence of the text not only in the use of two different languages, but also by making the reader aware of various contexts in which the text is situated. The reader is thereby also made aware of differences or gaps between the two versions, the two languages and the two cultures (Gentes 2013:269).

According to Anker (2008:7), *Praying Mantis* provides detailed accounts of both the magical and the realistic to the extent that an in-between magical-realistic space is created in which the magical is described realistically, almost matter-of-factly, and the exaggerated description of the realistic at times acquires magical qualities. Situating magical elements in realistic spaces such as the Karoo, Anker (2008) argues, places further emphasis on the magical elements in and possibilities of the text. In some cases, elements or objects in the text that combine both the magical and the realistic hold special significance. One example is Cupido's experience of the traveller Servaas Ziervogel's mirrors. The mirrors, along with music and stories, represent one kind of magic used by Ziervogel to control Cupido and his people. Cupido's experience with the mirrors highlights the experience of the magical *in* the realistic (Anker 2008:7) to the extent that the mirrors become a metaphor for the two worlds Cupido finds himself in, and for his hybrid identity. Cupido's use of the mirror becomes symbolic of how the mystical world of Cupido's Khoi culture and the Western world of Servaas Ziervogel come into contact and eventually blur and merge. The excerpts below provide a glimpse of the magical bond between Cupido and the mirror(s):

> *Praying Mantis* (2005:46):
> From each of the frames the same face looks back at him. He starts scurrying from one to the next, trying to surprise the stranger, but every time the face is there, imitating him, moving away when Cupido does, returning on cue. Whenever he steals round to the back, there is nothing. In the front, the face keeps on returning.
> After a long time Cupido dares to ask, 'Who is this thing with the many-times face?'
> 'Don't you know him then?'
> 'Never seen him, Baas. He cannot be from these parts. He came with you on the wagon, didn't he?' He shakes his head. From where he is standing, he can see six or seven of the strange faces also shaking their heads […] 'They must belong to the grey-feet,' he says. 'The *hai-noen*. Perhaps they are shadow people from the other side. *Sobo khoin*. But they don't look dangerous. Only, one can never be sure.'

> (2005:61)
> One event softens the blow of parting, and that is Servaas Ziervogel's decision, as he takes his final leave, to present Cupido with one of his miraculous mirrors. With this artefact in his possession, Cupido is prepared to face whatever the future may hold for him. Through many years he will keep the mirror carefully wrapped in its shroud of black crape, removing it only on very special occasions to confer with that ubiquitous stranger who also, inexplicably, turns out to be another self.

This object that Cupido was initially suspicious of eventually became his trusted advisor. When the mirror accidentally broke, Cupido explained his grief to the Reverend James Read by saying "I was in that mirror, Brother Read. Now I left myself behind. What will happen to me?". Cupido cannot conceive of a future without his "other self", pointing to the hybridity of his identity. The image of the two Cupidos, the real one and the one in the mirror, that portrays his hybrid identity corresponds with how Ariel Dorfman (2003:33) views his own bilingual existence: "Though what I finally arrived at was not the victory of one tongue over the other but rather a cohabitation, my two languages reaching a truce in order to help the body they were lodged in to survive".

5. Conclusion

St-Pierre (1996:233) argues "that translation cannot be divorced from writing, that originality and creativity are not characteristic only of the latter, that translation is not mere reproduction". Loffredo and Perteghella (2006:4) agree with this view and even criticise the concept of 'originality'. According to them, "'translation' as a form of writing is always already inherent in the source text. Texts do not occur out of nothing, but recur as altered forms of pre-existing texts – as intertexts" (Loffredo and Perteghella 2006:4). This idea is echoed by Bassnett (2013), who argues that many authors who live bilingually and biculturally, and whose literary works are created from these spaces, do not necessarily produce an "original" and subsequent "self-translation". Often their texts are hybrid works themselves, rewritings of one another (cf., for instance, Brink in Viljoen 2005, and wa Thiong'o 2009). For Bassnett (2013:23-24), self-translation and bilingual writing is *rewriting*, and she suggests that translation/rewriting should be considered, in the Borgesian sense, "as one of many drafts or readings of a text". This emphasis on considering products of bilingual writing and self-translation as hybrid works that all constitute many drafts or readings of the text, is at the centre of the argument for this paper. The different linguistic versions of a text represent different drafts or readings of a text which, when read together, form the total text that exists in different mediums, has different audiences, evokes different images, etc.

A stereoscopic reading of *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* shows how the two versions, when read together, make up a total text in which differences between the two versions make readers aware of alternative perspectives on various aspects of the novel itself and the contexts within which the novel is situated. According to Gaddis Rose (1997:75), an important advantage of stereoscopic reading is the way in which it can be used to "show how translating and translations make the reading of literary texts richer. 'Richer' includes more complex, more problematic, more troublesome". In between the two versions of a text, she argues (1997:75), the "'interliminal text'[15], unwritten but paraphrasable [emerges, and this] interliminality is the gift translation gives to readers of literature".

For Nayak (2010:48), referring to the identities of bilingual writers, it is imperative that boundaries are "made flexible to the extent that they become permeable and no longer remain the rigid markers of identities. Once the boundaries are dismantled or blurred, then an effort can be made to bring the two seemingly separate identities of the bilingual writer together and

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[15] According to Pym (2009:112), the concept "interliminal space […] remains in need of clear definition". An investigation of the relationship, if any, between this concept and Bhabha's (1994) notion of a 'third space' might be instrumental in this regard, as would an investigation of how the concepts of 'interliminal space' and 'third space' relate to what Beaujour (1989) has termed a "hypothetical total text".

see them as part of a larger whole". Extending this idea to Brink's case, it becomes important not to view him as an Afrikaans writer, an international writer, a self-translator, etc. Rather, boundaries between these multiple roles should be dismantled in order to see them as part of a larger whole (also cf. De Roubaix 2012). Accordingly, boundaries between different versions of bilingual texts should be dismantled in order to view them as one total text existing in versions in two languages. Of course, one cannot assume that every reader is able to or interested in reading both versions of a bilingual text[16]. Stereoscopic reading remains a rare activity employed by very few readers. However, Nayak (2010:48) argues that even for readers who do not have access to both versions of a bilingual text, or prefer to read only one version, "the reception of the text will be a more informed one if the concerned text is not seen as belonging to only that linguistic literary tradition, but as belonging to an altogether different literary tradition that is outside the binary and belongs to a hybrid 'third space'".

In an essay entitled *Stories of history: Re-imagining the past in post-apartheid narrative*, Brink (1998:31) proposes "a transgression of the boundaries of an originary sensual perception" with the objective of "infusing the ordinary with a sense of the extraordinary, the everyday with a sense of the fantastic, producing a result in which the whole is decidedly more than the sum of its parts". Brink has realised this vision in *Praying Mantis* and *Bidsprinkaan* by simultaneously creating two versions (in two different languages) that form a whole, total text – one that travels beyond the traditional notions of writing and translating and that challenges readers to do the same. Situating this text in a sphere of magical realism, where boundaries are constantly transgressed and where even the ordinary is given "a sense of the extraordinary" (Brink 1998:31), Brink creates a text that invites readers to participate in constructing meanings and imagining different interpretations. Furthermore, when reading both versions of the text, readers are made aware of differences related to the languages themselves, and are also made aware of other readers and of different environments within which the versions will be received. The stereoscopic reader not only gains access to one story written in two languages and for different audiences, but is also provided with an insight into the creative process of the bilingual writer. Considering these different elements in and surrounding the two versions of a text and their creation allows stereoscopic readers to construct a richer total text that occupies an interliminal space.

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[16] See Gentes (2013) for an exploration of publishing bilingual editions of self-translations.

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Retranslation hypotheses revisited: A case study of two English translations of *Sanguo Yanyi* - the first Chinese novel[1]

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Abstract
This article aims to review the theoretical assumptions of the phenomenon of retranslation, and to test some of these assumptions by studying the data collected from three sample chapters taken from the two complete English translations of *Sanguo Yanyi* – the first Chinese novel. Firstly, the three suggested denotations of the concept of 'retranslation' are identified and clarified. Secondly, the assumptions of retranslation are described, i.e. the necessity for retranslation, motives for retranslation, and the relation between the first translation and the retranslation of the same source text. Thirdly, the data from the sample chapters are analysed to test these assumptions. The general macro-structural features and some of the micro-structural features of the two translations are studied and compared. Lastly, a conclusion from the findings is drawn as the verification of the assumptions of the retranslation. The hypotheses of retranslation are also briefly discussed.

Keywords: retranslation, *Sanguo Yanyi*, retranslation assumptions, hypotheses of retranslation, domestication, foreignisation

1.   Introduction

Retranslation is a widespread phenomenon which has been discussed and studied by translators and Translation Studies (TS) scholars for years. This study aims firstly to review the theoretical assumptions made on retranslation, and secondly to test some of these assumptions based on the data collected from three sample chapters (and their two translations) taken from *Sanguo Yanyi*, the first Chinese novel.

In a broad sense within TS, the term "retranslation" may have three denotations. Traditionally, it refers to an "indirect", "intermediate", "relay" or "second-hand" translation (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:76). This denotation of the term refers to a procedure whereby a text is translated through a mediating source language or a language other than either the source language or the target language. Different English versions of the Bible which are not translated directly from Hebrew (the Old Testament) or Greek (the New Testament) would be a typical

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[1] This article is based on Feng (2012).

example of this denotation. In the 1920s and 1930s in China, Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales, Henrik Ibsen's dramatic works, Miguel de Cervantes' magnum opus *Don Quixote*, and some works from the former Soviet Union were translated into Chinese from English or French versions; these translations might have been more widespread and accessible than the texts in their original languages. Another reason might be that the Chinese translators of these works, at that time, could only read English or French.

The second denotation can be termed a "back translation", which refers to a target-language text that is translated back into the language of the source text (ST) for the purposes of comparison and correction. A back translation is usually used for assessing the semantic range of the source-language text (Almberg 1995:925). Sometimes back translation occurs in some peculiar circumstances, such as when a translated version is published first due to the fact that the original text or manuscript was lost before it ever went to print. Years later, when the need or wish arises to publish the original text, a back translation becomes the only option. It must be noted that the back-translation text can only be secondary since its ST, which is the translation of a ST, is already second-hand material.

However, the most commonly used denotation of the term "retranslation" refers to "either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself" (Gürçağlar 2009:233). This phenomenon is also called "new translation" or "multiple translations" (Almberg 1995:927), which refers to a text that is translated more than once into the same target language or different target languages.

The present study will focus on this last denotation of the concept, and the term "retranslation" is used specifically to refer to the new translation of the same ST into the same target language.

2.   Assumptions on retranslation

The most frequently retranslated works are sacred texts and literary works (Brownlie 2006:146, Aaltonen 2003). Most great classics of the world have been translated more than once. Retranslation of these texts has usually been regarded by many as a positive phenomenon, as it contributes to the diversity and broadening of the available interpretations of the ST. Non-literary retranslation, such as of scientific and technical texts, is a practice that is best avoided as it is generally viewed as redundant repetition (Gürçağlar 2009:233).

Retranslation of a book is normally conducted by a different translator at a different time. The period of time between the initial translation and the retranslation may vary from a few years to hundreds of years. Short texts, such as poems, may be retranslated more frequently than lengthy works. For instance, one of the most popular Chinese poems *Jing Ye Si* (lit. 'Silent Night Thinking'), which has only four lines, has at least 30 English translations[2]. The reason is obvious: it usually takes one less time and effort to translate a short text than it does a longer one. The same translator may also retranslate a text that s/he has translated before. For instance, in 1944 Fu Lei published his Chinese translation of Honoré de Balzac's novel *Le Père Goriot* (1835). Six years later, Fu had a retranslation published because he was not satisfied with his first translation, which he thought was "too rigid and inflexible, not fluid and smooth enough, and the original rhythm and taste [was] lost" (Fu 1951:81).

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[2] Feng (ed.) *Handbook of Chinese English Translation* (forthcoming).

Some assumptions have been made on the retranslation of literary works. What follows is an attempt to describe these assumptions from the following three perspectives:

1.   The necessity of retranslation, i.e. is retranslation necessary or "wasteful"?
2.   Motives for retranslation, i.e. why do retranslations occur?
3.   The relation between the first or initial translation and the "new" translation(s).

2.1   The necessity of retranslation

Though retranslation has been criticised by some scholars as being "wasteful" (Almberg 1995:926), this phenomenon still exists. In China, translation scholars have been discussing retranslation since the 1930s. Modern Chinese writer and translator Lu Xun (1881-1936) published an essay in 1935 in favour of retranslating important literary works. In his essay, entitled *Multiple Retranslations are Necessary*, he argued that a retranslation was necessary even if a good translation of the same work already existed, as the retranslator could benefit from the old translation and try to achieve "perfection". He even went as far as suggesting that two or more contemporary translators should commence translating the same work at the same time with full awareness of each other's on-going work, so as to encourage competition. Furthermore, he noted that language is changing all the time, so a work can deserve as many as seven or eight translations or retranslations. Another renowned literary critic, Mao Dun (1896-1981), was also a strong supporter of retranslation. He made comments on the two Chinese translations of Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, arguing that both works are good translations and, more importantly, that both also provide material or data for translation scholars or translators to study and compare different methods of translation in order to improve translation quality (Mao 1980:19). Good literary works are written in powerful language and are psychologically penetrating. Different translators, no matter the time or historical periods, first as readers of the original work, may have different interpretations of the same work (here the ST), and in their attempts to render the work in a different language, the word choice and writing style in their translations may also be different. This should be viewed as beneficial for both readers of the translations, who are offered an opportunity to choose from a variety of versions to read, and TS scholars, who will have more data (in the form of different versions of translation) to conduct their research.

The "retranslation hypothesis" was originally suggested by the French translation scholar Antoine Berman in 1990. In terms of literary retranslation, Berman argued that the translation of literary works is an "incomplete act", and only through retranslations can it strive for completion (Berman 1990:1). Berman's "completion" means the retranslation is usually "closer" to the ST. This notion was also discussed by Venuti (1995) who suggested foreignised translation be conducted rather than domesticated translation which had been dominating the industry for years. Snell-Hornby (1988:113-114) argues that literary translation is an act of communication, and any translation can rarely attain the stability of an original work. Generations later, the translation "loses its communicative function as a work of literature within a continually shifting cultural system". Then, the need to create new translations arises. This can be reflected in the Chinese translation of the 19th century English novel *Jane Eyre.* The initial translation was first published in 1945, four years before the People's Republic of China was founded. The second Chinese translation only appeared in 1980, two years after China adopted the policy of opening to the outside world and in a totally different cultural system from that in 1945 when China was still a half-colonised and half-feudal society.

2.2   Motives for retranslation

Works are retranslated for one or more reasons. Retranslation can be initiated by the translator, the publisher or the author of the ST, or perhaps any two of the three parties. With regard to the translator of literary works, there may be two situations where retranslation occurs: in some cases, due to lack of communication or information, the translator does not have knowledge of a pre-existing translation or, according to Venuti (2003:25), some translators may not be aware of the presence of an earlier translation. This situation is termed "passive retranslations" by Pym (1998:82).

However, in most cases, the translator is fully aware of the existing translation yet still does the retranslation, the reason usually being that s/he is not satisfied with the pre-existing translation and wants to do it differently. Furthermore, according to Venuti (2003:30), some retranslations may originate purely from a translator's personal appreciation of a text with no other reasons. This situation is termed by Pym (1998:82) as "active retranslations", the cause of which is suggested to be "disagreements over translation strategies" in addition to a translator's personal appreciation of the original work.

With regard to the publisher, there may also be several situations where retranslation occurs, as explained by Gürçağlar (2009:235):

1. The publisher wishes to publish a different translation of a desired book (say a classic novel whose copyright has expired already) that has been translated and published by another publisher;
2. The publisher expects that a retranslation may introduce a new interpretation of the source text or address a different readership.

If a translation is very old, and the language and style become outdated, a new translation will be necessary for a contemporary readership. Berman (1990) calls this the "issue of ageing", and suggests that "while originals remain forever 'young', translations will age with the passage of time, thus giving rise to a need for new translations" (Berman 1990:1). This is true in the sense that the original work is the only version in existence, and its translations may vary in language or format. The ageing of translations and the need for new translations are also associated with "language change and the need to update the wording and terminology used in earlier translations" (Hanna 2006:194).

Some scholars also suggest that "changing social contexts and the evolution of translation norms" contribute greatly to the motives for retranslation (Brownlie 2006:150). However, in the case study that follows, the "translation norm" prevalent at the time when the initial translation was conducted (early 1900s) is not easily determined. Therefore, only the social contexts will be described in the following sections.

2.3   The relation between the first translation and the "new" translation(s)

Venuti (2003:25) argues that retranslations "justify themselves by establishing their difference from one or more previous versions". The tension and competition between the different translations obviously favour the new ones, though the translators of these new versions may take different approaches and use different strategies from those taken and used in pre-existing

translations to intentionally "establish the difference". It is assumed that the differences are guided more by social or ideological premises than by linguistic or literary lack in the previous translations (Venuti 2003:25).

Berman suggests that an inherent "failure" is at its peak in the first translations which, "driven by cultural and editorial considerations, are assumed to suppress the alterity of the translated text and to feature cuts and changes that are motivated by a concern for higher levels of readability" (Gambier 1994:414). Thus, the first translations are usually domesticated or target-oriented. Gambier (1994:ix-x) notes that "[t]he subsequent translations, by contrast, pay more attention to the letter and style of the source text and maintain a cultural distance between the translation and its source, reflecting the singularity of the latter". Thus retranslations tend to be source-oriented or foreignised ones. However, this is not always the case. One exception is the Chinese translations of the Russian novel *Razgrom* ('The Rout'). The initial translation by Lu Xun in 1935 was a typical foreignised one, as he intentionally used "Europeanized Chinese" and caused heated debates among writers and translators (Chan 2004:151). Later Chinese translations of the same novel, six versions in total by six different Chinese publishers[3] up to the year 2013, tended to be more domesticated than the initial translation.

The assumptions from the above-mentioned perspectives can be summarised as follows:

1.   In terms of necessity, retranslation of literary works is not only necessary but also important, as retranslations add value to the original work (ST).
2.   In terms of motives, changing social contexts play an important role, and both the retranslator and the publisher intend to establish the difference from the pre-existing translations.
3.   In terms of the relationships between the initial translation and the retranslation, the former tends to be more target-oriented and more likely to take a domesticating approach, while the latter tends to take a foreignising approach. These differences are mainly guided by social or ideological premises.

In the next section, these assumptions will be tested through their application to the data.

3.   The case study

Two English translations of the Chinese novel, *Sanguo Yanyi*, will be studied to test the above-mentioned assumptions on retranslation. Due to the great length and extensiveness of the ST, which contains 120 chapters, three chapters are selected as foci of the analysis, especially where data are analysed on a micro-structural level. These three chapters are Chapter 1, Chapter 60 and Chapter 120. The reasons for choosing these three chapters will be detailed in section 3.3.

3.1   The source text and the translations

Sanguo Yanyi is the first full-length novel with clear chapter divisions to appear in China. This epic describes the political and military contention over a period of approximately 100 years (168-265 AD) among the rival power groups Wei, Shu and Wu, headed by Cao Cao, Liu Bei and Sun Quan, respectively. The three groups bid for control of the Chinese empire during the

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[3] See http://book.douban.com/doulist/1704817/ (Accessed 19 April 2014).

Three Kingdoms period, one of the most tumultuous and fascinating periods in Chinese history. The authorship of *Sanguo Yanyi* has been traditionally attributed to Luo Guanzhong (c.1300-1400) whose life and works are still largely unknown. The Chinese novel that originated from story-telling had in most cases been a collaborative work in its initial stage of development, and the author(s) was/were largely neglected.

Since its publication about 600 years ago, *Sanguo Yanyi* has arguably been considered the most influential novel on Chinese society. There have been many translations and retranslations of selected chapters of the novel, but, based on the author's investigation, there are only two complete English translations in circulation. The current study is based on two translations of *Sanguo Yanyi*, namely Brewitt-Taylor's (2002) translation entitled *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and Roberts' (1994) translation entitled *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel.*

Brewitt-Taylor's translation was first published by Kelly & Walsh Limited in Shanghai in 1925 as two hardcover volumes. In 1929, the text was reprinted by the same publisher as a popular edition to enable more readers to afford a copy. Thereafter the translation was reprinted in the US by the Charles E. Tuttle Company in Rutland, Vermont, and simultaneously in Tokyo in 1959. Brewitt-Taylor's translation was the first full English translation of this novel.

Charlie Henry Brewitt-Taylor (1857-1938) was an Englishman who went to China in his twenties and worked as an officer for the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs in a number of cities. He spent most of his adult life in China. In addition to a successful career as a customs official, he also achieved distinction as a scholar. In this study, Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor will be abbreviated as "B-T" and his translation will be abbreviated as "T1".

Moss Roberts was born in New York and is a Professor of Chinese at New York University. He has also translated a number of other books from Chinese into English, in addition to *Sanguo Yanyi*, on which he is one of the few authorities outside China. Roberts' (1994) translation of *Sanguo Yanyi*, abbreviated in this article as "T2", is the latest complete English translation.

3.2   The motives for retranslation

As discussed in section 2.2, motives for retranslation can be analysed with regard to both the translator and the publisher. First, the motives for the initial translation of *Sanguo Yanyi* (i.e. those of B-T) will be briefly discussed.

B-T's translation is the initial translation which was first published in 1925. The motives for the initial translation seemed, in the first place, to be the translator's personal appreciation of the ST. B-T did receive encouragement from some scholars of his time, but whether he received any support from the publisher is not clear. Translating such an extensive work single-handedly is by no means an easy task, and it took B-T about 10 years to complete the project (Cannon 2009:155). The first print of the translation was "especially prepared for the use and education of the Chinese people" (Cannon 2009:154). The translator and publisher at that time intended to address a Chinese readership who wished to learn English by reading English translations of Chinese classics. However, the first print was a relatively expensive hardcover copy which could only be afforded by English-speaking people working and/or living in China who had an interest in exploring Chinese literature or history, and a small number of Chinese readers who wished to improve their English. It should be noted that the target readership that the 2002

reprint of this translation aims to address has changed; judging from the introduction and the preface of this edition, the publisher's target reader is the general Western reader who wants to learn about China.

For Roberts, it can be deduced that there must have been some strong motives to encourage him, as the retranslator, to complete this translation project. In the acknowledgements, he briefly mentions the factors which contributed to his completion of the project. He studied Chinese at university and became interested in sinology. Later on he taught Chinese and philosophy to American students. In 1976, he had an abridged translation of *Sanguo Yanyi* published by Pantheon Books for the purpose of teaching Chinese culture to Americans. Having realised the limitations of the abridged version, he hoped that one day he would have the opportunity to translate the entire text. He got the opportunity in 1982 when Beijing's Foreign Languages Press made him the offer to translate the whole novel. At the invitation of the publisher, he spent one year (1983-1984) in Beijing focusing on the translation. He was granted a fellowship by the National Endowment for the Humanities which enabled him to devote 15 months (1985-1986) purely to his translation. A number of scholars from China and the US also offered him academic support. In 1994, the translation was completed and published jointly by Foreign Languages Press in Beijing and the University of California Press. Foreign Languages Press is a publishing house which aims to promote Chinese culture in foreign languages. The initial purpose of this retranslation thus seemed to be to address a readership outside China who is interested in Chinese studies. This version was also reprinted several times to meet the needs of Chinese learners of English. This is similar to the function of the second print of T1, a popular and relatively cheap edition to meet the needs of more Chinese learners of English.

B-T's translation must have been available at the time when Roberts was teaching Chinese in the US. Roberts (1994) mentioned in the acknowledgements of his complete translation that he had read B-T's translation:

> A word of recognition is also due to C.H. Brewitt-Taylor, whose
> 1925 translation of *Three Kingdoms* I read long before gathering
> enough Chinese to confront the original.

Roberts did not use B-T's translation for his students; instead, he first translated some chapters himself, which then led to the publication of the abridged version. This shows that the readership this retranslation of the novel is intended to address is that of Western learners of Chinese.

In this case, it is the combination of the wishes of both Roberts and the publishers that made the retranslation possible. However, the major driving force behind the completion of the retranslation must have been the publishers. Without their support, especially financially, Roberts would not have completed the translation. Even if he did eventually translate the novel without the support of the publishers, we can assume it would have taken him more years to finish the project.

From the publisher to the readership, from an old, semi-colonised and semi-feudal China to a new, independent and opened-up China, the social contexts had obviously experienced great changes during the period of time when Roberts did the retranslation (the 1980s to the 1990s). In the time of the first English translation by B-T, the ST *Sanguo Yanyi* was a very popular

novel among Chinese readers. Influential as it was, however, the novel was not considered part of important and serious texts that normally included poetry, prose and philosophical writings. B-T attempted to promote the status of popular Chinese literature in the English-speaking world. In the 1980s and 1990s, when Roberts's retranslation was conducted and published, the status of the novel was already promoted as one of the literary genres worthy of serious study. Therefore, Roberts received more support for the work.

3.3   A comparison between the two translations from a structural point of view

In this section, a comparison will be made to describe the differences and similarities between the initial translation by B-T, and the retranslation by Roberts. Examples and tables are provided to illustrate the findings. The reasons for the differences which arose will be investigated to verify the relevant assumptions.

As previously mentioned, for the purposes of this study, three chapters (Chapters 1, 60 and 120) and their corresponding translations were selected as the foci of the analysis. The length and extensiveness of these chapters were considered before they were selected for analysis. The three selected chapters total 46.5 pages (excluding endnotes; 53 pages including endnotes).

In consideration of the plot of the novel, the first and the last chapters are important since they reflect how the Han Empire was divided at its end into three kingdoms, and how the country was united again under the Empire of Jin. In the first chapter, the four major characters of the novel, Cao Cao, Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei, are introduced. The last chapter recounts how the new Jin Empire defeats the Kingdom of Wu and captures its king. The first and last chapters were therefore selected because of their importance in the novel, as well as their richness of cultural elements such as official ranks, reign-titles, allusions, idioms, metaphors, etc. Furthermore, there are many proper names and culture-specific elements in these two chapters.

Other factors, such as those reflecting strategies of dealing with culture-related references and degrees of consistency, were also taken into consideration in the selection of chapters as the foci of the analysis. Chapter 60 was chosen for three reasons: firstly, this chapter is right in the middle of the book, and by studying and comparing the relevant items in this chapter and the other two chapters, the consistency of the translators' use of strategies or adoption of approaches can be determined. Secondly, this chapter contains numerous dialogues, which is the key method used to portray characters in traditional Chinese novels. These dialogues or direct speeches provide material for analysis regarding the strategies adopted by the two translators. Finally, in terms of the plot, Chapter 60 includes some important events which are crucial to Liu Bei's successful invasion of the west province, which is later to become the base of the Kingdom of Shu.

The method used to compare the two translations is based on the Synthetic Scheme for Translation Description (see Table 1) suggested by Lambert and van Gorp (1985).

Table 1. Lambert and van Gorp's (1985) Synthetic Scheme for Translation Description

Category	Aspects
Preliminary data	information on title page, paratexts, general strategy
Macro-level structures	the division of the text, titles and presentation of the chapters
Micro-level structures	translation shifts: lexical, grammatical patterns, word use
Systemic context	intertextual relations, norms

In the following sections, the original category has been changed a bit by combining the preliminary data and the macro-level structures so that only the macro-structural and micro-structural features of the translations will be compared.

3.3.1   Macro-structural features

In terms of the macro-level structures, the aspects to be compared and analysed include: the title, title page and paratexts; general strategy; division of the text; titles of chapters; and the relation between types of narrative, dialogue, description.

3.3.1.1 The title, title page and paratexts

The title of T1 is *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. In T2 *Three Kingdoms* is adopted as the main title, primarily in order to differentiate it from the previous translation. The subtitle *A Historical Novel* is provided to differentiate it from *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, which is believed to be the main source from which the original novel drew material.

T1 appears as two paperback volumes. The volume number is printed on both the front cover and on the title page inside the book. On the cover page, the title of T1, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms,* is printed in large letters in a bilingual format. Next to this on the left is the original Chinese title in traditional Chinese characters printed in a vertical direction, which had been the customary manner of printing Chinese texts before 1919. At the bottom, the names of the author, translator, and writer of the introduction are printed in smaller letters. The name of the publisher is printed at the bottom on the left side in very small letters, indicating it as a "classic". The same information, except for the Chinese title, is repeated on the second page of the book.

T2 is a hardcover in three volumes. Each of the three volumes has a book jacket. The translated title, *Three Kingdoms,* is printed on the front cover together with a picture of the main characters. The original title in Chinese is printed on the front page of the hardcover, hidden underneath the book jacket. The title and the subtitle, volume number and the names of the publishers appear on the spine. On the flaps of the book jacket the following information is contained: the full title; a brief introduction to the author, the translator, the person who wrote the foreword, the novel and its current translation. On the second page, inside the book, the full title, author's name, translator's name and full names of the publishers are printed.

On the back cover of T1 is a brief comment on the novel which reads "One of the greatest and best-loved works of popular literature", as well as a short introduction to the novel itself. There is an introduction written by Robert E. Hegel and a short note from the translator. The few notes are either incorporated into the text or placed in brackets following the words.

In T2, extensive information is provided to help the Western reader understand the translation. The information includes: the translator's acknowledgements; a foreword; a long commentary or afterword; a full set of notes which are grouped by chapter (but all notes are placed at the end of the last volume); a list of principal characters; a dozen illustrations; a list of maps; a chronology of main events; a list of titles, terms and offices; and a short introduction to the translator.

3.3.1.2 General strategy

Both translations are based on the same version of the ST and both are complete translations, though more omissions are identified in T1 than in T2. Two notable omissions found in the selected chapters from T1 include a poem at the beginning of the book, and a paragraph at the end of the last chapter stating the death years of the kings.

The word count includes all the words in both the selected texts and the notes to these texts. Both translators use more or less the same number of words. For Chapters 1 and 120, Roberts uses about 800 more words (as notes) to explain background knowledge and culture-specific references, but uses fewer words than B-T to translate Chapter 60 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Number of words in the selected source texts and the target texts

	Chapter 1	Chapter 60	Chapter 120
ST	4639	7303	5529
T1	4667	7204	6169
T2	5544	7160	6924

3.3.1.3 Division of the text

The ST is not divided into many paragraphs, and many dialogues – usually short and brief – are packed into one paragraph. This format of the ST is changed to a large extent in both translations. In T1, the format of the ST is treated more freely: a paragraph is split into many smaller paragraphs, and many of the single-sentence dialogues are treated as separate paragraphs (see Table 3). T2 remains relatively closer to the ST than does T1. In this respect, T1 seems to have taken a domesticating approach while T2 can be considered to have taken a more foreignising approach. This confirms the third assumption discussed in section 2.3.

Table 3. Number of paragraphs in the selected source texts and the target texts

	Chapter 1	Chapter 60	Chapter 120
ST	12	20	22
T1	76	176	140
T2	43	49	55

3.3.1.4 Titles of chapters

The title of each chapter in the ST is a neat couplet – an attempted summary of the corresponding chapter. In terms of the format, capital letters and Roman numerals are used in T1. This achieves an element of antiquity, attempting to bring the translation closer to the

original which was written about 600 years ago. In T2, the titles are printed in a standard, contemporary way, intending to address the contemporary English readership; this seems to be an attempt at domesticating the text. On the whole, T2 seems to be more foreignised than T1 but with regard to some elements, such as chapter titles, it seems that T2 is more domesticated. When translating these titles, it appears that both translators attempted to keep the original "flavour" of the ST by taking a foreignising approach (see Table 4), but neither has achieved the same structural effect as that found in the ST, which is a neat, well-designed couplet unique to the Chinese language.

Table 4. Translation of chapter titles

ST	第一回　宴桃园豪杰三结义　斩黄巾英雄首立功
T1	CHAPTER I
	FEAST IN THE GARDEN OF PEACHES: BROTHERHOOD SWORN
	SLAUGHTER OF REBELS: THE BROTHERS HEROES
T2	Chapter 1
	Three Bold Spirits Plight Mutual Faith in the Peach Garden
	Heroes and Champions Win Honors Fighting the Yellow Scarves
Direct translations:	The First Chapter
	Feast [in] the Peach Garden Heroes Three Swear Brotherhood
	Slaughter the Yellow Scarves the Heroes Wins Top Honours

3.3.1.5 Relation between types of narrative, dialogue and description

In most cases, both T1 and T2 deal with the narratives, dialogues and descriptions as they appear in the ST. However, in terms of effect, as illustrated in Example 1, there seems to be little difference between the two translations.

Example 1 (Chapter 1):

ST:　　玄德曰：“此天佑我也！”三人出庄迎接。

T1:　　"Thus does Heaven help us," said Yuan-te and the three brothers went forth to welcome the merchants.

T2:　　"This must mean that the Heaven is with us," said Xuande, as the three brothers went forth to greet the men.

(Direct translation: 'Xuande said: "This must mean the Heaven is helping us!" [as] the three brothers went out of the manor to meet the [men]')

T1 uses narratives to translate dialogues and monologues more often than T2, as illustrated in Example 2. This example indicates that T2 is more source-oriented, at least in terms of sentence structure.

Example 2 (Chapter 60):

ST:　　璋曰：“公所谋，深于吾有益。”次日，上马出榆桥门。

T1:　　So spoken Chang Sung and the Prefect replied that he knew the plan was for his advantage. Whereupon he mounted his horse to ride out to Elm Tree Bridge.

> T2:   "Your planning," Liu Zhang said, "serves my interest profoundly." The next day Liu Zhang rode to Elm Bridge Gate.

> (Direct translation: '[Liu] Zhang said: "Your planning serves my interest profoundly." The following day, [Liu Zhang] mounted horse to ride out to Elm Bridge Gate.')

It must be pointed out that most of the dialogues or monologues which were transformed into narratives in T1 are not the key dialogues which reflect the personalities of the characters. However, these examples still indicate that, in terms of format, T1 is less faithful to the ST than T2.

3.3.2   Micro-structural features

The micro-structural aspects to be compared in this section include the selection of words; omissions and explications; translation of the number of troops; translation of proper names, units of measurement, titles of emperors, and ranks of officers or officials.

3.3.2.1 Vocabulary

The ST was written in the 14th century, hence the vocabulary is largely archaic. In T1, old words are used from time to time, and more modern English words are used in T2. In Example 3, the dated phrase "ere long" is used in T1 whereas T2 uses "soon". The use of archaic words in T1 indicates that, in terms of vocabulary, T1 is closer to the ST than T2. The use of more modern English words in T2 verifies the assumption that "the ageing of translations and the need for new translations are also associated with 'language change and the need to update the wording and terminology used in earlier translations'" (Hanna 2006:194. cf. Section 2.2).

Example 3 (Chapter 120):

> ST: 华覈出朝叹曰：“可惜锦绣江山，不久属于他人矣！”
> T1:   "It is pitiful," said he, "*Ere long* our beautiful country will pass to another."
> T2:   Hua He left the court and uttered a deep sigh. "Alas," he said, "These hills and streams that nature made so lovely are *soon* to pass to another's hands."

(Direct translation: 'Hua He left the court and sighed: "Pitiful that such lovely and beautiful rivers and mountains will soon belong to others".')

3.3.2.2 Omissions and explications

In T1, lists of proper names and places are not always fully translated, however in T2 these lists are all translated word-for-word (see Example 4).

Example 4 (Chapter 1):
> ST: 青、幽、徐、冀、荆、扬、兖、豫八州之人，家家侍奉大贤良师张角名字。
> T1: With the growth of the number of his supporters grew also the ambition of the "Wise and Good." He dreamed of empire.
> T2: Great and Worthy Teacher, was hailed throughout the eight provinces of the realm – Qingzhou, Xuzhou, Jizhou, Jingzhou, Yangzhou, Yanzhou, and Yuzhou.

(Direct translation: 'Every household from Qingzhou, Xuzhou, Jizhou, Jingzhou, Yangzhou, Yanzhou, and Yuzhou enshrined the Great and Worthy Teacher Zhang Jiao.')

These proper names in translation actually do not make much sense to most of the target readers. This indicates that a more foreignising approach is taken in T2, while T1 is obviously a more domesticated translation.

Berman (2000:289) notes that, in a translation, "[t]he explicitation can be the manifestation of something that is not apparent, but concealed or repressed, in the original". In both T1 and T2, explicitations are made to introduce background knowledge or cultural-specific items (see Example 5). In T1, the extra background information is incorporated into the text, but in T2 the provision of footnotes is the major method utilised to provide this information. The latter reflects the translator's intention to make the translation a scholarly work for study instead of just a popular novel to read for fun. With the use of footnotes, T2 also becomes much more visible as a translation.

Example 5 (Chapter 1):

ST: 光和元年，雌鸡化雄。
T1:   Another evil omen was recorded ten years later, when the reign-title was changed: certain hens suddenly developed male characteristics, a miracle which could only refer to the effeminate eunuchs meddling in affairs of State.
T2:   In the first year of Radiant Harmony (Guang He) hens were transformed into roosters.[4]

(Direct translation: 'First year Guang He, hens [were] transformed into roosters.')

The endnote as extra background information appears in T2 to show the translator's attempt at keeping his translation as close as possible to the ST, which could be considered as the adoption of a more foreignising approach. Removing the explanations from the body of the text enables the reader, who does not seek extra information, to read more smoothly. For those who need or want to explore further, the note provided by the translator can be useful.

3.3.2.3 Translation of the numbers of troops

While T2 treats the numbers of troops very faithfully, T1 uses a variety of ways to deal with them. Words used in T1 to translate the numbers include "huge", "goodly", "large", "legion", "company", "score", etc. In some cases (about 20% according to the data of the three chapters), numbers are ignored and omitted, where B-T might have regarded them as unimportant. In fact, in the ST, which is a novel instead of a historical record, not all of these numbers are precise figures, so it is not improper to translate them in a flexible way (see Table 5). Again, this indicates that the two translators used different strategies, namely one of a more liberal nature in T1, and one of a more literal nature in T2.

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[4] The endnote provided in T2 is omitted here.

Table 5. Numbers of troops

Chapter	ST	T1	T2
1	兵五万	a huge army	fifty thousand men
1	一千军	a goodly party	one thousand men
60	五万	five legions	Fifty thousand
60	三万人马	a great company	thirty thousand soldiers
120	引兵十万	-	lead a force of one hundred thousand
120	八百军	the men	eight hundred sailors

3.3.2.4 Translation of proper names

In T1, the Wade-Giles system is used to transcribe proper names. Wade-Giles was the main system of transcription of proper names and cultural items from the Chinese language in the English-speaking world for most of the 20th century. Specifically, the Wade-Giles system is the representation of the unaspirated-aspirated stop consonant pairs using apostrophes, for example *p, p', t, t', k, k', ch, ch'*. [5]

In T2, however, Pinyin is used to transcribe proper names. This is a Romanised system functioning to annotate standard Chinese pronunciation with Roman letters. The system was adopted in 1979 by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as the standard Romanisation for modern Chinese (ISO-7098:1991). Roberts' translation received support from the Beijing-based publisher Foreign Languages Press, so the use of Pinyin would have been one of their requirements. Table 6 shows that T1 used the old phonetic system while T2 used the new system. In this case, the changing social contexts clearly play an important role, as stated in the second assumption in section 2.

Table 6. Personal names

	Surname	Given name	Courtesy name
ST	刘	备	玄德
T1	Liu	Pei	Yuan-te
T2	Liu	Bei	Xuande

For a person who speaks a European language, it might be easier to spell some of the Chinese sounds by using the Wade-Giles system. However, the sounds represented in Pinyin can be pronounced in a more correct way, i.e. the names in Table 6 are spelled closer to their Chinese sounds when Pinyin is employed, as in T2.

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[5] See http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Wade-Giles (Accessed 29 April 2014).

3.3.2.5 Units of measurement

In both translations, all the units in the selected texts are translated using either transcription (两 to *liang*, 里 to *li*) or assimilation (两 to *ounce*, 斗 to *bushel*). However, footnotes for some of the translations are provided in T2 (see Table 7), which reflects the translator's attempt to make it a scholarly work instead of simply a novel to entertain readers. This treatment in T2 also makes the text more accessible to the target reader. The foreignising approach taken in T2 is obvious, which proves the third assumption in section 2 to be true.

Table 7 Units of measurement

	ST	Chapter	T1	T2	
Weight	两	1, 60	*liang*	ounce/tael/*liang*	T2 gives notes
Weight	斤	1	catty	*jin*	T2 gives notes
Length	丈	1	ten-foot	ten-span	T2 gives notes
Length	里	1, 60, 120	*li*	*li*	
Volume	斗	60, 120	bushel	bushelful/gallon	
Area	八百余顷	120	extensive area	some five thousand hectares of land	

3.3.2.6 Reign-titles

In T1, the reign-titles are largely ignored, however, in T2, they are explicated through both transcription and word-for-word translation of meanings. In addition, in the last chapter of T2, the corresponding years based on the Gregorian calendar of these reign-titles are also provided as a reference for the reader (see Table 8).

Table 8. Reign-titles

ST	Chapter	T1	T2
建宁	1	Chien-Ning	Established Calm (Jian Ning)
光和	1	-	Radiant Harmony (Guang He)
中平	1	-	Central Stability (Zhong Ping)
甘露	120	*Kan-lu*	Gan Lu, "Sweet Dew," year 1 (A.D. 265)
宝鼎	120	*Pao-Ting*	Bao Ding, "Precious Tripod," year 1. (A.D. 266)
建衡	120	-	Jian Heng, "Established Balance" (A.D. 269-71)

In terms of a title or an office that a person held or was appointed to, in T1, only about half of these titles are translated and the other half are omitted from the translation. Translation

strategies used to translate these titles are varied and inconsistent. Sometimes transcription is used, for example 校尉 is transcribed as *Hsio-yu*; but assimilation is used on more occasions, like "General of Cavalry" for 骠骑将军.

All 46 titles in the selected chapters are translated in T2. The translation of these titles, all translated by using assimilation as a strategy, is consistent throughout. A minor issue is that capital letters are not used for a few fixed titles, such as "minister of the interior" and "minister of works".

This comparison reflects that T1 mainly adopted a domesticating approach by omitting or downplaying some of the reign-titles, whereas T2 adopted both a foreignising approach (e.g. by providing transliteration and explanatory notes) and a domesticating approach (e.g. by elaborating on these titles and meaning renditions).

4.   Conclusion

In sections 3.1 and 3.2, both macro and micro features of the selected chapters of *Sanguo Yanyi* and their translations have been discussed. The findings from the comparison of the two translations are summarised in Table 9:

Table 9. A comparison of the features of the two translations

Version	Features
T1	more domesticated translation reads like a novel relatively incomplete and inconsistent sounds archaic
T2	more foreignised translation reads like a scholarly work complete and consistent addresses contemporary readership

From the concluded features of the two translations, it can be seen that the retranslation is both necessary and important, thus the first assumption summarised in section 2.3 is proved to be true.

In terms of motives for retranslation, summarised in the second assumption in section 2.3, changing social contexts have played an important role in the decision-making of both the retranslator and the publisher who attempted to bring out something different. The initial translation was motivated by the translator's personal appreciation of the work, and the retranslation was motivated by both the publisher(s) and the translator's personal appreciation of the work (cf. section 3.2).

Through the discussions in section 3, and the summarised features listed in Table 9 above, it seems obvious that T1 is generally a domesticated translation and the retranslation, T2, appears to be a foreignised translation. However, the adoption of a domesticating approach is also observed from time to time in T2, e.g. in certain elaborations and the explanatory notes.

Different social premises are suggested to have played the primary role in the different approaches taken by the two translators.

In conclusion, based on the analysis of the examples from the selected chapters in this case study, the three assumptions or hypotheses regarding retranslation have been verified as true, though not all items compared (cf. titles of chapters and vocabulary) clearly support this stand.

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Quality-assessment expectations and quality-assessment reality in educational interpreting: An exploratory case study

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Abstract

This article focuses on data obtained from three separate studies conducted during a four-year period at Stellenbosch University, a higher education institution in South Africa. All three studies centred on the simultaneous interpretation of undergraduate lectures. Various data sets were used to examine whether there would be a discrepancy between what lecturers in a particular academic department emphasised when they first considered the feasibility of this type of educational interpreting, and what they actually focused on when assessing the interpreters' performance. Discrepancies and correlations in the quality criteria identified by lecturers were examined against a rubric taken from existing literature on interpreter assessment (notably that of Kurz (2002)). Using this information and augmenting it with comments from a similar assessment of the same material undertaken by experienced interpreters, these discrepancies and correlations are briefly discussed. Given the exploratory nature of this case study, few recommendations are made. However, the fact that the data from this study seem – in broad terms – to agree with studies conducted in the field of conference interpreting would seem to indicate that the discrepancy between stated and actual quality assessment criteria is real, and will require much more detailed study in an educational interpreting setting.

Keywords: educational interpreting, assessment, quality

1. Introduction

Interpreting quality is, as even the briefest glance at the literature will confirm, a complex subject. This article does not deal with quality directly.[1] It does not provide answers to questions such as "What is quality in interpreting?" or "How should one measure quality in interpreting?". Rather, it takes its cue from work done by Moser-Mercer (2008) – amongst others – which would seem to indicate that different role-players in any particular interpreting scenario may have different definitions of 'quality', depending on their role in the process (Moser-Mercer 2008:147). Using this assertion as a springboard, this article seeks to examine the possible dissonance between stated and actual quality criteria among a group of lecturers in a particular

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[1] For a discussion of quality in educational interpreting, particularly during Study B (section 2.1), see a forthcoming publication by this author.

department. In doing so, this article will draw on work by scholars such as Kurz (2002), Collados Aís (2002) and Bartlomiejczyk (2007).

When initially conceived, the objectives of the exploratory study discussed in this article were: (i) to determine how lecturers in a particular discipline – who professed a preference for subject-specialist interpreters – assessed non-professional interpreters from that discipline, and (ii) to compare that assessment with one done by experienced interpreters. Although Blaauw (2008:305) has expressed concerns about the suitability of subject-specialists as educational interpreters, and Verhoef (2008) has written on the subject of subject-specialist interpreters in an educational interpreting context,[2] anecdotal evidence at Stellenbosch University (SU), where the current study was undertaken, seemed to suggest that lecturers still held the view that such interpreters would almost always be better at educational interpreting than so-called "language-specialist" interpreters.

Once the data had been analysed, however, it appeared that, to a large extent, there was a fair degree of agreement between the two sets of assessments. The focus of the study shifted to examining the dissonance between what the lecturers claimed to value (correct use of terminology), and what they focused on in their assessment. With this approach, the assessments provided by the experienced interpreters were no longer foregrounded as strongly as initially anticipated.

Comments by the lecturers were organised according to a set of criteria used by Kurz (2002)[3] and are discussed in some detail in this article. Although these criteria were originally applied to conference interpreting rather than educational interpreting, they deal with general elements related to interpreting (and interpreting quality), and can therefore be used as a way to examine attitudes to performance.

It should be noted that, although it is possible to draw a few tentative conclusions from this exploratory study, the study does have serious limitations. Firstly, only four experienced interpreters and four lecturers assessed the performance of the subject-specialist interpreters. Secondly, only two recordings (of two different interpreters) were assessed by each group. The conclusions presented in this article should therefore be considered against the backdrop of this extremely limited scope.[4]

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[2] Although not working with educational interpreting, Garwood (2002:268) points out that interpreters are seldom subject-specialists. They may specialise in interpreting a particular field, but that is not the same as a subject-specialist.

[3] Kurz herself adopted these criteria from a study performed by Bühler (published in 1986), using "the first eight of Bühler's [15] quality criteria" (Kurz 2002:316).

[4] The data are published at this relatively early stage as SU officially established educational interpreting as an instructional aid in 2013, and has plans to increase the number of classes in which an interpreting service will be available. However, the possible discrepancy between quality-assessment expectations and quality-assessment reality found with one particular group of lecturers identified in this study should raise a red flag to policy makers, indicating that educational interpreting is not merely about placing interpreters in classrooms, but that managing and marrying expectations – whether presumed or actual – could have an important influence on the perceived success of such a service. (Obviously this study would have to be repeated on a much larger scale to determine whether there is indeed a red flag, or whether this exploratory study has simply discovered a red herring.)

2.   Description of contributing studies

This article uses data collected at three different times and associated with three different studies that were all undertaken on the Stellenbosch campus of SU. To understand the sources of these data and the methodology employed in the study on which this article is based, it is necessary to deviate slightly and discuss the various studies that provided the data.

The first two rounds of data collection occurred during the course of one pilot study (Study B).[5] The third round occurred almost two years later (for the sake of convenience it will be called "Study C"); the data collected during this round form the backbone of this article. As there is some overlap between studies A, B and C, they will be described briefly to provide some contextual background. The information or resources gleaned from studies A and B, and their use in Study C (in particular), are summarised in Figure 1 below.

Study A
(2010–2012)

- Provided some of the interpreters recorded in Study B (three interpreters, four recordings)

Study B
(2011)

- Provided two recordings of two Study A interpreters
- Provided assessment of interpreting quality by panel of four experienced interpreters
- Provided questionnaire data for five lecturers

Study C
(2013)

- Provided assessment of interpretering quality by four lecturers
- Provided data from interview with departmental chair
- Used recordings of two Study A interpreters made during Study B
- Used assessment of interpreting quality undertaken during Study B
- Used questionnaire data collected during Study B

Figure 1. Schematic representation of data sources from three studies

2.1 Study A: Faculty of Science

This study was initiated in 2010 as an ad hoc project by the then-Dean of the Faculty of Science at SU to determine the feasibility of a simultaneous interpreting service in the Faculty (Swart 2012a, 2012b). The Department of Biochemistry was identified as the site for this study, mainly because of the Department's willingness to participate.

The second-year biochemistry course is divided into two semester-long modules. The two constituent modules are compulsory for a number of degree programmes presented by the faculties of Science and AgriSciences. Given the number of students registered for the course each year, the class is split into two groups, with duplicate lectures being presented in Afrikaans

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5   Studies A and B (both pilot studies initiated as a result of managerial decisions) overlapped to some extent, as will be made clear in the description provided further on.

and English – despite the fact that the SU *Calendar (Part 1)* lists the language of teaching and learning as Afrikaans (Stellenbosch University 2013:63). The *de facto* parallel instruction presented an opportunity to gauge interest among students regarding the use of an interpreting service – due to timetable clashes, students who were not proficient in Afrikaans may well have been placed in the Afrikaans-medium group.

The lecturers in the Department of Biochemistry were adamant that they did not want anyone who was not a subject-specialist interpreting their lectures (Swart 2013). They identified an individual who was knowledgeable and had a facility for languages – one of their doctoral students who had worked at MFM (the campus radio station) and therefore had broadcasting experience. Her broadcasting experience, combined with the fact that they knew her personally, proved to be deciding factors for the lecturers. The departmental chair stated that if she had not been available to interpret, the Department would not have participated in the study (Swart 2013). In fact, he was quite candid about the fact that this "broadcasting person", as he described her, was of a quite different calibre compared to some of the postgraduate students used later on in the pilot study (Swart 2013).

Study A ran from the first half of 2010 to the end of 2012 (Swart 2013). In total, five interpreters were used, all of them postgraduate students in the Department (Swart 2012b). None of these interpreters received any interpreting training and no quality assessment was undertaken by either the Department or the Faculty.

As far as can be established, no reports on this pilot study have been published to date and, besides the performance assessment undertaken as part of Study B, no quality control was carried out to determine whether the interpreting was of a suitable standard. Feasibility appears to have been notionally based on usage but, as no records were kept of the actual number of users, usage (and therefore, presumably, feasibility) remains a matter of conjecture.

2.2 Study B: SU Language Centre[6]

The SU Language Centre undertook its own official pilot study in 2011, having received instructions from the University Council to this effect. The live phase, in which interpreting services were provided in the faculties of Engineering and Education, occurred in the second semester and involved four interpreters and one interpreter-in-training.

The overlap between studies A and B involves quality assessment. As part of Study B, two lectures per interpreted subject were recorded and sent to a panel of four experienced interpreters, some of whom were also involved in interpreter training. The panel was not provided with any information on the interpreters or on the study itself, other than that it was a pilot project and that quality assessment was considered an essential component. The assessment panel was not informed that they were assessing both professional and non-professional subject-specialist interpreters.

At the end of the semester, lecturers teaching in the various modules where an interpreting service had been provided – for both studies A and B – were requested to complete a

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[6] The feasibility study undertaken by the SU Language Centre and its impact on interpreting at SU will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming article. This section serves as a basic introduction in order to contextualise the work described in the current article.

questionnaire compiled by the Language Centre and the SU Centre for Statistical Consultation. The primary purpose of this questionnaire was to establish the attitudes toward and perceptions regarding interpreting. As the lecturers had not listened to the interpreters, the questions covered two broad areas. The main focus was on the impact of interpreting in the classroom, which involved investigating whether or not it created a disturbance, required a change in lecturing style, and to what extent it aided or hindered teaching. A predominantly negative response here may have led the team compiling the report for Council to urge caution in the use of educational interpreting at SU. The second focus area was the lecturers' perceptions of the interpreting, which involved determining whether or not the interpreting was accurate, the lecturers' ratings of the interpreters' language proficiency, and to what extent the lecturer trusted the interpreter.[7] These matters were considered important as it would be difficult to implement an educational interpreting service at SU if it were not possible to count on some measure of support from lecturers. Determining lecturers' perceptions of the interpreters and the service would also be important in devising a strategy to allay possible fears related to such quality matters as accuracy and veracity. (More detail on the content of the various questions will be provided in section 4.)[8]

While the aim of this study was to determine the feasibility and desirability of an educational interpreting service at SU, it was conducted on such a small scale that it could be possible to question some of the recommendations contained in the report to Council. Secondly, the study was undertaken while two separate pilot studies,[9] investigating the feasibility of educational interpreting at SU, were occurring elsewhere on the Stellenbosch campus. One could therefore argue that the findings of the study were either irrelevant or the result of managerial window dressing as the educational interpreting horse had already bolted and was frolicking on the Stellenbosch campus.

2.3 Study C: The comparative project

Study C provides the basis for the present article and was undertaken in 2013 at a time when educational interpreting had already been established as a language management policy at SU, and had changed in status from pilot study to established language service. As was summarised in Figure 1 and will be described in the methodology section below, this study used data obtained during Study B and two recordings made during Study A. To some extent, Study C is a reproduction of a portion of Study B – using different subjects – as it required lecturers in the Department of Biochemistry to assess recordings generated and assessed during Study B.

However, given the difference in the objective of Study C, the data were used differently than was the case in Study B. In Study B, the quality assessment data provided by the four panellists were used to indicate that (i) it was possible to interpret lectures simultaneously, and (ii) the

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[7] Alexander, Edwards and Temple (2004), Hadziabdic et al. (2010), and Napier (2011) all note the value of trust when using an interpreter: individuals would be more likely to make use of an interpreting service if they trusted the interpreter. As the Department of Biochemistry, rather than the students, would foot the bill for an educational interpreting service, the attitudes of lecturers could be crucial for the implementation of such an educational interpreting service at SU.

[8] A similar questionnaire was sent electronically to all students registered for the interpreted modules, regardless of whether they used the interpreting service. Those results were not pertinent to the current study, and will therefore not be discussed in this article.

[9] The second pilot study, undertaken at the Faculty of Engineering during 2011 and 2012, will not be discussed in this article.

quality of the interpreted product was of such a standard that students using this type of service would not be unfairly disadvantaged. In Study C, the aim was to establish (on a very small scale) whether lecturers who apparently viewed terminological exactness as the most important measure of interpreting quality, actually used that measure when they assessed interpreting products. As secondary aims, the assessments done by the four lecturers who were willing to participate were compared to the assessments provided by the four panellists in 2011, and were checked against existing literature on user perceptions of interpreting quality.

3.   Methodology

3.1 Data sources

Four main sources of data were used in writing this article. Firstly, the chairperson of the Department of Biochemistry was approached for an interview, during which the Department's attitude to educational interpreting and its participation in Study A were discussed. The basic premise of Study C – the examination of subject-specialist interpreter performance by lecturers – was also explained. The chairperson agreed that the staff in his Department could be approached and asked whether they wished to participate in a project to assess the performance of subject-specialist interpreters.

Secondly, lecturers who had taught the second-year course at the Department in 2011 were approached and requested to rate two interpretation performances. The lectures had been recorded in 2011 and it was thought that lecturers who had themselves taught various portions of the course at the time would be able to detect nuances, differences or deviations in the interpreted content that may have eluded other listeners. As anecdotal evidence from the period 2010 to 2012 suggested that more students typically used Afrikaans-to-English interpreting (rather than English to Afrikaans), and since problematic interpreting would potentially have more serious consequences for students who were unable to follow the Afrikaans lecture at all, recordings of interpreting from Afrikaans to English were used for evaluation purposes.

The lecturers were requested to listen to two recordings (an mp3 file with the original and interpreted lectures playing simultaneously), using a marking grid to rate the performance of each of the two interpreters according to various categories. Although four recordings (of three subject-specialist interpreters) were available, and had previously been analysed by the panel of four interpreters (see the elaboration of the fourth data source below), the likelihood of the lecturers listening to and evaluating approximately 200 minutes of interpreting performance seemed rather slim. The options seemed to be to use only 100 minutes in the hope that more lecturers would participate in the study, or to use the full 200 minutes available and risk a lower level of participation from the lecturers. Either option would limit the scope of the study and potentially undermine the validity of the results.

Thirdly, the marks and comments gleaned from the process described above were compared with comments made by the same group of lecturers in 2011 when they completed a questionnaire compiled by the Language Centre.

Finally, the two sets of data obtained from the lecturers were compared to assessments of the subject-specialist interpreters' performance by a panel of four interpreters, provided in 2011 and using the exact same recordings and marking grid.

By comparing data from data collection phase 2 (assessment by lecturers) with data collected in step 3 (questionnaires completed by the same group of lecturers), it was possible to establish, on a very limited scale, whether the lecturers used the criterion for quality assessment that they claimed to value, namely terminological exactness.

The third data source was used as a cross-check to determine whether the lecturers had been unusually lenient (relatively speaking) when assessing the performance of the two subject-specialist interpreters. As already indicated, this comparison was done using quality indicators identified by Kurz (2002).

3.2 Marking grid

The marking grid used as a tool for obtaining data in the second and fourth steps described above, was an adapted version of the grid used by the South African Translators' Institute (SATI) in their interpreter-accreditation exams.[10] The original SATI grid had four categories: accuracy and coherence of message; target language (TL) vocabulary and register; TL grammar, idiom and purity; and interpreting technique (SATI s.a.). Each of these categories provided a list of constituent components in brackets after the main category heading. Although the content was presented quite succinctly, the layout of the SATI grid made quick reference rather difficult. It was mainly with this benefit in mind that the grid was adapted by the Language Centre. It differed from the SATI original in that it divided performance into three broad categories: content, form and interpreting skills. Each of these categories had at least one major component, with examples (which could be considered subcomponents) provided as bullets below the major component.

As Figure 2 shows, TL vocabulary and register, and TL grammar, idiom and purity were grouped together in the adapted grid under "Form", with bullets providing the clarification that TL vocabulary and register should be evaluated with the applicability of the vocabulary, terminology and register in mind, and that TL grammar, idiom and purity should be assessed on the basis of correct use of concord, tense and syntax as well the use of prepositions being on par with that of a mother-tongue speaker. The content, therefore, differs very little from the original SATI grid. It is simply presented in a format that may be easier to use while listening to an interpreter, particularly for a listener who is not used to evaluating simultaneous interpreting.

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[10] The SATI grid was supplied by Mr Johan Blaauw, current SATI vice-chairperson and head of language practice at North-West University's Language Affairs Directorate.

Interpreting: [Course name] (Afr>Eng)		
Interpreter 1		
Performance	**Mark out of 10**	**Comments**
Content — **Message accuracy and cohesion** • equivalent meaning conveyed fully • names, dates, numbers, abbreviations, acronyms, etc. conveyed accurately • ability to deverbalise the message (not interpret literally) • cultural/subject knowledge		
Form — **TL vocabulary and register** • applicability of vocabulary, terminology, register **TL grammar, idiom and purity** • correct use of concord, tense and syntax • use of prepositions the same as a mother-tongue speaker		
Interpreting skills — **Listening skills** **Analysis** **Concentration** **Problem solving** **Paraphrasing** **Presentation** • **fluency** (little or no hesitation or repetition; ability to vary *decalage* ["following distance"]) • **voice quality**, e.g. voice and breath control **Correct use of equipment** **Conduct**, e.g. professional interaction with colleagues, way with which documents and information are dealt		

Figure 2. The adapted marking grid

4.   Results

4.1 Marks out of 10

Considering the emphasis the Department placed on subject knowledge as essential for an educational interpreter, it would be logical to suppose that terminological exactitude would be important when assessing interpreting performance. The position articulated by the Department is similar to attitudes noted by Kurz (2002), who examined attitudes expressed at three large international meetings.[11] On average, delegates ranked "use of correct terminology" as the third most important in a list of eight criteria by conference attendees – preceded only by "[s]ense consistency with original message" and "logical cohesion of utterance" (Kurz 2002:317).

When completing the questionnaires in 2011, the lecturers reacted because of previous interaction with the interpreters as students in the Department. When asked whether they trusted

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[11] In her results, Kurz (2002:317) includes results reported by Bühler (1986) for the purposes of comparison .

that the lecture content had been interpreted accurately, four out of the five lecturers who completed the questionnaire responded "Yes, more or less" and one answered "Yes, definitely". As can be seen in Table 1, the lecturers' responses (when invited to elaborate on their answers) focused on the students' subject knowledge rather than on their linguistic competence. However, knowledge of correct terminology, which a postgraduate student would undoubtedly have, may not translate into use of correct terminology while interpreting.

Table 1. Lecturer comments on the extent to which they trusted the correctness of the interpreting[12]

Lecturer	Comment
1	I have never heard the interpreting but I accept the knowledge of the interpreters.
2	The interpreting was done by postgraduate Biochemistry students. I trust their levels of knowledge and I know these particular students.
3	The interpreter is a Biochemistry postgrad student who knows the work well.
4	We use our best senior postgraduate students and we know that they are strong academically and well-prepared. If they were not people who know the subject, I would have had serious reservations.
5	Because I know the interpreter as a good student. Other than that, all I could do was to trust.

In addition, a listener – while valuing correct terminology highly – may actually use other quality criteria when determining what is "good" interpreting, and may be influenced by a range of factors when assessing quality. The listener's home language (Pöchhacker 2004:155, Kalina 2005:38), gender (Kurz 2001:399 passim), and experience in using interpreting services (Pradas Marcías 2006:38) may all influence what he or she considers important when it comes to "good" interpreting.[13] The quality components of "sense consistency", "logical cohesion" and "correct terminology" may not be as important as listeners believe them to be. Collados Aís (2002:335) has shown that an error-free but monotonous interpretation is considered less accurate than an error-ridden but lively interpretation. Illustrating this quite clearly, Wu (2010:322) cites an interpreting examiner who claims that if the listener does not understand the source text, good interpreting is probably identified based on delivery quality.

One of the revised aims of this study was thus to determine whether the assessment performed by the lecturers would support the claims made in the literature that listeners may believe they prefer "sense consistency", "logical cohesion" and "correct terminology" but that they are actually swayed by elements of interpreting delivery, or whether the faith the lecturers expressed in the interpreters' subject knowledge would emerge as a decisive component in the lecturers' assessment.

When looking at the scores provided by the lecturers, it would seem that the mean scores awarded by the lecturers and the panel, respectively, do not differ significantly. Figure 3 illustrates that, when placed side by side, the mean scores awarded by the lecturers and the panel for each of the two interpreters differ only by a single point (the largest difference is 1,2

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[12] All comments originally provided in a language other than English have been translated into English by the author.

[13] Grbić (2008:248) notes that the audience using an interpreting service is frequently much less homogenous than is generally assumed, while Bartlomiejczyk (2007:251) points out that the assessment of interpreting output could also be more heterogeneous than may be initially supposed.

and relates to how well Interpreter 2 dealt with the lecture content). With one exception, the panel was slightly more critical in assessing performance than the lecturers, but as the discrepancy between the two assessing groups remains more or less constant, it could be discounted for the present.[14]

The reasonably small difference in assessment between the lecturers and the panel would also suggest that the lecturers were not as biased in favour of their students as may have been supposed, and that they were quite critical of their performance (as will be illustrated below).
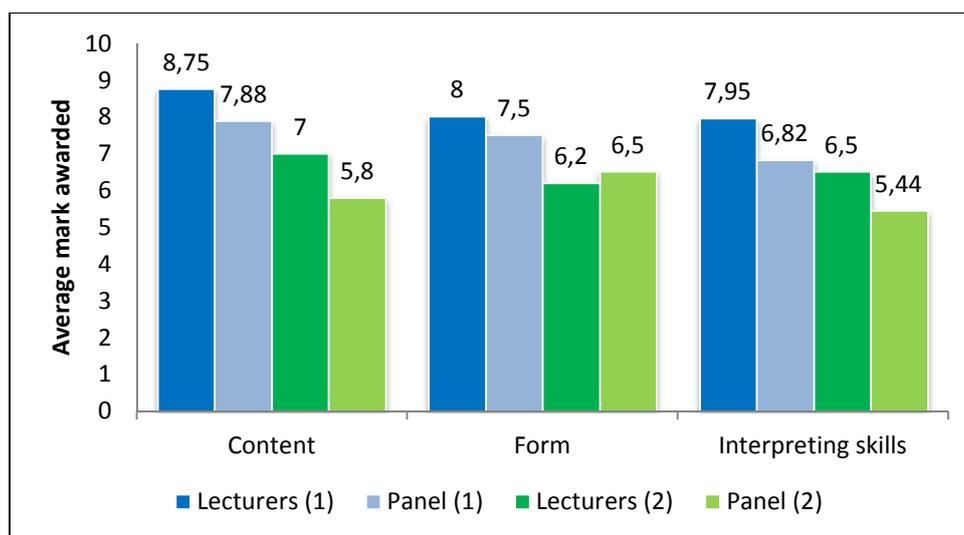
Figure 3. The performance of the two interpreters as assessed by the lecturers (2013) and the assessment panel (2011)

What is clear from Figure 3 is that both groups believed that Interpreter 1 performed better than Interpreter 2. Interpreter 1 was the "broadcasting person" favoured by the Department. It would seem that their proviso that Study A could only continue if she were used as interpreter was justified. She performed noticeably better than Interpreter 2.

4.2 Comments

The comments supplied by the lecturers and the assessment panel offer the opportunity to examine their perception of what constitutes "good" interpreting (see Figure 4). Using Kurz's criteria (2002:317) as a point of reference, the comments made by the lecturers and the panel can be analysed and compared. These criteria are (in descending order of importance, as determined by delegates at three international meetings): sense consistency with original message, logical cohesion of utterance, use of correct terminology, completeness of interpretation, fluency of delivery, correct grammatical usage, pleasant voice, and native accent (Kurz 2002:317). For the purposes of this discussion, the first two criteria will be considered basic expectations for competent interpreting.

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[14] This would seem to substantiate findings by Kurz (2002:323) that interpreters (in this case the four panellists) tend to make higher demands on quality than delegates would. It is possible that the lecturers' perspectives on interpreting would be closer to that of delegates at a conference – even when they actually play the role of quality assessors – than those of working interpreters (also playing the role of quality assessors).

Generally, the more critical approach of the panel is not only evident in the mark allocation, but also in the comments section. Comments by the panel are much longer and more detailed than those provided by the lecturers, and there is often criticism of elements related to interpreting not identified by the lecturers at all. There could be at least two factors contributing to this situation. Firstly, the lecturers had not used the assessment grid before and therefore formulated their comments in terms of the terminology and categories on the grid. Secondly, the panel, all being experienced interpreters, are used to listening to various aspects related to interpreting at the same time, while the lecturers focused on only some of these elements.

A further point to note is the differing importance of the various categories, when viewed by the commenting group. It was unexpected that the lecturers made more references to correct grammar and pleasant voice than to the completeness of the interpretation and delivery fluency, but as these only differ by one mention each, it should not be considered significant. The various aspects mentioned by the panel do not follow the order of priority detailed by Kurz (2002). Fluency of delivery received much more attention from this group than did the correct use of terminology or even the completeness of the interpretation.[15] (It is possible that an assertion by Pöchhacker (2001:419) – citing Shlesinger – that "normal" intonation aids memory while typical "interpreter" intonation does not, may have had some influence on the importance attached to fluency by the interpreting panel, particularly those involved in interpreter training.[16])

In Figure 4, the number of references by the lecturers and the panel to various quality aspects is grouped according to six of Kurz's (2002) eight criteria. The figure shows quite clearly which aspects the two groups focused on in their comments. The various criteria are also discussed in the following sections.
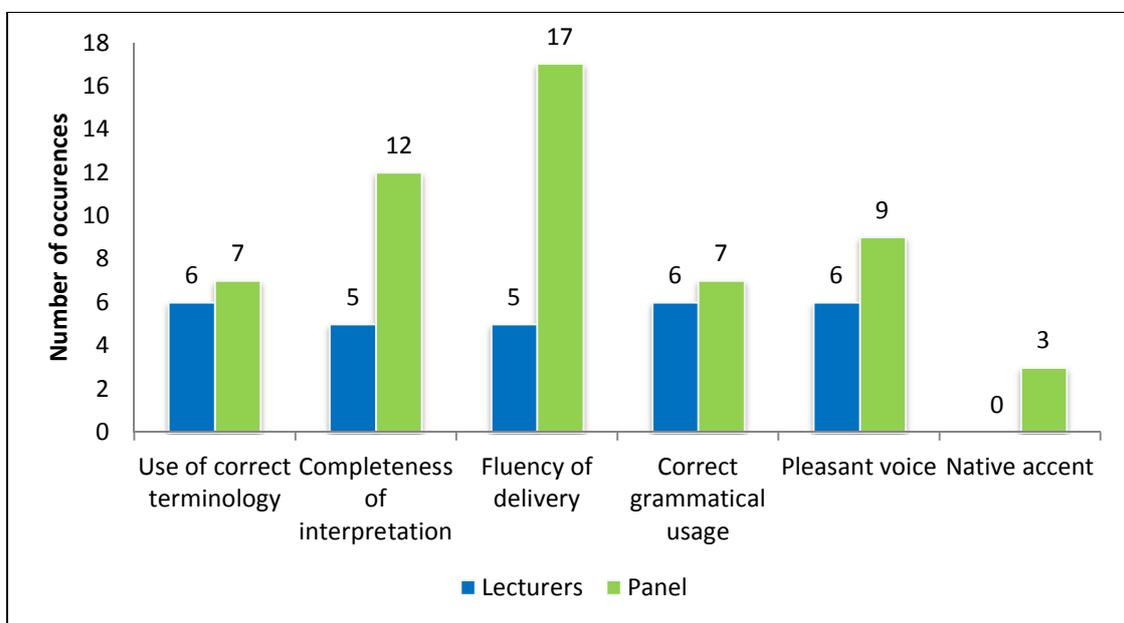
Figure 4. Focus of comments according to categories identified by Kurz (2002)

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[15] Kurz (2002:317) also lists the relative importance of the various criteria as determined by interpreters. The interpreters involved in her study valued fluency of delivery above completeness of interpretation. The panel's comments would therefore seem to be in line with this trend.

[16] See also Bartlomiejczyk's (2007) take on Shlesinger's (1994) study in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1   Use of correct terminology

The lecturers referred to "terminology" six times, while the panel referred to it seven times. Four of the six references to terminology by the lecturers related to whether the terms were used correctly or not, while the two remaining references related to incorrect pronunciation. The panel referred to the correct use of terminology four times. Other references occurred where the relationship between terminological overload and interpreter fatigue was discussed.

4.2.2   Completeness of interpretation

Words used to identify the completeness of the interpretation include "whole", "completeness", "gap", and "omit". The panel seems much more critical of a lack of completeness, particularly with Interpreter 2. One lecturer comments that "roughly 80% of the lecture is translated [sic]". The panel, however, had the following comments: "Difficult to follow as much is omitted", "Lots of information omitted", "[O]nly the core ideas are conveyed" and "[A] whooping [sic] 34 seconds of silence means the English listeners would have lost crucial information".

The tremendous difference in opinions may be related to the panel valuing "details or nuances" and an "exchange of […] experience"[17] (Kurz 2002:321), rather than the transfer of a set of facts, while the lecturers may have been satisfied with "an intelligent, logical, terminologically correct summary of the original", as Kurz (2002:321) describes in relation to the preferences of medical and engineering conference delegates.

4.2.3   Fluency of delivery

As already indicated in section 4.2.2, the lecturers did not make much of Interpreter 2's silences. In fact, they made only one reference to "silence", with other key words including "flow", "jerky", and "hesitate". Meanwhile, the panel focused on "silence", "breathing" (which they considered far too loud for both interpreters), and used words such as "fluent", "jerky", "falter" and "hesitate" in their comments.

Bartlomiejczyk (2007:249) notes that "confident delivery" (which could be presumed to include fluency) "may be crucial for the perceived quality of any interpretation". She bases this assumption on research done by Shlesinger (1994), which indicates that comprehension and recall are negatively affected by "pauses within grammatical constituents, stress incompatible with semantic contrast, […] non-final voice pitch in final positions and non-standard alterations of speed" (Bartlomiejczyk 2007:249) – in short, by a lack of fluency in delivery. It may be that the panel, of which some of the members were involved in interpreter training, were exceptionally critical of hesitations precisely because they were aware of the impact it could have on listener perception.

4.2.4   Correct grammatical usage

The correct use of grammar is the only point where there are striking similarities between the comments made by the lecturers and those made by the panel. The lecturers identified errors related to concord, tense, prepositions, and literal interpreting. The latter often leads to the

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[17] One could argue that interpreting in a lecture setting should not only focus on conveying the facts contained in the lecture itself, but all the phatic nuances and affective components that accompany those facts.

reproduction of source-language syntax in the TL (resulting in unidiomatic language use), and could therefore be interpreted as syntactic errors. The panel identified concord, syntactic and prepositional errors, as well as errors related to *what/which* and *a/an*. It may be that grammatical errors are easy to identify with some degree of confidence, even for someone with a moderate mastery of a particular language.

4.2.5 Pleasant voice

Although one lecturer described Interpreter 1's voice quality as "excellent", others thought she sounded tired or monotonous. Comments on Interpreter 2's voice ranged from "[p]leasant" to monotonous, and one lecturer even stated that "[t]he interpreter's voice also tends to go higher at the end of each sentence or phrase, which becomes irritating later on".

The panel, however, focused on other elements. While one panellist described Interpreter 1's voice as "very clear and sounded good", others detected nervousness and a voice that betrayed fatigue. There were very few descriptions of Interpreter 2's voice, one exception being that she sounds "bored". Rather, there were comments on her extremely long lag time and omissions.

4.2.6 Native accent

None of the lecturers commented on the interpreters' accents. One panellist referred specifically to accent, stating that Interpreter 1's "English accent is good". Two others commented that Interpreter 2 "sounds as if she is not a mother-tongue speaker of the target language", and that her "pronunciation is not good". The lack of attention given to this criterion would seem to justify the fact that it is the least important of those identified by Kurz (2002).

5. Conclusion

Based on their comments, the lecturers regarded five of the six criteria examined (native accent being the exception) as almost equally important, rather than singling out correct use of terminology as a particular focus area. There are at least two possible reasons for this. Firstly, the lecturers may have been guided by the format of the assessment grid, which forced them to focus on other aspects of delivery associated with "interpreting quality". Secondly, there does seem to be a slight discrepancy between what they ostensibly valued (terminological exactitude) and what they actually valued (a fluent, terminologically and grammatically correct product). Pradas Marcías (2006:38) argues, however, that new and experienced users of interpreting services focus on different aspects of an interpreted product. If the same lecturers were to use the grid repeatedly to assess interpreters, their assessment practice may change over time, and it is conceivable that a repetition of this study at a later date could yield different results.

The assessment provided by the panel certainly did not follow the order of importance for quality criteria, as established by Kurz (2002). However, their strong focus on fluency and on the hesitation in Interpreter 2's delivery seems to substantiate a view expressed by Pradas Marcías (2006:36-37) that silence has a negative impact on the perception of quality.

As there seems to be a discrepancy between the expectations expressed by this particular group of lecturers and their actual assessment of the interpreting product, and as there is some

difference between the aspects highlighted by the panel of interpreters and those raised by the lecturers, those responsible for implementing and rendering an educational interpreting service should take note that quality may mean different things to different people. This makes it difficult to answer the apparently simple question "Does the educational interpreting at SU work?" since "work" – even if one were to focus on quality rather than modus operandi or financial management as its definition – could be evaluated differently by various groups.

As pointed out in section 1, the study on which this article mainly relies is very limited in scope, and it would be irresponsible to jump to conclusions on possible dissonance between expectations among clients of an interpreting service and their actual assessment of interpreting performance, particularly if such conclusions were to be translated into policy (informing interpreter training, negotiations with academic staff, and so forth). What this study has highlighted is that a similar, adequately funded, and certainly much more extensive study should be undertaken to properly investigate such potential discrepancies between expected performance and actual assessment.

Once that has been done, it could be possible to properly customise interpreter training and quality assessment at SU, to properly manage the expectations of both academic staff and SU administration, and, as Kopczynski (1994:90) puts it, to negotiate about terminology.

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Framed communities: Translating the State of the Nation

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Abstract
The South African President delivers a State of the Nation Address every year. In this speech he conveys his opinion on the current state of affairs in the country. Since it is impossible for the President to accommodate all 11 official languages of the country, most of his speech is given in English. A few weeks after the Address, the speech is translated into all 11 languages and can be viewed on the Government's official website. Unfortunately, by that time the Address is considered old news. The country's different media channels report extensively on this speech. These reports can, however, be regarded as much more than simple commentaries on the speech – they are in fact *reframed* and *rewritten* versions of the speech that affect, shape and sustain the opinions and ideologies of their readers. These media channels also provide the vehicles through which common links can be established between supporters of the same media to reinforce their belief that they form part of an established community (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:33). In situations where communication is present or necessary, it is impossible to escape the process or effect of framing, as framing implies "'how speakers mean what they say'" (Tannen and Wallat 1993:60, in Baker 2006:105). Therefore, the presence and effects of framing should never be ignored. In the case at hand, it is through *rewriting* the President's speech to fit the framework of the particular media channel that framing takes place. Baker (2006:3) supports the integral role framing plays in (intra- or interlingual) translation by introducing the idea that the translated and reformulated narratives that we are exposed to on a daily basis constitute the everyday stories that shape the way we perceive reality. Therefore, it is vital to investigate this process and how it affects both the target text and the target readership. In this exploration of rewritings of the State of the Nation Address, the researchers focus on three different South African publications, and how each uses the same source text to create vastly differing target texts. By catering for their target markets, these publications maintain or shape a specific point of view; by focusing on specific parts of the source text that would interest their readership, they, at the same time, only expose the readers to these sections of the speech, and subsequently frame the readers' perception of the Address, the President, and ultimately, their country.

Keywords: translate, reframe, narrative, intertextuality, media

1.   Introduction: Moving towards a narrative approach

> [i]t was perhaps a decade ago that psychologists became alive to the possibility of narrative as a form not only of representing but of constituting reality.
>
> (Bruner 1991:5)

Translation can be considered as a *mode* of transporting knowledge across cultures and language barriers. The texts that are made available through translation contribute to their target readers' knowledge. Here, one can add that translated texts should also be considered as being part of a narrative framework and are, in themselves, narratives, as "[n]arration is the context for interpreting and assessing all communication – not a mode of discourse laid on by a creator's deliberate choice but the shape of knowledge as we first apprehend it" (Fisher 1987:193, in Baker 2006:9). Narratives have the ability not only to shape reality as we experience it, but also to direct us in establishing our own identities (Baker 2006:101-102).

The principal idea behind the present study is that the process of translation not only produces a translated text, but also transfers and creates narratives. These narratives are commentaries on the source text (original narrative); they exist for a specific readership and fulfil a particular purpose. Narratives cannot, however, be created within a vacuum, and therefore it is inevitable that they relay something of the communities to which they belong, as "[n]o story exists in a vacuum, and because all narratives are embedded in other narratives they must be assessed within this broader context" (Baker 2006:146). Therefore, it is narratives that describe or allude to, and therefore frame communities in a specific way and sustain the idea of their existence. This means that the ways in which narratives are translated, presented, and displayed in the public, play a significant role in the framing and shaping of "imagined communities".

It is also possible to argue that media channels frame the nation and communities in a certain way, as stories are told differently depending on the expectations and ideologies of its readers or listeners. As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009:13) put it, "[t]he norms operating in different cultures will determine how a story is presented, and in consequence there are bound to be ideological implications when we compare the different ways in which the same story is told". Thus, different media attempt to establish the idea of framed communities – that each community will only be satisfied with a particular way of presenting a narrative. It is therefore necessary to explore the different ways in which different media reproduce and frame stories and events to satisfy and further frame the different (already framed) communities.

The narratives considered for this study are framed by means of translation. In this regard, it is necessary to clearly define the relevant types of translation that are identified in the literature. The term "translation" is broadly used to refer to intra- and interlingual translation, as well as some instances of transmutation: (i) intralingual in the sense that the source texts and target texts are in most cases in the same language, but the verbal signs are *reworded* in other signs of the same language; (ii) interlingual in the sense of *translation proper*, that is, from one language into another, and (iii) transmutation in the sense that verbal signs are interpreted by nonverbal sign systems (Jakobson 1959, in Venuti and Baker 2000:114). All three types of translation equip the translator with the necessary framework to reframe the source text.

2.   Framing the SONA

The South African President's State of the Nation Address (SONA) is presumed to be a report or commentary on the state of the South African nation and the different communities that form this nation. It is also a vision of the future of these communities and the nation as a whole. The aim of this study is to investigate the perspectives (i.e. frames) from and for which selected articles in three mainstream South African newspapers were created, and whether these perspectives can convey any characteristics of the readership in question. As all narratives are considered already to be part of a framed space, it is plausible to assume that SONAs also form part of a specific, prescribed framed space. To fully comprehend the significance of a framed space it is necessary to consider Baker's argument that

> frames are defined as structures of *anticipation*, strategic moves that are consciously initiated in order to present a movement or a particular position within a certain perspective. **Framing processes are further understood to provide 'a mechanism through which individuals can ideologically connect with movement goals and become potential participants in movement actions'** (Cunningham and Browning 2004:348). I follow this particular scholarly tradition here in defining framing as an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality.
>
> (Baker 2006:106; authors' emphasis)

Therefore, one can argue that within the framed space of the SONA, framing is used in order to connect individuals to the goals and actions referred to in the SONA. In the same way, republications of these addresses (re)frame aspects of the addresses that will connect individuals to the goals of the publications in which these republications appear. It is then necessary to analyse the frames used to link the individuals to the specific goals and causes in order to compare and understand the perspectives of the creators of the source narrative as well as the perspectives of the translators, journalists and finally the readers (target groups). There are many ways in which translators can (re)frame the source text in order to suit the narratives of the intended readership. Baker (2006:111) points out that the process of (re)framing

> draws on features of narrativity such as temporality, selective appropriation and genericness to reconfigure patterns of emplotment and influence the narrative perspective of the reader or hearer. Processes of [re]framing can draw on practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resource, from paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as colour and image, to numerous linguistic devices such as tense shifts, deixis, code switching, use of euphemisms, and many more.

Investigating the process of (re)framing narratives will lead to a better understanding of the narratives of the communities that are involved in the translation process, and will also contribute to further investigation and development of the narrative approach to translation.

3.   Implications of ideological position

> [Decisions regarding the stories/narratives that are published in the news] will be made in-house, and will be affected by the ideological position of the newspaper and by the context in which that newspaper is produced. (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:11)

Before considering the ideological position of each newspaper, it is necessary to introduce Lefevere's concept of 'patronage' and what it implies for this study. Lefevere identifies patronage as one of the external powers that guides the rewriting process:

> The second control factor, which operates mostly outside the literary system as such, will be called "patronage" here, and it will be understood to mean something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature. It is important to understand "power" here in the Foucauldian sense, not just, or even primarily, as a repressive force.
>
> (Lefevere 1992:15)

What Lefevere means by saying "power" should be understood in its "Foucauldian sense", is that this external power can be regarded as "good"; it is not a force that inhibits us, but one that "traverses and produces things, […] induces pleasure, forms knowledge [and] produces discourse" (Lefevere 1992:15). Patronage, as an external force that influences the writing, rewriting and reading processes, is also bound to have its own set of beliefs that determine the type of influence it has. However, patronage is not merely based on ideology. Lefevere (1992:16) points out that this concept comprises three components, namely those of ideology, economy and status. He goes on to state that the ideological component does not necessarily only imply political issues, and that the economic component provides the means by which the writer and rewriter make their living.

Lefevere further distinguishes between differential and undifferential patronages. If all three components are "dispensed by one and the same patron", the patronage is undifferential. Differential patronage, in contrast, implies that different parties are responsible for the components (Lefevere 1992:17). For the present discussion, it is important to note that the patronages of each newspaper are represented by their publishing houses, and in each case the publishing house is an external force that contributes to the ideological position of the newspaper. Even though all of the publishing houses appear to be undifferential, they have to answer to a number of shareholders, and it is these shareholders that drive them to form their specific ideology.

3.1 Die Burger

In his essay "Learning a new language: Culture, ideology and economics in Afrikaans media after apartheid", Wasserman (2009:68) points out that Die Burger is a "prime example" of the repositioning and balancing of the "different interests" of its diverse array of readers. This was, however, not an easy process as Die Burger "initially played on the anxieties and disillusionment of their traditionally conservative white audience by resisting key aspects of the democratic transition" (Wasserman 2009:73). After realising that this method could not

work for either the company or the readers in a democratic South Africa, Die Burger's editors and staff had to be creative in order to win over Afrikaans readers from different backgrounds, thereby changing the newspaper's perception of an Afrikaner newspaper to a newspaper for "Afrikaanses" (Afrikaans-speaking South Africans; Wasserman 2009:73). By employing this technique, Die Burger attempted to make the newspaper "seamlessly Afrikaans", thereby erasing the race of their readership and focusing on the unifying effect of sharing the same language (Wasserman 2009:73-74).

Perceptions of especially older publications are not, however, easily changed. Wasserman (2009:74-75) points out that there are still conflicts between Afrikaans publications and the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC, the current ruling party) that show "that more conservative, white sections in the Afrikaans audience still wield a significant influence on content, even if audience figures (*Die Burger* audience, for instance, consists of 56 percent whites and 42 percent coloured) would suggest the reverse". The repositioning of a newspaper can, then, never really end, as it is a constant process. The readership's ideology relies on the newspaper's content, which is determined by what their readership wants to read – and as the newspaper attempts to satisfy its readers, it must constantly reposition itself in society. If, however, newspapers are able to determine their readership's ideology, what does that reveal of society? Wasserman (2009:75) argues that newspapers can only achieve balance "in the form of a commodified culture which views cultural identity as a saleable commodity within the free-market environment of post-apartheid South Africa". It is perhaps contentious to claim that ideology and cultural identity have become "saleable" commodities, but it does seem plausible to argue that the framing of events within the ideological intentions of a newspaper can have a definite effect on its readership.

3.2 Sowetan

The 1976 uprising in Soweto seemed to mark a turning point in journalism for black newspapers. Molefe (2006:68) points out that before this date "black newspapers were known for reporting sex, witchcraft and soccer", but that "things changed when *Sowetan* was born". Until recently the Sowetan's slogan was "Building the Nation". Mecoamere (2006:82) explains that this is not coincidence, but that this slogan was a direct reference to the Sowetan's "Nation Building campaign" (2006:82). Basically, this campaign set out to empower the people most affected by the political turmoil of the 1980s, and was, in Mecoamere's words, "a typically unusual answer by journalists to a great challenge" (2006:83). The newspaper's slogan then changed to "THE SOUL TRUTH", and is at present "My News. My Community." However, both slogans still hold on to the idea of building a united South African nation:

> *Sowetan* was born to serve. Its first pay-off line was: "We Serve YOU". It was a deliberately crafted line: We had to take what was a "free", often frivolous knock-and-drop publication aimed at households in Soweto and turn it into a serious wider distribution newspaper. **We used the symbolism of Soweto to identify with the black struggle.** We committed to serve as the watchdog of society, exposing the dictatorial actions of the government of the time, the abuses of power so common, and

> the corruption of leadership. Above all, we committed to
> championing the cause of press freedom.
>   (Latakgomo 2006:28; authors' emphasis in bold)

At the time of writing, the Sowetan was published and distributed by Avusa, a company which was known as Johnnic Communications Limited (Johncom) until November 2007. Avusa was a Level 3 accredited B-BBEE (broad-based black economic empowerment) company, which showed its affinity toward black empowerment and black interests. On the company's official website, their mission clearly stated that they endeavoured to "provide compelling content and create solutions that enrich lives" (Avusa 2012). Avusa also set out to help "people to know more, do more and live inspired", and to "enrich society with quality information, education, entertainment and creative ideas" (Avusa 2012). The company was, therefore, determined to please their consumers, thereby providing the best value for their shareholders. Another aspect they considered to be important in achieving their mission was the reliability of the content of their media and entertainment. In short, Avusa set out to satisfy their consumers and stakeholders by providing reliable content that would ultimately please their readership.

3.3 Mail & Guardian

Even though the Mail & Guardian had a difficult start and turbulent past, it repositioned and reshaped itself to find its place within the mould of the "new" South Africa. In 2002, the Zimbabwean media owner and entrepreneur, Trevor Ncube, became the major shareholder in M&G Media and thus secured the title of the company's new owner. Recalling the difficulties of changing the public's perceptions of the newspaper more than a decade after apartheid ended, Ncube (2010:6) states that "[t]here was a perception that the paper was anti-ANC and anti- anything that was black-owned and -managed. It may not have been accurate, but it was a very strong perception, and in life perception is reality". In *25 years of the Mail & Guardian*, Ncube and De Waal also point toward the inquisitive intellect of their readership, as the newspaper is "a paper for readers who really like to read: there is a lot to read in this newspaper" (De Waal 2010:9); and, at the Mail & Guardian they "have to ask [themselves]: Are we producing content that is compelling? […] Are we delivering quality audiences to advertisers?" (Ncube 2010:7). The Mail & Guardian went through many changes, but in view of its past it is clear that this newspaper was also (re)created with a specific audience in mind. This is evident from the following remarks by Ncube (2010:7):

> We played a pivotal role in the fight against apartheid and
> through the transformation in South Africa, but I believe our
> greatest contribution to this country's democracy is still ahead of
> us. As the heroes of the struggle backslide and are
> compromised, we will be called upon to protect democracy and
> the gains of the past 15 years.

The publishing house (differential patronage) responsible for the print and distribution of the Mail & Guardian is M&G Media, a company owned by the Guardian newspaper group in London (10%), and Trevor Ncube (87,5%), with the rest made up of smaller shareholders (Mail & Guardian 2008). The following characterisation of the newspaper's intended readership is provided on the website of the online version of the Mail & Guardian:

Niche market, interested in a critical approach to politics, arts and current affairs. Large numbers of readers among professionals, academics, diplomats, lobbyists, non-governmental groups. Regularly achieves the highest circulation percentage increases in the newspaper market.

(Mail & Guardian 2008)

4. Comparing reframed rewritings to an original

The SONA can be described as a narrative that draws on global and public narratives to provoke the personal narratives of its audience. These personal narratives stimulate readers' interests and focus their attention on how this speech can touch their lives. Public narratives become personal narratives when they directly affect the personal narratives that constitute each individual's life. For example, a discussion of crime and crime prevention in South Africa would form part of a public narrative, but as soon as a South African has been or is directly affected by an act of crime, (s)he will experience the discussion as a personal narrative. Hatim and Mason (1990:190) claim that, "[p]articularly in the case of culture-bound texts, the degree of intervention by the translator will often depend on consumers and their needs. This matter is not to be underestimated and may in certain cases even override ST [source text] communicative intentions". Therefore, one can argue that in order to satisfy their readerships, newspapers report on specific parts of the SONA that will best interest the public narratives of their readers. This type of rewriting is ultimately more a reflection of the newspaper's target readership than the actual SONA. This process also distorts the rewriter's role as mediator, as her/his task becomes much more complex. Scholars should then study these texts as "particular instance(s) of language in social life" (Hatim and Mason 1990:238).

As a target narrative, the newspaper article sets out to guarantee reader interest. Therefore, each newspaper will draw on narratives that attract their target readership. The writers frame their articles within these specific narratives by drawing on specific features of narrativity. These features include particularity, selective appropriation, causal emplotment, normativeness, and relationality. In addition, writers can also draw on "practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resource, from paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as colour and image" (Baker 2006:111). Hatim and Mason (1990:236-238) also note the importance of the "major principles" needed to analyse rewritings, namely communicative transaction, pragmatic action, and semiotic interaction.

It is necessary to further explore the implications suggested by Baker's approach; moreover, it is also important to incorporate other elements of analysis that Baker draws on but fails to discuss in depth. Hatim and Mason (1990) take a closer look at such elements that are incorporated in their principles of analysis. The features that this study focuses on include intertextuality, social and conceptual interaction, and intended and final purpose, with the main focus on framing through selective appropriation of the source text. The elements referred to here are implied by Baker's narrative approach, but Hatim and Mason (1990) provide a more detailed framework to apply when analysing texts and transmutations. In the present study, newspaper cartoons play an important role in the analysis of transmutation. For instance, a rewriter can use selective appropriation in relation to intertextuality to further frame her/his point of view. The different features also draw on each other and are "highly interdependent" (Baker 2006:5). For this study, it is necessary to analyse the content of the

selected newspaper articles on a macro level to determine how the rewriters utilise the different narrative features to create the target narrative.

5.   Selective appropriation of the SONA

In a nutshell, selective appropriation is the act of choosing specific parts of a narrative to include in a retelling of that same narrative. As Baker (2006:75) notes:

> [s]electing, and in some cases 'inventing', texts that help elaborate a particular narrative of an 'enemy' culture, then, is a well-documented practice that often relies heavily on the services of translators and interpreters. The narratives that these translators and interpreters help weave together, relying mainly on the feature of selective appropriation, are far from innocent.

These elements are specifically important to keep in mind for the analysis of newspaper articles in this section. Writers of newspaper articles have to rely on selective appropriation when creating a text, as both their time and space are limited.

Since Nelson Mandela's election as the first black president of South Africa, shortened versions (or summaries) of the presidents' SONAs have been printed in a few editions of the Sowetan. Where these speeches were at least seven pages long, the summaries never filled more than a few columns – therefore, it is to be expected that the speech was cut and tailored to fill the space allocated, and touched only on the issues that the Sowetan's readers were assumed to be interested in. But how does this process work? Who gets to decide what the most important issues are? The rewriter mentions at the end of the summary that "[t]his is an edited version of the President's address to Parliament on Friday" (Mandela 1999b:9), but the author is stated to be Nelson Mandela. Mandela was the original "author" of the complete version of the speech, but he could not have had a hand in the reconstruction of this shortened version.

Summarising the SONA also brings Hatim and Mason's (1990) concept of 'intertextual hybridisation' to mind. This concept concerns the act of adapting a text to fit a new typology and fulfil a new purpose. According to Hatim and Mason (1990:147), this phenomenon occurs "when, in subtle and highly intricate ways, a text is shifted to another type and made to serve another purpose without completely losing at least some of the properties of the original type". In the case of the summary, the text does not lose much on face level, but when macro-level implications are considered, the ST type and intentions are lost to a higher degree than initially seemed to be the case. The information provided in the summary has been selectively appropriated with a definite goal in mind – reporting on the SONA and providing sufficient information for readers – whereas the President's goal with his speech was to comment on the state of the nation for a much wider, national and international audience.

Selective appropriation goes hand-in-hand with another feature of narrativity, namely causal emplotment. This narrative feature is important for any type of narrative that wants to succeed in sending out a coherent or conceptually sound message. In essence, this feature refers to interpreting or explaining and setting out the events in relation to each other. In other words, it relates to how the facts of the narrative are listed: "emplotment allows us to weight and

explain events rather than simply list them, to turn a set of propositions into an intelligible sequence about which we can form an opinion" (Baker 2006:67). Through emplotment, the writer should position events in such a way that the reader can grasp the message by considering the sequence of events. For the purposes of this article, selective appropriation and causal emplotment are viewed as complementary to each other, and both features are important for the following analysis.

In the same article as mentioned above (the Sowetan's summary of Mandela's 1999 speech), the rewriter makes use of some narrative features to frame Mandela's speech, particularly selective appropriation and causal emplotment. The rewriter titled the summary "Building a secure nation for all", and selected all the appropriate sections of the SONA that illustrated this assertion. For instance, in the SONA, Mandela conveys the idea of an ongoing discussion on the state of the nation. He does this by including public responses, irrespective of their positive or negative effect on his assertions and comments. He specifically uses public responses to further his determination to prove that there is always hope for improvement, and that success can only be reached if all South Africans stay positive, "[a]nd major steps have been taken to deploy police where they are needed most. But the response is, where are the results! [sic]" (Mandela 1999a:4). The solutions are mentioned in the summary, but the responses are left out. Past issues and suggested solutions follow each other in the summary. Therefore, the idea of a dialogue between the state and the people is missing, and the summary has the layout of a typical report on events.

The article is also affected by the ideologies that underpin the rewriter's use of language (Hatim and Mason 1990:161). Furthermore, in this case, by omitting the idea of a dialogue, the Sowetan excludes their readers from the discussion, and suggests that they are not considered to be the ones who are questioning the President's solutions. The rewriter further focuses the attention of the reader on specific points discussed in the SONA by dividing the article into three sections through the use of subheadings. The first part can be considered the introduction; the second part, titled "Major projects", focuses on Mandela's plans of action; and the third part, "Crime syndicates", is about ways to rid the country of crime (Mandela 1999b:9). Even though other issues mentioned in the SONA are included in the summary, by highlighting these subjects, the rewriter reveals what (s)he considers the most relevant for the newspaper readers' ideology. In view of the above discussion, it seems plausible to take the intended readership of the Sowetan as being ANC supporters (who would want to focus on the positive aspects of the SONA), and who are mostly black, lower- to middle-income citizens.

Mandela also makes an indirect call to South Africans not to forsake their country, to stay loyal to the shared cause of acceptance and rebuilding a nation that includes everyone:

> We slaughter one another in our words and attitudes. We slaughter one another in the stereotypes and mistrust that linger in our heads, and the words of hate we spew from our lips. We slaughter one another in the responses that some of us give to efforts aimed at bettering the lives of the poor. We slaughter one another and our country by the manner in which we exaggerate its weaknesses to the wider world, heroes of the gab who astound their foreign associates by their self-flagellation.

> This must come to an end. For, indeed, those who thrive on hatred destroy their own capacity to make a positive contribution.
>
> (Mandela 1999a:9)

He also refers to his own departure from Parliament, as he would retire later in the same year: "[t]he time is yet to come for farewells, as many of us – by choice or circumstance – will not return" (Mandela 1999a:1). Yet it is crucial to note that these sections are not included in the Sowetan's summary. Where these passages can serve as warnings to the public that if they do not work together they will not achieve a united South Africa, said passages are not considered important enough to include in the overly positive newspaper summary. Another example that shows that the rewriter of the summary wanted to portray the SONA in an overly positive light, is the way in which (s)he refers to Mandela's report on job creation. In the SONA, Mandela reports on the Government's attempts to create more jobs, and that they are succeeding, but that it is not an easy feat (1999a:4-6). In the summary, it is stated that "public works programmes have created hundreds of thousands of jobs", but the rewriter omits Mandela's next words, "though some of them are temporary" (1999b:6). The summary leaves the impression that the SONA is close to perfect, and that it can only improve – and that this is the actual opinion of the nation's leader.

In the Mail & Guardian, the only article that really discusses Mandela's last SONA is titled "Only success will silence the whiners" (Barrell 1999:27). The illustration that accompanies this article is discussed later in this section. The author of the column, Howard Barrell, focuses his article on the reason for Mandela's call for hope, as hope is an important theme throughout the SONA. The following quotes are examples of the contexts in which Mandela used the term "hope" in his SONA (italics added by the authors):

Example 1
"We *hope* that this year the planning and funding will be settled earlier in the year." (Mandela 1999a:3)

Example 2
"[…] with regard to crime and job-creation – there is *hope*." (Mandela 1999a:4)

Example 3
"We can and shall break out of this bog. There is *hope*." (Mandela 1999a:4)

Example 4
"[…] communities and business-people have joined with police and cut the crime rate, and you will know there is *hope*. Ask the kingpins of cash-in-transit heists who are in C-max and you will know there is *hope*. Ask the corrupt police who are facing various charges, and you will know there is *hope*. Even though the level of attacks is rather too high, assess the trends in farming communities after the Summit on this issue and you will know there is *hope*." (Mandela 1999a:4)

Example 5
"Yet the public is within its rights to ask, if all is well, why is the economy shedding jobs: is there *hope*? Yes there is *hope*." (Mandela 1999a:6)

Example 6
"Our *hope* for the future depends also on our resolution as a nation in dealing with the scourge of corruption." (Mandela 1999a:8)

When one considers the important theme of hope that Mandela maintains throughout his speech, it is no wonder that a rewriter reporting on the speech would focus his/her article on this specific feature. However, Barrell adopts a different angle when reporting on Mandela's speech – he focuses Mandela's purpose for the theme of hope on a specific South African audience, the cynical whites. By selective appropriation, he creates the illusion that Mandela was, in fact, directly addressing the issue of professional whites abandoning South Africa as a result of persisting issues, and their pessimistic views on the Government's plans for improvement. Barrell introduces this thought by stating that he would not want Mandela's job of "placat[ing], encourag[ing] and cajol[ing] South Africa's five million whites", and that this is exactly what Mandela was trying to do at his last opening of Parliament: "[t]here he was again last Friday, […] at the opening of Parliament in Cape Town trying […] to jolly whites up" (Barrell 1999:27). Barrell is insinuating that the SONA is more an act of maintaining a state of peace, than reporting on the actual state of the nation.

In his article, Barrell claims that he would not want to be Nelson Mandela because of the tremendous burden of having to "placate, encourage and cajole South Africa's five million whites" (1999:27). In the following excerpt, Barrell refers to Mandela's attempt at this during his speech the previous Friday night:

> [Mandela was] trying, among other things, to jolly whites up. There was cause for hope, he declared, as he set about pushing all the right buttons: language and culture would be protected; economic management would continue to follow prevailing international orthodoxies; crime would be beaten and personal security improved; and progress was being made in education and health.
>
> (Barrell 1999:27)

In his report, Barrell focuses on the parts of the speech that refers to the South Africans' (and more specifically *white* South Africans') unwillingness to work together to build a nation, that they are endeavouring to "conduct war by other means" (1999:27). By "other means" he is referring to Mandela's suggestion that South Africans are slaughtering one another with words (Mandela 1999a:9). Barrell concludes that many of the problems that are causing white South Africans' unhappiness are solvable, but that "[t]here is no guarantee of success. Success is something **we** will have to make" (1999:27; authors' emphasis). The theme of hope is evident throughout Mandela's SONA, and can be considered as his main theme on the eve of his retirement – a hope he has for the future of the country to which he has devoted much of his life. By highlighting this specific theme, Barrell is not only framing the SONA in this light, but is also creating a collective nostalgia among his readership – a yearning for a South Africa that never was, but that could be; a South Africa for which there is *hope*.

Figure 1. Cartoon accompanying Barrell's (1999) article (Mail & Guardian 1999:27)

The cartoon that accompanies Barrell's article (Figure 1) supports his argument while at the same time criticising the idea behind it. The Mandela depicted in the cartoon seems old, resigned, and on the verge of giving up (in reality he was on the verge of handing over his position to Thabo Mbeki), while the person representing South African whites looks rather dubious. The offering of a "nation building" hardhat, trowel, and shovel might not be sufficient material to convince the whites. The irony that accompanies the illustration further ridicules the situation – the master plots of colonialism, apartheid, etc., of whites telling blacks what to do, are inversed: here, it is a white man who receives working gear from a black man, even though the former does not seem willing to accept it. This inversion is also further commentary on this particular period in South African history, a time of change where the master plots of the past should be questioned. The cartoon is subtle but effective, as it supports the ultimate point the article is making, namely that success for a united South African nation is possible but not guaranteed, as it requires a team effort of national proportions, and ultimately for whites to accept this reversed role.

Barrell, to an extent, also conveys his own cynicism towards the Government and the motive behind the SONA, as he questions the bond of trust between the assumed author and audience: "Mandela – or, perhaps a very good new speechwriter he seems to have got himself – got it right last Friday" (Barrell 1999:27). This shows that even though Barrell praises Mandela throughout his article, in the end he has difficulty convincing himself that all the goals and solutions discussed in the speech are as honourable as they appear. Just by inserting this short phrase of doubt, Barrell plants the seed of suspicion within his readers' minds.

One of the articles on Mandela's 1999 SONA that ran in Die Burger was titled, "Mandela se rede stel teleur, sê opposisiepartye" ['Mandela's address disappoints, say opposition parties'] (Bigalke 1999:2). In order to justify the claim expressed by this title, Bigalke includes the opinions of a few, mainly "white", opposition parties. The opening lines focus on the main disappointments of the speech, but do not state who exactly is disappointed – just the broad idea that opposition parties are disappointed (Bigalke 1999:2). Bigalke continues to quote the leader of the New National Party (NNP), Marthinus van Schalkwyk. It is of interest that this publication still puts a lot of emphasis on the opinion of a party that, in the past, caused the public to question the newspaper's credibility (Louw 2003, Wasserman 2009:64). Most of the

article is dedicated to the opinions of the NNP's leader and the former Democratic Alliance frontman, Tony Leon. At the end of the article, Bigalke briefly mentions the opinions of General Constand Viljoen, leader of the Vryheidsfront, and Roelf Meyer, deputy leader of the United Democratic Movement.

It is, of course, not necessary for Bigalke to quote all the opposition parties, or to provide an in-depth analysis of the reception of the SONA. However, since she mentions that the SONA was labelled a disappointment by *all* the opposition parties, a more inclusive report might be expected: "[o]pposisiepartye het gister eenparig pres. Nelson Mandela se laaste parlementêre openingsrede as teleurstellend bestempel" ['yesterday opposition parties unanimously labelled President Nelson Mandela's last SONA as disappointing'] (Bigalke 1999:2). The idea that this is the opinion of all the opposition parties manipulates the readers' perception of the SONA. Bigalke reframes the reception of the SONA by selective appropriation, causing readers to question their own receptions of the SONA.

5.1 Instances of unintended selective appropriation

Most of the articles considered for this study do not contain long or many direct quotes (except the Sowetan's summaries of the entire speech), and yet mistakes persist in the rewritings of directly quoted sections. The examples in this section focus on the implications of these "errors" that happen during the rewriting process. By depicting a false direct quote as an actual direct quote, the rewriter is affecting the original to an extent – whether correcting grammar or spelling mistakes, or making new mistakes, the original message is reframed and ultimately received in a different way. Consider the following examples in this regard:

Example 1
"[…] where people live […]" (Zuma 2010:5)
"[…] where the people live […]" (Majova 2010:2)

In this example, the definite article in Majova's version makes the sentence, and in particular the noun, more specific. It is not merely "people" in general, but "*the* people". The effect of this change is that it shifts the focus of Zuma's statement to South African people in particular. According to Majova, Zuma is referring to the housing of the South African people. Zuma makes this reference to explain that his government "knows *where people live*, understands their needs and responds faster" (2010:5). In addition, even though he is specific about why his administration should be aware of people's living conditions, his statement does not clearly indicate whose living conditions he is referring to. South Africans' living conditions are not all equal, hence the question now arises as to which people Zuma is referring. Zuma keeps his sentence open-ended, which allows the audience to come to their own conclusions, asking themselves whether they are part of this generic "people". Majova, however, attempts to make the sentence somewhat stronger by adding the definite article, but the phrase still lacks lucidity.

Example 2
"[…] a lone voice […]" (Zuma 2010:2)
"[…] the lone voice […]" (Sowetan reporter and Sapa 2010:2)

The change from a definite to an indefinite article in this example reduces the noun in question to a regular "object". However, in this case, the original text makes use of the indefinite article, whereas the rewritten text describes the "voice" as "the" only one. The "lone voice" is a reference to Helen Suzman's efforts to support the struggle against apartheid. The original version suggests that although hers was "a lone voice", there was always the possibility of other voices that supported her, even though they might have been silent. The rewritten version, "the lone voice", implies that hers was the only voice that effected change. The change might seem insignificant, as both versions portray the importance of Suzman's role, but the distinction transferred by the rewritten version slightly changes the meaning behind the original phrase.

Example 3
"[…] our nation is in a good state"; "the nation is in a good state" (Motlanthe 2009:2)
"the nation is in a good state" (Unknown 2009:14)

It is unclear why Die Burger's journalist only included Motlanthe's reference to "the nation" without mentioning the fact that Motlanthe later on used the same line, but with the slight change to "our nation". Only referring to "the nation" in the article is a small change, but this change makes a significant difference to the meaning of the excerpt. The word "our" is inclusive, and by referring to the nation as "our nation" Motlanthe is including everyone, whereas the rewritten version refers to the nation as an entity on its own, hence distancing it from the reader.

6.   Framing through intertextuality

A common strategy for pointing readers in the direction of a "master plot" is through the incorporation of intertextuality, that is, "the process whereby a text goes back to what precedes it, adding to its ideologically neutral form the whole underlying volume of signification which accrues from experience, awareness, etc. This is in sum the function of intertextuality" (Hatim and Mason 1990:121). Through the use of intertextuality, a rewriter compares an original narrative to an existing plot, and immediately draws the reader's attention to the narrative features of this plot, ultimately shaping her/his interpretation of the target text; in Baker's (2006:81) words, "[m]otifs and skeletal storylines within which the particularity of a narrative is realized shape our interpretation of the events and discourses". Besides serving to shape readers' attitudes, intertextuality also plays an important role in conveying writers' attitudes: "[i]ntertextuality, or the way texts rely on each other, is a semiotic dimension which is powerful in reinforcing social attitudes" (Hatim and Mason 1990:238).

Selective appropriation, as discussed earlier, further allows the rewriter to decontextualise a set of events by representing parts of the narrative within a new context; the rewriter is, in effect, selecting certain parts of an event and excluding others in order to "elaborate a coherent narrative" (Baker 2006:71). Ultimately, "all stories are selective representations of reality" (Baker 2006:75). Selective appropriation is unavoidable in the retelling of a story, but Baker warns against the effect of "deliberate selective appropriation" (2006:75-76). Hatim and Mason (1990:161) point out, however, that "behind the systematic linguistic choices [the rewriter] make[s], there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms" (1990:161). As Hatim and Mason refer to the importance of predominant ideologies, it should

be clear that it is impossible for rewriters not to selectively appropriate texts, especially if the target texts are newspaper articles.

Figure 2, the front page of the Mail & Guardian of 12 February 2010, uses different images and captions to comment on Zuma's SONA:

Figure 2. The front page of the Mail & Guardian on 12 February 2010

In the centre of the page is a large image of Jacob Zuma, wearing an ANC cap and a playful smile, with the headline "The state of Jacob Zuma" appearing to the left of his head. Other images on the page include one of Mandela, fist lifted, with the sub-headline "When Madiba walked free" appearing to the left of the image, as well as an image of a graffiti artist next to his drawing with "State of spray" written as another sub-heading. Even though the story about the graffiti artist has nothing to do with the SONA, the simple use of the heading "State of spray" is an indirect signifier thereof. This is deduced from the articles on the SONA included in this edition of the publication, as they only focus on Zuma's personal life, with more than one reference to his alleged promiscuity.

The words "state of" immediately references the "state of the nation", as this event would be foremost in the Mail & Guardian readers' minds after reading the main heading. "Spray" could allude to concepts such as 'shower', 'scatter', 'liquid particles', and in this case could remind readers of Zuma's sexual exploits, especially since he is commonly portrayed by well-known South African cartoonist Zapiro with a showerhead affixed to the back of his head (as a result of previously reported sexual behaviour; www.zapiro.com). The graffiti figure that appears below the "State of spray" heading can be perceived as a representation of Julius

Malema[1]. However, even if this assumption holds significant implications for this analysis, the authors must reiterate that it is merely an assumption, and sufficient evidence cannot be provided to prove this claim. If the art is a representation of Malema, it could direct the reader's attention towards the state of Zuma and Malema's relationship at the time. In 2010, Malema was still an avid Zuma supporter, and "spray" could hint at the way he used his words to show his support. The fact that the newspaper focuses more on the state of the President than the state of the nation shows that the editors and other decision-makers at the Mail & Guardian believe the President's personal issues to be of more interest than the issues of the nation, that the President is in fact more involved with issues regarding his personal life than with solving the country's problems. It is also an indication that the newspaper's commentary is more concerned with Zuma's personal performance than his actual report.

The Sowetan also used Zuma's personal life to comment on his first SONA. On 11 February 2010, President Jacob Zuma delivered his first SONA; the next day the cartoon by Sifiso Yalo on page 16 of the Sowetan (see Figure 3) commented on Zuma's speech with a specific reference to Zuma's personal life:

Figure 3. Yalo's cartoon in the Sowetan (12 February 2010)

The cartoon depicts a father and son sitting on a couch in front of the television. The following is written in the speech bubble emanating from the father's head: "That's President Jacob Zuma son, undressing the nation. I mean addressing the nation…" (Yalo 2010:12). In order to understand the irony of this message, some background is required regarding Zuma's personal life during that time. At the beginning of 2010, rumours were spreading that Zuma had fathered a love child, and that the mother was the daughter of his "old friend", Irvin Khoza (Mail & Guardian online 2010). Even more newsworthy was that, apparently, this was Zuma's twentieth child. It is no wonder then that his personal affairs would affect the commentary on his speech. The cartoonist uses an ambiguous slip-of-the-tongue to refer to Zuma's indiscretions, and by doing this he also comments on Zuma's role as part of the South African nation. In this commentary, it appears that Zuma is well-known for his polygamy instead of his speech-making skills. It also reflects the fact that people are watching the SONA in their homes, many with their families, including young children, showing that Zuma's actions are common knowledge to an unrestricted audience of South Africans.

Similar remarks can be made about the cartoon that appeared in the Sowetan on 10 February 2009 (see Figure 4) after Kgalema Motlanthe's first and only SONA. Around the same time,

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[1] Julius Malema was president of the ANC Youth League from April 2008 until his expulsion in April 2012.

rumours spread of Motlanthe's illicit affair with an unknown woman, and the cartoon uses his silence on the matter against him. In the depiction, the journalist asks Motlanthe to comment on the rumours, but instead of holding the microphone to his mouth, the journalist points it at his crotch. This indicates that the journalist (and the cartoonist) believes that the nation is not interested in what Motlanthe has to say, but instead looks towards his actions to reveal his character. As this cartoon appeared right after the SONA, it also comments on how Motlanthe's SONA was received by the nation, and that many felt that his words did not carry a lot of meaning. This shows that even though the Sowetan is aimed at liberal ANC supporters, they also believe their readers to be inquisitive, and want to keep them alert and focused on the end goal – even though Motlanthe is interim President, he is not going to be *the* President, therefore, his words (or lack thereof) should be scrutinised.
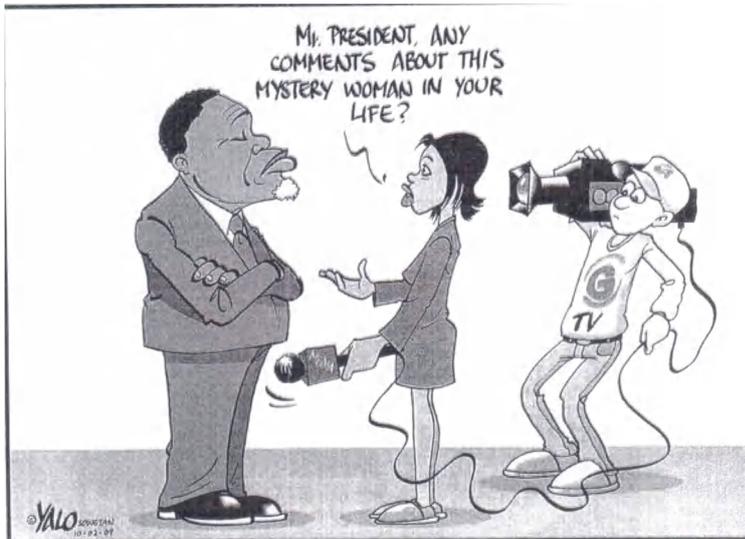
Figure 4. Yalo's cartoon in the Sowetan (10 February 2009)

A third cartoon that uses intertextuality to reframe the narratives of the SONA (see Figure 5) appeared with the article in the Mail & Guardian of 25 June–1 July 1999 entitled "Can Thabo be a good Machiavelli?" (Mangcu 1999a), on the day that Thabo Mbeki gave his first SONA. Therefore, it is possible to assume that listeners/readers of the SONA would have read the article before hearing/reading the SONA for the first time. This article and the cartoon would then affect the way in which they perceive the speech.

Figure 5. Dr Jack's cartoon in the Mail & Guardian (25 June–1 July 1999)

What is most notable about this cartoon and the article is the reference to Niccolò Machiavelli. Machiavelli was considered an expert on politics in 15th century Italy, and is well known today for a pamphlet he wrote called "The Prince". Machiavelli's thoughts on government are summarised as follows by Nederman (2009:1):

> For Machiavelli, there is no moral basis on which to judge the difference between legitimate and illegitimate uses of power. Rather, authority and power are essentially coequal: whoever has power has the right to command; but goodness does not ensure power and the good person has no more authority by virtue of being good. Thus, in direct opposition to a moralistic theory of politics, Machiavelli says that the only real concern of the political ruler is the acquisition and maintenance of power (although he talks less about power per se than about "maintaining the state").

According to Nederman, Machiavelli argues that a ruler will do anything to acquire and maintain her/his seat of power. There is, however, an ongoing debate that Machiavelli made these statements merely to gain favour with the ruling family of that period, and that in reality his political genius is often overlooked because of his association with corrupt politics (www.ctbw.com/lubman). The artist of the Mbeki cartoon, Dr Jack, uses the uncertainty that goes with the appointment of a new leader to illustrate this debate. Mangcu (1999a) furthers the association by suggesting that Mbeki has wonderful ideas for his term as President, but that the public has yet to find out whether he will continue to strive towards his goals, or merely please his party so that he can maintain his seat of power.

Mangcu includes another important intertextual reference in his article, namely the reference to the 1964 Bob Dylan song "The Times They Are A-Changin'". In the third column of the article, Mangcu mentions Mbeki's choice to appoint Nkosazana Zuma as Minister of Foreign Affairs, saying that this appointment "sends out a strong message to the male-dominated foreign-policy establishment that 'the times are a-changing'" (1999a:23). The quote is not the exact phrase, but it is close enough to realise that it is a reference to Dylan's song. Moreover, the song is generally taken to be a protest song, supporting the fight for equality (Roberts 2005:51-52), a fight that Mbeki also appears to support through his appointment of Nkosazana Zuma as a cabinet minister. Here, it is necessary to consider the implications and the often complex nature of intertextuality. Hatim and Mason (1990:124) note that, "cultural connotations and knowledge structures are incorporated into an intertextual reference. In this broader definition, intertextuality exercises an active function and entails the view that texts are never totally original or particular to a given author" (Hatim and Mason 1990:124).

In order to grasp the broader context, it is necessary to consider the cultural connotations and knowledge structures attached to the Dylan reference. "The Times They Are A-Changin'" was "inspired by the murder of Medgar Evers, a civil rights worker who was killed in 1963 [and] in the song Dylan suggested that *everyone* has a responsibility to work for equality" (Roberts 2005:52). By including this reference in his article, Mangcu is not only encouraging the readers to acknowledge Mbeki's appointment as an act of human rights activism, but is also broadly referencing the "Master Plot" of the black man's struggle against oppression, the fight for human rights and equality for all, the revolutionary concepts of '*liberté, égalité,*

fraternité'. The inclusion of this reference aids Mangcu in conveying the idea that, as the leader of the nation, it is Mbeki's responsibility to ensure equal rights for all, and that he is not only already supporting this effort, but also doing so in the manner of the peace-loving countercultural freedom fighters.

The cartoon in Figure 6 appeared in the following week's edition of the Mail & Guardian (on 2 July 1999, after the SONA), and furthers Mbeki's connection to medieval Europe and Machiavelli.

Figure 6. Dr Jack's cartoon in the Mail & Guardian (2 July 1999)

During his time in Parliament, Mbeki initiated an undertaking dubbed "the African Renaissance". In his 1999 speech, he makes the following reference to this programme:

> I am happy to inform the Honourable Members that former minister, Jay Naidoo, will continue to work in this sector to assist in its further development domestically and to promote the African Connection, which is a critical element of the African Renaissance.
>
> (Mbeki 1999:6)

The use of the term "Renaissance" also links Mbeki to 15th century Italy, as this is considered the birthplace of the original Renaissance movement. Consider the following remarks by Laurie (1968:3) in this regard:

> The Renaissance, or the Revival of Letters, is the name by which we distinguish the period which saw the revolt of the intellect of Europe against Medievalism in all its forms, political, ecclesiastical, philosophical, and literary. It has correctly enough been called a 'Humanistic' revival; but the word 'Humanistic', if it is to be a true designation, must be interpreted broadly and not be confined to the revived interest in Litterae Humaniores.

The article discussing Mbeki's idea for an African Renaissance is titled "The potential for Thabo's 'renaissance'" (Mangcu 1999b:21). Both of the articles Mangcu wrote for the Mail & Guardian, which discuss Mbeki and his SONA, reference important events of 15th century Europe. One article appeared before the SONA and one a week after, and can therefore be considered as neatly encompassing the SONA. By repeatedly connecting Mbeki to the intellectual movements of 15th century Europe, Mangcu is actually framing Mbeki as an intellectual – that he has the potential to be a force to be reckoned with, and could steer not only the country, but also the continent in a better direction. The implication is that Mbeki could lead Africa into a new era, similar to the progressive era Europe experienced during the Renaissance during which

> Europe passed out of a period of dogmatic and ecclesiastical bondage into the freer life of the modern world by very gradual steps, and found itself unawares in a new intellectual attitude to life and possessed by a higher faith in human capacities and possibilities.
>
> (Laurie 1968:6)

The fact that these rewriters make use of complex intertextual references points toward their belief that their readership is made up of intellectuals and professional, well-read citizens, that is, people who will be able to understand the allusions the rewriters make.

7.   A turn towards power: concluding remarks

From the research done thus far, it is evident that somewhere during the process of translation there is an opportune moment for the translator to manipulate the text that (s)he is producing (Lefevere 1992:vii). The authors do not want to claim that this opportunity is seized by all translators during the translation processes. However, when a translator does manipulate the translation on purpose to reach a specified end, or in order to satisfy the ideology of her/his target reader, it is necessary to investigate this process as well as the extent of the translator's power. Lefevere (1992:vii) makes the following comments on this characteristic of translation:

> [t]ranslation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature[2] to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect **can help in the evolution of […] a society**.
>
> (Lefevere 1992:vii, authors' emphasis)

During translation, a source message (even though the originality of this source is questionable) is rewritten into another language/text, with a specific purpose and for a specified audience. However, it is clearly not as simple as it seems. There are numerous other factors that come into play within the many contextual layers of a translation:

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[2] Note that the focus was on literature in Lefevere (1992), whereas the current study focuses on media texts.

> Translation thus is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. In these ways translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture.
>
> (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002:xxi)

In this quote, Tymoczko and Gentzler emphasise the ability of translations to attribute to or "shape" ideologies, as their creators "participate in powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:7). Therefore, translations can be manipulated to reach a certain goal in favour of the translator or, in the case of this investigation, the medium that forms part of the translator's practice. Earlier in this article, it was suggested that newspaper articles are moulded specifically to fit the shape of the newspaper in which they appear, the shape that their readers have come to expect. However, the relationship between the newspaper and its readers is an interdependent one: the readers expect the newspaper articles to satisfy their ideological expectations, and the newspaper's success is dependent on the survival of its readership's ideology. In other words, taking both the above quotes into consideration, a translator has through her/his profession the capacity to sustain an ideology.

Lefevere points out that this characteristic has both positive and negative attributes; the positive involves introducing new ideas to otherwise oblivious societies, bringing cultures that communicate in different languages closer together (Lefevere 1992:vii; 8-9), but the negative can include the repression of information, the manipulation and distortion of accounts and details, which can further hostile feelings between cultures (Lefevere 1992:vii). That is why further investigation into the relationship between power and translation is essential, as this type of study will "help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live" (Lefevere 1992:vii).

The present study also serves to raise awareness about the implications of framing within translation. This process is, in many instances, "far from innocent" (Baker 2006:75). We are not, however, the first translation scholars to emphasise the "guilty nature" of the discipline; Lefevere and Bassnett (1990:11), for instance, note that

> [w]hat the development of Translation Studies shows is that translation, like all (re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. Translation involves so much more than the simple engagement of an individual with a printed page and a bilingual dictionary; indeed, the bilingual dictionary itself is an object lesson in the inadequacy of any concept of equivalence as linguistic sameness.

The process of translation can never be unaffected; it is a sensitive process influenced by so many different factors that it is impossible to study translations as though they were created within a vacuum (Naudé 2000:4). Hatim and Mason (1990:161) argue that "[i]deologies find

their clearest expression in language", but we want to argue that language also bears qualities of collective narratives and framing, and should be studied with these aspects in mind. Therefore, translation scholars should always be aware that different frameworks and narratives play an important role in the complex process of translation.

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Educational interpreting: A dynamic role model

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Abstract

This article aims to describe the challenges faced by educational interpreters within a professional context with regard to role fulfilment and existing role models. This will be carried out by exploring the notions of 'roles' and 'norms' within Translation Studies (which includes interpreting) and investigating how these relate to and influence educational interpreting. The article will offer findings emanating from an extensive study and, by adopting a normative approach, provide an adapted role model specifically designed for educational interpreting.

Keywords: translation, interpreting, educational interpreting, role, role fulfilment, role model

1. Introduction

According to Baker (2005:4), research carried out in previous years on the role of the translator may have contributed to an uncritical and unrealistic image of this role, and needs to be revisited. She argues that the role of the translator must not be viewed as being outside of or between cultures, but should rather be viewed as an integral part of any communicative interaction which involves primary and secondary participants. In this regard, Gile (2003:48) states that the focus should be on people and not on texts as "[t]ranslators are expected to serve not *texts*, but *people*, with particular intentions and interests". Due to the fact that interpreting forms part of the definition of "translation", the latter being an encompassing term for language-related activities, one can argue that Gile's assertion is also true for interpreting. For this reason, resources from translation studies and interpreting studies will be used intertextually.

When taking a closer look at the literature on the subject, however, it becomes clear that the "channel" description still enjoys great normative support and, in many instances, is still perceived as the "correct" role to be accepted by interpreters. This view entails that an interpreter is a mere conduit or channel who does not take part in communicative actions (Tate and Turner 2002:374). This is supported by the well-known mechanistic Code Model which states that the interpreter should be invisible and uninvolved in the communicative act. Despite many researchers arguing for the untenability of this model (amongst others, Angelelli 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Tate and Turner 2002:374; Wadensjö 1998:7), Wadensjö (1998:7) admits that the practical way in which the role fulfilment of interpreters still plays out, is greatly influenced by this model.

Conversely, an evolving movement in the direction of a more "involved" role model is also noticeable. Since 1976, Anderson (1978, 2002) has argued that the role of the interpreter (regardless of type or mode) is marked by uncertainty and contradictions. Furthermore, he asserts that this role is complex and is dependent on various expectations from all relevant parties involved in the interpretation process. Linell (1997:53) and Wadensjö (1998:41) further explore this idea and observe that the interactive nature of the communicative event requires a much more involved role from the interpreter – an element neglected in the literature on this topic up until now. The uncertainty with regard to role fulfilment of interpreters is clearly articulated by Hale's (2004) remark on an apparent gap in specific role expectations of interpreters, and concludes that the profession is undergoing an "identity crisis".

To add more to this apparent identity crisis, Fozooni (2006:283) maintains that a new view on the role of the translator developed over time which focused more on cultural aspects. Furthermore, it appears as if Van den Broeck and Lefevere's (1979:10) preference for viewing a translator (and therefore also an interpreter) as a facilitator who simultaneously needs to cope with receiving a source text and sending a target text, gained substantial ground (see Kotze and Verhoef 2001, Verhoef, Carstens and Van de Poel 2003, Bedeker and Feinauer 2006, Bothma and Verhoef 2008). With this in mind, it becomes clear that the role which interpreters fulfil is by no means easily definable. In addition, a multitude of views on possible roles also exists.

Angelelli (2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2004a:71-84, 2006) and Mullamaa (2006:49-50, 2009:50-58) make it clear that the role interpreters fulfil should be investigated. They also hint that such investigations should include interpreters' self perceptions of their roles against the background that interpreting should be viewed as a socially-bound activity. According to Pöchhacker (2001:411), the different levels of interaction between communication participants within an interpreted event largely guide the role fulfilled by an interpreter, and the role truly depends on the definition of the social interaction context. The following quote by Pöchhacker (cited in Snell-Hornby (2006:134)) also proves that the role of the interpreter is still largely undefined:

> Simultaneous interpreters have undergone a process of anonymizing and mechanizing that during the course of five decades has, as it were, turned them from admired acrobats into necessary technocrats of international communication.

In short, if interpreting is seen as a discernable language practice activity, and the role of the interpreter in mediating communication is studied, it will be clear that this role has not yet been clearly defined.

With this in mind, this article defines educational interpreting within the socially-bound environment in which it is typically found. Furthermore, it is argued that, as a discernable language practice activity, the role of the educational interpreter should be determined by its social environment. A normative investigation will be carried out in terms of this social environment in order to determine to what extent it has an influence on the educational interpreter. The article will conclude by offering an adapted role model specifically designed for educational interpreting. First off, however, the term "educational interpreting" will be defined to serve as a starting point.

2.   Defining educational interpreting

The possibility that the educational interpreter's role within the South African context entails more than simply acting as a channel was researched by Olivier (2008) during a pilot project relating to educational interpreting. Olivier determined that demonstrable differences exist between the conference interpreter's and the educational interpreter's respective approaches to their interpreting tasks, which paved the way for the current study. In addition, Bothma and Verhoef (2008), Partridge (2008) and Verhoef and Blaauw (2009) conducted separate studies which all focused on educational interpreting as a type of community interpreting. In addition, studies by Shackman (1984, in Merlini and Favaron 2003:208), Pöchhacker (2007), Swabey (2007) and Rudvin (2006) offer sufficient results to accept educational interpreting as a type of interpreting which is determined and governed by the social interaction within which it takes place, thereby solidifying educational interpreting as a type of community interpreting.

This finding gives rise to the possibility that educational interpreting, and therefore the role of the educational interpreter, should be approached differently from other types of interpreting because it has demonstrable differences and requirements. This possibility is supported by Niska's (2002:134) theory, which states that what is expected from interpreters varies according to context, domain and situation, although expectations are usually generic.

When community interpreting in particular is researched, Niska (2002:137-138) states that the role fulfilled by community interpreters can only be fully understood if it is accepted that a spectrum of role options is available. These roles may vary between a neutral function, where the interpreter acts solely as a linguistic channel, and an active advocate, where the interpreter acts purposefully on behalf of one or more of the participants in the interpreting situation. He contends that the interpreter's role should be classified according to socio-cultural, linguistic and cognitive skills, but that neglecting the macro context in which the interpreting activity takes place may negatively influence the interpreting process and product. The implication here is that the different variables within the educational environment (for instance, a lecturer's or teacher's teaching style) may have an influence on the interpreting process and product and may in turn influence all of the roleplayers' perceptions of the communicative opportunity. In order to determine which variables are relevant, it is necessary to explore the existing norms in educational interpreting.

3.   A normative approach to the educational interpreter's role fulfilment

On a basic level, Toury (1999:13) defines norms as regularities within translation behaviour and, in doing so, gives expression to the complex process which is followed to complete a set of mutually agreed-upon values within a certain social group (also consult Reeves 1994:42, Tate and Turner 2002:374, Marzocchi 2005:89). However, the simplicity of his definition is misleading as Toury (1999:15, 2000:200) states that what is normative cannot be found in regularities alone. On the other hand, the fact that regularities in translation behaviour are a reality proves that a negotiated and accepted system of norms does exist.

The existence of norms in translation behaviour implies that it is difficult to keep a fundamentalist and prescriptive hold on it, due to the fact that norms are found within unstable social environments. The terms "correct" and "fitting" may be assumed to be key descriptions within a community of practice to describe sanctioned and agreed-upon conventions. However,

"norms" are probably more complex than that. Toury (1999:15) argues that norms come into being in translation (and, by definition, also interpreting) during a decision-making process which allows for the consideration of alternatives and the recognition of different variables (also consult Linell 1997:64, Shlesinger 1999:69).

In simple terms, Davis (1994:97) states that people utilise their social skills to negotiate similarities regarding behaviour and actions. He argues that reality may seem stable and regulated only because we take collective decisions about what is suitable and acceptable within certain circumstances. These similarities are always negotiated, these negotiations take time, and the result can be seen in conventions which certain members of a group will follow within specific circumstances. He continues by saying that these similarities do not stay constant. If the group continues to exist, these similarities will constantly be subject to re-negotiation, a process which is very much alive.

In this regard, Toury (1999:25) argues that norms are accepted as the general values or ideas that members of a group have in common. These norms act instructionally within certain situations according to what is right or wrong and what is acceptable or not. Norms can therefore be used to investigate actions and/or behaviour within a given social situation. They can also act as a gauge according to which actions and/or behaviours can be evaluated. For the purposes of this article, this assumption is accepted and utilised to critically view the role of the educational interpreter and, in doing so, attempts to determine if there are existing accepted norms within the practice of educational interpreting. This socio-cultural construct is useful due to the fact that any communication which requires language practice activities takes place within a social situation. Applying this construct to language practice activities therefore allows for an in-depth look into the role of the educational interpreter.

Toury (2000:198) proposes that three types of norms encompass all practical aspects of language practice on a normative level; these include (i) initial norms, (ii) preliminary norms and (iii) operational norms. Initial norms involve the basic strategic decision that the translator/interpreter takes regarding his/her approach towards the task at hand, i.e. whether or not his/her loyalty lies with the author or with the target culture and how this then influences the completion of the task. Preliminary norms contain the typological parameters which influence the task, for instance text type or type of interpreting and their origins. Finally, operational norms describe the decisions which are taken in reality and differentiate between matricial and textual/linguistic/form norms. When these three norms are used to determine whether a set of norms exists within educational interpreting, the focus is on the interaction between the different types of norms. Specifically, what is investigated is the difference between that which is expected of the educational interpreter and that which takes place in reality.

A practical example of this interaction can be found in Shlesinger's (1999:65-77) study of the choices regarding cognitive limitations or norms made by court interpreters within given situations. In her study, interpreters used simplification during their production, which may indicate tension between two sets of norms, namely expectancy norms versus performance norms. Expectancy norms can be described as the court's implicit or explicit expectations of the interpreter; performance norms can be described as the interpreter's perception of the role he/she fulfils, including what must be done in order to fulfil his/her role successfully.

The current study connects Toury's preliminary and operational norms with Shlesinger's expectancy and performance norms. In both the researchers' cases, preliminary or expectancy norms refer to what is expected of the interpreter, i.e. what the interpreter is *supposed* to do within a certain situation or environment. Different situations and environments may influence what is perceived to be "correct" or "acceptable" within a specific situation, but they do not always take the reality of the situation into account. In contrast to this, operational and performance norms focus on what *really happens* in a given situation. In addition, Shlesinger warns against theorists making statements about what "must" and "must not" be done as there are fundamental differences between explicit claims and behaviour as manifested in reality. A good example of this can be found in court interpreting, where interpreters tend to condense information (Shlesinger 1999:70). In addition, Schjoldager (1994:84) refers to the norm in simultaneous interpreting where interpreters may add to the source text if the added information is relevant. She states that users of simultaneous interpreting prefer these types of additions to incomplete sentences, and argues that this norm is probably unique to simultaneous interpreting. This uniqueness, however, is not limited to one type of interpreting, and evidence of these types of norms is confirmed by Gile (1994:153-158), Shlesinger (1999) and Poyatos (1997).

What is clear is that expectations do not necessarily coincide with reality. Toury (1999:28) confirms this by saying that different norms in especially comprehensive and heterogenehous groups are not uncommon. The solution, therefore, probably lies in how the interpreter manoeuvres his/her way around these norms, and also where a distinct role definition is embedded. The interpreter, in his/her search for what he is "supposed" to do, most likely fulfils more than one role precisely because he is "searching".

As has been stated, it can be assumed that interpreting (and, by extension, educational interpreting) always takes place within a social setting. Educational interpreting, by definition, also always takes place amongst a multitude of socio-cultural constructs. This implies that these socio-cultural aspects may also influence the role fulfilment of the interpreter. To determine exactly how these aspects may exert this influence, it is important to look briefly at the prevalence of culture in education with regard to the shaping of norms within language practice activities.

3.1   Culture and norms

According to Fozooni (2006), the language practitioner – as "cultural hermaphrodite" (Fozooni 2006:283) – crosses the cultural divide via meaning transfer and insists on creating meaning with the original author and audience. In saying this, Fozooni (2006:294) attempts to prove that 'invisibility' and 'impartiality' are concepts which are simply illusions. He offers the cultural hermaphrodite the opportunity to come up with creative and innovative solutions to challenges within the translation environment. In doing so, a language practitioner would then be allowing him-/herself to become a cultural creator of knowledge. In this regard, Bhabha (1994:64) adds that it is indeed necessary to go further than simply looking at the usual and initial subjective narratives and to focus on those moments which are produced during the articulation of cultural differences. He calls these moments "in-between spaces" and argues that these spaces allow for the search for a new identity and innovative approaches regarding the role of the interpreter.

Pym (1997:177) uses the term "intercultures" to illustrate how translators work and live. This includes opinions and practices which are found within overlapping areas between cultures, when people from more than one culture meet. However, he adds that interculturality should not be confused with the fact that people from different cultures are found within one community or political unit. This points to the idea that the presence of different cultures allows for individuals to, in a manner of speaking, cultivate their own culture. This confirms Fozooni's argument that the role of the language practitioner has evolved to such an extent that a new form of linguistic expression is found when the focus is diverted from single cultures and their representations, to cultures becoming commonplace. In this regard, Mullamaa (2006:32) readily accepts Pym's proposal by stating that if it is possible that the identities of people who live among different cultures can influence one another, it is probable that people who act as mediators within these cultures (in this case interpreters) will also be influenced by these cultures. She adds that this interculture vision describes what professional language practitioners already experience, namely a continued balance between what is familiar and what is unfamiliar. Fozooni's (2006:283) statement completes the picture when he says that the interpreter should in actual fact not function *between* two cultures and languages, but should be seen as playing an integral part in creating the message in the target language. Figure 1 represents Pym's idea of intercultures:
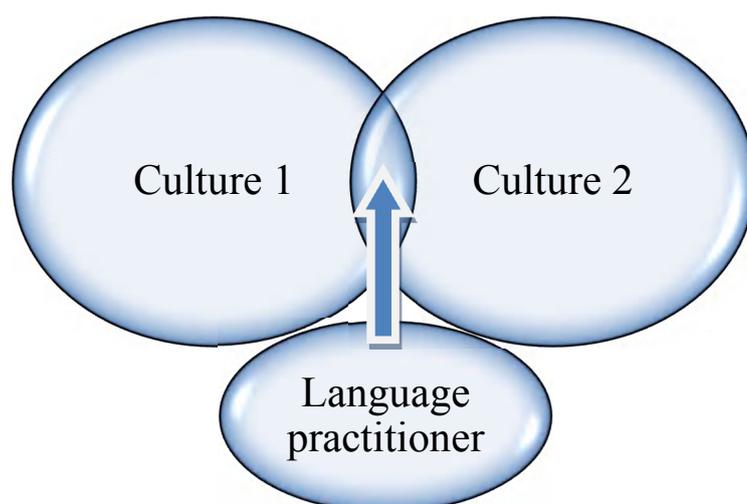
Figure 1. Intercultures (Pym 1997:177)

Based on Pym's (1997:177-178) proposal that the language practitioner will inevitably be influenced by the cultures in which s/he works, it is argued here that the educational interpreter will also be influenced by the cultural environment in which s/he works. Factors at play here may include the social history of the educational environment, the cultures within which the interpreter works as well as practical factors s/he encounters on a daily basis, to name a few. According to Toury (1999:28), one of the consequences of this working environment is that it has become a prerequisite for translators to accept the norms within a specific situation in order to determine the acceptability or correctness of a given action or set of behaviours within that situation. This in turn allows the translator to properly manoeuvre between all the variables which may influence behaviour. Toury adds that this reality creates an environment which is very challenging to an interpreter as not only must the interpreter handle linguistic aspects (e.g. source-text complexity, systemic differences between languages, personal cognitive

constraints) but also socio-cultural factors which are ever-present in each interpreting opportunity. In addition, Bhabha (1994:77) refers to the value of in-between spaces because it is here where communal interests of cultural value are negotiated.

What becomes evident from this discussion regarding norms and the influence of different cultures is that any social activity essentially involves active, dynamic norms which are negotiated among members of a specific community. When the focus moves to norms and the role of the educational interpreter, it can be accepted that these negotiated and accepted norms may alter the role of the interpreter and adapt it until it is acceptable and applicable within a given community. The presence of norms also offers a mechanism with which these norms can be identified and evaluated. It is also a clear reality that different cultures within a community are intertwined with norms and their creation, and that these norms and their processes of creation will inevitably influence the role of the interpreter.

At this point, an in-depth look at the role of the educational interpreter is necessary, including the social construct which is inherent to norms in interpreting situations. This will enable us to determine whether norms are really present within educational interpreting, as proposed above.

3.2   A normative role description for educational interpreting and interpreters

Gentile, Uldis and Vasilakakos (1996:31) describe role fulfilment as follows:

> Role is a social science construct used to explain behaviour and examine attitudes between at least two participants in any social situation. [...] The role of the interpreter, like other roles, derives from observed behaviour over time and from evaluation of behaviour vis-à-vis that expected by professional associations or other occupational or social groupings.

Thus far we have ascertained that the interpreter fulfils his/her role within a social event, and that this behaviour, which is deemed acceptable within that situation, may eventually be expected of him/her and in turn become the norm. Based on Toury's research (1995, 1999, 2000) and normative theories by Goffman (1961) and Gercek (2008) normative *behaviour* within educational interpreting will now be investigated.

Goffman's (1961) research on the classification of roles is based on the assumption that situational social interaction encompasses any interaction, given that members of a group communicate with each other on a regular basis (Goffman 1959:26). At this point, it can be accepted that the established ideas people have about an activity and the role that they should fulfil when taking part in this activity is related to normative behaviour. Within the interpreting environment, this relates to how interpreters, users and lecturers believe interpreters should act during an interpreting activity. It thus includes the perceptions of the interpreter's role and disregards real experiences (Gercek 2008:11). All participants within the interpreting activity therefore have a preconceived idea of how they and the other participants will act, and evaluate and interpret the manifestation of role fulfilment accordingly.

The social environment associated with interpreting raises the issue of interpreters' perceptions of the role they fulfil. This relates to Toury's (1995:53) and Pym's (2010) concept of 'translatorship' which involves the translator being capable of fulfilling a social role as assigned

by a specific community. This concept and ability means that the interpreter will approach his/her role fulfilment in a specific manner, tailor-made to the needs of the community, which means that the interpreter will obviously have a specific perception of the role s/he fulfils. Added to this, Angelelli (2003:16) offers great insight as she determined that very little research has yet been carried out on the perceptions that interpreters in particular have of their role and issues concerning it. This relates to Anderson's (2002:209) statement that perceptions may indeed influence role fulfilment, as well as Angelelli's (2004a:71) statement that different interpreting types may have different role approaches. Therefore, in order to determine what the norms are within educational interpreting, it is important to study the perceptions of role fulfilment within educational interpreting, as these perceptions may have an influence on existing norms and their establishment.

In this regard, Toury (2000) and Shlesinger (1999) offer theoretical parameters which can be utilised to evaluate existing norms and to determine whether there is a difference between the preliminary or expectancy norms and operational or performance norms within educational interpreting. Once this has been done, the role distance (Goffman 1961) of educational interpreting can be identified; this is "when a conflicting discrepancy occurs between, on the one hand, the self generated in actual social interaction, and, on the other, the self associated with a formal status and identity" (Wadensjö 1998:85). In other words, Gercek (2008:12) describes role distance as the difference between that which is expected and that which takes place. These findings would then practically illustrate what takes place in situations of educational interpreting.

The theories discussed above are presented in Figure 2. This graphic representation illustrates the ongoing dynamic relationship between normative behavioural expectations within the interpreting environment. Theoretically speaking, these behavioural expectations are supposed to be embodied in predictable role behaviour. However, due to continually changing practical interpreting conditions, this dynamic relationship can be observed in different types of role distance.

Normative behaviour
- Toury's (2000:198) preliminary norms and Shlesinger's (1999:65-77) expectancy norms
- Institutional expectations (users', interpreters' and institutions' expectations)

Role distance
- The continuing tension between normative behaviour and role behaviour as is manifested during the interpreted lecture opportunity.

Role behaviour
- Toury's (2000:198) operational norms and Shlesinger's (1999:65-77) performance norms
- Interpreting behaviour in reality

Figure 2. A normative role description of educational interpreting

In order to test this role model, Niska's (2002:137-138) role pyramid was used as the theoretical basis for the data collection of this study. Niska's role pyramid asserts that the community interpreter spends most of his/her interpreting time fulfilling the role of conduit, but that it may sometimes be necessary to move within a spectrum of role possibilities, depending on the situation.
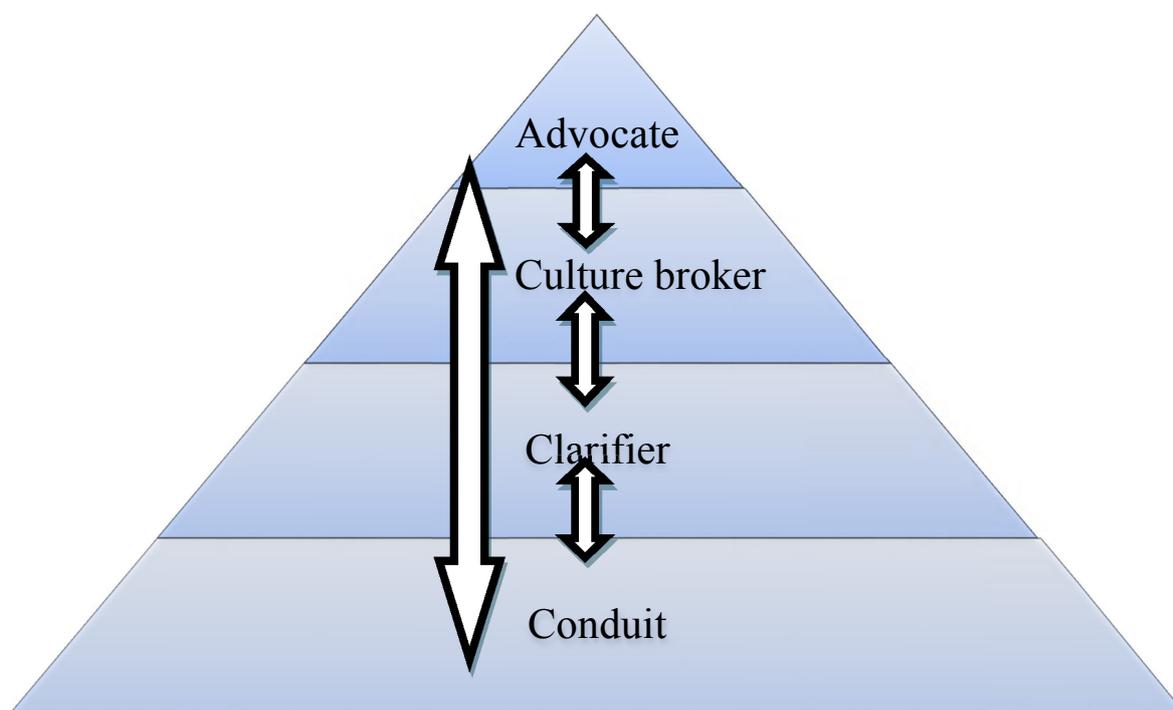
Figure 3. Niska's (2002) role pyramid for community interpreting (arrows added by author)

When acting as a conduit, the interpreter only offers the information in the source text. However, it may sometimes be necessary to offer a little more information to ensure the message is accessible. In this case, the interpreter then assumes the role of clarifier (i.e. moving upwards in the model in Figure 3). The culture-broker role is even more involved and entails that the interpreter actively ensures that cultural borders are crossed successfully and that misunderstandings are prevented. At the uppermost level, the interpreter advocates for the user. This is the most involved role and, as is indicated by the pyramid shape of the model, is also the role in which the interpreter spends very little time. As advocate, the interpreter acts on behalf of the user, for instance, in cases where the user has been offended.

The underlying principle of Niska's (2002) model is that interpreters fulfil more than one role and, more importantly, do so simultaneously. This is indicated in Figure 3 by both the smaller and the larger arrows which point towards the interpreter's versatility. The value of this model lies in the fact that educational interpreters are no longer bound to only one role, and may choose which role is more fitting in a specific environment and situation.

Based on the theoretical models by Toury (1995), Shlesinger (1999) and Niska (2002), data were collected from the following consenting institutions: Frikkie Meyer High School,

Transoranje School for the Deaf, the Potchefstroom Agricultural College and the Vaal Triangle and Potchefstroom campuses of the North-West University. The other institutions which were approached chose not to take part in the study.

In the following section, the methodology will be discussed and the collected data will be analysed and discussed in conjunction with the theories already presented.

4.   Methodology and data collection

4.1   Introduction

This study is situated within the parameters of Grounded Theory as originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and expanded upon by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994, 1997, 1998). This research model is data-driven and focuses on systematic, inductive theory development based on an extensive data corpus. Typical of the distinctive iterative processes of Grounded Theory, a step-by-step approach was employed and each step followed on and was dependent on the previous (consult Borgatti n.d.). For the sake of triangulation, a typical mixed-method-collection approach was followed, where the scope of the research problem was researched qualitatively in available literature and data sources, from which certain trends and patterns regarding typical role expectations of educational interpreters were identified. Next, these broad trends and patterns were tested quantitatively by means of a questionnaire which was distributed to a representative sample of respondents. These findings were, once again, subjected to qualitative confirmation by a second round of data collection comprising interviews and/or focus-group discussions in smaller representative samples within the educational interpreting environment. These steps precisely determined the trends within educational interpreting regarding the role expectations of the educational interpreter.

4.2   Phase 1: Literature review

The first phase of data collection involved an extensive literature and data investigation, including studies on educational interpreting. This was carried out in order to form a synthesis of existing points of departure and develop a coherent model. This phase thus consisted of a normative investigation regarding the role of the educational interpreter, which resulted in a theoretical model for the role fulfilment of educational interpreting. These findings have already been discussed in section 3.

4.3   Phase 2: Quantitative investigation

The second phase consisted of a quantitative investigation during which the trends identified during the first phase of data collection were generalised and tested. This phase involved the distribution of a closed-ended questionnaire to different stakeholders involved in educational interpreting; these stakeholders were recruited by utilising the availability sampling method. Due to the limited research population, institutions involved in educational interpreting in South Africa were included in the research population under investigation in the current study. As previously mentioned, all of the following institutions were approached regarding the distribution of questionnaires, however only the first four in this list opted to take part in the study: Transoranje School for the Deaf, Frikkie Meyer High School, the Potchefstroom Agricultural College, the Vaal Triangle and Potchefstroom campuses of North-West

University, the University of the Free State, Durban University of Technology and the University of Johannesburg. It was agreed that the data collected from these institutions were comparable as they all practised the same type of interpreting.

The standard procedure regarding the development, validation, distribution and processing of the questionnaire was followed with support from consultants employed by North-West University's Statistical Consultation Service. In Table 1, an exposition is given of the respondents of the questionnaire.

Table 1. Respondents of quantitative questionnaire

Respondents	NWU (Potch)	NWU (VT)	PAC	HSFM	TOSD	Total
Interpreters	14	2	2	3	2	**23**
Users	63	90	43	21	14	**231**
Teaching staff	5	5	4	1	5	**20**

4.4   Phase 3: Qualitative investigation

Phase 3 followed on the previous two phases and was based on the insights gathered from them. Methods typical of qualitative research were employed as collection techniques; in addition to observations, structured interviews and/or focus-group discussions were held. Although observation was employed in each case, a choice was made between structured interviews and focus-group discussions based on practical considerations, and iterations were followed until data saturation was reached. The data collected from this phase will not be discussed in this paper.

4.5   Phase 4: Data analysis and discussion

The last empirical phase was the interpretation phase, also typical of Grounded Theory, where data categories unfold and can be identified (also known as "open coding"). These categories can then be measured or tested in terms of the theoretical model (known as "axial coding") and the eventual indication of existing connections between the theoretical model and the data (known as "selective coding" (Cresswell 2009:191)) takes place.

4.6   Research findings

The quantitative role-related findings were as follows: Question 1 in Section 2 of the first questionnaire asked the respondents which role, based on Niska's (2002) role pyramid, they expected the interpreter to fulfil. The answers are represented in Figure 4.
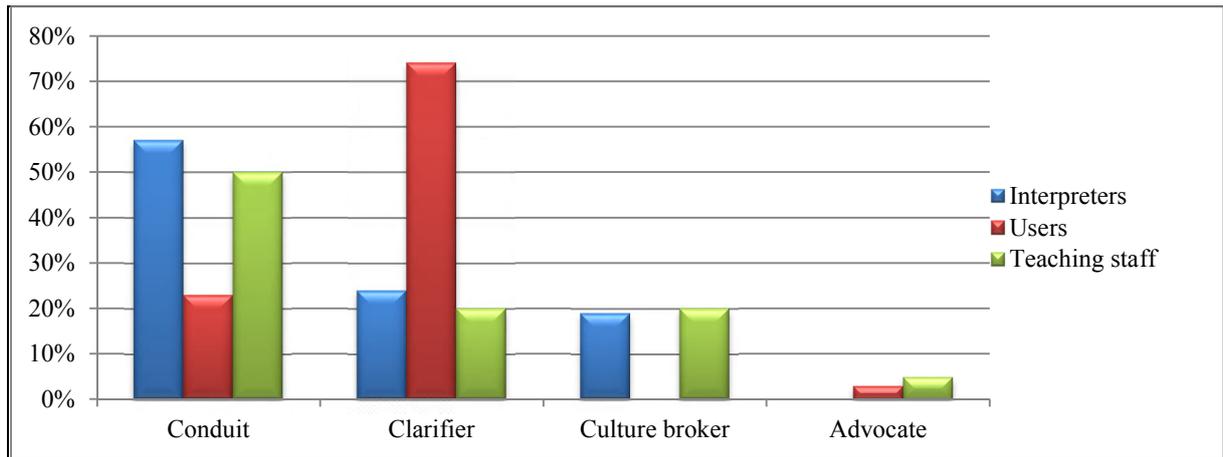
Figure 4. Respondents' expected role choices based on Niska's (2002) role pyramid

The responses from this question indicate that the respondents prefer the clarifier role. What is also evident is that the interpreters and teaching staff both prefer the conduit role, which may indicate that the Code Model is still preferred in reality. However, if Niska's model is interpreted correctly, it may simply indicate that his model is applicable here and that any community interpreter spends most of his/her time fulfilling the conduit role. On the other hand, the fact that the users prefer the clarifier role emphasises the possibility that expectations and reality do not coincide, and that the various roleplayers' perceptions differ from each other.

Question 2 in Section 2 of the first questionnaire asked the respondents which role, based on Niska's (2002) role pyramid, the interpreter in their lectures fulfils in reality. The answers are represented in Figure 5.
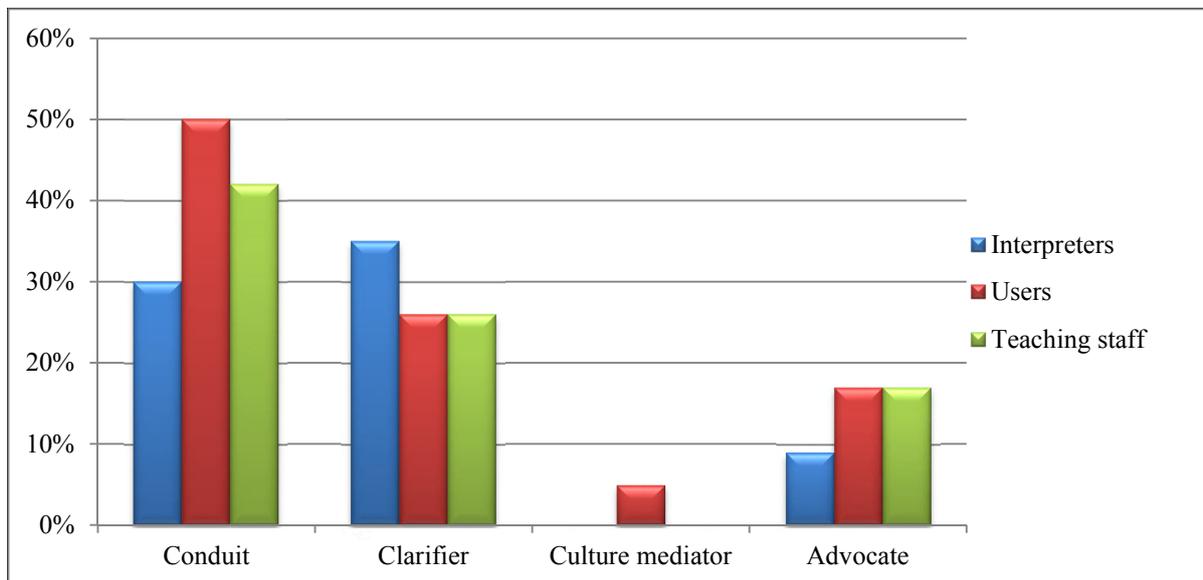
Figure 5. Respondents' role choices (Niska 2002) based on reality

What is significant here is the fact that the users, who indicated the clarifier role to describe the expected role of the interpreter, selected the conduit role to describe which role the interpreter

fulfils in reality. This confirms and solidifies the difference between normative expectations and reality. The same trend can be seen amongst the interpreters: initially they chose the conduit role to describe the interpreter's expected role, but when asked to select which role the interpreter fulfils in reality, they chose the clarifier role. However, the findings of the teaching staff still adhere to normative expectations of reality.

In addition to the data presented and discussed above, some of the respondents preferred to select more than one role description to answer the questions:

- 13% of <u>interpreters</u> selected a combination of the clarifier and culture-broker roles, 9% selected a combination of the clarifier and advocate roles and 4% chose a combination of the conduit and advocate roles.
- 2% of <u>users</u> preferred to combine all four role descriptions to act as one complete role description.
- 5% of <u>teaching staff</u> chose to combine the conduit and culture-broker roles, 5% preferred to combine the conduit, clarifier and culture-broker roles and 5% selected a combination of the conduit and advocate roles.

All of the quantitative data were combined and is represented in Figure 6:
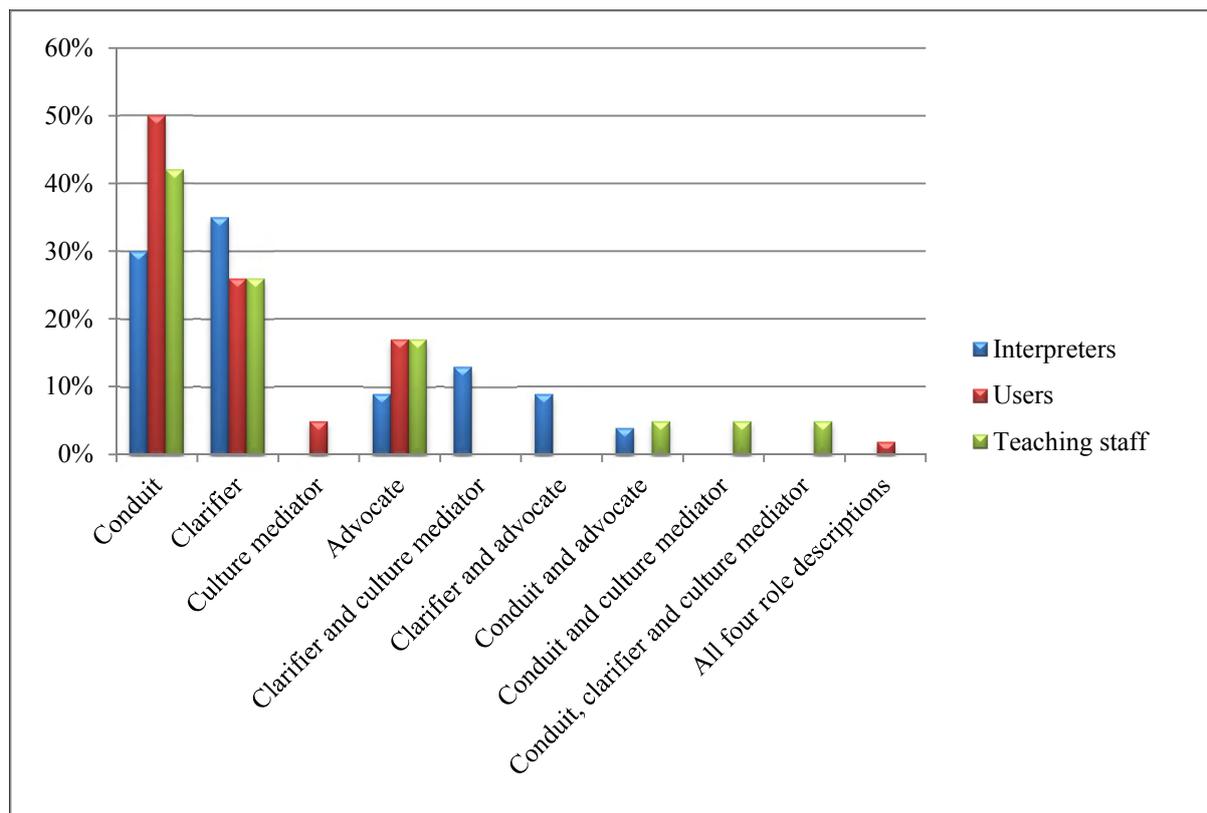
Figure 6. Combined quantitative data

The quantitative data confirms that the role of the educational interpreter is indeed a dynamic one and that what is expected of the educational interpreter does not necessarily take place in reality. Based on this data, the respondents were then asked why they made the selections in

Questions 1 and 2. These responses allowed for an in-depth qualitative look into the reality of educational interpreting and allowed for an investigation of what defines educational interpreting. This investigation offered insight into the actions taken by educational interpreters which do not exist within any existing role model for interpreters. This confirms that educational interpreting should be viewed as a type of interpreting in its own right, which justifies an adapted role model for educational interpreting.

These actions, which were identified as being unique to educational interpreting, are represented in Table 2:

Table 2. Unique actions taken by educational interpreters

Unique actions (by interpreter)	
Teaching situations	- The interpreter stops the lecture to retrieve more information from the teacher. - Definite interaction between the interpreter and the teacher (eye contact, body language). - The interpreter becomes involved in the lecture. - If the interpreter is a specialist in the field, s/he takes part in the lecture.
Comprehension situations	- The interpreter offers added information/content to students outside of the lecture. - The interpreter ensures that the interpreting product correlates with the teacher's message (in terms of text book, transparencies and study guide).
Unique actions (by teaching staff)	
Teaching situation	- The teacher provides the interpreter with correct terms.
Other unique actions (by all roleplayers)	
Teaching situation	- Interaction between interpreters, teaching staff and users (eye contact, body language, offering signs).

Having determined these actions, it became evident that more data were needed to confirm these findings. A second questionnaire was developed in order to confirm whether the findings in Table 2 were in fact true of educational interpreting. This questionnaire was distributed among educational interpreters in order to validate these findings and to determine whether they should form the basis for a new role model specifically for educational interpreting.

The findings from the second questionnaire are represented in Figure 7:

Role distance

- **This is the dynamic space between normative behaviour and role behaviour. It is a socially-bound space.**
- Continuing communication between teaching staff and interpreters is important.
- Communication between all roleplayers in the communication triangle is essential.
- An interpreter is allowed to interupt a lecture to obtain more information and terminology.
- An interpreter is not allowed, even if he/she is a subject specialist, to become involved in the lecture.
- The interpreter is under no obligation to provide lecture-related information to students outside the lecture opportunity.

Normative behaviour

- Toury's (2000:198) preliminary norms and Shlesinger's (1999:65-77) expectancy norms
- Institutional expectations (users', interpreters' and institutions' expectations)

Role behaviour

- Toury's (2000:198) operational norms and Shlesinger's (1999:65-77) performance norms
- Interpreting behaviour in reality

Figure 7. A model for the role fulfilment of educational interpreters

This study makes a contribution to existing role models by offering the possibility that the educational interpreter's role is changeable in nature, and moves on a continuum of involvement. Figure 7 represents the actions that are unique to educational interpreting and have been listed in terms of acceptability (according to the responses from educational interpreters). The model offers a clear role description for educational interpreting and is a practical model for the challenges faced by educational interpreters.

5. Conclusion

Within the social environment of educational interpreting, it cannot be expected of the educational interpreter to act as an uninvolved machine. The social nature of interpreting (and especially educational interpreting) not only requires but necessitates a more dynamic role model, which has been proposed in this paper.

This study proves that the educational interpreter indeed fulfils a changeable role, one which moves towards a more social-dynamic role model for interpreting. The proposed dynamic model gives clear and practical guidelines as to what is expected and acceptable within educational interpreting. It must be noted that this model does not stand in isolation, and that it remains the responsibility of interpreters, teaching staff and users to accept it in a macro context and internalise it in a micro context before it will reach optimal use and application.

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Professional and personal ethics in translation: A survey of South African translators' strategies and motivations

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Abstract
The aim of the study reported on in this article was to explore South African translators' responses to various kinds of ethically contentious material at the textual level, in the context of particular text types and hypothetical translation situations. The study made use of a survey design based primarily on closed-ended questions, administered to an availability sample of 31 South African translators drawn from the membership of the South African Translators' Institute (SATI). The survey was, in the first instance, designed to solicit respondents' opinions regarding which translation strategies they would most likely select to deal with particular kinds of ethical challenges. In order to better understand the factors affecting the selection of translation strategies, the impact of two translator factors (experience and age) and two text factors (text type and type of ethical problem) was investigated. In the second instance, the survey aimed to investigate why respondents selected particular strategies, and indirectly how they view their ethical responsibility. To this end, possible reasons for the selection of specific translation strategies were formulated and categorised as primarily influenced by either personal or professional ethics. In addition to this overall analysis, the study analysed differences in the role of personal and professional ethics depending on the type of ethical problem, the type of text, respondents' age, and different levels of translation experience. The findings of the study suggest an overwhelming preference for faithful translation, but also reveal an interplay between personal and professional ethics as the motivation for this choice, with some differences across text type and kind of ethical problem. It appears that experience leads to a greater preference for both faithful translation strategies and a stronger influence of professional ethics. However, the data also suggest that age and/or generational differences may play a role in the selection of translation strategies, as well as in the effect of personal and professional ethics, with the oldest and youngest respondents in the sample more likely to opt for strategies other than faithful translation, motivated more frequently by personal rather than professional ethics.

Keywords: ethics, professional ethics, personal ethics, translation strategies, South Africa, Afrikaans, English, sexism, racism, crude language

1.   **Introduction**

The concept of 'ethics' is complex and multifaceted. It stands in an intricate relationship with morality (see Hinman 2013:4-5, Koskinen 2000:11), and may be conceptualised in various ways. It may broadly be conceived of in deontological or teleological terms (Baker 2011:276-277), and within this basic tension, may be defined within an array of different frameworks, such as absolutism, relativism (Hinman 2013:24), consequentialism or utilitarianism (Hooker 2010:444, Singer 2011), and Kantianism (Hinman 2013:158). Ethics may also be viewed from within the paradigms of rights (Hinman 2013:211), character or virtue (Hinman 2013:248-277, Slote 2010:478), and diversity (Hinman 2013:325).[1]

These varied conceptions of ethics are also reflected in notions of translation ethics. In the everyday setting of most translators' work, the concept 'ethics' is usually invoked within the formal discursive framework of a code of practice, conduct or ethics (in French *déontologie* – see Pym 2012:1). This is a narrower, codified, professional view of ethics, where the translator is seen as having responsibilities and rights vis-à-vis the immediate professional context within which the mediated text is created. In this view, the ethical relationships involved are primarily limited to those professional relationships between the translator, client and text. This is the view of ethics expressed in most codes of ethics of organisations representing translators' interests (see ATA 2010, AUSIT 2012, FIT 1994, SATI 2013), which tend to be concerned with matters limited to the immediate professional context of the translation, such as accuracy and quality, confidentiality, fairness in remuneration, professionalism in relationships with clients, and responsibility towards the profession itself.

Pym (2012:1) sets this limited professional view of ethics (*déontologie*) against the more philosophical view of ethics (*éthique*), which is concerned more with universal, abstract principles (e.g. 'justice' or 'fairness') as they apply to humanity in general. This latter perspective on ethics has also had a substantial influence on thinking about translational ethics. In this view, translational ethics has a much wider ambit, and the translator's ethical responsibilities and rights are seen as operating in a context far greater than the immediate professional environment within which a translation is produced, to include the entire socio-cultural and -political context from which, in which, and for which translations are both produced and disseminated. This is the view elaborated by scholars such as Cronin (2003), who argues that the asymmetrical power relationships between cultures and languages "lead to an extended notion of what constitutes the translator's responsibility in the era of globalization" (Cronin 2003:134). Specifically, this raises the question whether the ethical responsibility of translators is to the profession itself, only, or whether there is also an ethical responsibility arising from "translation as a cultural fact" (Cronin 2003:134). For Cronin (2003:134), this means that there must, of necessity, be "an activist dimension to translation which involves an engagement with the cultural politics of society at national and international levels" (Cronin 2003:134). It is this conception of the translator as a dynamic, active agent that has an ethical responsibility and rights in the shaping of social and cultural exchange in a globalised world fraught with inequality and conflict that underlies much recent thinking on translation ethics.

This broader view of the translator's ethical rights and responsibilities, however, is not generally emphasised in professional codes of conduct. Many practitioners (as well as scholars),

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[1] See Skorupski (2010) for a comprehensive overview of these and other matters relating to ethics.

believe, along with Chesterman (2001:147), that political activism and engagement do not form part of professional ethics, as such: "A translator may be actively engaged in support of a worthy cause, and may translate in such a way as to support this cause, but these are factors that are additional to professional ethics proper, not part of them".

Activism and engagement in translation – this wider socio-cultural and -political role of translators – may therefore be regarded as part of professional ethics, as Cronin (2003) views it, or more properly as part of the translator's personal ethics, as Chesterman (2001) sees it. This raises the third context from within which translation ethics may be conceptualised: the personal. Translators are humans, and like all humans, they have a system of beliefs that inform how they choose to live their lives. It should already be apparent from the above discussion that separating personal and professional ethics may be difficult, and, as Koskinen (2000:15) points out, "as our awareness of the various influences of translation has increased, it has become more and more evident that it is also relevant to contemplate how to resolve situations where professional ethics clash with the translators' personal moral convictions".

These three conceptualisations of ethics (which are also echoed in Inghilleri's (2009:100) formulation of "ethical responsibility, social activism and personal integrity" as the urgent issues that require attention in the field) may be seen as premised on three different relationships of responsibility or loyalty. The first, narrower conception of professional ethics is founded on responsibility towards the client, the text, and the profession (see also Pym 2012:76-81). The second, wider conception of ethics as involving a responsibility to resist situations of injustice or unfairness is founded on responsibility towards society at large, and general ethical principles of justice and equity. Lastly, personal ethics may be seen as founded on loyalty towards the translator's own system of beliefs. In practice, these three types of ethics, and their loyalties, may overlap – but they may also be in conflict. In any given scenario, complex relationships between different ethical injunctions may be at play in translators' decisions about whether to translate and how to translate.

Approaches to ethics may be either descriptive or prescriptive (Chesterman 1997:171; see also Inghilleri 2009), and may draw on both conceptual and empirical methods, or a combination of the two. An overview of existing research suggests that, often, the descriptive empirical data used in discussions of ethics are drawn from case studies of predominantly literary translation, as in Venuti (1998, 2008), or alternatively exemplary discussions or case studies of translation and interpreting in environments characterised by overt and/or violent conflict (see, for example, Baker 2006, Inghilleri and Harding 2010). While these data no doubt contribute to our understanding of the interaction between politics, ethics and agency in the work of translators, there is also clearly a need for more comprehensive descriptive data on all the assorted situations in between these foci, to explore how translators in a variety of contexts respond to miscellaneous ethical dilemmas in their daily work. Such descriptive data would contribute to a better understanding of a number of interrelated issues, such as translators':

- actual ethical decision-making, leading to the choice of particular strategies for the translation of contentious material;
- motivations for particular translation choices;
- awareness of codified ethical guidelines;
- perception of their own agency in intercultural exchange in a world characterised by imbalances in power, and

- perception of the interaction between personal and professional ethics in their decision-making processes.

The aim of the study reported on in this article was to explore South African translators' responses to various kinds of ethically contentious material at the textual level, in the context of particular text types and hypothetical translation situations. The study made use of a survey design based on primarily closed-ended questions, administered to an availability sample of 31 South African translators drawn from the membership of the South African Translators' Institute (SATI), used as a sampling frame for the study. The survey was, in the first instance, designed to solicit respondents' opinions on which translation strategies they would most likely select to deal with particular ethical challenges. In order to better understand the factors affecting the selection of translation strategies, the impact of two translator factors (experience and age) and two text factors (text type and type of ethical problem) was investigated. In the second instance, the survey aimed to investigate why respondents selected particular strategies, and indirectly how they view their ethical responsibility. Following Chesterman's (2001) basic distinction, reasons for the selection of translation strategies were categorised as informed primarily by either personal or professional ethics. (The distinction drawn between personal and professional ethics in the study, and how it was communicated to respondents, are discussed in more detail in sections 2.3, 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.) In addition to the overall investigation of the role of personal and professional ethics, the study examined differences in the role of personal and professional ethics depending on the type of ethical problem, the type of text, respondent age, and different levels of translation experience.

In what follows, it should be kept in mind that findings reflect translator respondents' *claims* about how they would approach particular translation problems involving ethical challenges in certain hypothetical situations, and why they chose particular translation strategies. These claims may not correspond to actual translation practice. Furthermore, these claims were specifically solicited in the context of a survey investigating ethical challenges in translation (an aim which respondents were made aware of), and therefore respondents' answers may have been influenced by what is known in the social sciences as the "socially desirable response bias" – respondents' tendency to answer questions in a way that they perceive as meeting social expectations. Watson, Teague and Papamarcos (2007:12) point out that "[b]ecause all respondents have, to varying degrees, a need to see themselves as moral and competent people, self-reports of personal morality and ethics are especially vulnerable to response bias". The ways in which the possible effects of the socially desirable response bias were minimised in this study are discussed in more detail in section 3.1, but its potential influence should be kept in mind throughout the discussion.

2.   Literature review

2.1 Professional ethics in translation

For many researchers in the field of translation ethics, the focus has been on demarcating the professional roles, responsibilities and rights of the translator. As has already been pointed out, Chesterman (2001:152) sees a clear distinction between personal and professional ethics:

> I suggest that understanding is the highest value for translators – albeit in a wide and varied sense. All other relevant professional values – truth, clarity, loyalty, trust – are

> subordinate to understanding. This, I submit, is the defining limit of a translator's professional ethics, and also of their professional responsibility, the responsibility of their practice. The translator might of course feel personally responsible for the consequences of this understanding, and this feeling of personal responsibility might well affect their decisions about whether, or how, to translate […] What communicating parties do with their resultant understanding is a matter of *their* own ethical principles – whether they use it to cooperate, for good or evil, or whatever.

In other words, for Chesterman, there is a clear distinction between personal and professional ethics, and any wider socio-cultural or even activist role that the translator may play he sees as outside the domain of professional ethics, per se, even though translators may of course choose to allow their personal ethics to influence the way in which they apply their professional ethics.

Chesterman (2001) puts forward four models of translation ethics: an ethics of representation, an ethics of service, an ethics of communication, and norm-based ethics. As far as the ethics of representation is concerned, this is based on loyalty towards the source text, as well as loyalty towards ethical representation of the Other (Chesterman 2001:139-140). An ethics of service is founded on a view of translation as a service rendered to a client, and in this view ethical behaviour equates to meeting the ideals of rendering a professional service (Chesterman 2001:140). An ethics of communication is less concerned with representation of the source text, or meeting the client's requirements; rather it is founded on the principle of enabling communication and cooperation. This is also the basis of Pym's (2000, 2012) view on ethics, discussed in more detail below. Lastly, Chesterman distinguishes a norm-based ethics, which is premised on the idea that norms encode the ethical values held at a particular time in a particular society, and that ethical behaviour therefore equates to behaving in accordance with these norms as socially sanctioned expectations (Chesterman 2001:141).

Chesterman (2001) argues that these four models are each, in their own way, problematic, and may furthermore be incompatible, since they highlight different ethical values, and are based on different basic kinds of ethics. The service and norm-based ethics are primarily contractual ethics, whereas the representation and communication models are based on utilitarian ethics (Chesterman 2001:143). Chesterman's (2001) own formulation of an ethical code for translation is based on a kind of virtue ethics, where the most important virtue is the commitment to striving for excellence in translation, to being a good translator (Chesterman 2001:147), combined with other virtues such as fairness, truthfulness, trustworthiness, empathy and determination (Chesterman 2001:147).

Pym (2000, 2012), too, believes that there are limits to the translator's professional responsibility: "In general, then, there is no need for translators to claim (or be attributed with) any commitment to the content of what they are translating. To that extent they are translators, not authors, and they have no need to sign up en masse for this week's good causes" (Pym 2012:67). He argues his point from within formal pragmatics, stating that authorship involves a particular kind of responsibility within communication acts, a kind of responsibility not shared by translators (Pym 2012:62).

However, this does not mean that translators have no responsibility at all. Translators have professional responsibilities, which Pym (2012:76-81) sets out as having essentially three dimensions: responsibility to the content of the text, responsibility to the client, and

responsibility to the profession. These three responsibilities echo the conventional delimitation of professional codes of ethics, and also overlap to a large degree with Chesterman's (2001) ethics of representation and ethics of service.

However, the ethical responsibilities of translators may also be cast within a somewhat wider frame, that of cooperation (Pym 2000, 2012:134-163). For Pym (2012:134), the ultimate value of a translation (as for all other forms of communicative interaction) is the measure of cooperation that it enables, or the amount of mutual benefit that it generates for all involved in the interaction. This is, in essence, a teleological approach to translator ethics, in which the translator, as intercultural-communication expert, has the responsibility of optimising cooperation between communicating parties. However, it does appear that this optimisation is circumscribed to the more immediate interaction between participating parties – for Pym (2000:184), translational ethics have less to do with "distant authors and unforeseen readers", and more to do with "the interaction between a translator, a client, an editor, a rate of pay, an image of immediate reception, a distribution network, and the intercultural space – the overlap of cultures – where all those professional and commercial elements impinge on each other". In other words, translation functions to facilitate intercultural cooperation in the immediate context of translation, which may have a cumulative effect, but the potential future large-scale socio-cultural and -political effects of translation are not the responsibility of the translator.

These types of ideas typically inform codes of ethics (such as those listed in the introductory section to the article), which focus on this immediate context within which a translation is produced, as well as the translator's responsibility towards his/her profession – which may be viewed as a kind of cumulative extension of these immediate contexts of translation. However, various translation scholars have pointed out that such codes of ethics, with their emphasis on accuracy, neutrality, fidelity, and service obligations, are problematic. According to Tymoczko (2007:32), such emphases efface "larger spheres of geopolitical responsibility to communities and the world". In other words, codes of ethics typically consider the agency of the translator only in the immediate professional context, but do not consider the translator's agency "in the evolving social, political and cultural configurations that make up society" (Hermans 2009:97). Taking the argument one step further, Baker (2011:274) argues that professional codes of ethics may in fact allow translators to shirk the implications of their socio-political ethical responsibilities by allowing them to "hide" behind the excuse of professionalism, thus turning "translators into unthinking cogs in the wheel of an established social system rather than reflective and ethically responsible citizens" (Baker 2011:284).

The above suggests that part of the translator's professional (and personal) ethics should be to continually question concepts of professional ethics as they are encoded in codes of conduct. Such questioning lies at the root of the broader socio-cultural approach to ethics, which sees the translator as an active and activist agent in the process of brokering individual and collective intercultural relationships in a world characterised by injustice and power imbalances.

2.2 Activism and ethics

Koskinen (2000:9) points out that redefinitions of the role of the translator since the 1990s have played a deciding role in shifting the view of ethics away from fidelity. In this view, the translator has agency, can make choices, and can be held accountable for these choices and their results within the wider socio-cultural context (Hermans 2009:93). The implication is that the

translator, by definition, must assume responsibility for the consequences of his/her translation in the world, a view that stands in contrast to Chesterman's (2001) and Pym's (2012) argument that there must be limits to the translator's responsibility for such consequences. In this opposing view, translation (and by implication translators) "retains a responsibility to the future of target societies" (Gouanvic 2001:209). Some critics arguing this point have done so from a more general position intrinsic to translation studies, while others have taken up positions from extrinsic ideological paradigms imported into translation studies, such as feminism and postcolonialism.

Tymoczcko (2007:314-315) explicitly links her project arguing for changes in the conceptualisation of translation to a greater emphasis on the agency of translators:

> A better understanding of the openness of translation as conceptualized in an international context can foster on the local level a habitual sense of confidence in and performance of translators' prerogatives and responsibilities in making meaning, in constructing culture, in acknowledging ideological aspects of their constructions, in formulating representations, in initiating transculturations, in promoting difference, in taking activist stands, and in introducing newness into the world.

For Tymoczko (2007), therefore, translational ethics is a matter of the agency of the translator in the wider socio-cultural and ideological sense. This agency, with its greater visibility, freedom and creativity, is not an end in itself – it brings with it greater ethical responsibility (Tymoczko 2007:316). Tymoczko (2007:315) sees this ethical responsibility, in part, as one of enabling and foregrounding difference. Her view of translational ethics is therefore, by its nature, an activist one, and she takes Chesterman (2001) to task for the way in which he effaces this aspect of translation from his proposal for an ethics of translation (Tymoczko 2007:320).[2]

This call for an activist translation ethics that works towards creating "a more just world where difference is welcome" (Tymoczko 2007:232) becomes more urgent against the background of globalised translational exchange, a point also argued by Cronin (2003) (see above). Venuti's (1998, 2008) work has been a consistent engagement with the ethics of translation in this broader sense, informed by the stance that translation is, innately, a violent activity, since, by its nature, it forcibly must re-place the foreign text into a receiving language and culture (Venuti 2008:14). However, Venuti also posits that this violence can, and must, be managed in terms of degree and direction (Venuti 2008:15). It is at this point that the concept of foreignising translation as the ethical choice emerges:

> I want to suggest that insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others. (Venuti 2008:16)

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[2] Pym (2012:87-88), however, takes a more sober view of the potential activist role of translators, cautioning that the realities of translators' often limited agency within the web of asymmetrical power relationships surrounding translation may not allow them to choose actions that will bring about change in the world. As he puts it: "Asking a translator to save the world is sometimes like asking an infant to read" (Pym 2012:88).

Foreignisation (and domestication) are thus ethical attitudes (Venuti 2008:19), and fluency and resistancy may be regarded as discursive features of translation strategies linked (in potentially complex ways) to these ethical attitudes. The same kind of emphasis on foreignisation as the ethical translation choice to resist the effacement of difference (and the translator) that is the consequence of adherence to fluent strategies in pursuit of domestication, is also evident in the work of some translation scholars working explicitly in the postcolonial paradigm, and to some degree in the work of feminist translation scholars.[3]

2.3 The distinction between personal and professional ethics

Against the background provided in the preceding two sections, this study draws a basic distinction between professional and personal ethics, which are defined primarily by the kind of subjectivity from where the ethical motivation is articulated.

Professional ethics is defined in the narrower sense outlined by Chesterman (2001) and Pym (2012:76-81), circumscribing an ethics informed by the immediate professional context in which the translation is commissioned and produced. Professional ethics is codified in codes of ethics or conduct, and constitutes an articulation of ethical obligations that is determined by an external locus of control – the profession and its associated norms and expectations. Professional ethics is based on the interests of the profession, viewed impersonally, and elides the individual and personal (see Pym 2012:70). Professional ethics is thus expressed from a professional subject position.

In contrast, personal ethics is founded on a locus of control within the translator as person or individual. It is therefore more subjective, and involves the translator's articulation of an ethical motivation that is centred on his/her own beliefs. These beliefs may involve personal morality, but may also extend to the translator's conception of his/her own role and agency in the world, which are expressed from a personal rather than professional subjectivity.

3.   Methodology

3.1 Overview and general comments on research design

The survey method of data collection, as opposed to, for example, interviews or focus-group discussions, was selected for a number of reasons. The most important consideration was the need to obviate the effects of the socially desirable response bias. Interviews and focus-group discussions involve personal contact between the researcher and the participant, and therefore strengthen the effect of the socially desirable response bias. In contrast, the survey design allows complete anonymity and a large degree of impersonality, which alleviate (though obviously do not completely eliminate) the potential effect of the socially desirable response bias.

This advantage, of course, is offset by the disadvantage of less opportunity to gather more nuanced data. Interviews or focus-group discussions generally yield richer and more fine-grained data, particularly important in the context of complex research questions such as that of ethics, while surveys tend to generate data that are easier to classify, but lack subtlety and

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[3] See, for example, Santaemilia (2005), Simon (1996) and Von Flotow (1997, 2011) on feminist translation theory and practice; and Bassnett and Trivedi (1999), Cronin (1996), Niranjana (1992), Spivak (2012/1992) and Tymoczko (1999) on postcolonialist approaches to translation.

gradation. However, for the purpose of this study, the loss of more multi-layered data was viewed as a necessary cost of minimising the face-threatening context of the data collection.

In the sections that follow, the methodology of the research is described with particular attention to the selection of texts used as basis for the questionnaire, and the way in which the multiple-choice questions used to investigate (a) the choice of translation strategies and (b) the motivation for these choices, were constructed. The sampling of respondents and the data collection are also discussed. The meta-categories used for the analysis of the data are briefly outlined, and the ways in which the data were analysed are specified in more detail.

3.2 Text sampling

The survey was designed around authentic texts reflecting realistic ethical problems that translators may encounter. The first step was, therefore, the selection of texts. For the purposes of the study, four categories of problematic content were selected: sexism, racism, crude or obscene language, and content that may potentially be deemed unsuitable for (or offensive to) a particular target audience (for reasons other than racism, sexism or crude language). The study was limited to these four categories because of their representativeness of the kinds of ethical problems translators might typically encounter. Two to three texts per type of problematic content were selected on the basis of availability and suitability.

Since the investigation also sought to explore the potential effect of text type on the selection of translation strategies and the role of personal and professional ethics, four different text types were included: academic writing, mass-media texts (specifically magazine, newspaper and blog texts), literary texts (including prose, poetry and song lyrics), and children's literature.

The chronological distribution of the texts was an additional concern. Some chronological variation was introduced to investigate the potential effects of translators' perceptions of older versus more contemporary texts. Table 1 summarises the distribution of the texts according to the ethical problem, text type and chronology.

Table 1. Summary of texts used in the survey

Text	Ethical problem	Text type	Publication date
Text 1	Sexism	Academic	1992
Text 2	Sexism	Mass media (printed media)	2003
Text 3	Racism	Literature (song lyrics)	1928
Text 4	Racism	Mass media (online media)	2011
Text 5	Racism	Literature (fiction)	1918/1949
Text 6	Crude language	Literature (fiction)	2006
Text 7	Crude language	Mass media (online/social media)	2011
Text 8	Inappropriate, potentially offensive content	Children's literature (picturebook)	2003
Text 9	Inappropriate, potentially offensive content	Literature (poetry)	1984

Text 1 is an extract from an academic paper presented at a symposium, and posed ethical difficulties because the noun "man" and the pronoun "he" is used throughout to refer to humanity, thus creating gendered imagery that may be offensive. In terms of function, academic texts are mostly informative and referential. Because of this informative function, and the fact that the text was evidently produced by a highly literate author and aimed at an equally highly literate audience, it was expected that respondents would follow the source text closely or adapt it only slightly.

Text 2 is a section of an article from a South African women's magazine. The article is founded on certain stereotypical assumptions about femininity, and generalises about what makes a woman happy (for example, buying shoes, underwear and lipstick, and "smooching her man"). This text is a mass-media text in printed form. The function of the text is vocative, or conative, impressing certain notions about femininity upon the readers. Translators may therefore have felt more compelled to act on behalf of the reader than in the case of the informative text (Text 1) discussed above. However, since the typical reader of this type of women's magazine probably shares the magazine's definition of femininity, professional ethics would have dictated that the translator translate accordingly, even if she found the content offensive from a personal point of view. To a large degree, however, this decision would be dependent on the strength of the translator's personal feelings about gender stereotyping.

Text 3 is the first part of the lyrics of the song "Let's Do It (Let's Fall In Love)" written by Cole Porter in 1928 and recorded by (amongst others) Billie Holliday in the 1940s. These lyrics include ethnic labelling, referring to "Chinks" and "Japs" – omitted in many later recordings of the song. This text's function is expressive as well as aesthetic or poetic, and thus its primary function is the creative expression of the author, and the exploitation of the creative possibilities of the medium itself. Therefore, it was foreseen that the respondents might be inclined to translate this text literally in an effort to remain loyal to the author's creative expression. Also, the fact that the song is removed both in time and space from the present context, may have predisposed respondents to favour faithful translation, since this is the only translation strategy that allows the translator to accurately retain the cultural connotations of the particular era.

Text 4 is another mass-media text, but this time from online rather than printed media. This text consists of extracts from a newspaper article written by Andile Mngxitama. The text expounds the idea that black people cannot be racist because white people invented racism to oppress black people, and has a dual expressive and vocative function. Because racism is an especially charged topic in the South African context, and because the text deals with issues that are currently topical in South African society, it was expected that many of the respondents would find the text particularly problematic. It was foreseen that respondents would opt to refuse to translate the text on the grounds of either their own personal beliefs, or their belief that ideas such as these are harmful to projects of nation-building and reconciliation.

Text 5 is an extract from a short story titled "Architecture" by Crosbie Garstin, first published in 1918, and later re-published in *Veld-trails and Pavements: An Anthology of South African Short Stories* (edited by H.C. Bosman and C. Bredell) in 1949. The text contains a number of racial slurs. The text has an aesthetic function, but in a way it is also an informative text, reflecting the racist ideological assumptions underpinning colonialism and apartheid. The expectation was that translators would choose a more literal translation, as a consequence of the aesthetic function and historical value of the text.

Text 6 is an extract from a popular contemporary novel for adults, *A Long Way Down*, by Nick Hornby, published in 2006. It is thus also a literary text that fulfils expressive and aesthetic functions. The text contains many obscenities, and it was foreseen that some respondents would find this offensive on a personal level. However, because of the text type and the function of the text, it was foreseen that respondents would most likely translate it literally or only slightly adapt the expletives to less offensive versions.

Text 7 is an extract from a personal parenting blog, and it expresses the author's frustrations as a result of the awkward size of the pregnant body. The author uses strong language to express her frustration, which some might regard as unsuited to the idealised image of pregnancy often depicted in the media. This text has a primarily expressive function, and it was foreseen that translators may well choose to retain the crude language, based on their professional ethics of respect for the author. However, depending on the strength of respondents' personal feelings about the crude language used in this context, they might well have felt uncomfortable enough with the text to choose adaptation or omission.

Text 8 is the first of two texts in the category dealing with inappropriate, potentially offensive content. It is taken from a well-known children's picturebook (*Mummy Never Told Me*) by Babette Cole, dealing with "secrets" that parents keep from their children. The selected pages dealt with children's questions about same-sex relationships, and in translating it, respondents would have to decide whether the content is appropriate for young children. Children's literature texts typically combine expressive, aesthetic and conative functions – such texts almost always try to inculcate some kind of value in the child, in this case, the value of tolerance of difference. Since adults generally have distinct ideas about what is appropriate for children, it was expected that an emotional rather than a professional response would be elicited. It was predicted that some respondents might be in favour of educating children about this topic and would thus choose to translate literally, while other translators might find the topic inappropriate for the target audience and thus refuse to translate.

The last text in the questionnaire, Text 9, is the poem "Student Love" by Allen Ginsberg, first published in 1984. Ginsberg is famous for his explicit descriptions of relationships between men, and this poem is about a love affair with a much younger boy. This text has a poetic or aesthetic function, as well as an expressive function, made more pertinent by the autobiographical qualities of Ginsberg's poetry. It was expected that many of the respondents would find this text offensive, and might refuse to translate rather than adapt the text because it would be virtually impossible to adapt it. However, it was foreseen that respondents also might opt to translate the text fairly literally in an effort to respect the author's creative expression. Again, the strength of respondents' personal feelings on the topic would be a deciding factor.

All texts were presented in English, and respondents were asked to consider a specific, clearly described translation situation involving translation into whichever language they habitually worked in. More information about the contextualisations used is provided in section 3.3.2.

3.3 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire comprised (a) an introductory component, including a cover letter, a consent form, a section soliciting biographical data, and an explanatory section; and (b) the multiple-choice component, divided into sections for each type of problematic content outlined above.

3.3.1 Introductory component

In the cover letter, the distinction between personal and professional ethics was explained in the following way:

> Personal ethics can be defined as a person's intuition, religion, values, morals and beliefs. Professional ethics refer to the norms, values and principles that guide the translation profession, the rules governing the translator's conduct and the obligation to not harm the client, author and/or target audience.

It should therefore be noted that translators were alerted to the distinction between personal and professional ethics, which was defined in a very particular way, though there is (both intentionally and unavoidably) some ambiguity in the definitions. The categories of personal and professional ethics were, however, not explicitly linked to any of the multiple-choice items, and these categories were therefore used in a meta-analytical way for the analysis of the data.

The introductory component further included a consent form, which also guaranteed anonymity as a condition of participation. The biographical data solicited included age, gender, years of experience as a translator, language combination, and work environment. Lastly, the introductory section included an explanatory section in which examples were used to define the different translation strategies presented as options in the multiple-choice component.

3.3.2 Multiple-choice component

The multiple-choice component was divided into sections dealing with the different types of problematic content, each of which followed a set format. Each section contained two or three texts. A contextualisation was provided for each text in the questionnaire, which indicated the origin of the text, the purpose of translating it, and the potential target audience. The aim of the contextualisation was to create a scenario for an authentic translation situation, and these translation situations were designed to be as neutral as possible. In other words, the translation situations were formulated in such a way as to avoid leading the respondents to a particular translation choice.[4] The contextualisation for each of the texts is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Contextualisation provided for each text

Text	Contextualisation provided
Text 1	This text is an extract from a paper presented at a symposium on the relationship between humanity and technology. This paper is to be translated to be discussed at a symposium on the developments in humanities as a field of study. It is to be translated into Afrikaans and African languages to aid the interpreters.
Text 2	This text comes from a women's magazine and deals with what it means to be a woman and what makes a woman happy. The text is to be translated into African languages and Afrikaans for 'sister'

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[4] Against the background of the reality of the South African publishing industry, the attempt to create "realistic" translation situations sometimes did result in target-culture situations that were somewhat different from the original context of publication, which may have affected respondents' choices. These matters are taken into consideration in the discussion of findings.

	magazines' websites. The target audience is women between the ages of 20 and 40.
Text 3	This text is the first part of the lyrics of a song written by Cole Porter in 1928, and recorded by Billie Holliday in the 1940s. It is to be translated into Afrikaans and African languages for a multilingual book of song lyrics.
Text 4	This text is made up of sections from an article by a radical South African activist for a well-known newspaper. The text is to be translated into Afrikaans and African languages for the newspaper's 'sister' websites.
Text 5	The following extract comes from an anthology of South African stories. It is to be translated into Afrikaans and African languages for a new edition of South African tales.
Text 6	This text is a section from a popular contemporary novel for adults. The book must be translated into African languages and Afrikaans for a South African audience.
Text 7	This text was taken from a parenting blog. The text is to be translated into African languages and Afrikaans for a magazine on pregnancy and childbirth for the modern woman.
Text 8	These pages were taken from a children's book dealing with 'secrets' that parents keep from their children. The text must be translated into African languages and Afrikaans for children between the ages of 8 and 10 as a prescribed school reading book.
Text 9	This text is a poem written by a male poet about a love affair with a much younger boy. The poem is to be translated into Afrikaans and African languages as part of an anthology of influential poets for first-year university students.

The contextualisation was followed by the text or an extract of the text. For each text, respondents were provided with four standard translation strategies, and four pre-formulated possible reasons for making their choice. Respondents were also provided with the option to formulate their own motivation for their translation choice, in a blank space provided.

Baker (2006:105) comments that translators have recourse to a variety of more or less explicit strategies to replicate, strengthen, neutralise or ameliorate the ideological discourses and positions encoded in a text. In this study, this variety of potential strategies was reduced to four basic categories, chosen as representative of the most likely strategies for translating problematic content.[5] Respondents were asked to choose the option they thought they would most likely select in a real-life situation. These translation strategies were explicitly defined in an example section that preceded the actual questionnaire, together with some examples of the kinds of translations that might be produced by a particular translation strategy.

The first translation strategy was labelled "literal translation", and was defined as a strategy in which the potentially offensive content is largely retained. The literal translation strategy is a direct, fairly literal translation that retains all the offensive detail in the translation, though it may involve substituting some culture-specific terms with others that carry the same

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[5] None of the respondents commented on the translation strategies provided or recommended another strategy.

communicative effect. However, the aim of this method is to retain both the denotative and connotative meaning of the source text in the translation. The strategy defined as "literal translation" therefore reflects the common perception that faithfulness to the source text is the ethically responsible translation strategy. The second translation strategy was labelled "neutralising adaptation". In this strategy the translator opts to adjust the content so that the problematic material is adapted in the translation to mitigate some of the potentially offensive effect. However, there is still some attempt to render some of the contextual meaning of the source text, even if in an ameliorated version. The third translation strategy was defined as "omission", which involves omitting the problematic content altogether, or replacing the problematic content with a completely neutral formulation. The last translation option was "refusal to translate", which meant that the respondent would not accept the commission.[6]

In the explanatory section, respondents were provided with the definitions above, as well as examples of the kinds of translations each strategy would produce, in the standard format of the questionnaire. While the first part of each question dealt with the choice of translation strategy, the second dealt with respondents' motivation for their choice. In this section, the basic tensions between personal and professional ethics were explored, with the two types of ethics defined (as discussed in section 2.3) as dependent on the subject position and frame of reference from where the motivation is articulated. For each text in the questionnaire, four possible reasons for the selection of the translation strategy were supplied. These reasons were tailored to each text, and for each text two reasons related to personal ethics and two related to professional ethics were formulated. It should be noted that these reasons were not indicated as relating to personal or professional ethics in the questionnaire itself – in other words, the distinction between personal and professional ethics is a meta-category used for analysis only. Some options were included allowing respondents to disagree with the evaluation of the content as problematic. Furthermore, some motivations were positive, and others negative. Three examples of motivations (and their categorisations, used for the analysis) are provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Examples of motivations provided for translation choices, and their categorisation

Text	Ethical challenge	Motivations provided	Category of motivation (used for analysis)
1	Sexism	1. It offends my feminist beliefs.	Personal
		2. As a professional, I should represent the client whether the text offends me or not.	Professional
		3. I have no problem with 'man' representing men and women.	Personal
		4. It is the policy of the organisation I work for to translate without bias.	Professional

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[6] As Pym (2012:103) points out, the decision to translate is, in fact, the first decision the translator is responsible for – but this statement should be seen against the background that, in reality, translators do not always have the necessary financial or professional independence (or agency) to make such a decision. In this study the constraints of the real world are, of course, absent, allowing respondents to imagine a situation in which they are free of financial incentives or contractual obligations to translate.

4	Racism	1. I think this text represents freedom of speech and think it is inspiring.	Personal
		2. I must adhere to SATI's professional code of conduct.	Professional
		3. I find this text offensive and struggle to be objective.	Personal
		4. It is my job to transfer the author's intended meaning as faithfully as possible.	Professional
8	Inappropriate, potentially offensive content	1. I do not think this information is appropriate for children.	Personal
		2. It is my professional duty as a gatekeeper to protect the target audience.	Professional
		3. I believe it is important to be open about sexual preferences.	Personal
		4. I have to be the author's voice, so it is expected of me (by my employer) to translate faithfully.	Professional

In addition, respondents could select "Other" as motivation for their translation choice, and formulate their own reason. About half of the participants made use of this option for one or more questions when completing the questionnaire. In the analysis of the data, such instances were also coded as motivated primarily either by personal or professional ethics, for the sake of the quantitative analysis. However, some of these comments are also discussed qualitatively in section 4.

An example of a self-formulated motivation clearly strongly motivated by personal ethics is the following, in response to Text 9:

> I would have refused to translate this text because as far as I'm concerned it 'propagates' something that – apart from the fact that I personally find it offensive and believe it is a sin (but not a 'bigger' sin than any other, at least not warranting hating the sinner) – could 'inspire' readers to mess up some child's life (whether boy or girl). Adults choose what they want to do, I suppose, but children should be respected and protected until such time as they can respect and protect themselves. I regard it as my job and my responsibility as a Christian, a mother, a teacher, a communicator and most of all as the voice of the voiceless and the defenceless not to help spread this kind of 'message' in ANY way.

Other respondents were far blunter in formulating their personal motivations, as in the following examples:

> The text contains factual inaccuracies which I will clearly not be able to negotiate about, seeing that the author is an idiot. (Text 4)

> Just the kind of text I wouldn't want to waste my time on – it's plainly ridiculous. (Text 2)

> Now THIS is really sexist crap, the sort of thing popular magazines thrive on. Don't work for them… (Text 2)

It should, however, be noted that some respondents also expressed positive valuations of texts from their personal frame of reference as motivation for translation choices, as in the case of Text 8. One participant formulated his/her motivation for a literal translation of this text as follows:

> It is important for children to learn about same-sex relationships from some 'official', 'authoritative' source like a school book or teacher, rather than from schoolyard sensationalism.

Self-formulated motivations based on professional ethics, in contrast, frequently invoked professional standards of accuracy, loyalty, fidelity, text type, and target audience. One participant, commenting on his/her decision to select literal translation for Text 2, provided the following motivation:

> I'd see this as probably what readers of women's magazines would be buying the magazines for, hence although I personally don't agree with all the items, I wouldn't alter anything. The context, i.e. both the type of publication and especially the target audience, is the key here.

A number of respondents cited their professional assessment of text type as a motivation for their choices, as in the following example (for Text 9):

> Another literary item, where faithfulness to the text at all levels of its discourse is essential – all the more so in the case of poetry. One might as well not include the poem in the anthology, rather than falsify it with a neutralising translation.

3.4 Participant sampling and data collection

A non-probability sampling method was used, and specifically a combination of purposive, expert and availability sampling. SATI was approached, and asked to distribute the covering letter and questionnaire among their membership, via e-mail.[7] Although the sampling was not random, there was no pre-selected or targeted recruitment of specific participants. The final sample consisted of 31 respondents.

According to Marion Boers, executive director of SATI, the institute has about 750 individual members (personal communication, 11 July 2013), and the sample therefore constitutes 4% of SATI's total membership.[8] However, it should be kept in mind that SATI represents not only translators, but also other language professions, such as interpreters and editors. Furthermore, this response rate is very similar to that of other studies making use of SATI as a sampling

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[7] The use of SATI (a professional body for language workers) as the sampling frame was not informed by any exclusionary view of professionalism (see Pym 2012:81-86); rather it was intended to provide access to a population identifying themselves as language workers and who generate at least part of their income from translation.

[8] The data for this study were collected in September 2011. According to Boers, the membership demographics from 2011 to 2013 have remained very similar (personal communication, 11 July 2013).

frame (see, for example, Kruger and Bevan-Dye 2010, Law and Kruger 2008). It should also be kept in mind that the questionnaire involved 9 texts, which means that the data analysis is based on a total of 279 data points. Because of the low number of respondents, and the fact that sampling was not strictly random, no inferential statistics were used in the analysis of the data, and only descriptive statistics are reported.

3.5 Data processing

The data from the questionnaires were coded and captured in Excel, and subsequently processed in Statistica version 10 (StatSoft Inc. 2011), using cross-tabulation. As a first step, descriptive statistics for the overall sample of texts and respondents were produced, considering translation strategies and type of motivation for strategies overall, as well as the relationship between the type of motivation for strategies and the selection of translation strategy. However, to enable more nuanced interpretation of the data, the effects of factors such as the type of ethical dilemma, the text type, and demographic factors also needed to be considered. To this end, the following factors were cross-tabulated:

- translation strategy per type of ethical challenge;
- motivation per type of ethical challenge;
- translation strategy per text type;
- motivation per text type;
- translation strategies per years' experience;
- motivation per years' experience;
- translation strategies per age, and
- motivation per age.[9]

4.   Findings and discussion

4.1 Sample description

The sample consisted of 31 professional translators. About half the respondents were older than 45, and the other half younger, yielding a representative age distribution. In terms of gender distribution, overwhelmingly more women than men participated in the survey, with a total of 81% of respondents being females. The fact that there was not a more balanced distribution of male and female respondents is not surprising, since translation in South Africa is a career dominated by women, and of SATI's membership, Boers (personal communication, 11 July 2013) notes that roughly 26% are males and 74% females. The sample therefore accurately represents the population, but the dominant representation of women should be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the findings.

There was a reasonable distribution of levels of experience, with the largest percentage of respondents (29%) having 11 to 15 years' experience. With regard to the language pairs the respondents most frequently work in, the sample reflected very little diversity. It was expected that the English-to-Afrikaans and Afrikaans-to-English language pairs would feature strongly (and they do, with 36% and 29% of respondents, respectively, citing these combinations as the

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[9] The effect of other demographic variables (such as gender and language) could not be investigated, due to limited variation in these variables in the sample of respondents.

most frequent combination they work in). A total of 35% of respondents indicated that they work between English and European languages. None of the respondents worked in the language pair English to African languages.

While SATI aims to represent the interests of all language practitioners in South Africa, their membership is skewed in favour of Afrikaans/English translators. It is the case that, for complex reasons, there are generally fewer language practitioners working in African languages than in Afrikaans and English, but it is also the case that African-language practitioners do not have as strong representation in SATI as Afrikaans/English translators do. According to Boers (personal communication, 11 July 2013), about 45% of SATI's members are Afrikaans-speaking, 25% English-speaking and the rest cover the range of South African and world languages. This means that SATI's membership is more than 70% Afrikaans- and English-speaking, which does mean that the sample fairly accurately represents SATI's membership.

Generally, therefore, the sample adequately reflects the population of South African translators in terms of experience, gender and age. The only aspect in which the sample falls short of representativeness is in terms of language combinations (and by implication racial diversity), and this should be kept in mind in the interpretation of findings.

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Overall preferences

In this study, respondents clearly favoured the literal translation strategy above all others, with 68% of all choices falling into this category (see Figure 1). This finding is in line with the traditional view (also reflected in most codes of ethics) that the translator is ethically obligated to remain faithful to the source text. The strategy of omission was selected least frequently, with only one respondent choosing this option for one of the texts, suggesting translators' disinclination to make radical alterations to the source text. The strategies of neutralising adaptation and refusal to translate were selected considerably less frequently, at 16% of the time each. It therefore appears that the idea of faithful translation as ethical translation, which is a touchstone of the traditional, narrower professional view of ethics, does, in fact, inform this group of translators' preferences for translation strategies.
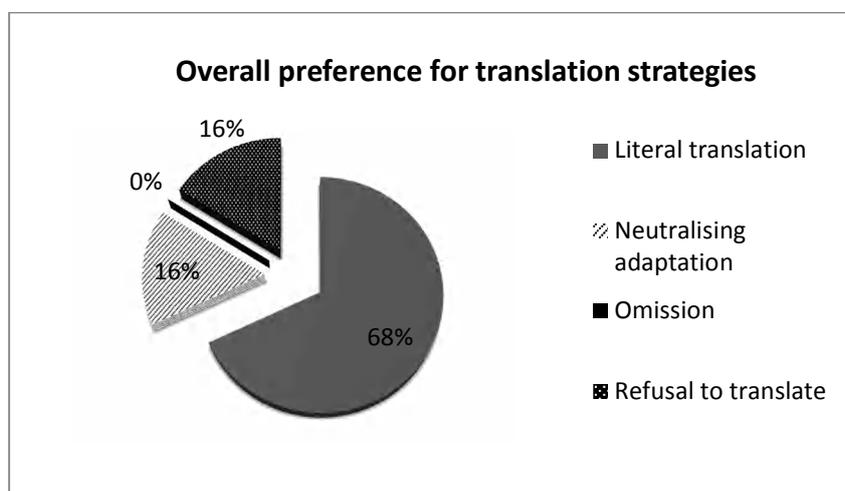
Figure 1. Percentage distribution of overall preferences for translation strategies

In terms of the influence of personal and professional ethics on respondents' selection of particular translation strategies, it is clear that the two kinds of ethics both exert a strong, almost equal influence. Selected 51% of the time as motivation for choices of translation strategies, professional ethics is only marginally more influential than personal ethics in the decision-making process. It therefore seems as if personal ethics does play a substantial role in the decisions made when translating a text, and professional status does not suppress the tendency to articulate ethical motivations from a personal, rather than a professional, subject position and frame of reference. This is particularly evident in respondents' self-formulated motivations, which were frequently formulated from very distinct personal frameworks and subject positions, as is evident in the examples cited in section 3.3.2. Clearly, professionalism does not exclude an interplay between personal and professional ethics, as Pym (2012:80) also observes:

> We know full well that professional subjectivity never suppresses individual subjectivity in the intimate space of doubt. The profession is a mask that smiles with confidence and assurance, ideally inspiring the same attitudes in others. If it can hide the individual, it is not less true that individuality can peek through the profession.

A last aspect investigated for the overall sample involved cross-tabulating the kind of ethical motivation with the translation strategy selected (see Figure 2).[10]

Ethical motivation per translation strategy

	Literal translation	Neutralising adaptation	Refusal to translate	Omission
■ Professional ethics	119	21	3	0
■ Personal ethics	71	24	40	1

Figure 2. Number and percentage of instances personal and professional ethics selected as motivation per translation strategy

In this study, when respondents chose the literal translation strategy, it was generally motivated by professional rather than personal ethics, with professional ethics cited 63% of the time (119

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[10] In this graph and in those that follow, the number of times a translation strategy or ethical motivation was selected is graphically depicted as a percentage of the total times, for each category on the horizontal axis, in order to standardise the scale. However, raw counts are also provided in the legend so as not to efface the numerical differences in the raw data for the different categories on the horizontal axis.

out of 190 times) as motivation for this translation strategy, and personal ethics 37% of the time (71 out of 190 times). An example of a text which many of the respondents chose to translate literally was Text 5, the extract from an anthology of South African stories which demonstrates explicit racist ideology. Many of the respondents explained that, although the content clashed with their personal beliefs, it was a part of history that needed to be told and it was their duty to remain faithful to the source text. One respondent formulated his/her motivation in the following way:

> […] this literary text belongs to its author (as well as to its era) and should be accurately translated. However (and especially if the anthology were for children), I would suggest footnoting the word 'nigger' to indicate both that this historical usage is now considered insulting, and that the phrase is a misquotation of 'the world, the flesh, and the devil' – which makes it all the more offensive […] but that this may […] be an important part of the characterisation of one or other of the characters in the scene, thus, again, not to be tampered with by the translator of a literary text.

Another example of a text which many respondents chose to translate literally was Text 1, the extract from an academic paper using gendered terminology. Respondents explained that, as professionals, they should represent their client regardless of whether they are offended by this usage. However, it should also be borne in mind that respondents could, and did, select personal motivations for literal translation strategies (in 37% of cases), so literal translation strategies ought not to be regarded as exclusively motivated by professional considerations. For example, in the case of Text 1, many respondents motivated their choice of literal translation from a personal rather than a professional point of view, stating that they personally saw no problem with the usage of "man" to refer to both men and women, or as one respondent formulated it: "Besides, the use of 'man' here is not necessarily offensive unless you have a chip on your shoulder".[11]

However, when the strategy of refusal to translate was chosen it was overwhelmingly the consequence of personal ethics, with personal ethics cited 93% of the time (40 out of 43 times) for this translation strategy, and professional ethics accounting for only 7% of motivations (3 out of 43 times). Some of the self-formulated motivations for such refusals have been reproduced in section 3.3.2. One of the texts which some of the respondents indicated they would refuse to translate was Text 4, a section from an article written by a radical South African activist about racism. Of course, the fact that none of the respondents were black should also be kept in mind in interpreting the findings for this text. Other texts which some respondents felt they would refuse to translate was Text 2, the magazine text that made generalisations about femininity, and Text 8, the extract from a children's book dealing with same-sex relationships. A number of respondents also indicated that they would refuse to translate Text 9, the poem written by a male poet about a love affair with a younger boy. The respondents in most instances indicated that they were personally offended by the texts, and elected to refuse the translation because the text was in conflict with their personal beliefs – however, in some instances they also indicated that they would refuse to translate because they felt they needed to exercise their agency in acting on behalf of society or protecting the audience.

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[11] A number of participants did comment that in translating to Afrikaans, "man" is generally rendered as "'n mens" (literally, 'a human'), which effectively solves at least one of the problems in the text. However, they generally did not consider the issue of pronoun usage in their comments, which is replicated in Afrikaans in the same way as in English.

When the neutralising adaptation strategy was chosen, it was marginally more often as a consequence of personal rather than professional ethics, with personal ethics cited 24 times (or 53% of the time) and professional ethics cited 21 times (or 47% of the time). Based on these results, it may be proposed that the more drastic the action taken by the respondent, the more influential personal ethics are and the more likely the respondent is to articulate his/her motivation for the choice from a personal rather than professional subject position.

4.2.2 The role of the type of ethical problem

In order to explore whether there is a relationship between the type of ethical challenge or problematic content, and the selection of a particular translation strategy, the four translation strategies were cross-tabulated against the four types of problematic content (see Figure 3).

Translation strategies selected per type of problematic content

	Sexism	Racism	Crude language	Offensive content
Refusal to translate	4	12	9	18
Omission	0	0	1	0
Neutralising adaptation	10	15	20	0
Literal translation	48	66	32	44
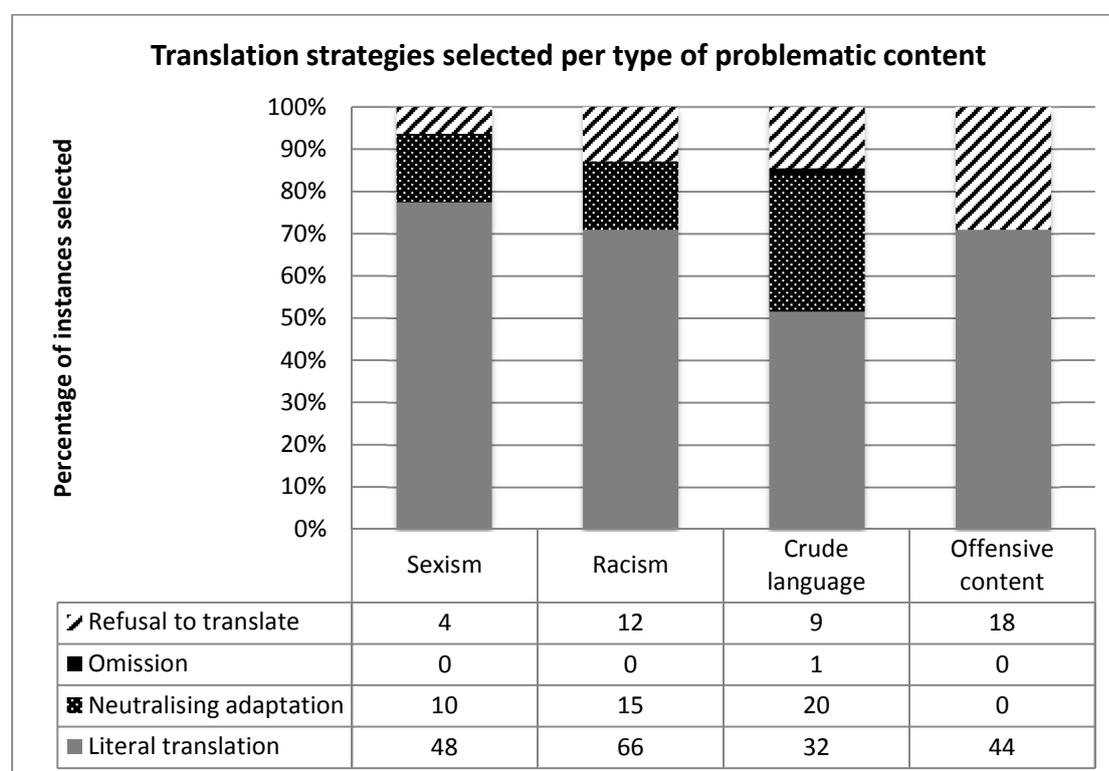
Figure 3. Number and percentage of times translation strategies chosen per type of problematic content

Although literal translation is clearly the most favoured strategy in all four categories of problematic content, for the category of crude language there is a smaller margin of difference between literal translation (selected 32 out of 62 instances, or 52% of the time) and neutralising adaptation (selected 20 out of 62 instances, or 32% of the time) than in the other categories, where the literal translation strategy dominates much more strongly. It appears that respondents were more willing to adapt or neutralise the potentially disagreeable effect of crude language than the potentially offensive elements of the other categories of problematic content. Crude language is therefore possibly considered more of a "surface" feature of a text, more open to manipulation by the translator, than other features which are viewed as more integral. There are interesting touchpoints here with research demonstrating translators' inclination to manipulate swearing and obscene language – by neutralisation or euphemisation, but also by intensification

when necessary – based on their perception of the expectations and norms of the target audience (see, for example, Pérez Quintero and Toledano Buendía 2001, Taivalkoski-Shilov 2009). However, some caution should be used in interpreting the findings here – the contextualisation of one of the texts in this category (Text 7) involved a shift in medium (from blog text to print text) that may have affected respondents' selection of strategy. To illustrate the point, for the other (literary) text in this category (Text 6), 22 respondents (71%) selected literal translation as the appropriate strategy, with 6 respondents (19%) selecting neutralising adaptation, and 3 (10%) selecting refusal to translate. For Text 7, conversely, fewer respondents selected literal translation, and more neutralising adaptation. For this text, 10 respondents (32%) selected literal translation, 14 (45%) neutralising adaptation, 1 (3%) omission, and 6 (20%) refusal to translate. It is likely that the different strategy selection profiles for the two texts in this category are the consequence of their different content and functions, but it must also be assumed that the contextualisation played at least some role in respondents' choice of translation strategy, suggesting the importance of translators' assessment of audience needs and decisions about translation strategies. One respondent's self-formulated motivation for her decision to use neutralising adaptation for Text 7 makes this clear (though it should be noted that not many other respondents specified the change in context as motivation for their choice of strategy):

> Here, the original context of the personal blog – where the privileged personal communication may 'defuse' the effect of the word 'fuck' – is being changed to that of a magazine for general consumption. I'd therefore change the diction, because in the new context I do not see that the use of 'fuck' adds anything to the information conveyed; in fact, it may actually lessen the educative value of the article by being offensive enough to put the reader off reading it at all.

In the category of potentially inappropriate or offensive content, neither the strategy of neutralising adaptation nor the strategy of omission was selected once; instead this category showed a comparatively higher selection of the refusal-to-translate option, with 18 selections out of 62 (or 29%).[12] Therefore, it seems as though the respondents chose one of the two polar opposite approaches when it came to content that may be inappropriate for or offensive to a particular target audience.

The strategy distribution patterns for sexism and racism are relatively similar, which suggests that these ethical problems are handled in a similar manner. In both categories, literal translation is strongly favoured, but with some inclination to neutralise or adapt the text, and even refusal to translate in some instances. For example, some of the respondents chose neutralising adaptation for Text 3, the song lyrics, stating that they would tone down the ethnic labelling in this text, while other respondents indicated that they would refuse to translate Text 2, the magazine article about femininity, because they said the generalisations offended them.

The cross-tabulation of ethical motivations cited per problematic content yielded some interesting results (see Figure 4).

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[12] While there was some concern as to whether the shift in reading context specified in the contextualisation of Text 8 (from implied leisure reading for the source text to the educational context for the target text) would affect the selection of strategies, the distribution of strategies for Texts 8 and 9 is almost identical, which alleviates this concern.

Type of ethical motivation per type of problematic content

	Sexism	Racism	Crude language	Offensive content
■ Professional ethics	27	55	37	24
■ Personal ethics	35	38	25	38

Percentage of instances selected
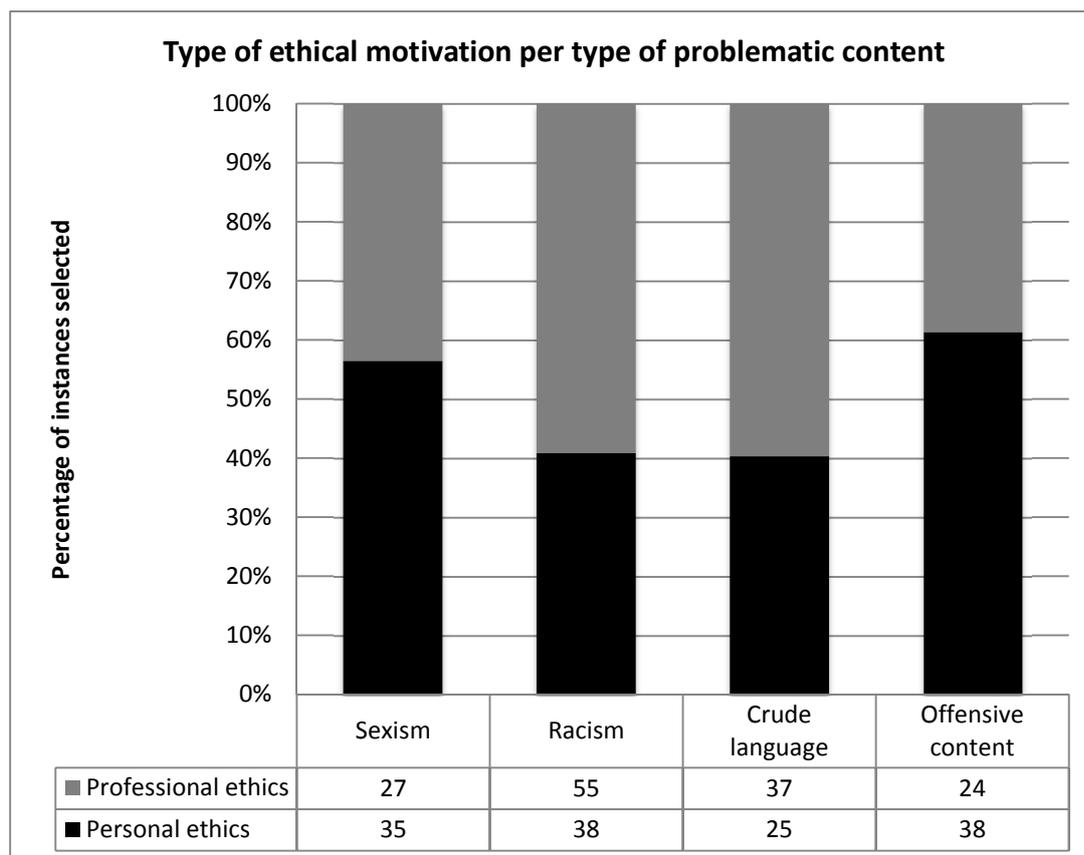
Figure 4. Number and percentage of times personal or professional ethics chosen as motivation per problematic content

While all four categories demonstrate the strong effects of both personal and professional ethics, personal ethics does appear to take precedence in decisions about how to translate texts that are sexist (selected 56% of the time over 44% for professional ethics) and texts that contain potentially inappropriate content (selected 61% of the time over 39% for professional ethics). The effect of professional ethics is somewhat stronger than that of personal ethics for texts that are racist (59% over 41%) or that contain crude language (60% over 40%).

The respondents may, of course, have cited personal ethics more frequently in the sexism category because there were many more female respondents than male (though it should be noted that some of the male respondents also found the sexist texts, particularly Text 2, particularly problematic, as indicated by their self-formulated motivations). Regardless of the reason, sexism still seems to be a personally contentious issue for the respondents, more so than racism. This may be the consequence of the demographics of the sample and the power relations in which respondents typically find themselves involved: as women, the respondents may well feel themselves at the receiving end of oppressive patriarchal discourses; however, in terms of race, respondents most likely typically do not find themselves the target of racially motivated oppression and exclusion. Another possible reason for the category of racism eliciting more citations of professional ethics for decision-making could be related to the choice of texts. Two of the three texts in this section were literary texts, and the creative nature of these texts (as well as the fact that both are from eras far removed from the present) might have ameliorated the influence of personal ethics. Whatever the reason, clearly ethics is influenced by an individual's experiences as subject within the web of discourses that constitute society.

4.2.3 The role of text type

From the cross-tabulation of translation strategies with text type (see Figure 5), it is evident once more that literal translation is by far the favoured translation strategy across all four text types. The preference for this translation strategy is particularly strong for text types that are overtly linked to a particular author (academic and literary texts), and/or that have an aesthetic function (literature and children's literature), suggesting that awareness of text type and function does have some role to play in the selection of the literal translation strategy.

Translation strategy per text type

	Academic	Mass media	Literary	Children's literature
Refusal to translate	0	17	18	8
Omission	0	1	0	0
Neutralising adaptation	7	18	20	0
Literal translation	24	57	86	23
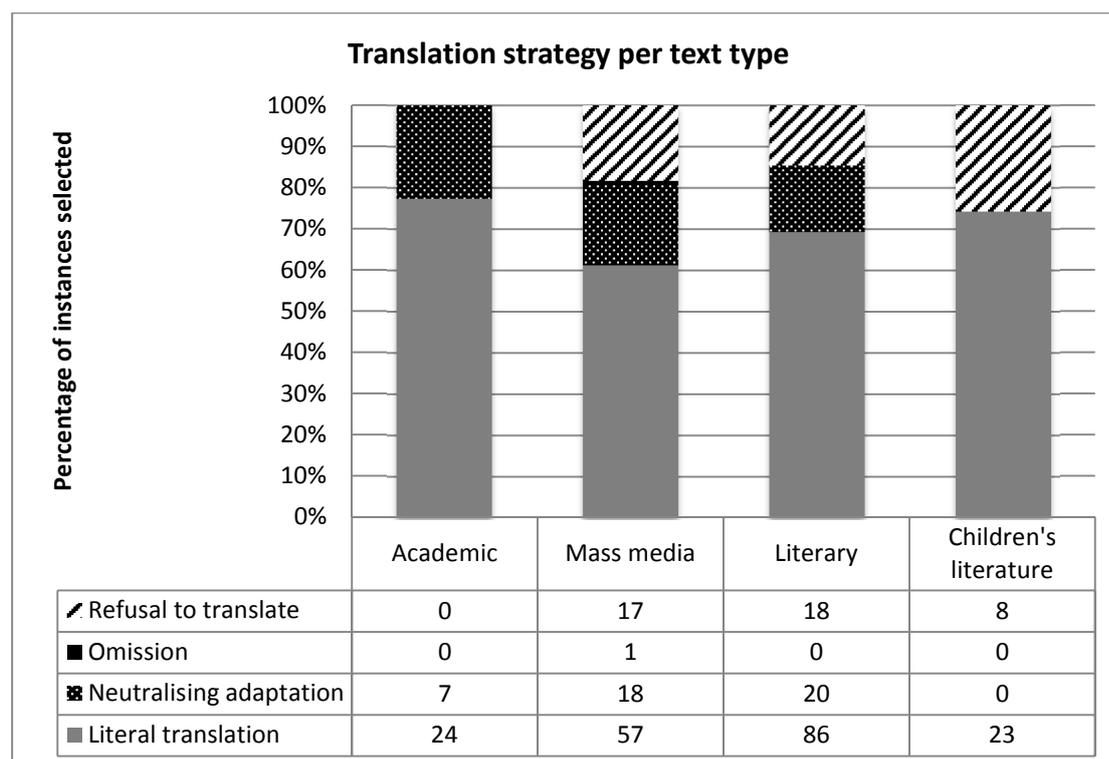
Figure 5. Number and percentage of times translation strategies chosen per text type

In the case of literary texts for children, the respondents chose either refusal to translate (chosen 8 out of 31 instances, or 26% of the time) or literal translation (chosen 23 out of 31 instances, or 74% of the time). This text type therefore elicited a strong preference for remaining faithful to the source text (as one would expect for an aesthetic, expressive text). However, because people typically have definite ideas about appropriate material for children, refusal to translate also figures comparatively strongly as a strategy for this text type. This finding does run counter to the general view that adaptation is regarded as a necessary precondition for the translation of children's literature (see, for example, Nikolajeva 1996, Oittinen 2000), but it is likely that the kind of ethical problem involved in this text is of a different type than the kind of translation problems that usually prompt the perceived need to adapt children's books in translation.

The literary and mass-media text types show some similarities, with neutralising adaptation and refusal to translate occurring as strategies selected for both text types, in addition to the dominant literal translation strategy. The single occurrence of omission is in the mass-media category, for Text 7 (the blog text containing swearing).

In the case of the academic text type, refusal to translate does not figure as a choice at all, with responses spread between literal translation (77%, or 24 out of 31 times) and neutralising adaptation (23%, or 7 out of 31 times). It appears that formal, informational texts are less inclined to prompt a refusal to translate, and children's book texts with potentially inappropriate material are most likely to provoke this response, but least likely to elicit adaptation as a strategy. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the particular ethical problem presented in these text types may have a confounding effect (so that the findings reflect a response to the ethical problem, rather than the text type), especially given that there is just one text in each category. Nevertheless, the findings here may form a starting point for further, more rigorous investigation.

The graph for the category of ethical motivation selected per text type is presented in Figure 6.

Type of ethical motivation per text type

	Academic	Mass media	Literary	Children's literature
■ Professional ethics	18	47	70	8
■ Personal ethics	13	46	54	23
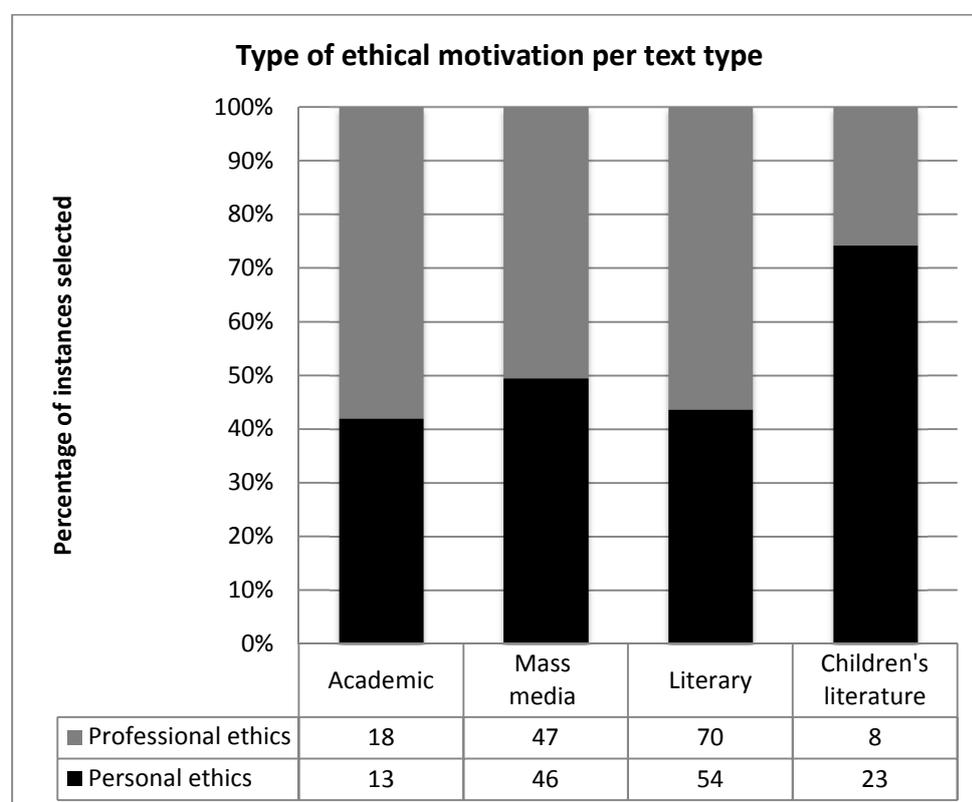
Figure 6. Number and percentage of times personal and professional ethics chosen per text type

In the first instance, it is evident that in the case of academic as well as literary texts, professional ethics plays a slightly more important role in decision-making than personal ethics does. In the case of media texts, professional and personal ethics appear to play an almost equal role. These slight differences aside, for these three text types, personal and professional ethics both exert a strong influence. However, children's literature appears to be the exception, with personal ethics (selected 74% of the time, or in 23 out of 31 instances) clearly playing a much stronger role than professional ethics (cited 26% of the time, or 8 out of 31 times). Thus, children's literature appears to elicit a personal, emotional response rather than a rote professional response, most likely because the text type tends to elicit strong opinions about suitability even when translation is not involved (though the confounding effect of the type of problem cannot be discounted). In the case of this text, the pre-formulated personal ethical

motivations were either positive ("I believe it is important to be open about sexual preferences") or negative ("I do not think this information is appropriate for children"). Two self-formulated motivations for Text 8 suggest other kinds of personal opinions respondents offered as motivations for their choices:

> It is important for children to learn about same-sex relationships from some 'official', 'authoritative' source like a school book or teacher, rather than from schoolyard-sensationalism.

> Whilst I believe in being open and honest with children, I cannot bring myself to translate such a text, because I don't think I would be happy about my child learning this information from a schoolbook.

In considering the role of personal ethics, and its relationship with the selection of translation strategies, it should be kept in mind that personal ethics may be associated with positive as well as negative evaluations of a text, and with literal translation strategies as much as with decisions not to translate a text. In the case of the children's literature text, 15 of the 23 respondents (65%) who selected literal translation in fact indicated that they would translate literally because they felt that it was important to be open about sexual preferences (a personal motivation), as opposed to 8 (35%) of the respondents who indicated they would choose the literal translation strategy for professional reasons. Literal translation, as has already been pointed out, should therefore not be equated only with narrower professional ethical motivations, but may also be the consequence of motivations that spring from the translator's personal subjectivity.

4.2.4 The role of experience and age

For the analysis of the influence of experience, respondents' levels of experience were combined into three categories, namely "less than ten years' experience", "ten to twenty years' experience", and "more than twenty years' experience".

Firstly, the cross-tabulation of number of years' experience with the selection of translation strategies shows that less experienced respondents are more likely to make changes to and adapt the text (see Figure 7).

Strategies selected by years of experience

	Less than 10 years' experience	10 to 20 years' experience	More than 20 years' experience
◩ Refusal to translate	17	17	9
■ Omission	0	0	1
▨ Neutralising adaptation	20	15	10
■ Literal translation	44	85	61
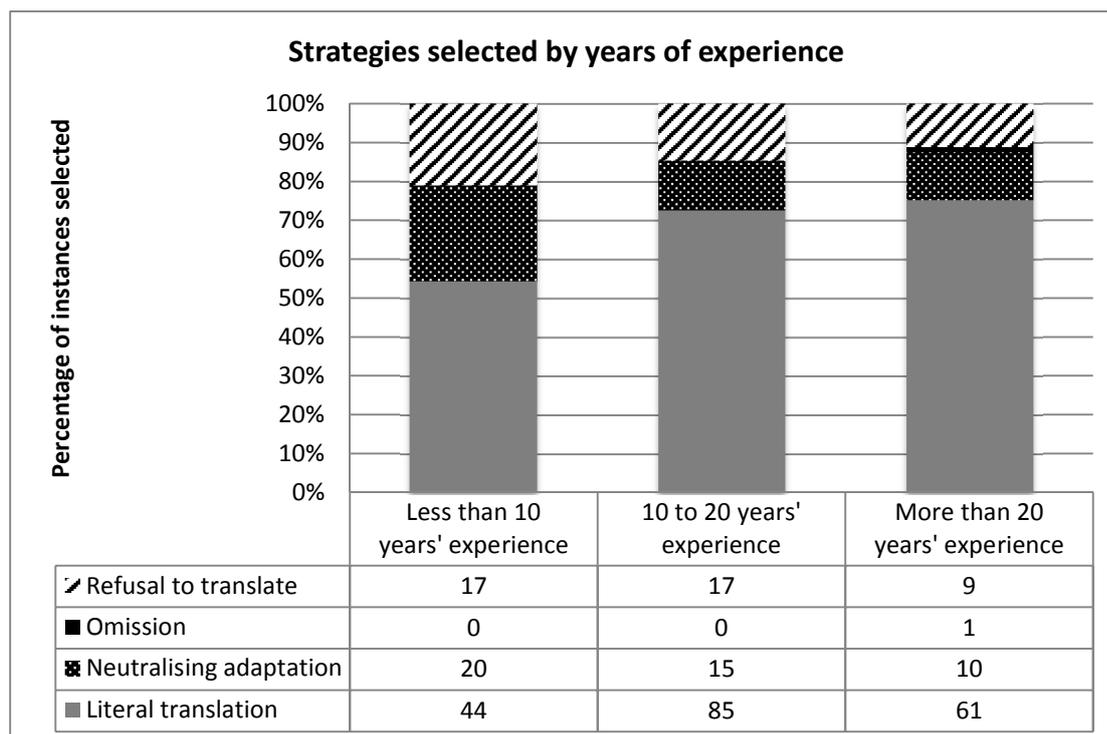
Figure 7. Number and percentage of times translation strategies chosen per respondents' years' experience

This trend becomes very clear when the data for the two groups at the extremes of experience levels are considered. The selection of literal translation strategies is much more frequent among respondents with more than twenty years' experience (75% of the time, or 61 out of 81 instances) than among respondents with less than ten years' experience (54% of the time, or 44 out of 81 instances). On the other hand, the percentage frequency of neutralising adaptation and refusal to translate as strategies is higher for the group of least experienced translators (25% and 21% of the time, respectively) than for the group of most experienced translators (12% and 11% of the time, respectively).

Therefore, in this study the least experienced respondents were more willing to move beyond the idea that accuracy and faithfulness equates with ethical translation. It may be that the more experienced translators have been conditioned to behave in a certain way by professional exposure, whereas less experienced translators are still developing a style and might be less aware of what the conventional views of professional conduct are or what is expected of them in accordance with codes of conduct.

As far as the relationship between number of years' experience and the selection of professional or personal ethics as a motivation for translation strategies is concerned, it was found that the more experienced respondents were more likely to cite professional ethics as a motivation for their selection of translation strategies (see Figure 8). Conversely, the less experienced the respondents were, the more likely they were to cite personal ethics as motivation for their decisions.

Ethical motivation by years of experience

	Less than 10 years' experience	10 to 20 years' experience	More than 20 years' experience
■ Professional ethics	34	57	52
■ Personal ethics	47	60	29

Y-axis: Percentage of instances selected (0% to 100%)
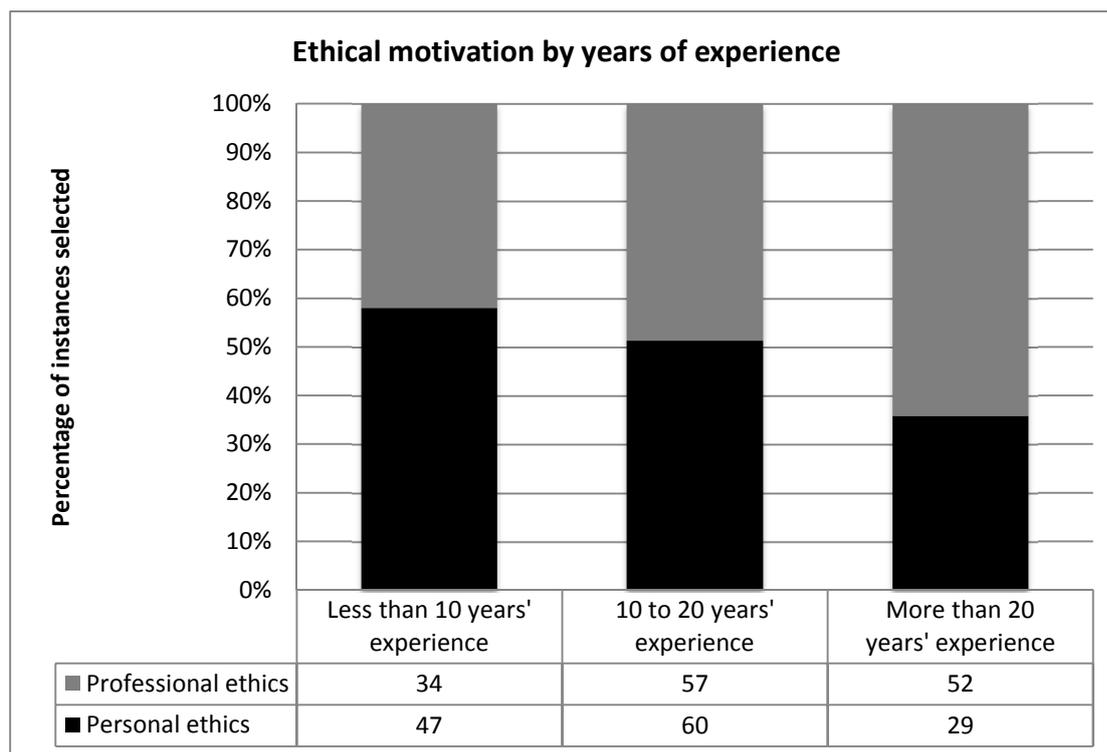
Figure 8. Number and percentage of times personal and professional ethics chosen per respondents' years' experience

The most inexperienced group of respondents demonstrate a smaller margin of difference between personal and professional ethics, but personal ethics is cited more frequently at 58% of the time (47 out of 81 instances) over 42% of the time (34 out of 81 instances) for professional ethics. Conversely, the most experienced respondents cited professional ethics more frequently, with a larger margin of difference between professional and personal ethics. In this group, professional ethics was cited as motivation 64% of the time (52 out of 81 instances) and personal ethics only 36% of the time (29 out of 81 instances). This suggests that as translators gain more experience, they are more likely to motivate their choice of translation strategies from an externally circumscribed professional subjectivity, rather than an internally prompted personal subjectivity.

These findings regarding experience raise additional questions about the effect of related variables, such as age and educational background (including translation training). The questionnaire did not include any questions regarding educational background, but did solicit respondents' ages. Generally speaking, as can be seen in Figure 9, there is a clear correspondence between age and increasing experience, though the correspondence is not perfect – with some participants in all age groups other than the oldest having less than 10 years' experience.

Relationship between age and experience

	20-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
■ More than 20 years' experience	0	1	2	4	2
■ 10 to 20 years' experience	0	3	3	4	3
■ Less than 10 years' experience	5	1	1	2	0
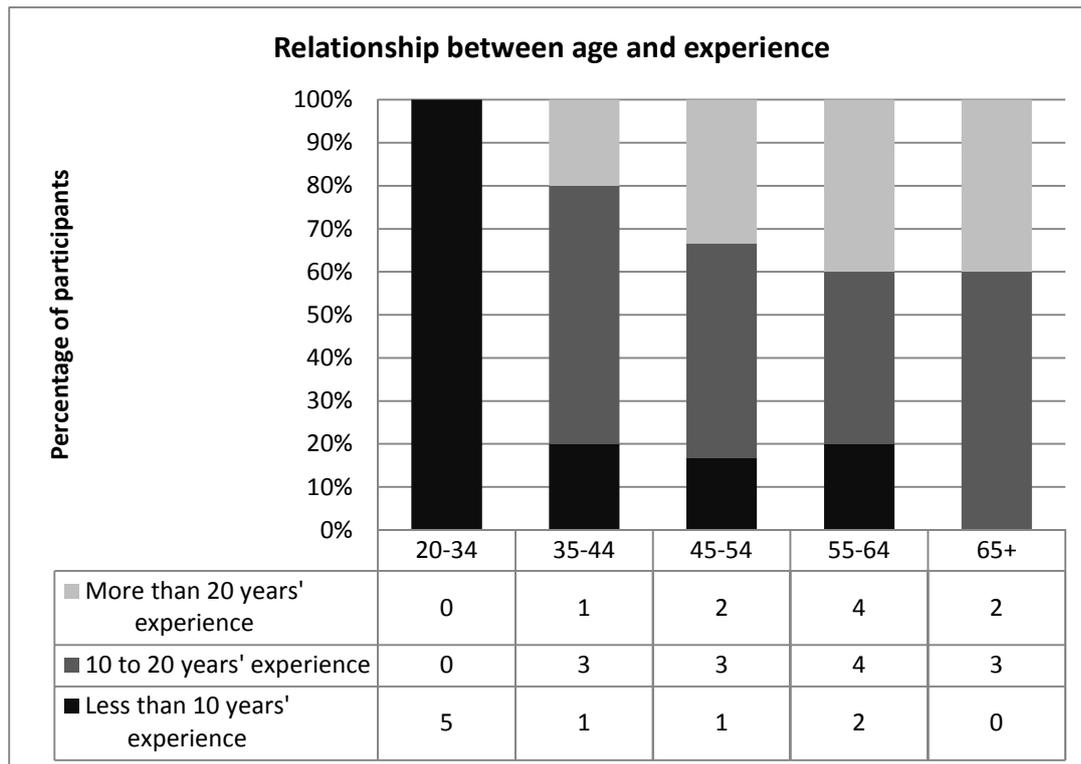
Figure 9. Relationship between age and experience

Against this background, the graphs showing the relationship between age and the selection of translation strategies (Figure 10) and ethical motivation (Figure 11) demonstrate patterns that show a somewhat different effect for age than for experience. Figure 10 shows that the preference for literal translation as a strategy tends to increase from the youngest age group, up until the 45-54 age group, after which it declines again for the two older age groups, returning to much the same level as for the youngest age group. The selection rate of refusal to translate as an option is highest in the youngest and oldest age groups, while the willingness to adapt problematic material tends to be higher in younger age groups.
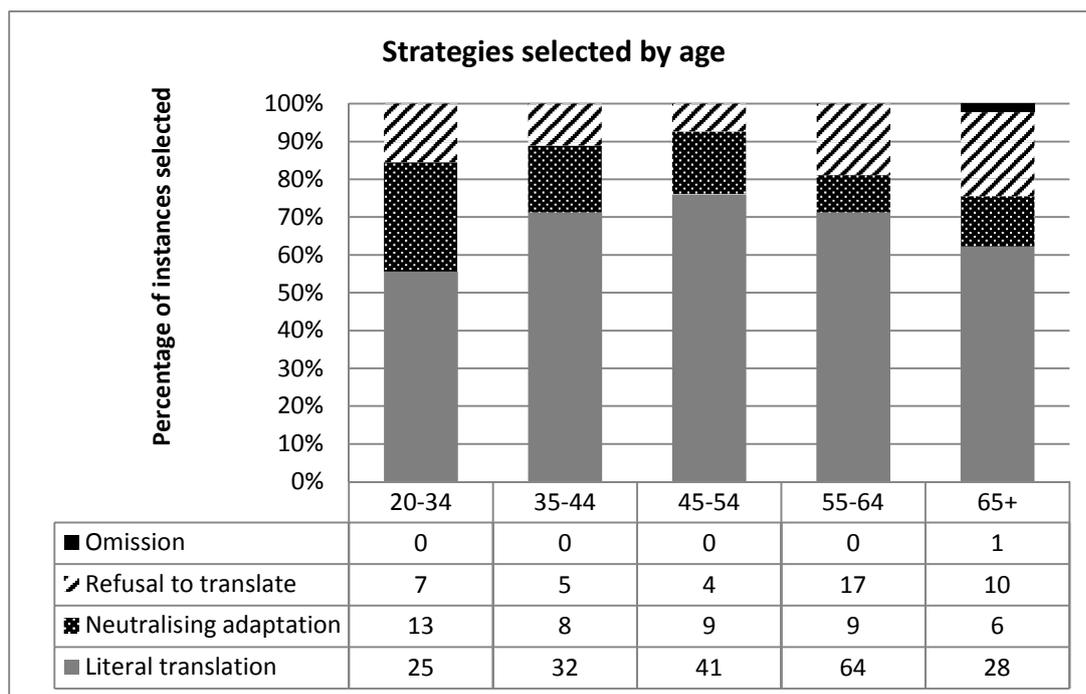
Figure 10. Number and percentage of times translation strategies chosen per respondent age group

Strategies selected by age

	20-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
■ Omission	0	0	0	0	1
⟍ Refusal to translate	7	5	4	17	10
❈ Neutralising adaptation	13	8	9	9	6
▦ Literal translation	25	32	41	64	28
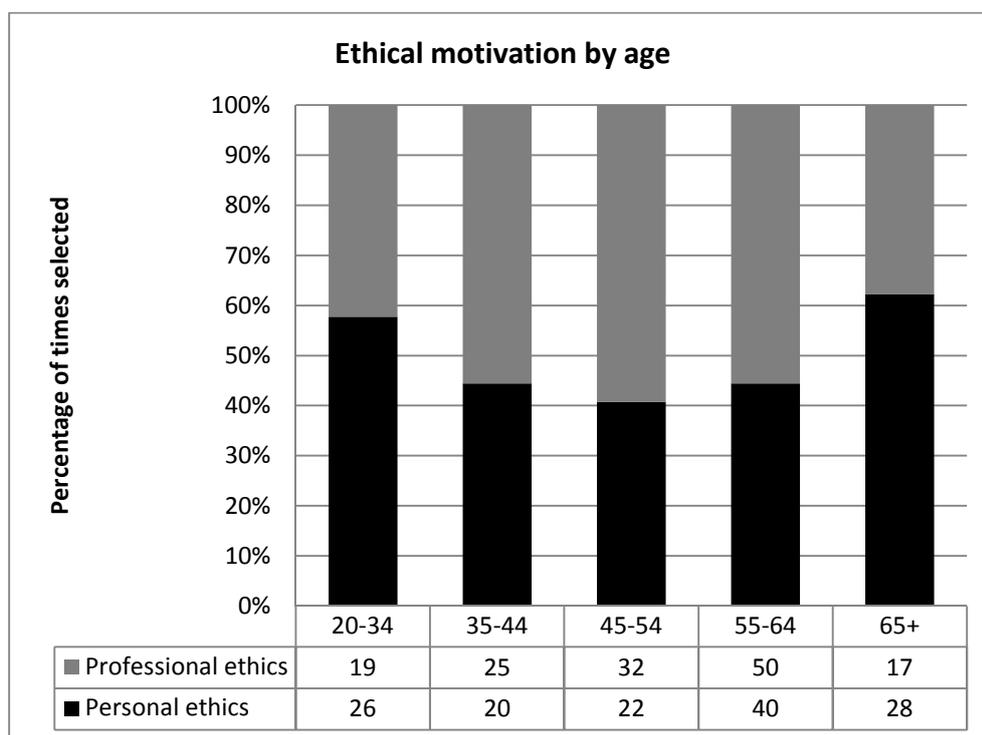
Figure 11. Number and percentage of times personal and professional ethics chosen per respondent age group

Ethical motivation by age

	20-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
▦ Professional ethics	19	25	32	50	17
■ Personal ethics	26	20	22	40	28

Similarly, the role of personal ethics tends to be strongest for the oldest and youngest age groups in the sample, with professional ethics dominating in the middle three age groups.

Figures 10 and 11 are suggestive of the idea that experience and age may play roles independent of each other, though it is difficult to say whether the effect is really one of age or generation. The investigation of these findings would require a research design more specifically geared towards separating the effects of these variables, and others, such as educational background.

5.   Conclusions

In summary, it is clear that translation strategies premised on faithful translation are by far the preferred choice of the translators in this sample when faced with ethically challenging material. These translators appear to subscribe to the principle of ethical translation as faithful translation, and are loathe to effect radical changes to a text in translation – particularly evident in the fact that omission is virtually never chosen as a translation strategy. This general tendency may be regarded as the consequence of translators' risk aversion – in this case, risk aversion involves the prudent course of action of deferring to the authority of the source text and author, so that the responsibility for saying something can remain vested in somebody else, somebody with authorial clout (see Pym 2008:324-325). The type of ethical problem, text type, translator age, and translation experience all appear to exert some influence on the choice of strategy, although this influence never overrules the overall preference for faithful translation. As far as the type of ethical problem is concerned, crude language appears to be one category where there is a comparatively greater willingness to adapt the text, while in the category of potentially inappropriate content, there is a comparatively greater likelihood of translators' refusing to undertake the translation. It appears that there is some distinction between surface and intrinsic elements of a text, with translators viewing surface elements (such as crude language) as more open to adaptation; however, as has been pointed out in section 2.4.2, this finding should be read against the limitations of the research design, and requires further, more rigorous investigation.

In the case of text type, it appears that formal, informational texts are less likely to prompt a refusal to translate, and children's literature containing potentially inappropriate material is most likely to provoke this response, but least likely to elicit adaptation as a strategy. This is an unusual finding, given the general view that children's literature is particularly amenable to manipulation in translation, and should be interpreted with caution against the background of the limitations of the research design (but see also comments on this issue in the following paragraph). Overall, for all text types, literal translation dominates, but especially for texts that are strongly tied to a "visible" author, suggesting translators' acceptance of a secondary or deferential role as text producers. One respondent in this study formulated this role very clearly in the following comment: "We do not have a right as translators to adjust/omit words according to our beliefs or ethics concerning the use of words. The writer's original is to be translated in such a way that it conveys that which the writer was trying to achieve". Lastly, experience appears to play an important role in the selection of translation strategies, with greater experience corresponding to a greater preference for faithful translation. The effects of experience and age appear not to correlate directly, so that age appears to have its own, independent, effects, with the youngest and the oldest respondents in the sample least likely to select literal translation as an option, and most likely to refuse a translation commission.

In terms of ethical motivation, both personal and professional ethics exert a strong influence, reiterating the point made by various scholars that it may be difficult to separate personal and professional ethics in translation. The findings of this study suggest that the selection of literal

or faithful translation strategies is generally motivated by professional ethics, with the strategy of refusal to translate mostly the consequence of personal ethics. However, this should not be regarded as an absolute correlation. For example, in a considerable number of instances, respondents did select personal motivations for their choice of a literal translation strategy, usually founded on some kind of personal positive valuation of the text, as was the case for the children's literature text in the study.

The almost equal pull of personal and professional ethics is visible across type of ethical problem and text type. For the participants in this study, personal ethics does appear to have a stronger effect for ethical problems related to sexism and potentially offensive content, with professional ethics featuring more strongly for racism and crude language. It is very likely that these differences have to do with the demographics of the sample, and this finding suggests the importance of subject position and individual background in ethical motivation. (In this respect, it is crucially important that the findings of the current study be extended and refined by repeating the survey with African-language translators, and in contexts other than that of South Africa.) In the case of text type, professional ethics plays a slightly more important role for literary and academic texts, while children's literature makes a much stronger appeal on personal ethics.

Lastly, it appears that the greater adherence to faithful translation that correlates with experience is accompanied by a greater recourse to professional ethics in motivations for translation decisions. It therefore seems as if greater experience corresponds to a greater likelihood of the narrower professional, codified view of ethics being used as a frame of reference for translation decisions. Again, age appears to have an effect independent of experience: the youngest and oldest respondents in the sample were more likely to motivate their translation decisions from the position of personal rather than professional subjectivity.

This study is a first attempt to approach ethical decision-making in translation in a quantitative and empirical way. However, it is clearly limited in a number of ways, and, as such, its findings should be regarded as explanatory hypotheses which need to be tested in more rigorous ways in different contexts. In particular, in further work along these lines, it will be important to employ research designs that allow for a more precise, statistical teasing apart of the effect of the different variables that play a role in the selection of translation strategies, and the relative roles of personal and professional ethics in this process.

Ultimately, research such as this contributes to the ongoing conversation on ethics in translation, by providing actual empirical data on translators' behaviour and motivations (albeit in reported rather than directly observed form). In particular, the current study raises the question of whether, as scholars like Baker (2011) and Tymoczko (2007) have argued, the "neutrality" and "pragmatism" which are the hallmarks of this professionalism may "deaden [translators'] ethical sensibilities, thus discouraging their agency and disempowering them in multiple ways" (Tymoczko 2007:319). A pertinent point suggested by this research, then, is whether professional codes of ethics *ought to* encourage, to a greater degree than they currently do, the role of personal ethics, and particularly the wider socio-cultural responsibility of the translator. While some scholars (like Chesterman 2001) are likely to disagree with this, others, like Tymoczko (2007), make a compelling case in favour of this approach to translator ethics, suggesting the importance of continued conversation on this matter.

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Do justice to court interpreters in South Africa

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Abstract
Many countries have developed statutory provisions governing norms and standards of practice (NSPs) for court interpreters. However, in South Africa, in the case of State versus Naidoo (1962:631), Judge Williamson states that "in relation to the courts of this country, there appears to be no statutory provision, Rule of Court or regulation governing the position of interpreters". If Judge Williamson's statement is true, court interpreters could be perceived as working without proper guidance from a statute containing NSPs for court interpreters. This situation might result in court interpreters working according to their own personal preferences, each creating and abiding by his or her own NSPs. In turn, this could lead to poor interpreting practices, as there would be no application of common NSPs which court interpreters are to follow and for which they need to be held accountable. The aim of this study is to investigate whether the statement by Judge Williamson is true, and if so, how the lack of NSPs for court interpreters could affect their work. This aim was achieved by examining the Personnel Administration Standard for Court Interpreters, contained in the Public Service Code, which relates to the employment of court interpreters in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development of South Africa; the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended); the Oath of Office of Interpreters in terms of Rule 68 (1) of the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended); the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (as amended), and extracts from some case studies (Lebese 2011, 2013). The study revealed that the four documents do not make any reference to NSPs for court interpreters. The study concludes with a recommendation for the need of a statute governing court-interpreting issues in the broadest sense, including NSPs.

Keywords: court interpreters, legislation, norms, standards of practice

1. Introduction

A fair criminal justice system would ensure that both the accused and the witness understand the courtroom proceedings, and that both parties are also understood by the court. This fairness cannot be attainable in instances where court interpreters cannot be provided for court participants who do not speak or understand the language used during court proceedings. Keratsa (2005) views a trial in a court of law as a battle fought with words, and that such battles are fought by people who cannot speak and understand the legal language of the setting. Therefore, the presence of an interpreter, as a mediator and a necessary contributor in

overcoming language barriers and ensuring communication, is considered essential (Keratsa 2005). However, for court interpreters to be able to carry out their duties competently, they need to be guided by some sort of legislation that deals with issues of court interpreting, and that clearly defines the norms and standards of practice (NSPs) to be followed by all court interpreters. These NSPs serve as a set of rules that guide court interpreters in their task of interpreting during trials.

Many countries have developed NSPs to guide court interpreters in carrying out their duties. These NSPs vary from country to country but all have one common goal – to regulate and guide the function of court interpreters. For example, Hewitt (1995:199) states that in the US, the Model Code of Professional Responsibility for Interpreters in the Judiciary was developed by the National Center for States Courts, and frames the role of the court interpreter in the following manner:

> Many persons who come before the courts are partially or completely excluded from full participation in the proceedings due to limited English proficiency or a speech or hearing impairment. It is essential that the resulting communication barrier be removed, as far as possible, so that these persons are placed in the same position as similarly situated persons for whom there is no such barrier. As officers of the court, interpreters help ensure that such persons may enjoy equal access to justice, and that court proceedings and court support services function efficiently and effectively. Interpreters are highly skilled professionals who fulfil an essential role in the administration of justice.

Toury (1980) observes that norms play a central role in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as they determine the type and extent of equivalence manifested by actual translations. In this study, the concept of 'translation' is used in its broadest sense and encompasses the concept of 'interpreting'. "Equivalence" refers to the relationship, of whatever type and extent, between a translation and its source text (Toury 1980). In instances of interpreting, equivalence refers to the relationship between the message of the target and the source language.

According to Malmkjaer (2005), adherence to or deviation from norms can incur approval or sanction of various kinds, including positive or negative criticism. These norms function as various types of sociocultural constraint on human behaviour (Meylaerts 2008). Court interpreting involves sociocultural aspects as court interpreters facilitate communication between people who speak different languages; as a result, norms are relevant. This study regards norms as the criteria according to which actual instances of interpreting are evaluated as acceptable or unacceptable, between the expectation regarding the relation between the source-and target-language message. This evaluation rests on a set of rules that guides court interpreters in fulfilling their task. Norms are therefore a tool that is used to gauge the acceptability of the interpreting task.

However, in the case of State versus Naidoo (1962:631), Judge Williamson mentions that "in relation to the courts of this country, there appears to be no statutory provision, Rule of Court or regulation governing the position of interpreters". If Judge Williamson's statement is true,

court interpreters would then in essence be working without proper guidance from a statute containing NSPs for court interpreters. This situation might lead to court interpreters working according to their own personal preferences, each creating and abiding by his or her own NSPs. This could, in turn, lead to poor interpreting practices as there would be no application of common NSPs which court interpreters are to follow and for which they need to be held accountable. Mikkelson (1996) observes that interpreting is characterised by a lack of standards for training and practice, among other things. Du Plessis (1997:1) holds the same view and mentions that "interpreting may be a clearly defined, well-established profession operating within a structured context in many countries of the world, but in South Africa the profession still has a long way to go to attain the same status".

If NSPs do not exist, court interpreters themselves have to deal with the controversies surrounding their duties and position. The situation might be that, while interpreters perform their duties from day to day, they are "constantly making decisions and solving problems by navigating between the Scylla of slavish, which is the literal interpretation, and the Charybdis of free translation that distorts meaning and thereby perverts justice" (Mikkelson 2008:2).

The aim of this study is to investigate whether there is any statute governing the NSPs for court interpreters in South Africa, and if so, to what extent. If no such statute exists, the aim will be to investigate how this deficit affects the work of court interpreters. Four legal documents will be examined: the Personnel Administration Standard for Court Interpreters (PAS), contained in the Public Service Code, which relates to the employment of court interpreters in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development of South Africa; the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended); the Oath of Office of Interpreters in terms of Rule 68 (1) of the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended), and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (as amended), as well as several extracts from case studies (see Lebese 2011, 2013). The documents under investigation relate to court interpreters and are currently in use and legally recognised. The case studies are relevant for this study as they allow us to determine whether or not court interpreters are guided by any norms when they interpret, and whether they abide by these norms. If it is found that they are not guided by any norms, the aim is then to investigate how interpreters carry out their task of interpreting, and whether or not the lack of NSPs affects this task, as well as to what extent this effect is felt. The study aims to shed more light on the importance of NSPs for court interpreters, and how these NSPs can lead to better interpreting. The study concludes with a recommendation for the need of a statute governing court-interpreting issues (in the broadest sense) including NSPs.

2. Methodology

This study follows a qualitative research method and the DTS theoretical framework. The relevance of the qualitative method in research methodology and the DTS framework to this study lies in the fact that court interpreting takes place in real courtroom situations where court participants are present during proceedings. According to Toury (1980:80), translation practices are observational facts. Because court interpreting takes place in real world situations, court interpreting practices are therefore also observational facts. Hillinger and Leu (1994) mention that the qualitative research method in interpreting studies explores how language, power and history shape human views of reality, truth and knowledge, and aims to discover multiple realities. Shank (2002) holds the same view and uses two metaphors to describe the qualitative research method. The first metaphor is that of a window, as the researcher looks through a

metaphorical window to get an accurate view of a subject. The second metaphor is that of a lantern, which suggests that this method sheds light on dark areas. Gall, Borg and Gall (1996) mention that the qualitative research method is grounded in the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations, while Meulenberg-Buskens (1993) views it as a method in which the researcher tries to relate the topic of study directly to phenomena in reality.

The court proceedings are regulated by rules and regulations of administration of justice contained in pieces of legislation, such as the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended). As previously mentioned, this study investigates four legal documents relating to issues of court interpreters, with the aim of obtaining an accurate view of what is contained in these documents regarding these issues. In doing so, the study aims to discover multiple realities and reveal the truth as to whether or not these legal documents contain any guidance for court interpreters in respect of NSPs. In addition, extracts from court proceedings will be analysed to observe how court interpreters carry out their task of interpreting by relating directly to the facts observable during the court proceedings.

3.   The importance of norms and standards of practice

Before discussing the four legal documents mentioned above, it is imperative to examine how scholars view the importance of translation NSPs, and to show how relevant these NSPs are to court interpreting. Schäffner (1998) maintains that the concept of 'norms' is one which has been used differently within the field of Translation Studies, and of which the value was asserted strongly as well as being called into question. She maintains that research in this field has been concerned with the description of actual translation, and the formulation of general principles and practical translations. As such, Schäffner is of the opinion that norms play an important role with regard to these aspects since these descriptions, as mentioned above, are related to assumptions and expectations about the correctness or appropriateness of translations. According to Schäffner (1998), Bartsch (1987) applied the concept of 'norms' to linguistics, and differentiated between product norms and production norms. According to Bartsch (1987), product norms concern the correctness regarding the language system, and production norms concern the methods and strategies by which the correct product can be achieved.

With regard to what has been stated in the paragraph above, norms are relevant to court interpreting as interpreting is a process of interaction between people and must therefore be regulated in one way or another. One of the ways of doing this is by introducing norms to regulate the process of interpreting itself, and also to regulate the conduct of practitioners who offer the service. According to Schäffner (1998), the concept of 'norms' plays an important role in linguistic approaches to translation as it is concerned with the linguistic norms of the two languages. Firstly, norms relate to how utterances and texts, that are correct according to the respective rules and norms, are produced. Secondly, they relate to the relations and regularities between the two linguistic systems that were discovered on the basis of contrastive analyses, which were then translated into guidelines or rules for the translator, mostly with prescriptive intent.

The importance of NSPs in relation to court interpreting lies in the fact that court interpreting involves sociocultural factors and, as a result, court interpreters have to follow certain norms and meet certain criteria in order to be able to carry out their task as expected and in an

acceptable manner. These criteria involve the standards of practice which entail the requirement to be admitted or appointed as a court interpreter. For instance, people who may be appointed as court interpreters could be those who possess certain qualifications relating to interpreting, as well as certain basic skills in interpreting or communication. People who meet these criteria can then be recruited and trained to become court interpreters as they have certain foundations upon which interpreting skills can be built. The expectation in this instance involves how the source-language speaker wants his or her message to be sent across to the target-language speaker in a manner that will achieve the aims of the message. For example, if the source-language speaker sends a message that will prompt the target-language speaker to respond, the source-language speaker would expect a response from the target-language speaker.

On the other hand, the target-language speaker has to acknowledge the interpreted version of the source language. This means that the version that the target-language speaker hears from the court interpreter, which is what the interpreter says was said by the source-language speaker, must be produced according to the target-language speaker's existing linguistic systems and features. In other words, the language systems have to be those used by such speakers in their natural sense, i.e. the normal way of speaking that particular language, without any stiltedness features which will make the language unacceptable. Therefore, norms play an important part in the transfer of the message as they guide court interpreters in the production of utterances that are correct and acceptable according to the linguistic systems and regularities of the languages concerned. This can be determined by way of contrastive analysis, where the utterances of both the source and target language are compared to see whether the production (i.e. the interpretation) is correct and accurately represents the source language.

4.   Discussion of norms

Some translation scholars (cf. Schäffner 1998; Hermans 1996, 2013; Chesterman 1997) are of the view that the concept of 'norms' was first applied in the context of translation studies by Toury, who argued that translation, in its sociocultural dimension, is subject to constraints of several types and to varying degrees. Toury (1995) observes that, in terms of their potency, sociocultural constraints have been described along a scale, with general, relatively absolute rules on the one end, and pure idiosyncrasies on the other. Between these two poles lies a vast middle-ground occupied by intersubjective factors such as commonly designated norms. These norms form a graded continuum along the scale; some are stronger and more stringent, while others are weaker and almost idiosyncratic (Toury 1995).

Toury (1995:14) defines norms as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations". These norms are sociocultural constraints specific to a culture, society and time, and an individual acquires these norms through the general processes of education and socialisation (Toury 1995). He uses the term "norm" as a descriptive analytical category to be studied through the behaviour selected on a regular basis by translators in a given sociohistorical context. In his view, "translatorship", first and foremost, plays a social role through the fulfilment of a function allotted by a community to the activity, its practitioners and/or products, in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference. The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour, and for manoeuvring between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment

(Duflou 2007). For Toury (1995), translation is an activity governed by norms which determine the equivalence manifested in actual translations.

Toury (1995) differentiates between three kinds of norms operating at different stages. The first is what he calls "initial norms", which are general choices made by translators. Translators can subject themselves to the norms realised in a source text (ST), or to those of the target culture or language. In the case of the former, the target text (TT) will then be adequate; if the norms of the target culture prevail, then the TT will be acceptable. The second kind of norm is what Toury (1995) calls "preliminary norms". These refer to the translation policy that determines the selection of texts for translation in a specific language, culture and time. Finally, "operational norms" describe the presentation and linguistic matter of the TT. These norms relate to issues of completeness regarding the TT.

Hermans (1996) holds the same view and states that norms, like rules and conventions, are psychological and social entities, and have a socially regulatory function as they constitute an important factor in the interaction between people. Norms help to bring about the coordination required for continued coexistence with others. By doing so, they safeguard the conditions of the collective sphere as they mediate between this entity and the individual, as well as between an individual's intentions, choices and actions, and the collectively held beliefs, values and preferences. Norms contribute to the stability and uncertainty that spring from an inability to control time and predict the actions of fellow human beings. The reduction of contingency brought about by norms is a matter of generalising from past experience, and making reasonably reliable, more-or-less prescriptive projections concerning similar types of situations in the future (Hermans 1996). Hermans (1996) further states that norms are prescriptive rules which have a normative semantic load, and are used to guide, control or change the behaviour of agents with decision-making capacities. According to him, norms tell individual members of a community not just how everyone else expects them to behave in a given situation, but how they ought to behave. He also states that norms imply that the community has agreed that a certain behaviour or action should be adopted as proper or correct (Hermans 1996).

In his discussion of norms, Chesterman (1997) notes that all norms exert a prescriptive pressure; he thus proposes another set of norms covering Toury's initial and operational norms. These include product or expectancy norms and process or professional norms. Product or expectancy norms are established by the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like. Chesterman raises two important issues regarding expectancy norms: firstly, they allow evaluative judgements about translations, since readers have a notion of what is an "appropriate" or "acceptable" translation of the specific text variety, and will approve of a translator who conforms to these expectations. Secondly, these norms are sometimes "validated by a norm-authority of some kind" (Chesterman 1997). For example, a translation should meet the target-language criteria of readability and fluency (Munday 2008:117).

Professional norms, on the other hand, regulate the translation process itself, and are subordinate to and determined by expectancy norms. Chesterman (1997) proposes three kinds of professional norms: the first is the accountability norm, which is an ethical norm dealing with professional standards of integrity and thoroughness. It means that the translator accepts responsibility for the work produced for the commissioner and reader. The second is the communication or social norm. Here, the translator or the communication expert works to

ensure maximum communication between the parties. Finally, the relation or linguistic norm deals with the relation between the ST and TT. Chesterman (1997) observes that professional norms are validated partly by norm authorities, such as professionals and professional bodies, and partly by their very existence.

The three kinds of professional norms proposed by Chesterman (1997) are also applicable to court interpreters. The accountability norm ensures that court interpreters accept responsibility for their product – the rendered interpreting message passed on to the listener who receives that interpretation. The communication norm ensures that the listener receives an interpretation that is clear and can be understood without difficulty or misunderstanding. Finally, the relation norm ensures that the interpretation received by the listener matches the source-language message.

The discussion above indicates how translation is subject to and should be governed by norms. Hermans (2013) is of the view that the importance of the concept of 'norms' in translation is that it allows for a revision of the traditional notion of what constitutes a correct translation; considered from a norm-theoretical point of view, correctness in translation cannot be predetermined but is a matter of compliance with prevailing norms of translation. Toury (1995) argued that norms in translation give substance to equivalence and, in his view, if a text is accepted as a translation, it follows axiomatically that the relation of equivalence between the translation and its original stands, as norms determine the concrete shape of that equivalence relation in specific instances.

On the other hand, interpreting, which also falls within the broad definition of translation, is bound to be affected by norms as, like translation, interpreting is a sociocultural activity which involves communication between two or more people (Toury 1995). Toury's argument is based on his definition of norms as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations" (Toury 1995:14). Schjoldager (1995, in Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002) confirms this notion and states that interpreting as a behavioural activity must also be governed by norms as interpreters need these norms to help them select appropriate solutions to the problems they encounter. Mikkelson (2008) observes that most of the norms governing court interpreters in different countries emphasise the requirement for messages to be interpreted faithfully and completely. She quotes an example of Canon 1 of the US Model Code, which states that:

> [i]nterpreters shall render a complete and accurate interpretation
> or sight interpretation, without altering, omitting, or adding
> anything to what is stated or written, and without explanation.
>
> (Mikkelson 2008:1)

5.   Discussion of standards of practice

Many countries have laid down standards of practice for court interpreters or a code of ethics stipulated by law and by which all court interpreters employed in those countries must abide. In the US, the interpreters' code originated with the Court Interpreters Act of 1978 at a time when ad hoc interpreters were the norm and administrators sought to suppress "non-professional" behaviour (Camayd-Freixas 2011).

Meulenbergs, Verpeet, Schotsmans and Gastmans (2004) define "standards of practice" as a set of professional guidelines grounded in a code of ethics which encompasses related values and principles. These standards are often used to identify desired qualifications, specify expectations and evaluate the execution of required skills within a given profession. However, these standards of practice function externally as guiding principles for interpreters, unlike norms which function internally (i.e. during the process of interpreting). Furthermore, these standards of practice are more like a code of conduct which interpreters must follow, from the acceptance of the interpreting assignment until the finalisation thereof.

Tseng (1992), in his model of the professionalisation of court interpreting, refers to standards of practice as a code of ethics. He observes that the enforcement of a code of ethics is crucial because it functions externally as one of the bargaining chips to earn public interest, and internally as an indispensable tool for internal control.

In Denmark, the Danish Administration of Justice Act XI of 1994, as amended by Legal Notice 425 of 2007, was proclaimed in 1994. Section 149(1) of this Act stipulates, among other things, the language of the courts, the provision of court interpreters for those who cannot speak the language of the court, and the requirements that court interpreters must meet in order to interpret in court.

In the US, the most evolved code in the profession of court interpreting is the Massachusetts Code of Professional Conduct for Court Interpreters of the Trial Court. The key to the success of this code is that it begins by precisely setting out its guiding principles. These standards seek to assure meaningful access, protect constitutional rights, and ensure due process as well as equal protection of the law for non-English-speakers (González, Vasquez and Mikkelson 1991).

6.   Legislation on court interpreting in other countries

In many countries, efforts to address controversies surrounding issues of court interpreting have been made by legal professions and professional bodies of court interpreting. In the US, there has been a significant increase in the number of states that have enacted legislation to set standards for court interpreters and that have joined the Consortium of the National Center for the State Courts (Mikkelson 2008). For example, the Court Interpreters Act of 1978 (amended in 1988) mandates the development of a national certification examination at the federal level to test interpreters' linguistic and interpreting skills, which is provided for the assessment of certified interpreters in judicial proceedings instituted by the US (De Jongh 2008). On 26 June 2006, the Florida Legislature authorised the Supreme Court of Florida to establish minimum standards and procedures for the qualification, certification, professional conduct, discipline, and training of court interpreters. The Florida Court Interpreter Certification was implemented on 6 May 2008 (De Jongh 2008).

The National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT), a well-known association of interpreters and translators in the US, was born out of legislation. NAJIT has a code of ethics and professional responsibilities with which all its members are bound to comply. The code came into existence because of the trust that is placed in court interpreters, and the magnitude of their responsibility necessitates high, uniform ethical standards that will guide and protect court interpreters in the course of their duties as well as uphold the standards of the profession as a whole. This code deals with issues of accuracy, impartiality and conflict of

interests, confidentiality, limitations of practice, protocol and demeanour, maintenance and improvement of skills and knowledge, accurate representation of credentials, and impediments to compliance (Mikkelson 2008).

Standards of practice for court interpreters have been re-examined with a view to making them reflect more accurately what interpreters are actually doing or should be doing in the field, and to provide more meaningful guidance for practitioners. Some of these associations have the support of the legal professions and other legal departments in the US (Mikkelson 2008).

7.   Data analysis

The data comprise legal documents dealing with aspects of court interpreting; these include the Personnel Administration Standard for Court Interpreters (PAS), contained in the Public Service Code; the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended); the Oath of Office of Interpreters in terms of Rule 68 (1) of the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended); the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (as amended), and the extracts from court proceedings (Lebese 2011, 2013). The legal documents will be investigated in order to ascertain whether the statement by Judge Williamson (see section 1), in the case of State versus Naidoo (1962), is true. Extracts from court proceedings are analysed to investigate whether there are any norms existing for court interpreters, and if they are being followed during interpreting.

7.1 South African legal documents relating to court interpreters

7.1.1   The Personnel Administration Standard for Court Interpreters

The PAS is a document contained in the Public Service Code which deals with matters relating to court interpreters. It came into effect on 10 June 1994 and is the generally prevailing measure regulating the employment, post-classification, educational qualifications, promotions and salaries of court interpreters employed in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development of South Africa. This document is applicable to personnel who interpret during court sessions. Annexure A of the PAS deals with the prescribed job contents of the occupational class of court interpreters. In the introduction, this document states the following:

> The main object of job contents description is to define, by means of basic job description, posts levels for the purpose of the creation of posts, and not necessarily to establish detailed duty sheets. Departments must still compile duty sheets for separate posts and keep it up to date complementary to job contents descriptions, for purpose of application in practice.
>
> (PAS:11)

Part 1 of the PAS reads as follows:

> POST CLASS COURT INTERPRETER GRADE I/II AND SENIOR COURT INTERPRETER GRADE I/II/III:
>
> 1. Verrig tolkwerk. // Do interpretation work.

    2. Verrig elementêre klerklike werk wanneer hof nie in setting is nie. // Do elementary work when the court is not in session.
    3. Skryf hofboeke op. // Keep records up to date.
    4. Maak opname-apparaat skoon. // Clean recording equipment.

<div align="right">(PAS:10)</div>

Contrary to the Court Interpreters Act in countries like the US, which has laid down standards of practice for court interpreters, the PAS, as the generally prevailing measure regulating the abovementioned issues regarding court interpreters in South Africa, does not mention anything regarding NSPs for court interpreters.

7.1.2   The Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended)

This Act (henceforth the Magistrates' Court Act) came into effect in 1994, and has been amended from time to time as the need arose. Its purpose is, in part, to regulate the proceedings in magistrates' courts as it defines and explains the roles of court officials (e.g. magistrates, prosecutors, lawyers and advocates) during trials. Court interpreters are also involved in courtroom proceedings if they offer their services to any court participant who is not in a position to follow proceedings due to the latter being unable to speak or understand the language used during those proceedings. Such persons can be an accused, a witness or even a lawyer or advocate representing either the accused or the witness because s/he has been given a watching brief. Because of their involvement in these proceedings, interpreters must be classified as court officials unless there is legislation defining or classifying them differently. Section 6(2) of the Magistrates' Court Act states:

> If in a criminal case, evidence is given in a language with which the accused is not in the opinion of the court sufficiently conversant, a competent interpreter shall be called by the court in order to translate such evidence into the language with which the accused professes or appears to the court to be sufficiently conversant, irrespective of whether the language in which the evidence is given is one of the official languages or of whether the representative of the accused is conversant with the language used in evidence.
>
> <div align="right">(Baker, Erasmus and Farlam 1980:10)</div>

The Magistrates' Court Act, however, does not address the issues of NSPs for court interpreters. It would have been expected of the Act to explicitly mention these two issues as they form the core in the function of court interpreters. This would have been the correct way of guiding and also holding court interpreters accountable in carrying out their task.

7.1.3   The Oath of Office of Interpreters

In terms of Rule 68 (1) of the Magistrates' Court Act 44 of 1944 (as amended), every interpreter is required to take an oath or make an affirmation, in writing, before a judicial officer. The oath reads as follows:

> I, ..., (full name) do hereby swear/truly affirm that whenever I may be called upon to perform the functions of an interpreter in any proceedings in any magistrate's court I shall truly and correctly to the best of my knowledge and ability interpret from the language I may be called upon to interpret into an official language of the Republic of South Africa and *vice versa*.

In terms of this rule, court interpreters are therefore required to take an oath before they start to interpret in any court of law. However, the oath does not stipulate any guidelines, in the form of norms, which will inform court interpreters of the expectations they have to meet when performing their task of interpreting.

7.1.4   The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (as amended)

The Constitution is regarded as the supreme law of the country and contains the Bill of Rights, a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa which the state must respect, protect, promote and fulfil. Section 6 of the Constitution embraces multilingualism through the promotion of all 11 official languages. Thus, it protects and promotes the use of the indigenous languages in Government and other spheres of the state. The Bill of Rights provides for language rights for arrested, detained, and accused persons. Section 34 of the Constitution deals with access to courts, and states that everyone has the right to have any dispute, which can be resolved by the application of law, decided in a fair public hearing before a court or, where appropriate, another independent and impartial tribunal or forum. With regard to the issue of language rights in South Africa, there is the demand for language facilitators who can facilitate communication between individuals who do not share the same language. This situation also applies to proceedings in a court of law as English and Afrikaans are the only languages still used as languages of the record. Hlophe (2004) observes that the position explained above poses a challenge for those South Africans whose home language is neither English nor Afrikaans, meaning that there will be a risk of injustice in the South African courts. Hlophe (2004) further states that the continued existence of these linguistic and cultural barriers represents a genuine threat to the effective dispensation of justice in our South African courts. Therefore, interpreters and translators play a crucial role in bridging the communication gap between courtroom participants who do not share the same language. In a courtroom setting, court interpreters have to deal with sociolinguistic issues because of the involvement of the different languages (Hlophe 2004). Court interpreters therefore need some guidelines to help them carry out their task in an acceptable, correct and expected manner. These guidelines would also serve as a protective measure of linguistic rights of those for whom court interpreters interpret.

Section 35 of the Constitution deals with the rights of arrested, detained and accused persons, and Subsection (3)(k) states:

> Every accused person has a right to a fair trial, which includes the right to be tried in a language that the accused person understands or, if that is not practicable, to have the proceedings interpreted in that language.

Section 35(4) states that whenever information is to be given to a person, that information must be given in a language that the person understands. Although the Constitution discusses the linguistic rights of individuals (cf. Sections 6, 34 and 35), it does not mention matters relating to court interpreters, such as the NSPs that court interpreters have to follow in fulfilment of their task.

7.1.5   Case studies

This section contains the analysis of extracts from transcribed court proceedings taken from Lebese (2011, 2013). Although the extracts were used by Lebese (2011, 2013) to investigate whether or not the role of South African court interpreters was defined, they are still relevant for the present study. The relevance lies in the fact that the concept of 'role' is determined by certain NSPs. The present study investigates the role played by court interpreters during trials to ascertain whether they are guided by NSPs in carrying out their task. The languages used during the proceedings were English and Setswana.

The following symbols are used in Tables 1-3 which contain the data extracted from Lebese's (2011, 2013) case studies:

- **+** represents the additions made.
- **–** represents the omissions made.
- **_____** represents non-interpretation.
- **TT** represents the target text.
- **ST** represents the source text.
- **Backtr** represents a back-translation.

7.1.5.1 Case study 1

In this case, the accused, an adult male who was represented by an advocate, was charged with an offence of reckless or negligent driving. What appears in Table 1 is what transpired during the proceedings.

Table 1. Extract for case study 1 (Lebese 2011:353-354)

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
P: As the court pleases your worship. The charge against the accused is reckless or negligent driving. In that on or about the 16th of June 2007, and on Letlhabile-Maboloka road, a public road in the district of Brits, the accused did drive a vehicle to wit, Nissan Sentra with registration number CHC 680 NW, recklessly or negligently. **[ST1]**	A o tlhaloganya se ne o se bolellwa gore ka di 16 tsa June 2007, mo tseleng ya Letlhabile-Maboloka, o draivile koloi ya Nissan Sentra ka botlhaswa le go se tlhokomele. O a tlhaloganya? **[TT1]**	———————

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
	Backtr: (− As the court pleases your worship. The charge against the accused is reckless or negligent driving.) (+ Do you understand what you were told that) on the 16th of June 2007, (− and) on Letlhabile-Maboloka road (− a public road in the district of Brits) you drove a Nissan Sentra vehicle, recklessly and negligently. (+ Do you understand?)	
_____	(− Yes) (+ I do understand the charge.) **[TT2]**	**A:** Ee. **[ST2]** **Backtr:** Yes.
M: And how do you plead? **[ST3]**	O ipona molato kampo ga o ipone molato? **[TT3]** **Backtr:** Do you plead guilty or not guilty?	_____
_____	(− I plead) not guilty. **[TT4]**	**A:** Ga ke ipone molato. **[ST4]** **Backtr:** I plead not guilty.
Adv: As the court pleases your worship. The plea is in accordance with my instructions and furthermore the accused elects to exercise his rights to remain silent. **[ST5]**	_____	_____
M: To shorten the proceedings, does the accused admit that on the 16th of June 2007, on Letlhabile-Maboloka road, he drove a Nissan Sentra with registration number CHC 680 NW? **[ST6]**	_____	_____
Adv: Indeed so, your worship. **[ST7]**	_____	_____

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
M: Do you confirm, sir? **[ST8]**	O a netefatsa gore ka letsatsi le o ne o driva koloi ya Nissan Sentra, ya registration number CHC 680 NW? **[TT8]** **Backtr:** Do you confirm (− sir) (+ that on that day you were driving Nissan Sentra vehicle with registration number CHC 680 NW?)	_____
_____	(− Yes.) (+ Correct, I confirm.) **[TT9]**	**A:** Ee. **[ST9]** **Backtr:** Yes.

In this case, after the court interpreter interpreted the charge for the accused, she asked him the following question in TT1: "O a tlhaloganya?" ('Do you understand?'). According to Erasmus (2009), it is the duty of the presiding officer to direct any procedural questions to the accused, from the beginning to the end of the trial. In this instance, it should have been the presiding officer who asked the accused whether he understood the charge, and not the interpreter.

According to Mikkelson (2008:1), the task of an interpreter is to render a complete and accurate interpretation, without altering, omitting or adding anything to what is stated or written, and without explanation. González et al. (1991) hold the same view and state that the interpreter shall render a complete and accurate interpretation. In TT1, the interpreter has made further additions, indicated in the table by +, which were not present in ST1. Furthermore, in TT2, TT4, TT8 and TT9, the interpreter omitted words (indicated by −). The interpreter did not interpret the communication between the magistrate and the advocate in ST5, ST6 and ST7.

The questions to be asked in this case are the following: firstly, is the interpreter guided by any statute regarding her task and, if so, why did she carry out the task of the magistrate? Secondly, why did she make additions, which is contrary to what Mikkelson (2008:1) states? Thirdly, why did the interpreter omit words as indicated in TT2, TT4, TT8 and TT9? Lastly, why did the interpreter not interpret the communication between the magistrate and the advocate in ST5, ST6 and ST7? These questions will be answered during the discussion of the findings.

7.1.5.2 Case study 2

In the following case, the accused was an unrepresented male charged with an offence of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Table 2. Extract for case study 2 (Lebese 2011:354-355)

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
P: The charge against the accused is that on or about the 28th day of November 2009, at or near Nkele's tavern at Majakaneng, in the district of Brits, the accused did unlawfully assault the complainant, an adult male person, by hitting him with a bottle with intent to cause him grievous bodily harm. **[ST1]**	O latofatswa ka molato wa go otla ka maikemisetso a go ntsha dikgobalo tse di masisi mo mmeleng. Go twe ka di 28 tsa November 2009, gona mo Nkele's tavern mo Brits, o ile wa otla ena mongongoregi, wa mo ntsha dikgobalo tse di masisi mo mmeleng. A na wa utlwusisa molato o e leng gore ba go latofatsa ka ona? **[TT1]** **Backtr:** You are charged (+ with an offence of hitting with the intention of causing grievous bodily harm. It is said that) on the 28th day of November 2009, (+ here) at Nkele's tavern in (− the district of) Brits, you did hit the complainant (− an adult male person) and caused him grievous bodily harm. (+ Do you understand the offence that you are charged with?)	_____
_____	I do not understand the charge. **[TT2]**	**A:** Ga ke o tlhaloganye. **[ST2]** **Backtr:** I do not understand it.
_____	_____	**A:** O tlile mo a re nna ke mo tlhabile ka thipa… (Magistrate interrupts) **[ST3]** **Backtr:** He came here and said that I stabbed him with a knife… (Magistrate interrupts)

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
M: Hey listen. Listen and understand what is said. Don't tell us what you want us to hear. You understand? **[ST4]**	Utlwella ne. O seke wa re tlhalosetsa se wena o batlang gore rona re se utlwelle. Utlwella gore rona ra reng. Ne? O latofatswa ka molato wa go betha motho ka maikemisetso a go mo gobatsa mo mmeleng wa gagwe. Ka di 28 tsa November 2009 ko Nkele's tavern, gona mo Brits, wena o ile wa betha mongongoregi, wa mtheta ka lebotlolo. **[TT4]** **Backtr:** (− Hey) listen. (− Listen and understand what is said). Do not (− tell) (+ explain to us) what you want us to hear. (+ Listen what we are saying, alright. You are charged with an offence of hitting a person with an intention of injuring him on the body. On the 28th of November 2009, at Nkele's tavern, here in Brits, you hit the complainant; you hit him with a bottle.)	_____
_____	_____	**A:** Ga ka mmetha… **[ST5]** (Magistrate interrupts) **Backtr:** I did not hit him… (Magistrate interrupts)
M: Do you understand what is being said? **[ST6]**	O a tlhaloganya se ba go bolellang sona? **[TT6]** **Backtr:** Do you understand what (− is being said?) (+ they say to you?)	_____
_____	_____	**A:** Wa itse ga ke tlhaloganye. **[ST7]** **Backtr:** You know, I do not understand.

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
M: Listen, listen. Either you plead guilty or not guilty. **[ST8]**	Utlwella. Bolela gore o ipona molato kgotsa ga o ipone molato. **[TT8]** **Backtr:** Listen (– listen) (– Either) (+ Say that) you plead guilty or not.	_____
_____	Not guilty. **[TT9]**	**A:** Nna ga ke ipone molato. **[ST9]** **Backtr:** I plead not guilty.

In this case, after interpreting the charge to the accused, the interpreter added "A na wa utlwisisa molato o e leng gore ba go latofatsa ka ona?" ('Do you understand the charge that you are accused of?'). The fact that the interpreter formulated and asked his own question(s) is an indication that interpreters are given latitude. This latitude may allow them to think that they may do as they please, which could result in a miscarriage of justice. In respect of the latitude exercised by the interpreter in case study 2, although the magistrate did not ask this question, the magistrate did not query the interpreter's conduct. Recall that Erasmus (2009; see section 7.1.5.1) notes that it is the task of the magistrate, not the court interpreter, to ask the accused whether s/he understands the charge.

Secondly, the interpreter is interpreting in the second person. There is one instance where the court interpreter says "[…] molato o e leng gore ba go latofatsa ka ona" ('[…] the charge which you are accused of'). In instances such as this, Christensen (2008) mentions that the court interpreter is required to use the direct, first-person style, and notes that this is good interpreting practice. His view is based on the notion that participants must communicate as if the interpreter were not present, and questions and answers should be addressed directly to the person referred to, not to the interpreter.

7.1.5.3 Case study 3

In this case, an unrepresented adult male was charged with an offence of reckless or negligent driving. What appears in Table 3 is what transpired during the proceedings.

Table 3. Extract for case study 3 (Lebese 2011:353)

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
P: You may proceed, take it step by step. **[ST1]**	Ja o ka tswelapele wa tlhalosetsa lekgotla gore ka lona letsatsi leo go diragetse eng. O tlhalose slow gore ba kgone go kwala dinoutsu, ne? **[TT1]** **Backtr:** (+ Yes) you may proceed (+ to explain to the court what happened on that day. You must explain slowly so that they are able to write notes, *né*?) (− take it step by step)	_____
_____	On that day I was driving on the public road. I was on my way to work. **[TT2]**	**W**: Ka letsatsi leo ke ne ke tsamaya mo N4 ke tla mosebetsing. **[ST2]** **Backtr:** On that day I was travelling on the N4 going to work.
_____	The truck was in front of me. I was following that truck. **[TT3]**	**W:** Ne ke setse troko morago. **[ST3]** **Backtr:** I was following a truck.
_____	And the other truck was behind me. The truck that was following me. **[TT4]**	**W:** Ga ke ntse ke latelana le troko eo, e nngwe e tla ko morago. **[ST4]** **Backtr:** Whilst I was following that truck, the one came from behind.
P: So you know the driver of the truck that overtook you? **[ST5]**	A na wa mo itse driver wa truck e e leng gore e ile ya go overtheika? **[TT5]** **Backtr:** (− So) (+ Do you) know the driver of the truck that overtook you?	_____

Magistrate/Prosecutor/Lawyer/Advocate	Interpreter	Accused/Witness
_____	_____	**W:** Ee, ke driver e ka gore ka nako … (Interpreter interrupts) **[ST6]** **Backtr:** Yes, it is this driver because at the time … (Interpreter interrupts) **[ST2]**
_____	(+ Utlwella, Ba go botsa gore a na driver wa truck e e leng gore e go overtheikile, wa mo itse driver wa truck e e leng gore e ile ya go overtheika?) **[ST7]** **Backtr:** (+ Listen. They ask you if you) know the driver of the truck that overtook you, do you know him?	_____
_____	_____	**W:** Ee. **[ST8]** **Backtr:** Yes.
P: Who is the driver of that truck? **[ST9]**	Ke mang driver wa truck eo? **[TT9]** **Backtr:** Who is the driver of that truck?	_____
_____	It is Mr Themba. **[TT10]**	**W:** Ke Mr Themba. **[ST10]** **Backtr:** It is Mr Themba.

In this case, the court interpreter adds information in addition to interpreting in the second person. The interpreter says to the witness, "Utlwella. Ba go botsa gore a na driver wa truck e leng gore e go overtheikile, wa mo itse […]?" ('Listen, they ask you whether you know the driver of the truck that overtook you, do you know him?'). It is not the duty of the interpreter to decide what the witness should say when answering a question, but this seems to be the case in this instance because the interpreter interrupts the witness before he can finish.

Christensen (2008) addresses the issue of the requirement for the use of direct- and first-person style (see section 7.1.5.2 for this discussion); this requirement also applies in the present case study. It is not clear why the interpreter interrupted the witness before the latter could finish saying what he wanted to say. Speculations can be made in this regard, however, they may be true or false as the interpreter involved was not given an opportunity to explain why he interrupted the witness.

The question can be asked as to whether the interpreter's conduct would have been the same had there been norms by which he had to abide. As mentioned earlier, one of the advantages of norms in court interpreting is that the process of interpreting can be regulated. The answer to the question above would be in the negative on the basis that it is not up to the interpreter to decide what the speaker should (not) say. All participants in court address the presiding officer, be it the judge or the magistrate. The interpreter is not the addressee and therefore does not have the authority to stop the other court participants from saying what they want to say; his/her task is solely to interpret what has been said to the presiding officer.

8.   Discussion of findings

The findings in this study reveal that the four legal documents investigated do not mention norms which court interpreters have to follow when performing their task of interpreting. The extracts from the court proceedings revealed that there have been instances where court interpreters would ask their own questions, omit certain information, and add information that was never uttered by the speaker. This is an indication that court interpreters work without proper guidance from legislation on how to carry out their task. Such a situation compromises good court-interpreting practice, and may also negatively affect the outcome of the case, which could be detrimental to the accused or the witness who does not speak the language of the record.

As previously mentioned, the PAS is a piece of legislation which regulates the employment, qualification, promotion and salaries of court interpreters, and is a crucial document for court interpreters. This legislation places huge responsibility on court interpreters as guardians of linguistic rights for those who cannot speak the language used during court proceedings. According to the PAS, it is the duty of court interpreters to enable these people to participate fully during court proceedings by facilitating communication between them and other court participants who speak the language of the record. The PAS, however, does not mention any norms which court interpreters have to abide by when they carry out their task. This state of affairs will leave court interpreters in a position where they create and abide by their own individual norms, rather than adhere to common norms of the profession. This was evident in instances where the interpreters asked questions or explained certain things which were supposed to have been asked or explained by magistrates. One would have expected the PAS to have included issues of norms, as discussed above, so as to guide court interpreters in their task and also to protect the users of their service. A situation such as this undermines the rights of those who depend entirely upon court interpreters in order to effectively participate in court proceedings.

Furthermore, the PAS does not make any mention of standards of practice for court interpreters which leads to a situation where there is no proper recruitment of these service providers. The standards of practice could provide clear guidance as regards the desired qualifications, required skills, registration with a body that oversees issues of court interpreters (such as NAJIT in the US), and language proficiency required for the profession.

As stated above, the Magistrates' Court Act regulates the proceedings in the lower courts and defines the duties of various court officials, such as those of the clerk of the court, magistrates and prosecutors. The court officials, whose duties have been clearly and explicitly defined by this Act, are then in a better position to perform their duties as expected. The Act imposes a

duty on magistrates to provide court interpreters for court participants who cannot understand the language used during court proceedings. However, Section 6(2) does not set out any guidelines for the court interpreters who will be provided by the magistrates. Furthermore, the Act does not set out the qualifications which must be held by these court interpreters, and it does not set out any work-related requirements (for example, language proficiency, membership with a recognised body dealing with court-interpreting issues which also regulates and approves the intake of court interpreters, etc.). One would have expected Section 6(2) of the Act to handle all court-interpreting issues, including defining the role of and the ethics and NSPs for court interpreters.

It is important to point out that the Magistrates' Court Act does not refer to a "court interpreter" but to a "competent interpreter". Interpreters are used in a variety of settings such as hospitals, conferences, churches, police stations, courts, immigration offices, businesses and many others. These interpreters are defined by the setting in which they perform their duties, for example, an interpreter who interprets in a conference setting is called "a conference interpreter", whereas one who interprets in a hospital is called a "healthcare interpreter". The Magistrates' Court Act, however, does not specify to which type of interpreter it refers. It is essential to always refer to interpreters who offer their services in courts as "court interpreters" so as to avoid confusion with other types of interpreter. One needs to bear in mind that different types of interpreters have to be trained differently according to the needs and demands of their work. Conference interpreters, for instance, use simultaneous modes of interpreting, and the training has to be aligned as such. The consecutive mode is mostly used in court interpreting, meaning that court interpreters are trained in this mode as it is primarily used in South African courts. The Act does not define what constitutes a competent interpreter. Consequently, questions that need to be answered include: What makes an interpreter competent? Are there any NSPs for court interpreters which are defined and set out by the Act and which the interpreter must follow at all times in order to be regarded as competent? What measures are used by the court to assess the interpreter as competent? No reason is given in the Act why these issues are not addressed.

The Oath of Office of Interpreters in terms of Rule 68 (1) of the Magistrates' Court Act also does not mention anything regarding norms which court interpreters have to follow during interpreting. The norms should have been included in this oath as clear guidance for court interpreters as to what is expected of them when carrying out their task. The inclusion of norms in the oath would have made it possible for court interpreters to have a clear understanding of the task ahead of them. Furthermore, the inclusion of norms could have been a mechanism of holding interpreters accountable in case they break the oath that they took.

As previously mentioned, the Constitution is regarded as the supreme law of the country. Among other things, it deals with the right of individuals to a fair trial, which encompasses the right of the accused to be tried in a language that s/he understands. Section 35(3)(k) of the Constitution, like Section 6(2) of the Magistrates' Court Act, makes no mention of the court interpreter. It is crucial for the Constitution to deal with all issues relating to court interpreting in this Section, so that the Constitutional Court becomes the arena where disputes relating to court interpreters can be debated and resolved. It is the researcher's view that it is very important for the Constitution to set out, in a very clear manner, all the issues involved in court interpreting, starting with a definition of court interpreting, an explanation of the role of the court interpreter, as well as an elaboration of the NSPs for these court interpreters. The Constitution can even go as far as clarifying vague definitions which appear in the PAS and the

Magistrates' Court Act. The reason for this is that whatever disputes may arise, the Constitution, as the highest law in the country, would be able to be consulted for clarification of any issue in dispute.

The case studies revealed instances where court interpreters omitted and sometimes added information which was not present in the source language. If court interpreters had clear guidance on how to carry out their task, instances such as these could have been avoided.

9. Recommendations

Since the findings in this study have shown the lack of inclusion of NSPs by legislation, the researcher therefore believes it imperative that there should be a statute which deals with issues of court interpreting. The statute should, among others, explicitly set out NSPs as well as address any issues where they are concerned. Another suggestion is for this statute to be included in the PAS, the Magistrates' Court Act and the South African Constitution. The statute could be termed the "South African Court Interpreters Act" (SACIA), and may be divided into different sections and subsections dealing with issues pertaining to recruitment, qualifications, training, role definition, accreditation, registration of practitioners, NSPs in court interpreting (dealing with complaints relating to misinterpretation, appeal procedures, and sanctions), as well as the code of conduct. The SACIA would serve as a regulatory mechanism for the profession of court interpreting, protecting the rights of both the user and provider of court-interpreting services, and would clarify issues that seem unclear in relation to the profession and its practices.

The NSPs contained in the SACIA would ensure that, before they are employed, court interpreters have the required linguistic competence and that they are fluent in the languages in which they state they are able to work. The norms could be termed "Court Interpreting Norms in the South African Courts", and, in accordance with Chesterman (1997), would be divided into three categories: accountability norms, communication norms and relation norms. The accountability norm would deal with professional standards of integrity and thoroughness, ensuring that court interpreters accept responsibility for their product (the interpreted message). The communication norm would ensure that the listener receives an interpretation that is clear and understandable. Finally, the relation norm would ensure that the interpreted message received by the listener matches the source-language message.

Court interpreters should be sensitised to these NSPs even before they start interpreting in any court. The statute should further remove any uncertainties and conflicting views pertaining to the role of court interpreters (see Lebese 2011, 2013). Such legislation will lead to the legal recognition of court interpreters and their services, and thus to a better quality interpreting service in the country which will ultimately benefit all its citizens. The creation of this legislation would serve justice to court interpreters upon whom the freedom of accused persons rests. This would be the first step in laying a foundation for professionalising court interpreting in South Africa, and would aid in resolving the complexities surrounding court interpreters and the service they provide.

The researcher further believes that it is crucial for the legal profession to work together with experienced court interpreters, researchers and scholars – from the fields of Linguistics, Law

and Communication Studies – to develop a body of knowledge on court interpreting that would deal with issues pertaining to the profession.

10. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate whether or not the statement by Judge Williamson was true. This aim was achieved by investigating the four legal documents relating to court interpreters, and by analysing the extracts from court proceedings. The findings revealed that the four pieces of legislation investigated did not mention anything regarding NSPs for court interpreters. The literature review has shown that translation, in its broadest sense (encompassing the concept of 'interpreting'), is a process involving interaction between people, and therefore norms play a very important role because they have a regulatory function (Hjort 1992). Because court interpreting involves interaction between people speaking different languages, norms would apply to the process.

Several extracts from court proceedings were also analysed to observe how court interpreters carried out their task during the proceedings. The analyses of these proceedings have shown that there were instances where court interpreters would ask their own questions, omit information and, at times, add information that the speaker did not mention. Conduct such as this could have repercussions for the people receiving the interpreting services.

The findings in this study reveal the need for the creation of a statute on court interpreting, which could be divided into different sections and subsections. The statute could be called the "South African Court Interpreters Act", and would operate as a controlling measure, dealing with court-interpreting issues relating to recruitment methods, qualifications, training, role definition, accreditation, registration, and also issues of NSPs that all court interpreters have to observe. The norms will enable a better understanding and a clear definition of the role of court interpreters as this role is not clearly defined (see Lebese 2011, 2013). The standards of practice will ensure that the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development recruits candidates who possess the required qualifications and the necessary skills to meet the demands of the profession.

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Die waarde en uitdagings van diensleer vir tolkopleiding: die ervaring van die tolkopleidingsprogram aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch

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Opsomming

Die behoefte aan doeltreffende kommunikasie in 'n samelewing, saam met die taalwerklikhede van die openbare domein, noodsaak dat taaldienslewering in 'n veeltalige land 'n prominente rol speel. Gevolglik word die opleiding van professionele tolke aan ons tersiêre instellings noodsaaklik, aangesien die tolkpraktyk in 'n veeltaligheidskonteks bevorder behoort te word. Tolkopleiers beskou blootstelling aan en ondervinding in die tolkpraktyk as 'n onmisbare onderdeel van die opleidingsprogram vir beginnertolke. Hierdie artikel is 'n voorafstudie wat fokus op die interaksie met taalgemeenskappe en diensleer vanuit die perspektief van tolkopleiding. Winston (2005:223) voer aan dat "practicum, service learning, and interacting with community groups all reinforce the underlying understanding that students need […] to learn through interactive, collaborative experiences with others". Hierdie aktiwiteite is "student-centered learning activities that foster the development of critical thinking, decision-making, and self-assessment that are essential to interpreting effectively and competently" (ibid.). Kritiese denke, etiese besluitneming en selfassessering is kernvaardighede wat studente benodig vir die tolkpraktyk. Volgens die beginsels van gesonde gemeenskapsinteraksie moet diensleer nie as 'n lukraak aktiwiteit beoefen word waar die studente vrye teuels gegee word nie, maar dit behoort ingebed te wees in 'n akademiese kursus en formeel geassesseer word. Studente behoort op so 'n wyse na te dink oor die diensleeraktiwiteit dat hulle verdere begrip van en groter waardering vir die dissipline kry, sowel as 'n verhoogde bewustheid van persoonlike eiewaarde en verantwoordelikheid teenoor die burgerlike samelewing ontwikkel (Bringle en Hatcher 1995:12). Teen hierdie agtergrond ondersoek die artikel die interaksie van die leerlingtolke met die taalgemeenskappe en die rol wat diensleer in hulle opleiding speel. Die diensleer in hierdie konteks is kursusgebaseerd en kredietdraend. Deur die tolkgebeure behoort die studente insgelyks meer kennis te bekom van en ervaring te verkry in die tolkpraktyk, maar ook in die waarde daarvan vir interkulturele kommunikasie. Die bereiking van hierdie uitkomste word beoordeel deur refleksie oor die diensleerervaring van die leerlingtolke. Die metodologie vir hierdie artikel behels 'n teoretiese verkenning van die veld, 'n kritiese ondersoek na die studente se ervaring soos deur hulleself opgeteken en laastens 'n besinning oor die gepaardgaande uitdagings.

Sleutelwoorde: tolking, opleiding, diensleer, gemeenskap

The value and challenges of service learning for interpreter training: the experience of the interpreting training programme at Stellenbosch University

Extended abstract

The quest for effective communication in society and the language realities of the public arena, necessitate that language service delivery in a multilingual country should play a prominent role. Consequently, the training of interpreting professionals becomes indispensable in our tertiary institutions, as interpreting practice in a multilingual context needs to be encouraged. Trainers of interpreters perceive exposure to and experience in the interpreting practice as an essential part of the training programme of these novice interpreters.

This article is a preliminary study that reflects on the role of interaction with the community and service learning in interpreter training. According to Winston (2005:223) "practicum, service learning, and interacting with community groups all reinforce the underlying understanding that students need […] to learn through interactive, collaborative experiences with others". These activities are "student-centered learning activities that foster the development of critical thinking, decision-making, and self-assessment that are essential to interpreting effectively and competently" (ibid.). Critical thinking, ethical decision making, and self-assessment are core skills for students in interpreting. According to community interaction principles, service learning should not be seen as a random activity where students have carte blanche, but it should be embedded in an academic course and formally assessed. Students should reflect on the service learning activity in such a way that they gain further understanding and broader appreciation of the discipline, and a sense of personal value and civic responsibility (Bringle and Hatcher 1995:12).

Against this backdrop, this article investigates the interaction of the trainee interpreters with the language community and the role of service learning in their training. Through the interpreting experience, students should not only be able to gain more knowledge of and appreciation for the discipline, but also the value thereof for intercultural communication. Whether these outcomes are achieved, is assessed by reflection on the service learning encounter of the trainees. The methodology of this study constitutes a theoretical investigation of the field, a critical examination of the students' experiences as documented by them, and lastly a reflection on the challenges involved.

It is envisaged that interaction with the community will contribute to an environment where student learning is enriched and research relevance is enhanced. It is argued that community interaction supports the institutional commitment to reciprocity, redress, development and transformation. This interaction can take on various shapes and forms within the context of higher education as highlighted in the article. These include, among others, community-based research, participatory action research, professional community service and service learning. In its fullest sense, community interaction is the combination and integration of teaching and learning (i.e. service learning). Different forms of community engaged learning can be identified. These forms may be placed on a continuum between two important distinctions, namely the primary beneficiaries of the service (i.e. the community or student) and the primary goal of the service (i.e. community service or learning).

Within the framework of Kolb's cycle (1984:41) for the learning experience, one is fully aware of the educational advantages service learning has for the trainee interpreter. The service

learning component for the interpreting students entails that students should deliver an interpreting service to various linguistic communities. Within an up-and-coming multilingual country, one would assume that it would be rather easy to obtain the appropriate sites to deliver such a service, but this is easier said than done. In the Western Cape there is a great need for liaison interpreters in the healthcare setting (see Levin 2005; Schlemmer 2005; Lesch 2007:74). In accordance with the categories of service learning, as mentioned in the article, both the community (i.e. the healthcare community including the professional service provider and the patient) and the trainee interpreter would benefit from this relationship. However, there are various challenges; for instance, at one tertiary institution the healthcare management are in agreement regarding the importance of healthcare interpreting, but fall short of giving permission to accommodate the trainee interpreters at their institution. The main concerns are ethical issues, including the possibility of incorrect information being conveyed by the trainee and the confidentiality of patient information. One agrees that this is a valid concern, but in a survey conducted by Feinauer and Lesch (2009) at this very healthcare institution, it was established there was only one *untrained* interpreter for this major institution. The gap between theory and practice is evident – to argue in favour of political correctness, but to practice the opposite.

Kolb's concept of experiential learning (as in the case of the trainee interpreter) further explores the critical pattern of learning from *experience* through *reflection* to *conceptualisation* and *action*, returning to further experience. Concrete experience entails direct practical experience. Witter-Merithew and Johnson discovered that when students work together to reflect on their work, they "gain deeper levels of understanding" (2005:45). Reflective observation focuses on what the experience means to the individual and requires observation, examination, analysis and interpretation of a specific concrete experience. Abstract conceptualisation gives meaning to discoveries by relating them to other discoveries, other forms of knowledge; and active experimentation is taking further action and testing conceptualisations (and their implications) in different situations.

Research has shown that service learning is a powerful pedagogy and it involves expertise. For students to have the best possible gain from the exercise it should be structured to enhance student development. This cycle provides the student with the means to create a link between learning experiences, theoretical grounding of these experiences and the real world. Furthermore, it provides room for active experimentation that can transform conceptualisation, test abstraction in practice, and construct and modify the next concrete experience. According to Sax and Astin (1997), the outcomes of service learning are aimed at academic development, life skills, including racial tolerance and cultural understanding (especially in intercultural communication).

As language is often undervalued, it is important to opt for a community interaction activity involving language that demonstrates an impact on the community, but most importantly also adds value for interpreter training purposes. The students should build on their experience and, as a matter of importance, share it with their peers. The interpreting internship, in accordance with Bringle and Hatcher (1995), is credit bearing. Students are required to share their experience regarding problems, challenges, positive experiences, etc. with the group during the practical sessions. However, most importantly, it is expected of them to compile a detailed written report towards the end of the academic year.

Apart from the legislative and institutional framework such as policies, mission statements, etc., it is important, from within the interpreting programme itself, to believe in the value of the internships and to foster the partnerships with the community. It is a primary aim to establish collaborative working relationships with different communities where intercultural communication plays an important role. The importance of a language intermediary therefore becomes important within the extended communication process. These partnerships will provide the potential for a comprehensive framework and strategy for community engagement and service learning for interpreting. However, as mentioned in the article, various challenges remain.

Much of the learning for interpreters takes place in practice where they have hands-on experiences. For students this learning occurs during their practicum where they learn experientially while interpreting under the supervision of a mentor. Apart from existing challenges, lecturers should attempt to develop service learning partnerships and opportunities for students to experience their future career first-hand. This theory, and the four learning abilities of the cycle, directly relate to how interpreting students learn as they advance. It exposes the trainee to relevant skills regarding different models of interpreting, for example the "black box" or advocacy model. From the lecturers' point of view, this service learning cycle also provides the opportunity and impetus for relevant curriculum development.

Learning through experience is an important aspect of training for all interpreters. Service learning should therefore not be done haphazardly, but trainers and mentors should understand the learning cycle and how each step works to guide students or protégés through the learning process. In doing so, the trainee will be provided with "a rich learning experience and an avenue […] to achieve life-long skills refinement" (Bentley-Sassaman 2009:67).

1.   Inleiding

Die belangrikheid van doeltreffende mondelinge kommunikasie kom duidelik na vore wanneer 'n probleem ervaar word en die betrokke tolkdiens nie van die gewenste gehalte is nie of skielik onderbreek word. Dit is nóg belangriker in 'n interkulturele konteks wanneer kommunikasie die vorm aanneem van 'n uitgebreide kommunikasie-aktiwiteit, d.w.s. wanneer daar 'n taalbemiddelaar betrokke is. Dit is 'n gegewe dat taal en taalbeleid deurslaggewend was in die oorgang na 'n demokratiese Suid-Afrika. Deur die erkenning van elf amptelike tale, het die wetgewende raamwerk 'n veeltalige taalbeleid daargestel. Taalgebruikers is egter openlik skepties oor die taalbeleid en die moontlikheid om veeltaligheid werklik in die praktyk toe te pas. Benewens kwessies rakende ekonomiese haalbaarheid, is daar dikwels ook 'n gevoel dat die heersende taalbeleid bloot 'n poging is om polities korrek te wees. Volgens Lesch (2005:16-17; 2004:258-262) vereis samelewingsvraagstukke en taalwerklikhede in die openbare sektor dat taaldiens 'n prominente rol in 'n veeltalige land speel. Uitgebreide kommunikasie met verwysing na die tolkpraktyk en die opleiding van kundiges op hierdie gebied, behoort in ons tersiêre instellings bevorder te word.

Blootstelling aan en ervaring in die beroep speel 'n belangrike rol in die opleiding van hierdie beginner-beroepslui. Hierdie artikel is 'n voorafstudie en besin oor die rol van interaksie met

die gemeenskap en die rol van diensleer vanuit die perspektief van tolkopleiding. Volgens Winston (2005) in Bentley-Sassaman (2009:66) help "practicum, service learning, and interacting with community groups all [to] reinforce the underlying understanding that students need […] to learn through interactive, collaborative experiences with others". Winston gaan voort deur te sê die voorgemelde aktiwiteite is "student-centered learning activities that foster the development of critical thinking, decision making, and self-assessment that are essential to interpreting effectively and competently" (ibid.). Ek is van mening dat kritiese denke, etiese besluitneming en selfbeoordeling noodsaaklike vaardighede is vir studente wat die tolkpraktyk betree. Volgens Bringle en Hatcher (1995:112) behels die beginsels van gesonde gemeenskapsinteraksie dat diensleer nie as 'n blindelingse aktiwiteit beskou kan word waar studente *carte blanche* het nie, maar dat dit in 'n akademiese kursus veranker behoort te wees en by te dra tot die akademiese krediete van so 'n kursus. Studente moet op so 'n wyse oor die diensaktiwiteit besin dat hulle 'n groter begrip van en hoër waardering vir die vakgebied verwerf, en 'n sin van persoonlike waarde en burgerlike verantwoordelikheid by hulle versterk word. Benewens die funksionele taalvaardighede wat die studente verwerf met hulle gemeenskapsinteraksie, is daar ook etiese kwessies soos vertroulikheid wat ter sprake kom.

Hierdie artikel het ten doel om 'n beskrywing van tolkopleiding te gee deur: (i) die belangrikheid van diensleer in die opleiding te ondersoek; (ii) vas te stel hoe diensleer deur middel van gemeenskapsinteraksie deur die leerlingtolke beleef word en (iii) die uitdagings uit te lig wat oorbrug behoort te word.

2.   Tolkprogram van die Universiteit Stellenbosch

Die Departement Afrikaans en Nederlands aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) bied die afgelope 30 jaar 'n nagraadse diploma in vertaling aan. Sedert 2005 is die bestaande program uitgebrei om ook voorsiening te maak vir die opleiding van tolke. Hierdie skuif is genoodsaak deur die taalwerklikheid in die Wes-Kaap, sowel as die toenemende behoefte aan tolke; dus het studente die opsie om te spesialiseer in vertaling of tolking, of om 'n kombinasie van vertaling en tolking te volg. Die program behels een jaar voltydse studie. Die tolkkursus is gerig op generiese tolkopleiding wat 'n *teoretiese* en 'n *praktiese* komponent insluit (met inbegrip van vaardigheidsontwikkeling, sowel as blootstelling van die leerlingtolk aan konsekutiewe en simultaantolking, insluitende fluistertolking). Die program maak voorsiening vir die volgende taalkombinasies: Afrikaans > Engels, Engels > Afrikaans, Engels > Xhosa, Xhosa > Engels, sowel as Nederlands, Frans, Duits of Mandaryns met Engels. Kundiges uit die betrokke taaldepartemente word betrek na gelang van die behoefte.

Tydens hulle opleiding word van die leerlingtolke verwag om tot 'n maksimum van 60 uur verpligte internskap te doen. Die pedagogiese rasionaal hiervan is voor die handliggend, naamlik die blootstelling van studente aan die tolkpraktyk binne 'n professionele konteks. By terugskouing op die leeraktiwiteit, word van studente verwag om na afloop van hulle internskappe 'n omvattende verslag te skryf. Die voordeel van die institusionele veeltaligheid en die wetgewende beleidsraamwerk wat in plek is, is dat die Departement daarin kon slaag om verskeie vennootskappe aan te gaan.

Die internskappe van die tolkstudente het in die onlangse verlede die volgende kontekste ingesluit: hospitale, spraakpatologie, studenteliggame op kampus, studentekoshuise, lesings, omliggende plase, ens. Hierdie internskappe strook met Boyer (1990) om 'n vakleerlingskap-

model te aanvaar ten einde die student betrokke te kry in die gemeenskap. Volgens hierdie uitgebreide siening behels "vakleerlingskap" vier oorvleuelende funksies: ontdekking van vorme van kennis, integrasie (verbande tussen vakrigtings), wisselwerking tussen teorie en praktyk, en onderrig. Voor die studente uitgeplaas word, is dit die rol van die opleiers om geleenthede vir diensleer te identifiseer en verhoudings te ontwikkel. Om studente 'n voorsmakie te gee van hulle toekomstige beroep, behoort opleiers die vermoë te hê om, soos Sawyer (2006:118) dit stel, "bring the field into the classroom and the classroom out into the field, for example through a reflective practicum".

3.   Gemeenskapsinteraksie

Die rasionaal agter die internskappe vir tolkstudente is nie bloot dat dit veranker is in die instelling se beleid t.o.v. gemeenskapsinteraksie – d.w.s. die verwagting van akademici om 'n betekenisvolle bydrae te lewer tot die breër gemeenskap – nie, maar ook dat hierdie internskappe akademiese en pedagogiese waarde het vir die leerlingtolk.

Die feit dat interaksie van die universiteit met die gemeenskap in die onlangse verlede sterker op die voorgrond getree het, het tot gevolg dat gemeenskapsinteraksie nou as een van die Fakulteit se kernfunksies beskou word. Die doel daarvan is om verhoudings met gemeenskappe te skep, daarop te bou en hulpbronne beskikbaar te stel waardeur altwee partye kennis aktief kan ontdek en wedersyds kan leer. 'n Mens moet egter let op die onderskeid wat getref word tussen die definisie van *gemeenskap* in *gemeenskapsinteraksie* en *gemeenskapstolking* onderskeidelik. Laasgenoemde is 'n tolkgenre wat dikwels sinoniem gebruik word met die meer neutrale term skakeltolking.[1]

Die verwagting is dat interaksie met die gemeenskap sal bydra tot 'n omgewing waar die studente 'n verrykingservaring het en navorsing meer gefokus sal wees. Gemeenskapsinteraksie ondersteun die institusionele verbintenis tot wisselwerking, regstelling, ontwikkeling en transformasie. Binne die konteks van hoër onderwys kan hierdie interaksie verskillende vorme aanneem. Dit sluit onder andere in gemeenskapsgebaseerde navorsing, deelnemende-aksienavorsing, professionele gemeenskapsdiens en leer, d.i. ervaringsleer d.m.v diensleer. Volgens Hoover en Whitehead (1975:25) word ervaringsleer gedefinieer as "when a personally responsible participant cognitively, affectively, and behaviourally processes knowledge, skills, and/or attitudes in a learning situation characterized by a high level of active involvement". Diensleer, daarenteen vind plaas wanneer daar 'n balans is tussen leerdoelwitte en die uitkomste daarvan. Volgens Furco (1996:5) is "the intention to equally benefit the provider and the recipient of the service as well as to ensure equal focus on both the service being provided and the learning that is occurring".

In die volle omvang daarvan is gemeenskapsinteraksie die kombinasie en integrasie van onderrig en leer. Verskillende vorme van leer waarby die gemeenskap betrokke is, kan geïdentifiseer word. *Die primêre begunstigdes en die betrokke primêre doelwitte kan op 'n kontinuum geplaas word met die gemeenskap (begunstigde) en diens (doelwit) as die een uiterste en die student (begunstigde) en leer (doelwit) as die ander* (Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) 2006b:14). Die onderstaande figuur identifiseer die verskeie vorme van

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[1] Skakeltolking staan binne die Engelse literatuur bekend as *liaison interpreting* en verwys na situasies waar tweerigtingtolking vereis word tydens 'n gesprek tussen twee of meer partye wat nie mekaar se taal verstaan nie en vir wie dit onmoontlik is om te kommunikeer sonder die hulp van 'n tolk.

gemeenskapsbetrokkenheid van studente en plaas dit op die kontinuum, soos hierbo verduidelik.
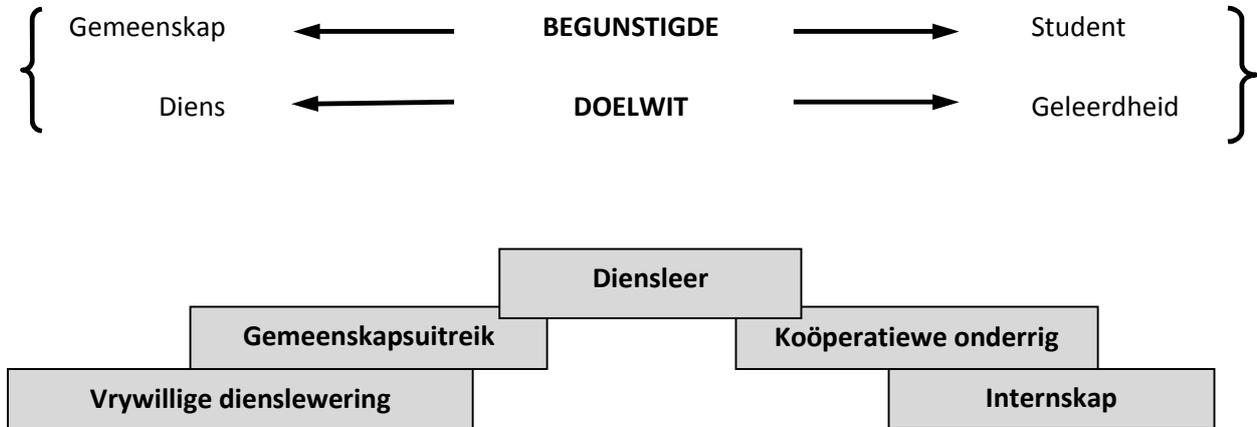
Figuur 1: Verskillende tipes leer deur interaksie met die gemeenskap (aangepas Furco (1996:4))

Die kategorieë van gemeenskapsbetrokkenheid is nie noodwendig geïsoleerd of sluit mekaar noodwendig uit nie. Elk kan soos volg verduidelik word: *Vrywillige dienslewering* is die een uiterste waar studente betrokke raak by aktiwiteite waar die gemeenskap die primêre begunstigde is en die primêre doel dienslewering. Volgens HEQC (2006b:14) is vrywilligerprogramme hoofsaaklik altruïsties van aard. Hoewel studente uit hierdie programme kan leer, hou dit oor die algemeen nie met die student se studieterrein verband of is daarmee geïntegreerd nie. Daarom is vrywilligerprogramme wesenlik buitekurrikulêre aktiwiteite wat buite onderrigtyd of tydens vakansies plaasvind. Die norm wat geld, is dat studente geen akademiese krediet vir deelname aan sodanige aktiwiteite kry nie.

Gemeenskapsuitreik behels ook studentebetrokkenheid by aktiwiteite waar die betrokke *gemeenskap* die primêre begunstigde is en dienslewering die primêre doelwit. Hierdie tipe programme is egter meer gestruktureerd en groter toegewydheid word van die studente verlang tydens die interaksie.

Die ander uiterste op hierdie kontinuum is *internskappe*. Laasgenoemde betrek studente by aktiwiteite waar die *student* die primêre begunstigde is en studenteleer die primêre doelwit. Volgens die Hoëronderwyskwaliteitskomitee (HOKK) is die doel van internskappe praktiese ervaring vir studente waardeur begrip van hulle studiegebied (tolking in hierdie geval) bevorder word, hulle leeruitkomste verwesenlik word en hulle beroepservaring opdoen (HEQC 2006b:15). Internskappe behoort ten volle in die student se kurrikulum geïntegreerd te wees.

In die geval van *koöperatiewe onderrigprogramme* is die *student* en studente*leer* die primêre doelwit. Koöperatiewe onderrig voorsien die student van kokurrikulêre geleenthede wat verband hou met die kurrikulum, hoewel dit nie altyd ten volle daarin geïntegreerd is nie. Die primêre doel daarvan is om studente se begrip van hulle studiegebied te bevorder.

*Diensleer*modules of -kursusse betrek studente by aktiwiteite waar die *gemeenskap* sowel as die *student* primêre begunstigdes is, terwyl diens aan die gemeenskap, sowel as studenteleer

deur lewering van hierdie diens insgelyks die doelwit is. Daarom is wisselwerking tussen die studente en die gemeenskap 'n wesenlike eienskap van diensleer. Die primêre fokus van die programme is om gemeenskapsdiens met vakkundige aktiwiteite soos onderrig, navorsing en studenteleer te integreer. Hierdie vorm van gemeenskapsbetrokkenheid word ondersteun deur die aanname dat diens verryk word deur vakkundige aktiwiteite, en dat vakkundige aktiwiteite – spesifiek studenteleer – verryk word deur diens aan die gemeenskap (HEQC 2006b:14-15).

Ten spyte van die verfynings en toepassings van 'n diensleerteorie, bly die model van David A. Kolb (1976; 1981; 1984) en sy kollega Roger Fry (Kolb en Fry 1975) 'n sentrale verwysingspunt vir bespreking. Deur voort te bou op die idees van Piaget, Dewey en Lewin (Lewin 1951), ondersoek Kolb en Fry (1975) die prosesse wat met diensleer geassosieer word. Hulle beskou diensleer as 'n strategie wat onderrig, persoonlike ontwikkeling en werk integreer (HEQC 2006a:17).
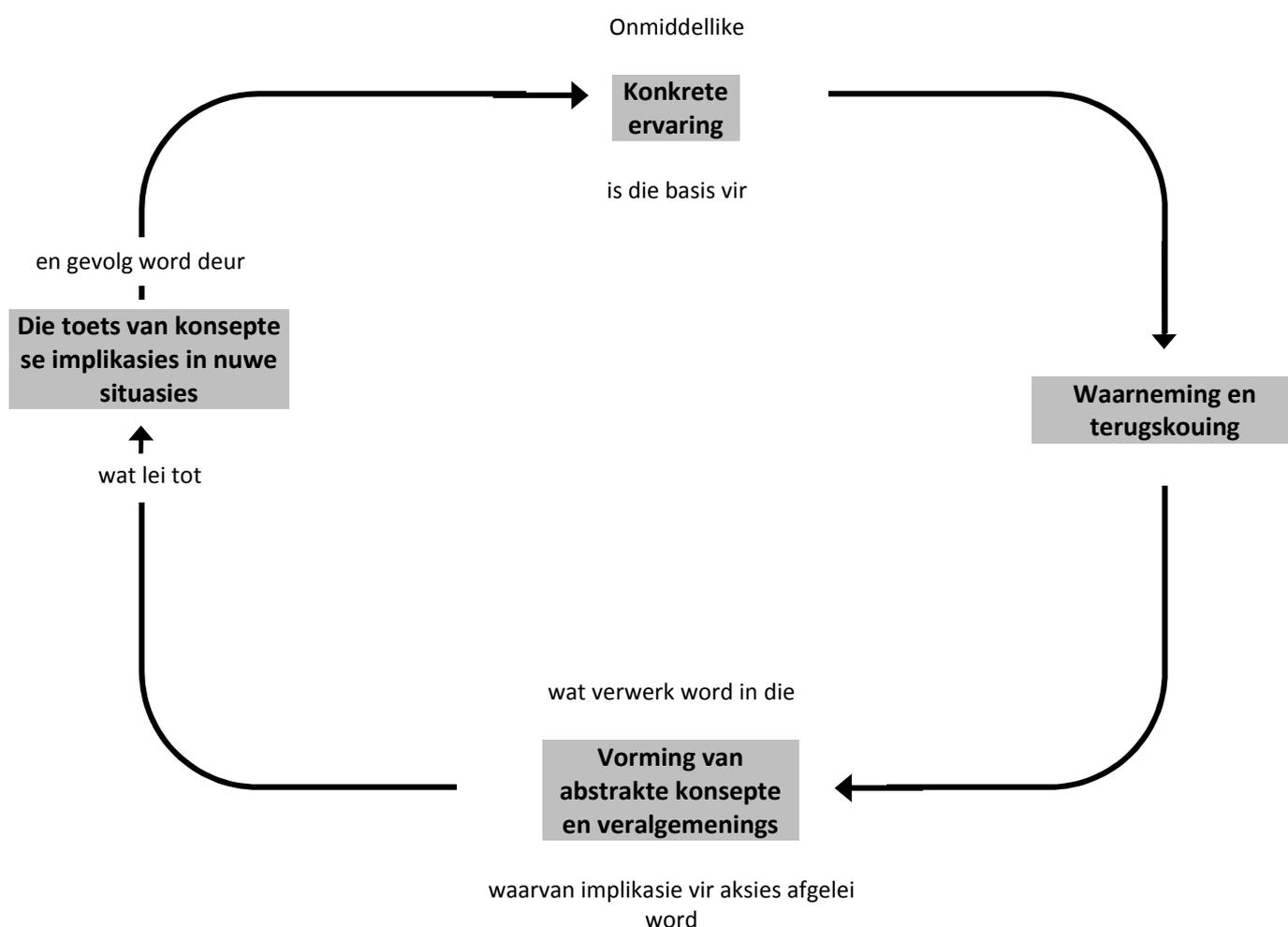
Figuur 2: Kolb (1984:41) se siklus van ervaringsleer

Die kritieke patroon van alle kennis wat uit *ervaring* verwerf word, deur *terugskouing* tot by *konseptualisering* en *optrede*, en terug na verdere ervaring, word deur Kolb se konsep van ervaringsleer (in die geval van die leerlingtolk) verder belig. Konkrete ervaring behels direkte praktiese ervaring. Witter-Merithew en Johnson (2005:45) bevind dat studente dieper vlakke

van begrip bereik wanneer hulle saamwerk en oor hulle werk reflekteer. Terugskouing fokus op dit wat die diensleeraktiwiteit vir die individu beteken en verg waarneming, ondersoek, analise en interpretasie van 'n spesifieke konkrete ervaring. Abstrakte konseptualisering gee betekenis aan ontdekkings deur dit in verband te bring met ander ontdekkings en ander vorme van kennis. Deur middel van aktiewe eksperimentering word verdere optrede geneem en konseptualiserings (en die implikasies daarvan) in verskillende situasies getoets.

Navorsing het getoon dat diensleer 'n waardevolle pedagogiese hulpmiddel is wat gemotiveer word deur kundigheid wat verwerf moet word. Vir studente om maksimum baat te vind by die oefening, moet dit op so 'n wyse gestruktureer word dat dit studente-ontwikkeling bevorder. Hierdie siklus bied aan die student die vermoë om 'n skakel te skep tussen leerervaring, die teoretiese grondslag van hierdie ervaring en die reële wêreld. Verder bied hierdie siklus ook die raamwerk vir aktiewe eksperimentering wat konseptualisering kan transformeer, abstraksie in die praktyk kan toets en die volgende konkrete ervaring kan konstrueer en modifiseer. Volgens Sax en Astin (1997:25-33) is die uitkomste van diensleer gerig op akademiese ontwikkeling, lewensvaardighede – met inbegrip van rasseverdraagsaamheid – en kulturele insig (veral by interkulturele kommunikasie). Al hierdie aspekte is relevant vir die leerlingtolk.

Aangesien taal dikwels as vanselfsprekend aanvaar word, is dit belangrik dat daar op gemeenskapsinteraksies besluit word waar taalgebruik tydens die aktiwiteit onmisbaar is, en taal en wedersydse begrip 'n impak op die gemeenskap het, maar bowenal dat die betrokke gemeenskap waarde heg aan die tolk se opleidingsdoelwitte. Die gemeenskap behoort betrokke te wees by die evaluering van die leerlingtolke. Dit kan egter problematies wees vir 'n hoogsgespesialiseerde aktiwiteit soos tolking.[2] Die studente moet ook voortbou op hulle ervaring en dit is belangrik dat hulle dit deel met die res van die groep.

4. Definisie van *gemeenskapstolking* vir internskappe

Binne die konteks van gemeenskaps- of skakeltolking word *gemeenskapstolking* gedefinieer as 'n aktiwiteit wat kommunikasie fasiliteer tussen 'n openbare diensverskaffer en 'n gebruiker van daardie diens wat nie dieselfde taal deel nie (Lesch 1999a:116). Binne die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks word die term *gemeenskapstolk* omskryf as:

> Someone who facilitates communication between a public service provider and a user of that service who do not share the same language or culture. Why are they called *community* interpreters? This is because their starting point is recognition that the problem of communication between these two parties is not simply a matter of language; it is equally created and compounded by the fact that they are separated by a wide gap of power. This power gap is directly related to class, race and/or culture, often gender and the differential power relations between a professional and his or her lay client. […] Therefore the community interpreter is more proactive: he or she is not only the interpreter, who facilitates the communication requirements of these clients, but represents their interests,

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[2] In 'n voorlopige peiling het ek agtergekom dat die gemeenskap wat talig oningelig is, die leerlingtolke veel hoër aanslaan wat hulle tolkvaardighede betref as diegene wat wel uit 'n taalagtergrond kom. Alhoewel taalgebruik 'n daaglikse aktiwiteit is, is tolking 'n geskoolde aktiwiteit en kan dit vir die oningeligte 'n probleem wees om tolkvaardighede te evalueer.

assesses their needs and helps them to obtain whatever they are entitled to.
(National Language Project (NLP) 1996)

Gemeenskap, soos gedefinieer in ooreenstemming met Lesch (1999b:92), is nie noodwendig 'n demografiese gemeenskap nie, maar eerder 'n groepering volgens die vlak van onderwys. Die ongelyke magsverhoudings en die voorspraakrol van die tolk is van die uiterste belang in hierdie definisie van die gemeenskapstolk.

Vir die doeleindes van hierdie artikel behels *gemeenskap* 'n sosiale groepering van die samelewing wat op enige gegewe oomblik in sosiale interaksie verkeer. Dit verwys na groepe mense wat saamgebind word deur 'n gemeenskaplike ligging, of na groepe mense wat intellektueel, professioneel en/of polities verbind is, d.w.s. enersyds geografiese gemeenskappe, en andersyds praktykgemeenskappe. Hierdie uitgebreide definisie laat ons toe om te fokus op gemarginaliseerde groeperings in die samelewing, terwyl ander gemeenskapsamestellings ook ingesluit word. Die prioriteit binne die konteks van hierdie artikel val op werklike talige interaksie met hierdie groeperings:

- Die aktiwiteit moet interaktief verbind word met 'n identifiseerbare groep in 'n gemeenskap.
- Interaksie moet aktief verbind word met identifiseerbare behoeftes van studente sowel as die gemeenskap. Wat betref leer en onderrig moet daar 'n duidelik geïdentifiseerde voordeel vir die gemeenskap en die student wees.

Die internskappe wat die studente binne 'n spesifieke gemeenskap doen (geografies, kampus, gesondheidsinstellings, op plase, ens.) word alles deur hierdie beskrywing van *gemeenskap* omvat, maar wat vir die leerlingtolk in hierdie geval relevant is, is die betrokkenheid by en blootstelling aan die groep om intertalige kommunikasie te fasiliteer met die hoofdoel om sy/haar tolkvaardighede deur diensleer in te oefen.

5.   Diensleer vir tolking

Die komponent van diensleer vir tolkstudente behels dat hulle 'n tolkdiens in 'n gemeenskap (soos in die uitgebreide definisie hier bo gedefinieer) moet lewer. In 'n veeltalige land is daar op die oog af die aanvaarding dat toepaslike tolkgeleenthede geredelik gevind kan word, maar dit is makliker gesê as gedaan. In die Wes-Kaap is daar 'n groot behoefte aan skakeltolke op die gebied van gesondheidsorg (Levin 2005; Schlemmer 2005; Lesch 2007:74; Saulse 2010: 4-5). Volgens die genoemde kategorieë van diensleer is dit duidelik dat die gemeenskap (inbegrepe die professionele diensverskaffer en die kliënt) sowel as die leerlingtolk baat sal vind by die tolkdiens wat interkulturele kommunikasie fasiliteer. Tydens 'n ontmoeting met die uitvoerende komitee van een van die vernaamste akademiese hospitale wat verbind is aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, Tygerberg Hospitaal, was almal dit eens oor die belangrikheid van gesondheidsorgtolking, maar steeds bly hulle in gebreke om die leerlingtolke toestemming tot toegang tot die instelling te gee. Die hoofbeswaar is etiese kwessies, waaronder die oordrag van verkeerde inligting deur die leerlingtolk en vertroulikheid van die pasiënt se inligting. Dit is geldige redes tot kommer, maar in 'n opname deur Feinauer en Lesch (2013:123) by dieselfde hospitaal, is bevind dat daar net een *onopgeleide* tolk vir hierdie groot instelling is. Die gaping tussen teorie en praktyk is ooglopend – om ten gunste van politieke korrektheid te argumenteer, maar die teenoorgestelde te doen.

Om voorsiening te maak vir die etiese kwessies tydens internskappe, moet leerlingtolke die volgende vertroulikheidsklousule, soos gestipuleer deur die US, onderteken en nakom:

> Hiervolgens onderneem ek om alle inligting waartoe ek toegang verkry en vergadering(s) wat ek tydens my indiensopleiding as tolkstudent sal bywoon, te alle tye streng vertroulik te hanteer. Indien ek my enigsins daaraan skuldig maak om hierdie inligting (mondeling en/of skriftelik) openbaar te maak, sal ek my skuldig maak aan oortreding en het die Universiteit Stellenbosch die reg om die nodige dissiplinêre stappe teen my in te stel met die reg om my ook strafregtelik te vervolg. (Universiteit Stellenbosch [2011a])

Dit is natuurlik debatteerbaar of hierdie dokument volgens wet bindend is en water sal hou in 'n hof. Tog bly dit 'n poging om studente ten minste bewus te maak van die beginsel van vertroulikheid van die inligting waartoe hulle toegang het. Dit bly 'n uitdaging om binne 'n program van hierdie aard etiese kwessies te onderrig en te verseker dat studente dit wel in die praktyk nakom.

Die aanvanklike sessies vir die tolkinternskappe behels waarneming (luister ingesluit) van ervare tolke in aksie. As leerlingtolke moet die studente tydens hierdie waarnemingsessies onder andere waarneem hoe tolke hulle take in 'n professionele hoedanigheid verrig, en luister hoe hulle hulle weg vind met moeilike frases, of hoe hulle terminologie hanteer. In sommige gevalle het die professionele tolke nie die gerief of beskerming van 'n tolkkabine nie, maar omdat fluistertolking gebruik word, sit die tolke dus fisies in die vergaderings van aangesig tot aangesig met onder andere senior akademici. Aangesien hierdie sessies onder meer tydens senior vergaderings by die universiteit plaasvind, behels dit dat studente gekonfronteer word met verhoogvrees, en verg die situasie dat hulle emosioneel sterk moet wees sodat hulle nie verbouereerd raak indien iemand wat na hulle luister byvoorbeeld sy oorfone afhaal of as sy liggaamstaal aandui dat die tolk nie op peil is nie.

Binne 'n hospitaalkonteks sou verwag kon word dat 'n tolk emosioneel sterk behoort te wees weens die aard van boodskappe wat soms oorgedra moet word. Dit gebeur egter maklik dat die emosionele spanning rakende die buitetalige konteks waarmee leerlingtolke te doen kan kry, buite rekening gelaat word. (Sien die oorspronklike, ongeredigeerde uittreksel uit een student se internskapverslag in addendum C). Hieruit blyk dit dat benewens die etiese kwessie van vertroulikheid, die interkulturele aard van die aktiwiteit en haar onsekerheid oor die tolk se rol as raadgewer en vertrooster, die leerlingtolk ook gekonfronteer is met pyn, lyding en dood by die hospitaal waar sy haar internskap gedoen het. Dit is bykomend tot die rol wat tolke wel speel binne gesondheidsorg (Feinauer en Lesch 2013:121-122). In hierdie geval was die student wat dit ervaar het gelukkig 'n meer volwasse persoon, maar dit is beslis 'n aspek wat in gedagte gehou moet word. Hierdie emosionele ervaring kan direk verbind word met wat tydens die tolkmetodieksessies bespreek word met verwysing na een van die hooftemas, naamlik die rol van tolke tydens die Waarheid- en Versoeningskommissie (WVK). Om ander te leer oor die diskoers van die WVK wat volgens Anthonissen (2008:185) dikwels "emotionally charged and disputatious" was, of ander met inhoude "always highly charged […] hearing of torture and death of (a) loved one", en om hierdie emosies tydens 'n tolksessie as tolk te ervaar, verskil hemelsbreed van mekaar. In so 'n geval ervaar die student eerstehands dat die tolk nie bloot 'n geleidingskanaal is waardeur woorde in een taal vir dié van 'n ander verruil word nie (Moreira

2006). Dit is iets heeltemal anders om studente in die metodiek op te lei, as om hulle te begelei om emosioneel sterk te wees om ontstellende situasies te hanteer wat hulle innerlike krag tot die uiterste beproef.

Die tolkinternskap is gestruktureer in ooreenstemming met Bringle en Hatcher (1995:119) in die sin dat dit kredietdraend is. Daar word van studente vereis om hulle ervarings tydens die praktiese sessies – probleme, uitdagings, sowel as positiewe ervarings – met die res van die groep te deel. Die belangrikste is egter die geskrewe verslag wat van hulle verwag word teen die einde van die akademiese jaar. Addendum D behels 'n tweede oorspronklike, ongeredigeerde uittreksel uit so 'n verslag. Hierdie betrokke uittreksel beklemtoon vier belangrike aspekte van professionele tolkgedrag waarmee studente tydens internskappe te kampe kry en wat bydra tot die leerervaring. Eerstens leer hulle om hulp te verleen en dat hulle kan staatmaak op die hulp van 'n medetolk. 'n Verhouding ontwikkel tussen die leerlingtolke en dis maklik vir 'n student om met blote oogkontak hulp met 'n term te versoek, in plaas daarvan om uitdruklik daarvoor te vra. Terselfdertyd leer die passiewe tolk om tydens die hele sessie waaksaam te wees, al is hulle nie aktief besig om te tolk nie. Tweedens leer studente dat hulle nie bloot net kan tou opgooi nie, maar 'n professionele verantwoordelikheid het om 'n diens te lewer, en dat daar 'n gehoor is wat na die boodskap luister. Dit beteken dat *professionele optrede* verwag word van studente. Verder ontwikkel studente *selfvertroue* deur die internskappe, en laastens leer studente om onder druk te werk. Behalwe dat tolke nie die luukse van tyd het nie, maar onmiddellik moet produseer, ervaar hulle ook die druk van die vergadering en moet hulle hul aanvanklike vrees oorkom.

Addendum E gee 'n opsomming van afleidings uit studenteverslae vir die jare 2005 – 2008. Altesame 23 studente verteenwoordigend van die tale Engels, Afrikaans en isiXhosa vorm deel van die korpus wat geanaliseer is. Benewens die verslag wat die studente voltooi, moet die leerlingtolke rekord hou van al hul tolkure. Verder word daar terugvoer verwag van die leerlingtolke en kort besprekings word op 'n gereelde basis gehou om hulle ervarings, probleme, uitdagings en vreugdes te deel.

6.   Die uitdagings van diensleer

Binne die wetgewende en institusionele raamwerk, asook vanuit die perspektief van die tolkprogram self, is dit belangrik om die waarde van die internskappe te besef, en om vennootskappe met gemeenskappe te bevorder. Dit is belangrik om samewerkingsverhoudings te stig met verskillende gemeenskappe waar interkulturele kommunikasie ter sprake is en die betekenis van 'n taalbemiddelaar binne die uitgebreide kommunikasieproses belangrik geag word. Hierdie vennootskappe het die potensiaal vir 'n oorkoepelende raamwerk en strategie vir gemeenskapsinteraksie en diensleer vir tolkopleiding. Daar moenie uit die oog verloor word dat internskappe die geleenthede verskaf om studentetolke deur die loop van die akademiese jaar aan 'n spesifieke aantal uur bloot te stel nie, en dat 'n betrokke leerlingtolk nie noodwendig by 'n spesifieke organisasie uitgeplaas word waar hierdie ure saamval nie. Dit maak die uitdagings (in ooreenstemming met HEQC 2006b:18-19) soos hieronder gelys, selfs nog uitdagender:

Wisselwerking: Om die verhouding tussen die tolkstudente (d.w.s. die tolkprogram) en die gemeenskap (sien weer bespreking onder 4) te bevorder, moet die verhouding wedersyds voordelig wees; dit beteken wisselwerking tussen dié wat bedien word, en dié wat leer uit die aktiwiteit. Dit is belangrik dat die tolkaktiwiteit dienslewering sowel as bepaalde leeruitkomste

moet insluit. Die uitkomste wat bereik behoort te word met betrekking tot die gemeenskap (interkulturele kommunikasie) en dié met betrekking tot die studente, moet duidelik omskryf word. Vanuit die ervaring van die tolkprogram is laasgenoemde wel duidelik omskryf, terwyl eersgenoemde vaag is. In sommige gevalle is die diens wat gelewer word, bloot 'n simboliese gebaar.

Behoeftebepaling: Die kursus word gerig deur die behoeftes van die gemeenskap. Lesch (2005:16-17; 2007:74-76) beskryf die taalrealiteite in die Wes-Kaap en die behoefte aan tolke. 'n Goeie begrip van die taalwerklikheid is dus onontbeerlik vir die opleier, maar studente behoort ook op hoogte te wees van die taalwerklikhede van die gemeenskappe waarin hulle uitgeplaas word. Dit is belangrik dat die diensdoelwitte van die tolkprogram ooreenstem met die behoeftes wat deur die deelnemende gemeenskap gestel word. Hierdie assessering van die taalgemeenskap stel tolkstudente bekend aan navorsingsbeginsels wat nuttig te pas kan kom, sou die betrokke student verder nagraads studeer, en bied hulle ook die geleentheid om verhoudings met die taalgemeenskap te bou voordat hulle betrokke raak. Hoewel laasgenoemde 'n beginsel binne die konteks van gemeenskapsinteraksie is, maak die tydsbeperkings van die akademiese jaar dit bykans onmoontlik vir die betrokke studente, maar die kursuskoördineerder verleen in hierdie opsig die nodige kontinuïteit deurdat gepaste verhoudings in hierdie verband opgebou word. Die realiteit van die breër gemeenskap word in hooftrekke aangesny deur middel van verskillende temas wat tydens die module tolkmetodiek bespreek word. In ander gevalle is die studente vertroud met die taalsituasie.

Ooreenstemming van doelwitte: Om doeltreffende diensleer te waarborg, is dit baie belangrik dat diens- en leerdoelwitte gesinchroniseer word. Slegs wanneer dít die geval is, kan dienslewering 'n bydrae lewer tot kennisverwerwing, en insgelyks kan kennisverwerwing dienslewering verbeter.

Plasing van studente: Die vrae wat hier ter sprake is, is onder andere of studenteplasing geskik is vir die verlangde diens- en leeruitkomste; of daar voldoende en toepaslike toesig gehou word oor die leerlingtolke; of dié wat verantwoordelik is om toesig te hou oor die leerlingtolke voldoende voorberei is en of die leerlingtolke die nodige erkenning kry. Die plasing van tolkstudente is 'n uitdaging, veral ook in die lig daarvan dat die studente aan verskillende tolkmodusse en -genres blootgestel behoort te word, maar dit nie altyd haalbaar is nie. Afrikataaltolke word meer benodig in hospitale (d.i. konsekutiewe of skakeltolking), terwyl daar op die kampus van die US 'n groter behoefte bestaan aan Afrikaanse en Engelse tolke vir fluistertolking (simultaan). Hoewel moderne vreemde tale (Duits, Nederlands, Frans, Mandaryns) in samewerking met kollegas van die betrokke departemente, wel in die kursus geakkommodeer kan word, is die bepaalde taalkombinasies vir tolkinternskappe binne die onmiddellike omgewing uiters beperk.

Reisafstande: Die afstand wat in sommige gevalle afgelê word, is 'n verdere praktiese probleem vir studente se tolkinternskappe. Dit is ongemaklik vir studente, veral omdat hulle nie vir 'n vasgestelde tydperk by 'n spesifieke instansie uitgeplaas word nie, terwyl dit wel vir die vertaalinternskappe gereël word. In sommige gevalle verg dit fyn beplanning om te verhoed dat die reistyd met hulle lesings bots.

Studente-oriëntering: Studente moet genoegsaam voorbereid wees vir hulle internskappe sodat hulle weet wat hulle kan verwag van die tolksessie of die plek waar hulle uitgeplaas word. Die

idee van die waarnemingsessie is juis om die studente te oriënteer t.o.v. die beroep, die werksomgewing en hulle internskappe, maar vir studente om toegang daartoe te verkry, is ook 'n burokratiese oefening. Vertroulikheid van inligting, sowel as etiese kwessies rakende die inligting waartoe hulle toegang het, is steeds rede tot kommer.

Verduideliking van rolle: Die rolle en verantwoordelikhede van alle deelnemers moet duidelik en noukeurig uitgespel word vir alle betrokkenes. Daar moet geen onduidelikheid wees oor die diens wat die studente lewer of oor die kapasiteit van leerlingtolke nie. So byvoorbeeld sal tolke se rol binne 'n gesondheidsorginstelling verskil van dié binne die universiteitsgemeenskap. In die een geval sal die tolke onder meer blootgestel word aan 'n voorspraakrol wat hulle moet vertolk, terwyl dit nie in ander gevalle verwag word nie.

Indompeling: In sommige gevalle doen die geleentheid vir 'n tolksessie dit voor knap nadat die kursus begin het. Met weinig kennis en blootstelling – teoreties sowel as prakties – word die studente dus in die internskapsessie gedompel, en raak dit 'n geval van tolk of sink. Dit is beslis nie ideaal nie, maar omdat die geleenthede so beperk en ongereeld is, word dié vroeë geleenthede aangegryp.

Terugskouing: Voldoende tyd moet beskikbaar gestel word vir gestruktureerde en kritiese refleksie oor die ervaring, sowel as vir integrasie van metodiek en teorie wat tydens die verloop van die kursus aangebied word. Gestruktureerde terugskouing is 'n basiese en noodsaaklike onderdeel van enige kursus wat diensleer insluit. Dit is deur kritiese terugskouing dat diensleer en teorie mekaar aanvul.

Logistiek: 'n Groot uitdaging is dat behoorlike en doeltreffende logistiese reëlings getref moet word met inagneming van studente se roosters, vervoer, veiligheid, ens. Die uitplasing van studente op 'n ad hoc-basis gedurende die akademiese jaar verg uitgebreide en deurlopende logistiese reëlings. 'n Verdere logistiese oefening is die skep van verdere geleenthede (bv. tolking tydens lesings) om die kwota internskapure aan te vul.

Taalkombinasies: Die onmiddellike konteks maak voldoende voorsiening vir Afrikaans en Engels, maar is beperkend vir tolkgeleenthede in Afrikatale. In ander gevalle bied moderne vreemde tale ook 'n uitdaging vir sover dit uitplasing vir diensleer betref. Die reisafstand na die middestad is 'n probleem, en taalkombinasies en tolkgeleenthede bly beperk.

Vennootskappe: Die vennootskappe wat gevorm word, is in sommige gevalle gebaseer op betaling – die praktykgemeenskap betaal 'n minimum bedrag vir die tolkdiens. Die befondsing word teruggeploeg in die program, maar hierdie betaling skep die moontlikheid vir probleme, aangesien die teikenmark gevolglik meer krities ingestel is teenoor die diens. Juis vanweë die "betaling" vir die diens vervaag die hele gedagte van vennootskap en wisselwerking. In 'n beperkte aantal gevalle werk leerlingtolke saam met 'n *onopgeleide tolk* wat drie tale magtig is en wat 'n permanente pos as tolk beklee, maar minder besorg is oor professionele etiket. Natuurlik stel dit nie 'n goeie voorbeeld vir die leerlingtolk wat ingeskryf is vir 'n nagraadse kursus om as professionele tolk te kwalifiseer nie.

Evaluering: Gehalteversekering vir gemeenskapsinteraksie, en dus ook vir die diensleer wat daarmee gepaardgaan, behels dat die gemeenskap by die evaluering van die diens betrek word. Omdat dit taalgebruik is wat ter sprake kom by tolking, is daar die geneigdheid om te dink dat

dit *bloot* taal is wat geëvalueer behoort te word en dat geen spesiale kundigheid vereis word nie. In 'n opname oor die diens is bevind dat die leek neig om té vrygewig teenoor die leerlingtolke te wees, terwyl die taalpraktisyn wat tekortkominge in die student se tolking kan identifiseer, krities is. Dit wil voorkom of die beoordelaars van die teikenmark ook geskool behoort te word t.o.v. die gehalte van diens en waarop gelet behoort te word.

Die belangrikheid van diensleeraktiwiteit vir leerlingtolke behoort geensins in twyfel getrek te word nie. Die studente doen eerstehandse ervaring op en kom in die proses agter dat hulle meer as slegs 'n kanaal is waardeur die boodskap van die brontaal na die doeltaal oorgedra word. Binne die konteks van die program en die beleidsraamwerk wat geld, kan tolking 'n belangrike medium wees vir gemeenskapsinteraksie, maar ongelukkig is dit nie sonder uitdagings nie.

Hierdie vorm van gemeenskapsinteraksie en die gepaargaande uitdagings wat dit bied, kan egter ook vir die leerlingtolk rampspoedig wees. Daar kan nie nagelaat word om te verwys na 'n insident waarby twee leerlingtolke betrokke was en wat die plaaslike koerant, *Die Burger,* gehaal het nie (sien addendum A). Die artikel begin met die volgende sin, wat die leerlingtolke in 'n uiters negatiewe lig plaas: "Gebrekkige tolkdienste by 'n debat oor die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) se taalbeleid het daartoe gelei dat die debat ontspoor het toe andertalige studente 'n Afrikaanse spreker 'n ruk stil geskree het". Soos dit hier gestel word, is dit beslis 'n refleksie op die gehalte van die tolkdiens. Eers wanneer die leser verder lees, besef 'n mens dat die ware probleem ontstaan het as gevolg van die tekort aan oorfone: "'n Tekort aan oorfone vir nie-Afrikaanssprekende studente om die verrigtinge te kon volg, was oënskynlik 'n groot ergernis." Om te vergoed vir die tekort aan oorfone, is dieselfde tolk versoek om oor te skakel na die konsekutiewe modus. Die koerantartikel vervolg met: "'n Tolk [dit was dieselfde tolk wat toe konsekutief moes tolk – HML] se hulp is toe ingeroep, maar sy kon nie die mas opkom nie."

Wat duidelik hieruit blyk, is dat die teikenmark, sowel as die joernalis ingelig behoort te word (verkieslik vooraf) oor die kapasiteit van die tolke en hulle rol – veral in die geval van *leerling*tolke. Hierdie insident het gelei tot die verklaring wat voor elke vergadering waar leerlingtolke diens doen, duidelik vertoon of hardop gelees word as 'n manier om die leerlingtolke te beskerm (sien addendum B) (Universiteit Stellenbosch (2011b). Die doel van die verklaring is om direkte onredelike kritiek teenoor leerlingtolke deur individuele afgevaardigdes tydens die vergadering te voorkom, aangesien dit negatiewe gevolge vir die tolke kan inhou. Probleme moet liewer onder die aandag van die dienskoördineerder gebring word. Boonop kan die betaling ook 'n bydraende faktor wees, aangesien die tarief wat gehef word, sekere verwagtinge skep by die leek. Die betaling is egter minimaal en is eerder 'n gebaar van waardering vir die diens wat gelewer word. Gevolglik kan spanning ontstaan as gevolg van die betaling en die dienslewering. Verder moet daar nie uit die oog verloor word dat taal 'n aktuele kwessie is by die betrokke instelling waar hierdie insident plaasgevind het nie, en dat daar moontlik ook verskuilde motiewe opgesluit kon wees in die plasing van die betrokke artikel.

7.   Slotopmerkings

Die verwerwing van kennis deur ervaring is 'n belangrike aspek van opleiding vir tolke. Soos vermeld in die inleiding, behoort aktiwiteite van diensleer nie lukraak te geskied nie, maar opleiers en mentors moet begrip hê vir die leersiklus en vir die wyse waarop elke stap werk,

om sodoende studente en protégés deur die leerproses te help. Op hierdie wyse sal die leerling voorsien word van "a rich learning experience and an avenue […] to achieve life-long skills refinement" (Bentley-Sassaman 2009:67).

Baie tolke se verwerwing van kennis en vaardigheid vind aan diens plaas – dus deur middel van ervaring. Vir tolkstudente geskied dit tydens hulle praktiese werk wanneer hulle deur ervaring leer onder die toesig van 'n mentortolk (Witter-Merithew en Johnson 2005). Afgesien van die bestaande uitdagings, moet opleiers probeer om vennootskappe vir diensleer, sowel as geleenthede vir hulle studente te ontwikkel sodat studente eerstehands meer oor hulle toekomstige beroep te wete kan kom. Die diensleerteorie neem die student deur 'n siklus van vier leervaardighede. Hierdie teorie en die vier leervaardighede van die siklus hou direk verband met hoe tolkstudente leer namate hulle deur hulle lesings vorder. Dit stel die leerlingtolk ook bloot aan toepaslike vaardighede ten opsigte van verskillende relevante modelle (bv. voorspraak- of begeleiers-, toevoegings- en byvoegingsmodel) en is veel meer ontwikkeld as die verouderde meester-en-vakleerlingskapmodel. Vanuit die perspektief van die opleier verskaf hierdie diensleersiklus ook die geleentheid en impetus vir gepaste kurrikulumontwikkeling.

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Addendum A

Debat oor taal by US ontspoor

Stellenbosch – Gebrekkige tolkdienste by 'n debat oor die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) se taalbeleid het daartoe gelei dat die debat ontspoor het toe andertalige studente 'n Afrikaanse spreker 'n ruk stil geskree het. Vroeër die aand is sprekers egter ongehinderd toegelaat om hul toesprake in Engels te voltooi.

Talle Maties het Woensdagaand in die ouditorium van die J.S. Gericke-biblioteek aan die debat oor diversiteit en die US se taalbeleid bygewoon. 'n Tekort aan oorfone vir nie-Afrikaanssprekende studente om die verrigtinge te kon volg, was oënskynlik 'n groot ergernis.

Die debat was deel van die Tweede Nuwe Hoop-studenteberaad wat deur die US se studenteraad, studentesake en die Adam Tas-studentevereniging gereël is.

Die eerste spreker, mnr. Mohamed Shaikh, kommunikasiehoof van die US, het die studente in Afrikaans en Engels toegespreek oor sy eie ervaring van die taalbeleid en nie vanuit 'n US-bestuurstandpunt nie.

Die US moes hom ná die 1994-verkiesing in 'n groter politieke konteks herdefinieer. "Die US is 'n nasionale instelling en is oop vir enigiemand wat vir toelating kwalifiseer, ongeag sy of haar ras," het Shaikh gesê.

Mnr. Tshepo Mvulane, 'n magisterstudent in internasionale studie, het sy hele toespraak in Engels gehou. Geen student het daarteen beswaar gemaak nie. Mvulane het gesê Afrikaans as taal is nie die probleem by die US nie, maar wel die hele kulturele pakkie wat daarmee verbind word.

Mnr. Piet le Roux, 'n oud-Matie en laaste spreker van die aand, het in Afrikaans met Mvulane se standpunt saamgestem. Sy toespraak is egter kortgeknip deur nie-Afrikaanssprekende studente. Hulle het nog oorfone vir die tolkdiens versoek, maar daar is nie genoeg vir die aand bestel nie.

Anderstalige studente het toe daarop aangedring dat Le Roux sy toespraak in Engels moet lewer, maar hy het geweier. "Ek het my toespraak in Afrikaans voorberei, nie in Engels nie. Die boodskap wat ek wil oordra, sal nie dieselfde effek hê nie," het hy verduidelik. Hierop is hy stil geskree.

'n Tolk se hulp is toe ingeroep, maar sy kon nie die mas opkom nie. Le Roux het sonder 'n tolk in Afrikaans voortgegaan en sy toespraak verkort.

'n Student het in Engels opgemerk: "Hierdie is 'n grap. Wat is die punt om 'n gesprek te voer as ons dit nie kan verstaan nie?"

Addendum B

Rakende die tolkdiens

Tolke is professionele individue wat spesiaal opgelei word om hierdie uiters uitdagende taak te verrig. Aan die US is dit weliswaar 'n nagraadse kursus met streng toelatingsvereistes. Omdat nie alle instellings professionele tolke kan bekostig nie, en u instelling het besluit om van leerlingtolke gebruik gemaak. Hierdie tolke is nog in opleiding en ons dienste kos derhalwe 'n breukdeel van dié van professionele tolke, maar hulle lewer 'n baie belangrike diens en help mee om die taalsituasie op kampus te fasiliteer.

Om enige misverstand oor die tolke te voorkom en om onbillike kritiek te vermy, versoek ons gevolglik dat u die volgende punte telkens baie duidelik onder die aandag van u vergadering sal bring:

- Die tolke wat gebruik word, is nog in opleiding en nie professioneelgekwalifiseer nie;
- Die tolke word voorsien as deel van hulle internskappe en kry dus geen betaling vir hulle werk nie;
- Die tarief (indien enigsins) wat gevra word, is vir administratiewe en bedryfskoste en is nie naastenby vergelykbaar met dié van professionele tolke nie;
- Indien daar enige kommentaar op die tolkdiens is, moet dit aan die bestuur van u instelling gekommunikeer word, wat dit dan aan die koördineerder van die tolkprogram sal oordra, en nie direk deur individuele lede nie.

Ons vertrou op u samewerking in hierdie verband.

Vriendelike groete

Addendum C

The arrangement took place telephonically and […] he told me that I will not be interpreting in the wards because of the fact that some patients' illnesses are to be kept in confidentiality. I was placed at Casualty. I must mention that this is a public hospital which has its diversity. It is diverse in the sense that patients are three different races. There are Black, White and Coloured patients that depend on the services of this hospital.

I had to face my biggest fear in life. There was an old man who was very sick. His family was there with him. This man was so sick; I could not understand why they kept him at Casualty and not in the wards. I just have to sit and wonder; I was not there to interfere with the state of affairs of the hospital. It is with great sadness to report that I saw that old man dying and the family mourning his departure. This is what I feared most since I my childhood. I never thought I would be able to witness an end of life.

I was also hurt when I saw a young boy, who apparently had broken his leg, was sitting there crying because he was in pain. He was being taken for X-rays and the nurse in charge of him was busy chatting with a colleague. The nurse kept on telling the boy that he was making a noise and must keep quiet. I again could not interfere because I was there just to interpret.

Student in tolkopleidingsprogram, 2008

Addendum D

The main problem during interpreting was the choice between certain terms when there were a variety offered and the university does indeed prefer to use one term above the other for various reasons. Another problem was the pace at which the speakers spoke, especially when they were among the audience and roving microphones were not available. In the instance where the speaker standing in the front [with their backs facing the interpreters – HML] posed difficulty in his speech pace, one was able to deduce what he was saying based on the overhead slides that were shown. Another problem was that we became too dependent on the agenda thinking that the meeting would follow its structure completely, while it diverted from it. In some cases after a question was posed to the speaker and an answer involving different terms that were not indicated on the agenda, was relayed.

Our initial act when a problem occurred was always to look at the fellow interpreter in search of their assistance; by writing the word we missed on a piece of paper. If this attempt proved to be futile we would simply pass the microphone over to the fellow interpreter to continue. The first session and after gaining more theoretical knowledge into the interpreting profession through our theory lessons, I was able to move on after a word or phrase was missed or not understood and tried to conceptualise the speech as far as possible to the best of my ability.

On the whole, the programme enabled me to experience the various challenges within the interpreting world … Furthermore, when one is in a moment of extreme concentration while interpreting simultaneously, a technical problem or loss in thought span could occur. There is no fixed solution to this problem; every interpreter has his/her own way of dealing with problems arising in the booth. One cannot simply stop and give up when an audience is watching and waiting on you to relay the message unto them.

After the first session, I started to become more confident while interpreting, being more sure of myself and that I was able to relay a message which the target language listener could interpret within the context of the meeting. The session that was held with the SRC, was definitely the more relaxed session. One could be more positive that the listeners could not deduct a (sic) error on the interpreter's side as easily.

My most recent session at the Tygerberg campus staff meeting with the rector, definitely proved to me that I was able to perform under pressure at first and then calmly ease into the action and do what is expected of me more confidently.

Overall, the practice sessions proved to be of great assistance during my interpreting course. Not only did the course offer me an opportunity to learn and grasp various concepts pertaining to the interpreting environment, but it also offered guidance and support which made the programme an even more fruitful experience.

<div align="right">Student in tolkopleidingsprogram, 2008</div>

Addendum E

Uitdaging of Aktiwiteit	Leerervaring	Aantekeninge
1. Probleme met die plasing van studente	• nie genoeg tolkgeleenthede nie • hospitaal nie gretig om die studente te akkommodeer nie weens etiese kwessies • vrae wat ontstaan by die gesondheidsorginstelling: Wie se verantwoordelikheid is die leerlingtolke by die hospitaal, veral in gevalle waar die verkeerde boodskap aan die pasiënt oorgedra word?	Doen slegs diens by ontvangs of tydens toelating van pasiënte. Beperkte blootstelling waar die dokter met die pasiënt konsulteer. Dit bly 'n uitdaging om al die studente uit te plaas vir hulle diensleeraktiwiteite. Die gedagte dat 'n beter diens en gehaltegesondheidsdiens gelewer word, word as motivering gebruik as die teenwoordigheid van die leerlingtolke in twyfel getrek word.
2. Indompeling	• vroeë versoeke vir tolkdiens na drie weke in die kursus • aanvanklike terugvoering na eerste tolksessie – hulle sal nie die vaardigheid baasraak nie	Weke later wanneer die inspanningsmodel van Gile (1995) verduidelik word, die verskillende vaardighede ontwikkel word (luister, begrip, aandagverdeling, produksie, koördinering) en genoegsame oefeninge gedoen is, begin studente om hulle eie probleme te identifiseer. 'n Meer positiewe ingesteldheid ontwikkel ook.

3. Waarneming van professionele tolke aan diens (ook waarneming van simultaantolke in die nasionale parlement en die provinsiale wetgewer)	• intimiderende aard van tolkaktiwiteit
	• verhoogvrees
	• spoed waarteen die aktiwiteit plaasvind vreesaanjaend
	• sitplekke van tolke
	  - sigbaar vir die gehoor
	  - geen tolkkabines wanneer daar van fluistertolking gebruik gemaak word nie
	• kom agter hoe die tolk moeilike frases of woordeskat hanteer
	• spreker moet hoorbaar en duidelik praat
	• oorfoontegnieke (bv. slegs een oorfoon word benut)
		Verduidelik en bespreek die voorkeure oor die sitplekke van die tolke.
		Die gedagte dat die idee, en nie die individuele woorde nie, getolk word, word deurlopend beklemtoon.
		Gebruik slegs een oorfoon sodat jy in staat kan wees om die ander tolk te hoor as hy hulp wil aanbied.

4. Professionele gedrag	- kleredrag behoort gepas te wees - betyds opdaag vir tolkafsprake - skakeling met hoogsgekwalifiseerde en professionele personeel van hospitaal of akademici van universiteit - vooraf voorbereiding en/of navorsing doen; terminologie - voorspraakrol en onpartydigheid.	
5. Emosionele sterkte	- hospitaal – word met pyn, lyding en uiteindelik die dood gekonfronteer - selfs vergaderings waar afdanking en rasionalisering ter sprake kom	Volwasse studente wat gelukkig die emosies tot 'n sekere mate kon hanteer. Hoe word studente regtig voorberei vir die emosionele konteks waarbinne kommunikasie mag geskied? Verwys onder meer na die WVK (sien elders in die artikel), maar daar is 'n gaping tussen emosioneel-uitdagende kontekste en om bloot 'n lesing aan te bied oor ander persone se emosionele ervarings.
6. Etiese kwessies	- vertroulikheid - voorspraakrol - skakel met professionele mense uit die gemeenskap	Uitdaging om studente te onderlê in etiese optrede. Moet met gepaste kollegas skakel hieroor. Bespreek die rolprent *The Interpreter* rakende die etiese kwessies. Vrae wat onder meer ontstaan tydens hierdie bespreking: Van wanneer af geld die vertroulikheidsklousule? Net wanneer jy tolk of reeds vooraf voor jy die tolkkabine betree? *Nota:* Etiese kwessies kom ook ter sprake by die studente wat hul internskap by gesondheidsorg-instellings doen – sien die verwysing na Feinauer en Lesch (2013) elders in die teks.
7. Die tolksessie op sigself	- eerstehandse ervaring van werklike tolkgeleenthede – simultaan en konsekutief; insluitende fluistertolking - hoorbaarheid van sprekers Leerlingtolke behoort ook daarop te let dat hulle duidelik behoort te praat en hulle stem moet projekteer.	Gile (1995) se oorlewingstrategieë soos bespreek tydens die tolkmetodiekmodule word toegepas; Verskillende aksente word ook benut tydens die praktiese sessies.

	• Volume – 'n sagte stem is problematies te hard is ook 'n probleem • Aksent van die sprekers: Afrikataalspreker wat byvoorbeeld Engels praat; of Afrikaanssprekers wat Engels praat met 'n swaar aksent • woordeskat van die diensverskaffer en die kliënt • skakeling tussen verskillende tolkmodusse (sien die koerantberig in die addendum A) • ervaring van fluistertolking m.b.v. die Sennheiser-tolkstelsel • voel ongemaklik en selfs senuagtig wanneer 'n hoorder sy oorfone afhaal • ervaar 'n gevoel dat die tolk waarde toevoeg en 'n diens lewer vir die gemeenskap deurdat mense in hulle eerste taal kan kommunikeer • groter bewuswording van interkulturele kommunikasie • tolkstudente wat internskappe voltooi het, in sommige gevalle direk gekontak om 'n tolkdiens te lewer by sekere vergaderings	Studente se woordeskat word uitgebrei deurdat hulle ook voorberei vir die sessies – bring dit ook in verband met die gravitasiemodel van Gile (1995). Studente word vertroud gemaak met die tolkapparaat. Studente kom ook met spesifieke versoeke na die opleiers, bv. verskillende onderwerpe wat bespreek en dan getolk word om woordeskat uit te brei; hulle wil blootgestel word aan verskillende aksente; interkulturele onderwerpe wat bespreek word om meer kulturele agtergrond en kennis te bekom byvoorbeeld van Afrikatale of moderne vreemde tale. Skakel met die Dramadepartement om behulpsaam te wees met die stemproduksie of vrees vir die mikrofoon en hoe om dit te help oorkom. Mondelinge terugvoering van studente: Verskaf eerstehandse ervaring oor i) die belangrikheid daarvan dat die korrekte boodskap/idee oorgedra moet word; ii) dravermoë van die stem, insluitende toestand van die tolktoebehore; iii) uitspraak (insluitende 'n huiwerige stem) – ook van die pasiënt se kant waar dit in die hospitaal gedoen word; iv) bondgenoot van die pasiënt; v) gebruik en begrip van terminologie; vi) om eenvoudige woordeskat te gebruik of om dit te verduidelik.
8. Vrywillige tolkwerk	• sekere informele samekomste bv. koshuise op kampus en studenteraadvergaderings	Soos elders in die artikel vermeld, verdien die studente geen krediete vir die vrywillige tolkdiens wat hulle lewer nie, maar waardevolle blootstelling en diensleer word opgedoen.
9. Navorsing	• open moontlikheid vir tolknavorsing in openbare gesondheidsorg en spraakpatologie (private gesondheidsorg)	Sommige studente is gefassineerd en hulle belangstelling word verder aangewakker in die dissipline en dit hulle motiveer hulle om 'n meestersgraadstudie in tolking te doen.

Translation technology explored: Has a three-year maturation period done Google Translate any good?

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Abstract
Language users in multilingual environments who are trying to make sense of the linguistic challenges they face may well regard the advent of online machine translation (MT) applications as a welcome intervention. Such applications have made it possible for virtually anyone to try their hand at translation – with minimum effort, at that. However, the usefulness of the output of these translation applications varies. The empirical research described in this article is a continuation of an investigation into the usefulness of MT in a higher education context. In 2010, Afrikaans and English translations generated by Google Translate and two human translators, based on the same set of source texts, were evaluated by a panel of raters by means of a holistic assessment tool. In 2011 and 2012, the same set of source texts was translated again with Google Translate, and those translations have since been evaluated in exactly the same manner. The results show that the quality of Google Translate's output has improved over the three years. Subsequently, an error analysis was performed on the translation set of one text type by means of a second assessment tool. Despite an overall improvement in quality, we found that the 2012 translation contained unexpected new errors. In addition, the error analysis showed that mistranslation posed the largest risk when using this MT application. Users of MT should, therefore, understand the risks of their choice and that some text types and contexts are better suited to MT than others. Armed with this knowledge, translators and multilingual communities can make informed decisions regarding MT and translation technology in general.

Keywords: error analysis, Google Translate, higher education, machine translation, multilingualism, translation quality

1. Introduction

In multilingual environments, language users need all the tools they can possibly use to keep up linguistically. We have to function in a world in which the limits have been moved much further back than those initially imposed on us by our first language. There is no longer a

correlation between "[t]he limits of my language" and "the limits of my world"[1], as Wittgenstein (1922) would have it, and we have to keep up with these shifting boundaries.

Language users in multilingual environments who are trying to make sense of linguistic challenges may very well regard the advent of online machine translation (MT) applications as a welcome technological intervention. Such applications have made it possible for virtually anyone to try their hand at translation – with minimum effort, at that. The output of these translation applications varies in usefulness, however.

Sager (1994:261) describes translation as "a mediating activity", the particular form of which is determined by the text as well as the specific communicative circumstances, for example, the purpose of the communication. An MT system should not be expected to render a translation similar in quality to that which a professional translator can achieve. Sager (1994:262) asserts that MT "has a proper place beside human translation as an alternative technique for achieving different communicative objectives". The variety of communicative objectives of translation means that the demand for translation also varies, and, along with it, expectations regarding quality. The communicative objectives can be divided into three main groups, namely (i) dissemination, where quality is most important (for example, the translation of a manuscript for publication), (ii) assimilation, where speed is more important than quality (for example, the online translation of a foreign-language newspaper article to get the gist of it), and (iii) interpersonal communication, where real-time communication, such as social-network messages or blogs, is translated (Hutchins 2001, Bennett and Gerber 2003:180-181, Quah 2006:89-90).

In our experience at the Stellenbosch University Language Centre, clients do not necessarily make the above distinctions with regard to MT. In the next section, the context of the study reported on in this article will be further explained. Section 3 will shed more light on Google Translate, after which the empirical study will be described in section 4. Section 5 concludes with a summary and suggestions for further research.

2.   The context of this study

We find ourselves in a multilingual environment at Stellenbosch University, since its language plan requires that study material, such as examination papers and class notes, be available in Afrikaans as well as English, whenever possible. The language plan also specifies that documents relating to service conditions should be made available in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, depending on the requirements of staff (Stellenbosch University 2010). Over the past few years we have had numerous enquiries about the use of MT by University clients, often particularly with regard to using the online MT application Google Translate to save money and time in the translation process.

Subsequently, we decided to explore what Google Translate could offer our clients. This resulted in a study of which the first phase will be mentioned (see Van Rensburg, Snyman and Lotz (2012) for a detailed discussion hereof), and the second and third phases will be described in this article. In addition to our own research objective of investigating the usefulness of MT

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[1] Proposition 5.6 from Wittgenstein's 1922 publication *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*: "The limits of my language are the limits of my world". Original German: "Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt".

in a higher education context, we chose to incorporate a client perspective in our research, where possible, and compare and consider factors that we observed were important to clients.

3.   What is Google Translate and how does it do what it does?

Google Translate is a free online application, offered by Google Inc., that allows users to have words, sentences, documents and even websites translated in an instant.

The translations are generated by Google Translate computer systems and are based on patterns found in large amounts of text, rather than sets of rules for a particular language. Although human language users cope with rules and their exceptions, those exceptions have proved to be problematic for rule-based MT. One way around the problems that exceptions to language rules pose for systems aiming to translate is to let the systems discover the rules for themselves – a principle of statistical MT. A system "learns" by analysing the source texts and target texts of documents that have already been translated by human translators.

According to Google (Google n.d.(a)), the texts or corpora from which its system "learns" come from books, organisations such as the UN, and the Internet. The Google Translate system scans the texts it harvests, searching for patterns between the target texts and source texts that are unlikely to have occurred by chance. Once such a statistically significant pattern is identified, this pattern can be used to translate similar texts in future. Google Translate repeats this process of pattern recognition continuously with new texts, and subsequently a database of a vast amount of patterns gets established for the system from which it can draw translations.

Google Translate thus works on the principle of statistical MT. In Schulz (2013), Franz Och, principal scientist and head of MT at Google Inc. at the time, explains how Google Translate incorporates statistical MT as follows: "[…] what the system is basically doing (is) correlating existing translations and learning more or less on its own how to do that with billions and billions of words of text. In the end, we compute probabilities of translation".

The more data available, the better the Google Translate system works. Therefore the Internet, being a platform that contains an enormous amount of data, including an abundance of already existing translations from which the Google Translate system can learn, is a crucial component of Google Translate. Since Google is, among other things, a powerful internet search engine with a mission "to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful" (Google n.d.(b)), Google Translate is positioned excellently for access to corpora on the world-wide web. According to Och, Google Translate's "[…] current quality improvement curve is still pretty steep" (Helft 2010). It follows that Google Translate's output should improve over time as even more data – mostly through the Internet – become available to the system in different language pairs.

Although Google Translate currently supports 80 languages (Google n.d.(a)), there is not an equal amount of data available for those 80 languages. In the case of language pairs that have few documents available on platforms where Google Translate typically harvests translations, fewer patterns will have been detected for those language pairs by the Google Translate system. The quality of translations by Google Translate will thus be lower for those language pairs than for language pairs for which an extensive database of patterns has already been established. For example, French and English are prominent world languages and a prominent language

combination, whereas a language combination such as Afrikaans and English has a much smaller user base. Consequently, much more French–English document pairs than Afrikaans–English document pairs would be available on the Internet, and therefore available for Google Translate to learn from. It would therefore be more likely that Google Translate would produce better French–English output than Afrikaans–English output.

There are also other factors that come into play with regard to translation quality and MT in general. Some languages just seem to be more suited to MT than others. For example, translators working with highly inflected languages such as Greek and Polish indicated that MT underperformed and was thus of little use (Lagoudaki 2008:267). The fact that the quality of MT output depends on the language combination is confirmed by others such as Brasler and Zetzsche (2013), who call the Scandinavian languages (except Finnish) in combination with English "a sort of poster child for output quality". Other languages, such as German (which differs greatly from English on a syntactical level), did not produce the same usable results. Another language pair that is considered "more advanced than others" is English–Spanish; French–Russian output, on the other hand, is of lower quality (DGT 2011).

In a bid to involve users to help improve the quality of translations into their languages, Google Inc. has created the Google Translator Toolkit. This online translation software incorporates translation memory technology, with which translators (or anyone who is interested) can create translations by using translation memories online or uploading their own translation memories to be available to themselves online – and to Google Translate – to draw from. By means of this application, one could gain access to other shared translation memories and glossaries, but the quality of these shared resources is questionable (Bowker and Fisher 2010). Google has also established other ways in which volunteers could contribute to improving some languages; one can sign up as a volunteer, and it seems that a Google Community Translation feature is under way in this regard (Google Translate Blog 2013).

In the past, the quality of the output of Google Translate has been investigated and compared to other MT systems by means of a few translated sentences (Aiken and Balan 2011), and Austermühl (2011) has compared the quality of Google Translate's output of 60 business letters translated from English into German with that of MS Bing Translator. However, we have not found any studies that compare the quality of Google Translate's output from one year to that of the next, for a few consecutive years. Given all the above, the authors of this article wanted to investigate Google Translate's performance in a less prominent language combination – one that was relevant to our immediate environment – for a few consecutive years. Subsequently, our study, containing several phases, investigates this in different ways. The first three phases of the study will be discussed in section 4.

4. Empirical study into the quality of Google Translate's output over three consecutive years

4.1 Investigation into quality improvement in Google Translate's output

In order to determine whether the quality of output has indeed improved for the language pairs that we at the Stellenbosch University Language Centre work with most, our first research question in this article is: Has the quality of Google Translate's output in the language pair Afrikaans–English (AF–EN) and vice versa improved over the period 2010 to 2012?

4.1.1 Phase 1: Quality of Google Translate's output in 2010 measured against that of a student translator and a professional translator

At the Stellenbosch University Language Centre, we often receive enquiries about using Google Translate, ranging from why translation is so expensive "if you can just use Google Translate", to whether we would edit (as editing is cheaper) very suspect translations that usually turn out to be the work of Google Translate.

Such enquiries prompted us to conduct the first phase of our study (Van Rensburg et al. 2012) in which the quality of translation products created in 2010 by Google Translate, a translation student and a professional translator were assessed and compared. Six different text types were translated, one document each from Afrikaans into English and another from English into Afrikaans. Five raters assessed the quality of the translation products. The raters all held language-related degrees and worked as language practitioners (years of experience at the time varied from 6 to 29 years). The 36 translation products were assessed using a holistic assessment tool developed by Colina (2009) for the evaluation of the quality of translations. We adjusted the tool to be effective in our context. For the purposes of this article, we will refer to that assessment tool as the "first assessment tool". Four weighted categories were evaluated in the first assessment tool, namely (i) Target Language, (ii) Functional and Textual Adequacy, (iii) Non-Specialised Content, and (iv) Specialised Content and Terminology. Each category contained four descriptive sentences, ranging from positive to negative statements. The raters had to choose the most suitable descriptive sentence in each category.[2]

As expected, the results of the first phase of our study showed that the quality of the translations by a professional translator would not require a client to spend much time correcting such translation products. The student translator's work was of lesser quality than that of the professional translator, but better than the Google Translate output. The results further showed that the translations by Google Translate needed substantial improvement regarding quality. It was important to show that the professional translator's work was acceptable and useful as it was delivered, whereas the student's work needed a fair amount of revision and Google Translate's output needed extensive post-editing before it would be useful for professional purposes. We wanted to illustrate to clients that Google Translate output could not be used as it was delivered by the system, and that although it may cost them next to nothing to obtain such translations, they would still have to pay for post-editing or try to post-edit the texts themselves to make the translations useful for professional purposes. This may seem obvious to the reader, but in our experience it is not that obvious to some clients.

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[2] Please refer to Van Rensburg et al. (2012) for more information on the raters, the first assessment tool, and how the latter was adjusted.

Another finding was that, of the six text types translated by Google Translate in 2010, slide-show texts yielded the best results, with an average of 46% assigned by our raters. Figure 1 shows the average scores that the different translation entities achieved for the different text types in our evaluation during the first phase of the study.
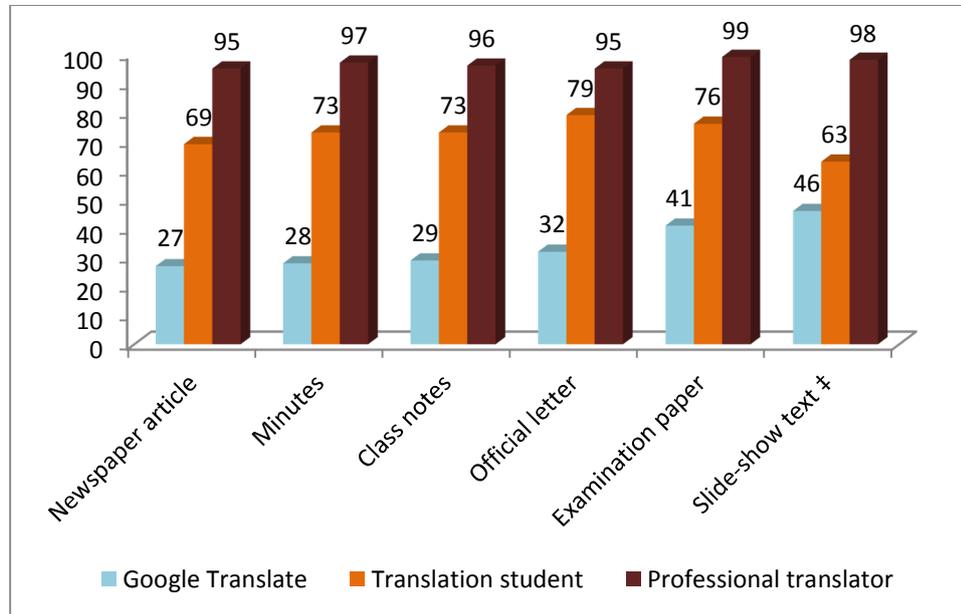

Figure 1. Performance per text type by a professional translator, a translation student and Google Translate in 2010

‡In the original figure (Van Rensburg et al. 2012), this text type was labelled "PowerPoint slides". As explained in section 4.2.1.1, we have since decided to call it "slide-show text".

4.1.2   Phase 2: Quality of Google Translate's output in 2011 and 2012

In order to answer our first research question, relating to whether Google Translate's output improves over time, additional Google Translate translation sets of the initial six Afrikaans and six English source texts were generated in 2011 and 2012.[3] In the next part of our study, those sets were evaluated in exactly the same manner as the 2010 translation sets. We used the same five raters and exactly the same assessment tool. The raters received the 2011 texts early in 2012 for assessment, and the 2012 texts a year later – early in 2013. When we compared each year's combined results to those of the other two years, the results showed a steady improvement in the quality of Google Translate target texts over the three years, in both language pairs (AF–EN and EN–AF), as illustrated in the combined results in Figure 2.

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[3] The 2010 target texts were not made public in any way, so they would not have been available on a platform where Google Translate could have harvested them and improved its translations in this manner.
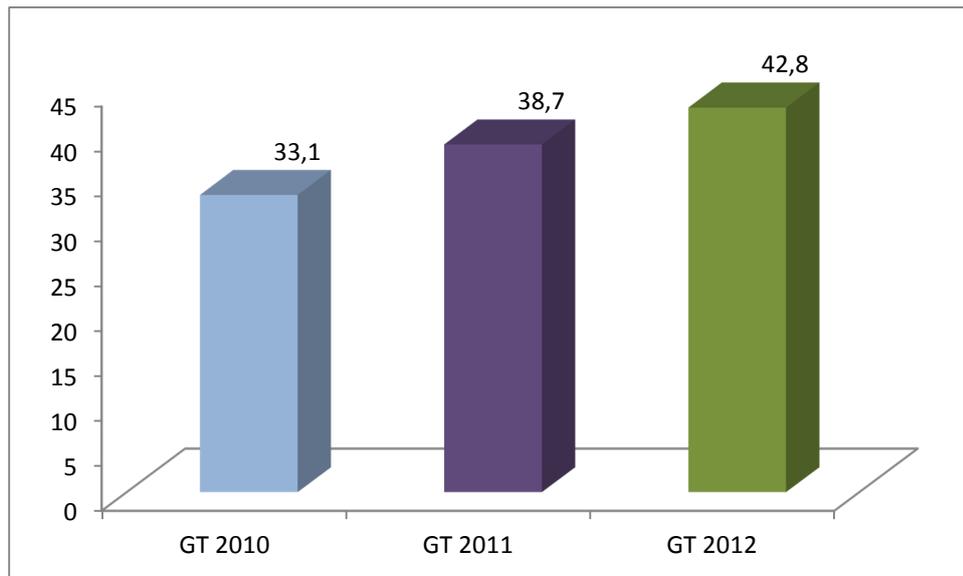
Figure 2. Overall improvement in quality of Google Translate output over three years according to the first assessment tool (AF–EN and EN–AF combined)

Therefore, the answer to our first research question is in the affirmative: Google Translate's average output for the combined text types has indeed improved over the period 2010 to 2012, in both language pairs (AF–EN and EN–AF).

As previously mentioned, our initial investigation showed that slide-show texts seemed to yield the best results when translated by Google Translate. However, when we had a closer look at the results reflecting Google Translate's performance per text type in 2010, 2011 *and* 2012, it emerged that the slide-show texts translated in 2011 scored significantly higher marks than those translated in 2012 – an unexpected deviation in the general pattern of improvement that emerged from the results for the six text types combined. Figure 3 shows this deviation.
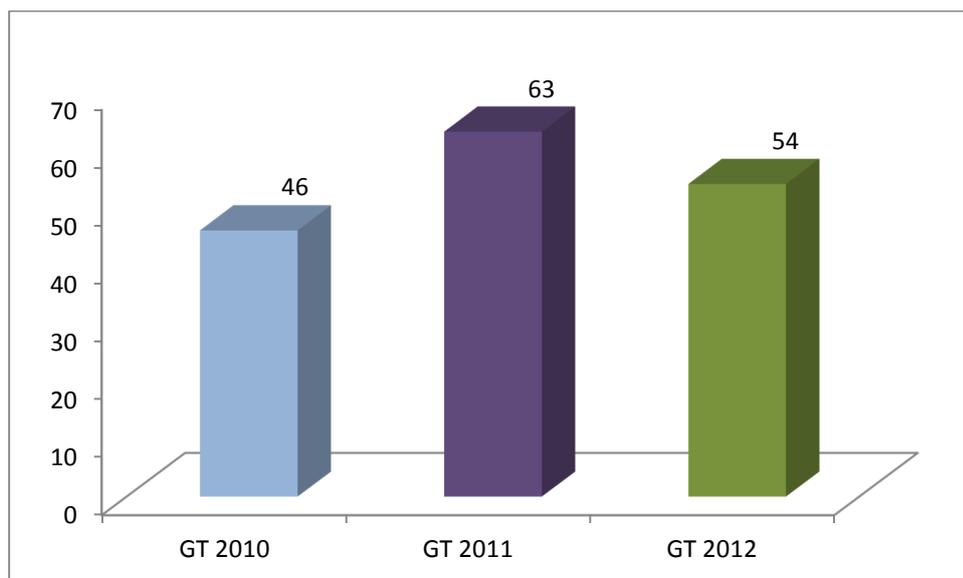

Figure 3. Unexpected results: 2011 translation of slide-show texts scored higher than the 2012 translation

4.2 Phase 3: Error analysis of slide-show texts translated by Google Translate (2010-2012)

Due to the unexpected results of Google Translate's performance over the three years with regard to the slide-show texts, we decided to use a second assessment tool to conduct an error analysis of the 2010 to 2012 slide-show texts generated in the language pair AF–EN. We wanted to determine why the results of the slide-show texts deviated from the expected pattern by (i) verifying the raters' evaluations of that text, and (ii) identifying the most frequent types of errors made in that text type. We chose to work with the AF–EN language pair after we considered the two language directions' results for all texts separately. It transpired that, for all text types over the three years, the AF–EN results were poorer.

Therefore, our second research question is: To what extent do the raters' evaluations of the slide-show texts translated by Google Translate in the language pair AF–EN in 2010, 2011 and 2012, conducted by means of the first assessment tool, correlate with the error analysis performed on the same texts by means of a second assessment tool?

4.2.1   Error analysis

In this article, we use the term "error analysis" to refer to the identification and classification of individual errors that occur in a translated text. According to Stymne and Ahrenberg (2012:1785), an error analysis of the output of an MT system gives an indication of the "specific strengths and problem areas" of that system. This information is difficult to obtain from standard automatic evaluation metrics such as BLEU (Papineni, Roukos, Ward and Zhu 2001) or by having humans rank sentences (Callison-Burch, Fordyce, Koehn, Monz and Schroeder 2001, in Stymne and Ahrenberg 2012:1785).

We also wanted to record what typical translation errors Google Translate made so as to know what to expect from translations by this application, and how to advise prospective users who turn to us for guidance. The evaluation of the quality of MT in general is a subjective process by nature, because – as Flanagan (1994) and Fiederer and O'Brien (2009) put it – the process is based on human judgement. According to Flanagan, the classification of errors may help these judgements "to be made in a more consistent and systematic manner" (1994:71). Different types of errors require different remedies. Therefore, an error analysis could give insight into the post-editing effort that would be necessary to make a machine-translated text useful (Gaspari, Toral and Naskar 2011:14).

Pym (1992, 2010) distinguishes between binary and non-binary errors in translation. In the case of binary errors, there is a clear right and wrong translation option. Such errors seem to be related to grammar and the rules of the target language. Non-binary errors are harder to judge; they involve at least two or more acceptable translation options and still more unacceptable options.

In the same vein, scholars in translation studies seem to have distinguished between language errors in translations and translation errors (cf. Koby and Champe 2013). A language error entails an "error in the mechanics of target language usage", whereas a translation error marks an "error that is one of transfer of meaning" (Koby and Champe 2013:165). While language errors could be common to any form of written communication, translation errors can only

occur when a source text and a target text stand in a specific relation to each other (Conde 2013:98, Hansen 2010).

Despite this distinction, both kinds of error could significantly influence the quality of a target text. Therefore, we took both kinds of error into account in our error analysis. Since the significance of errors in a target text could vary (Koby and Champe 2013:165, Hansen 2010), we decided to distinguish in our analysis between errors that would have a negative impact on the transfer of meaning and other errors that are clearly wrong but that would not influence the reader's understanding of the text, although the quality of the text would be affected (an example of this would be language errors). We kept it simple – severe errors (with regard to their effect on the meaning of the text) were assigned a weight of 2, and less serious errors were weighted as 1. Consequently, the higher the score, the lower the quality of the translation.

4.2.1.1 Source text

As stated earlier, we decided to analyse the AF–EN slide-show text translation products that had been evaluated in the first part of the study. The source text was originally created as a Microsoft PowerPoint presentation for a lecture in social anthropology and consisted of 312 words, forming 10 slides. Since Google Translate cannot translate text in PowerPoint format, the text had to be extracted, hence our reference to "slide-show text" rather than "PowerPoint slides" to denote this text type. Also, slide-show texts may occur in a variety of presentation software applications other than PowerPoint, such as Prezi or Apple's Keynote. The translations by Google Translate of this source text in three consecutive years – namely 2010, 2011 and 2012 – were analysed to identify translation errors as an indication of quality.

4.2.1.2 Framework for evaluation

The Framework for Standardized Error Marking of the American Translators Association (ATA; henceforth referred to as "the ATA Framework") was adapted to perform the error analyses, thus becoming our second assessment tool. Among other evaluation tools, evaluators employ the ATA Framework to evaluate translations submitted for the ATA certification examination (ATA 2009, 2013). The ATA Framework specifies errors by type, and Doyle (2003:21) finds that it provides "a ready-made, standardised, time-tested, and professionally recognized model for conducting theory-based, systematic, coherent, and consistent evaluations of […] translations". The ATA Framework was therefore a suitable basis for the error analysis we wished to perform.

We adapted the ATA Framework used by Doyle (2003:22-23) slightly to provide for errors that may occur in machine-translated text and that usually do not occur in translations by humans (see the appendix for our adapted framework, the second assessment tool in this study). We added two categories, namely Non-Translation: Insertion of Word from Source Language, and Switched Elements; both additions are discussed in section 4.2.2.3. The categories of Illegibility and Unfinished Passage were inapplicable and therefore excluded. Since the ATA certification examination is a handwritten exercise taken within a set time frame, legibility and the ability to finish translating a passage are relevant factors in the evaluation of candidates taking this exam. In our case, however, where we assessed translations generated by a computer, neither legibility nor time constraints were factors influencing the performance we wished to measure. Like Doyle (2003), we coded the criteria numerically, from 1 to 22, and inserted comments

containing the corresponding numbers in the analysed texts to indicate to which category each error in the texts belonged.

The first author performed the error analysis, after which the second author authenticated it. When we disagreed on an error category, we discussed the case until we reached a consensus. At the time of the error analysis, the first author had 12 years of experience as a language practitioner and her highest qualification was an MA in General Linguistics. The second author had 10 years of experience and her highest qualification was an MPhil in Translation Studies. She was also working on her PhD in Translation Studies at the time.

4.2.2   Results

4.2.2.1 Number of errors

The error analysis of the three translations yielded 71 errors for the Google Translate (GT) 2010 translation, 60 errors for the GT 2011 translation, and 48 errors for the GT 2012 translation. This yields intervals of improvement of 11 and 12, respectively. The interval of improvement between the GT 2010 and GT 2012 error count is 23. The results are illustrated in Figure 4.
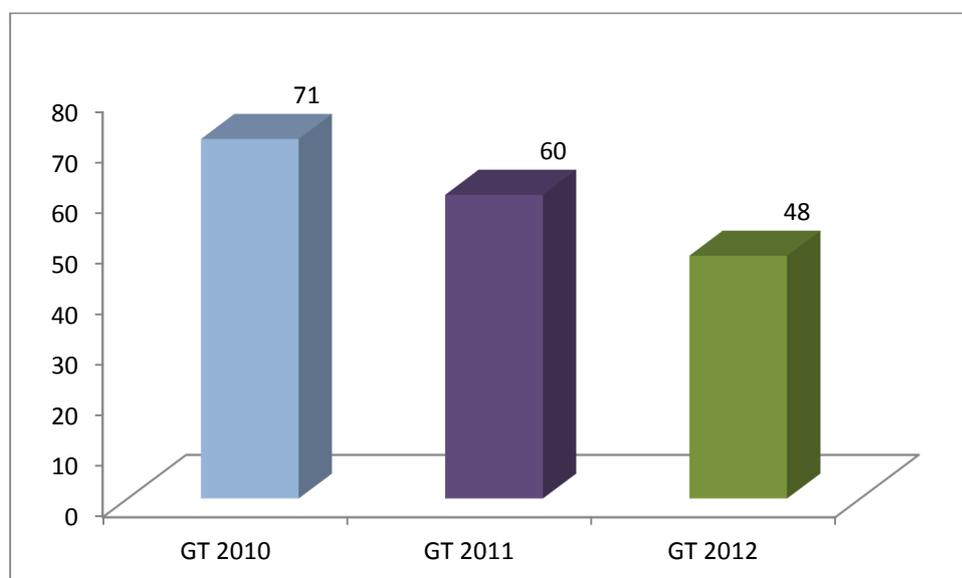
Figure 4. Number of errors in 2010, 2011 and 2012 slide-show text translations by Google Translate

There is a definite decrease in errors over the three years in question, which indicates that the quality of Google Translate's output has indeed improved since 2010. This confirms Och's assertion that Google Translate's output quality for particular language combinations improves over time, since more text in those language combinations gradually becomes available to Google Translate to "learn" from.

4.2.2.2 Weighted error analysis scores

The weighted error analysis scores were 107 for the GT 2010 translation, 92 for the GT 2011 translation, and 69 for the GT 2012 translation. See Figure 5 in this regard (recall that, as mentioned in section 4.2.1, the higher the score, the lower the quality).
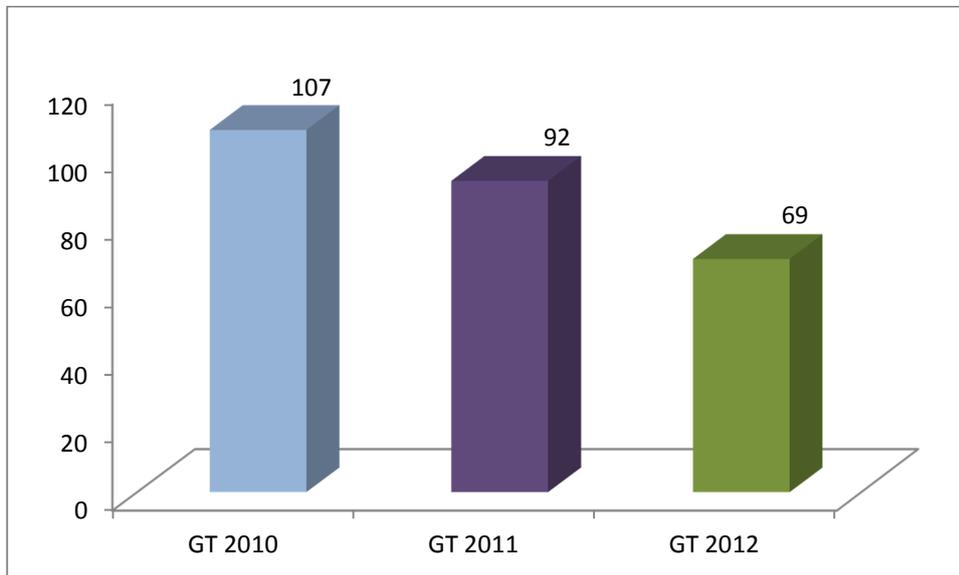
**Figure 5.** Weighted error analysis scores of the 2010, 2011 and 2012 slide-show text translations by Google Translate

There is a steady decrease in the weighted error analysis scores over the three years, with an interval of improvement of 15 between the GT 2010 and GT 2011 translations, and an interval of improvement of 23 between the GT 2011 and GT 2012 translations. There is a combined interval of improvement of 38 between 2010 and 2012. Table 1 shows the number of errors and the weighted error analysis scores of the 2010, 2011 and 2012 translations for easy comparison.

Table 1. Number of errors and weighted error analysis scores of the 2010, 2011 and 2012 slide-show text translations by Google Translate

	Number of errors	Weighted error analysis score
GT 2010	71	107
GT 2011	60	92
GT 2012	48	69

The error scores and the weighted error analysis scores both indicate a significant improvement in Google Translate's output over the three years in question. This once again confirms our finding concerning our first research question. However, the results of the holistic evaluation conducted by means of the first assessment tool for the same set of texts differ from this analytical evaluation. As mentioned earlier, the first assessment results showed that the quality of the GT 2011 slide-show texts was perceived to be higher than that of the 2012 version.

Consequently, the answer to our second research question is that, due to unexpected results in the GT 2011 slide-show texts obtained in the first assessment, the first assessment results do not correspond fully with the results from the error analysis. The error analysis indicates a steady improvement over all three years in question, whereas the first assessment results indicate an improvement only if the 2010 results are compared with the 2012 results, without taking the 2011 results into account.

Upon closer investigation of the individual raters' scores in the first assessment, it became clear that the sharp increase in the score of the GT 2011 slide-show translation was due mainly to two of the five raters perceiving the GT 2011 slide-show translation to be of a much higher quality than the 2012 version. One should take into account that new errors – that is, errors that did not occur in the 2010 or 2011 translations – had been introduced in the GT 2012 text. For example, in the 2010 and 2011 texts, "voorouers" was correctly translated to "ancestors". The 2012 translation used "parents" as a translation of "voorouers", which constitutes a mistranslation according to the second evaluation tool. Another new, prominent mistranslation in the 2012 text was "foreign affairs" for "buite-egtelike verhoudings" ('extra-marital affairs'). Although many errors that occurred in 2010 and 2011 have been improved on in the 2012 text, the errors that were newly introduced in 2012 simply may have borne more negative weight in the opinion of the two raters concerned, and may have tipped the scale for those raters to assign the 2012 text a lower score.[4] This is possible particularly since the first assessment tool is a holistic evaluation tool. The discussion of the distribution of errors in the last section of this article sheds more light on such newly introduced errors.

This brings us to our third and last research question, namely: What was the distribution of errors in the Google Translate AF–EN translations of the slide-show texts in 2010, 2011 and 2012?

4.2.2.3 Distribution of errors

In Figures 6 to 8 below, the errors that have been identified in the error analysis of the translations by Google Translate in the different years are arranged in descending order of frequency. We followed the reasoning in Doyle (2003) that, when the data are presented in this manner, problem areas are revealed more clearly.

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[4] Keep in mind that the raters did not assess the texts comparatively – the assessments took place in yearly intervals.
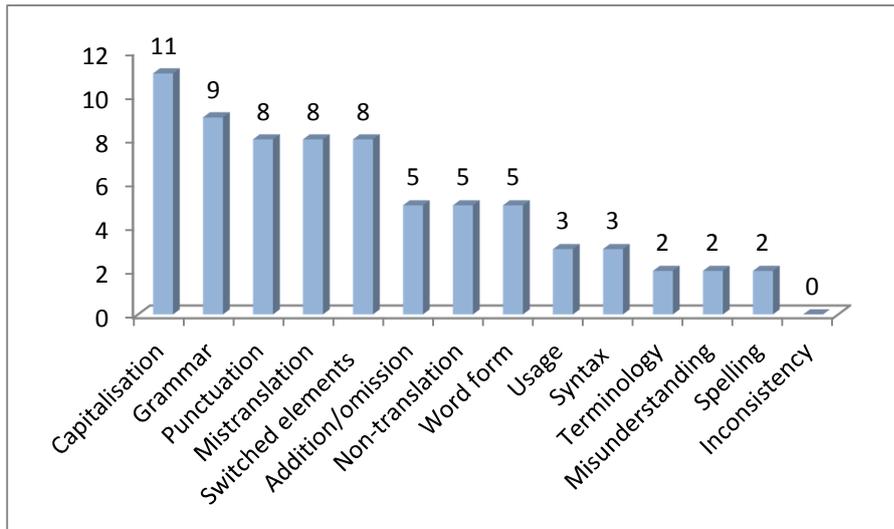
**Figure 6.** Error distribution in GT 2010 translation
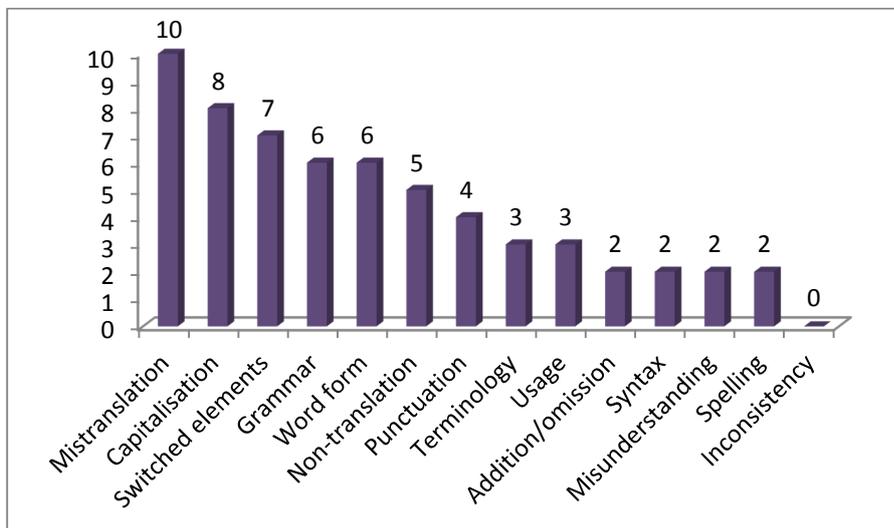
**Figure 7.** Error distribution in GT 2011 translation
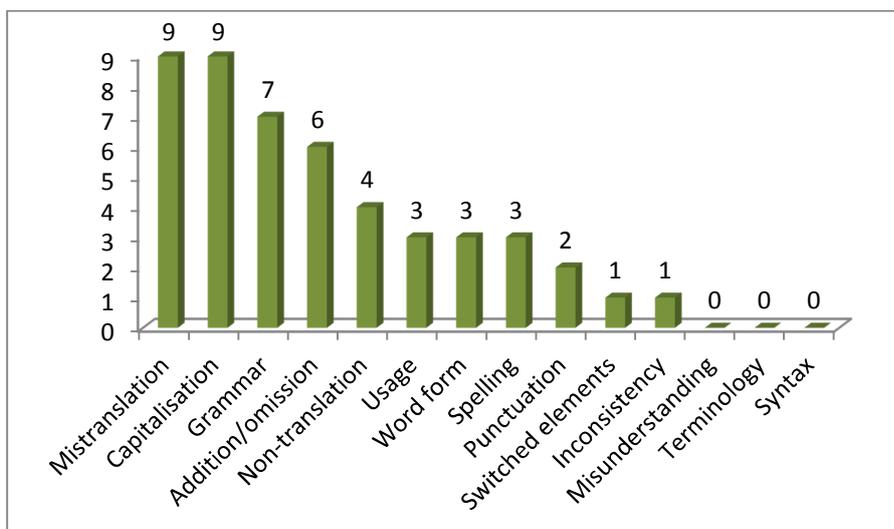
Figure 8. Error distribution in GT 2012 translation

Since the 2012 GT translation is the most recent translation – and therefore the most relevant – as well as the best of the Google Translate target texts, we will begin by discussing that text and Figure 8, mentioning the earlier two translations when relevant.

(i) Mistranslation

Nine mistranslation errors were recorded in the analysis of the 2012 translation by Google Translate. Table 2 contains examples of mistranslations in the 2012 translation:

Table 2. Mistranslations in GT 2012 translation

Source text	**Target text**	**Appropriate translation**
Rituele **mistifiseer**	Ritual *demystify	Ritual mystifies/Rituals mystify
Afhanklikes ontvang slegs 30% **daarvan**	*Dependents receive only 30% of *them	Dependants receive only 30% of that
verkry invloed	*possess influence	obtain influence

* denotes an error

The most entertaining mistranslated phrase occurred with the translation of "bier, handel en **buite-egtelike verhoudings**", which was rendered in the different years as follows:

> 2010: beer, trading and extra-marital *relations
> 2011: beer, *marketing and extra-marital *relationships
> 2012: beer, trade and *foreign affairs

"Extra-marital relations" (2010) and "relationships" (2011) were marked as word choice/terminology errors, since the unmarked form of this would be "extra-marital affairs". This was a borderline case, since the translation may be acceptable, but is not 100% correct. This brings to mind Pym's (1992, 2010) non-binary errors mentioned earlier in this article. With "marketing" that occurred in the 2011 translation of "handel", another mistranslation was introduced, and "extra-marital relationships" was once again marked as a word choice/terminology error. The 2012 translation containing the mistranslation "foreign affairs" for "buite-egtelike verhoudings" could indeed result in serious misunderstanding.

As mentioned in the previous section, "voorouers" was mistranslated a few times as "parents", instead of "ancestors", in the three translations. It is significant that the correct translation equivalent, "ancestors", was indeed used in the Google Translate 2010 translation (albeit only once), and both times where it occurred in the 2011 translation. In 2012, "voorouers" was again translated as "parents".

This regression could be an indication of the dynamic state of Google Translate's translation memory system or database from which it draws its translation choices. Due to its crowdsourcing and harvesting of translations wherever possible, anyone could influence the Google Translate database, especially in a language combination such as AF–EN, for which less data exist than for a more dominant language pair such as French–English. Precisely

because there is no control over what is fed into the database, good translations could be replaced by less fortunate ones just as easily as the other way round. Google Translate is usually quick to rectify mistranslations when it becomes aware of users playing the system for so-called "Easter eggs" (amusing translation options)[5] in more prominent languages.

For the 2011 translation, as in the case of the 2012 translation, Mistranslation was the error category containing the highest number of errors – a total of ten. The 2010 translation had eight errors in this category.

Two other recent studies on the evaluation of MT, those of Valotkaite and Asadullah (2012) (Portuguese–English) and Avramidis, Burchardt, Federman, Popović, Tscherwinka and Vilar (2012:1128) (Spanish–English, German–English, English–German), found "wrong lexical choices" to be the most frequent error type that they encountered. "Wrong lexical choices" and "mistranslation" denote broadly the same kind of error in this case. Gaspari et al. (2011) highlight the mistranslation of compounds in particular as a prominent error in German–English MT.

(ii) Capitalisation
There were also nine errors with regard to capitalisation in the 2012 text. Capitalisation concerns whether upper or lower case is used appropriately in the target text to reflect how it has been used in the source text. The data suggest that there has been almost no decrease in errors in this category over the three years in question, as can be seen when comparing Figures 6, 7 and 8. It seems that Google Translate has not yet devised a way of dealing with transferring source-text capitalisation to the target text appropriately.

(iii) Grammar
With regard to Grammar, the category reflecting the second highest number of errors for the 2012 translation, errors were generally rooted in subject-verb agreement or the form of the verb. For example, "Women […] *does not control the resources", and "ritual *hide the gender inequality".

As can be seen in Figures 6, 7 and 8, Grammar was a prominent error category in all three years.

(iv) Addition or omission
In the three translations by Google Translate, elements were omitted rather than added. In addition to some words that have been omitted in the translated texts, the graphic element that the source text contained was also omitted in all three translations, since Google Translate does not insert such elements in its generated translations. Post-editing in this respect is definitely required.

Izwaini (2006:147) also identified "addition and deletion problems" as a specific concern in a study that evaluated Google Translate's beta English–Arabic/Arabic–English output.

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[5] For example, Hauksson (2011) recorded that when one translated "Lalalalala" from English to Icelandic, Google Translate translated it as "Björk", the famous Icelandic singer. Being Icelandic himself, Hauksson emphatically states that this was an incorrect translation. It is humorous, however. When the authors tried this, "Lalalalala" translated to "Umm" – it has clearly been changed.

(v) Non-translation
The Non-translation category was added to our framework to provide for a common Google Translate error, namely that if the application does not find a match for a source-text word or combination of words, it simply inserts the source-text word or combination of words into the target text, almost as a placeholder. There were five instances of non-translation in the Google 2010 and 2011 translations, whereas the 2012 translation contained four instances. "Mistifikasie", "mistifiseer", "trekarbeiderinkomste" and "saameet" (the contraction of the latter was a spelling error in the source text) baffled the application in all three years.

Valotkaite and Asadullah (2012) identified "untranslated words" as a prominent error category in their study of the quality of two rule-based MT systems' output in Portuguese–English.

A way of ensuring optimum MT results is by editing source texts carefully to avoid unnecessary mismatches or non-translation, as in the case of the contraction "saameet" in our source text. A further step is to apply controlled language rules to the source text, by which constructions or elements known to cause errors in MT are edited or removed beforehand. Problematic features include long sentences, gerunds, long noun strings, and ambiguous anaphoric referents (Fiederer and O'Brien 2009:52).

(vi) Spelling
Three spelling errors were recorded for the 2012 translation, as well as two spelling errors for each of the 2011 and 2010 translations. In all three translations, "dependants" (*"dependents") was spelled wrong consistently. There was an additional issue with spelling, namely that we were not able to change the language setting to differentiate between American English and British English in Google Translate – only one language option was given, namely "English". Therefore, in each of the translations, one error was counted for the fact that American English rather than British or South African English was used (for example, "labor" instead of "labour"), since the implicit translation brief for all documents at Stellenbosch University is that British English be used, and it would have been necessary to correct those words had the texts been post-edited. We felt that counting an error for each occurrence of a word with American spelling would have been unreasonable and that it would have skewed the results, since the American forms are not intrinsically wrong.

Spelling is a Google Translate problem that Izwaini (2006:147) highlights as well, albeit with regard to a beta language combination at the time.

Scores for the categories Word Form and Usage did not vary significantly over the three years.

(vii) Punctuation
The incidence of punctuation errors decreased considerably over the three years. Only two errors in this category were identified in the 2012 translation, while four punctuation errors occurred in the 2011 translation – half the number of errors logged for the 2010 translation. Punctuation errors consisted mostly of colons replaced by commas, which influenced the transfer of meaning since the colon in those cases indicated that an explanation of whatever preceded the colon would follow, whereas a comma usually indicates a pause or serves as a mechanism to facilitate a list of items. In a few cases, the comma in the source text was simply omitted in the target text.

(viii) Switched elements and syntax errors
The Switched Elements category was also added to our framework to provide for a frequent error that occurs in Google Translate translations. "Elements" may refer to words or phrases. This category involves two adjacent elements having been translated correctly in the target text, but appear to be switched around, in comparison to the position of those elements in the source text (see the appendix with our evaluation framework, the second assessment tool). Simply marking such an error as a syntax error is one way of dealing with this, since the natural word order of the target language has indeed not been followed if elements have been switched. However, it does not explain what has happened in the text and in the translation process.

Consider the following example:

> Source text: […] in die vorm van rituele om goeie verhoudings te bou
> Target text: *[…] in the form of rituals to good building relationships

In the target text, "building" and "good" have been switched. The Switched Elements category allows for differentiation between two elements that have merely been switched, on the one hand, and a problematic or nonsensical arrangement of more than two words or other elements of a sentence, on the other hand, which is identified by means of the Syntax category. Due to this differentiation, the 2012 translation does not contain any syntax errors and only one switched element, the 2011 translation contains two syntax errors and seven switched elements, and the 2010 translation contains three syntax errors and eight switched elements. From this it is clear that switched elements as well as syntax errors decreased steadily over the three years.

In a study by Avramidis et al. (2012) in which the quality of the output of three MT systems in the language combinations German–English, German–Spanish and Spanish–German was investigated, syntax is listed as the next frequent error after wrong lexical choices.

(ix) Inconsistency
In the 2012 translation, one inconsistency was recorded. In this year, "voorouers", which occurred twice in the source text, was translated once as "parents" and once as "ancestors". No inconsistencies were recorded for the previous two years' translations. The Inconsistency error category is an example of a category in which the most recent translation performed worse than those of the previous years.

(x) Misunderstanding
Errors with regard to misunderstanding decreased over the three years, with no errors in this category recorded for the 2012 translation. The proper noun "Frederick Engels" occurred in the source text; in the 2010 and 2011 translations the surname "Engels" was translated as "English", which we regarded as misunderstanding, since the surname was mistaken for the name of a language and translated as such. However, the surname was translated correctly in the 2012 translation when used in combination with the name Frederick. This indicates that this combination must have been added to the database from which Google Translate draws its options for translation from Afrikaans to English during the time frame between our 2011 and 2012 translations.

Studies by Gaspari et al. (2011), concerning the language combinations of German–English and Dutch–English, and Chang-Meadows (2008, in Temizöz 2012), who worked in the combination

of Chinese–English, also identified the translation of proper nouns as problematic for MT systems.

(xi) Terminology
Terminology errors decreased over the three years in question, with no errors recorded for the 2012 translation in this category.

Terminology errors and Mistranslation errors (the highest ranking category for the 2011 and 2012 translations, as discussed earlier in this section) are closely related categories in that both are concerned with the best translation equivalent in the target language. A terminology error in particular occurs when a term specific to a specialised subject field is not used even though the corresponding term is used in the source text; a mistranslation error is a more general indication that a segment of the source text has not been conveyed properly in the target language (see the appendix for our evaluation framework, the second assessment tool).

Van Rensburg et al. (2012) (AF–EN and EN–AF) and Zuo (2010, in Temizöz 2012) (English–Chinese), among other studies on the performance of MT systems, have found that MT performs well terminology-wise if the database from which the translation options are drawn contains the correct equivalents.

4.2.3   Final word on the error analysis

The error analysis has pointed out that mistranslation posed the largest risk associated with using Google Translate in the language pair we investigated. Grammatical errors and the non-translation and omission of elements are other likely risks that could impact on the quality of the target text when Google Translate is used to generate translations. These findings correspond with findings of other studies on the evaluation of the output and performance of MT systems.

The error analysis has also shown that even the best translation in our case study, namely the 2012 translation, showed unexpected new errors due to the very same dynamism of the databases that generally helps to improve Google Translate's output. We suspect that these unexpected new errors also led two of our raters to perceive the quality of the 2012 Google Translate translation of slide-show texts more negatively than was actually the case, in comparison to their perceptions of the translations from the previous two years.

5.   Summary, conclusion and recommendations for further studies

Online MT has put MT on the map for the general public who uses the Internet. Over the past few years, we at the Stellenbosch University Language Centre have experienced that more and more clients view online translation services, particularly those that are free of charge, as a viable option to meet their translation needs.

The empirical study described in this article focused on the quality of the output of the free online MT application Google Translate. We investigated three research questions in this regard. Our first research question was: Has the quality of Google Translate's output in the language combination AF–EN and EN–AF improved over the period 2010 to 2012? The verdict is a resounding yes, in accordance with Och and Austermühl's assertions regarding the

improvement of MT over time. Our second research question investigated to what extent the raters' evaluation of the slide-show texts translated by Google Translate in the language pair AF–EN in 2010, 2011 and 2012, conducted by means of our first assessment tool, correlated with the error analysis of the same texts, performed by means of our second assessment tool. The first assessment results did not correspond fully with the results of the error analysis. The first assessment results showed that the raters awarded the GT 2011 slide-show translation higher marks than the 2012 translation. We suspect that new errors in the 2012 translation may have had a large impact on the raters' perception of the quality of the 2012 translation. Our third research question explored the distribution of errors in the Google Translate AF–EN translations of the slide-show texts in 2010, 2011 and 2012. We found mistranslation to be the largest risk of using Google Translate. Errors regarding capitalisation, grammatical errors and the non-translation or omission of elements – followed by spelling errors and punctuation errors – are other likely risks users of this application must be prepared to deal with.

The raw texts that were generated by Google Translate for this study were not usable for the purpose for which the source text had been created, namely for a presentation in a lecture. The translations would require thorough post-editing before being able to accommodate multilingual information exchange in the classroom. However, the fact that the raw Google Translate output was not usable without being post-edited does not render Google Translate useless. Google Translate is a useful tool in certain contexts – it depends on what the translations will be used for and whether they are post-edited adequately. We agree with Fiederer and O'Brien (2009)'s view that, "when used intelligently, MT does not have to be synonymous with poor quality in translation".

A possibility for further study is an investigation on how long it would take to post-edit the texts that have been generated by Google Translate in this research. This will tackle a question of particular interest to clients, namely how much they will have to spend on post-editing if they decide to harness MT. In addition, since Google Translate added isiZulu, among other languages spoken in Africa, to its oeuvre in December 2013 (Google Translate Blog 2013), research on the quality of its translations involving isiZulu could also now be undertaken.

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Appendix: Second assessment tool – Framework for error marking (Adapted ATA Framework for Standardized Error Marking)

Code	Error category	Criteria and description of each error category
1	Misunderstanding of original text	This category applies when the evaluator can see – usually by back-translating the target text – that the error arises from misreading a word, for example, or misinterpreting the syntax of a sentence. In other words, the result is wrong because the translation was based on a misunderstood source text.
2	Mistranslation into target language	The meaning of a segment of the source text is not conveyed properly in the target language. This category applies particularly when any other category in this framework relating to mistranslation would be too forgiving.
3	Addition or omission	Addition: Something is inserted that is not clearly expressed in the source text; when clarifying material is added. Omission: Elements essential to the meaning are left out.
4	Non-translation: Insertion of word from source language	The insertion of a source-language word in the target text when the translator cannot find an equivalent term in the target language.
5	Switched elements	Two adjacent elements have been switched around in the target text. The elements have been translated correctly, but appear to be switched around in comparison to the position of those elements in the source text.
6	Too freely translated	Translators are asked to translate the meaning and intent of the source text, not to rewrite or improve on it. The evaluator will carefully compare the target text to the source text. If a 'creative' rendition changes the meaning, an error will be marked. If recasting a sentence – i.e. altering the order of its major elements – destroys the flow, changes the emphasis, or obscures the author's intent, an error may be marked.
7	Literalness	A literalness error occurs when a translation that follows the source text word for word results in awkward, unidiomatic, or incorrect renditions.
8	Style	If the source text is characterised by a distinctive manner of expression – flowery, staccato, conversational, instructional – this should be reflected in the target text. Awkward or clumsy renditions that obscure the meaning may also be penalised.
9	Usage	Correct and idiomatic usage of the target language is expected. Errors include the use of the wrong preposition or misuse of a grammatical form. Examples: *take* vs *make* a walk, married *to* vs married *with*, etc.

10	Register	Language level and degree of formality should be preserved in the target text (*u/jy* in Afrikaans); examples of errors include making a legal document sound journalistic and using anachronisms or culturally inappropriate expressions.
11	Terminology, word choice	A terminology error occurs when a term specific to a special subject field is not used when the corresponding term is used in the source text. This category often involves terms used in various technical, legal, and financial contexts, where words often have very specific meanings. In more general texts, the candidate might not have selected the most appropriate word among several that have similar (but not identical) meanings.
12	Inconsistency, same term translated differently	In general, a term that is used consistently in the source text should be translated consistently into the target language. Conversely, if the source text uses different words for the same idea interchangeably, the translator should try to come up with a similar variety in the target language.
13	False friends	In some language pairs, this is the most common type of error. Examples: English–Afrikaans: *Indian* ('of India') translated as *Indiaan* ('of Latin America') instead of *Indiër;* Dutch–Afrikaans: *aardig* ('friendly') translated as *aardig* ('strange'); *vaak* ('often') translated as *vaak* ('sleepy').
14	Ambiguity	If the meaning is clear in the source text but ambiguous in the target text, an error may be marked. The reader should not have to puzzle out the meaning.
15	Indecision – giving more than one option	Translators sometimes give more than one option for the translation of a word. Even if both options are correct, an error will be marked. The use of asterisks, footnotes, brackets, or other hedging devices are not acceptable. Clarifications are not acceptable unless readers from the target language will surely miss the meaning without them.
16	Grammar	A grammar error occurs when a sentence in the translation violates the grammatical rules of the target language. Grammatical errors include lack of agreement between subject and verb, incorrect verb forms, incorrect case of nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, and use of an adjective where an adverb is needed.
17	Syntax (phrase/clause/ sentence structure)	The arrangement of words or other elements of a sentence should conform to the rules of the target language. Errors in this category include sentence fragments, improper modification, lack of parallelism, and unnatural word order. If incorrect syntax changes or obscures the meaning, the error is more serious.
18	Word form	The root of the word is correct, but the wrong form is used. Example in English: *The product has been tampered with and is no longer **safety**.* This category also includes incorrect plural or singular forms of words.

19	Spelling	A spelling error occurs when a word or character in the translation is spelled/used incorrectly according to target-language conventions. Spelling errors can cause confusion about the intended meaning (e.g. *principle/principal*, *systemic/systematic*, *peddle/pedal*, *dear/deer*, *sight/site*). Context is a factor as well. If a word has alternate acceptable spellings, the specific word should be spelled in the same way throughout the passage concerned.
20	Punctuation	The function of the punctuation in the source text should be reflected adequately in the target text. The conventions of the target language with regard to punctuation should be followed, including those governing the use of quotation marks, commas, semicolons, and colons. Incorrect or unclear paragraphing is counted as an error.
21	Accents and other diacritical marks	The conventions of the target language should be followed consistently. If incorrect or missing diacritical marks obscure the meaning, the error is more serious.
22	Capitalisation (upper/lower case)	The conventions of the target language (and, where applicable, of the target text itself as adopted from the source text) should be followed. Examples: There is Mr Lee and Mrs Johnson vs *Daar is mnr Lee en mev Johnson*.

Produk teenoor proses tydens akademiese redigering: Opmerkings as aanduiders van redigeergerigtheid

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Opsomming

Omdat die redigering van akademiese tekste in Suid-Afrika gekenmerk word deur 'n gebrek aan standaardisering, is 'n verkennende beskrywing van redigeerders se werklike aktiwiteite tydens die redigering van hierdie tekste 'n nodige stap in die rigting van die formulering van riglyne of standaarde vir die redigering van akademiese tekste (Kruger en Bevan-Dye 2010). Die huidige studie gebruik die onderskeid tussen die sogenaamde produk- en prosesbenadering tot redigering as uitgangspunt om werklike redigeerprodukte te ondersoek. Die produkgeoriënteerde benadering plaas die klem op die eindproduk, sonder dat dialoog met die skrywer noodsaaklik geag word. Dit staan teenoor die prosesgeoriënteerde benadering wat eerder fokus op die teksredigeerder se rol as fasiliteerder in 'n proses wat die student se betrokkenheid by sy/haar eie skryfproduk beklemtoon. Moderne woordverwerkingstegnologie bied die funksie van opmerkings ("comments") as 'n ruimte waarin interaksie met die student as skrywer moontlik is en só die prosesbenadering sigbaar maak. Die huidige ondersoek het ten doel om redigeerders van akademiese tekste (tesisse of proefskrifte) se benutting van die opmerkingfunksie in MS Word te beskryf en om afleidings rakende die redigeerder(s) se benadering te maak. Drie geredigeerde tesisse word empiries ondersoek. Dit blyk dat opmerkings wel deurgaans benut word, alhoewel die drie tesisse nie in dieselfde mate blyke gee van 'n benutting van opmerkings nie. Alhoewel die gebruik van die opmerkings in die drie redigeerprojekte op 'n aanwesigheid van die prosesbenadering dui, word hierdie benadering nie suiwer toegepas nie. Die uitkomste van hierdie verkennende studie dui nie slegs die rigting aan vir toekomstige navorsing nie, maar dui ook aan dat toekomstige standaardiseringsprosesse veral moet besin oor die redigeerder se rol en professionele identiteit, asook die verhouding tussen studieleier, student en redigeerder. Die opleiding van redigeerders behoort ook die eise van akademiese redigering as 'n spesifieke soort redigering te hanteer.

Sleutelwoorde: prosesbenadering tot redigering, produkbenadering tot redigering, redigeerstandaarde, woordverwerkingstegnologie, opmerkings

Product versus process during academic editing: Comments as indicators of editing orientation

Extended abstract
The need for academic editing indicates an international point of growth for the editing industry, as pointed out by Macdonald (2008). This statement is motivated by two trends: Students fail to meet the standards of academic writing required on a postgraduate level; also, many students have to write in English, although it is their second or even third language. Tertiary institutions have divergent guidelines for the editing of academic texts, leading to a worldwide lack of standardisation regarding the editing of these texts. Hence, the field of academic editing is in need of professional discourse, research and eventually greater levels of standardisation.

Valuable work on the standardisation of professional editing – including academic editing – has already been done by the Institute of Professional Editors (IPEd) (2010), the Editors' Association of Canada (EAC) (2009) as well as the Council of Australian Societies of Editors (CASE) (2013). Law (2011) has made an important local contribution towards the establishment of core standards for the South African editing practice, but the development of South African standards for the editing of academic texts remains an area that is still in need of in-depth inquiry.

Based on professional discussions on academic editing, a few key areas for the South African discourse on academic editing come to the fore. These include: the matter of the standardisation of academic editing; the question whether editors can and should fulfil a developmental role regarding students' writing skills; and the debate on where the borders of ethical academic editing are to be traced. The answers to these questions are closely related to perceptions of the editing task. Following the ideas set forth by Kruger and Bevan-Dye (2010) on the process- and product-oriented approach to editing, the editor's perception of his or her task might be projected as situated on a continuum with respectively the process- and product-oriented approach as the two extremes. While a product-oriented approach focuses on the textual product without dialogue with the writers necessarily being taken into account, the process-oriented approach focuses on the role of the text editor as a facilitator in a process that emphasises students' involvement in their own writing.

The study by Kruger and Bevan-Dye (2010) shows that South African editors identify with a product-oriented approach to their work, rather than a process-oriented approach. The authors, however, point out that perceptions are not always reliable indicators of practical outputs. Therefore Kruger and Bevan-Dye (2010) call for an investigation into what editors really do when editing academic texts – do their real-life actions reveal a process- or a product-oriented approach?

This call has given rise to the conceptualisation of a larger project that will investigate what actually happens during academic editing. The current study investigates a component of this larger project and focuses on one activity during academic editing, namely the use of the comments function of word-processing programmes in order to communicate with the student. As a theoretical point of departure, the study draws on the ideas of Hill (2011) regarding editors' problem solving activities. It is proposed that communication with the writer (in this case the student) by means of the electronic comments function of word processing programmes can be seen as an indicator of the editor's acceptance of a process-oriented approach to the editing

task. Although the IPEd guidelines for the editing of theses advise against electronic editing, the current study views electronic editing as a reality of the technology-driven modern world, and proposes that the editor's approach to the editing task, rather than the medium, is crucial to determine whether there will be any learning gained by the student. The textual space of the comment is therefore, for the purposes of this study, viewed as a space that facilitates interaction between student and editor, so that a process-oriented approach to the editing task is realised in concrete terms whenever the editor chooses to insert a comment into a student's text.

Accordingly, the following problem statement for the current study is put forward: How can the use of the comments function by editors of academic texts be described, and which conclusions regarding the editing approaches of the individual editors can be made?

The following four research questions are presented in order to shape the study and to obtain specific results:

i.   Do editors use the comments function in MS Word?
ii.   Which types of textual problems do the comments address? To which extent are editors working in accordance with the international guidelines regarding the handling of these different types?
iii.   What is the nature of the comments that are presented, i.e. are there different types of comments that can be distinguished?
iv.   Which conclusions can be drawn regarding the editors' orientation?

The study follows an empirical methodology and three edited theses (all written in English in different departments at Stellenbosch University) are investigated with reference to the four research questions. Two theses were edited by private editors (both trained at Stellenbosch University) and one thesis was edited by the Language Service of Stellenbosch University. The validity and generalizability of the study is compromised by the fact that all three theses have ties with Stellenbosch University. Bias might also have been introduced by the fact that the three theses were chosen on the basis that they have been subjected to a comprehensive edit. Moreover, the many variables impacting on the example texts limit their comparability.

Regarding the question on the editors' use of the comments function, it was found that the three editors of the example texts all make use of comments, as indicated by the results that vary between 0,11 and 3,16 comments per 300 words, with an arithmetic mean of 1,00 for Thesis 1, 1,91 for Thesis 2 and 0,24 for Thesis 3. The arithmetic mean for the three examples is 1,05 comments per 300 words, indicating that the comments function is used in the example texts.

Regarding the question on the categories of textual problems addressed by the comments, it is found that comments related to issues on the levels of copyediting (48,53%) and content (37,87%) occur most frequently. Comments related to structural (6,25%) and stylistic issues (5,88) are limited, while comments related to consistency issues are severely limited (1,47%). With regards to the international guidelines on the ethical handling of academic texts, it is found that the editors of Thesis 1 and Thesis 3 deviate from these guidelines by sometimes inserting additions themselves. The editor of Thesis 2 also deviates from the guidelines by asking questions on the level of content that belong to the domain of the supervisor.

The investigation on the nature of the comments shows that two main categories of comments are to be discerned, based on whether the editor has made a decision or not. These two categories can be subdivided into a total of 11 smaller groups. Comments that are not based on a decision by the editor and which leaves room for the student to engage with his/her own writing are dominant (91,08% for Thesis 1, 100% for Thesis 2 and 55,87% for Thesis 3).

A qualitative analysis of the comments reveals that the editor of Thesis 1 formulated the comments in a way that facilitates the student's own learning. The editor of Thesis 2 emphasizes technical aspects such as references, but also with the purpose of challenging the student to find the solution. The comments in Thesis 3 reveal a greater emphasis on the product than the other two edited theses.

In relation to editors' choice of a process or product approach the findings indicate that all three editors are inclined towards a process-oriented approach based on the analysis of the comments, although a product-oriented approach is also observed, especially in Thesis 3. Further research may elucidate whether a hybrid approach in editing, as in Thesis 3, is regularly observed, and which factors may contribute to such an approach. Further studies may also investigate whether specific editing activities are the result of the conscious adoption of a particular approach to editing.

The differences between the editors can be summarised as certain strategies that the individual editors employ during their editing work, making it possible to provide brief descriptions of the individual editing styles. The editor of Thesis 1 is found to have a supportive style, and the dominance of questions as comments shows that the editor strives to cultivate reflection by the student – thereby assuming a process-oriented approach. The editor of Thesis 2 is shown to have a more direct, instructive style, as reflected by a preference for "simple comments", meaning that the student has to interpret the comment before attempting to solve the problem independently. Once again, this editor follows a process-oriented approach. The editor of Thesis 3 displays a tentative style where the student is often cast in the role of reviser, as reflected by the strong presence of comments asking the student to approve a certain textual change – indicating the presence of a product-oriented approach.

The outcomes of this exploratory study can be integrated into future work towards the standardization of academic editing in South Africa. Not only should such work incorporate a reflection on the role and professional identity of the editor, but it should also take account of the relationship between supervisor, student and editor. Lastly, the training of editors is implied in the sense that syllabi can be refined in order to train students for the specific requirements of academic editing.

Key words: process-oriented approach to editing, product-oriented approach to editing, editing standards, word-processing technology, comments

1.   Inleiding en agtergrond

Die aanvraag na die redigering van akademiese tekste[1] dui op 'n internasionale groeipunt binne die taal- en spesifiek die redigeerpraktyk, soos Macdonald (2008) aandui. Sy motiveer hierdie stelling deur te wys op twee faktore wat internasionaal meewerk om die groeiende vraag na akademiese redigering te voed: Nagraadse studente se gebrekkige akademiese skryfvaardighede,[2] saam met die tendens dat al hoe meer studente in Engels – hulle tweede of selfs derde taal – skryf, lei daartoe dat hulle tekste deur professionele redigeerders versorg moet word alvorens dit geskik is om vir eksaminering ingelewer te word (Macdonald 2008:3). Omdat hoëronderwysinstellings wêreldwyd se riglyne vir die redigering van akademiese tekste egter geweldig uiteenlopend en daarom ook verwarrend is (Macdonald 2008:3-4), is daar in die veld van akademiese redigering 'n dringende behoefte aan vakkundige gesprek, navorsing en uiteindelik groter standaardisering.

Waardevolle werk – in die vorm van die daarstelling van standaarde vir redigering, insluitende akademiese redigering – is internasionaal reeds deur die Institute of Professional Editors (IPEd)[3] (2010), die Editors' Association of Canada (EAC) (2009) asook die Council of Australian Societies of Editors (CASE) (2013) gedoen. Law (2011), wat plaaslik 'n groot bydrae gelewer het in die daarstelling van kernstandaarde vir die Suid-Afrikaanse redigeerpraktyk, noem dat die waarde van 'n stel kernstandaarde daarin lê dat dit die status van die redigeerpraktyk kan verhoog, maar terselfdertyd ook kan meewerk om kliënte se verwagtinge – en daarmee saam die redigeerprodukte wat in die praktyk gelewer word – meer eenvormig te maak. Wat die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie betref, wys Law (2011) egter daarop dat alhoewel die plaaslike redigeerpraktyk met vrug van die internasionale riglyne kan kennis neem, dit nie sonder meer van toepassing op die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks gemaak kan word nie, soos in die volgende paragraaf toegelig word. Alhoewel Law (2011) se werk 'n leemte vul wat die daarstelling van *algemene* redigeerstandaarde betref, is die ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrikaanse standaarde vir die redigering van akademiese tekste 'n terrein wat nog deurtastend ondersoek moet word.

Ofskoon die internasionale tendense soos hier bo deur Macdonald (2008) genoem ook in Suid-Afrika herken word, is probleme rakende akademiese skryfvaardighede en die hantering van akademiese tekste in Suid-Afrika selfs meer kompleks as in die res van die wêreld. Die Suid-Afrikaanse toneel word gekenmerk deur groot historiese en eietydse verdeeldhede wat betref bronne, vaardighede, verwagtinge en geleenthede.[4] Riglyne vir Suid-Afrika behoort dus teen hierdie agtergrond geformuleer te word. Dit is voorts ook nodig dat stappe in die rigting van die standaardisering van akademiese redigering deur gerigte navorsing onderlê word: Huidige persepsies en praktyke behoort op 'n wetenskaplike wyse *beskryf* te word alvorens daar voortgegaan kan word om te besin oor watter praktyke spesifiek aangedui is vir akademiese redigering in Suid-Afrika.

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[1] Met akademiese tekste word hier spesifiek bedoel tekste wat deur studente aan hoëronderwysinstellings geproduseer word met die oog op die verwerwing van gevorderde grade, met ander woorde tesisse en proefskrifte.

[2] Ook Van Aswegen (2007) wys op nagraadse studente se gebrekkige akademiese skryfvaardighede.

[3] Australië.

[4] Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) sê dat die voltooiing van nagraadse studies in Suid-Afrika gekniehalter word deur uiteenlopende uitdagings, waaronder gebrekkige taalvaardighede asook swak akademiese geletterdheid, die niegebruik van moedertale in akademiese omgewings, leeromgewings wat nie oor genoegsame bronne beskik nie, tesame met die algemene sosiale uitdagings wat met ontwikkelende lande geassosieer word.

Dat die vakkundige gesprek oor akademiese redigering in Suid-Afrika reeds 'n aanvang geneem het, blyk duidelik uit enkele onlangse werksessies oor die onderwerp. 'n Werksessie van die Professional Editors' Group (PEG) in 2010[5] het die volgende belangrike kwessies rakende akademiese redigering uitgelig wat deur navorsers, taalpraktisyns en ander rolspelers (soos studieleiers en universiteite) verreken moet word: "... [T]he role of editors in the thesis production process needs to be *recognised, better understood and formalised* by faculties"; "[e]ditors should be drawn into the process from the outset if it is to be truly *developmental*, especially from the honours level"; en "PEG should develop *guidelines* akin to those of the Canadian and Australian editors' associations but which take into account the *particular circumstances* we're faced with in South Africa" (my kursivering) (Linnegar 2010).

Ook tydens 'n werksessie van die US Taaldiens in 2011[6] is enkele rigtinggewende vrae geïdentifiseer wat in verdere gesprekke en studies aangeraak behoort te word. Woordelikse insette van die deelnemers sluit in: "Waar lê die perke van wat 'n mens mag/moet doen en wat nie?"; "[i]s daar sin daarin om vir 'n student aan te dui om self deurgaans sekere veranderinge aan te bring (byvoorbeeld hoofletters, of ander sake wat met konsekwentheid te make het) as dit duidelik is dat die student nie 'n oog vir sulke besonderhede het nie?" en "[i]n watter mate is die redigering van 'n tesis 'n *opvoedingstaak*?" (my kursivering) (Hansen 2011).

Van die sleuteltemas vir die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks wat uit hierdie werksessies sigbaar raak, is dus die kwessie van die standaardisering van akademiese redigering, die vraag of redigeerders ook 'n ontwikkelingsrol kan en behoort te speel wat studente se skryfvaardighede betref, asook die vraag na waar die grense van etiese akademiese redigering lê. Antwoorde hierop hou ten nouste verband met sienings oor die aard van die redigeertaak – overgesetsynde, die standaardisering van akademiese redigering sal verband hou met die wyse waarop die redigeerder se taak gekonseptualiseer word. Na aanleiding van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) se onderskeid tussen die sogenaamde produk- en prosesbenadering, kan die redigeerder se siening van sy/haar taak voorgestel word as geleë op 'n kontinuum met onderskeidelik die produk- en die prosesgeoriënteerde benadering tot redigering as die twee ekstreme daarvan. Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010:164) se onderskeid tussen die twee benaderings behels dat 'n produkgeoriënteerde siening op die geredigeerde eindproduk fokus, terwyl 'n prosesgeoriënteerde siening behels dat die redigeerder eerder 'n fasiliterende rol in die student se skryf-as-leer-proses speel.[7]

Vir die doel van die huidige studie is dit nodig dat daar gekyk word na hoe die redigeerder se ingryping met onderskeidelik die proses- en die produkbenadering verband hou. Ingryping kan op 'n tekstuele vlak plaasvind, maar daar kan ook "meta-ingryping" (ingryping op 'n metavlak) wees. Eersgenoemde beteken dat tekstuele veranderinge aangebring word, terwyl laasgenoemde beteken dat daar met die student gekommunikeer word om byvoorbeeld tekstuele wysigings toe te lig, die student te help om self probleme op te los of die student bewus te maak van foute wat herhaaldelik voorkom. Tydens akademiese redigering is groot ingrepe op tekstuele vlak nie altyd aangedui nie, omdat die student se eie skryfvaardighede ook beoordeel moet word. Groot ingrepe lê dus buite die grense van etiese akademiese redigering. Indien die

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[5] Gefasiliteer deur Haidee Kruger van die Skool vir Tale, Noordwes-Universiteit, Vaaldriehoekkampus.
[6] Gefasiliteer deur Amanda Lourens van die Departement Afrikaans en Nederlands, Universiteit Stellenbosch.
[7] Alhoewel Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) hierdie twee benaderingswyses nie as die twee ekstreme van 'n kontinuum beskryf nie, is dit myns insiens wel 'n nuttige voorstelling, omdat dit onwaarskynlik is dat enige redigeertaak in die praktyk volkome proses- of volkome produkgerig sal wees.

akademiese redigeerder ingestel is op 'n prosesbenadering waar die student se leerproses beklemtoon word, sal 'n groter mate van ingryping op metavlak waarskynlik sigbaar raak, omdat die redigeerder met die student sal kommunikeer om sy/haar leerproses te fasiliteer. Terselfdertyd sal die ingryping op die tekstuele vlak dalk selfs verminder, omdat die redigeerder van die student sal verwag om meer wysigings self aan te bring. 'n Produkbenadering tot akademiese redigering sal waarskynlik gekenmerk word deur 'n beperkte mate van ingryping op metavlak, omdat kommunikasie met die student nie as belangrik geag word nie en die tekstuele produk van primêre belang is. Terselfdertyd kan ingryping op tekstuele vlak ook beperk wees, omdat die redigeerder daarvan bewus is dat die student se eie skryfvaardighede beoordeel word.

Teen hierdie agtergrond ontstaan die vraag in watter mate dit wenslik is dat die redigeerder 'n fasiliterende rol ten opsigte van die student se skryfvaardighede speel deur byvoorbeeld op metavlak met die student te kommunikeer. Op 'n praktiese vlak beteken dit dat riglyne vir akademiese redigering nodig is, sodat redigeerders kan weet watter mate van tekstuele ingryping wenslik is, maar dat hulle ook riglyne het wat betref kommunikasie met die student. Alvorens sulke riglyne neergelê kan word, moet redigeerders se siening van hulle eie taak ondersoek word, maar die sienings van byvoorbeeld studieleiers en hoëronderwyskundiges moet ook in ag geneem word.

Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) se belangrike studie waarin praktiserende redigeerders se persepsies oor die redigering van tesisse en proefskrifte ondersoek word, bring aan die lig dat Suid-Afrikaanse redigeerders van akademiese tekste 'n produkgeoriënteerde eerder as prosesgeoriënteerde siening van hulle werk het. Die redigeerders sien hulle eie rol as beperk, en dui aan dat werk op die vlakke van kopieredigering en styl aanvaarbaar is, terwyl ingryping op die vlakke van struktuur en inhoud[8] onaanvaarbaar is.

Die studie van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) wat op die 2010-studie volg, ondersoek Suid-Afrikaanse studieleiers se persepsies oor die redigeerder se rol. Daar word bevind dat Suid-Afrikaanse studieleiers 'n meer beperkte siening van die redigeerder se rol het as wat die redigeerders self het. Studieleiers beskou die redigeerder se werk as hoofsaaklik beperk tot die vlak van kopieredigering, en beskou werk op die stilistiese vlak as die student se eie verantwoordelikheid. Ingryping op die vlakke van struktuur en inhoud word deur die studieleiers as ongewens beskou, alhoewel die studieleiers se siening van hierdie aspekte tog effens minder beperkend is as dié van redigeerders self. Die resultate van die twee groepe (redigeerders en studieleiers) wys uiteindelik op 'n uiters beperkte siening van die redigeerder se rol – die redigeerder is naamlik slegs die korrigeerder van basiese foute op die vlak van kopieredigering.

Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) stel dit wel in hulle gevolgtrekking dat studieleiers se baie beperkte siening van die redigeerder se rol saamval met verskeie Suid-Afrikaanse hoëronderwysinstellings se riglyne vir akademiese redigering. Aan die ander kant is daar wel ook hoëronderwysinstellings wat die redigeerder se rol as meer omvattend sien. As voorbeeld van laasgenoemde verwys Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010:156-7) na die Taaldiens van die Universiteit Stellenbosch wat die redigeerder toelaat om 'n ontwikkelingsrol ten opsigte van studente se skryfwerk te speel, deurdat die student byvoorbeeld op probleme ten opsigte van

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[8] Mossop (2007) se onderskeid tussen vier soorte redigering (kopie-, stilistiese, strukturele en inhoudelike redigering) is die grondslag van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) se indeling.

sin- en paragraafstruktuur gewys word. Sulke botsende sienings wys duidelik op 'n behoefte aan standaardisering wat betref beleid en praktyke aan Suid-Afrikaanse hoëronderwysinstellings (Kruger en Bevan Dye 2013:895).

Daar kan ook geargumenteer word dat studieleiers se persepsies nie noodwendig 'n refleksie van die ideale praktyk op 'n gegewe tydstip en binne 'n sekere konteks is nie. Die studieleiers wat aan die studie deelgeneem het, assosieer hulle sterk met 'n tradisionele studieleidingsmodel, waarvolgens die student primêr daarvoor verantwoordelik is om/sy haar navorsingsvaardighede (ook skryfvaardighede) te ontwikkel. Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013:896) wys dan tereg daarop dat, gegee die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie waar nagraadse skryftake besondere uitdagings vir studente inhou, die tyd moontlik ryp is om tradisionele modelle van studieleiding uit te daag en te argumenteer ten gunste van 'n groter ondersteunende rol deur die redigeerder. Sulke toekomstige werk kan egter slegs moontlik gemaak word deur 'n volledige verkenning van huidige akademiese redigeerpraktyke.

In die 2010-studie wys die outeurs daarop dat die redigeerders wat in die steekproef ingesluit is, se menings oor hulle rol tydens akademiese redigering nie noodwendig korreleer met hulle redigeerpraktyk nie. Om hierdie rede stel Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010:164) voor dat verdere studies aangedui word ten einde te probeer vasstel wat redigeerders wérklik doen tydens hulle redigering van akademiese tekste – word daar in die praktyk 'n proses- of 'n produkbenadering gevolg?

Teen die agtergrond van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) se oproep is 'n groter projek gekonseptualiseer met die doel om 'n oorsig te gee van wat werklik tydens akademiese redigering gebeur, met ander woorde, of 'n proses- of produkbenadering gevolg word. Anders gestel, hoe gee redigeerders in hulle redigeerpraktyk gestalte aan hulle rol? Die huidige studie ondersoek 'n komponent van hierdie groter projek, en fokus op een aktiwiteit tydens akademiese redigering – naamlik die gebruik van die kommentaarfunksie in woordverwerkingsprogramme om met die student te kommunikeer. In die huidige studie word geraak aan die moontlikheid dat opmerkings in der waarheid op 'n kontinuum lê met die proses- en produkbenadering as die twee ekstreme. Wanneer die opmerking ingespan word om ook byvoorbeeld inligting oor die redigeerder se eie prosesse te verskaf (byvoorbeeld om 'n redigeerbesluit te motiveer of 'n wysiging te verduidelik), lê die opmerking waarskynlik nader aan die produkbenadering, omdat die wysiging reeds aangebring is. Nietemin word daar met die student gekommunikeer, al is dit dalk meer met die doel om die redigeerder se eie proses sigbaar te maak. Wanneer die redigeerder egter nie 'n besluit neem nie, en die opmerking daarop gerig is om die student te lei om self die besluit te neem, lê die opmerking nader aan die prosesbenadering. Die feit dat die opmerking egter ingesluit word, ongeag of 'n wysiging reeds aangebring is of nie, dui egter daarop dat die redigeerder kommunikasie op metavlak met die student nodig ag. Om hierdie rede sal 'n opmerking dus altyd in 'n mate prosesgerig wees, en vir die doel van die huidige studie word die blote teenwoordigheid van 'n opmerking reeds as 'n aanduider van 'n prosesbenadering gesien.

Na afloop van hierdie studie kan verdere verbandhoudende aktiwiteite en kwessies ondersoek word, wat ook deur die huidige studie uitgelig sal word. Hierdie ondersoeke kan die grondslag vorm vir wetenskaplike gesprekvoering en die uiteindelike daarstelling van 'n stel werkbare en etiese riglyne wat die realiteite van die Suid-Afrikaanse tersiêre onderrigkonteks in ag neem –

'n proses wat volgens Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010:155) onder meer op konsultasie met die betrokke partye berus.[9]

Hill (2011) bied 'n raamwerk vir die beskrywing van redigeerders se probleem-oplossingsaktiwiteite wanneer hulle redigeer. Hierdie raamwerk[10] neem as vertrekpunt dat 'n redigeerder kan kies om met die skrywer[11] van die teks te kommunikeer, eerder as om bloot veranderinge aan te bring sonder om die veranderinge byvoorbeeld toe te lig of alternatiewe oplossings voor te stel. Kommunikasie met die skrywer (in hierdie geval die student) deur middel van die elektroniese opmerkingfunksie van woordverwerkingsprogramme word, soos hierbo genoem, in hierdie studie gesien as 'n aanduider van die redigeerder se aanvaarding van 'n prosesbenadering tot die redigeertaak. Die funksie bied die moontlikheid om byvoorbeeld 'n bepaalde korreksie te verduidelik, sodat die student begryp waarom sy/haar oorspronklike aanbod problematies is. Ook kan die redigeerder bepaalde herhalende foute uitwys sodat die student bemagtig word om die probleem self in die toekoms op te los.

Alhoewel hierdie studie aanvaar dat redigering merendeels elektronies geskied,[12] is dit nodig om te noem dat daar in die Australiese standaarde vir akademiese redigering teen die praktyk van elektroniese redigering gewaarsku word (IPEd 2010). Die PEG-werksessie van 2010 kom tot dieselfde slotsom, wat Linnegar (2010) soos volg opsom: "There are risks inherent in editing electronically using, for example, Microsoft Word's Track Changes function (students can simply 'accept all' without engaging with the editor's corrections, and learn nothing from their input). Some attendees recommended hard copy editing as standard practice instead." Hierdie uitsprake aanvaar egter dat die redigeerder noodwendig alle veranderinge elektronies aanbring en nie met die student daaroor kommunikeer nie; ook verreken dit nie die moontlikheid dat die student veranderinge op die sigkopie bloot klakkeloos kan implementeer nie. Daar word dus in hierdie studie geargumenteer dat die redigeerder se *benaderingswyse* tot die redigeertaak bepalend is, en die gekose medium van minder belang is.

Om op sigkopie te redigeer, is ook nie 'n realistiese opsie in die hedendaagse wêreld nie – die student en redigeerder is dikwels geografies ver van mekaar verwyder en die hantering van sigkopie is in sulke gevalle 'n beslommernis. Foute sluip ook maklik in wanneer die student die veranderinge self op die finale kopie moet aanbring. Die moontlikhede van die woordverwerkingstegnologie behoort veel eerder gesien te word as kreatiewe opsies wat byvoorbeeld die redigeerder se keuse vir die prosesbenadering kan ondersteun. So kan die tekstuele ruimte van die opmerkingfunksie beskou word as 'n ruimte wat spesifiek die doel van interaksie tussen skrywer (student) en redigeerder dien en konkreet meewerk tot 'n prosesbenadering.

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[9] Hiermee word heel moontlik bedoel redigeerders, hoëronderwyskundiges, studieleiers en nagraadse studente. Organisasies (bv. PEG en SAVI) wat redigeerders in Suid-Afrika verteenwoordig, kan ook hier ingereken word.
[10] Die raamwerk word meer uitvoerig in afdeling 3 bespreek.
[11] In die geval van akademiese redigering word daar na alle waarskynlikheid met die student self gekommunikeer. Tydens die redigering van ander tekssoorte mag daar eerder met die opdraggewer (bv. die uitgewer) gekommunikeer word.
[12] Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2010) bevind dat 75,7% van die redigeerders wat in hulle studie betrek is, wel 'n woordverwerkingsprogram gebruik om tekste elektronies te redigeer.

2.   Doelstelling, probleemstelling en navorsingsvrae

Alvorens die uiteindelike gesprek oor standaarde vir akademiese redigering in Suid-Afrika gevoer kan word, is 'n behoorlike verkenning van die stand van sake nodig. Die huidige studie het dus ten doel om uitvoering te gee aan Kruger en Bevan-Dye se oproep om 'n verkenning van redigeerders se werklike aktiwiteite. Dit gaan hier oor 'n eerste en 'n *verkennende* beskrywing van redigeerders se werklike aktiwiteite tydens die redigering van akademiese tekste. Die resultate, alhoewel voorlopig, behoort die veld vir verdere studies te omlyn en die gebreke van die huidige navorsing behoort verdere studies te motiveer. Die uitkomste van die studie kan voorts gebruik word om te besin oor die redigeerder se rol en professionele identiteit, en het implikasies vir die opleiding van redigeerders deurdat sillabusinhoude verfyn kan word om studente spesifiek op te lei in die redigering van akademiese tekste. Hierdie studie word vervolgens gesien as die eerste in 'n reeks ondersoeke om die veld vollediger te karteer en wat uiteindelik kan uitloop op aanbevelings vir akademiese redigering in Suid-Afrika.
Die volgende probleemstelling word aangebied: Hoe kan redigeerders van akademiese tekste (tesisse of proefskrifte) se benutting van die opmerkingfunksie in MS Word beskryf word, en watter afleidings oor die redigeerder(s) se benadering kan daaruit gemaak word?

Ten einde die studie te rig en spesifieke resultate te verkry, word die volgende navorsingsvrae gestel:

i.   Word opmerkings met behulp van MS Word deur die redigeerders van tesisse en/of proefskrifte benut?
ii.   Watter soorte tekstuele probleme[13] word deur die opmerkings betrek? In watter mate strook redigeerders se hantering van hierdie probleme met internasionale riglyne in hierdie verband?
iii.   Wat is die aard van die opmerkings wat aangebied word, met ander woorde, is daar verskillende soorte opmerkings[14] onderskeibaar? Indien wel, hoeveel van elke soort opmerking word aangetref – onderskeidelik in die individuele gevallestudies asook wanneer die gevallestudies gesamentlik beskou word?
iv.   Watter afleidings kan gemaak word wat betref die navolging van die produk- en/of die prosesbenadering?

3.   Metodologie

3.1   Algemene benadering

Drie geredigeerde tesisse[15] is bekom en elk is empiries aan die hand van die vier navorsingsvrae ondersoek. Omdat die navorsing beskrywend en verkennend van aard is, is daar besluit om 'n gevallestudie-raamwerk te gebruik, waarbinne daar van kwalitatiewe ontledings – hoofsaaklik teksanalise – sowel as basiese beskrywende statistiese gegewens gebruik gemaak is. Op hierdie manier kan 'n indruk gevorm word van die tendense in hierdie drie voorbeelde.

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[13] Met soorte tekstuele probleme word bedoel dat tekstuele probleme op verskillende vlakke van die teks onderskei kan word, byvoorbeeld probleme op inhoudelike, strukturele of stilistiese vlak.
[14] Daar word gekyk of daar verskillende soorte opmerkings onderskei kan word, eerstens op grond van of 'n redigeerbesluit reeds geneem is. Verder word fyner kategorieë onderskei op grond van die taalhandeling in die opmerking self – is dit byvoorbeeld 'n bevel of 'n verduideliking?
[15] Geredigeer deur verskillende redigeerders.

Wat die eerste navorsingsvraag (oor die benutting van opmerkings) betref, is daar gesteun op basiese beskrywende statistiese gegewens ten einde verkennend te werk te gaan om te kan sê of opmerkings wel gebruik word. Die verspreiding van opmerkings binne die onderskeie tesisse self word ook vlugtig aangeraak. Uiteraard is dit nie moontlik om die resultate van die drie gevallestudies na die algemene populasie te veralgemeen nie. Verdere studies sal ook nodig wees om kommentaar te lewer oor die beduidendheid van die aantal opmerkings wat wel gebruik word.

Ten opsigte van die tweede navorsingsvraag word basiese beskrywende statistiese gegewens asook kwalitatiewe ontledings aangebied om 'n oorsig te gee van die soorte tekstuele probleme wat deur die opmerkings betrek word. Die statistiese beskrywing sowel as die kwalitatiewe ontleding berus op 'n raamwerk waarin vyf soorte tekstuele probleme onderskei word (sien afdeling 3.3).[16] Voorts word daar gesteun op die EAC se riglyne vir die etiese hantering van die betrokke tekstuele probleme (sien ook afdeling 3.3) ten einde te probeer bepaal in watter mate redigeerders se hantering van verskillende tekstuele probleme met die internasionale riglyne strook. Dit is egter onbekend of die betrokke redigeerders wel met die EAC se riglyne vertroud is. Wanneer daar afleidings gemaak word oor die ooreenstemming tussen die redigeerders se aktiwiteite en die bestaande riglyne, word daar nie verwys na of die redigeerders die riglyne bewus navolg of nie. Dit gaan eerder oor die ooreenstemming tussen hulle onderskeie praktyke en die bestaande riglyne.

Om die derde navorsingsvraag te beantwoord, is die opmerkings almal eers kwalitatief bestudeer. Op grond van of die redigeerder self 'n besluit oor 'n bepaalde tekstuele probleem geneem het (al dan nie), is twee hoofkategorieë onderskei, wat verder in kleiner kategorieë verdeel is op grond van die taalhandeling in die opmerking.[17] Daar word aanvaar dat om nie 'n besluit te neem nie, maar die student se eie betrokkenheid te stimuleer (deur byvoorbeeld 'n vraag te stel), op 'n bewustheid van die student se leerproses kan dui. Daarteenoor kan die verduideliking van 'n wysiging wat aangebring is ook die student se eie leer ten doel hê, maar dit kan ook 'n sigbaarmaking van die redigeerproses wees. Nietemin dui die blote aanbied van 'n opmerking op 'n bewustheid van kommunikasie met die student op metavlak, alhoewel die individuele opmerkings die prosesbenadering in wisselende mate kan weerspieël. Voorts is basiese beskrywende statistiese gegewens gebruik om 'n aanduiding te gee van die voorkoms van die onderskeie soorte opmerkings.

Die vierde navorsingsvraag is beantwoord deur hoofsaaklik 'n kwalitatiewe ondersoek van die opmerkings self, maar ook deur terug te verwys na die bevindinge van navorsingsvraag 1, 2 en 3.

3.2   Teksseleksie

Die bekombaarheid van geredigeerde tesisse plaas 'n definitiewe beperking op die studie deurdat slegs drie tesisse vir ontleding ingesamel kon word. Daar is spesifiek gesoek na tesisse wat meer as slegs 'n "ligte" redigering ondergaan het, bedoelende dat die teks op meer vlakke

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[16] Die navorser het die verskillende opmerkings self in een (of meer) van die vyf kategorieë ingedeel. Uiteraard is hierdie werkswyse subjektief, en die ideaal sou wel wees dat die kategorisering deur 'n tweede navorser gekontroleer word. Die resultate moet dus teen hierdie agtergrond vertolk word.
[17] Ook in hierdie geval geld die opmerking wat in voetnoot 16 gegee is: Die indeling kan weer eens as subjektief beskou word en resultate moet in die lig hiervan geïnterpreteer word.

as slegs die vlak van kopieredigering geredigeer is.[18] Die uitvoer van 'n sogenaamde omvattende redigering[19] is as kriterium vir insluiting gebruik; dus, redigering waartydens aspekte soos die volgende hanteer is:

- Kopieredigeringsaspekte
- Probleme met sins- en paragraafbou
- Stilistiese probleme (waaronder herhaling, vaagheid en dubbelsinnigheid)
- Opskrifte
- Verwysingstyl
- Interne verwysings soos kruisverwysings, bladsyverwysings, voet- en eindnootnommers en die inhoudsopgawe
  (Redigering van jou tesis of navorsingsverslag g.d.)

Die insluiting van die kriterium van 'n omvattende redigering het enersyds die voordeel dat die drie voorbeelde vergelykbaar is wat die omvang van die redigering betref. In 'n tesis wat slegs "lig" geredigeer is, sal byvoorbeeld herhaling nie uitgewys word nie en ook word stilistiese probleme op 'n baie beperkte wyse hanteer, terwyl omvattende redigering hierdie probleme hanteer. Andersyds het dit implikasies vir die interpretasie van die resultate deurdat dit ook vooroordeel in die hand kan werk: tesisse wat omvattend geredigeer is, bevat moontlik meer kommentaar as tesisse wat "lig" geredigeer is, omdat die redigeerder met omvattende redigering die ruimte het om byvoorbeeld stilistiese probleme toe te lig. Dit is nodig dat die bevindinge teen hierdie agtergrond vertolk word.

'n Aantal privaat redigeerders (almal oud-US-studente) is gekontak met die oog op die verkryging van geredigeerde tesisse as data. Twee redigeerders kon elk een tesis voorsien wat voldoen aan die vereiste van "omvattende" redigering.

Die US Taaldiens is genader om tesisse te bekom wat deur medewerkers geredigeer is. Alhoewel die Taaldiens geredelik toestemming verleen het, moes die toestemming van die betrokke outeurs ook verkry word en 'n versoek is per e-pos aan die outeurs gerig. Slegs drie outeurs het gereageer en toestemming verleen. Eers hierna het die US Taaldiens die geredigeerde tesisse beskikbaar gestel en kon daar (1) vasgestel word wie die redigeerder was[20] en (2) bepaal word of die tesis wel omvattend geredigeer is. Uiteindelik kon een voorbeeldteks van die US Taaldiens gebruik word.

Die geredigeerde tesisse is almal in Engels geskryf, maar verskil van mekaar wat betref die spesifieke kwalifikasie waarvoor die onderskeie studente die tesis ingedien het (hoewel al drie op magistervlak is) en die lengte daarvan:

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[18] Kopieredigering verwys na die redigering van die teks op die sogenaamde mikrovlak, met ander woorde die korreksie van spel-, tik- en basiese grammatikale foute; die nagaan van interpunksie en die uitwys van ontoepaslike woordgebruik. Verwys hier na die US Taaldiens se dokument "Redigering van jou tesis of navorsingsverslag" (g.d.) waarin tussen "ligte" en "omvattende" redigering onderskei word – kopieredigering kan as "ligte" redigering beskou word.

[19] Sien die US Taaldiens se dokument "Redigering van jou tesis of navorsingsverslag" (g.d.) waarin die konsep "omvattende redigering" verduidelik word. Die aspekte wat vervolgens gelys word, is wat die US Taaldiens as 'n beskrywing van "omvattende redigering" beskou.

[20] Sodat daar nie twee tesisse ingesluit word wat deur dieselfde redigeerder hanteer is nie, met die doel om die drie voorbeelde ietwat meer verteenwoordigend te maak.

	Redigeerder	**Graad waarvoor ingedien**	**Lengte**[21]
Tesis 1	Privaat	MIng (Elektriese en Elektroniese Ingenieurswese), US	68pp. Bronnelys nie geredigeer nie
Tesis 2	US Taaldiens[22]	MA (Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie), US	91pp. Bronnelys wel geredigeer
Tesis 3	Privaat	MPhil (Vertaling), US	126pp. Bronnelys wel geredigeer

Tabel 1: Inligting oor die drie tesisse wat as gevallestudies gebruik is

Die studie is beperk deurdat dit slegs 'n eerste en verkennende ondersoek is wat veral ten doel het om 'n ondersoekterrein bloot te lê. Ook word die studie se geldigheid en veralgemeenbaarheid beperk deurdat slegs drie gevallestudies betrek word. Hiernaas plaas al drie redigeerders se bande met die US (hetsy oud-US-studente of 'n US-medewerker) ook 'n beperking op die veralgemeenbaarheid van die bevindinge vir die hele Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Die agtergrond (met ander woorde opleiding en ervaring) van die redigeerders word voorts nie verreken nie. Die feit dat die redigeerders ook nie dieselfde opdrag (in terme van aspekte wat aangeraak moet word) ontvang het nie en daar slegs gesoek is na voorbeelde van "omvattende" redigering, lei daartoe dat die drie gevallestudies nie werklik wetenskaplik met mekaar vergelykbaar is nie – die vergelykings wat aangebied word, het eerder die doel om die terrein te karteer. Inferensiële statistiese ontledings is nie uitgevoer nie, omdat dit nie werklik hier aangedui is nie, gegee die feit dat slegs drie voorbeelde betrek is en ewekansige steekproefneming nie gebruik is nie.

3.3   Data-ontleding: 'n raamwerk

Ten einde die navorsingsvrae (veral vraag ii en iii) bevredigend te kan beantwoord, is dit nodig om op teoretiese vlak die volgende raamwerke vir ontleding aan die navorser te verskaf:

- Die soorte tekstuele probleme wat deur redigeerders hanteer kan word
- Riglyne rakende die soorte tekstuele probleme wat wel binne etiese akademiese redigering hanteer mag word
- Die verskillende soorte probleemoplossingsaktiwiteite wat redigeerders prakties kan toepas

Law (2011) se standaarde vir redigering onderskei duidelike soorte tekstuele probleme. Die stel standaarde wat sy voorstel bestaan uit twee afdelings, naamlik (1) tekstuele take vir redigeerders en (2) buitetekstuele vaardighede vir redigeerders:

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[21] Aantal bladsye met spoorveranderinge; bronnelys ingesluit.
[22] Die redigeerwerk is ook nagesien deur 'n gehaltekontroleur van die US Taaldiens.

1. Tekstuele take vir redigeerders
   1.1 Kopieredigering
   1.2 Stilistiese redigering
   1.3 Strukturele redigering
   1.4 Inhoudelike redigering
   1.5 Proeflees

2. Buitetekstuele vaardighede vir redigeerders
   2.1 Tegniese vaardighede en bedryfskennis
   2.2 Persoonlike en interpersoonlike vaardighede
   2.3 Gespesialiseerde kennis
   (Law 2011:290)

Dit is egter nie duidelik hoe hierdie standaarde verband hou met die bestaande internasionale standaarde (naamlik van EAC en CASE) nie, en Law (2011) verwys ook nie in haar artikel na hierdie bestaande standaarde nie. Law se voorgestelde standaarde berus grootliks op die uiteensetting van die vier soorte redigering deur Mossop (2007), maar dit is onduidelik of die internasionale standaarde tydens die formulering van die voorgestelde standaarde betrek is. Daar is dus besluit om die internasionale standaarde vir algemene sowel as tesisredigering te ondersoek, alvorens enige teoretiese uiteensetting van die moontlike soorte tekstuele probleme aanvaar kan word.

In Australië bestaan die "Australian standards for editing practice" (CASE 2013) sowel as "Guidelines for editing research theses" (IPEd 2010). Albei dokumente sien die redigeertaak as bestaande uit verskeie standaarde,[23] wat redelik maklik omgeskakel kan word in soorte tekstuele probleme waaraan redigeerders tydens die redigeerproses aandag kan gee. Dieselfde geld vir die Kanadese konteks waar sowel die "Professional editorial standards" (2009) as die "Guidelines for ethical editing of theses/dissertations" (2012) deur die Editors' Association of Canada (EAC) neergelê is. Ook die EAC se uiteensetting van verskeie standaarde erken die kompleksiteit van die redigeertaak en kan ook in spesifieke soorte tekstuele probleme omgeskakel word.

Volgens die "Australian standards for editing practice" (CASE 2013) word die volgende standaarde[24] vir redigering onderskei:

A. Professionele praktyk: professionele optrede, kommunikasie, die publikasieproses, regs- en etiese kwessies, ontwerpaspekte, hulpbronne en die drukproses
B. Bestuur en skakeling: projekomskrywing, projekdokumentasie, monitering
C. Inhoud en struktuur: akademiese inhoud, argument, makrostruktuur, volgorde van inhoud, struktuuraanduidings, verwysings
D. Taal en illustrasies: helderheid, toonaard, grammatika, taalgebruik, spelling, interpunksie, grafiese materiaal
E. Volledigheid en konsekwentheid: spelling, vorm en inhoud van voor- en agterwerk, akkuraatheid en volledigheid van kruisverwysings, konsekwente aanbiedingstyl wat betref lettertipe, opskrifte, konsekwentheid, akkuraatheid en volledigheid van verwysings

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[23] IPEd (2010) volg CASE (2013) se indeling in verskillende standaarde.
[24] "Standaarde" kan in hierdie besondere konteks ook vertolk word as dimensies, soorte of vlakke.

Standaard A en B lê tegnies gesproke buite die domein van ware praktiese teksredigering, alhoewel dit verdienstelik is om ook hierdie aspekte as deel van die volledige redigeerproses te verreken. Vir die doel van hierdie studie word hulle egter verder buite rekening gelaat. Standaard C, D en E sou onderskeidelik omgeskakel kon word in die volgende soorte tekstuele probleme wat die redigeerder mag oplet en regstel:[25]

- C: Inhoudelike en strukturele kwessies
- D: Taalkwessies en grafiese materiaal (waaronder illustrasies), maar ook tabelle en ander grafika
- E: Volledigheid en konsekwentheid

IPEd (2010) gebruik, soos reeds genoem, CASE (2013) se standaarde as vertrekpunt en meld spesifiek dat slegs standaard D en E deur akademiese redigeerders hanteer behoort te word. Indien standaard C (inhoudelike en strukturele kwessies) ter sprake kom, mag slegs voorbeelde gegee word, alhoewel dit onduidelik is wat presies hier deur die outeurs van die dokument bedoel word – wat moet die "voorbeeld" behels en in watter mate moet dit verband hou met die onderhawige kwessie in die teks? Word daar dalk bedoel dat 'n riglyn of advies eerder as 'n werklike "voorbeeld" gegee moet word? Wat hierdie punt betref, is IPEd se riglyne dus nog gebrekkig.

Alhoewel 'n standaardwerk oor redigering soos *Butcher's copy-editing* (2006) net soos CASE (2013) die aspekte van inhoud en struktuur onder 'n enkele soort redigering tuisbring, kan daar kritiek teen so 'n groepering ingebring word, omdat ware inhoudelike aspekte tog te skei is van die meer tegniese strukturele kwessies soos volgorde of struktuurmerkers (wat ook opskrifte kan insluit). Dit is voorts ook problematies dat korrekte taalgebruik en 'n stilistiese kwessie soos helderheid saamgegroepeer word onder standaard D; terselfdertyd is dit verwarrend dat verwysings as 'n kategorie onder standaard C gegee word terwyl verwysings ook weer onder standaard E ter sprake kom (nou met spesifieke verwysing na die konsekwentheid, akkuraatheid en volledigheid daarvan). Alhoewel standaard E van die oorhoofse opskrif "volledigheid en konsekwentheid" voorsien word, is dit nie uit die standaarde self duidelik dat slegs hierdie twee kwessies daaronder ingesluit word nie.

Konsekwentheidskwessies word wel in redelike besonderhede aangebied, maar met volledigheid word klaarblyklik nie veel meer bedoel as om te sorg dat alle komponente van die teks in die manuskrip ingesluit is nie. Myns insiens sou hierdie kwessie gewoon onder inhoudelike kwessies aangestip kon word, eerder as om daaraan die status van 'n afsonderlike standaard of kategorie te verleen. Daarteenoor sou konsekwentheid wel bestaansreg as losstaande kategorie kon hê. Opsommend beskou is IPEd se aanbieding van die standaarde redelik rigied, gegee die saampersing van redelik uiteenlopende aspekte (byvoorbeeld taalkwessies en grafiese materiaal) in een standaard. Ook is die perspektief baie beperkend ten opsigte van die skrywer-student se akademiese ontwikkeling, en dit blyk 'n volkome produkgeoriënteerde benadering te weerspieël.

Die EAC se "Professional editorial standards" (2009) bied myns insiens 'n meer genuanseerde indeling met hulle uiteensetting van die redigeertaak as bestaande uit die volgende vyf standaarde:

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[25] Teen die agtergrond van Mossop (2007) en Law (2011).

A. Die grondslae van redigering
B. Strukturele redigering
C. Stilistiese redigering
D. Kopieredigering
E. Proeflees

Die omskakeling van hierdie standaarde in soorte tekstuele kwessies vir die redigeerder se aandag, is in hierdie geval makliker. Standaard A hanteer, soos CASE se standaard A en B, weer eens kwessies wat werklike teksredigering voorafgaan of bepaal, soos byvoorbeeld kennis van die publikasie-, ontwerp- en produksieproses. Standaard B, C en D stem egter ooreen met 'n outeur soos Mossop (2007) se baie pragmatiese indeling van redigering in vier soorte, te wete inhoudelike, strukturele, stilistiese en kopieredigering, alhoewel dit opmerklik is dat inhoudelike redigering as hoofkategorie deur die EAC weggelaat word. Wanneer die standaarde egter van nader beskou word, blyk dit dat inhoudelike kwessies (o.m. standaard B5: byvoegings en weglatings) onder standaard B (strukturele redigering) tuisgebring word. Dit kan egter verwarrend wees, en in hierdie geval is Mossop se onderskeid tussen inhoudelike en strukturele redigering verkieslik. Daar sou ook geargumenteer kon word dat proeflees onder kopieredigering inbegrepe is, en dat die onderskeid eerder relevant is vir byvoorbeeld die publikasieproses in 'n groot uitgewery. Tydens akademiese redigering geskied proeflees as deel van die kopieredigering van die teks.

"Guidelines for ethical editing of theses/dissertations" (EAC 2012) se boodskap oor die reikwydte van akademiese redigering is egter duidelik: "Editing must never affect the content or structure of the student's thesis." Hiervolgens is wysigings wat verder strek as die korreksie van grammatika, idioom, interpunksie, spelling en tegniese aspekte ontoelaatbaar. Nietemin is die EAC se model nie so rigied as wat hierdie voorskrif voorgee nie. Die genoemde dokument maak in werklikheid ruim voorsiening vir die gebruik van opmerkings [26] wanneer die redigeerder van mening is dat verbeteringe ten opsigte van die volgende kwessies aangedui is:[27]

- Strukturele redigering
  - B5 Weglatings, byvoegings
  - B6 Korrektheid van gegewens, voldoende navorsing, inhoudelike balans
  - B7 Formaat – byvoorbeeld die aanbied van gewone teks met baie syfers in die vorm van 'n tabel

- Stilistiese redigering
  - Helderheid
    - C1 Sinskonstruksie
    - C2 Woordkeuse
    - C3 Herskryf van sinne, paragrawe en teksgedeeltes
    - C4 Verstaanbaar maak van tekselemente
    - C5 Tabelle en ander grafiese elemente

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[26] "Opmerkings" word hier generies bedoel en verwys nie spesifiek na die gebruik van die funksie in MS Word nie, alhoewel hierdie funksie met vrug benut kan word.
[27] Die kwessies word benoem soos in die oorspronklike dokument – vandaar die kodes (bv. B5 of C1) wat elk op 'n bepaalde (sub)standaard van redigering dui.

- Stilistiese redigering
  - Vloei
    - C6 Oorgange tussen sinne en paragrawe
    - C7 Interne struktuur van paragrawe – volgorde van sinne
    - C8 Lengte en struktuur van paragrawe
    - C9 Lengte en struktuur van sinne
  - Taal
    - C12 Bondigheid

- Kopieredigering
  - D8 Inkonsekwenthede wat betref logika, feite, kruisverwysings
  - D11 Akkuraatheid: name, titels, aanhalings, webskakels
  - D12 Akkuraatheid: wiskundige en statistiese gegewens
  - D13 Volledigheid: opskrifte, webskakels
  - D14 Ontbrekende verwysings

- Proeflees
  - E7 Tipografiese foute en probleme wat formaat betref
  - E8 Konsekwentheid en akkuraatheid van elemente soos kruisverwysings en titels
  - E13 Inkonsekwenthede: spelling, interpunksie, feite
  - E14 Inkorporeer wysigings deur outeur en ander individue – dui aan indien teenstrydig
    (EAC 2012)

Wat betref die gestelde behoefte aan 'n model wat rekenskap gee van (1) soorte tekstuele probleme wat deur redigeerders hanteer kan word en (2) riglyne oor die soorte tekstuele probleme wat wel binne etiese akademiese redigering hanteer mag word, word daar dus voorgestel dat die EAC se standaarde, eerder as dié van CASE, as vertrekpunt gebruik word. Eersgenoemde standaarde is buigsaam genoeg om die prosesbenadering te akkommodeer, maar tog bied dit riglyne in terme van waar die grense van etiese akademiese redigering lê.

'n Punt van kritiek is wel dat die EAC inhoudelike kwessies (standaard B5-B11) onder strukturele redigering insluit. Kleiner punte van kritiek is dat sommige aspekte van akademiese skryfwerk en redigering nie in die model genoem word nie – 'n akademiese teks se opskrifstruktuur as deel van die teks se eksterne struktuur word byvoorbeeld nie deur die EAC se standaarde verreken nie. Konsekwentheid word ook problematies hanteer deurdat dit onder proeflees en kopieredigering ingesluit word; daarnaas kan die insluiting van inhoudelike konsekwentheid asook die insluiting van verwysings onder kopieredigering bevraagteken word. Op grond van hierdie kritiek word voorgestel dat konsekwentheid as 'n afsonderlike soort kwessie in 'n model ingesluit word, in navolging van Butcher (2006:2) wat "[c]hecking for consistency" as een van vier soorte redigering onderskei. Daar word voorts voorgestel dat die hantering van verwysings onder inhoudelike redigering sowel as kopieredigering ingesluit word – die aanwesigheid (al dan nie) van 'n verwysing word onder inhoudelike redigering geklassifiseer, terwyl die versorging van die formaat daarvan onder kopieredigering geklassifiseer word.

Met hierdie aspekte in gedagte word die volgende raamwerk voorgestel as grondslag vir die ontleding van soorte tekstuele veranderinge tydens die redigeertaak:

1. Inhoudelike kwessies (ook aanwesigheid van verwysings; kan ook etiese kwessies insluit, waaronder plagiaat)
2. Strukturele kwessies
3. Stilistiese kwessies
4. Kwessies wat verband hou met kopieredigering (sluit proefleeskwessies in, asook die formaat van verwysings in akademiese tekste)
5. Kwessies wat verband hou met konsekwentheid

Daar is besluit om kwessies ten opsigte van grafiese materiaal in ooreenstemming met sowel Mossop (2007) as Butcher (2006) se indelings nie in die raamwerk in te sluit nie. Die fokus is derhalwe op talige kwessies.

Wat riglyne oor die etiese redigering van akademiese tekste betref, word die EAC se gedetailleerde uiteensetting (hierbo gegee) vir die doel van die huidige studie aanvaar.

Ten opsigte van die behoefte aan 'n raamwerk aan die hand waarvan kategorieë van probleemoplossingsaktiwiteite beskryf kan word, word Hill (2011) se uiteensetting as vertrekpunt geneem. Volgens hom word die volgende vyf aktiwiteite raakgesien tydens redigeerders se werklike hantering van tekstuele probleme:

1. Korreksie sonder enige kommentaar
2. Korreksie gevolg deur 'n verduideliking wat die wysiging verduidelik/motiveer
3. Oplossing of alternatiewe oplossings
4. Verduideliking waarom die betrokke aspek problematies is en instruksie aan die skrywer om die korreksie aan te bring
5. Behoud van die betrokke tekstuele element

Soos egter uit die praktiese ontleding blyk, is Hill se uiteensetting beperk deurdat daar in die drie bestudeerde gevalle 'n groter verskeidenheid aktiwiteite waargeneem is. Soos later aangetoon word, is daar deskriptief te werk gegaan waarvolgens eers twee hoofkategorieë en daarna elf kleiner kategorieë geïdentifiseer is.

4.   Resultate

4.1   Navorsingsvraag 1

Na aanleiding van die eerste navorsingsvraag ("word opmerkings met behulp van MS Word deur die redigeerders van tesisse en/of proefskrifte benut?") is die aantal opmerkings per tesis en per hoofstuk nagegaan. Die resultate word in tabel 2 asook figuur 1 opgesom:

Tesis	Totale aantal opmerkings vir tesis[28]	Hoofstuk 1	Hoofstuk 2	Hoofstuk 3	Hoofstuk 4	Hoofstuk 5	Hoofstuk 6[29]
Tesis 1 (15 377 woorde sonder hfst. 4)	**51**	13 (1 833 woorde)[30]	20 (6 519 woorde)	9 (5 462 woorde)	Nie geredigeer nie[31]	8 (1 563 woorde)	-
Gemiddeld per 300 woorde[32]	**1,00**	2,13	0,92	0,49	-	1,54	-
Tesis 2 (26 893 woorde)	**182**	30[33] (2 848 woorde)	78[34] (7 819 woorde)	47 (5 343 woorde)	9 (2 483 woorde)	8 (5 664 woorde)	10 (2 736 woorde)
Gemiddeld per 300 woorde	**1,91**	3,16	3,00	2,64	1,09	0,42	1,1
Tesis 3 (39 994 woorde)	**32**	10 (3 824 woorde)	8 (8 901 woorde)	6 (7 948 woorde)	4 (8 233 woorde)	4 (11 088 woorde)	-
Gemiddeld per 300 woorde	**0,24**	0,78	0,27	0,27	0,15	0,11	-

Tabel 2: Opmerkings per tesis en per hoofstuk
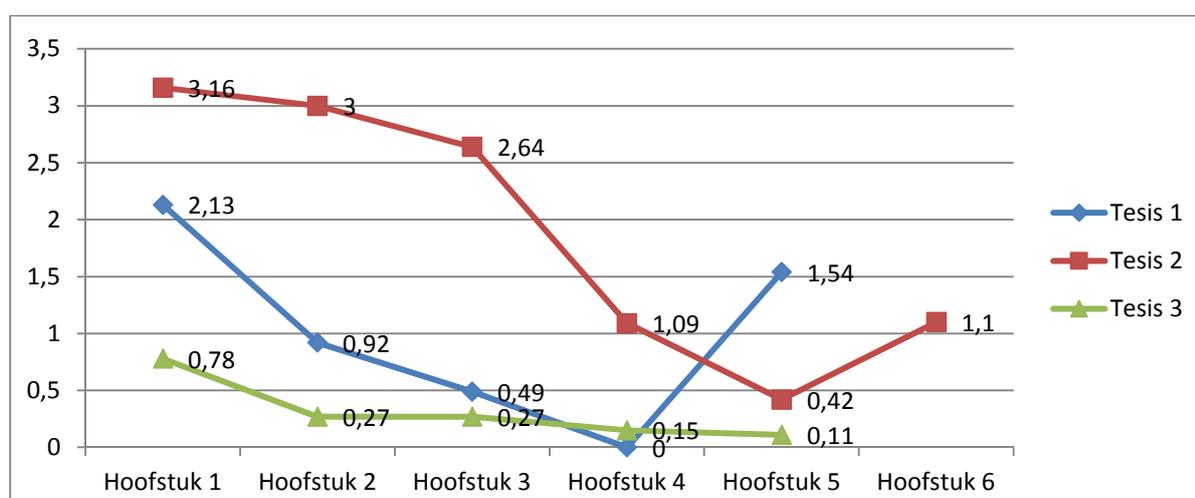
Figuur 1: Tesis 1, 2 en 3 – gemiddelde aantal opmerkings per 300 woorde en volgens hoofstuk

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[28] Telkens sonder die bronnelys bereken.

[29] Slegs tesis 2 het ses hoofstukke.

[30] Woordtelling is telkens vir die geredigeerde weergawe.

[31] Die vierde hoofstuk bevat hoofsaaklik die besonderhede oor en resultate van toetse en metings. Dit bevat min teks en is op versoek van die student nie geredigeer nie. Die hoofstuk is gevolglik nie ingesluit in die ontledings nie.

[32] Daar is besluit om die gemiddelde aantal opmerkings per 300 woorde te bereken, aangesien 300 woorde naastenby een bladsy teks verteenwoordig, maar 'n meer gestandaardiseerde maatstaf as bloot 'n bladsy verskaf.

[33] Die redigering is ter wille van gehaltebeheer deur 'n kontroleur van die US Taaldiens nagesien, wat in hoofstuk 1 5 opmerkings ingevoeg het naas die 25 deur die redigeerder.

[34] Die kontroleur het 1 opmerking in hoofstuk 2 ingevoeg naas die 77 deur die redigeerder.

Die resultate dui aan dat opmerkings wel in al die tesisse gebruik is, en ook in al die hoofstukke wat geredigeer is. Ongeag die inhoud van die opmerkings, kan hierdie bevinding vertolk word as dat die redigeerder wel met die student oor die skryf- en/of redigeerproses kommunikeer.

Alhoewel die resultate nie statisties verwerk is om inligting oor die beduidendheid daarvan te gee nie, is dit nietemin opmerklik dat die routellings vir die eerste hoofstuk van al drie tesisse redelik hoog is, vergeleke met van die ander hoofstukke. Een moontlike rede hiervoor kan wees dat die eerste hoofstuk van 'n tesis allerweë as besonder belangrik beskou word (synde 'n "eerste indruk") en dat redigeerders dus moontlik dienooreenkomstig besondere aandag aan hierdie hoofstuk bestee. 'n Ander moontlike – en selfs meer waarskynlike – rede kan wees dat redigeerders foute/probleme wat deurgaans voorkom reeds tydens die eerste verskyning daarvan aandui en byvoorbeeld verduidelik waarom dit 'n fout/probleem is. Later in die tesis aanvaar die redigeerder dus moontlik dat die kwessie reeds toegelig is. Dit is ook interessant om te let op die groter aantal opmerkings in die laaste hoofstuk van tesis 1 en 2, terwyl die telling vir tesis 3 in vergelyking daarmee laer is. Oor redes hiervoor kan gespekuleer word: die redigeerder van tesis 1 beskou die slothoofstuk moontlik ook as 'n sleutelhoofstuk in 'n tesis.

Verdere studies met 'n groter steekproef sou kon aandui of die tendens om meer opmerkings in die eerste hoofstuk te gebruik, wel beduidend is; ook kan daar vasgestel word of daar enigsins 'n tendens is om ook in die laaste hoofstuk meer opmerkings te gebruik. Voorts sou daar ondersoek ingestel kon word na die effek wat veranderlikes soos die vakgebied en die redigeerder se opleiding en/of ondervinding op die frekwensie en verspreiding van die opmerkings het.

4.2   Navorsingsvraag 2

Die tweede navorsingsvraag behels die soorte tekstuele probleme wat deur die opmerkings betrek word, en in watter mate die waargenome opmerkings met internasionale riglyne in hierdie verband strook. Met die oog op die uiteindelike aanbieding van 'n gevolgtrekking, betrek die bespreking reeds die kwessie van of 'n produk- of 'n prosesbenadering deur die voorbeelde geïmpliseer word.

Tabel 3 en figuur 2 en 3 som die resultate van die basiese beskrywende statistiese ondersoek op:

Tekstuele kategorie	Inhoudelik	Struktureel	Stilisties	Kopieredigering	Konsekwentheid	Totaal
Tesis 1	9[35] **16,07%**	8[36] **14,29%**	5 **8,93%**	30[37] **53,57%**	4[38] **7,14%**	56[39]
Tesis 2	80 **43,95%**	6 **3,30%**	2 **1,10%**	94 **51,65%**	0 **0%**	182
Tesis 3	14[40] **41,18%**	3 **8,82%**	9[41] **26,47%**	8 **23,53%**	0 **0%**	34[42]
Totaal	103 **37,87%**	17 **6,25%**	16 **5,88%**	132 **48,53%**	4 **1,47%**	272[43]

Tabel 3: Soorte tekstuele probleme in opmerkings betrek
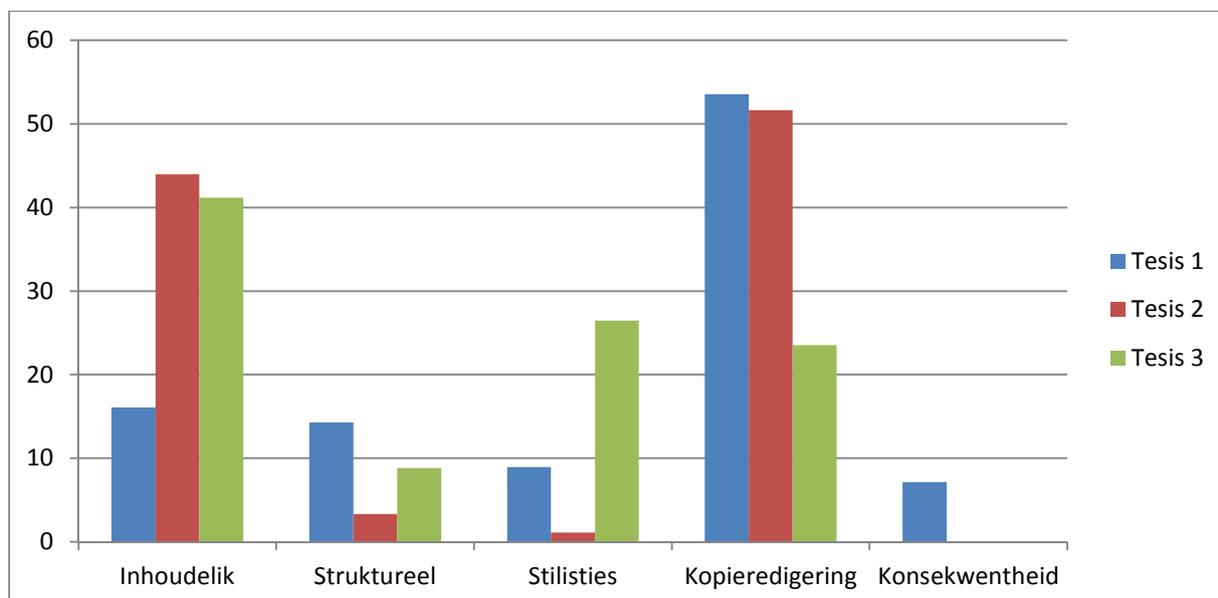
Figuur 2: Soorte tekstuele probleme in opmerkings betrek – per tesis

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[35] Een van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n strukturele probleem te verwys.

[36] Een van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n inhoudelike probleem te verwys.

[37] Vier van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n konsekwentheidsprobleem te verwys.

[38] Vier van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n kopieredigeringsprobleem te verwys.

[39] Die totaal vir tesis 1 is dus hier 56 in plaas van 51, omdat vyf opmerkings almal na probleme op twee vlakke verwys en dus twee keer getel is.

[40] Twee van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n stilistiese probleem te verwys.

[41] Twee van hierdie opmerkings kan ook geïnterpreteer word as om na 'n inhoudelike probleem te verwys.

[42] Die totaal vir tesis 3 is dus hier 34 in plaas van 32, omdat twee opmerkings na probleme op twee vlakke verwys en dus twee keer getel is.

[43] Sien voetnote 40 en 43 vir die totaal van 272 in plaas van 265.
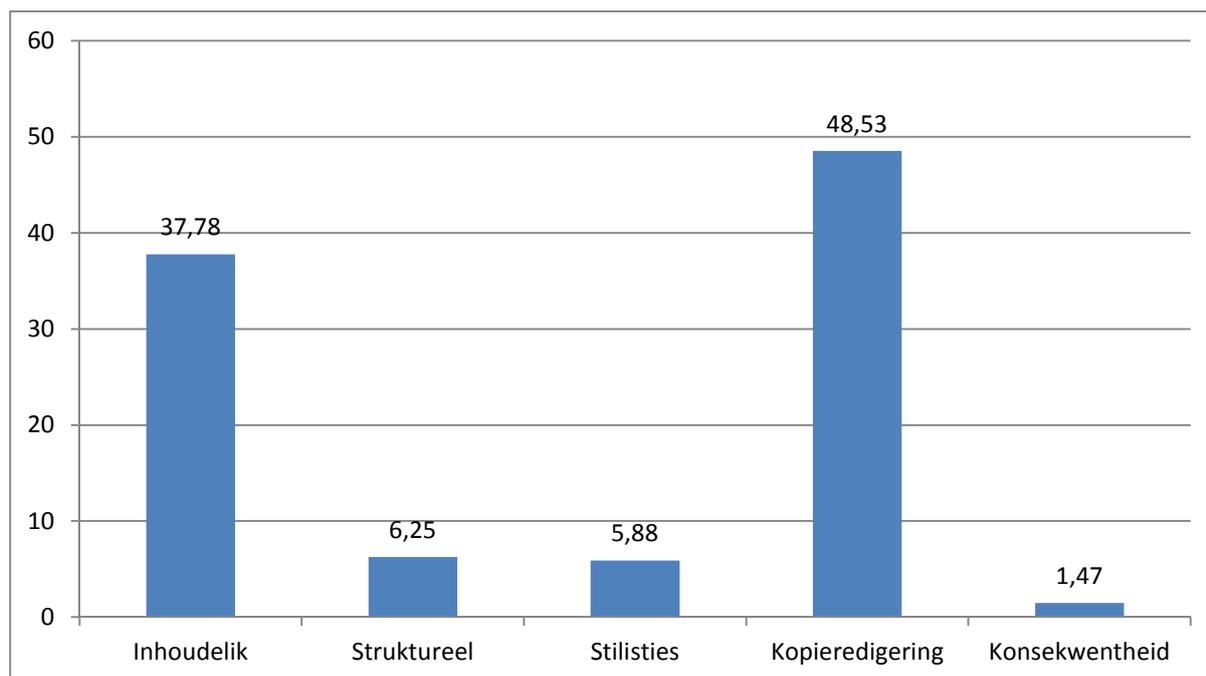
Figuur 3: Totale – soorte tekstuele probleme in opmerkings betrek

Uit tabel 3 asook figuur 2 blyk dit dat opmerkings met betrekking tot al vyf soorte tekstuele probleme in tesis 1 aangebied is. Die kategorie van kopieredigering toon die meeste opmerkings (53,57%). Die student het heelwat foute gemaak, veral wat grammatika betref; ook was daar heelwat foute wat met tipografie verband hou en wat as deel van kopieredigering gereken is. Alhoewel opmerkings oor hierdie foute nie werklik nodig was nie en die redigeerder dit bloot sou kon wysig sonder enige opmerkings, het die redigeerder dit kennelik goedgedink om die student van sulke foute bewus te maak – vergelyk byvoorbeeld: "Hierdie[44] (sic) moet ook in die middel staan ter wille van konsekwentheid" (dus 'n opmerking wat met tipografie verband hou, maar ook die vlak van konsekwentheid betrek). Elders let die redigeerder op dat 'n gedeelte liefs in die verlede tyd aangebied moet word, maar verander dit nie en maak slegs die volgende opmerking: "Moet hierdie opsomming nie dalk [...] in die past tense (sic) wees nie? Die toetse is mos reeds uitgevoer."[45] Deur slegs te bevraagteken eerder as slegs te wysig, spreek 'n duidelike bewustheid van die student se leerproses, oftewel 'n prosesbenadering.

Inhoudelike (16,07%) en strukturele (14,29%) kwessies is onderskeidelik die tweede en die derde meeste hanteer. Met verwysing na die inhoudelike vlak wys die redigeerder byvoorbeeld uit dat 'n slotparagraaf ontbreek (Tesis1:7),[46] ooreenkomstig standaard B5. Die redigeerder oorskry wel enkele kere die grense soos deur die EAC gestel, soos wanneer die student op 'n denkfout gewys word (Tesis 1:9), maar die redigeerder dan 'n oplossing aanbied. Volgens die EAC se riglyne laat hierdie ingreep te min ruimte vir die student om self oor die probleem na te dink en dit op te los. Elders slaag die redigeerder wel daarin om binne die riglyne te werk wanneer 'n probleem ten opsigte van die student se argumentasie verduidelik word (Tesis 1:32), maar die student slegs gevra word om die gedeelte in heroënskou te neem, eerder as wat 'n oplossing voorgestel word. Eersgenoemde en laasgenoemde aktiwiteite kan as

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[44] Die redigeerder bedoel "[h]ierdie vergelyking".
[45] Die redigeerder het oorwegend in Afrikaans met die student – albei se eerste taal – gekommunikeer.
[46] Die bladsynommer(s) in die betrokke voorbeeldtesis word telkens in hierdie formaat gegee.

verteenwoordigend van die prosesbenadering beskou word, terwyl die aanbied van 'n oplossing meer na die produkbenadering op die kontinuum van opmerkings neig.

Op die vlak van struktuur vra die redigeerder in 'n opmerking: "Hoe vloei hierdie (sic) uit die vorige paragraaf?" en dui dan aan dat 'n verbindingsin nodig is, alhoewel die oplossing nie verskaf word nie (Tesis 1:64). Volgens die EAC se standaarde kan hierdie opmerking as verteenwoordigend van die stilistiese standaard C6 (oorgange tussen sinne en paragrawe) beskou word, alhoewel dit myns insiens veel eerder 'n strukturele kwessie aanraak. Nietemin tree die redigeerder in ooreenstemming met die riglyne op deur slegs 'n opmerking in te voeg, waaruit 'n prosesbenadering weer eens blyk.

Die minste opmerkings word ten opsigte van styl (8,93%) en konsekwentheid (7,14%) aangetref. Die student word byvoorbeeld gewys op die konsekwente toepassing van sekere keuses en die ruimte gelaat om self 'n keuse uit te oefen, alhoewel dit volgens die EAC se standaarde nie nodig is nie. Vergelyk in hierdie verband: "Soms gebruik jy real time [sonder koppelteken] en soms real-time [met koppelteken]. Ek maak dit nou oral met 'n koppelteken, maar jy kan gaan kyk of jy dit anders verkies." (Tesis 1:20). Ook hieruit blyk 'n ingesteldheid wat die student se refleksie oor en eienaarskap van sy werk wil stimuleer.

Elders word 'n vraag gestel om die student bewus te maak van die dikwels problematiese aard van die eerste persoon, veral in sekere natuurwetenskaplike omgewings: "Mag jy 'our' en 'I', ens. gebruik?" (Tesis 1:25). Alhoewel die dikwels kontensieuse kwessie van die eerste persoon teenoor die derde persoon volgens outeurs soos Du Toit en Smith-Müller (2003:86) onder styl tuishoort, word dit nie spesifiek in die EAC se standaarde gemeld nie. Die EAC se riglyne oor styl verwys wel na die keuse tussen die aktief- en passiefvorm (wat met die gebruik van die eerste en derde persoon verband hou, soos Du Toit en Smith-Müller [2003:86] verduidelik), maar daar is geen spesifieke verwysing na die hantering van die kwessie van die eerste teenoor die derde persoon nie. Daar word dus aanbeveel dat hierdie kwessie spesifiek in die riglyne ingesluit word – nie om die gebruik van enige opsie af te keur nie, maar eerder om redigeerders aan te raai om te evalueer of die tekstuele keuse binne die konteks van die teks gepas is. Deurdat die redigeerder die student wel hier bewus maak daarvan dat sommige akademiese omgewings die gebruik van die eerste persoon afkeur, word 'n prosesgerigte benadering weerspieël wat ten doel het dat die student krities oor sy/haar eie keuses sal nadink.

In tesis 2 is opmerkings nie ten opsigte van al die soorte tekstuele probleme aangebied nie – daar is byvoorbeeld geen opmerkings ten opsigte van konsekwentheid nie, wat moontlik op 'n produkbenadering kan dui, sou dit met byvoorbeeld tesis 1 se 7,14% vergelyk word (sien figuur 2). Ook ten opsigte van styl (1,1%) en struktuur (3,3%) is daar min opmerkings, alhoewel die voorbeelde daarvan wel van 'n prosesbenadering getuig. Die student word byvoorbeeld gevra om 'n sin te herformuleer ("This is not clear. Please rephrase." – Tesis 2:32) wat in ooreenstemming met die EAC se riglyne (standaard C3) is. 'n Verdere probleem op stilistiese vlak word deur middel van 'n vraag hanteer, sodat die student self oor die betekenis van die woord moet nadink: "Would 'stationery' perhaps be more appropriate?" (Tesis 2:80). Dit is eweneens in ooreenstemming met die EA se riglyne. Hierdie twee voorbeelde spreek van 'n prosesbenadering waar die student self werk om sy/haar skryfwerk te verbeter.

Op die vlak van struktuur is die opmerkings beperk tot opskrifte (eksterne struktuur), soos die volgende voorbeeld aandui: "Do you agree with the numbering of the headings in this section?

Family and community of origin, *The school system* and *Financial factors* are part of the Socio-economic factors and Self-motivation is a different level heading then" (Tesis 2:46).[47] Hier het die redigeerder 'n strukturele wysiging aangebring, maar versoek dat die student dit krities oorweeg. Opskrifte as 'n aspek van eksterne struktuur word nie in die EAC se riglyne verreken nie, soos reeds in afdeling 6 genoem, en dit is dus nie moontlik om kommentaar te lewer oor die navolging van die riglyne nie. Nietemin dui die direkte interaksie met die student op 'n prosesbenadering.

Inhoudelike aspekte ontvang die tweede meeste aandag in die opmerkings (43,95%), en 'n nadere ontleding toon aan dat dit veral ontbrekende verwysings in hierdie kategorie is wat vir die hoë telling verantwoordelik is.[48] Indien die EAC se kategorisering van verwysings wel as vertrekpunt geneem word, kan daar gesê word dat hierdie aspek korrek volgens die betrokke standaard (D14) hanteer word. Daar word egter voorgestel dat toekomstige standaarde vir Suid-Afrika onderskei tussen die *aanwesigheid* van 'n verwysing ('n inhoudelike kwessie) en die *formaat* daarvan ('n kopieredigeringskwessie).

Dit is wel interessant dat sewe van die tien opmerkings in die laaste hoofstuk van tesis 2 met inhoudelike kwessies te make het. Wanneer die student na "poor black and African senior students" verwys, maak die redigeerder die opmerking: "Weren't most of them coloured? What is the difference between black and African? I would suggest you clarify how you make these distinctions somewhere early in your text, since it could be confusing to the reader if it is not clearly set out." (Tesis 2:82). Hierdie vraag word weer teen die einde van die hoofstuk herhaal, wanneer die redigeerder vra: "But what is the difference between African and black?" (Tesis 2:91). Deurdat die opmerking op inhoudelike verfyning afgestem is, oorskry die redigeerder die grense soos deur die EAC gestel. Hierdie soort vrae behoort eerder deur die studieleier gestel te word. Elders maak die redigeerder die volgende opmerking: "Tinto mentions more variables – shouldn't you mention them all? (Tesis 2:84). Hierdie opmerking behoort eweneens tot die domein van die studieleier. Daar kan wel afgelei word dat die opmerkings 'n prosesbenadering weerspieël, omdat hulle refleksie deur die student ten doel het.

In die res van die tesis (hoofstuk 1 tot 5) is daar egter min opmerkings wat met "ware" inhoudelike kwessies verband hou (slegs 60 uit 73) – die meeste van die opmerkings in hierdie kategorie het met verwysings te make. Die student is byvoorbeeld wel gevra om verbandhoudende begrippe toe te lig (Tesis 2:3), die geldigheid van 'n argument is bevraagteken (Tesis 2:37) en ontbrekende inligting word uitgewys (Tesis 2:52). Al hierdie aktiwiteite is in ooreenstemming met standaard B5 en dui op 'n prosesgerigte benadering.

Opmerkings wat verband hou met kopieredigering is die beste verteenwoordig (54,07%). Die student het heelwat foute gemaak wat betref die formaat van die verwysings (wat vir die doel van die ondersoek as kopieredigering gereken is), en baie van die opmerkings in hierdie kategorie hou by nadere ondersoek verband met hierdie soort foute. By 'n gebrek aan leiding deur die EAC in hierdie verband, kan CASE se riglyne geraadpleeg word, wat die formaat van verwysings onder standaard E2.5 insluit. Hierdie soort foute mag volgens CASE sonder enige opmerkings gekorrigeer word, sodat die insluiting van heelwat opmerkings spesifiek op 'n

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[47] Die kommentaar in tesis 2 is deurgaans in Engels. Engels is die student se eerste taal, terwyl die redigeerder se eerste taal Afrikaans is.

[48] Alhoewel die EAC se riglyne die insluiting van verwysings as 'n aspek van kopieredigering beskou, word dit vir die doeleindes van hierdie ondersoek as 'n inhoudelike kwessie hanteer.

prosesbenadering dui. Die student word meermale herinner om bepaalde beginsels rakende verwysings korrek toe te pas, byvoorbeeld: "Use[49] all the authors the first time" (Tesis 2:24, 41, 44, 48, 50) – kennelik met die oog op die vaslegging van die beginsel by die student.

Hierdie prosesgerigtheid word ook weerspieël in ander opmerkings op die vlak van kopieredigering wat die student se betrokkenheid by die versorging van die teks ten doel het. Na aanleiding van ontbrekende aanhalingstekens ('n herhalende fout), vra die redigeerder byvoorbeeld: "Does the quotation end here?" (Tesis 2:63) en "Where does the quotation begin?" (Tesis 2:63). Daar word byvoorbeeld ook 'n opmerking ingevoeg om die student daarop attent te maak dat 'n interne verwysing na 'n daaropvolgende afdeling ingevoeg moet word (Tesis 2:4), wat volgens die EAC se standaarde onder D13 (volledigheid) tuisgebring sou kon word.

Ook in tesis 3 is daar nie opmerkings ten opsigte van al die soorte tekstuele probleme nie (sien tabel 3 en figuur 2). Soos by tesis 2 is opmerkings ten opsigte van konsekwentheid afwesig, wat weer eens op 'n produkbenadering kan dui.

Die opmerkings in tesis 3 word deur inhoudelike kwessies oorheers (41,18%). In enkele van die gevalle oorskry die redigeerder die gestelde grense van etiese redigering, byvoorbeeld wanneer die redigeerder ontbrekende inligting byvoeg en die student vervolgens vra om die byvoeging slegs goed te keur: "This description did not make sense. Please check that the *info I imported* is correct" (my kursivering) (Tesis 3:85).[50] Hier is duidelik sprake daarvan dat die redigeerder verder gaan as wat die EAC se riglyne voorstel (die dokument noem juis eksplisiet dat geen nuwe inhoud bygevoeg mag word nie [EAC 2012:2]). So 'n wysiging kan gesien word as eerder verteenwoordigend van die produkbenadering, omdat die student nie noodwendig op 'n vlak van betekenisvolle leer by die kwessie gaan betrokke raak nie – die student kan dit bloot aanvaar sonder om daaroor na te dink. Daar kan egter ook geargumenteer word dat die student wel die wysiging kan oorweeg en daaruit leer, sodat 'n argument ten gunste van die prosesbenadering in hierdie geval nie sonder meriete is nie.

Wanneer 'n probleem ten opsigte van die logiese vloei van die student se argument verduidelik word (Tesis 3:21), is die redigeerder se handeling egter meer sprekend van 'n prosesbenadering: "I understand that Barnwell refers to the target audience and their grasp of the target language. Then this part does not make sense because it is expected that the target audience will not understand Arabic (the source text) and it is fine to sound like rumblings. This would in my opinion only be applicable if some of the target audience had little or no formal education and struggled with written isiXhosa." Ooreenkomstig die EAC (2012:2) se riglyn om die onus op die student te plaas, word die inhoudelike probleem verduidelik maar die teks word nie gewysig nie.

Opmerkings wat met stilistiese kwessies verband hou, maak 26,47% van die totale getal opmerkings in tesis 3 uit. Dit is opvallend dat die redigeerder die student telkens bedag maak op die noodsaaklikheid van helder formulering – soms ooreenkomstig die EAC se riglyne deur slegs te vra "[p]lease explain or rephrase" (Tesis 3:83), maar soms wel deur self te herformuleer en die student te vra om dit goed te keur (Tesis 3:44). Hierdie teenstrydigheid impliseer die

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[49] Enkele kere ook "[n]ame all the authors the first time".
[50] Die kommentaar in tesis 3 is deurgaans in Engels. Engels is die student en die redigeerder se tweede taal, maar die student het 'n Afrikataal as eerste taal, terwyl die redigeerder se eerste taal Afrikaans is.

gelyktydige toepassing van die proses- en produkbenadering. Die vraag wat hieruit voortvloei, is of verwarring by die redigeerder ten opsigte van sy/haar rol nie die oorsaak van 'n skynbaar ongemotiveerde wisseling tussen die twee benaderings is nie.

Kopieredigeringskwessies (25,53%) neem ten opsigte van tesis 3 die derde plek in, en strukturele aspekte is vierde (8,82%). Soos reeds genoem, is daar geen opmerkings wat met konsekwentheid verband hou nie.

Wat die tweede navorsingsvraag dus betref, is daar hierbo aangedui dat opmerkings wat verband hou met kopieredigering en inhoudelike kwessies die meeste voorkom (sien ook figuur 3). Die totale tellings vir strukturele en stilistiese redigering dui daarop dat hulle in vergelyking met die eerste twee kategorieë redelik min voorkom, en dat konsekwentheidskwessies baie selde in die opmerkings figureer. Met betrekking tot die internasionale riglyne in hierdie verband is daar opgelet dat daar in tesis 1 en 3 veral op die inhoudelike vlak hiervan afgewyk word, deurdat die redigeerders soms inhoud toevoeg, alhoewel daar ook bewyse is dat hulle dit nie in alle gevalle van probleme op inhoudelike vlak doen nie. In tesis 2 het die redigeerder weer in die slothoofstuk indringende inhoudelike vrae gevra wat eerder die studieleier se taak is. Dit wil voorkom (alhoewel die beperkte omvang van die studie weer eens hier beklemtoon moet word) asof redigeerders nie konsekwent is in hulle navolging van óf 'n produk- óf 'n prosesbenadering nie. Verdere navorsing sal nodig wees om aan te dui watter faktore hiertoe aanleiding gee. Is dit dalk die gevolg van rolverwarring, of bloot die gevolg van 'n niebewustheid van die twee benaderings (dat daar dus "intuïtief" geredigeer word, eerder as met een spesifieke benadering in gedagte)?

4.3   Navorsingsvraag 3

Die derde navorsingsvraag het ten doel om die aard van die opmerkings wat aangebied word, te ondersoek. Meer spesifiek word daar gevra of daar verskillende soorte onderskei kan word en, indien wel, hoeveel van elke soort aangetref word.

Die opmerkings is almal kwalitatief bestudeer. Op grond daarvan of die redigeerder self 'n besluit oor 'n bepaalde tekstuele probleem geneem het (al dan nie), is twee hoofkategorieë onderskei, wat verder in kleiner kategorieë verdeel is op grond van die taalhandeling in die opmerking. In totaal is elf kategorieë onderskei:

I   Die redigeerder neem 'n besluit
   1. *'n Wysiging word verduidelik:* Die redigeerder bring 'n wysiging aan, maar verduidelik die relevante reël of beginsel sodat die student se begrip van die probleem verbeter word. Byvoorbeeld: "Daar moet altyd 'n spasie tussen die getal en die SI-eenheid wees. Ek sien op sommige plekke het jy dit wel so. Ek het dit konsekwent so toegepas." (Tesis 1:3)
   2. *Die student word gevra om wysiging(s) te hersien en goed te keur:* Die redigeerder bring 'n wysiging aan en vra die student om dit na te gaan en goed te keur. Dit is egter onseker of hierdie aktiwiteit tot die student se eie leer sal lei. Byvoorbeeld: "Lees net weer hierdie gedeelte en kyk of jy met die veranderinge saamstem." (Tesis 1:8)

3. *'n Element word behou, maar 'n verduideliking word gegee:* Die redigeerder behou die oorspronklike tekstuele element, maar verduidelik waarom hy/sy so besluit het. Die student se begrip van die hantering van die kwessie ter sprake kan derhalwe bevorder word, mits die student daaraan aandag skenk. Byvoorbeeld: "I understand that because this is a quotation the -ize form is used." (Tesis 3:4).

II   Die redigeerder neem nie 'n besluit nie
1. *'n Verduideliking word gegee:* Hier gaan dit daaroor dat kundige advies gegee word sodat die student se kennis en/of vaardighede uitgebrei word; die redigeerder bring egter nie self die wysiging aan nie en die student neem die besluit. Byvoorbeeld: "Die korrekte spelling binne 'n Britse/SA verband is ANALOGUE. Ek weet nie of jy dalk ANALOG (Amerikaanse spelling) verkies om 'n spesifieke vakkundige rede nie, so ek het dit nie verander nie. Ek sien die meeste ander studente het ook hierdie spelling in hulle tesisse [...]." (Tesis 1:12)
2. *'n Voorstel word gemaak:* 'n Moontlike wysiging (of wysigings) word voorgestel; die student besluit self om dit te aanvaar of nie. Byvoorbeeld: "OF 'of conducting this research', OF '[of] carrying out this project', of so iets." (Tesis 1:26)
3. *Die student word herinner:* Die student word daaraan herinner om self sekere aspekte na te gaan. Byvoorbeeld: "Check the quotation marks very carefully in this paragraph and make sure of direct quotations." (Tesis 2:56)
4. *'n Vraag word gestel:* 'n Vraag word aan die student gestel sodat hy/sy self oor die besondere aspek moet besin en self antwoorde moet vind. Byvoorbeeld: "Is dit nodig vir 'bold' en 'italics' hier?" (Tesis 1:23)
5. *'n Probleem word verduidelik:* 'n Bepaalde tekstuele probleem word verduidelik, maar sonder om die oplossing te verskaf. Die student werk self om die verbetering aan te bring. Byvoorbeeld: "But there are only six students" na aanleiding van die student se stelling "[i]t must be noted that six of the students are coloured ... ." (Tesis 2:73)
6. *'n Opdrag word aan die student gegee:* Die redigeerder gee die student die opdrag om self 'n sekere wysiging aan te bring. Die student neem self die verantwoordelikheid vir die korreksie. Byvoorbeeld: "Not right. Please copy correctly." (Tesis 2:61)
7. *'n Blote opmerking word aangebied:* Hierdie soort opmerking behels dat die redigeerder slegs 'n bondige opmerking aanbied wat vervolgens deur die student geïnterpreteer moet word ten einde die probleem te begryp en dienooreenkomstig die korreksie te kan aanbring. Byvoorbeeld: "Citation" (Tesis 2:67), om die student te lei om te besef dat 'n verwysing ontbreek. Die redigeerder bring nie die wysiging aan nie.
8. *'n Probleem word uitgelig, maar die student moet besluit of dit geldig is:* Die redigeerder wys die student daarop dat hy/sy 'n element as problematies beskou, maar die onus is op die student om te besluit of dit inderdaad 'n probleem is en dit op te los indien dit wel die geval is. Byvoorbeeld: "[...] here you refer to third person and in the next sentence to second person. It could be that I do not understand because I do not understand isiXhosa." (Tesis 3:48)

Tabel 4 gee besonderhede oor die voorkoms van die elf soorte opmerkings:

	Die redigeerder neem 'n besluit				Die redigeerder neem nie 'n besluit nie								
	'n Wysiging word verduidelik	Die student word gevra om wysiging(s) te hersien en goed te keur	'n Element word behou, maar 'n verduideliking word gegee	SUBTOTAAL	'n Verduideliking word gegee	'n Voorstel word gemaak	Die student word herinner	'n Vraag word gestel	'n Probleem word verduidelik	'n Opdrag word aan die student gegee	'n Blote opmerking word aangebied	'n Probleem word uitgelig, maar die student moet besluit of dit geldig is	SUBTOTAAL
Tesis 1 (N=56)	3 / 5,36%[62]	2 / 3,57%	0 / 0%	8,93%	8 / 14,29%	12 / 21,43%[51]	7 / 12,5%[52]	19 / 33,93%[53]	5 / 8,93%[54]	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	91,08%
Tesis 2 (N=196)	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	0%	22 / 11,22%[55]	3 / 1,53%[56]	4 / 2,04%[57]	41 / 20,92%[58]	6 / 3,06%[59]	38 / 19,59%[60]	82 / 41,83%[61]	0 / 0%	100%
Tesis 3 (N=34)	7 / 20,59%	7 / 20,59%	1 / 2,94%	44,12%	0 / 0%	5 / 14,71%[63]	0 / 0%	3 / 8,82%	3 / 8,82%[64]	3 / 8,82%	2 / 5,88%	3 / 8,82%	55,87%

Tabel 4: Die voorkoms van die elf soorte opmerkings in die drie tesisse

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[51] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n verduideliking en een is ook 'n vraag.
[52] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n vraag.
[53] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n voorstel.
[54] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n voorstel.
[55] Vier van hierdie opmerkings is ook opdragte; vier is ook blote opmerkings en vier is ook vrae.
[56] Een van hierde opmerkings is ook 'n opdrag en een is ook 'n vraag.
[57] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n vraag.
[58] Vier van hierdie opmerkings is ook verduidelikings; twee is ook blote opmerkings; een is ook 'n verduideliking van 'n probleem; een is ook 'n herinnering en een is ook 'n voorstel.
[59] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n opdrag; een is 'n blote opmerking en een is ook 'n vraag.
[60] Vier van hierdie opmerkings is ook verduidelikings; vier is ook vrae; een is ook 'n voorstel; een is ook 'n verduideliking van 'n probleem en een is ook 'n herinnering.
[61] Drie van hierdie opmerkings is ook verduidelikings; een is ook 'n verduideliking van 'n probleem en twee is ook vrae.
[62] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n voorstel.
[63] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n verduideliking van 'n wysiging en een is ook 'n verduideliking van 'n probleem.
[64] Een van hierdie opmerkings is ook 'n voorstel.

Die verspreiding van die verskillende soorte opmerkings word grafies voorgestel in figuur 4:
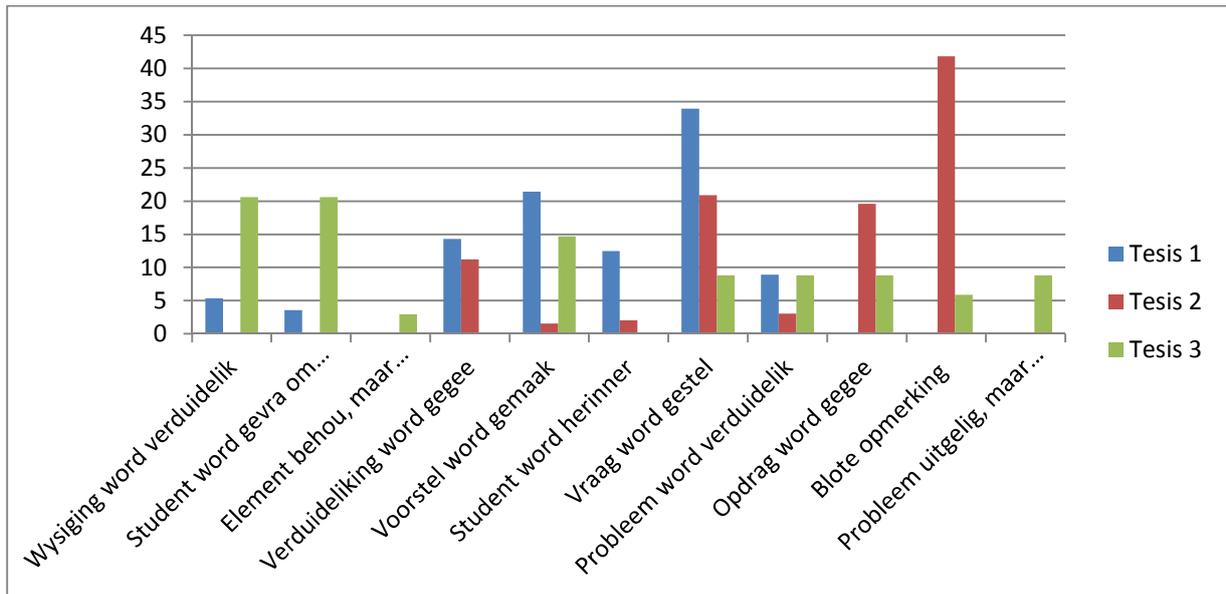
Figuur 4: Die voorkoms van die elf verskillende soorte opmerkings in die drie tesisse

Ten opsigte van die indeling van die verskillende soorte opmerkings moet daar genoem word dat heelwat oorvleueling tussen die soorte in tesis 1 en 2 opgelet word – 'n opmerking bestaan byvoorbeeld uit 'n *vraag* sowel as 'n *herinnering*, soos gesien word in die volgende opmerking in tesis 1: "Deel van watter sin vorm hierdie frase [tussen die wiskundige vergelykings]?[65] Maak net seker hierdie gedeelte lees logies." In so 'n geval is die opmerking as beide 'n vraag en 'n herinnering gereken, en om hierdie rede is die totaal van opmerkings in tabel 4 dan telkens ook meer as in tabel 2. In toekomstige studies kan dit oorweeg word om ook 'n kategorie vir "gemengde soorte" opmerkings te skep.

Verdere studies sal kan bevestig of die elf soorte wat op grond van die drie voorbeelde van geredigeerde tesisse geïdentifiseer is, wel 'n geldige indeling vir opmerkings is.

'n Interessante tendens wat opgelet is, is dat die meerderheid opmerkings in tesis 1 en 2 (onderskeidelik 91,08% en 100%) gegee word waar die redigeerder nié 'n redigeerbesluit neem nie, maar die besluit aan die student oorlaat. In tesis 3 word 44,12% van die opmerkings gemaak wanneer 'n besluit wel geneem word, en 55,87% word gemaak wanneer 'n besluit nie geneem word nie. Hierdie bevinding dui dus op 'n groter bewustheid van die student se eie refleksieproses in die geval van tesis 1 en 2.

4.4   Navorsingsvraag 4

Die laaste navorsingsvraag hou verband met die afleidings wat gemaak kan word oor die navolging van die produk- en/of die prosesbenadering.

In die eerste plek kan die resultate van die ondersoek na die getal opmerkings meehelp om hierdie vraag te beantwoord. Daar is reeds in die bespreking na aanleiding van die eerste

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[65] My invoeging tussen blokhakies.

navorsingsvraag aangedui dat al drie redigeerders wat in die ondersoek betrek is, wel gebruik maak van opmerkings tydens die redigering van akademiese tekste. Dit dui op 'n bewustheid van kommunikasie met die student, en sou versigtig geïnterpreteer kon word as dat die betrokke redigeerders wel na 'n prosesbenadering neig. 'n Kwalitatiewe ondersoek van die inhoud van die opmerkings kan egter help om hierdie bevinding te nuanseer.

Individuele verskille in die hantering van opmerkings deur die drie redigeerders is wel gevind, wat vervolgens deur die aanbieding van enkele kwalitatiewe opmerkings toegelig word. In die geval van tesis 1 (waar die tweede meeste opmerkings gevind is) is die opmerkings feitlik almal so geformuleer dat die student se eie leer moontlik gefasiliteer word. Die redigeerder open die moontlikheid tot selfrefleksie, en die student kan kies om betrokke te raak by die proses om beter te leer skryf. Die redigeerder van tesis 2 (wat die hoogste telling vir opmerkings het) beklemtoon veral tegniese kwessies soos die hantering van verwysings, en kennelik is die doel hiervan dat die student bemagtig word om hierdie kwessies voortaan self op te los. Tesis 3 het die minste opmerkings getoon. In hierdie geval het die redigeerder wel heelwat wysigings aangebring en die student is dan gevra om te hersien en goed te keur; daar is ook heelwat verduidelikings van wysigings wat aangebring is. Die indruk is dat die redigeerder die student eerder in die rol van 'n hersiener plaas; dit kom selfs voor asof die redigeerder sy/haar eie besluite moet regverdig. Alhoewel daar dus tog interaksie met die student is (weliswaar minder as in die geval van tesis 1 en tesis 2), is die interaksie nie soseer daarop gerig dat die student self probleme moet oplos nie en die indruk word geskep dat die redigeerder se eie redigeerproses na die voorgrond geskuif word. Daar is wel enkele gevalle waar voorstelle aangebied word waaroor die student kan nadink en kan besluit om veranderinge aan te bring, of nie (vergelyk: "I am of the opinion that less direct quotations would read better" [Tesis 3:7] en "[m]aybe this statement should be placed elsewhere in the text" [Tesis 3:9]).

Indien daar kwalitatief na die opmerkings in die drie tesisse gekyk word, word die vermoede bevestig dat die redigeerder van tesis 1 sowel as van tesis 2 oorwegend die prosesbenadering voorstaan, alhoewel die redigeerder van tesis 3 na 'n produkbenadering neig, soos wanneer wysigings reeds aangebring is en die opmerkings slegs die wysiging verduidelik. Terwyl dit eerder die redigeerder van tesis 3 se eie redigeerproses is wat op hierdie manier sigbaar raak, is die feit dat die redigeerder deur middel van opmerkings met die student kommunikeer, in beginsel wel 'n aanduiding van 'n prosesgerigte benadering, maar met die kwalifikasie dat die student se betrokkenheid by sy/haar skryfwerk nie noodwendig die hoofdoelstelling van die opmerking is nie. Die verduideliking van 'n wysiging kan die student se leer ten doel hê, maar die gevaar bestaan dat die student in die praktyk bloot die opmerking ignoreer. Voorts kan die verduidelikings ook geïnterpreteer word as teken van die redigeerder se geneigdheid om sy/haar wysigings te verdedig en om die student in die posisie van hersiener te plaas. Hierdie neigings kan 'n redigeerder se optimale benutting van die prosesbenadering in die gedrang bring.

In die tweede plek kan die soorte tekstuele probleme wat hanteer is, tesame met 'n vergelyking van die redigeerder se aktiwiteite met die internasionale riglyne rakende die etiese hantering van sekere kategorieë, ook meehelp om die redigeerder se gerigtheid te beskryf.

In tesis 1 word probleme ten opsigte van inhoud en struktuur veral deur middel van voorstelle, verduidelikings en vrae hanteer. Wanneer herhaling (dus 'n probleem op inhoudelike vlak) opgelet word, verduidelik die redigeerder die probleem: "Hierdie afdeling is met die uitsondering van 'n sin of twee presies dieselfde as afdeling 3.3. Hierdie afdeling moet egter

fokus op die 'recommendations en conclusions' ..." (Tesis 1:65). Dit kom enkele kere voor asof die redigeerder die riglyne van die EAC oorskry, soos deur die opmerking wat aan die einde van die eerste hoofstuk aangebied word: "Ek sou hier net 'n paragraaf of twee insit om die hoofstuk af te rond en dit te koppel aan die res van die tesis. Dalk 'n probleemstelling of doelstelling wat net weer uitgelig word en moontlik 'n uiteensetting van hoofstukke wat volg? Dit eindig op die oomblik 'n bietjie stomp" (Tesis 1:7). Alhoewel standaard B5 (weglatings, byvoegings)[66] wel volgens die EAC se riglyne met behulp van 'n opmerking hanteer mag word, is die vraag hier of die redigeerder nie moontlik te veel leiding gee nie, oftewel, die rol van die studieleier begin vervul nie. Die teenvraag is egter of studieleiers noodwendig altyd kundig genoeg is wat betref akademiese skryfvaardighede, en of daar nie gewerk moet word in die rigting van die verruiming van die redigeerder se rol om ook leiding op die vlak van teksbou (dus die aanbieding van die inhoud en die struktuur) te verskaf nie. Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) het egter reeds bevind dat studieleiers tans nie te vinde is vir 'n redigeerpraktyk waar die redigeerder hulp en leiding ten opsigte van inhoudelike en strukturele kwessies aanbied nie, wat uiteraard 'n ongenuanseerde oproep om die verruiming van die redigeerder se rol problematiseer.[67]

Ten opsigte van kopieredigering is daar in tesis 1 ook heelwat opmerkings, wat veral herinneringe, vrae en raad insluit: "Maak net seker jy noem hierdie volledige name wanneer jy dit die eerste keer in jou tesis bekendstel" (Tesis 1:62), "[t]enses korrek hier?" (Tesis 1:46) en "[d]aar moet altyd 'n spasie tussen die getal en die SI-eenheid wees ..." (Tesis 1:3). Hieruit is dit duidelik dat die redigeerder dit ten doel het om die student te bemagtig om beter te kan skryf.

Die volgende "tegnieke" wat die redigeerder gebruik, is opgelet:

- Vrae word gestel sonder om die "regte" antwoorde te gee – die redigeerder gee soms twee opsies en die student neem self die besluit
- Voorstelle word gegee, maar sonder dat dit soseer die "oplossing" is – die redigeerder gee dikwels ook ('n) alternatiewe oplossing(s)
- Verduidelikings word aangebied (byvoorbeeld van bepaalde taalreëls) en die student los die probleem dan self op
- Probleme word verduidelik maar sonder om dit op te los
- Herinneringe word aangebied sodat die student sal onthou om self sekere wysigings aan te bring

Opsommend is dit dus duidelik dat die redigeerder van tesis 1 die prosesbenadering volg en ook op praktiese vlak daaraan uitvoering gee tydens die redigeerproses.

In tesis 2 het inhoudelike en kopieredigeringskwessies die meeste aandag geniet. By nadere ondersoek spreek die opmerkings van 'n beklemtoning van tegniese kwessies – die korrekte hantering van verwysings geniet veral aandag, soos hierbo genoem is. Die redigeerder dui aan wanneer 'n verwysing heeltemal ontbreek ("Citation" [Tesis 2:3]) sodat die student dit self op die regte plek, in die regte formaat, kan aanbring. Soms word daar verduidelik hoe om 'n bestaande verwysing te korrigeer: "Not in references. Do not use this as citation. Use the name of the relevant government department and the year" (Tesis 2:3). Eersgenoemde opmerking is

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[66] Dus eintlik 'n inhoudelike kwessie, alhoewel die EAC dit as 'n strukturele kwessie interpreteer.
[67] Sien ook afdeling 1 waar die resultate van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) se studie kortliks weergegee is.

ooreenkomstig die EAC se riglyne oor ontbrekende bronverwysings (standaard D14), maar laasgenoemde opmerking lê buite die riglyne in die opsig dat die EAC-standaarde glad nie spesifiek voorsiening maak vir die formaat van verwysings nie – dus 'n tekortkoming in die EAC-standaarde. Wat tesis 2 betref, blyk 'n prosesbenadering uit die verantwoordelikheid wat op die student geplaas word om die bronverwysings self te versorg. Wat die korreksie van taalfoute betref, dui 'n analise van die wysigings egter aan dat taalfoute oorwegend gekorrigeer word sonder om die reëls te verduidelik, wat ten opsigte van hierdie aspek op 'n produkbenadering dui.

Die redigeerder se tegnieke wat in tesis 2 opgemerk is, behels:

- 'n Blote opmerking word aangebied wat deur die student geïnterpreteer word en waarna hy/sy die korreksie moet aanbring
- Die student ontvang opdragte om korreksies aan te bring
- Vrae en opdragte, maar ook raad word gekombineer

Waar die redigeerder van tesis 1 se styl baie ondersteunend is, neig die styl van die redigeerder van tesis 2 om meer direk, opdraggewend en teregwysend te wees. Opsommend kan die redigeerder van tesis 2 gesien word om 'n prosesbenadering in sy/haar werk te weerspieël, maar die hantering van sommige korreksies dui eerder op 'n produkbenadering – veral wanneer byvoorbeeld die hantering van kopieredigeringsaspekte met soortgelyke gevalle in tesis 1 vergelyk word.

Daar is reeds genoem dat die redigeerder van tesis 3 daartoe neig om die student in die rol van die hersiener van die wysigings te plaas. Ook word die EAC se riglyne oorskry wanneer die redigeerder ontbrekende inligting byvoeg en die student vra om dit goed te keur.

Die tegnieke wat by redigeerder 3 waargeneem is, dui op 'n gekombineerde produk- en prosesbenadering:

- Wysigings word aangebring en dan toegelig
- Voorstelle word aangebied
- Vrae word gestel

In die gevalle waar wysigings toegelig word, spreek die opmerking van 'n verskuiwing op die kontinuum in die rigting van die produkbenadering. In hierdie gevalle is die bedoeling waarskynlik dat die student oor die kwessie nadink en byvoorbeeld evalueer of sy/haar oorspronklike stelling wel nodig is: "I do not think it is necessary to mention this" (Tesis 3:12) na aanleiding van inligting wat geskrap is. Alhoewel dit in die praktyk kan gebeur dat die student bloot die wysiging aanvaar en die opmerking ignoreer, kan daar nietemin geredeneer word dat sulke opmerkings wel kritiese nadenke kan stimuleer, en daarom kan die potensiaal daarvan om leer by die student te bewerkstellig, nie bloot genegeer word nie. Terselfdertyd is daar opmerkings wat spesifiek kritiese nadenke by die student wil stimuleer, en dus as prosesgerig beskou kan word. Die volgende opmerking bied byvoorbeeld 'n voorstel aan wat die student se denke probeer rig om inligting toe te voeg: "Perhaps you should put this into context ..." (Tesis 3:59). Dieselfde soort stimulus tot selfrefleksie word gesien in 'n vraag wat die student laat besef dat hy/sy fouteer: "Why are the capital letters used so inconsistently?" (Tesis 3:51). Ook hier behoort die student die oplossing te soek en die korreksies aan te bring.

Derdens kan die soorte opmerkings waarvan die redigeerders gebruik gemaak het, ook meehelp om afleidings oor die redigeerbenadering te maak.

Soos reeds onder die resultate van die derde navorsingsvraag genoem is, word die meerderheid opmerkings in tesis 1 en 2 (onderskeidelik 91,08% en 100%) gegee waar die redigeerder nié 'n redigeerbesluit neem nie, maar die besluit aan die student oorlaat. In tesis 3 word 44,12% van die opmerkings gemaak wanneer 'n besluit wel geneem word, en 55,87% word gemaak wanneer 'n besluit nie geneem word nie. Hierdie bevinding kan geïnterpreteer word as dat die redigeerders van tesis 1 en 2 sterker klem lê op die student se eie betrokkenheid en besluitneming as die redigeerder van tesis 3, alhoewel die meerderheid van die opmerkings in tesis 3 steeds gegee word sonder dat 'n besluit deur die redigeerder geneem word. Hiervolgens weerspieël al drie geredigeerde tesisse 'n prosesgerigte benadering – tesis 1 en 2 feitlik volkome, terwyl die oorwig in die geval van tesis 3 veel kleiner is.

 Ten opsigte van tesis 1 blyk dit dat vrae die meeste voorkom (19), gevolg deur voorstelle (12), verduidelikings (8) en herinneringe (7) in onderskeidelik die tweede tot die vierde plek. Hierdie resultate suggereer 'n redigeerbenadering wat refleksie deur die student self wil stimuleer, alhoewel die aanbieding van voorstelle in die tweede plek tog 'n mate van 'n produkingesteldheid kan suggereer. Wanneer die voorstelle egter kwalitatief beskou word, blyk dit wel dat die redigeerder nooit voorskriftelik te werk gaan nie en eerder moontlike oplossings aanbied; die gereelde optrede van die woord "dalk" versterk dan ook die vermoede dat die voorstelle steeds die student se kritiese omgang met sy/haar skryfwerk wil stimuleer. Die aanbieding van heelwat verduidelikings gee nietemin blyke daarvan dat die redigeerder daarop ingestel is dat die student self sekere vaardighede moet aanleer.

In tesis 2 kom opmerkings wat as "bloot opmerkings" beskryf kan word, die meeste voor (82), gevolg deur vrae (41), dan opdragte (38) en dan verduidelikings (22). Baie oorvleueling word egter gevind.[68] 'n Kombinasie van 'n blote opmerking en 'n verduideliking van die probleem word byvoorbeeld in die volgende voorbeeld opgelet: "Not in references. Author, year and page number" (Tesis 2:35). Hier is die eerste sin die verduideliking van 'n probleem, gevolg deur 'n blote opmerking wat deur die student geïnterpreteer moet word. Hierdie enkele opmerking betrek twee probleme: die bron word nie in die bronnelys gelys nie, en die outeur, jaar en bladsynommer word nie in die inteksverwysing verskaf nie (slegs die afgekorte titel word gegee). Die student moet dus self die betrokke bron by die bronnelys voeg, en ook die inteksverwysing korrigeer. Dit is beduidend dat die redigeerder nie 'n voorbeeld aanbied van hoe die inteksverwysing behoort te lyk nie – die student word dus gedwing om self die formaat na te slaan en die wysiging aan te bring.

Die feit dat blote opmerkings so besonder sterk verteenwoordig word (82 uit die totaal van 196), kan ook daarop dui dat die redigeerder die student juis self wil laat nadink. Daar kan egter gevra word of die gebruik van sulke kriptiese opmerkings in alle gevalle suksesvol sal wees, omdat 'n redelike groot inset van die student verwag word – die opmerking moet eerstens geïnterpreteer word alvorens die korreksie oorweeg en aangebring kan word. 'n Nadere ondersoek dui egter aan dat spesifiek die opmerkings "[p]age number" en "[c]itation" baie dikwels voorkom. 'n Nagraadse student behoort met min moeite te kan aflei dat hierdie aspekte ontbreek, sodat die beswaar van té kriptiese opmerkings hier nie geldig skyn te wees nie.

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[68] Sien besonderhede in die voetnote by tabel 4.

Verdere studies sou byvoorbeeld kon nagaan of te kriptiese opmerkings in die praktyk tot gebrekkige begrip deur die student – gevolg deur ontoereikende korreksies – kan lei.

Tesis 3 word gekenmerk deur min oorvleueling. Die soort opmerking waarin die student gevra word om wysigings te hersien en goed te keur, kom saam met die verduideliking van wysigings die meeste voor (beide 7). Voorstelle (5) kom hiernaas die meeste voor. Hierdie resultate suggereer dat die betrokke redigeerder moontlik 'n redelik tentatiewe redigeerstyl het, wat daarvoor sorg dat die student in die rol van "hersiener" van die wysigings geplaas word. Eerder as wat die student se aktiewe leer deur byvoorbeeld vrae gestimuleer word, bied die redigeerder wysigings aan wat die student dan kan goedkeur of verwerp. Nietemin dui die enkele vrae (3) asook die verduideliking van probleme (3) tog op 'n beperkte bewustheid van die student se leerproses.

## 5.	Slotsom

Ten opsigte van die navorsingsvraag blyk dit dat opmerkings wel benut word, alhoewel die drie tesisse nie in dieselfde mate blyke gee van 'n benutting van opmerkings nie. Die basiese beskrywende statistiese gegewens wat vir hierdie drie gevallestudies verskaf is, kan egter nie beduidendheid aandui nie, en verdere studies met 'n groter en meer verteenwoordigende steekproef sal nodig wees. In beginsel dui die gebruik van opmerkings in die drie redigeerprojekte op 'n aanwesigheid van die prosesbenadering, maar dit is nodig om die resultate van die kwalitatiewe ontledings te betrek om nuanses tot hierdie afleiding toe te voeg.

Die kwalitatiewe ontledings het aangedui dat die prosesbenadering nie suiwer toegepas word nie. Die individuele projekte is telkens 'n kombinasie van die twee benaderings, alhoewel die prosesbenadering in tesis 1 en 2 sterker teenwoordig is. In tesis 3 daarteenoor, is daar heelwat opmerkings wat na die produk-ekstreem op die kontinuum neig. Die resultate van die kwantitatiewe ondersoek na die elf geïdentifiseerde soorte opmerkings bevestig hierdie bevinding.

Verdere studies sal kan aandui of 'n hibriede benadering, soos in tesis 3, gereeld voorkom en indien wel, watter faktore so 'n benadering aanmoedig. Verdere studies sal ook kan aandui of sekere redigeeraktiwiteite die gevolg van 'n bewuste navolging van 'n bepaalde redigeerbenadering is. Daar sal ook in toekomstige studies aangetoon kan word of 'n hibridiese benadering wat deur teenstrydighede gekenmerk word, dalk die gevolg van redigeerders se verwarring oor hulle eie rol is.

Die drie redigeerders in die ondersoek blyk tot 'n mate bewus te wees van die grense van etiese redigering sowel as van die belangrike rol wat deur die student self vervul moet word om sy/haar akademiese skryfwerk te versorg. Tog is daar gevalle waar die redigeerder die grens oorskry en 'n funksie begin vervul wat eerder dié van die studieleier is. Daar kan geargumenteer word dat die daarstel van deurdagte riglyne vir die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie redigeerders kan help om te weet wat die omvang van hulle ingrepe mag wees. Terselfdertyd kan sulke riglyne help om die verhouding tussen student, studieleier en redigeerder te omskryf en elk se onderskeie take uit te spel.

Hierdie ondersoek het veral implikasies op vier vlakke, wat ook rigtinggewend is vir verdere navorsing, professionele standaardiseringsaktiwiteite en die beplanning van opleiding. Eerstens

moet die gevisualiseerde groter studie verder ondersoek instel na die vergestalting van die produk- en die prosesbenadering tydens akademiese redigering. Deelstudies binne hierdie projek kan insluit die bepaling van die beduidendheid van tendense wat in die huidige studie opgelet is, soos die verspreiding van opmerkings binne 'n tesis aan die hand van 'n meer verteenwoordigende steekproef. Ook kan die invloed van veranderlikes soos die vakgebied en die redigeerder se opleiding en/of ondervinding op die frekwensie en verspreiding van die opmerkings nagegaan word. Voorts kan ondersoeke onderneem word wat fokus op ander redigeeraktiwiteite as net die benutting van opmerkings – byvoorbeeld ondersoeke wat tekstuele wysigings self ondersoek en tendense karteer wat betref die soorte tekstuele probleme wat deur redigeerders opgelos word.

Tweedens behoort die rol van die redigeerder van akademiese tekste verdere aandag te ontvang en moet die vraag veral gestel word of die omskrywing van die akademiese redigeerder se taak nie dalk verruim moet word om hom/haar in staat te stel om meer advies aan te bied wat byvoorbeeld teksboukwessies betref nie. Hierdie vraag behoort teen die agtergrond van Kruger en Bevan-Dye (2013) se studie oor studieleiers se persepsies ondersoek te word, met die moontlikheid dat bestaande studieleidingsmodelle via gesprek uitgedaag kan word.

Derdens behoort riglyne (of standaarde) vir spesifiek die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie geformuleer te word, wat die rol van die studieleier asook die verhouding tussen studieleier, student en redigeerder sal formaliseer.

Laastens behoort die opleiding van redigeerders die eise van akademiese redigering as 'n spesifieke soort redigering te hanteer, sodat redigeerders in die praktyk toegerus is om hierdie soort tekste op 'n meer eenvormige wyse te hanteer, wat ook nie die grense van etiese redigering oorskry nie. Dit sal insluit riglyne oor die optimale benutting van opmerkings – wanneer dit aangedui is en watter vorm dit moet aanneem.

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A systemic functional analysis of conjunction in *Au Revoir les Enfants*

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Abstract

This paper involves an analysis of conjunctive cohesive markers in the subtitled version of the film *Au Revoir les Enfants* (Malle 1989) from a systemic functional perspective. The underlying hypothesis is that in the translation of this film from French into English some conjunctive cohesive markers are omitted because of time and space constraints (Gottlieb 1992) as well as the principle of relevance (Bogucki 2004) imposed on the subtitles. Thus, four types of coordinators (i.e. *et*, *mais*, *car* and *donc*) and five types of subordinators (i.e. *que*, *si*, *quand*, *comme* and *parce que*/ *puisque*) are analysed at the clause and clause-complex level, respectively. The omission of these conjunctions is accompanied by shifts and transformations at the lexical, phonological and syntactic levels. On the basis of these shifts and transformations, twelve strategies are developed to serve as models or teaching mechanisms in subtitler training.

Keywords: systemic functional analysis, systemic functional grammar, conjunction, interlingual subtitling, subtitling strategies

1. Introduction

Conjunction is one type of cohesive marker that establishes semantic relationships in a spoken or written text. In this study, conjunction is analysed in *Au Revoir les Enfants* (Malle 1989), a film which won the Venice Film Festival's Golden Lion Award in 1987. The film was translated into English by Anselm Hollo in 1988 and subtitled in 1989. My interest in this film lies in that it depicts the scenes of contemporary social life based on Malle's experience. The dominant scenes are, for example, the courage of the Catholic monks and teachers to defy the authority of the Gestapo in German-occupied France, a mother's love for her children, the devotion of teachers to educate young French boys in the winter, the exaggerated discipline of the German soldiers, and both the arrest and death of Father Jean as well as the refugee children in concentration camps in Auschwitz and Mauthausen. More importantly, the film clearly demonstrates how subtitlers manipulate both syntax and lexis when some conjunctions are omitted in the translation of the film dialogue from French into English.

The analysis of conjunction in the film requires both a systematic and contrastive investigation to ascertain those conjunctive cohesive markers which have been omitted. This systematic and contrastive investigation uses systemic functional grammar (SFG) as a tool which, to my knowledge, has not been carried out in previous research. It is based on a corpus of 94 French clauses and their English translation equivalents (see Appendix) in the film and in the book (Malle and Hollo 1988). These items will serve as examples.

In Linguistics, conjunction has been discussed in some detail by scholars such as De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) and Halliday and Hasan (1976). This paper focuses on the systemic model of conjunction developed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and formalised by Halliday (1985/2004) and his followers (e.g. Bloor and Bloor 1995, Eggins 1994, Thompson 2004). According to this model, conjunction may be defined as a cohesive resource, the devices of which signal the relationships that exist between clauses or clause complexes in a text. As suggested by Halliday and Hasan (1976:233-235), this definition excludes coordinate relations that are established between syntactic elements (such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs) within the clause.

In Translation Studies (TS), conjunction has been researched by, for example, Baker (1992) and Hatim and Mason (1990). Following Halliday and Hasan (1976), Baker (1992:190-191) considers conjunction as a set of formal markers that are used to relate clauses, sentences and paragraphs to each other in a text. These markers signal the way in which the writer wants the reader to relate the subsequent chunk of information to the previous one. They include five main categories: additive (e.g. *and*, *or*, *furthermore*), adversative (e.g. *but*, *yet*, *however*), causal (e.g. *so*, *consequently*, *because*), temporal (e.g. *then*, *next*, *finally*), and continuative (e.g. *now*, *of course*, *well*). The continuative items are discourse markers which, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976:267), have a cohesive force in the text but do not express any particular one of the other four conjunctive relations.

However, for translation purposes, Baker (1992:191-192) departs from Halliday and Hasan's theory of cohesion and thus broadens her conception of conjunction which comprises both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. As she rightly observes, "it makes more sense to take a broader view of cohesion and to consider any element cohesive as long as it signals a conjunctive-type relation between parts of a text, whether these parts are sentences, clauses (dependent or independent), or paragraphs" (Baker 1992:192). Baker's view is also adopted in this study to simplify the analysis of conjunction in film translation.

Hatim and Mason (1990) discuss conjunction along the same lines as De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), and focus on junction and inter-propositional coherence. Junction refers to "surface signals of relations among events or situations in a text world" (Hatim and Mason 1990:205-206). These relations include those developed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and adopted by Baker (1992), as well as the general semantic relations elaborated by Crombie (1985) in terms of binary values such as Cause–Effect or Condition–Consequence. Hatim and Mason (1990:206) note that these relational categories are always inferable when they are not explicitly signalled in natural discourse.

Inter-propositional coherence involves explicit and implicit relations in both spoken and written discourse. Explicit relations are considered as internal relations holding between propositions in the text world, whereas implicit relations are considered as external relations

holding between events and processes in the real world. When inter-propositional relations are not explicitly signalled, Hatim and Mason (1990:208) suggest that readers are constantly involved in using the inferencing strategy to make the text coherent. In brief, while junction is seen as a cover term for overt signals that lead to cohesion, inter-propositional relations are viewed as perceived intentions that should always be preserved in translation in order to maintain the coherence of a text.

In interlingual subtitling, conjunction is discussed by De Linde and Kay (1999) while dealing with textual cohesion. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976), De Linde and Kay (1999:29) argue that conjunction is different from reference, substitution and ellipsis in that its cohesive devices "signal relationships between parts of a text [and thus] are not anaphoric in nature". Like Halliday (1985/2004), the authors distinguish between four main types of conjunction: additive (e.g. *and*, *or*), adversative (e.g. *but*, *however*), causal (e.g. *so*, *consequently*), and temporal (e.g. *then*, *finally*). It is interesting to note that in this taxonomy De Linde and Kay have ignored the continuative items that were included in Baker's (1992) classification and which were investigated by Chaume (2004).

However, in line with De Linde and Kay (1999:29-30), it may be argued that the role of these conjunctions is to make the relationships explicit in the text and not to create new ones. This implies that when two clauses are not conjoined, they may be juxtaposed for the continuity of the message in spoken or written discourse. The juxtaposition of the two clauses will thus serve to signal the relationship through binary values (Crombie 1985). This occurs in different languages and may be one of the reasons why subtitlers are tempted to omit some cohesive markers which are inferable from the context.

At this stage, it may be argued that the notion of 'conjunction', as it is discussed by different scholars surveyed earlier, raises a number of issues regarding its status, its taxonomy, and the juxtaposition of clauses which leads to binary values. Thus, the key questions that arise before discussing the different types of conjunction in both French and English are: How is conjunction conceived of in this article? Furthermore, is it appropriate to consider discourse markers and binary values as conjunctions or as transitions?

Following Bloor and Bloor (1995:24, 56), it must be said that there is some ambiguity in the use of the term "conjunction" which, in Halliday and Hasan's (1976:242-243) classification as well as that of Halliday (1985/2004:542-543), includes both conjunctions and adverbials. This confusion may be clarified by referring to research on connectives and connection in French linguistics (cf. Chaurand 1987, Corblin 1987), and by adopting a pragmatic approach to conjunction in systemic functional linguistics (SFL). In this approach, the CONJUNCTION system consists of connectives that are cohesive resources establishing connections between clauses, clause complexes, and paragraphs in a given text. These connectives comprise two types of resources, namely conjunctions and transitions (Chaurand 1987:216).

Conjunctions are those cohesive resources which connect ideas between clauses of equal status through coordination, and between clauses of unequal importance through subordination. Item 57 from the data is a good example of the coordinating conjunction *et* ('and'), whereas item 60 clearly illustrates the subordinating conjunction *si* ('if').

57.   F: Les richesses matérielles corrompent les âmes *et* dessèchent les cœurs.
       E: Worldly wealth corrupts souls *and* withers hearts.
       H: Material riches corrupt souls *and* desiccate hearts.

60.   F: *Si* ton ennemi a faim, donne-lui à manger. *S'*il a soif, donne-lui à boire.
       E: *If* thine enemy hunger, feed him. *If* he thirst, give him drink.
       H: *If* your enemy is hungry, give him food. *If* he is thirsty, give him drink.

In these two items, both conjunctions have cohesive power because they join two semantic entities encoded in the clauses. These clauses are the minimum grammatical units which correspond to speech acts as basic semantic units of communication. This means that for a conjunction to have cohesive power it should join two or more clauses at the grammatical level which correspond to two or more speech acts at the semantic level. As Corblin (1987:153) and Tesnière (1959:44) argue, there is never a structural or grammatical connection without a semantic connection.

By contrast, transitions are cohesive resources which connect ideas between separate clauses and/or clause complexes to clarify relationships between them. These transitions are established through discourse markers (Chaume 2004, Ducrot and Bourcier 1980, Schiffrin 1987) or continuatives (Halliday and Hasan 1976:228, 267), and through binary values (Crombie 1985:3). These binary values establish both general semantic relations in any type of discourse, and interactive semantic relations in conversational discourse. Whereas discourse markers are overt signals, binary values may be signalled explicitly or implicitly between juxtaposed clauses. When they are implicit, they are inferable from the context. Items 10 and 51 illustrate different types of transition.

10a.   Il faut que je mange. Je fais de l'anémie.
10b.   Il faut que je mange *parce que* je fais de l'anémie.
10c.   I must eat *because* I'm anemic.

51.   F: Et les allemands, en fait, c'est vrai *qu'*ils ont tiré?
       E: *What about* the Germans? Did they really fire at you?
       H: And the Germans? Did they fire at you?

In 10a, the transition is open since there is no linking signal to establish the relationship between the two clauses. In this case, the binary value of Result–Reason that establishes the semantic relation is assigned to the two clauses by inference. In contrast, this binary value is explicitly signalled in (10b) and (10c) by the subordinator *parce que* and *because*, respectively.

In 51, however, the transition is closed since the discourse marker *et*, translated as 'what about', fills the clause-initial position. This discourse marker indicates both the transition from one idea to another and the continuity of the message at the clause level.

It is important to note here that open transitions are more frequent in conversational discourse as hearers are constantly involved in making inferences in order to establish semantic connections between juxtaposed clauses. These semantic connections lead hearers to interpret the clauses which are thus juxtaposed as pieces of cohesive and coherent discourse. Figure 1 is

a summary of the CONJUNCTION system, or the system of connectives that is involved in establishing semantic relations in cohesive and coherent discourse.
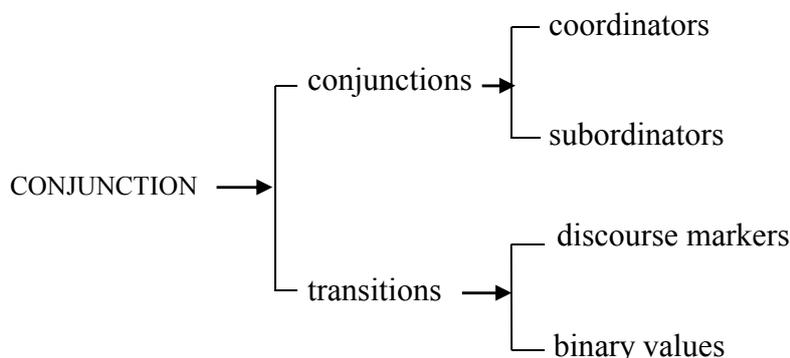

Figure 1. The CONJUNCTION system

However, there is no obvious reason to limit the CONJUNCTION system to the above categories or parts of speech. Chaurand (1987) suggests that there are other potential connectives, such as the verb, which could be included in the system. He argues quite strongly that (English translation to follow):

> L'étude des connecteurs s'est surtout orientée jusqu'ici vers les conjonctifs et les adverbiaux. Les autres parties du discours, le verbe en particulier, ont été, à quelques exceptions près, négligées, ou fondues à d'autres catégories qui paraissaient à cet égard prédominantes ou même exclusives. Je me propose […] de montrer à quel point certains verbes sont à la base de connexions multiples et variées.
>
> (Chaurand 1987:216)

> ['Up to now, the study of connectors has been especially oriented towards conjunctions and adverbials. The other parts of speech, the verb in particular, have been, with a few exceptions, neglected, or fused into other categories which, in this regard, seemed to be predominant or even exclusive. I propose to show […] to some degree how some verbs are at the root of multiple and various connexions.']

Thus, following Chaurand (1987) and Corblin (1987:152-156), conjunction as a system should be replaced by the term "connexion". The reason for this is that the word "conjunction" is restrictive on grammatical grounds, whereas the term "connexion" is neutral and has the potential to include, characterise and describe the cohesive resources of conjunctions, transitions and what Chaurand (1987:223-225) refers to as "verbes connecteurs" or connective verbs. The latter are verbs and verbal expressions which are involved in establishing semantic connections between clauses and/or clause complexes in interactive discourse. It is important to note that the term "connexion", denoting the system, will be spelt with an 'x' in this article to differentiate it from its counterpart "connection", which should be reserved for semantic, structural or any other connections. Since it is common practice in SFL to use capital letters for systems and lexicogrammatical terms (e.g. Adjunct, Mood, Theme, etc.), "connexion", as

a system governing all connectives in the patterns of cohesion and coherence, will henceforth be written in capitals as represented in Figure 2.
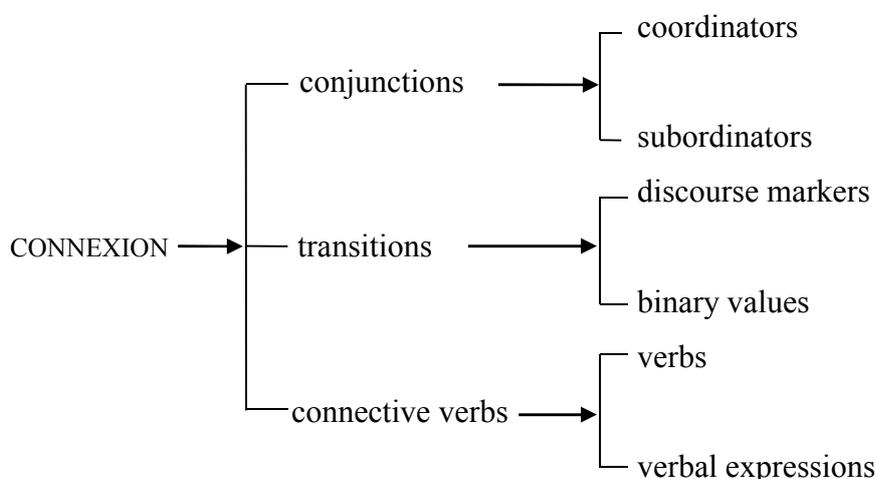

Figure 2. The CONNEXION system

In this article, the focus will be on the system of conjunctions, leaving the transitions and connective verbs for further research. The systems of conjunctions in French and English are described in sections 2 and 3, respectively.

2.   The system of conjunctions in French

Conjunctions in French have already been dealt with in traditional grammar by scholars such as Cayrou, Laurent and Lods (1960), Dubois and Lagane (1973), Grevisse (1957), and Price (2003). This section describes conjunctions in French from a systemic functional perspective.

Following Caffarel (2006), conjunctions are investigated in both the logical and the textual metafunctions. The logical metafunction is one of the two components which make up the grammar of ideation, the other component being the experiential metafunction. The logical metafunction is mainly concerned with the provision of commonsense logic which contributes to establishing chains of functional and semantic relations between clauses. The textual metafunction, on the other hand, is a component of what Caffarel (2006:165) calls the "enabling grammar", and what is referred to in this article as the "grammar of text creation". This metafunction is mainly concerned with "the use of language to form coherent text as realised through THEME and INFORMATION" (Martin 1981:311) and with reference to its context of situation and culture.

In the logical metafunction, conjunctions relate to the CLAUSE COMPLEX system. This system distinguishes between two types of interdependency relations, namely parataxis and hypotaxis. Parataxis takes place between clauses of equal importance, and comprises coordination and juxtaposition as well as direct speech and thought. Hypotaxis occurs between clauses of unequal status, and includes subordination (excluding embedding) and indirect speech and thought. The PARATAXIS and HYPOTAXIS systems are known together as the INTERDEPENDENCY system or TAXIS. This system interacts with the LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION system that consists of two types of relations, namely expansion and projection.

Expansion comprises circumstantial relations introduced by subordinators as well as the relations of addition and apposition. Following Caffarel (2006:23), circumstantial relations refer to the relations of enhancement, the relations of addition to extension, and those of apposition to elaboration. These relations may combine with TAXIS. Thus, for example, the combination of parataxis and elaboration produces juxtaposition and addition, and the combination of parataxis and extension and that of parataxis and enhancement leads to coordination. In contrast, the combination of hypotaxis and elaboration yields non-defining relative clauses; the combination of hypotaxis and extension and that of hypotaxis and enhancement results in adverbial clauses via circumstantial subordination.

Projection comprises the notions of 'direct speech' and 'indirect speech'. As with expansion relations, projection relations can combine with TAXIS. For instance, the combination of projection and parataxis yields direct quoted speech (locution) or thought (idea). In contrast, the combination of projection and hypotaxis produces indirect quoted speech or thought. In brief, projection and parataxis are characterised by the juxtaposition of clauses in direct speech, and projection and hypotaxis by the subordination of clauses in indirect speech. Figure 3 demonstrates the composition of the CLAUSE COMPLEX system and Figure 4 the interaction of TAXIS with LOGICO-SEMANTIC relations in French. These figures have been adapted from Caffarel (2006:24, 26) to which the reader is referred for further details.
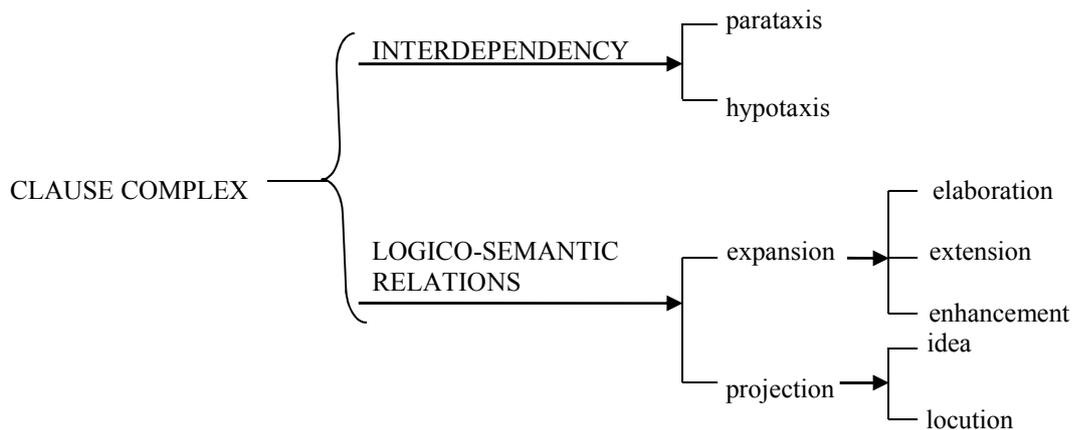
Figure 3. The CLAUSE COMPLEX system

		Interdependency (tactic) relations		
		Parataxis	Hypotaxis	Embedding
Logico-semantic	Projection	Direct speech	Indirect speech	
	Elaboration	Juxtaposition/ appositions	Non-defining relative clauses	Subordination
	Extension	Coordination	Subordination	
	Enhancement	Coordination	Subordination	

Figure 4. The interaction of interdependency relations with logico-semantic relations

Since this article mainly deals with the analysis of conjunctions, the focus is on the interaction of projection with hypotaxis, the interaction of parataxis with extension and enhancement, as well as the interaction of hypotaxis with extension and enhancement. The systems of paratactic expansion and hypotactic expansion appear in Figures 5 and 6 respectively, and were adapted from Caffarel's (2006:34-35) tables of conjunctive markers.

PARATACTIC EXPANSION

- Extension
  - addition
    - additive
      - positive: *et, ainsi que*
      - negative: *ni*
    - adversative: *au contraire, mais, or, par contre*
  - variation: *ou, soit…soit, tantôt…tantôt, non seulement…mais aussi*
- Elaboration: *soit, à savoir*, including punctuation marks such as a comma or a colon
- Enhancement
  - temporal: *alors, après, ensuite, puis*
  - manner: *comme, ainsi que, aussi bien que, de même que*
  - causal-conditional
    - purpose: *car, c'est pourquoi, en effet*
    - consequence: *alors, ainsi, donc, enfin*
    - concession: *néanmoins, cependant, toutefois*
    - condition: *alors, sinon*

Figure 5. The system of paratactic expansion in French

HYPOTACTIC EXPANSION

- Extension
  - addition
    - additive
      - positive: *alors que, pendant que*
      - negative: Ø
    - adversative: *sans*
  - variation: *si… que, au lieu de, sauf que, hors que, excepté que*
- Elaboration: *qui, que, quoi, dont, où, ce qui, ce dont, lequel, laquelle*
- Enhancement
  - temporal: *quand, lorsque, avant que, après que, dès que*
  - manner: *comme, ainsi que, tel que, moins… que, aussi… que*
  - causal-conditional
    - cause: *parce que, puisque, vu que*
    - purpose: *pour que, afin que, de crainte que*
    - consequence: *de manière que, de sorte que*
    - concession: *bien que, encore que, quoique*
   - condition: *si, à condition que, à moins que*

Figure 6. The system of hypotactic expansion in French

In the textual metafunction, conjunctions are, according to Caffarel (2006:171), included in textual Themes together with discourse markers or continuatives. When they are used in the same clause, these textual Themes precede the interpersonal Themes (i.e. Vocatives, modal Adjuncts and Mood markers) and topical or experiential Themes (i.e. what the clause is about and not necessarily the Subject). I shall return to textual Themes in detail when analysing conjunctions in section 4. However, we turn now to the description of conjunction in English.

3.   The system of conjunctions in English

As in French, conjunctions have already been discussed in English grammar by scholars such as Huddleston (1984), Leech and Svartvik (1975), Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1972), and Thomson and Martinet (1986). The following description is from a systemic functional perspective.

In SFG, conjunctions have been mixed with sentence adverbials or discourse Adjuncts by Halliday (1985/2004). This mixing, also carried out in French by Caffarel (2006:34) in her markers of paratactic expansion, is due to the bivalence of some connectors, such as *however*, *nevertheless* and *therefore* which are used as both conjunctions and adverbials as suggested by Thomson and Martinet (1986:288).

Following Halliday (1985/2004:540), these discourse Adjuncts are non-structural and are therefore used only cohesively. In the same vein, it is suggested that some universal conjunctions, like *et* ('and') or *mais* ('but'), are used as discourse Adjuncts when they occur in the clause-initial position, and have some pragmatic value to strengthen the continuity of the message. Item 51 (presented earlier) is a good case in point; since it has a pragmatic value, the conjunction *et* is translated either as 'what about' in the subtitle or as 'and' in Hollo's translation (Malle and Hollo 1988).

As in French, these conjunctions can be dealt with in both the logical and the textual metafunctions. In the logical metafunction, conjunctions relate to two basic relations that characterise the CLAUSE COMPLEX system. These relations are the LOGICAL DEPENDENCY relations or TAXIS and the LOGICO-SEMANTIC relations (Halliday 1985/2004:373, Thompson 2004:198). The LOGICAL DEPENDENCY relations consist of hypotaxis and parataxis. The latter comprises coordination, juxtaposition, and both direct speech and thought. The former includes subordination minus embedding, and both indirect speech and thought.

Once again, as in French, the LOGICO-SEMANTIC relations consist of expansion and projection. In the relation of expansion, one clause expands on the meaning of another through the process of elaboration, extension and enhancement. In the relation of projection, one clause projects another through both direct and indirect speech. These LOGICO-SEMANTIC relations of expansion and projection interact with the LOGICAL DEPENDENCY relations of hypotaxis and parataxis. This interaction yields the same results as in French. For example, hypotactic enhancement produces subordination in terms of adverbial clauses, whereas paratactic enhancement produces coordination. Likewise, hypotactic extension leads to subordination while paratactic extension results in coordination. Finally, hypotactic elaboration produces apposition and juxtaposition, whereas paratactic elaboration yields non-defining relative clauses as well as non-finite clauses. Further details on these relations and their interaction can be found in Thompson (2004:198-214).

In the textual metafunction, conjunctions are considered as one type of textual Theme, the others being continuatives and conjunctive Adjuncts, according to Halliday's (1985/2004:79) taxonomy. The distinction between these three types of textual Themes is that conjunctions are either paratactic linkers or hypotactic binders of the clause in which they occur, continuatives are markers which signal a move in the discourse, and conjunctive Adjuncts are adverbials and

prepositional phrases relating the clause to the preceding chunk of information or text (Bloor and Bloor 1995:24, 98-99; Halliday 1985/2004:81).

However, as mentioned earlier, some universal conjunctions, such as *and* or *but*, may be used as continuatives in the opening phase of a conversation. In this case, they simply "serve in the system of continuity [and] are a characteristic feature of dialogic text" (Halliday 1985/2004:534). Item 51 (presented earlier) is a good example of the conjunction *and* used as a continuative in the clause-initial position in Hollo's translation.

Thus, Figures 7 and 8 summarise the system of paratactic expansion and that of hypotactic expansion, respectively. These two systems are adapted from Halliday (1985/2004:395-418). Although they seem to be more elaborated than their French counterparts, they contain the same types of conjunctions at the paratactic and hypotactic levels. They are thus helpful for the contrastive analysis of conjunctions in French and English that will be carried out in section 4.
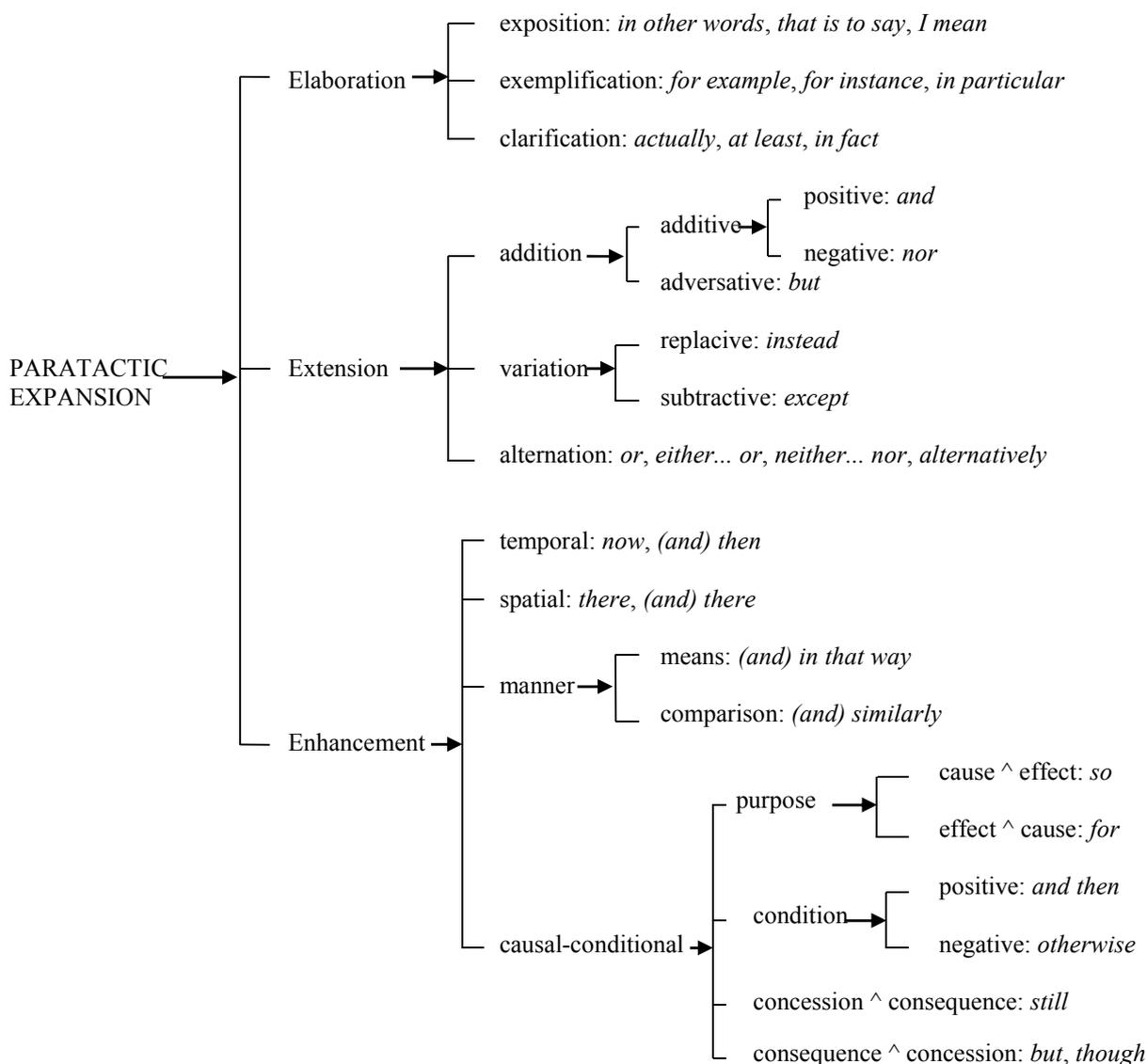

Figure 7. The system of paratactic expansion in English
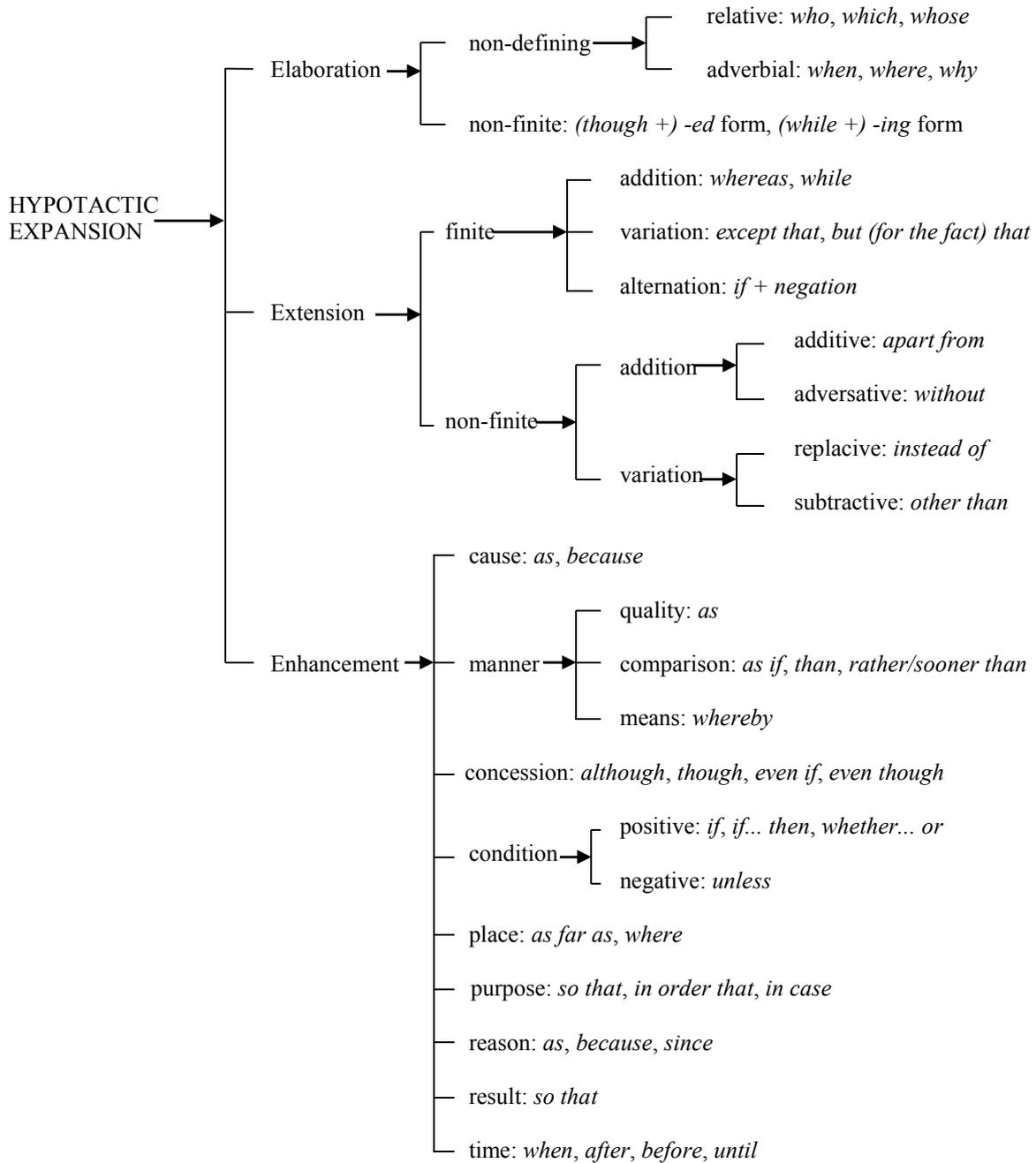
Figure 8. The system of hypotactic expansion in English

4.   Analysis of conjunctions in the film

The aim of this section is to analyse the data collected from the film *Au Revoir les Enfants* (Malle 1989). All the data are listed in the Appendix, and consist of 94 items of French utterances, English subtitles and Hollo's English translations (Malle and Hollo 1988). The French utterances (F) constitute the source text (ST) based on Malle's (1987) film script. The English subtitles (E) constitute the target text (TT) based on the ST. Hollo's English translations (H) are also based directly on the ST, and are used to serve as the frame of reference for the shifts that occur from the ST.

The conjunctions are written in bold and italics in the ST, the TT and the H translations. In describing the conjunctions in the French utterances and in the English subtitles, reference will be made to Hollo's translations to see whether the same conjunctions are maintained or omitted by the subtitler. This will assist in drawing conclusions on the impact of time and space constraints as well as the effect of the principle of relevance on the subtitles. On this point, let us turn to the analysis of conjunction proper, following Martin's (1981:310-311) clear-cut proposal that conjunction is located at the message-group or clause-complex level, and continuity at the message or clause level.

4.1 Conjunctions of coordination

4.1.1   The conjunction *et* and its translation equivalent

Et is one of the universal and most versatile conjunctions which speakers and writers use to coordinate clauses of equal importance or to show the continuity of messages in French. It is a positive additive connector establishing the relation of extension in the paratactic expansion. In the film, the conjunction *et* appears in 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 18, 35, 43, 44, 57, 66, 73, 89 and 90. It is translated into its equivalent 'and' in 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 18, 44, 57 and 90 whereas it is omitted in 7, 35, 43, 66, 73 and 89. These omissions are accompanied by some changes in the English subtitles as demonstrated in the following examples in Table 1:

Table 1. Examples of data containing *et*

7.	F: Allah est Dieu *et* Mahomet est son prophète. E: Allah is God. Mohammed is His prophet. H: Allah iss [sic] God, **and** Mahomet iss [sic] his prophet.	35.	F: Je m'en réjouis déjà *et* te serre sur mon cœur. E: I can't wait. Hugs and kisses. H: I'm already rejoicing at the prospect of hugging you to my heart.
43.	F: Allez, sois gentil *et* je te passerai *Les Mille et Une Nuits* pour t'apprendre à bander. E: Be nice. I'll lend you my "Arabian Nights." You'll get a hard-on. H: Come on, do me that favor – I'll let you have The Arabian Nights. They'll give you a hard-on.	66.	F: Tous les Gillet sont de Lyon *et* ils fabriquent tous de la soie. E: Gillet is a Lyon name, in the silk trade. H: All the Gillets are from Lyon, **and** they manufacture all the silk.
73.	F: Il tombera amoureux *et* défroquera. E: He'll give up the Church for a girl. H: He'll fall in love **and** get defrocked.	89.	F: Ceux qui sont prêts, laissez vos affaires *et* allez au réfectoire. E: When you're ready, go to the dining hall. H: Those of you who are ready, take your things **and** go to the refectory.

In 7, F is transformed into two juxtaposed clauses in E, while H is syntactically similar to F. In 35, F is transformed into a simple clause juxtaposed with a nominal group in E, whereas H is almost similar to F, the only difference being the replacement of *et* with the prepositional phrase 'at the prospect of' which is governed by the main verb. In 43, F is transformed into three juxtaposed clauses in E, whereas H is quite identical to F except that *et* is replaced with a dash and the prepositional group *pour t'apprendre à bander* is transformed into a simple clause. In 66, F is transformed into a simple clause and a prepositional group in apposition to this clause, whereas H keeps the same syntax as F. In 73, F is transformed into a simple clause in E, whereas H is almost similar to F. Finally, in 89, F is transformed into a clause complex comprising a subordinate clause of time and a main clause in E, whereas H is almost identical to F.

In all these cases, the H translations are not only structurally and semantically very close to the utterances in F, they are also longer than the English subtitles. This suggests that sentence length may have militated against their being used as appropriate subtitles because of time and space constraints. In the English subtitles, the omission of *et* has led the subtitler to operate some syntactic and lexical transformations. These transformations may be considered as strategies which help subtitlers to reduce the text to a manageable size in order to accommodate it for the screen and the speed at which the film's plot progresses.

4.1.2   The conjunction *mais* and its translation equivalents

Mais is another universal conjunction that is used to coordinate clauses of equal importance in French. It is an adversative conjunction establishing the relation of extension in the paratactic expansion. In the film, *mais* appears in 31, 36, 41, 47, 49 and 80. In these items, it is translated as 'but' in 31, 41, 47, and as 'although' in 80, but is omitted in 36 and 49.

36.   F: Oui, ***mais***, c'est le plus intelligent.
        E: He is the smartest of the Musketeers.
        H: Yes, ***but*** he's the smartest one.

49.   F: Oui, ***mais***, c'est toi le petit chéri.
        E: You're her pet.
        H: Yes, ***but*** you are her little darling.

In these two items, both instances of the elliptical clause *oui* is omitted in E to comply with the principle of relevance, whereas it is maintained in the H translations. This shows that the H translations are very close to the French utterances from a syntactic point of view.

4.1.3   The conjunction *car* and its translation equivalent

Car is a purposive conjunction establishing the relation of causal enhancement in the paratactic expansion. Its peculiarity is that the clause in which it appears never precedes another one to which it is attached. This conjunction occurs twice in the film and twice it is omitted in the translations, as shown in items 6 and 11. Here again, the H translations are very close to the ST in F as opposed to the subtitles in E.

6.   F: Qui mange ma chair ***et*** boit mon sang a la vie éternelle, ***car*** ma chair est vraiment
           une nourriture ***et*** mon sang vraiment une boisson.
        E: He who eats my flesh ***and*** drinks my blood has eternal life. My flesh is the real
           food ***and*** my blood the real drink.
        H: He who eats my flesh ***and*** drinks my blood has eternal life ***and*** I will raise him up
           at the last day. ***For*** my flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed.

11.   F: Saint Siméon Stylites avait treize ans ***et*** gardait les moutons de son père ***quand*** il
           entendit ce verset de l'Evangile: « Malheur à vous qui riez à présent ***car*** le jour
           viendra ou vous pleurerez. »
        E: St. Simeon Stylites was 13 ***and*** tending his father's sheep ***when*** he heard this verse
           from the Bible: "Woe to you who laugh now."
        H: Saint Simeon the Stylite was thirteen years old, herding his father's sheep ***when***

he heard this verse from the Gospel: 'Woe unto you who are laughing now, *for* the day shall come when you shall weep.'

In 6, *car* is omitted in E, and the coordination of clauses is replaced by juxtaposition which establishes the Effect–Cause relation between the two clauses. In addition, there are changes in the syntax of the juxtaposed clause: the main changes are the omission of the adverb *vraiment* ('indeed'), the replacement of the indefinite article with the definite one, the addition of the adjective "real" as a modifier of 'food' and 'drink', and the replacement of a comma with a full stop. These changes are purely stylistic and do not affect meaning, yet they do make the subtitle in E sound more informal.

In 11, however, the translation equivalent of *car* and the clause in which it appears are simply omitted in E on the assumption that readers know the verse. This confirms that spatio-temporal constraints and the principle of relevance are effectively at work in interlingual subtitling. Thus, any piece of information that is assumed to be mutually known by subtitlers and readers, or any constituent that can be inferred immediately from the context, is likely to be omitted from the subtitles.

4.1.4   The conjunction *donc* and its translation equivalent

Donc is a consequential connector that establishes the relation of causal enhancement in the paratactic expansion. It generally expresses consequence (Cayrou et al. 1960:271) and thus "comes first in the clause" (Price 2003:483). This conjunction occurs in 16 where it indicates logical consequence in the clause-initial position. It is rendered into its equivalent 'therefore' in E and H, and stays in the same position in these two contexts. Since *donc* is not omitted in both translations, there is no need to list item 16 here, and the reader is referred to the Appendix for details. We now turn to the analysis of the conjunctions of subordination.

4.2 Conjunctions of subordination

4.2.1   The conjunction *que* and its translation equivalents

Que is a connective that introduces various types of subordinate clauses in French (Dubois and Lagane 1973:146). The most notable of these clauses are conjunctive clauses (Cayrou et al. 1960:324, 328, 330) or *que*-clauses (Price 2003:541), as well as the subordinate clauses of comparison, concession and purpose. Concerning the conjunctive clauses, *que* sets up the relation of hypotactic projection between the projecting and the projected clauses (Thompson 2004:210-213). In these cases, it is translated into its equivalent 'that' which, in informal English, is often omitted when the "that"-clause (Leech and Svartvik 1975:249) functions as a complement, an object or a postponed subject.

Regarding the subordinate clauses of comparison, concession and purpose, *que* establishes the relation of enhancement in the hypotactic expansion. In the case of the subordinate clause of comparison, *que* is translated as 'as' and 'than' (Price 2003:537). In the case of the subordinate clauses of concession (Grevisse 1957:273) and of purpose (Dubois and Lagane 1973:191), it is translated as 'that'. At this stage, it should be noted that in the film, *que* is used in conjunctive clauses and in clauses of comparison and purpose.

In the conjunctive clauses, *que* appears in items 1, 3, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 91 and 94. In these items, *que* is translated as 'that' only in 9 and 59. For the rest, *que* is either omitted or replaced with an idiomatic expression.

Table 2. Examples of data containing *que*

1.	F: Vous savez très bien *que* ça ne va pas passer vite. E: You know it won't. H: You know very well *that* it won't go fast.	3.	F: Tu sais *que* je ne peux pas te garder à Paris avec moi. E: You know you can't stay in Paris with me. H: Not translated.
10.	F: Il faut *que* je mange. Je fais de l'anémie. E: I must eat. I'm anemic. H: I have to eat that stuff. I'm anemic.	13.	F: Le type, il dit *que* c'est très rare. E: It's very rare. H: The guy said it's very rare.
14.	F: Je crois *que* je vais garder ma confiture. E: I'll keep my jam. H: But I think I'll keep my preserves.	16.	F: On sait *que* les tangentes à un cercle issues d'un point sont égales. ***Donc*** petit a égale petit a, petit b égale petit b… E: Tangents to a circle from a given point are equal. ***Therefore***, A equals a…, B equals b… H: We know *that* tangents to a circle, coming from the same point, are equal. ***Therefore***, a equals a, b equals b.
21.	F: Pensez *qu'*il y a des gens plus malheureux *que* vous. E: ***But*** there are people worse off ***than*** you. H: ***But*** remember those who are less fortunate ***than*** you.	22.	F: Vous avez dit à votre mère *que* vous vouliez rentrer dans les ordres? E: You told your mother you want to be a priest. H: You told your mother *that* you would like to take holy orders.
26.	F: Messieurs, je vous rappelle *que* nous n'avons pas beaucoup de temps. E: Remember, we haven't much time. H: Not translated.	27.	F: Je crois *que* si. E: How do you know? H: It sure is.
28.	F: On leur a dit *qu'*il y avait des réfractaires au collège. E: They heard there were shirkers here. H: They've heard *that* there are some draft dodgers at this school.	32.	F: Ciron, douze. Où êtes-vous allé chercher *qu'*il y a des péniches au milieu de la Beauce? E: Ciron… B. Where did you find barges in wheat fields? H: Ciron, twelve. Where did you discover barges in the middle of Beauce?
33.	F: Demande au petit con. Je suis sûr *qu'*il lui reste du sucre. E: I bet the little jerk has sugar. H: Ask the little shit, I'm sure he's still got some sugar.	34.	F: Il est vraiment temps *que* cette guerre se termine. E: It's time the war ended. H: It really is time for this war to be over.
38.	F: T'entends pas *que* tu fais une fausse note. E: Can't you hear it's wrong? H: You don't hear a wrong note when you hit one?	40.	F: Faut *qu'*on aille en instruction religieuse. E: We've got our religion class. H: Time to get some religious instruction.
45.	F: Je suis sûr *qu'*il y avait une autre piste à la fourche. E: There must be another trail at the fork. H: We have to get back to crossroads, and fast.	46.	F: Est-ce que tu réalises *qu'*il n'y aura plus jamais de 17 janvier 1944? E: Do you realize there'll never be another January 17, 1944? H: Do you realize it'll never again be January 17, 1944?
48.	F: Vous croyez *que* nous l'avons fait exprès? E: Think we did on purpose? H: Do you think we did this on purpose?	50.	F: Il paraît *que* vous avez vu des sangliers? E: I hear you saw wild boars. H: We heard you saw some wild boar?

51.	F: Et les allemands, en fait, c'est vrai *qu'*ils ont tiré? E: What about the Germans? Did they really fire at you? H: And the Germans? Did they fire at you?	61.	F: Il faut *que* je travaille un peu. E: I still need to practice. H: Not translated.
62.	F: Il y a longtemps *que* nous n'avons pas eu de poisson, madame. E: We haven't had any fish for ages. H: We haven't had any fish for a long time, madam.	63.	F: Je croyais *qu'*ils étaient tous au front russe. E: Aren't they all on the Russian front? H: I thought they were all at the Russian front.
64.	F: Et papa, au fait? Il avait dit *qu'*il viendrait. E: What about Dad? He said he'd come. H: What about Papa? He said he would be here.	65.	F: Je parie *que* vous êtes lyonnais. E: I bet you're from Lyon. H: I assume you're from Lyon.
70.	F: Julien vous a dit *qu'*il voulait être babasse? E: Julien wants to become a monkey. H: Has Julien told you he wants to become a *babasse*?	71.	F: Mon petit Julien, tu es bien sûr *que* tu veux être prêtre? E: Julien, sure you want to become a priest? H: My dear Julien, are you really sure you want to become a priest?
72.	F: J'aurai tellement voulu *que* tu fasses polytechnique comme ton grand-père. E: But why not engineering like Grandpa? H: But I would so like for you to go to the Polytechnique like your grandfather.	75.	F: J'avais dit à ce crétin *qu'*il va se faire piquer. E: I told that idiot he'd get caught. H: I told that cretin he was going to get caught.
76.	F: Je vous avais dit *qu'*il volait. E: I told you he stole. H: I told you he's a thief.	77.	F: Je ne crois pas *qu'*elle soit innocente. E: She may have been in on it. H: … I don't think she is innocent.
81.	F: Faut *qu'*on aille à l'abri. E: We'd better go to the shelter. H: We have to go to the shelter.	82.	F: Ils ne sauront pas *qu'*on est manquants. E: They won't miss us. H: They won't know we're missing.
83.	F: J'espère *qu'*ils vont se décider à débarquer, les Américains. E: I hope the Americans land soon. H: I hope the Americans land soon.	85.	F: Il y a combien de temps *que* tu ne l'as pas vu? E: How long since you saw him? H: How long is it since you last saw him?
86.	F: Il faut toujours *que* ça soit vous, Sagard. Allez. E: It *only* happens to you, Sagard … H: Always you, Sagard, isn't it. Go ahead.	87.	F: Il semble *que* nous ayons été dénoncés. E: We've been betrayed. H: It seems we have been denounced.
91.	F: Tu veux *que* je t'aide? E: Need help? H: You want me to help you?	94.	F: Tu crois *qu'*ils vont nous emmener? E: Think they'll arrest us? H: Do you think they'll take us too?

A glance at the items in the table above reveals that there are three strategies for omitting *que* from the English subtitles. The first strategy consists of deleting *que* in the English subtitles which are structurally the same as the French utterances (1, 3, 22, 26, 28, 33, 34, 38, 46, 48, 50, 64, 65, 71, 75, 76, 83 and 94). The second strategy lies in omitting *que* and the projecting clause in the English subtitles (13, 14, 16, 45, 63, 70, 77, 82 and 87). The final strategy involves translating *que* and the clause in which it appears as an idiomatic phrase or a corresponding syntactic structure in English (10, 21, 27, 32, 40, 51, 61, 62, 72, 81, 85, and 91).

In the clauses of comparison, *que* is used in 17, 21, 24, 30, 42, 56, 78 and 93. In each of these items, *que* is translated into its equivalent 'than', which is maintained in the English subtitles. In the clauses of purpose, *que* appears only in 8 where it is omitted together with the projected clause.

Table 3. *Que* either omitted or translated as 'than'

8.	F: Tiens-toi tranquille *que* je te mette un sparadrap. E: Hold still. H: Now hold still, and I'll put a bandage on it.	17.	F: Il est mieux *que* le tien, son cul. E: It's nicer *that* (sic) yours. H: She's got a nicer ass *than* you do.
21.	F: Pensez *qu'*il y a des gens plus malheureux *que* vous. E: *But* there are people worse off *than* you. H: *But* remember those who are less fortunate *than* you.	24.	F: Les juifs et les communistes sont plus dangereux *que* les Allemands. E: Better Krauts *than* Jews and Reds. H: The Jews and the Communists are more dangerous *than* the Germans.
30.	F: Elle est pire *que* l'Allemagne. E: She's worse *than* going to Germany. H: She's worse *than* Germany.	42.	F: D'être plus intelligents *que* nous. E: Being smarter *than* us. H: For being smarter *than* we are.
56.	F: Il est plus facile à un chameau de passer par le chas d'une aiguille *qu'*à un riche d'entrer dans le Royaume du Seigneur. E: It's easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye *than* for a rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. H: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle *than* for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.	78.	F: Il n'y a rien *que* je trouve plus ignoble *que* le marché noir. E: Nothing is baser *than* the black market. H: There's nothing I despise more *than* the black market.
93.	F: La Perrin, elle volait plus *que* moi. E: Mrs Perrin stole more *than* I did. H: La Perrin was stealing more stuff *than* I was.		

It can be argued that there is a loss of information in 8 occasioned by the omission of the clause of purpose in the English subtitle. The reason for deleting this information is that it is made redundant, since what the speaker is doing is visible in the moving picture. This means that the verbal information is complemented by the visual information. Thus, it becomes irrelevant and is removed from the subtitle to comply with the constraint of time and space.

4.2.2. The conjunction *si* and its translation equivalents

Si is a connective that introduces conditional clauses and establishes the relation of enhancing condition in the hypotactic expansion in French. It is translated as 'if' when it has a positive meaning (i.e. when it is used alone), and as 'unless' when it has a negative meaning (i.e. when it is followed by a negation). These two translation equivalents establish the same relation in English. In the film, *si* is used in 2, 4, 5, 15, 19, 23, 37, 54, 60, 67, 68, 69, 74, 79 and 92. It is rendered as 'if' in 19, 60, 68, 69 and 79, and as 'unless' in 5. In the remaining items, *si* is omitted and different syntactic strategies are used to translate F into E.

Table 4. Examples of data containing *si*

2.	F: *Si* moi je me déguisais en garçon, je te suis dans ton collège, on se verrait tous les jours. E: I'd like to dress up as a boy and join you. I'd see you at school every day. H: I would love to disguise myself as a boy and come to school with you. Then I could see you every day.	4.	F: Je m'appelle Julien Quentin *et si* on me cherche on me trouve. E: I'm Julien Quentin *and* don't mess with me. H: My name is Julien Quentin, *and* you can find me *if* you look for me.

15.	F: *Si* je pouvais me trouver un autre boulot. E: I wish I had another job. H: *If only* I could find another job …	23.	F: *Si* on n'avait pas Pétain, on serait dans la merde. E: We need him to get along with the Krauts. H: *If* we didn't have Pétain, we'd be in really deep shit.
37.	F: *Si* je te disais, tu saurais pas où c'est. E: The place wouldn't mean anything to you. H: *If* I told you, you wouldn't know where it was.	54.	F: Bonnet, *si* vous ne vous couchez pas tout de suite, je vous renvoie en étude. E: Bonnet, go right to bed *or* I'll report you. H: Bonnet, *if* you don't get into bed this very instant, I'm going to send you back down.
67.	F: *Si* je veux, je peux faire révoquer votre licence. E: I can have your license revoked! H: I can have your license revoked.	74.	F: *Si* je rentrais avec vous à Paris, papa ne le saurait pas. E: Can I come to Paris with you? Dad won't know. H: *What if* I went back to Paris with you? Papa wouldn't have to know.
92.	F: *Si* j'avais pas fait d'affaires avec vous, il m'aurait jamais foutu à la porte. E: I got fired for doing business with you. H: *If* I hadn't done business with you guys, I wouldn't have been fired.		

In 2, the *si*-clause is turned into a clause simplex and coordinates with the appositive clause, while the main clause is turned into a clause simplex. In 4, the *si*-clause and its main clause are combined and replaced with an imperative clause. This is then joined to the preceding clause simplex. In 15, the projecting clause 'I wish' is used in replacement of *si* to introduce the projected clause and to express the speaker's regret at not having another job. In 23, 37 and 92, the *si*-clause and the main clause are combined to form a clause simplex. In 54, the *si*-clause is turned into an imperative clause. This is then joined to the main clause by the alternative conjunction 'or', thereby changing the condition to a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987:247). In 67, the *si*-clause is simply omitted. Finally, in 74, the *si*-clause is turned into an interrogative one asking for permission, while the main clause is turned into a clause simplex.

Thus, clause deletion, sentence combining, clause replacement, transforming a *si*-clause into an imperative or an interrogative clause, and turning conditional and/or main clauses into clause simplexes are the main syntactic strategies used by the subtitler. The reason for doing so is to reduce the text and accommodate it to the speed of the film plot. However, text reduction is not only syntactic but also lexical and phonological.

From a lexical point of view, the subtitler uses short words or expressions whereas Hollo uses longer expressions. For example, in 2, the verb *déguisais* is rendered as 'to dress up' in E and as 'to disguise myself' in H. Likewise, in 74, the verb *rentrais* is rendered as 'come' in E and as 'went back' in H, and the noun *papa* is rendered as 'Dad' in E and as 'Papa' in H. Finally, in 92, the clause *il m'aurait jamais foutu à la porte* is rendered as 'I got fired' in E, and as 'I wouldn't have been fired' in H.

From a phonological point of view, there is some preference for using contractions since these shorten words and therefore aid in text reduction. For instance, in item 2, 'I'd' appears in E and 'I would/could' in H. Likewise, in item 4, 'I'm' appears in E and 'my name' in H. Thus, using contractions is a phonological strategy that subtitlers use not only to reduce the text but also to give the "flavour" of the spoken language to the subtitles.

4.2.3.   The conjunction *quand* and its translation equivalent

The conjunction *quand* introduces a subordinate clause of time, and establishes the enhancing relation of time between clauses in the hypotactic expansion in French. The same holds true for its English equivalent 'when'. In the film, *quand* is used in 11, 25, 58 and 84. In these items, *quand* is translated as 'when' in 11, 58 and 84. In 25, *quand* and the clause in which it appears is formulated with the genitive case.

25.   F: *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. Où t'en es? ***Quand*** ils jugent Milady.
         E: *The 3 Musketeers*. Where are you? Milady's trial.
         H: *The Three Musketeers*. How far have you got? Where they're sitting in judgment
             of Milady.

Unlike the adverbial clause in the H translation in 25, the genitive case in E has reduced the text to comply with the spatio-temporal constraints. Thus, formulating a subordinate clause with the genitive case is another strategy for text reduction in interlingual subtitling.

4.2.4.   The conjunction *comme* and its translation equivalent

Comme is a connector that introduces a subordinate clause of comparison and establishes the enhancing relation of manner between clauses in the hypotactic expansion in French. Its translation equivalent 'as' also sets up the same relation in English. In the film, *comme* is translated as 'as' in 20 but is omitted in 58.

58.   F: ***Comme*** je comprends la colère de ceux qui n'ont rien, ***quand*** les riches banquettent
             avec arrogance.
         E: I understand the anger of the poor, ***when*** the rich feast so arrogantly.
         H: ***How well*** I understand the anger of those who have nothing, ***while*** the rich feast so
             arrogantly.

In this item, not only is *comme* omitted but the pronominal group *ceux qui n'ont rien* also becomes the nominal group 'the poor'. Furthermore, the omission of *comme* has led the subtitler to translate the adverb clause of comparison in F as a main clause in E. Thus, replacing a pronominal group with a nominal one and turning an adverb clause of comparison into a main clause are other syntactic strategies used to reduce the text in interlingual subtitling.

4.2.5.   The conjunctions *parce que/ puisque* and their translation equivalents

The conjunctions *parce que* and *puisque* are two connectives which introduce subordinate clauses of cause and establish the enhancing relation of cause between clauses in the hypotactic expansion in French. Apart from their difference in spelling, they have similar meanings (Dubois and Lagane 1973:192) and are translated as 'because' and 'since', both of which establish the enhancing relation of cause and reason in the hypotactic expansion in English. In the film, *parce que* is used in 29, 52, 53, 55 and 88, and *puisque* in 39 only. *Parce que* is translated as 'because' in 52, 53 and 88, whereas its counterpart *puisque* is rendered as 'since'. In the remaining items, *parce que* is omitted in 29, and in 55 it is replaced with 'so'.

29.   F: Les types qui se cachent ***parce qu'***ils ne veulent pas aller faire leur travail
       obligatoire en Allemagne.
       E: Guys avoiding forced labor in Germany.
       H: Guys who hide out ***because*** they don't want to go do their forced labor in
       Germany.

55.   F: ***Parce qu'***on vous a donné beaucoup, il vous sera beaucoup demandé.
       E: You've been given much, ***so***, much will be asked of you.
       H: ***Because*** much has been given to you, much will be asked of you.

In 29, the omission of *parce que* is also accompanied by the omission of the relative clause *qui se cachent*; the latter has been replaced with the present participle 'avoiding', and the subordinate clause of cause has been replaced with a nominal group to reduce the text in E. In contrast, *parce que* is omitted from E in 55 and replaced with the consequential connector 'so', thus changing the enhancing relation of cause to that of consequence. This replacement of *parce que* with 'so' is accompanied by a change in the thematic structure of the causal clause in the sense that the Indirect Object Complement *vous* in F becomes the topical Theme 'you' in E. Thus, the subtitler uses these syntactic transformations as strategies to reduce the text, while the H translations are closer to the ST. At this stage, the question is: What can be learned from this systemic functional analysis of conjunction in *Au Revoir les Enfants*?

5.   Concluding remarks and recommendations for further research

In an attempt to answer the question concluding the previous section, it may be said that this analysis is important for various reasons. The first and most important reason is to confirm the initial hypothesis that some conjunctions are omitted in the translation of the film from French into English because of the effects of time and space constraints as well as the principle of relevance imposed on the subtitles. This paper provides sufficient evidence in this respect. The analysis detailed in this paper involved four types of coordinators (i.e. *et*, *mais*, *car* and *donc*) which occur at the clause level, and five types of subordinators (i.e. *que*, *si*, *quand*, *comme* and *parce que*/ *puisque*) which occur at the clause-complex level. The findings reveal that these coordinators and subordinators are subject to omission in the subtitles in order to comply with the spatio-temporal constraints and the relevance principle.

Concerning the coordinators, all except *donc* have been omitted in some contexts in the subtitles. The conjunction *et* has a higher percentage of omission than the conjunctions *mais* and *car*. Regarding the subordinators, all except *puisque* have been omitted in some contexts in the subtitles, which is understandable since *puisque* was used only once in the film. The conjunction *que* in the "that"-clause has a higher percentage of omission than other subordinators and the highest percentage of omission of all the conjunctions in the film. These omissions are characterised by a wide range of transformations in the TT and thus lend full support to Chaume's (2004) hypothesis that discourse markers are omitted in audiovisual translation. Table 5 shows the statistics for the omission of the different conjunctions.

Table 5. Statistics for the omission of conjunctions

Conjunction type	Total number of use	Total number of omissions	Percentage of omission %
Et = and	15	6	6.38
Mais = but/although	6	2	2.12
Car (not translated)	2	2	2.12
Donc = therefore	1	0	0
Que = that ("that"-clause)	42	40	42.55
Que = than (clause of comparison)	8	0	0
Que = that (clause of purpose)	1	1	1.06
Si = if/unless	15	9	9.57
Quand = when	4	1	1.06
Comme = as	2	1	1.06
Parce que = because	5	2	2.12
Puisque = since	1	0	0

The second important reason for conducting this analysis is that it allows for the establishment of the system of French and English conjunctions in the film. The system of French conjunctions is summarised in Figure 9 and that of English conjunctions appears in Figure 10.

The systems in these figures consist only of those conjunctions found in the film. The barred zero Ø indicates that the conjunction is not found in the ST or is omitted in the TT. These systems may thus serve as taxonomies of the conjunctions in the film. The conjunctions or idiomatic expressions used in the H translations are not included in these taxonomies.
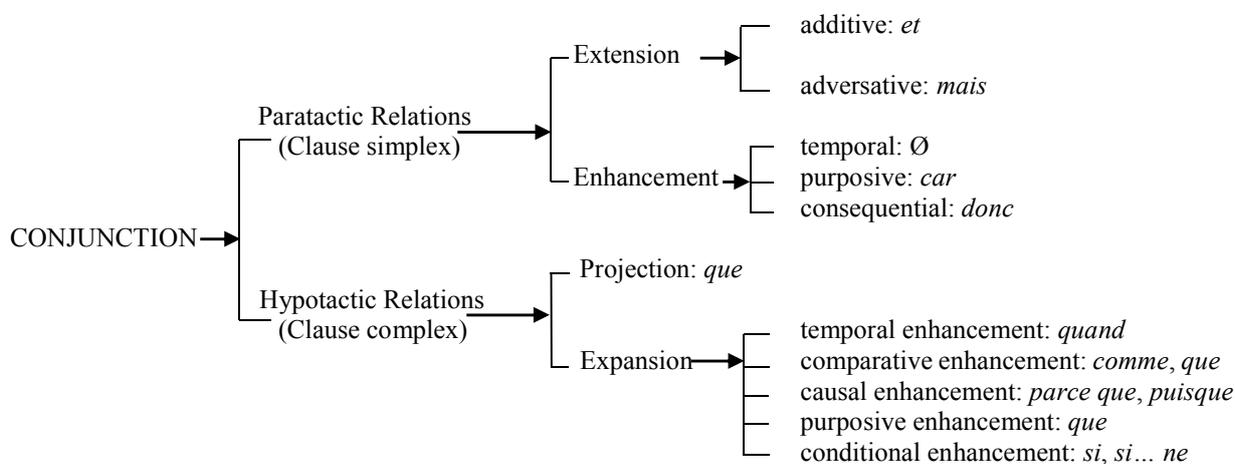

Figure 9. The system of French conjunctions in *Au Revoir les Enfants*

```
                                           ┌──  additive: and
                              Extension ──►─┤
              Paratactic Relations         └──  adversative: but
              (Clause simplex)
                                           ┌──  temporal: Ø
                              Enhancement ─►┤    purposive: Ø
                                           └──  consequential: therefore
CONJUNCTION ──►
                              Projection: that
              Hypotactic Relations
              (Clause complex)            ┌──  temporal enhancement: when
                              Expansion ─►─┤    comparative enhancement: as, than
                                          │    causal enhancement: because, since
                                          │    purposive enhancement: Ø
                                          └──  conditional enhancement: if, unless
```
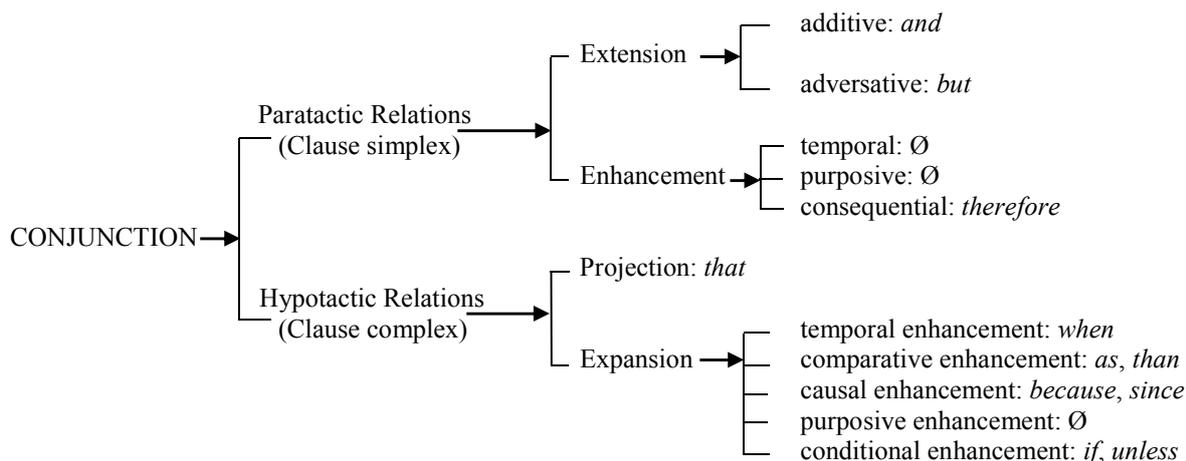
Figure 10. The system of English conjunctions in *Au Revoir les Enfants*

The third related reason for conducting this analysis is that the omission of conjunctions in the subtitles is accompanied by shifts and/or transformations at the lexical, phonological and syntactic levels. These shifts and transformations have allowed for the determination of a wide range of strategies used by the subtitler. The following twelve strategies seem to be the most striking ones, and could well be applied when teaching students interlingual subtitling:

(i)   Deleting elliptical clauses and some adverbs;
(ii)   Changing a compound clause to a clause simplex and a nominal/prepositional group;
(iii)   Changing a compound clause into juxtaposed clauses;
(iv)   Changing a prepositional group into a clause simplex;
(v)   Changing a pronominal group into a subordinate clause or a nominal group;
(vi)   Changing a relative clause into the present participle and a subordinate clause to the genitive case;
(vii)   Formulating an *if*-clause as *I wish* plus a projected clause;
(viii) Replacing a conjunction with another one;
(ix)   Replacing an indefinite article with the definite one;
(x)   Replacing the topical Theme with another one;
(xi)   Using contractions rather than full forms, and
(xii)   Using short informal words and/or expressions

The above strategies are not exhaustive, nor are they intended to be complete; they are used here only for illustrative purposes. Further research, however, needs to be conducted to establish their status and the impact of the omission of conjunctions in interlingual subtitling.

The final reason for conducting this analysis is that the systemic functional analysis of conjunction in the film, the taxonomy of conjunctions and the discovery of lexical, phonological and syntactic strategies have pedagogical implications for subtitler training. Subtitlers are likely to do their job well if they are well-trained. The systemic functional analysis of conjunction demonstrates both the paratactic and the hypotactic relations that conjunctions establish within clauses. Knowledge or mastery of these relations is a prerequisite for using conjunctions effectively and efficiently in translation as an act of communication.

The taxonomy of conjunctions is important as an aspect of language awareness in the source language and the target language. As such, it contributes greatly to developing the subtitler's linguistic and communicative competence as well as his/her contrastive and cultural competence. These types of competence are much needed in translation to know when a given conjunction should be omitted and which syntactic structures and vocabulary should be used instead so as to preserve the meaning of the ST in the TT.

Finally, a set of lexical, phonological and syntactic strategies may well serve as models of subtitling strategies that novice subtitlers have to develop and use when learning to write meaningful subtitles. Training in subtitling should focus on these strategies and may in the process discover others which can facilitate the use of conjunctions in interlingual subtitling. Thus, developing subtitling strategies of this sort should be greatly encouraged and fully implemented in all programmes for subtitler training.

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Appendix: Corpus of French utterances and English subtitles

1.	F: Vous savez très bien *que* ça ne va pas passer vite. E: You know it won't. H: You know very well *that* it won't go fast.	2.	F: *Si* moi je me déguisais en garçon, je te suis dans ton collège, on se verrait tous les jours. E: I'd like to dress up as a boy and join you. I'd see you at school every day. H: I would love to disguise myself as a boy and come to school with you. Then I could see you every day.
3.	F: Tu sais *que* je ne peux pas te garder à Paris avec moi. E: You know you can't stay in Paris with me. H: Not translated.	4.	F: Je m'appelle Julien Quentin *et si* on me cherche on me trouve. E: I'm Julien Quentin *and* don't mess with me. H: My name is Julien Quentin, *and* you can find me *if* you look for me.
5.	F: *Si* vous *ne* mangez la chair du Fils de l'homme *et ne* buvez son sang, vous n'avez pas de vie en vous. E: *Unless* you eat the flesh of the Son of Man *and* drink his blood, you have no life in you. H: …, *unless* you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, *and* drink his blood, you will have no life in you.	6.	F: Qui mange ma chair *et* boit mon sang a la vie éternelle, *car* ma chair est vraiment une nourriture et mon sang une boisson. E: He who eats my flesh *and* drinks my blood has eternal life. My flesh is the real food and my blood the real drink. . H: He who eats my flesh *and* drinks my blood has eternal life *and* I will raise him up at the last day. *For* my flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed.
7.	F: Allah est Dieu *et* Mahomet est son prophète. E: Allah is God. Mohammed is His prophet. H: Allah iss (sic) God, *and* Mahomet iss (sic) his prophet.	8.	F: Tiens-toi tranquille *que* je te mette un sparadrap. E: Hold still. H: Now hold still, and I'll put a bandage on it.
9.	F: Je rappelle à ceux qui ont des provisions personnelles *qu'*ils doivent les partager avec leurs camarades. E: I remind those with food from home *that* they must share it. H: I would like to remind those who have personal provisions to share them with their fellow students.	10.	F: Il faut *que* je mange. Je fais de l'anémie. E: I must eat. I'm anemic. H: I have to eat that stuff. I'm anemic.
11.	F: Saint Siméon Stylites avait treize ans *et* gardait les moutons de son père *quand* il entendit ce verset de l'Evangile: « Malheur à vous qui riez à présent *car* le jour viendra ou vous pleurerez. » E: St. Simeon Stylites was 13 *and* tending his father's sheep *when* he heard this verse from the Bible: "Woe to you who laugh now." H: "Saint Simeon the Stylite was thirteen years old, herding his father's sheep *when* he heard this verse from the Gospel: 'Woe unto you who are laughing now, *for* the day shall come when you shall weep.'…"	12.	F: Il quitta ses parents, devint ermite *et* vécut trente années sur une colonne. E: He left home to be a hermit *and* lived 30 years atop a column. H: He left his parents, became a hermit, *and* lived for thirty years on top of a column.
13.	F: Le type, il dit *que* c'est très rare. E: It's very rare. H: The guy said it's very rare.	14.	F: Je crois *que* je vais garder ma confiture. E: I'll keep my jam. H: But I think I'll keep my preserves.

		16.	F: On sait *que* les tangentes à un cercle issues d'un point sont égales. *Donc* petit a égale petit a, petit b égale petit b… E: Tangents to a circle from a given point are equal. *Therefore*, A equals a…, B equals b… H: We know *that* tangents to a circle, coming from the same point, are equal. *Therefore*, a equals a, b equals b.
15.	F: *Si* je pouvais me trouver un autre boulot. E: I wish I had another job. H: *If only* I could find another job…		
17.	F: Il est mieux *que* le tien, son cul. E: It's nicer *that* (sic) yours. H: She's got a nicer ass *than* you do.	18.	F: Continuez, continuez, *et* rentrez-moi un peu les fesses. E: Keep going, *and* flatten those behinds. H: Not translated.
19.	F: Elle a raison. *Si* tu arrêtes maintenant, tu le regretteras toute ta vie. E: She's right. *If* you stop now you'll always regret it. H: She's right to do that. *If* you stop now, you'll regret it all your life.	20.	F: Mon petit chéri, *comme* tu comprends bien, il m'est très difficile de t'écrire. E: My darling, *as* you know, it's hard for me to write to you. H: My little darling, *as* you'll understand, it is very hard for me to write to you.
21.	F: Pensez *qu'*il y a des gens plus malheureux *que* vous. E: *But* there are people worse off *than* you. H: *But* remember those who are less fortunate *than* you.	22.	F: Vous avez dit à votre mère *que* vous vouliez rentrer dans les ordres? E: You told your mother you want to be a priest. H: You told your mother *that* you would like to take holy orders.
23.	F: *Si* on n'avait pas Pétain, on serait dans la merde. E: We need him to get along with the Krauts. H: *If* we didn't have Pétain, we'd be in really deep shit.	24.	F: Les juifs et les communistes sont plus dangereux *que* les Allemands. E: Better Krauts *than* Jews and Reds. H: The Jews and the Communists are more dangerous *than* the Germans.
25.	F: *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. Où t'en es? *Quand* ils jugent Milady. E: *The 3 Musketeers*. Where are you? Milady's trial. H: *The Three Musketeers*. How far have you got? Where they're sitting in judgment of Milady.	26.	F: Messieurs, je vous rappelle *que* nous n'avons pas beaucoup de temps. E: Remember, we haven't much time. H: Not translated.
27.	F: Je crois *que* si. E: How do you know? H: It sure is.	28.	F: On leur a dit *qu'*il y avait des réfractaires au collège. E: They heard there were shirkers here. H: They've heard *that* there are some draft dodgers at this school.
29.	F: Les types qui se cachent *parce qu'*ils ne veulent pas aller faire leur travail obligatoire en Allemagne. E: Guys avoiding forced labor in Germany. H: Guys who hide out *because* they don't want to go do their forced labor in Germany.	30.	F: Elle est pire *que* l'Allemagne. E: She's worse *than* going to Germany. H: She's worse *than* Germany.
31.	F: Quentin, treize. C'est intelligent *mais* un tantinet prétentieux. E: Quentin… it's intelligent *but* a bit pretentious. H: Quentin, thirteen. This is intelligent, *but* a bit pretentious.	32.	F: Ciron, douze. Où êtes-vous allé chercher *qu'*il y a des péniches au milieu de la Beauce? E: Ciron… B. Where did you find barges in wheat fields? H: Ciron, twelve. Where did you discover barges in the middle of Beauce?

33.	F: Demande au petit con. Je suis sûr *qu'*il lui reste du sucre. E: I bet the little jerk has sugar. H: Ask the little shit, I'm sure he's still got some sugar.	34.	F: Il est vraiment temps *que* cette guerre se termine. E: It's time the war ended. H: It really is time for this war to be over.
35.	F: Je m'en réjouis déjà *et* te serre sur mon cœur. E: I can't wait. Hugs and kisses. H: I'm already rejoicing at the prospect of hugging you to my heart.	36.	F: Oui, *mais*, c'est le plus intelligent. E: He is the smartest of the Musketeers. H: Yes, *but* he's the smartest one.
37.	F: *Si* je te disais, tu saurais pas où c'est. E: The place wouldn't mean anything to you. H: *If* I told you, you wouldn't know where it was.	38.	F: T'entends pas *que* tu fais une fausse note. E: Can't you hear it's wrong? H: You don't hear a wrong note when you hit one?
39.	F: *Puisque* nous avons l'idée de Dieu, Dieu existe. E: *Since* we have a notion of God. He must exist. H: God exists *because* we have the idea of God.	40.	F: Faut *qu'*on aille en instruction religieuse. E: We've got our religion class. H: Time to get some religious instruction.
41.	F: Je sais, *mais* c'est quoi exactement? E: I know, *but* what exactly is a Jew? H: I know that! *But* what does that really mean?	42.	F: D'être plus intelligents *que* nous. E: Being smarter *than* us. H: For being smarter *than* we are.
43.	F: Allez, sois gentil *et* je te passerai *Les Mille et Une Nuits* pour t'apprendre à bander. E: Be nice. I'll lend you my "Arabian Nights." You'll get a hard on. H: Come on, do me that favor – I'll let you have The Arabian Nights. They'll give you a hard-on.	44.	F: Joseph, calme-toi *et* rentre à la cuisine. E: Calm down *and* go to the kitchen. H: Calm down now, Joseph, *and* go back to the kitchen.
45.	F: Je suis sûr *qu'*il y avait une autre piste à la fourche. E: There must be another trail at the fork. H: We have to get back to crossroads, and fast.	46.	F: Est-ce que tu réalises *qu'*il n'y aura plus jamais de 17 janvier 1944? E: Do you realize there'll never be another January 17, 1944? H: Do you realize it'll never again be January 17, 1944?
47.	F: Si. Ils m'ont attaché à un arbre, *mais* je me suis déficelé. E: Yes, they tied me to a tree *but* I got free. H: Well, they did. They tied me to a tree, *but* I managed to get loose.	48.	F: Vous croyez *que* nous l'avons fait exprès? E: Think we did on purpose? H: Do you think we did this on purpose?
49.	F: Oui, *mais*, c'est toi le petit chéri. E: You're her pet. H: Yes, *but* you are her little darling.	50.	F: Il paraît *que* vous avez vu des sangliers? E: I hear you saw wild boars. H: We heard you saw some wild boar?
51.	F: Et les allemands, en fait, c'est vrai *qu'*ils ont tiré? E: What about the Germans? Did they really fire at you? H: And the Germans? Did they fire at you?	52.	F: *Parce que* c'est du cochon? E: *Because* it's pork? H: *Because* it's made out of pork?
53.	F: *Parce que* tu t'appelles Kippelstein, pas Bonnet. E: *Because* you're Kippelstein, not Bonnet. H: *Because* your name is Kippelstein, not Bonnet.	54.	F: Bonnet, *si* vous ne vous couchez pas tout de suite, je vous renvoie en étude. E: Bonnet, go right to bed *or* I'll report you. H: Bonnet, *if* you don't get into bed this very instant, I'm going to send you back down.

55.	F: ***Parce qu'***on vous a donné beaucoup, il vous sera beaucoup demandé. E: You've been given much, ***so***, much will be asked of you. H: ***Because*** much has been given to you, much will be asked of you.	56.	F: Il est plus facile à un chameau de passer par le chas d'une aiguille ***qu'***à un riche d'entrer dans le Royaume du Seigneur. E: It's easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye ***than*** for a rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. H: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle ***than*** for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.
57.	F: Les richesses matérielles corrompent les âmes ***et*** dessèchent les cœurs. E: Worldly wealth corrupts souls ***and*** withers hearts. H: Material riches corrupt souls ***and*** desiccate hearts.	58.	F: ***Comme*** je comprends la colère de ceux qui n'ont rien, ***quand*** les riches banquettent avec arrogance. E: I understand the anger of the poor, ***when*** the rich feast so arrogantly. H: ***How well*** I understand the anger of those who have nothing, ***while*** the rich feast so arrogantly.
59.	F: Je n'ai pas voulu vous choquer, mais seulement vous rappeler ***que*** le premier devoir d'un chrétien est la charité. E: Don't be shocked. I only meant ***that*** charity is a Christian's first duty. H: I have not wanted to shock you but only remind you ***that*** charity is the first duty of a Christian.	60.	F: ***Si*** ton ennemi a faim, donne-lui à manger. ***S'***il a soif, donne-lui à boire. E: ***If*** thine enemy hunger, feed him. ***If*** he thirst, give him drink. H: ***If*** your enemy is hungry, give him food. ***If*** he is thirsty, give him drink.
61.	F: Il faut ***que*** je travaille un peu. E: I still need to practice. H: Not translated.	62.	F: Il y a longtemps ***que*** nous n'avons pas eu de poisson, madame. E: We haven't had any fish for ages. H: We haven't had any fish for a long time, madam.
63.	F: Je croyais ***qu'***ils étaient tous au front russe. E: Aren't they all on the Russian front? H: I thought they were all at the Russian front.	64.	F: Et papa, au fait? Il avait dit ***qu'***il viendrait. E: What about Dad? He said he'd come. H: What about Papa? He said he would be here.
65.	F: Je parie ***que*** vous êtes lyonnais. E: I bet you're from Lyon. H: I assume you're from Lyon.	66.	F: Tous les Gillet sont de Lyon ***et*** ils fabriquent tous de la soie. E: Gillet is a Lyon name, in the silk trade. H: All the Gillets are from Lyon, ***and*** they manufacture all the silk.
67.	F: ***Si*** je veux, je peux faire révoquer votre licence. E: I can have your license revoked! H: I can have your license revoked.	68.	F: Les Reinach sont très catholiques. ***S'***ils vous entendez ! E: The Reinachs are devout Catholics! ***If*** they heard you! H: The Reinachs are ***very*** Catholic. ***If*** they could hear you!
69.	F: Qu'est-ce que vous diriez ***si*** je partais au maquis? E: ***What if*** I joined the Resistance? H: What would you say ***if*** I joined the underground?	70.	F: Julien vous a dit ***qu'***il voulait être babasse? E: Julien wants to become a monkey. H: Has Julien told you he wants to become a ***babasse***?
71.	F: Mon petit Julien, tu es bien sûr ***que*** tu veux être prêtre? E: Julien, sure you want to become a priest? H: My dear Julien, are you really sure you want to become a priest?	72.	F: J'aurai tellement voulu ***que*** tu fasses polytechnique comme ton grand-père. E: But why not engineering like Grandpa…? H: But I would so like for you to go to the Polytechnique like your grandfather.

73.	F: Il tombera amoureux *et* défroquera. E: He'll give up the Church for a girl. H: He'll fall in love *and* get defrocked.	74.	F: *Si* je rentrais avec vous à Paris, papa ne le saurait pas. E: Can I come to Paris with you? Dad won't know. H: *What if* I went back to Paris with you? Papa wouldn't have to know.
75.	F: J'avais dit à ce crétin *qu'*il va se faire piquer. E: I told that idiot he'd get caught. H: I told that cretin he was going to get caught.	76.	F: Je vous avais dit *qu'*il volait. E: I told you he stole. H: I told you he's a thief.
77.	F: Je ne crois pas *qu'*elle soit innocente. E: She may have been in on it. H: …I don't think she is innocent.	78.	F: Il n'y a rien *que* je trouve plus ignoble *que* le marché noir. E: Nothing is baser *than* the black market. H: There's nothing I despise more *than* the black market.
79.	F: Quentin, *si* je ne savais pas tous les problèmes que cela poserait à vos parents, je vous mettrais à la porte tout de suite, vous et votre frère. E: *If* it weren't for your parents, I'd kick you out at once. And your brother. H: Quentin, *if* I didn't know all the problems this would cause your parents, I'd show you the door this minute, you and your brother.	80.	F: Je suis obligé de renvoyer Joseph, *mais* je commets une injustice. E: I have to fire Joseph *although* it's unfair. H: I have to fire Joseph, *but* this is an injustice.
81.	F: Faut *qu'*on aille à l' abri. E: We'd better go to the shelter. H: We have to go to the shelter.	82.	F: Ils ne sauront pas *qu'*on est manquants. E: They won't miss us. H: They won't know we're missing.
83.	F: J'espère *qu'*ils vont se décider à débarquer, les Américains. E: I hope the Americans land soon. H: I hope the Americans land soon.	84.	F: Tu vas rester au collège *quand* la guerre sera finie? E: Will you stay at this school *when* the war's over? H: Are you going to stay in this school even *after* the war is over?
85.	F: Il y a combien de temps *que* tu ne l'as pas vu? E: How long since you saw him? H: How long is it since you last saw him?	86.	F: Il faut toujours *que* ça soit vous, Sagard. Allez. E: It *only* happens to you, Sagrad… H: Always you, Sagard, isn't it? Go ahead.
87.	F: Il semble *que* nous ayons été dénoncés. E: We've been betrayed. H: It seems we have been denounced.	88.	F: Le Père Jean les avait recueillis *parce que* leurs vies étaient en danger. E: Father Jean hid them *because* their lives were in danger. H: Father Jean took them in at this school *because* their lives were in danger.
89.	F: Ceux qui sont prêts, laissez vos affaires *et* allez au réfectoire. E: When you're ready, go to the dining hall. H: Those of you who are ready, take your things *and* go to the refectory.	90.	F: Quentin, prends le sac de Laviron *et* porte-le lui à l'infirmerie. E: Pack Laviron's bag *and* take it to the infirmary. H: Quentin, pack Laviron's knapsack *and* take it to him at the infirmary.
91.	F: Tu veux *que* je t'aide? E: Need help? H: You want me to help you?	92.	F: *Si* j'avais pas fait d'affaires avec vous, il m'aurait jamais foutu à la porte. E: I got fired for doing business with you. H: *If* I hadn't done business with you guys, I wouldn't have been fired.
93.	F: La Perrin, elle volait plus *que* moi. E: Mrs Perrin stole more *than* I did. H: La Perrin was stealing more stuff *than* I was.	94.	F: Tu crois *qu'*ils vont nous emmener? E: Think they'll arrest us? H: Do you think they'll take us too?

Term-creation strategies used by Ndebele translators in Zimbabwe in the health sector: A corpus-based approach

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Abstract

In the scientific arena, many African languages face the challenge of a lack of terminology. That is, translators who translate from developed Western languages into African languages often encounter a lack of adequate terminology in their efforts to communicate between these languages. The health sector seems particularly problematic, since it involves a continuously evolving discipline that requires continuously evolving terminology creation. This article explores strategies used by Ndebele translators to create terms in the health sector. In order to identify specialised terms and their Ndebele translations, the English-Ndebele Parallel Corpus (ENPC), created by Ndhlovu (2012), was interrogated. Borrowing in the form of pure loaning acronyms and abbreviations, pure loaning words, indigenisation, pure loan words preceded by an explanation, and abbreviations preceded by an explanation were identified as the most commonly used strategies in Ndebele medical translations, followed by semantic shift using borrowed synonyms and paraphrasing. The least used strategies were paraphrased acronyms and abbreviations, coinage and compounding. In the article, it was noted that in order to fully understand the strategies employed by Ndebele translators from a corpus-based approach using ParaConc, there is a need to have knowledge of prefixal elements of Ndebele terms. This is because searching for the head word outside its prefixal elements brings about incomplete results, thereby presenting an incomplete picture of the strategies under study.

Keywords: term creation, terminology, strategies, specialised terms, corpus, parallel corpus, corpus analysis tools

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that many African languages encounter problems of term scarcity, especially in technical and scientific arenas. This subject is well documented by scholars such as Trew (1994), Mtintsilana and Morris (1988), Hadebe (2000, 2006), Kruger and Wallmach (1999), Van Huyssteen (1999), Gauton, Taljard and De Schryver (2003), Moropa (2005), Kruger (2010) and Ndhlovu (2012), among others, who write from different perspectives and who illustrate how speakers of different African languages struggle to express themselves in specialised fields. Gauton, Taljard and De Schryver (2003:81) explain that the single biggest problem that translators who translate into African languages have to contend with is a lack of

terminology in the majority of specialist subject fields. This lack of terminology in African languages seems to be the result of many factors. Van Huyssteen (1999) identifies nine characteristics related to term creation in Africa, namely the time factor, Eurocentrism, standardisation, foreign sounds, multilingualism, trendy words, purity, the abundance of synonyms, and the lack of coordination of efforts. In addition to these factors is the issue of exposure that applies to term creation in specialised fields. That is, many African languages have had little exposure in the scientific and technical arenas, and this seems to have compounded the terminology development gap/problem. Trew (1994:77-78) elaborates that:

> [t]he history of South Africa has been such that indigenous South African languages have been little used in technical fields, in national politics or in economic management. […] If a source text is not from a domain in which the use of African languages is currently well established, then an accessible translation will require considerable resources of adaptation and explanation, and no bilingual dictionary will provide much help.

Trew's comment about South Africa, though made more than a decade ago, is still true today of many African languages which are not only struggling in terms of terminology, but also as regards resource availability. In other words, many African languages do not have specialised dictionaries to support translators during the process of translating, thereby compounding the situation at hand. This problem can be illustrated using the Zimbabwean Ndebele language which to date has only three dictionaries, namely a general monolingual dictionary *IsiChazamazwi SesiNdebele* (Hadebe 2001), a specialised Ndebele dictionary of music terms *IsiChazamazwi sezoMculo* (Nkomo and Moyo 2006), and Pelling's (1971) *English-Ndebele bilingual dictionary*. Having access to only three dictionaries means that translators have limited resources to support them in their trade, and general dictionaries are of little use in medical translations.

Other factors that widen the gap between African and European languages include globalisation and technology. The ever-increasing speed of technological changes leads to an increase in the need for terminology development in languages other than English (English being the language used most often in technology). Valeontis and Mantzari (2006:3) state that in all areas of science and technology there is a need for new terms in order to name new objects, new parts of objects or new procedures. This means that the subject of terminology development is and will continue to be important in Africa for the foreseeable future, as will be the need for innovative and integrated approaches to alleviate this problem. The fact that African languages develop at different rates means that the problem of terminology development is experienced differently by each language, once again pointing to the need for individual approaches to terminology development in the respective African languages. Through these endeavours, a practical solution may be found.

In light of the information presented above, this article explores how English-Ndebele translators deal with the challenge of term scarcity when translating specialised terms in the health sector. The focus of this study is on term-creation strategies used by Ndebele translators, and this article compares and contrasts technical/scientific terms from English as the source language to Ndebele as the target language. An English-Ndebele Parallel Corpus (ENPC), created by Ndhlovu (2012) for her PhD studies, was interrogated using ParaConc, a

multilingual concordance tool. The ENPC is an invaluable aid for understanding term-creation processes in Ndebele translations in Zimbabwe's health sector.

2. Terminology development

The subject of terminology development is interdisciplinary in nature. Valeontis and Mantzari (2006:1) state that linguistic aspects of term creation are of major interest not only to terminologists, terminographers and subject field specialists, but also to translators, interpreters and technical writers, especially when translators happen to work with less widely-used languages such as Greek, where the lack of adequately developed reference tools such as specialised dictionaries and glossaries very often compels them to become neologists or creators of new words or senses. Since the topic of terminology development is interdisciplinary, this study approaches this problem from the point of view of translation studies, focusing on translators who translate from developed Western languages into developing African languages.

In the field of translation studies in Africa, translators are compelled to come up with new terms to express new and, at times, foreign concepts, yet many do not have the skills to develop terminology in this manner. According to Cluver (1989:254), translators become neologists when the translators who are working on a developing language actively participate in the elaboration or development of terminology. They need a deeper understanding of *word-formation processes* than their counterparts who work on so-called "developed" languages. In other words, it seems that translators who translate into African languages constantly find themselves caught between the process of translating and that of term creation. As these translators are expected to perform miracles in order to ensure the smooth transfer of vital information from one language to the other, it is imperative that various studies examine and report on the different strategies that are used to translate technical/scientific texts into languages of limited diffusion (LLDs) or minority languages (Kruger 2010). With English as the official and dominating language, Ndebele is but one of Zimbabwe's many minority languages. Examining translators' strategies in this manner should shed light on how African languages are developing as scientific/technical languages, and expose the processes involved in creating terms – this may be beneficial to other minority languages as well as to lexicographers. Lastly, such studies could help develop awareness of the importance of terminology and resource development in the African languages.

The section that follows will provide a definition of "terminology" before discussing different term-creation strategies in more detail.

2.1 Terminology

According to Valeontis and Mantzari (2006:2), "terminology" has three meanings:

> The **scientific field** pertaining to the study of relations between *concepts* and their *designations* (terms, names and symbols) and the formulation of principles and methods governing these relations in any given subject field; the **task** of collecting, processing, managing and presenting terminological data in one or more languages, as well as the **set of terms** belonging to the *special language* of a specific subject field.

Terminology in this article will be concerned with the study of concepts and their designations (the terms and their translations) in the health sector. "Health" can be used as a general term that covers various aspects of medicine and its specialised language that identifies and describes diseases, their modes of transmission and treatment.

3.   Methodology

As stated previously, the ENPC (Ndhlovu 2012) was analysed using a multilingual concordance – ParaConc. The ENPC, which comprises 84 957 words (with 48 120 words in the English file and 36 837 words in the Ndebele file), was firstly aligned at word, phrase, sentence and paragraph level to make it easier to identify English source terms and their Ndebele translations. From the beginning, it is important to note that the ENPC is a specialised corpus which was created using public texts from the health sector. This means that the corpus has a higher frequency of specialised terms. Furthermore, the texts used to create the corpus were translated by 14 different translators, meaning there are variations in the terms used by translators. For example, a term like "condom" is translated differently by different translators as *icondom*, *ikhondomu* and *umncwado*, and all these are different strategies used by Ndebele translators.

After aligning the English and Ndebele files, the process of term extraction followed. Terms were extracted using ParaConc's "search" feature. To search for terms, a term is entered into the search box under a particular language, in this case either English or Ndebele. A processing bar then appears and the results of the search follow. Figure 1 illustrates the results of the search term "HIV".
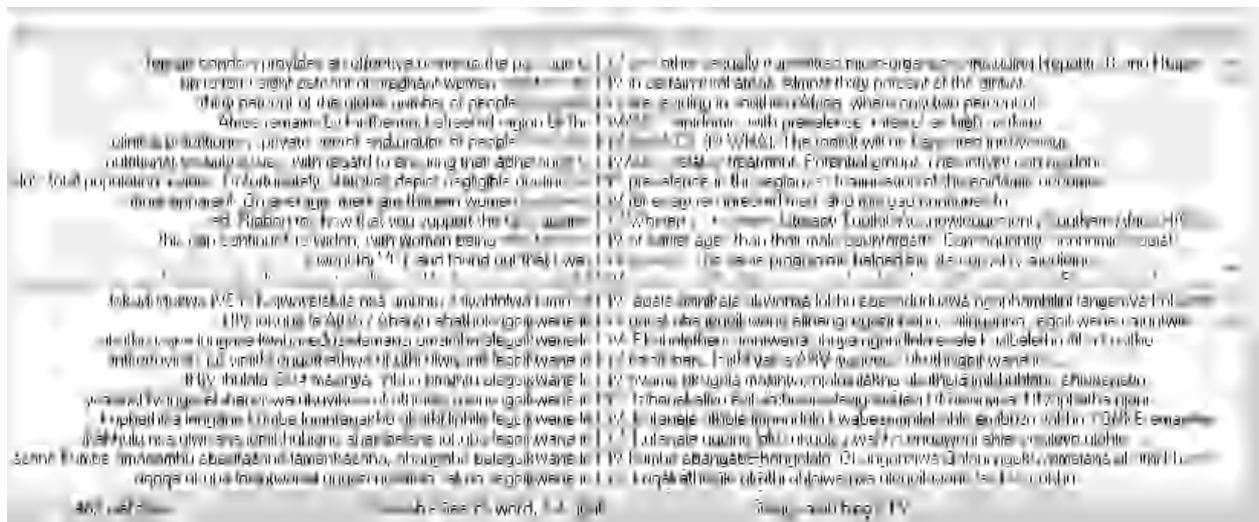

Figure 1. Results of the search for the term "HIV"

Figure 1 illustrates the search word "HIV" in the upper window, and the most commonly used translation for the term in Ndebele in the lower window. The highlighted words surrounding the head word indicate potential collocates of the search word. In the example above, the English term "HIV" is translated as *HIV* in Ndebele, meaning the source term is retained in its original form in the target language. In order to get a fuller picture of how frequently a particular term or phrase appears in the Ndebele file, it was also necessary to search for terms

based on their prefixal elements. For example, whilst the term "HIV" appears 399 times as *HIV*, it appears 48 times as *iHIV*, six times as *leHIV* and twice as *kweHIV*. A simple search of terms outside their prefixal elements therefore presents an incomplete picture of the distribution of the terms and, in turn, an incomplete picture of the strategies used by Ndebele translators in the health sector.

Additionally, at the bottom of the lower window, the word count of the term "HIV" indicates that it has 482 hits in the English file and 399 hits in the Ndebele file. Word counts are important in this article as they show how frequently a term is used by the Ndebele translators, thereby proving whether a strategy is popular among the translators or not. The results from different words were tallied together to obtain the overall word count of a strategy. In order to gather frequencies of target terms, the frequency feature was used. The following section presents the strategies used by Ndebele translators in Zimbabwe.

4.   Term-creation strategies used by Ndebele translators

Ndebele translators use different strategies to translate specialised terms in the health sector. These include pure loaning of words, acronyms and abbreviations; paraphrasing abbreviations and acronyms; pure loaning preceded by an explanation; abbreviation preceded by an explanation; indigenisation; paraphrasing; using borrowed synonyms; semantic shift; compounding and coinage. These strategies are presented in the subsequent sections, however, the concept of 'borrowing' is first presented.

4.1 Term creation through borrowing

Borrowing is one of the strategies that is used by Ndebele translators to translate specialised terms in the health sector. Borrowing or loaning involves taking words from the source language and applying them in the target language. In the ENPC, the following types of borrowing are observable:

- Indigenised loan words
- Pure loan words
- Acronyms and abbreviations
- Acronyms or abbreviation preceded by an explanation
- Pure loan word preceded by an explanation

4.1.1   Indigenised loan words

Indigenisation of terms involves changing the structure, spelling and pronunciation of these terms to suit the target language; the meaning and sound, however, remain the same (Ndhlovu 2012:183). This type of borrowing is common in the ENPC as shown by the examples in Table 1.

Table 1. Indigenised borrowings

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. condom	*ikhondomu*	119	38
2. pills	*amaphilisi*	11	38
3. gloves	*amagilavu*	20	8
4. plastic	*ipulastiiki*	16	1
5. rubber	*irabha*	4	1
6. doctor	*udokotela*	74	49
Overall word count: 146			Frequency: 0.3963

Table 1 presents selected English terms ("Source term"), Ndebele borrowings in the ENPC ("Target term"), the number of times the source term appears in the source text ("ENG word count"), and the number of times the translated term appears in the target text ("ND word count"). Lastly, the overall word count of all indigenised terms in the parallel corpus, and the frequency of these terms in the Ndebele file are both indicated in the final row.

Indigenisation as a strategy has an overall word count of 146 and a frequency of 0.3963. In comparison with other strategies which will be discussed later, indigenisation is not the strategy most used by translators to create terms in the ENPC. Another important finding that is observable in Table 1 is that it is vital to understand the prefixal elements of all search words in order to get a full picture of the strategies used by Ndebele translators, and this possibly applies to all languages that are written conjunctively. That is, a stem in Ndebele can have multiple concords, and these appear as separate words with separate frequencies. For example, the stem *-khondomu* (example 1), which has a 0% frequency in the ENPC and is not recognised as a word outside its prefixal elements, has the prefixes *i-* and *le-*. A search of these terms reveals that the term *ikhondomu* appears 38 times and *lekhondomu* only once in the Ndebele file. This means that a complete picture of how a word is translated into Ndebele requires intimate knowledge of prefixal elements of Ndebele terms. This concept applies to many Ndebele words which have different prefixal elements depending on the context in which they are used. Another example is the term "doctor" (example 6) which is translated 48 times as *udokotela*, 17 times as *lodokotela*, and 8 times as *kudokotela*.

Additionally, in example 2, there is a disparity between the English word count and Ndebele word count, with the Ndebele term *amaphilisi* having more entries. This is a result of the lack of terms to express different English words in the Ndebele language. Consequently, the English words "tablets", "dose", "pain killers" and "medicines" are all translated using the term *amaphilisi*. The strategy of indigenising loan words is advantageous in that the words adopt the orthographic structure of the target language, making them easier for pronunciation by Ndebele speakers. The findings of this study complement those of Gauton, Taljard and De Schryver (2003:83) who explored the strategies used to create terms in 10 South African languages. They state that African languages form terms through transliteration, a process of adapting the phonological structure of the loan word to the sound system of the borrowing language (herein referred to as indigenisation). However, the rate at which this happens differs from language to language, with Zulu depending more on non-nativised loan words,

and Swati relying on both non-nativised and nativised loan words, whereas Ndebele, Xhosa, Tswana, Sepedi, Sesotho, Venda, Tsonga and Afrikaans rely more on transliteration than pure loan words (Gauton, Taljard and De Schryver 2003:83). Similar to Zulu, it seems as if (Zimbabwean) Ndebele relies more on pure loan words than indigenised loan words, as shall be shown in the subsequent section.

4.1.2   Pure loan words

Pure loans words are defined as source words which are retained in the target text. Usually, these words change neither in form nor in meaning, however, as shall be shown below, the words gain prefixal elements so as to fit in with the Ndebele style of writing. Put differently, the words retain their original structure except for the prefixes. For example, the term "condom" which is retained in its pure form, takes the form of a stem with various prefixes, such as *i-condom* and *le-condom* as shown in Table 2 below. What follows are more examples of terms that have been retained in their pure form in the Ndebele language.

Table 2. Pure loan words

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. condom	*icondom* *lecondom*	119	49 3
2. Helper T lymphocytes	*Helper T lymphocytes*	1	1
3. glands	*ama gland*	2	2
4. antibodies	*ama antibodies*	5	2
5. antiretroviral	*ama antiretroviral*	48	38
6. hormones	*ama hormones*	4	3
7. vertical transmission	*vertical transmission*	3	1
Overall word count: 196			Frequency: 0.5320

Compared to the strategy of indigenisation, which has a frequency of 0.3963%, pure loaning, which has an overall word count of 196 and a frequency of 0.5320, is more common in the ENPC. Although the overall word count and frequency of pure loan words seems low, the number of individual or distinct words identified as loan words is higher than all the other strategies. In the Ndebele file, 84 words were identified as pure loan words, some accompanied by prefixes and some not. Of these, 74 appear twice or less in the Ndebele file. From these findings, it seems the more difficult a term is, the higher the chances of it being retained in its pure form. Notably, in the ENPC most names of diseases, medicines and internal body parts are presented in their original form:

Diseases: *Kaposi's sarcoma, Herpes Simplex, Candidiasis, Hepatitis B*
Medicines: *Zidovudine, Codeine, Panadine, Betadine, antibiotics, Efavirenz, Nevirapine, Lamuvudine, Stavudine*
Treatment methods: *Aroma treatment, yoga treatment, reflexology, acupuncture*

Generally, pure loan words are not easily pronounced as their sound patterns are not in harmony with the traditional sound patterns of Ndebele, and usually, pronunciation and

meaning go hand-in-hand. Pure borrowing is also evidenced in the translation of acronyms and abbreviations.

4.1.3   Acronyms and abbreviations

Valeontis and Mantzari (2006:6) define acronyms as words that are formed by combining the initial letters or syllables of all or several of the elements of a complex term or name. Acronyms are always pronounced syllabically just like regular words, e.g. "laser" from **L**ight **A**pplication by **S**timulated **E**mission of **R**adiation. The South African Concise Oxford Dictionary (2007) defines an abbreviation as a shortened form of a word or phrase. The difference between the two is that abbreviations are always pronounced as a sequence of letters, and they function as normal word forms taking plural suffixes as well (Moropa 2005:173), whilst acronyms take up the form of a word in the target language and are more likely to be assimilated into the language. Examples of how acronyms and abbreviations are translated in the ENPC are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Abbreviations and acronyms

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
Acronyms			
1. PEP	*lwe PEP* *iPEP*	17	12 2
2. AIDS	*iAIDS*	135	135
3. SAfAIDS	*iSAfAIDS* *SAfAIDS*	8	7 3
Abbreviations			
4. ART	*ye ART*	75	69
5. ARV	*ama ARV*	183	183
6. PLWHA	*PLWHA*	18	4
7. MIPA	*MIPA*	3	3
Overall word count: 849			Frequency: 2.3047

With an overall word count of 849 and a frequency of 2.3047, pure loaning of acronyms and abbreviations is the most used strategy in the Ndebele language. These statistics confirm Baker's (1992:35, 2011) assertion that acronyms and abbreviations are usually retained in their pure forms in the target language. In Table 3, there is a high correlation between the source-term word counts and the target-term word counts. Most abbreviations and acronyms are accompanied by prefixes and these influence the frequency outcomes. Nonetheless, the acronyms "AIDS" and "PEP" and the abbreviation "ARV" maintain their forms in the target text as shown in (i) and (ii) below:

(i)   Source language (SL): Can **AIDS** be cured?
       Target language (TL): Iyelapheka na **iAIDS**?
       Back translation (BT): Is **AIDS** curable?

(ii)   SL: I also took **ARV** medicines like you for **PEP.**
       TL: Lami ngithatha imithi **yama ARV** ngaphansi kohlelo lwe **PEP**.
       BT: I am also taking **ARV** medicines under the **PEP** programme.

Acronyms are usually pronounced as words in Ndebele, whilst in abbreviations the letters are pronounced in sequence. A strategy of introducing abbreviations that is used by Ndebele translators is that of abbreviations preceded by an explanation, which is discussed in the following section.

4.1.4 Abbreviations preceded by explanations

Table 4 shows how Ndebele translators paraphrased abbreviations and then provided the original form in brackets.

Table 4. Abbreviations preceded by explanations

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy (HAART)	*Ukwelatshwa ngemithi yama antiretroviral (Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy) (HAART)*	1	1
2. MIPA	*Abaphila legcikwane le AIDS (MIPA)*	3	1
3. MIWA (Meaningful involvement of Women Affected/Infected by HIV/AIDS)	*Ukuphatheka okugcweleyo Kwabesifazane abelegcikwane leHIIV labalodubo olungabe lubangelwa yi HIV/AIDS okuthiwa yi Meaningful Involvement of Women Affected/Infected by HIV/AIDS (MIWA)*	2	2
4. VCT	*Ukuhlolwa lokududuzwa (VCT)*	7	2
Overall word count: 20			Frequency: 0.0542

This strategy is usually used when an abbreviation is being introduced, hence the low word count of 20 and a frequency of 0.0542. After the acronyms or abbreviations are introduced, they are then retained in their pure form. The advantage of adding an explanation is that abbreviations are immediately clear to the readers, thus making the meaning clearer to target readers. A similar strategy to this is that of pure loan words preceded by an explanation. This strategy is discussed below.

4.1.5 Pure loan words preceded by explanations

This method of developing terms involves explaining a foreign concept and then putting the loan word in brackets. This strategy is functional in that it gives meanings for concepts in both the source and target languages, thereby clarifying the message. This strategy is useful for introducing new concepts into a language as it provides both the source term and its translation in the target language. Table 5 shows how this strategy is used.

Table 5. Pure loan words preceded by explanations

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. disclosure	*ukuphuma egcekeni(disclosure)*	13	6
2. informed consent	*ukuvuma ukuyahlolwa usazi imibiko egcweleyo (informed consent)*	1	1
3. second line treatment	*isigaba sesibili (second line treatment)*	3	2
4. Pelvic Inflammatory Disease (PID)	*umkhuhlane ohlasela iqolo (Pelvic Inflammatory Disease) / ukuvuvuka kweqolo*	5	3
Overall word count: 48			Frequency: 0.1303

This strategy has an overall word count of 48 and a frequency of 0.1303, which is low compared to pure loaning of words, acronyms, abbreviations and indigenisation. The low word count may be explained in terms of Ndebele translators switching strategies from pure loan words preceded by an explanation to paraphrasing after the terms have been introduced. While it is commonly agreed in the field of Translation Studies that acronyms are usually translated directly into the target language, Ndebele translators show that there are exceptions to the rule. They do this by paraphrasing acronyms and abbreviations, as elaborated in the following section.

4.1.6   Paraphrased acronyms and abbreviations

Paraphrased acronyms and abbreviations explain the meaning of the abbreviated word in its original form. For example, the acronym "STI" stands for "Sexually Transmitted Infections", and the paraphrase explains what this means in Ndebele. Therefore, in instances where the source text presents the acronym "STI", most Ndebele translators will use the paraphrase *imikhuhlane yengulamakhwa* or simply *ingulamakhwa*. Table 6 presents paraphrased abbreviations, as they are more common than acronyms.

Table 6. Paraphrased abbreviations

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. MTCT	*yikuthelelwa kosane igcikwane ngunina*	2	2
2. PTCT	*yikuthelelwa kosane igcikwane ngabazali*	4	2
3. PLWHA	*abaphila legcikwane le HIV*	18	20
4. ANC	*ukuhlolwa uzithwele*	4	3
Overall word count: 31			Frequency: 0.0841

With an overall word count of 31 and a frequency of 0.0841, the strategy of paraphrasing acronyms and abbreviations is used to a lesser extent than loaning acronyms and

abbreviations. Furthermore, the paraphrased terms do not have frequencies, as the "hot words" feature generally picks up single words and not phrases or sentences. Interestingly, some of the paraphrased abbreviations have gained popularity in the Ndebele language, for example, "PTCT" is commonly translated as *ukuthelelwa kosane igcikwane ngabazali* and "ANC" as *ukuhlolwa uzithwele*. Still, these paraphrased translated terms have not been converted into acronyms as in the case of Afrikaans where an English abbreviation like "SAQA" has become the acronym *SAKO* (*Suid-Afrikaanse Kwalifikasie-owerheid*), or where the acronym "AIDS" is translated as *vigs* and spelled with lower case letters.

In the ENPC, some Ndebele translators take the middle line by using both the borrowed word (pure and/or indigenised) and the indigenous word in a sentence. They translate using synonyms of the source word as explained in the next section.

4.1.7 Using borrowed synonyms

Hadebe (2000:230) mentions that "in the Ndebele language some words are adopted and adapted into the morphology of the language and these adoptives end up not being discernible from the rest". Such words were found to co-exist with the indigenous words in the ENPC. Moropa (2005:179) further explains that "the loan word and the Xhosa word co-occur in the lexicon and are synonyms, in that they have the same meaning". The same is true of Ndebele as shown by the examples in Table 7.

Table 7. Borrowed synonyms

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. AIDS	*ingculaza/ingculazi* *iAIDS*	 135	8 125
2. condom	*icondom/* *ikhondomu/* *umncwado*	 119	49 38 31
3. ring	*iringi/* *indandatho*	 30	4 17
4. gloves	*amagloves/* *amagilavu*	 20	10 8
Overall word count: 271			Frequency: 0.7356

Table 7 shows that most translators prefer the borrowed acronym "AIDS" to the coinage *ingculaza*. However, when it comes to the term "condom", all three translations feature a great deal in the corpus, although *icondom* (pure loan word) is most used. Some Ndebele translators, however, use both words in a sentence:

   (iii) ST: It is therefore wise to use **condoms** to stop the exchange of body fluids
       TT: Ngokunjalo ukusebenzisa **umcwado (*condom*)** yibuhlakaniphi obukhulu ngoba kwenqabela ukunikana amanzana
       BT: Therefore to use a male protective cover **(condom)** shows great wisdom because it prevents the transfer of liquids

(iv) ST: Wear **gloves** or bags on hands
    TT: Qqoka **amagloves/ amagilavu**
    BT: Wear **gloves**

The examples above show that in Ndebele, English loan words (pure and indigenised) co-exist with indigenous words which have been formulated by the language speakers to express new concepts in their languages. Some of these words, through constant use, have come to be accepted as indigenous words, for example, *ingculaza, ibhanditshi* and *amakhondomu.* This strategy contributes positively to the Ndebele language by developing its lexicon.

4.1.8   Semantic shift

Hadebe (2000:229) defines semantic shift as a process during which there is a shift in reference but not in sense, such that the coined term is used in the specialised field, although in ordinary speech the original and the new one co-exist. In other words, an everyday word gains new meaning by being used in specialised environments. Satyo (in Moropa 2004:127) concurs with this assertion by saying, "the new meaning springs from the original meaning and the relationship between these two does not fade". This new meaning is specialised in form, hence, Hadebe (2000:229) adds that

> in semantic specialisation a word acquires a specialized technical sense different from the one it previously held in ordinary speech, whereas in generalization the semantic field of the word expands to refer to senses previously not covered by the particular term in ordinary speech. This area has potential for Ndebele and other African languages.

Hadebe's statement here is valid as the method of extending the meanings of words contributes greatly to term development. The following examples in Table 8 highlight this strategy:

Table 8. Semantic shift

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. testing/ test	*ukuhlolwa*	27	13
2. virus	*Igcikwane* *igciwane*	50	122 19
3. status	*Isimo* *ngesimo*	55	36 24
4. discrimination	*lobandlululo*	17	15
5. transmission	*ukuthelelwa/* *ukuthelelana/* *ukumemetheka*	34	12 6 7
Overall word count: 422			Frequency: 1.1455

Semantic shift as a strategy has a high word count of 422 and a frequency of 1.1455 in the Ndebele file. It is the second most used strategy to pure loaning of acronyms and abbreviations. In Table 8, the frequencies of the Ndebele terms seem lower because of the presence of prefixal elements. For example, the term "status", which appears 55 times, is

translated as *isimo*, which appears 36 times. The word count is lower as the term has a number of concords, for example *ngesimo* appears 24 times. With regard to the term "virus", which appears 50 times in the English corpus, there are more entries in the Ndebele corpus as represented by the Ndebele translations *igcikwane* (122) and *igciwane* (19). This is because, in some instances, "HIV" is simply referred to as *igcikwane* as shown in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2. Translation of the term "virus"

Through the semantic-shift strategy, Ndebele as a language is gaining new meanings and new words through use in specialised environments such as the health sector, thus leading to its development. Some of the words are so common in the language that all Ndebele translators are in agreement in terms of their use. Another example is the translation of the term "transmission" as *ukuthelelwa* (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3. Translation of the term "transmission"

Ndebele translators are in agreement about the translation of "transmission", and this is important for its standardisation. The strategy of extending meanings of old words therefore reflects that Ndebele is a dynamic language that is growing through its interaction with other languages. However, Batibo (in Van Huyssteen 1999:183) warns that the transparency of

meaning may disappear in the extended meaning. The following section is an analysis of paraphrasing as a term-creation strategy.

4.1.9   Paraphrasing

Paraphrasing involves explaining the source concept in the target text, as shown in the examples in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Paraphrasing

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. defence system	*Amabutho omzimba*	2	2
2. immune system	*Amandla okulwisa imikhuhlane/ amasotsha omzimba*	44	8 7
3. exclusive breastfeeding	*ukumunyisa uchago lukamama lodwa*	3	2
4. sexual partner/s	*Izithandwa zamacansi*	5	3
Overall word count: 295			Frequency: 0.8008

Paraphrasing is the third most popular strategy, after pure loaning and semantic shift. In Table 9, there is a huge difference between the word count for the search word "immune system" and the target translations which are *amandla okulwisa imikhuhlane* (8) and *amasotsha omzimba* (7). The discrepancy is a result of agreement concords that change the phrasing of the terms, for example:

(v) ST: Immune deficiency means a weakness in the body's **immune system**.
TT: Immune deficiency itsho ukwehla **kwamandla amasotha alwisana lemikhuhlane** emzimbeni.
BT: Immune deficiency means reduction of the **body's ability to fight** illnesses.

Through this strategy, the Ndebele language has seen the introduction and growth of terms and phrases that capture new concepts in indigenous ways. The next strategy under discussion is coinage.

4.1.10   Coinage

Coinage involves developing new terms by using internal resources to capture new meanings in a language. The examples in Table 10 show that Ndebele is responding to changes in the medical world by coining new words to explain new concepts.

Table 10. Coinage

Source term	Target term	ENG word count	ND word count
1. candida	*umkhuhlane wemvubela*	2	2
2. abstinence	*ukuzila amacansi*	8	5
3. ribbon	*umcikiliso*	2	2
4. homosexual	*izitabane*	1	1
5. diabetes	*itshukela*	2	2
Overall word count: 20			Frequency: 0.0542

Overall, 20 words were identified as coinages, with some appearing more than once in the Ndebele corpus. Compared to borrowing, which comes in various forms such as indigenisation, pure loaning of words, acronyms and abbreviations and pure loaning preceded by explanations, the strategy of coinage is one of the least used in the ENPC. Nevertheless, some of the coined words such as *itshukela* for "diabetes" and *izitabane* for "homosexuality" have gained prominence in the Ndebele community. Another strategy that is used by Ndebele translators to create terms is compounding, as briefly elaborated in the next section.

4.1.11 Compounding

Cluver (1989) describes compounding as a process which involves combining two or more words (two nouns, a noun and a verb, etc.) into one unit. That is, compounding is a method of term development that involves creating terms using other words or parts of speech. In the ENPC, Ndhlovu (2012:203) found one example of compounded terms:

drugs > *izidakamizwa* (*izi* + *daka* = to intoxicate) + *mizwa* (senses)

Compounding is the least used strategy in the ENPC, though it has great potential to introduce new words by combining already existing words.

5. Summary of findings

To summarise, the strategies presented in section 4 had the following word counts and frequencies:

Table 11. Strategies used in the ENPC

Strategy	Word count	Frequency %
1. Indigenisation	146	0.3963
2. Pure loan words	196	0.5320
3. Acronyms and abbreviations	849	2.3047
4. Abbreviations preceded by an explanation	20	0.0542
5. Paraphrased acronyms and abbreviations	31	0.0841
6. Pure loan words preceded by an explanation	48	0.1303

7. Using borrowed synonyms	271	0.7356
8. Semantic shift	422	1.1455
9. Paraphrasing	295	0.8008
10. Coinage	20	0.0542
11. Compounding	1	0.0027

The main finding of this research is that borrowing in the form of pure loaning of acronyms and abbreviations; pure loan words; indigenisation; pure loan words preceded by explanations and acronyms; and abbreviations preceded by an explanation are the most common strategies in the ENPC. Under borrowing, pure loaning of acronyms and abbreviations, followed by pure loaning of words, were used to a larger extent. Borrowing was followed by semantic shift, paraphrasing and using borrowed synonyms. The least used strategies were paraphrasing acronyms and abbreviations, coinage and compounding (in this order).

Secondly, a true reflection of strategies used by Ndebele translators in the ENPC requires one to have an intimate knowledge of the prefixal elements of all terms, as identifying head words and concords outside their agreement created an incomplete picture of the strategies used.

Thirdly, due to the lack of terminology, there is an overlap of terms and meaning in the Ndebele language, where a number of source terms are translated using one word in Ndebele. For example, the terms "pills", "medicines", "pain killers" and "dose" are translated as *amaphilisi*. This means that there is clearly a need to develop adequate technical terminology to translate health texts in the Ndebele language.

Lastly, ParaConc as a tool for analysis provided relevant data in terms of word counts, alphabetical lists, frequencies and words in context that contributed to understanding the strategies used by Ndebele translators in the health sector.

6. Conclusion

This article explored strategies used by Ndebele translators in the Zimbabwe health sector to create terms. This was done by investigating an English-Ndebele Parallel Corpus (Ndhlovu 2012) by means of a parallel concordance, ParaConc. Through ParaConc, the researcher was able to identify source terms and their equivalent translations in the Ndebele language, draw frequencies, word counts, alphabetical lists, other possible translations and "hot words". It was noted that pure borrowing is the most commonly used strategy, and this was supported by word counts and frequency of terms in the Ndebele corpus. Borrowing involves various strategies such as the use of pure loan words, pure loan words preceded by an explanation, acronyms and abbreviations, paraphrased acronyms and abbreviations, and indigenised loan words. It was found that the lesser the frequency of a term, the higher the chances of the term being retained in its pure form. With regard to acronyms and abbreviations, most were retained in their pure forms but some were paraphrased. The reason why most translators rely on pure loan words could be that this is an easy option as most translators have not received any formal training (Ndhlovu 2012). Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, English as the only official language is also the dominant language, and it seems as if translators assume that their readers will understand borrowed terms even though the structure of these terms is alien to the Ndebele language. The Zimbabwean situation is contrary to the South African linguistic

environment, where the Constitution stipulates that all 11 languages are equal and where all 11 languages are in fact minority languages (Kruger 2010). This finding points to a dire need to train translators in Zimbabwe and also that a language policy should be developed that takes cognisance of all of the languages spoken in Zimbabwe. The least used strategies are paraphrasing acronyms and abbreviations, coinage and compounding (in that order). There is a need for terminographers to continue developing terms, working hand-in-hand with other language experts and researchers in order to fill the gap of terminology scarcity in African languages.

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Some interlingual communicative challenges for foreign African interpreters in South African courtrooms

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Abstract

This study investigates interlingual communicative challenges faced by interpreters in South African courtrooms. Data were collected from the participants in the study by taking a qualitative approach based on the observation of courtroom proceedings, as well as unstructured and structured interviews. The interlingual challenges identified can be linked to factors such as bilingualism, dialect usage, biculturalism and the requirement of sight translation in court. Potential solutions to the problems brought about by these factors form the focal point of this study. Finally, suggestions for further research are made within the limitations of the research framework.

Keywords: bilingualism, dialect, biculturalism, sight translation, linguistic human rights

1.   Introduction

South Africa is officially a multilingual country, hence the democratic imperative of inclusivity with regard to social factors such as religion and culture (Erasmus 1999:vii). In contrast to the past system of apartheid, the new democratic dispensation which came about in 1994 recognises in its constitution a wide spectrum of human rights, including linguistic rights. This is evident from the provisions of the new constitution in which the needs and rights of people using languages in addition to the two hitherto dominant official languages – English and Afrikaans – are recognised (South African Constitution 1996: sections 6, 30 and 31), as well as from the establishment in 2002 of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities Act.

Linguistic human rights, like all other rights, are of great importance to those involved, to such an extent that when these rights are not guaranteed to groups who are linguistically handicapped with regard to the use of the dominant language(s), such groups are equally deprived of a voice

with which to articulate and demand other human rights. The provisions mentioned above, especially as they applies to the judiciary, are clearly inviolable and sacrosanct elements of the democratic basis of the Republic of South Africa. It is therefore important that in the administration of justice, such rights be honoured in respect of speakers of the indigenous official African languages and, by extension, those of immigrant communities (cf. South African Constitution 1996: section 9(3)).

The courtroom is considered to be a sensitive social institution as matters that come before it sometimes mean the difference between freedom and captivity, or, in some countries, life and death, for the accused. This fact underscores the need for maximally effective communication between participants in the courtroom. This requirement is echoed by Khoon (1990:110), who advises that all communication in court should be handled cautiously as "[a]ny misrepresentation, be it even a verbal slip, may have dire consequences, particularly in cases where the fate of a defendant hangs in the balance".

Khoon's assertion justifies why it is necessary to bridge communication barriers between diverse language groups in the courtroom. This is carried out by providing court interpreters to assist many South Africans and others who appear before the courts and who are not proficient in the main court languages (Afrikaans and English) used during the proceedings. This is clearly stipulated in the South African Constitution which states that "[e]very accused person has a right to a fair trial, which includes the right to be tried in a language that the accused person understands; or, if that is not practicable, to have proceedings interpreted in that language" (South African Constitution 1996: section 35 [3(k)]).

There are many cases of foreign nationals who cannot speak the two main languages in South African courtrooms. Economically, South Africa is comparatively regarded as the powerhouse of Africa. This has lured foreign African migrant workers from other southern African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia and Mozambique, to South Africa in search of better job opportunities. The presence of some of these immigrants in the country is not without socio-economic consequences. On a daily basis, news of the occurrence of crimes committed by foreign immigrants in South Africa is reported in the media. The observation of courtroom proceedings by one of the authors during this study showed that hardly a day passes without language-handicapped foreign immigrants being arraigned in court. This calls for a closer look at some of the challenges faced by the interpreters who are employed to bridge communication barriers between these immigrants and the court.

Although there are studies on court interpreting in South Africa, none has looked thoroughly at issues of foreign court interpreters, especially foreign African court interpreters. A study by Moeketsi (1999), for example, contains a passing reference to foreign African interpreters but does not go into detail regarding the challenges they face. A comprehensive study is therefore necessary which looks at the challenges faced by foreign African interpreters, especially given the emphasis on linguistic human rights in the South African Constitution. It is the aim of this paper to contribute in this regard by highlighting some interlingual communicative challenges faced by foreign African court interpreters and the consequences for the judicial system in South Africa. It is hoped that the results reported in this study will focus the attention of individuals and agencies involved in order for the aims of the Constitution to be achieved in this regard.

2. Methodology

A qualitative approach was taken in this study, which mainly involved observations of proceedings in open courtroom sessions in order to establish the communicative roles of the main actors such as the magistrate, the prosecutor, the court interpreter and the attorneys. Unstructured and structured interviews were also used to collect data and, at times, were supported by post-data collection interviews to verify and, if necessary, clarify some of the data collected in this way.

The participants in this study were firstly foreign African court interpreters from some African countries who operate in the magistrate courts of central Johannesburg, Germiston and Hillbrow in South Africa (see reference to these countries below). Other participants included magistrates, prosecutors, attorneys and chief interpreters in the aforementioned courts. For the purpose of sampling, all foreign African court interpreters in these magistrate courts constituted the target population for investigation. Since it was evidently not possible to gain access to the population as a whole, the study had to be based on a statistically justifiable representative sample of the population; the results of the study were then extrapolated to the entire population. Sampling for a purpose such as this is then, in essence, a "[…] process of selecting just a small group of people from a large group […]" (Walliman 2006:75) according to principles of representation which will be explained below.

Purposive sampling was used to select the foreign African interpreters. According to Aldridge and Levine (2001:80), researchers use purposive sampling to select subjects with characteristics they consider relevant to their study. Some of the characteristics that informed the selection of the interpreters in this study were the age of the interpreters (not younger than 21 years), in order to comply with ethical considerations of our affiliated institutions (University of Fort Hare, Alice and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth), years of experience which, for instance, should not be less than two years (an assumed minimum period to have been exposed to a range of typical court cases), and the number of regular appearances in court. Age was emphasised in order to complement the requirement of experience. This means that even if the interpreters have been practising at a much younger age, by the age of 21 they must have acquired the required experience as day-to-day practising casual interpreters. As the foreign African interpreters work on a casual basis, it means there might be some who do not work on a regular basis. We focused on those who work as foreign African court interpreters on a daily basis as we believe they would be in a better position to respond to the issues addressed in our study.

The next method used was snowball sampling which is used to identify subjects through the process of referral (O'Leary 2005:94). Snowball sampling was also used to select magistrates and prosecutors who were respondents in this study. Each court has a chief interpreter who handles the affairs of the rest of the interpreters. It was noticed during this study that in some cases, one chief interpreter's line of authority cuts across many magistrate courts in close proximity. Thus, no sampling was done in the selection of the three identified chief interpreters in the magistrate courts mentioned.

For the purpose of this study, the sample selected comprised 30 foreign African court interpreters from Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Mozambique, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Tanzania and Somalia. In addition, a total of 10 magistrates, 10

prosecutors and 10 attorneys were sampled. The foreign African court interpreters who were participants in this study had worked between six and 10 years as non-permanent members of staff of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJCD) of South Africa. The data analysed in this study were from interviews and observations of court proceedings. The actual data analysis began by categorising the data after which we were able to analyse all data in relation to the identified conceptual framework. Some of the concepts that came to the fore during the analytical process include bilingualism, dialects, biculturalism and sight translation, and, as such, are the focus of our analysis. We refer to these concepts as "interlingual communicative challenges" and they will be addressed in the subsequent sections.

3.   Bilingualism

In the courtrooms that were investigated in this study, past experience is not taken into consideration by the court authorities in the employment of court interpreters, nor is any effort made to train them after they have been employed. The data in this study are illustrative of the fact that the only requirement for the employment of foreign African court interpreters is individual bilingualism. Ideally, this should mean a balanced bilingual or "a person who speaks, reads or understands two languages equally" (Richards and Schmidt 2002:51). This is a general assumption about the interpreters who claim to be bilingual in this study. It may explain why, during the process of employment, no effort is made to check their proficiency in both languages that they claim to understand or speak. Bilingualism is problematic when considered in this fashion because, as noted by Richards and Schmidt (2002:51), a bilingual in most cases "has a better knowledge of one language than another". Some interesting examples given by the authors in this regard are that the person:

- may be able to read and write in one language but not in the other;
- uses the languages in different types of situations or domains, e.g. one language at home and another at work, and
- uses one language for talking about school life and the other for talking about personal feelings.

(Richards and Schmidt 2002:51)

These characteristics reflect the bilingual nature of most of the interpreters who were respondents to questions asked to test their bilingualism in this study. Most of them (80% [N=24]) said they interpret from English into more than one other language. Some (60% [N=18]) said they did not study the languages or the dialects in which they interpret in court, but do understand them because they once lived in a speech community in which the languages are spoken, while only 53% (N=20) claimed they studied their mother tongues at school. When the extent to which the respondents had studied the languages was considered, it was found that only 17% (N=5) had studied the language up to primary school level, 47% (N=14) up to secondary school and 23% (N=7) up to tertiary level.

This study shows that 80% (N=24) of the interpreters interpret from English into two or more languages, while 60% (N=18) interpret into other languages besides their mother tongues. Those who interpret into languages which are not their mother tongues reported that they once lived in communities in which these languages are spoken. This is insufficient to achieve the "balanced" bilingualism required for, amongst other things, quality interpreting.

Not even balanced bilingualism is enough to guarantee accurate and quality interpreting. According to Driesen (2003:113), bilingualism should be complemented by a "relevant linguistic and cultural background and acquired forensic knowledge". This is the only way an interpreter will be professional enough to "be able to contribute to a fair trial" in order to realise the noble objectives of the profession (Driesen 2003:113).

Besides bilingualism, Hewitt and Lee (1996) maintain that cognitive abilities are essential to practise as an interpreter. They add that, in order for an interpreter "to correctly render rote-facts (like numbers and names), the interpreter must pay close attention to detail, while listening, and then conserve the detail for a later recall with an excellent short-term memory". For Schweda-Nicholson (1989:712), other elements which play a vital role in the improvement of interpreters' skills, in addition to bilingualism, are "personality, flexibility of mind, the ability to think on one's feet and to analyse quickly, broad general knowledge, a fair level of education and cultural awareness […]".

4.   Dialect

One of the daily difficulties court interpreters encounter is the need to interpret new words, terms or concepts they have never heard before. For example, an interpreter in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, who wishes to remain anonymous, stated the following in an unstructured interview used in the study: "Oftentimes, the accused used words which at times may be familiar, at times strange, and these accused are the ones using their dialects or mixing their dialect with the standard language we interpret". Many of the respondents said that this is a recurring experience in their practice as court interpreters, and we witnessed it likewise in some of our observations of court proceedings.

On three occasions, one of the interpreters pointed out that the so-called "new words" referred to by the interpreter quoted above are new because they are words from a dialect of which he does not have complete mastery. Although 93% (N=28) of the interpreters claimed that they understood the dialects of their languages, in our post-data collection interview with 67% (N=20) of the interpreters, we discovered that the occurrence of strange words was a familiar problem to other interpreters whose languages have dialect(s).

A dialect is "a speech variety within a language" (De Jongh 1992:67). De Jongh elaborates by saying that "[w]hen a language is spoken by a large number of people who live in an extensive area where groups have often been isolated from one another, as in the case of Spanish and English, there will be dialectal diversity due to the geographical spread of the language" (De Jongh 1992:67). This perfectly explains the dialect situation in Nigeria with regard to Yoruba and Igbo – two languages commonly interpreted for accused persons or witnesses in South African courtrooms. Yoruba and Igbo have dominant varieties, or standard dialects, and it is assumed that all Yoruba-speaking and Igbo-speaking persons understand them. Igbo is spoken in five states in Nigeria, while Yoruba is spoken in seven. In addition to the standard dialects of the two languages, there are other dialects specific to each state, and in some states even more than one dialect is to be found.

The data collected on dialects in this study, through one unstructured interview and several structured interviews, indicate that 100% (N=30) of respondents' working languages have

dialects and that 93% (N=28) said they understood the dialects of their languages, while 7% (N=2) said they did not.

In light of the fact that these different dialects or varieties have common standard dialects, one would expect that the differences between the varieties had reduced or that there would be dialect levelling, which would consequently render the impact of dialects negligible in any communicative encounter. Dialect levelling is a "process through which dialect differences become reduced" (Richards and Schmidt 2002:155) as a result of the influence of standard or dominant dialects. From our experience as researchers, apart from the fact that there are Igbo-speaking interpreters and Yoruba-speaking interpreters who do not understand the standard dialects of their languages, these speakers are also influenced by their own dialects in the manner in which they use the standard dialects.

The local dialects or varieties in these different states significantly influence the way standard Igbo is spoken in each of those states. For example, in our observation in the courtroom, we witnessed two scenarios where the court interpreters had difficulties in understanding or even knowing the meaning of some of the words uttered by the accused. It was, however, not a case of unknown vocabularies as, according to the court interpreter, the words were familiar but it was difficult to find the appropriate equivalents. The words used by the accused in this particular instance and which caused a problem for the court interpreter were *Ka kunu me?* ('How are you people?'). The court interpreter had to request that the accused repeat the sentence in the Nigerian lingua franca – Pidgin English – before she was able to render the sentence in the target language. During the lunch break, we had to consult another Igbo-speaking interpreter telephonically who confirmed the meaning as stated in Pidgin English by the accused. The person whom we consulted told us the words were specific to a variety of Igbo spoken in Asaba in Nigeria's Delta State. The sentence *Ka kunu me* in Asaba Igbo's dialect, called Enuani, has to be rendered as *Ele otu unu mere* in the general or standard dialect.

The scenario discussed regarding the Igbo standard dialect and its various dialects applies similarly to Yoruba. One of the interpreters told us he was shocked that an accused who came from the same Nigerian state spoke a Yoruba dialect which he could not interpret easily, and he had to request that the accused use the standard dialect. The interpreter maintained that, even when the accused was using the standard Yoruba dialect, the former noticed that the latter was code-mixing (mixing the standard and regional dialects together in a sentence). Code-mixing refers to intrasentential switching or mixing of various linguistic elements from a related or distinct language within the same sentence (Myers-Scotton 1993:4). The scenario depicted here is interesting because the court interpreter was surprised that both of them (the accused and interpreter) were from the same state, but the accused was speaking a dialect which the interpreter had never before heard.

A further point of interest is the assumption of dialect levelling between the standard Yoruba spoken by the court interpreter and the accused's dialect, given that both standard Yoruba and the dialect are used interchangeably in the same state. This assumption – that differences between the dialects would be levelled out – proved to be unfounded, however, since the interpreter claimed he struggled to understand the dialect of the accused.

Problems caused by an inability to understand dialects of the standard form of a language may be aggravated when it is a dialect of a cross-border language and the interpreter is not from the same side of the border where the dialect is spoken. In the case of the Igbo and Yoruba dialects

mentioned above, the Yoruba and Igbo interpreters may not have had any socio-cultural challenges to contend with as the dialects are from closely-related speech communities influenced by the same socio-cultural issues within the same country.

This may not be the case for an interpreter who interprets for an accused across the border, whose dialect may have some "foreign" socio-cultural characteristics with which the interpreter has to contend. The challenge of lexical equivalence applies in the case of countries that share the same language but differ in their legal systems and orthographies. For example, Malawian Sena, which follows English orthography as Malawi is an Anglophone country, is different from Mozambican Sena, which follows Portuguese orthography as Mozambique is a Lusophone country.[1] These differences affect the wording of legal texts and this requires the interpreter to be conversant with both legal systems. This ability is rare in South African courtrooms as all sampled cross-border language interpreters in this study said they were not conversant with the legal systems of the other country, the language of which they interpret.

In addition to the difficulties court interpreters experience with dialects, it is also a challenge to find equivalents for certain English words in various African immigrant languages and vice versa. The interpreters reported that the lack of equivalents often forced them to resort to sentence-long descriptions, explanations or circumlocutions in the target language (TL). For example, the word *ọzẹba* in Ẹdo does not have any English equivalent and is translated in an Ẹdo-English dictionary by Agheyisi (1986:124) as "a sticky and unanticipated problem". In court, this word was simply interpreted as "problem" in English by the interpreter, thereby reducing the semantic effect of the word and/or not conveying in the TL the intention behind the spoken word as used by the source language (SL) speaker. These constitute examples of how dialects pose challenges to foreign African interpreters in the courtrooms. Further challenges faced by foreign African interpreters in the form of biculturalism are discussed in the following section.

5. Biculturalism

Biculturalism refers to the "ability to interpret experiences in the manner appropriate to both cultures involved" (De Jongh 1992:59). This requires significant cross-cultural awareness. The data in this study reveal some important facts about the respondents in this regard. For example, most of the interpreters are involved in cross-border language interpreting, their languages have dialects, and most of the languages in which they interpret are not their mother tongues but the languages learnt in the speech communities in which they once lived. This calls into question their level of cross-cultural awareness or experience appropriate for biculturalism in interpreting.

According to De Jongh (1992:59), a good interpretation means "a deep familiarity with the languages involved (bilingualism) and their respective cultures (biculturalism)". Besides bilingualism, cultural awareness is one of the vital requirements for a competent interpreter and this requires a balanced perspective of both the SL and TL cultures. The opposite of this, according to De Jongh (1992:59), could be regarded as being ethnocentric or constituting monocultural interpreting. This takes place in total disregard of the cultural contexts of the languages involved.

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[1] "Lusophone country" is used here to refer to a Portuguese-speaking country in which Portuguese is the official language.

The influence of culture on language cannot be overemphasised and interpreting, which takes place in order to reduce language barriers between two individuals or groups, must be viewed from this perspective. Wiersinga (2003:47) states that "[t]he ability to interpret language codes and the ability to accomplish translation is partly a question of culture. Knowing how to render meaning within the prevailing cultural patterns is the ultimate way of bestowing real meaning at all levels".

For some scholars, knowledge of the culture of the interpreter's working languages is a non-negotiable skill. Katschinka (2003:93), for instance, who discusses the set of skills legal interpreters must possess, states that "[…] knowledge of the culture and the legal system of the countries of the working languages" should be one of the core competences of legal interpreters.

Many of the variables which came to the fore in the data collected for this study underpin the importance of bicultural knowledge (or the lack thereof). For example, 93% (N=28) of the respondents in this study reported that their working languages have dialects. Although they all claimed to understand the dialects of their working languages (as discussed in section 4), certain sub-cultural challenges linked to the sociolinguistic context of dialects pose major problems to those interpreters whose working languages are not their mother tongues. This is an even larger concern for interpreters whose working languages are cross-border languages as, while they may understand the dialect(s) on their side of the border, a lack of understanding of those on the other side of the border, together with the socio-cultural factors influencing their use, will jeopardise unfettered communication between the relevant parties in court.

One of the ways the effect of this type of ignorance can be mitigated is to allow the interpreter sufficient time to interview the accused/witness as part of his/her preparation for the beginning of the trial (Grabau 1996). During the course of the interview, the interpreter should be able to determine the dialects, types of jargon, regionalisms and colloquial expressions of the accused/witness, as well as to confirm his/her level of education. Prior knowledge of these facts would, amongst other things, enable the interpreter to eliminate any possible misunderstanding as a result of dialect variation.

If it becomes clear that these factors will present an insurmountable challenge, the interpreter should, in good conscience or as is required by the code of ethics of his/her profession, withdraw from the case.

Furthermore, an exploratory interview of this nature should provide the interpreter with what De Jongh (1992:28) refers to as "sufficient referential knowledge". Apart from allowing the interpreter enough time to interview the accused/witness, De Jongh suggests that the interpreter should be given sufficient information about the "situation or subject matter" of the case, or else the "interpreter may not possess the minimum level of knowledge that enables a person to interpret, that is, to understand".

Our interaction with the foreign African court interpreters, after observing their participation in court proceedings, showed that such interpreters are not given the necessary information in advance regarding the nature of their interpreting assignments. The interpreters' responses to the question "Are you always given as much information as possible in advance regarding the nature of the interpreting assignment before your first court appearance in a case?" confirmed our observation; almost all the respondents (90% [N=27]) responded negatively to this question,

whereas 53% (N=16) claimed that they were aware that there is a provision that they have to determine the language ability of the accused, but this is done only a few minutes before the case begins.

Our observation in the court confirms this response, but this conversation mostly took place in what could be regarded as a transient moment, barely sufficient to gather any useful information about the language background of the accused, let alone constitute the necessary preparation by the interpreter. When some of the interpreters were asked what the content of their discussion was with the accused, their responses did not relate in any way to background knowledge regarding the language ability of the accused. Some said they would introduce themselves to the accused persons as their interpreters for the case, while others said they would tell the accused not to feel intimidated in answering any question put to him/her.

Sufficient information about the case would enable the interpreter to determine what is important to discover in the pre-trial interview with the accused. As this is not done by foreign African interpreters, the rendition of the SL (and all its nuances) into the TL may be a serious problem, as described above.

6.   Sight translation

Sight translation involves the rendering of written material in one language into an oral version in another language; on the other hand, it may also refer to "oral translation of a written document" (Gonzalez, Vasquez and Mikkelson 1991:401). On a daily basis in South African courtrooms, court interpreters sight translate charge sheets into the accused person's language.

Our observation of court proceedings, especially at the beginning of trials, shows that all charge sheets were sight translated into the accused's language. Furthermore, 60% (N=18) of the court interpreters in this study reported that they had also sight translated other documents on several occasions, either from the language of the accused or witness, into the official language used in court, or vice versa. This makes sight translation skills imperative for court interpreters. Such skills, as stated by Ostarhild (2001), should enable the court interpreters to have "a quick grasp of the meaning of the written text and a high degree of linguistic flexibility to produce almost immediately an accurate, lucid and fluently spoken version, translated at sight from the text".

Sight translation requires specific skills, some of which have to be taught through specialised educational programmes, such as reading and comprehension skills. In addition, a sight translator needs to have insight into both linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of communication. The data collected, however, do not indicate that participants in this study have (at least formally) acquired these skills, as 73% (N=22) of them have less than a tertiary degree, and 64% (N=20) of those who claimed to have studied their working languages at school had only reached either primary school or secondary school level.

It also emerged in this study that what participants regarded as "language studied at school" (e.g. English) was in fact the medium of instruction. None of the 7% (N=2) who said they had studied a language at tertiary level had obtained his/her diploma or degree in language-related fields.

In addition to this, the data show that 84% (N=25) of the interpreters had not been given any form of continuous professional development (CPD) training. It is highly unlikely that they would be trained, as present DoJCD policy makes no provision for CPD for foreign interpreters, even though quite a number of them have been working in the Department for several years. This means that the quality of sight translation currently practised in the DoJCD leaves much to be desired. Ostarhild (2001) warns that "[s]ight translation is not an easy skill to acquire", adding that the skills come about through "training, practice and knowledge of the process of producing sight translations from written texts".

Possible problems interpreters working with cross-border languages may encounter during sight translation can be mitigated when sight translators have knowledge of the two cultures of his/her working languages – that is, the cultures of the SL and the TL (Ostarhild 2001). Ostarhild further points out that in order to be able to access written texts quickly, it is essential for the interpreter to have an adequate understanding of the structures and syntax of the two languages.

As indicated earlier, some court interpreters interpret in cross-border languages for accused persons hailing from countries with different sociolinguistic backgrounds. In this regard, the first problem is that, due to the different backgrounds, the court interpreters may not be adequately informed about the societies and cultures of the accused persons, especially when (in the case mentioned) the accused is from a Lusophone country and the court interpreter from an Anglophone country. Secondly, this may also extend to the fact that, because of orthographical differences between, for instance, Malawian Sena (which reflects English orthography) and Mozambican Sena (which reflects Portuguese orthography), interpreters may have problems accessing written texts quickly.

Related to this is prediction, which is also important in sight translation and an important strategy when used in interpreting. In this regard, González et al. (1991:403) maintain that "[i]nterpreters are able to predict the outcome of an incomplete message because of their knowledge of the syntax and style, as well as other sociolinguistic factors in the SL culture". This requires professional training, which foreign African court interpreters do not have, and may not have even in the near future, given the low levels of education and lack of exposure to in-service training.

Interpreting is a complex task, and it is even more complex when no attempt is made to alleviate some of the problems the court interpreters may encounter. As discussed, there is no doubt that the participants (interpreters) in this study may experience problems of linguistic comprehension, due to their low levels of education or irrelevant qualifications. Thus, they may not have the appropriate knowledge of the phonology, sentence structure and semantics of the SL; and, in the case of cross-border languages, the interpreter may have problems with the culture and sociolinguistic conventions of the accused hailing from the "other" side of the border.

These problems have to be addressed in order to ensure a fair process in the dispensation of justice. A first step, in the present circumstances, would be to make the documents available in advance to the interpreter so that the former may be sight translated. In addition to empowering the interpreter in terms of the appropriate background knowledge, this would enable him/her to decipher illegible handwriting in the case of hand-written documents. The interpreter would

then be able to study the document and possibly consult the author for an explanation of the aspects he/she finds difficult to decipher.

If the author is unavailable, the interpreter may consult other interpreters for assistance, and, in the worst-case scenario, may have to decline the assignment or bring to the notice of the court that the document contains indecipherable parts. Unfortunately, all this is currently impossible. The data in this study have shown that 73% (N=21) of the interpreters have never been provided with the documents they are required to sight translate in advance. Worse still, the interpreters are discouraged to decline interpreting assignments, even if they feel they are unable to handle them. Faced with these shortcomings, the foreign African interpreter cannot attain the optimum quality of interpreting, which Moser-Mercer (1996:44) refers to as an ability to provide a complete and accurate rendition of the original message, and ability to capture all extralinguistic information that the speaker might have intended. The negative consequences of these shortcomings will be on the quality of the service rendered by foreign African court interpreters and the proper administration of justice.

7.   Limitation of the study

The research was conducted in courtrooms in Johannesburg and Germiston. For a complete and comprehensive study, it would have been necessary to widen the scope to include courtrooms across all of the provinces in South Africa. We acknowledge that this is a limitation to this study, hence generalising the findings should be carried out with caution.

We are aware that the majority of the interpreters who took part in this study mentioned that oftentimes they are called to work in other courtrooms in other provinces, and thus one may conclude that these challenges will feature in their work as well. However, we recommend that instead of making such a simplistic conclusion, the findings here should be used as a possible gauge towards a similar study in other provinces.

8.   Conclusion

This study has analysed some interlingual communicative challenges faced by interpreters in South African courtrooms. The identified interlingual challenges are related to bilingualism, dialect, biculturalism and sight translation. Given the data analysed, it was pointed out that bilingualism is a challenge to court interpreters, as they may not have the balanced bilingualism required to interpret interlingually. In addition, it was noted that the interpreters are employed simply because they are bilingual and thus cannot be assumed to be balanced bilinguals. As discussed, even if this were to be the case, quality interpreting requires more than just balanced interpreting; it requires relevant cultural and forensic knowledge.

The phenomenon of dialect, as discussed, presents daily difficulties for the court interpreters. One of the ways to mitigate its challenges is for interpreters to interpret appropriately as if there is no dialect difference. The data discussed in this study show that this is not the case. The same is true of biculturalism. The interpreters do not have cross-cultural knowledge because, according to the data analysed, some of the interpreters understand and speak the language of a community they have not lived in for a long time, hence they will not know about the community's culture. Many mitigating factors of problems related to biculturalism, such as pre-

trial interviews with the accused and the provision of necessary information about the interpreting assignment, are not properly, if at all, carried out.

Finally, regarding sight translation, it was stated in the study that it requires specific skills, such as reading and comprehension and insight into both sociolinguistic and paralinguistic issues of the languages involved in order to ensure quality interpreting.

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Vertaling en/as abjeksie: Antjie Krog

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Opsomming

Internasionaal bekroonde skrywer en digter Antjie Krog, skryf in Afrikaans, haar moedertaal, vertaal ander se werk (Nederlands en Vlaams) in Afrikaans, en vertaal haar eie werk (saam met ander vertalers) in Engels. As tweetalige en veeltalige skrywer werk Krog voortdurend op 'n dialogiese en heteroglossiese vlak binne 'n komplekse sosiokulturele en sosiolinguistiese omgewing. Met die skep van tekste wat twee- of veelstemmig is, stel Krog veranderende betekenisse en ontvanklikheid vir verskillende perspektiewe aan die leser bekend – 'n proses wat dikwels haarself, haar taal en ander se taal ontheem of vervreem. Hierdie artikel ondersoek die *abjekte* soos dit in Krog se teenwoordigheid as selfvertaler en vertaalde skrywer in die Suid-Afrikaanse literêre veld manifesteer. Die abjekte – dit wat onvanpas en vuil is en die geordende sisteem bedreig – is die duidelikste teenwoordig in ons (as subjektiewe persone) reaksies op die fisiese liggaam en die moontlikhede van kontaminasie wat dit inhou. Die skryfproses en die inhoud daarvan, kan en behoort op soortgelyke wyse as ontwrigtende handelinge te funksioneer. Die konsep van die materialiteit van die teks is spesifiek relevant tot Krog se eie poësie, wat 'n abjekte, beliggaamde landskap voorstel. As skrywer bewoon (*inhabit*) Krog die teks – sy wórd die ritmes en artikulasies van die teks. Binne kulturele vertaling, vorm abjeksie en die mineuraanwending van taal 'n integrale deel van die konstruksie van identiteit en subjektiwiteit. Hierdie abjeksie funksioneer op twee vlakke: aan die een kant is Krog se teenwoordigheid binne die Engelse literêre veld ambivalent, onstabiel en uitdagend van 'n skoon, geordende sisteem; aan die ander kant ondermyn sy die majeurtaal deur haarself met subversiwiteit te vertaal. Die doel van die artikel is om die konsepte *abjeksie* en *mineurtaal* te versoen in 'n poging om 'n vars perspektief te gee op die persepsie en resepsie van Krog se werk in die Suid-Afrikaanse literêre veld.

Sleutelwoorde: abjeksie, literêre vertaling, vertaling en hibriditeit, Antjie Krog, mineurletterkunde, Kristeva, Deleuze en Guattari

Translation and/as abjection: Antjie Krog

Extended abstract

Internationally acclaimed South African author and poet Antjie Krog writes in Afrikaans, her mother tongue, translates others' work (Dutch and Flemish) into Afrikaans, and together with other translators, translates her own work into English. As bilingual or multilingual writer in a complex sociocultural and sociolinguistic environment, Krog continually operates at a dialogic

and heteroglossic level. In producing texts that are double-voiced or multi-voiced, she introduces differing meanings and openness to different perspectives, often defamiliarising herself, her own and others' language, and the reader.

This paper seeks to address the notion of the *abject* as manifest in Krog's presence as self-translator as well as in her presence as translated writer in the South African literary field. The abject – that which is improper, unclean, threatening the orderly system – is most prevalent in our (subjective beings') reactions to the physical form of the body and its contaminative possibilities. In a similar vein, writing and its contents, could, and does, function as destabilising acts. The notion of the materiality of the text is particularly relevant to Krog's own poetry, as her work exhibits an abject, embodied landscape. As writer, Krog inhabits the text and *becomes* the rhythms and articulations of the text.

"God, Death, Love, Loneliness, Man / are important Themes in Literature / menstruation, childbirth, menopause, puberty / marriage are not," Krog writes in *Body bereft* (BB 20), highlighting, to a large extent, what Mansfield calls "fantasies of an autonomous selfhood" (Kristeva in Mansfield 2000:82): "... we draw an imaginary line around the perimeters of our bodies and define our subjectivity as the unique density of matter contained within that line." This dilemma experienced by the subject could have an additional dimension, namely, "In our fantasy of an autonomous literature or autonomous language […] we draw an imaginary line around the perimeters of our *literature* and define our *literature/language* as the unique density of matter contained within that line." The latter interpretation of Kristeva links to Deleuze and Guattari's work on minor literature, specifically the hidden potential of a minor use of a major language. Krog's poem also echoes Christiane Rochefort's description of the struggle in terms of freedom of the (French) women writer: "You are supposed, too," she writes (Rochefort in Jones 1997:380), "to write about certain things: house, children, love. […] Maybe you don't want to write *about*, but to write, period. And of course, you don't want to obey this social order. So, you tend to react against it" (italics in original).

Krog's oeuvre in the Afrikaans and English literary field in South Africa consists of Afrikaans poetry volumes, prose, prose translations from English and Dutch, and translations of her own and others' poetry. Her first non-fiction book is published in 1995 (*Relaas van 'n moord; Account of a murder*, 1997), followed by her first publication in English in 1998, *Country of my skull*. Thereafter followed the autobiographical/fictional work *A change of tongue* (2003; published in 2005 as *'n Ander tongval*), her most recent non-fiction book being *Begging to be black* (2009). With *Country of my skull* and *A change of tongue* Krog acquired international status, but mostly made the transition to bilingual or multilingual writer occupying the interesting yet ambivalent space of hybridity, heterotopias and the cosmopolitan. In 1995 she started working as translator of Nelson Mandela's autobiography into Afrikaans, followed by various translations and anthologies; the most recent being her second anthology in English translation, *Skinned* (2013).

It is argued that in translating her own work from Afrikaans, a minoritised language post-1994, into a language of power, English, Krog *abjectifies* the major language, thereby creating a delicate space in the target cultural field: a space where the language is double, vague, heterogeneous, metamorphosed, deterritorialised, reterritorialised; a space where her translations open up "revolutionary conditions […] within the heart of what is called great (or established) literature" (Deleuze & Guattari 1986:18). Entering the Afrikaans literary field at a

stage where it was a major (institutionalised) literature in South Africa, Krog's style was less conventional and her subject matter daring. With *Country of my skull*, *A change of tongue* and *Down to my last skin*, Krog moved from minor (Afrikaans) to major language, utilising a type of English (South African, with heavy Afrikaans undertones) that constitutes a minor use of the major language (see Pakendorf 1993). In Krog's approach to retain the Afrikaans undertones she manages to keep alive the contact zone between Afrikaans and English as a space of multiple articulations where language need not function as a defining or limiting border. It is perhaps safe to position Krog in a hybrid space within the English literary field. This in-between space, or *third space*, presents itself as uncomfortable and revealing, and as symptomatic of the tension between two more defined spaces from the English reader's perspective: the one known, global, intimidating, levelling (English), the other unknown or foreign (Afrikaans), yet local.

In Deleuze and Guattari's framework, innovation or novelty in language usage is what opposes the attraction of a higher, dominant order, creating a new literary continent or space that is neither conformist nor idealistic. On the level of the abject, Krog creates such a space in *Country of my skull* and *A change of tongue*, and again in *Verweerskrif* and *Body bereft*, paving the way for the conceptualization of an international and cosmopolitan culture based on the inscription and articulation of cultural hybridity. Moreover, she views translation as the transformation of one text from a powerless language into a powerful one; the transformation of a powerful text that was made powerless by a powerless language, becoming empowered in and through the powerful language (Krog 2002b:2).

As forms of textual and cultural translation, abjection and minoritisation form an integral part in the construction of identity and subjectivity. This abjection is operative on two levels: on the one hand Krog's presence in the English literary field is ambivalent, unstable and daring to a clean, orderly system; on the other hand she undermines the major language by translating herself and her non-orderly self with subversion. The aim of this paper is to merge the concepts of *minoritisation* and *abjection* in an attempt to bring a fresh perspective on the perception and reception of Krog's work in the South African literary field.

Keywords: abjection, literary translation, translation and hybridity, Antjie Krog, minor literature, Kristeva, Deleuze and Guattari

1.   Inleiding

God, Die Dood, Liefde, Eensaamheid, Die Mens
God, Death, Love, Loneliness, Man
is Belangrike Temas
are Important Themes in Literature
menstruasie, geboorte, menopouse, puberteit
menstruation, childbirth, menopause, puberty
die huwelik – nie
marriage are not

tog lê die verskrikking juis in
meanwhile terror lies exactly in how
hoe leef jy met die disintegrerende lyf saam

one lives with the disintegrating body
hoe aanvaar jy dat die liggaam sig
in how one accepts that the body no longer
nie meer kan intensifiseer tot 'n verruklike knal nie
wants to intensify with exhilarating detonations

hoe bemin jy die al-hoe-meer-blussendes
in how one loves the more-and-more-slaked-ones
hoe berus jy in vaginale atrofie en inkontinensie
in how one resigns to vaginal atrophy and incontinence
of dat die lem wat nou deur jou hart klief
or that the blade cleaving through one's heart
waarskynlik 'n hartaanval is
is probably a heart attack

om van die ouerwordende lyf na Die Dood
to jump from the ageing body to Death
te spring, word al hoe meer 'n cop-out ding
has suddenly become a cop-out act (V 20; BB 20)[1]

Die voorafgaande woorde belig in 'n groot mate wat Mansfield in sy bespreking van Kristeva "fantasies of an autonomous selfhood" noem (Kristeva in Mansfield 2000:82): "… we draw an imaginary line around the perimeters of our bodies and define our subjectivity as the unique density of matter contained within that line." Hierdie dilemma wat die subjek ervaar, sou 'n bykomende dimensie kon hê, naamlik, "In our fantasy of an autonomous literature or autonomous language […] we draw an imaginary line around the perimeters of our *literature* and define our *literature/language* as the unique density of matter contained within that line." Die dilemma wat Mansfield beskryf, skakel met Deleuze en Guattari se werk oor mineurletterkunde, en spesifiek ook die verborge potensiaal wat opgesluit is in die mineuraanwending van 'n majeurtaal. Dít, volgens Venuti (1998:136), is wat 'n geskiedenis van oorheersing belig. Krog se gedig eggo Christiane Rochefort se beskrywing van die dilemma van die (Franse) vroueskrywer ten opsigte van vryheid: "You are supposed, too," skryf sy (Rochefort in Jones 1997:380), "to write about certain things: house, children, love. […] Maybe you don't want to write *about*, but to write, period. And of course, you don't want to obey this social order. So, you tend to react against it" (kursivering in oorspronklike).

Krog se oeuvre binne die Afrikaanse en Engelse literêre veld in Suid-Afrika bestaan uit oorspronklike Afrikaanse digbundels, prosawerke, prosavertalings uit Engels en Nederlands, en vertalings van haar eie en ander se poësie. In 1995 verskyn Krog se eerste niefiksie werk, *Relaas van 'n moord* (*Account of a murder*, 1997), wat in 1998 opgevolg word deur haar eerste publikasie in Engelstalige literatuur, *Country of my skull*, en in 2003 met die outobiografiese/fiktiewe werk *A change of tongue*, wat in 2005 as *'n Ander tongval* verskyn. *Begging to be black* (2009) is haar mees onlangse niefiksie werk.

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[1] Verwysings na Krog se werk word as volg afgekort: 'n Ander tongval AT; A change of tongue CT; Body bereft BB; Country of my skull CS; die sterre sê 'tsau' SS; Down to my last skin DLS; Kleur kom nooit alleen nie K; Lady Anne LA; Met woorde soos met kerse MW; Otters in bronslaai OB; the stars say 'tsau' ST; Verweerskrif V.

Met *Country of my skull* en *A change of tongue* verwerf Krog internasionale status, maar maak sy amptelik die oorgang na twee-/meertalige skrywer wat die interessante en ambivalente ruimte van hibriditeit[2], heterotopias[3] en die kosmopolitiese[4] betree. In 1995 begin Krog ook as vertaler werk met die vertaling van Nelson Mandela se outobiografie in Afrikaans as *Lang pad na vryheid*, en daarna in 2000 Henk van Woerden se biografiese roman uit Nederlands in Afrikaans as *Domein van glas*. In 2002 vertaal sy Tom Lanoye se drama *Mamma Medea* in Afrikaans as *Mamma Medea: na Apollonios van Rhodos en Euripides*. Heel resent verskyn Krog en André P. Brink se vertaling van Ingrid Jonker se gedigte, *Black butterflies* (2007) asook haar tweede versamelbundel in Engels, *Skinned* (2013).

In hierdie artikel val die fokus op sowel Krog se eie vertalings van haar eie poësie uit Afrikaans in Engels as op gedigte wat deur ander vertaal is, met spesifieke verwysing na die bundels *Down to my last skin* en *Verweerskrif/Body bereft*. Ek beweer dat Krog, in die proses van die vertaling van haar eie werk uit 'n mineurtaal/-letterkunde in 'n taal van mag, die majeurtaal abjektifiseer. Hierdeur skep sy 'n delikate tussenruimte of grens in die doeltaal: 'n grens waar die taal dubbel, vaag, heterogeen, gemetamorfeer is. Hierdie abjeksie vind op twee vlakke neerslag: aan die een kant is Krog se teenwoordigheid (soos ook in die geval van ander se vertalings van haar werk) in die Engelse literêre veld ambivalent, onstabiel, en daag dit die 'skoon, ordelike' sisteem uit; aan die ander kant ondermyn sy die majeurtaal deur haar nieordelike self en haar nieordelike taal met subversiwiteit te vertaal.

2.   'n Suid-Afrikaanse literêre veld: kort oorsig

Oor die diskoers van 'n nuwe verenigde Suid-Afrikaanse literêre sisteem wat veral ná 1994 posgevat het, was daar sterk uiteenlopende menings. Die sterkste pogings tot die bespreking van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur het vanuit die geledere van die literatuurgeskiedenis gekom. Hoewel die diskoers "rondom die bestaan (of wenslikheid) van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse en/of nasionale letterkunde" volgens Roos (2006:99) in resente tye alreeds afgeplat het, en nie regtig meer aandag geniet nie, kontekstualiseer dit nogtans die posisie wat Afrikaanse skrywers deesdae binne die Engelse literêre veld in Suid-Afrika beklee en vice versa. Volgens De Kock (2001:267) het die oneweredige ontwikkeling van Afrikaanse, Engelse en inheemse literatuur, oftewel kulturele verbastering, veroorsaak dat daar selde na 'n geïntegreerde Suid-Afrikaanse literêre veld verwys word. Volgens Van Wyk Smith (1996:75) is daar byvoorbeeld geen onbetwiste bewys dat skrywers binne 'n bewussyn van "een letterkunde" skryf nie. Die skeiding tussen die Engelse en Afrikaanse literêre tradisie, en die problematiek by pogings om die twee te verenig, het volgens John (2005) te doen met die "dominant orientation of the English South African literary critical tradition, namely its privileging of politics over aesthetics." De Kock (2001) voel voorts "Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur" as 'n veld is niks meer as die empiriese basis daarvan nie, en allermins 'n selfstandige, outonome veld. Van die mees onlangse pogings vanuit die literatuurgeskiedenis om die literêre veld te verenig is dié van Chapman, *Southern African literatures* (1996), Heywood, *A history of South African literature* (2004) en Ndebele,

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[2] Hibriditeit as konsep belig veral die 'feit' dat identiteit – rasse- en etniese – meer simbolies as werklik is, en beslis meer arbitrêr as natuurlik (Mansfield 2000:133).

[3] "Characteristic spaces of the contemporary world, heterogeneous spaces of sites and relations, the spaces in which we live, which draw us out of ourselves" (Vidal Claramonte 2012:271).

[4] Die kosmopolitiese skrywer of subjek weerspieël "ways of living at home abroad or abroad at home – ways of inhabiting multiple places at once, of being different beings simultaneously, of seeing the larger picture stereoscopically with the smaller" (Breckenridge et al. 2000:587).

Rediscovery of the ordinary: essays on South African literature and culture (2006). Volgens De Kock (2001:271) is die geheelbegrippe *'n Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur* of *letterkunde* problematies: daar is bloot te veel onsekerheid en vrae oor kwessies soos die kolonisasie van kultuur, kanonisering en die ontwikkeling van tradisie, literêr-kritiese historiografie, identiteit, die materialiteit van diskoersregimes, die konstruksie van kultuur, en die verhouding tussen mag en kulturele produksie.

Volgens Roos (2006:90) is die afwesigheid van 'n nasionale identiteit die gevolg van Suid-Afrikaners se geskiedenis van verdeeldheid. Die literêre diskoers oor identiteit is gevolglik veelstemmig en hibridies van aard, en 'n aanduiding van die teenwoordigheid van 'n interkulturele proses binne die Suid-Afrikaanse letterkunde(s). 'n Interessante verskynsel is dat Afrikaanse skrywers en digters al hoe meer hulle werk feitlik gelyktydig in Afrikaans en Engels (Brink, Marita van der Vyver, Breyten Breytenbach), in dieselfde bundel in Afrikaans en Engels (bv. Elisabeth Eybers, en Breytenbach) of selfs toenemend in Engels (Breytenbach) publiseer. Ook word die bestaande Afrikaanse literêre sisteem aangevul of uitgebrei deur die invoer van nuwe modelle, boeke, temas uit inheemse literatuursisteme maar ook uit uitheemse sisteme soos die Lae Lande (Van Coller 2005:41). Krog publiseer soms slegs in Engels (*Country of my skull* 1998), aanvanklik in Engels en daarna in vertaling (*A change of tongue* / *'n Ander tongval* 2003, 2005a), asook gelyktydig in Afrikaans en Engels (*Verweerskrif* /*Body bereft 2006a, 2006b)*. Volgens Roos (1998:32) word "gevestigde aannames en ideologieë ondermyn" deur die verskeidenheid nuwe tekste binne die Afrikaanse kader; temas en karakters wat tradisioneel op die rand van die sentrum van die sisteem gestaan het, is (of het) nou na die sentrum verskuif. Nederlandse werke wat byvoorbeeld met die dominante ideologie in Suid-Afrika versoenbaar is, word gunstig oorweeg vir opname in die Suid-Afrikaanse sisteem (deur vertaling deur prominente vertalers). Opname in die sisteem beteken egter nie dat dié werke, soos die meeste vertalings in Suid-Afrika, skielik in die sentrum van die sisteem staan nie. Die vraag is steeds of hierdie werke deur gebruikers gekoop en gelees word.

Die enkele vermeldings in die Afrikaanse literatuurgeskiedenisse van vertaling en skrywers wat as vertalers werksaam is (en was) staan in sterk kontras met die aandag wat oorspronklike literatuur in hierdie kanoniseringswerke kry. Tog is dit simptomaties van die werklike posisie wat vertaalde literatuur en vertaling as handeling binne die algemene Afrikaanse literêre veld in die 20ste en begin van die 21ste eeu beklee, naamlik 'n randposisie. Die rede vir die randposisie in veral die vorige eeu is waarskynlik meer voor die hand liggend as wat aanvanklik vermoed is. Daar kan sover gegaan word deur te sê dat die afgelope eeu daar in al die ontwikkelingstadia van die literatuur 'n sterk politieke, polities-aktuele en sosiopolitieke bewussyn teenwoordig was. Die verwagting is dat die gereelde en grootskaalse veranderings op sosiopolitieke gebied noodwendig ruimte sou skep binne 'n literatuursisteem vir vernuwende invloede van buite of selfs vanuit die randgebied van die sisteem. Die nasionalistiese gedrewenheid van vroeër, die preokkupasie met verset en betrokke literatuur, die sosiale kommentaar, die voortdurende politieke blik van die skrywer, ensomeer, blyk die literêre ruimte in so 'n mate te 'versmoor' het, dat daar vir 'n breër perspektief ten opsigte van die uitbou van die Afrikaanse literatuur min tyd en ruimte was.

3.   'n Majeur-/mineurtaal en die tussenruimtes

In Suid-Afrika is en was die verhouding tussen Afrikaans en Engels nog altyd kompleks. Dit was deur 'n lang proses (ná Hollandse en Britse bewind) dat Afrikaans uiteindelik as

selfstandige taal in Suid-Afrika kon ontwikkel en funksioneer. Die institusionalisering van Afrikaans, asook 'n sterk nasionalisme het lank 'n meerderheidstatus of majeurstatus aan die taal in verhouding tot Engels en ander inheemse tale in Suid-Afrika besorg. Binne die wêreldsisteem het Afrikaans egter nog nooit 'n sentrale posisie beklee nie. Die situasie in Suid-Afrika sou noodwendig verander met die politieke omwentelinge van die 1990's: Afrikaans het sy dominerende, sentrale posisie ten opsigte van ander tale verloor, en is nou saam met tien ander tale 'n 'amptelike' taal. Engels het gou 'n baie prominente posisie ingeneem op institusionele, sosiopolitieke en kulturele vlak, en beklee 'n sentrale posisie in verhouding tot Afrikaans en die ander inheemse tale in Suid-Afrika. Binne die wêreldsisteem is dit tans hoofsaaklik die aantal sprekers van Afrikaans wat veroorsaak dat Afrikaans baie min literêre kapitaal het en gevolglik beperkte of lae internasionale aansien geniet. Hierteenoor geniet Engels 'n dominante posisie in Suid-Afrika: Engels besit baie literêre kapitaal vanweë sy spesifieke prestige, die historisiteit van die taal, en die aantal tekste wat in hierdie taal geskryf en internasionaal as belangrik geag word. Dit is die gedifferensieerde akkumulasie van kapitaal op groot skaal wat, volgens Heilbron en Sapiro (2007:99), die ongelyke magsverhoudings tussen verskillende nasionale kulture onderlê (wat van kreatiewe veld tot veld varieer), en wat gevolge inhou vir die resepsie van kulturele produkte en hulle funksies en gebruike in 'n gegewe literêre veld.

In die lig van die problematiek van 'n utopiese verenigde literêre sisteem, is nuwe insig nodig om die komplekse realiteit te beskryf wat simplisties as die botsing van twee ruimtes afgemaak sou kon word. Die konsep *ruimte*[5] (*space*) is nou verbind met ideologie, en volgens Vidal Claramonte (2012:271), fundamenteel tot hedendaagse vertalers wat in ruimtes werk waar konflik en hibriditeit hand aan hand loop. Hierdie siening van ruimte daag die tradisionele idee uit dat kulture hulleself volgens die kaarte wat *ánder* vir hulle uitgelê het, handhaaf (ibid:271). Dit is veral die gedagte dat ruimte as metafoor (kan) dien vir onsuiwerheid (in die lig van Douglas (1966) se *purity and danger*-konsep), en relevant is tot 'n begrip van hoe verskille ervaar word, wat in die geval van Krog van belang is. Vertaling en vertalers word gekonfronteer met ruimte(s), ruimtes wat binne 'n diskoers van globalisering, ruimtes is van die hibridisering[6] van identiteite, van konfrontasie en andersheid (ibid:272). Die metafoor van onsuiwerheid word hier terselfdertyd gekoppel aan die idee van taal as 'n mineurruimte en die wyse waarop dit binne 'n majeurruimte funksioneer.

Binne die algemene siening van vertaling as 'n handeling van oordrag, sou daar geargumenteer kon word vir 'n genuanseerde mineurbeskouing van vertaling, wat simptomaties is van die spanning wat gedurig heers tussen die plaaslike en die globale, die vreemde en die bekende, veral op 'n kontinent soos Afrika wat sedert koloniale tye met die skynbare aantreklikheid van 'n 'great beyond' moes worstel. Wat nodig is, is om oor die diskoers en die handeling(e) van vertaling te dink in terme van oorgangsruimtes, *transitional spaces*, of kontaksones – *third spaces*, aldus Bhabha. Volgens Bhabha (1994) bestaan die vertaler slegs in hierdie tussenruimtes van kulture en tale – die enigste moontlike ruimtes van vertaling. Wanneer sodanige 'blootgestelde' ruimtes tussen tale bestaan, word vertaling 'n middel wat die leser binne die ruimte van 'n ander laat inbeweeg.

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[5] Ruimte is nie slegs 'n raamwerk nie, maar 'n lewende entiteit/wese wat voortdurend voortstu en ontwikkel, en nooit neutraal is nie (Vidal Claramonte 2012:272).
[6] Kontemporêre kritiese diskoers is op soek na die dieper, gevaarliker betekenis van hibridisering (Vidal Claramonte 2013:275).

Bhabha se siening van kulturele ontmoeting (*engagement*) of kontak kan toegepas word op die vertaalpraktyk en vertaalruimte, omdat vertaling in wese kulturele oordrag is. In die vertaalkonteks sou dit dus waardevol wees om op daardie momente of prosesse te fokus wat as gevolg van die artikulasie van kulturele verskille geskep word. Hierdie momente verteenwoordig die tussenruimtes, wat op hulle beurt die teelaarde is vir identiteitsvorming (die 'self' word gevorm in reaksie op die identiteit van die 'ander', wat, indien 'n strategie van vervreemding in die vertaalproses gevolg word, in die doelteks neerslag vind), samewerking (tussen die agente in die verskillende kulture), en geskille of weerstand (binne die vertaalruimte word byvoorbeeld 'n mate van konflik geskep deurdat die vertaler doelbewus of onbewus beide bron- en doelkultuur gelyke of ongelyke prominensie gee) (Bhabha 1994:2).[7] Die vraag wat gevra sou kon word, is hoe die subjek (Krog, of haar tekste) in hierdie tussenruimtes gevorm word; hoe sy haar strategieë van representasie (vertaling) of bemagtiging artikuleer in 'n ruimte waar verskillende gemeenskappe verskillende eise stel, en waar die uitruil van waardes, betekenis of prioriteite nie altyd in samewerking geskied nie maar dikwels antagonisties is teenoor mekaar en tot konflik lei. Dit is dan juis déúr hierdie representasie van 'verskille' waarby die subjek (deur vertaling) betrokke is, veral vanuit die perspektief van die minderheid (*minority*), dat hibriede kulturele identiteit 'n regmatige plek kan kry.

Bhabha se verwysing na die minderheid, of die mineurhandeling kan gelees word binne Deleuze en Guattari (1987:xiv) se beskouing van die affektiewe potensiaal van 'n literêre werk wat vanuit 'n mineurletterkunde geskep word. Dit gaan derhalwe oor 'n nuwe manier van gebruik in die majeurtaal, "[because it] short-circuits the appeal to a higher, dominant reality – through the 'paper language' [...] that would function from within as a principle of subjectivisation" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:xiv). 'n Skrywer (vertaler) binne 'n mineurletterkunde skryf (vertaal) teen die huidige stroom en vanuit 'n linguistiese ruimte (vertaalruimte; *third space*) wat radikaal van sy of haar voorgangers verskil. Sodanige skrywer/vertaler tree dus op as die inisieerder van 'n nuwe literêre kontinent: 'n kontinent waar lees en skryf nuwe perspektiewe[8] oopmaak, nuwe gedagtegange inisieer, en waar die spore van verouderde denke oorgeskryf of herskryf word (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:xiv). In ooreenstemming met een van die kenmerke van 'n mineurletterkunde, naamlik die deterritorialisering van taal, sê Deleuze en Guattari (1987:18):

> minor no longer designates specific literatures but the revolutionary conditions for every literature within the heart of what is called great (or established) literature. Even he who has the misfortune of being born in the country of a great literature must write in its language […] And to do that, finding his own point of underdevelopment, his own *patois*, his own third world, his own desert.

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[7] Palmié (2013) benadruk refleksie oor die aard van die 'hibriede' – "How do we know the 'hybrid' – except by the prior assumption that there is something 'pure'?" Dit is hier ook belangrik om die konsep te relativeer: "that which is (thought to be) hybrid at any one time and in any one context" (Palmié 2013:465). Die *tydstip* van hibriditeit (van 'n taal, 'n skrywer, 'n vertaler) is wat van belang is, nie dit wat hibried is nie.

[8] In sosiokulturele terme, presenteer die literêre veld (oftewel die majeurruimte) dit aan elke agent as 'n "space of possibles" (Bourdieu 1993:64), 'n ruimte wat bestaan uit die verhouding tussen die struktuur van die gemiddelde kans om verskeie posisies te beklee, en die disposisies van die agent, oftewel sy of haar subjektiewe basis van persepsie en evaluering van objektiewe kanse.

Die produktiewe kapasiteit van die *third space*, en die agent(e) wat daarbinne werksaam is, baan die weg vir die konseptualisering van 'n *inter*nasionale[9] kultuur wat die inskripsie en artikulasie van die hibriditeit van kultuur as grondslag het. Die gebruik van die voorvoegsel "inter" of "tussen", is wat Bhabha (1994:56) noem "the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture."

4. Krog en literêre kapitaal

In 1996, voor die publikasie van *Country of my skull* in 1998, ontvang Krog as deel van die SABC-radiospan die Pringle Award vir uitnemendheid in joernalistieke verslaggewing (tydens die WVK) en die Foreign Correspondence Award vir uitstaande joernalistiek (1996). Daarna volg die Sunday Times/Alan Paton Award vir die beste Suid-Afrikaanse niefiksie (1999), die BookData/South African Booksellers' Choice Award (1999), die Hiroshima Foundation for Peace and Culture Award (2000), en die Olive Schreiner-prys vir die beste prosawerk tussen 1998 en 2000 (2001). Hierbenewens word *Country of my skull* aangewys as een van die top-100 boeke deur Afrikane in die twintigste eeu, en dit word deur Suid-Afrikaanse Biblioteke (LIASA) genomineer as die beste boek in tien jaar van demokrasie in Suid-Afrika.

In Oktober 2003, vyf jaar ná die verskyning van *Country of my skull*, verskyn *A change of tongue* by Random House South Africa. Twee jaar later in September 2005 verskyn die Afrikaanse weergawe *'n Ander tongval* by Tafelberg, 'n drukkersnaam van NB-uitgewers wat tradisioneel Krog se poësie gepubliseer het (Human & Rousseau en Kwela). Soos in die geval van *Country of my skull* besit *A change of tongue / 'n Ander tongval* as produk veel meer as bloot literêre kapitaal; die feit dat die boek aanvanklik in Engels verskyn het, en dit by 'n prominente uitgewer, en daaropvolgend die vertaling in Nederlands, het aanvanklik daartoe bygedra dat *A change of tongue* kulturele en simboliese kapitaal opgebou het. In die buiteland word die boek aanvanklik gelees vir die transformasie wat dit simboliseer. Die simpatieke gehoor wat *Country of my skull* internasionaal gehad het, en die bykomende politieke kapitaal wat Krog daardeur gekry het (en steeds het), het die resepsie van *A change of tongue* heel waarskynlik gunstiger gemaak. Tussen 1998 en 2005 verskyn Krog se vertaling *Domein van glas* (1999), word *Kleur kom nooit alleen nie* (2000a) met die RAU-prys vir Skeppende Skryfwerk vereer, *Down to my last skin* (2000b) met die FNB-Vita Poësieprys, verskyn haar vertaling van Mandela se outobiografie *Lang pad na vryheid* (2001), word die Kanna-prys vir innoverende denke aan *A change of tongue* toegeken (2003), word *Met woorde soos met kerse* (2002a) aangewys as wenner van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vertalersinstituut se driejaarlikse vertaaltoekenning, en verskyn *Mamma Medea* (2002) asook *die sterre sê 'tsau' / the stars say 'tsau'* (2004a, 2004b) in Afrikaans en Engels.

Dit lyk asof die politieke agenda wat aanvanklik deel was van *Country of my skull* se aantrekkingskrag in Suid-Afrika gouer vervang is met 'n groter klem op die literêre kwaliteit daarvan. 'n Mens sou sover kon gaan om te beweer dat Suid-Afrikaanse lesers gouer oor die 'nuutheid' en durf (i.t.v. Krog wat 'n nuwe genre en taal inspan, asook die onderwerp) van die boek gekom het en die teks as letterkundige en vertaalteks begin waardeer het as in Brittanje, waar dit eers sewe jaar ná die eerste uitgawe as hedendaagse fiksie bemark is. 'n Belangrike stuk inligting wat ontbreek by beskikbare data (omslae, titelblad, ens.) oor *Country of my skull*, is dat die boek 'n Engelse vertaling is van 'n teks, of 'n kombinasie van tekste, nuusverslae, en

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[9] Internasionale kultuur sou vervang kon word met kosmopolitiese kultuur.

onderhoude wat Krog oorspronklik oorwegend in Afrikaans geskryf het. Hierdie tekste (waarvan sommige oorspronklik wel in Engels geskryf is) is deur Krog in boekvorm aanmekaar gesit en die Afrikaanse gedeeltes van die teks is daarna deur haar seun Andries Samuel in Engels vertaal, waarna Krog dit weer herbewerk het. Krog het dus as 'n herbewerker van die Engelse teks opgetree en nie soseer as die primêre vertaler nie, hoewel sy en haar seun nou saamgewerk het. Ivan Vladislavic het as redigeerder van die Engelse vertaling opgetree. Krog bedank wel haar seun, Andries, wat haar gehelp het met die vertalings (CS 294). Dit is die eerste en enigste aanduiding in die 1998/2002-uitgawe dat dit in die geheel as 'n vertaling geklassifiseer kan word, hoewel Krog ook oorspronklike Engelse teksgedeeltes ingespan het. Sy noem byvoorbeeld dat sy op sekere plekke Stephen Laufer se frasering gebruik het (in Engels), terwyl sy Anton Harber, redakteur van die *Mail & Guardian*, bedank wat haar die kans gegee het om in Engels te skryf. Laasgenoemde impliseer dat nie alle bronmateriaal noodwendig vertaal moes word nie (CS 294). Hoe lig of swaar Krog se hand in die Engelse weergawe was, is onduidelik, ook of sy en haar seun saam vertaal het, of hy alleen vertaal het en sy slegs die teks agterna geredigeer het.

Country of my skull verkry internasionale of dalk universele waarde met die publikasie deur Three Rivers Press van Random House in die VSA. Volgens die beskrywing deur Three Rivers Press se 2000-uitgawe is *Country of my skull* 'n "masterful blend of memoir and reportage [...][Krog's] work fuses a poet's sensibility with a reporter's relentless pursuit of the story", terwyl daar van die 2007-uitgawe gesê word dit is 'n "profound literary account", en op die skutblad van die Suid-Afrikaanse 2002-uitgawe: "Krog's powerful prose lures the reader actively and inventively through a mosaic of insights, impressions, and secret themes." Dit is duidelik uit hierdie beskrywings dat die sterk poëtiese en literêre kwaliteit van *Country of my skull* erken word, maar ook handig gebruik word vir reklamedoeleindes – dit het met ander woorde sterk emosionele trekkrag.

Met die Engelse mark wat op daardie stadium, 1998, en selfs later, meer ontvanklik was as die Afrikaanse mark vir 'n boek soos *Country of my skull*, is 'n vertaling in Afrikaans oorbodig en as 'n te groot risiko beskou (Breytenbach 2009). Afrikaanse lesers (Afrikaners) het gemengde gevoelens gehad teenoor die WVK en buitendien het die meeste Afrikaanssprekendes Krog se verslaggewing reeds op Afrikaanse radio en televisie gehoor. Engels was die meer logiese keuse. Nadat Krog op versoek van onder andere Herman de Coninck stukke vir sy tydskrif, *Nieuw Wêreldtijdschrift*, en vir die Nederlandse pers soos die *NRC Handelsblad* geskryf het, het sy mettertyd die behoefte ontwikkel om oor die hele proses te skryf; nie net oor die verslae self nie, maar ook haar eie ervaring daarvan (Krog 2007). NB-uitgewers het haar aanbeveel om die geleentheid om in Engels te publiseer te gebruik en Krog het Random House South Africa se aanbod om die boek in Engels te publiseer, aanvaar (Breytenbach 2009). In terme van simboliese produksie was dit in Krog se geval 'n proses waar sy as skrywer literêre en kulturele kapitaal besit het voor die publikasie van die boek. Haar aanstelling in 1993 by *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, asook die artikels wat sy tot en met 1996 vir Anton Harber by die *Mail & Guardian* geskryf het, het haar noodwendig 'n sekere disposisie gegee om as politieke verslaggewer by die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie (SAUK) te werk. Krog het dus reeds 'n stewige basis binne die Engelse kulturele en literêre veld in Suid-Afrika gehad weens haar betrokkenheid by die WVK, haar artikels in die Engelse pers, en die verskyning van die vertaalde weergawe van *Relaas van 'n moord* (1995), *Account of a murder* (1997; vertaal deur Karen Press). Op hierdie punt is dit veilig om te beweer dat Krog se status as Afrikaanse digter nie noodwendig 'n

belangrike rol gespeel het in die besluit van Random House om haar te nader oor 'n boek oor die WVK nie.

In een van die min sosiologies-teoretiese ondersoeke na Krog se literêre en simboliese kapitaal beweer Garman (2007:1) dat Krog se komplekse verhouding met die media en haar akkumulasie van media-kapitaal 'n belangrike rol gespeel het in die wyse waarop sy 'n unieke stem en voetstuk ontwikkel het in postapartheid Suid-Afrika, waar min (Afrikaner)stemme in 'n openbare domein werklik gehoor word. Reeds as 17-jarige haal Krog die koerant met die publikasie van sommige polities sensitiewe gedigte in 'n skoolkoerant. Met D.J. Opperman se goedkeuring word haar debuutbundel dieselfde jaar (1970) by Human & Rousseau gepubliseer, waarmee Krog vroeg die Afrikaanse literêre veld betree en haar gevolglik as literêre stem binne die Afrikaanse literêre veld laat geld.

5.   Om aandag op te eis

Met die plasing van "ma" in *Down to my last skin* (DLS 12) as tweede gedig ná "my beautiful land" stel Krog ten minste twee aspekte van haar poëtika aan die Engelse leser bekend: nie alleen word die teksaard uitgestip nie ("poem / without fancy punctuation / without words that rhyme / without adjectives / just sommer / a barefoot poem –"), maar ook die omvang van Krog se ma se invloed op haar dogter se skryfwerk:

ma
ma I am writing a poem for you
ek skryf vir jou 'n gedig
without fancy punctuation
sonder fênsie leestekens
without words that rhyme
of woorde wat rym
without adjectives
sonder bywoorde
just sommer
net sommer
a barefoot poem –
'n kaalvoetgedig

because you raise me
want jy maak my groot in jou krom klein handjies
in your small halting hands
you chisel me with your black eyes
jy beitel my met jou swart oë
and pointed words
en spits woorde
you turn your slate head
jy draai jou leiklipkop
you laugh and collapse my tents
jy lag en breek my tente op
but every night you offer me
maar jy offer my elke aand

to your Lord God
vir jou Here God
your mole-marked ear is my only telephone
jou moesie-oor is my enigste telefoon
your house my only bible
jou huis my enigste bybel
your name my breakwater against life
jou naam my breekwater teen die lewe

I am so sorry ma
Ek is so jammer mamma
that I am not
dat ek nie is
what I so much want to be for you
wat ek graag vir jou wil wees nie
(vertaler Karen Press)

In die gedig, wat vertaal is deur Karen Press, word daar verwys na die digter se ma se "halting hands", die manier waarop sy die dogter beitel ("you chisel me"), haar "pointed words", en na haar naam as "my breakwater against life." Op inhoudelike vlak, word die moeder in strofe 2 dus nie noodwendig slegs vereer vir haar bereidheid "om na haar kind te luister, riglyne vir die lewe te gee en teen die lewe te beskerm" (Kannemeyer 1988:361) nie, maar neem 'n mens die bepalende rol waar wat Dot Serfontein as skrywerma in Krog se vroeë ontwikkeling as digter en skrywer gespeel het. In die laaste strofe sou die digter se ma verder ook as metafoor kon dien vir die taalpuriste of letterkundiges aan wie 'n jong, ontluikende digter verantwoording sou moet doen; daarom dat Krog by voorbaat, op die ouderdom van 17, verskoning vra dat sy nie die tipe digter gaan wees wat daar van haar verwag word nie, dat sy grensoorskrydend gaan wees.

Kristeva (1982; 2004:204) noem dat sodanige benadering die verband uitlig tussen die interne dimensie van 'n teks en die eksterne konteks, waarmee uiteindelik die outentiekheid van die skrywende subjek blootgestel word. Die skrywer word 'n "subject in process and a subject on trial. As such the speaking subject is a carnival, a polyphony, forever contradictory and rebellious" (Kristeva 2004:204). Wanneer die onderskeid tussen die subjek en die objek onduidelik is (pseudo-entiteite), vind wat Kristeva noem 'n dialektiese verhouding plaas tussen aantrekking ("attraction") en afkeer ("repulsion"). Die moeder as objek is die eerste slagoffer van die proses van "skorsing" – die moeder word die eerste abjek, eerder as objek in die proses van abjeksie (Kristeva 1982, 2004:206). Wat Kristeva beskryf, is die grondslag van vroue se posisie binne die semiotiese bevryding waartydens mans tekste geskep het wat teen die reëls van konvensionele taal indruis (Jones 1997:371). Binne hierdie denkraamwerk is vroue as moeders die eerste objek van liefde, en van wie die kind geskei word. Op metapoëtikale vlak hou die moeder 'n bedreiging in vir die oorsteek van grense, by Krog, 'n wegbeweeg van die moeder (Afrikaans) na die vader, Engels.[10] Die semiotiese diskoers is volgens Kristeva (in

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[10] Verwys na Lacan se "Law of the Father" as draer van taal en kultuur (Lemaire 1977). Van belang hier is die dilemma wat Krog in *'n Ander tongval* beskryf, waar die verteller aan die karakter Christina bely dat sy wettig wil wees, wil bestaan, en sy worstel gevolglik met die begeerte om in Engels gelees te word, want "Engels het die deur na die Vader geword" (AT 295), en die vrees dat sy haar gekoloniseerde, Afrikaanse wortels sal verraai of sal uitverkoop. Die 'Vader' verwys hier na erkenning in die Engelse literêre veld in Suid-Afrika en internasionaal.

Jones 1997:371) 'n bloedskandelike verwerping van die simboliese orde deur vroue se bevrydende potensiaal binne die marginale posisie waarin hulle hulle bevind. Om as vrou sosiale, seksuele en simboliese ervarings te hê, is om iets anders te word – 'n subjek-in-wording, 'n subjek-onder-verhoor (ibid:372). Om buite die moederlike beskerming te beweeg, en die simboliese orde van die nuwe ruimte uit te daag, is wat Krog doen.

'n Belangrike vraag wat gevra kan word, is in watter mate *Down to my last skin* as eerste Engelse digbundel van Krog binne die Engelse literêre (poësie)veld, wat Krog deur die verskyning van die bundel betree het, grensoorskrydend was, soos haar poësie vanaf 1970 binne die Afrikaanse veld grensoorskrydend was. As resensies enigsins 'n aanduiding is, kan gesê word dat Krog se Engelse poësie met voorbehoud ontvang is: "Krog has the guts, or perhaps the protection of fame, to constantly risk absurdity" (De Kock 2000:9). Uit De Kock se resensie wil dit voorkom of Krog die moed en durf het om haar eie styl met oortuiging in Engels te handhaaf, iets wat Engelse digters in Suid-Afrika klaarblyklik nie het nie. Holtzhauzen (2001:6) beskou Krog as 'n uiters suksesvolle digter binne die hele Suid-Afrikaanse literêre veld: "it is by finding the right words and putting them in the right order that Krog succeeds as poet, perhaps without equal on the landscape of South African literature." Rycroft (2000:11) se resensie hang saam met dié van De Kock, as hy Krog se Engelse poësie as eerlik en halstarrig beskryf: "In Antjie Krog's *Down to my last skin* English-speakers have the opportunity of experiencing the raw and unyielding voice of one of South Africa's most acclaimed poets." Dit lyk of *Down to my last skin* binne die Engelse literêre veld geïnterpreteer is as verteenwoordigend van Krog se omgaan met sowel die private as die politiese sfeer van die lewe. J.M. Coetzee se hoofkarakter in sy boek *Diary of a bad year* (Coetzee 2007:199) artikuleer waarskynlik die persepsie van Krog binne die Engelse literêre veld as hy na die "white heat" van Krog se werk verwys: "her capacities as a poet have grown in response to the challenge, refusing to be dwarfed." Hier bespeur 'n mens weer eens 'n moontlike verwysing na (Engelse) digters wat nie dieselfde durf het as Krog wat die oorskryding van grense betref nie, en gevolglik nie die mas opkom binne die Engelse literêre veld nie.

Tog, nege jaar ná die publikasie van *Down to my last skin* deur Random House SA in 2000, was die publikasiestatus van die bundel steeds aktief,[11] wat impliseer dat dit genoegsaam deur boekhandelaars aangekoop word en genoegsaam verkoop om voortgaande publikasie te regverdig. Vir 'n Afrikaanse digter om in die Engelse literêre veld sodanige status met 'n vertaalde bundel te bereik, is nie algemeen nie. Met die verskyning van die bundel in 2000, word 'n nuwe Afrikaanse bundel deur Krog, *Kleur kom nooit alleen nie*, tegelykertyd by Kwela gepubliseer. Dat die publikasie van die twee bundels in dieselfde jaar was, is heel waarskynlik toevallig, maar dit is wel moontlik dat die resepsie van die bundels 'n wedersydse positiewe uitwerking gehad het. Met die FNB Vita-toekenning word Krog se poësie in Engels as ondersoekend en vernuwend bestempel, en die vertalings as "vivid recreations in their own right" ("Vita award for Krog's English word" 2001:21). Die bundel word voorts geloof vir die literêre kwaliteit daarvan, en die akademiese debat wat dit sou ontketen, word ondersteun (Holtzhausen 2001:6). Akademiese debat as sodanig is gesond vir die ontwikkeling van 'n sterk teenwoordigheid van 'n skrywer in enige literêre veld aangesien dit 'n bevestiging is van belangstelling in die werk en dat daar krities oor die werk gedink word. In dieselfde artikel,

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Hierdie vrees wat Krog artikuleer, hou verband met die konseptuele gaping tussen die 'inheemse' en die 'uitheemse' as monolinguistiese pole, wat op sy beurt 'n simptoom is van wat Lefevere (1981:76) beskryf as "the Romantic stress on the mother tongue as the primary material for literary creation."

[11] Inligting korrek soos op 30 Maart 2009, Nielsenbookdataonline.

getitel "Krog peels the everyday skin away to bare her poetic soul", word Krog as een van Suid-Afrika se groot digters bestempel, en die bundel as 'n "powerful, moving and humbling anthology" (Holtzhausen 2001:6). Cloete (2001:12) noem dat die vertaalde gedigte beter is en varser as feitlik enigiets anders wat op daardie stadium deur Engelssprekende digters in Suid-Afrika gepubliseer is. Volgens De Kock (2000:9) is een van die redes hiervoor dat Krog temas of onderwerpe wat Engelssprekende Suid-Afrikaanse digters lank vermy of op oordrewe satiriese of selfvergenoegde wyse hanteer, op 'n eerlike wyse hanteer. Ten spyte van Krog se uitspraak dat *Down to my last skin* deel is van die Afrikaanse letterkunde, en nie die Engelse letterkunde nie (DLS 6), lyk dit uit die aanvanklike resepsie van die bundel asof Krog relatief moeiteloos die Engelse literêre veld betree het.

6.   Vertaling en/as abjeksie

Die gedig "nightmare of A Samuel born Krog" (DLS 49) is Krog se vertaling van "visioen van 'n lessenaar" (OB 23) in die vyfdelige gedig "vyf horries van a.e. Samuel (geb. Krog)" in *Otters in bronslaai*:

the desk is warm and bloody like a newly slaughtered carcass
die lessenaar is warm en bloederig soos 'n pasgeslagte karkas;
from the drawers transparent synovial fluid drips
uit die laaie drup deurskynende sinoviale vog.
the cahir against my back becomes big and pulpy
die stoel teen my rug word groot en pulp;
[...]
my hand falls on the white breath of the page
my hand val op die wit asem van die blaai
an animal with fur on its back
- 'n dier met blink haartjies op die rugkant
the pen becomes a soft hairy nicotine-stained finger
die pen word 'n sagte harige nikotienbruin vinger
the letters it writes listlessly start decomposing at once
die letters wat hy lusteloos skryf, raak los van verrotting
books swell with indignation
boeke swel van verontwaardiging
the typewriter grinds its olivetti teeth
die tikmasjien kners sy olivanti-tande

I write because I am furious
en ek skryf omdat ek woedend is

Die slotreël van die gedig het bekend geword as die klassieke Krog-reël: "ek skryf omdat ek woedend is", wat in haar oeuvre sigbaar word in verse oor die liefde, die natuur, oor die *struggle* en oor die rouheid van emosies. Die teenwoordigheid van hierdie elemente in Krog se poësie, spreek van wat Hambidge (1996:123) beskou as die taak van die digter as 'n sosiale kommentator. Dit spreek van 'n passie aanwesig in haar werk, wat dikwels ook die inspirasie agter die digproses is. Hierdie passie, asook die element van woede binne haar (die digter se) taak as sosiale kommentator, sluit tot 'n mate aan by Krog se preokkupasie met die konflik tussen estetika en politiek, soos in *Lady Anne* (1989), en by aspekte soos die idee van 'n

meerduidige samelewing waarbinne diverse groepe op kreatiewe wyse in interaksie is met mekaar (Viljoen 2009:163).

Die tema 'om die self te skryf', is reeds teenwoordig in Krog se vroegste gedigte en is tekenend van aspekte soos die oorsteek van grense tussen die self (private) en dit wat buite hierdie self lê (openbare/publieke), en, uiteindelik, die herformulering of herskryf van die vrou as skrywer, as digter, as ma, as joernalis, as subjek. As 'dogter' van die Afrikaanse literêre tradisie, het die Afrikaanse literêre veld mettertyd gewoond begin raak aan Krog se woede, haar politieke uitgesprokenheid, haar weerstand teen tradisie, en haar as't ware vir haar politieke, vroulike, poëtiese en linguistiese subjektiwiteit en *performativity* 'vergewe'. Krog se ontwikkeling as digter in die hibriede ruimte van die interregnum[12] sou noodwendig 'n rol kon speel in die manier waarop sy vanaf die laat negentigerjare, maar veral vanaf 2000 as vertaler binne 'n ander, nuut gedefinieerde hibriede ruimte sou figureer – as hibriede digter, dus, in 'n ruimte van veelvuldige identiteit. Chapman (1996:413) beweer dat digters tydens die sewentigerjare 'n angstige lojaliteit geopenbaar het teenoor estetisisme, iets wat byvoorbeeld in die tagtigerjare vervang is met 'n groter mate van politiese betrokkenheid, gebaseer op sosiaal- en literêr-teoretiese oorwegings. Dat Krog reeds in 1970 op sewentienjarige ouderdom 'n digstyl geopenbaar het wat tegelyk betrokke poësie was asook 'n openlike poësie wat onverskrokke was in die teenstaan van formaliteit, is noemenswaardig.

Hoewel die fokus in hierdie artikel nie primêr op vroulike liggaamlikheid val nie, is enkele opmerkings nodig om vertaling as 'n beliggaamde handeling te kontekstualiseer.[13] Hoewel dit algemeen aanvaar word dat die liggaam 'n belangrike rol speel in die fisiese vorming van die subjek, geniet die liggaam – en die wyses waarop betekenis geheg word daaraan en waarop dit gerepresenteer word – minder aandag wanneer dit by literêre of teksondersoek kom (Grosz 1990:81). Dieselfde geld vir Krog, op wie se werk Kristeva se siening van die liggaam as teks en die teks as liggaam van toepassing is. Volgens Kristeva is die liggaam teenwoordig in die teks deur beskrywings van liggaamsdele en funksies, maar ook in die materialiteit van die teks self, die struktuur van die teks of gedig. Die liggaam van die teks, die semiotiese (betekenis)aspek, bied weerstand teen die idee van *closure*, dit ontwrig die simboliese, en skep – in die geval van poësie – 'n liggaamlike landskap wat hand aan hand loop met die liggaamlikheid van die verwysingsveld daarvan (Kristeva 1986:120). Die skrywer word dus deel van die teks, bewoon (*inhabit*) die teks en word gevolglik ook deel van die artikulasies en ritmes van die teks.

Die gedigte "dit is waar" / "it is true" (VS 12 / BB 12) verbeeld iets van die liggaamlike en tekstuele landskap van die gedig:

it is true that this landscape will
dit is waar dat die landskap sonder
continue to exist without me the trees

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[12] Die tydperk 1970-1995 in Suid-Afrika, "the time when the old order was dying and the new struggled to be born" (Chapman 1996:329); "between two identities, one known and discarded, the other unknown and undetermined […] it is a place of shifting ground" (Gordimer in Chapman 1996:329).
[13] Vergelyk Grosz (1994), Moi (1999) en Young (2005) se standpunte oor beliggaamde subjektiwiteit. Vergelyk ook Conradie (1996), Beukes (1999), Visagie (1999), Crous (2002), Nel (2008) en Viljoen (2009) vir besprekings van liggaamlikheid in Krog se poësie. Wat die psigoanalitiese betref, word slegs Kristeva by hierdie bespreking betrek, hoewel Lacan en Freud se werk 'n sterk basis gevorm het vir haar teorieë.

my sal voortbestaan die bome wat
that make me adore the earth the plains
my die aarde maak bemin die vlaktes
that sweep into seams of light-lipped
wat my saamvee in vaandels los
water that mirrors the nearest
lippige lig die water wat die
seams of touch the moon living
nabyste staat van aanraking weerspieël
die maan stort agteroor in
off a stipend of new born stars
it is true that it will continue to exist
'n stipendium pasgebore
sterre dit is waar dat dit sal aangaan

it is true that I saw three women
dit is waar dat ek drie vrouens kaal
naked on the beach at Marseilles their
op die strand van Marseilles gesien het
bodies like three bags of wrinkles their hair
hulle lywe drie sakke plooie
like tissues in the wind. with short steps they
hulle haartjies waai soos tissues in
die wind met kort stappies stap hulle
padded into the water their breasts wrinkle-less
forming a halo of flesh of steaming risen
die water in hulle borste is
plooiloos 'n stralekrans stomende
breasts blushing into their nipples it is
uitgerysde borste blosend tot
in die tepels dit is waar dat ek
true that I couldn't keep my eyes off them
my oë daarvan nie kon afhou nie
[...]
as of late I stare intensely at old people how
dit is waar dat ek begin om
ou mense intensief te bekyk
they put their feet down or wear their hair that I
hoe hulle hul voete neersit hul
hare kam dat ek my oë
lay my eyes desperately on young skin and fluent
verhonger neerlê op jong velle
bodies it is true that I'm on the brink of an abyss
dit is waar dat ek op 'n afgrond staan

Die inhoud van *Verweerskrif/Body bereft* sluit aan by die abjekte:

> It is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object. [...] It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite. [...] a terror that dissembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter. (Kristeva 1982:4)

Kristeva se beskrywing moet in die lig gesien word van dít wat verskuil is binne abjeksie, naamlik 'n verset teen 'n bedreiging – "a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated. It beseeches, worries, and fascinates desire" (Kristeva 1982:1).

Wanneer daar in 'n teks (soos ook in film of ander mediavorms) van die abjekte – dit wat uitgewerp of verwerp word – gebruik gemaak word, word die self waaraan die mens vashou onder andere as onstabiel uitgebeeld, en word dit wat Kristeva (in Mansfield 2000:83) beskryf as die grens tussen die binneste en die buitenste, en tussen dit wat as skoon en gepas (in liggaamlike terme) hanteer word, afgebreek. Wat gebeur is dat dinge[14] soos urine, defekasie, menstruele bloed, semen, braaksel, die skoon liggaam, maar veral ook die mens se bewussyn van individuele identiteit en sekuriteit, bedreig (Mansfield 2000:83). Hierdie objekte wat abjeksie veroorsaak, lei daartoe dat die liggaam met dáárdie oppervlaktes, openinge, gapings (wat ook later seksuele prikkelareas word), geassosieer word – die mond, oë, anus, ore, geslagsdele (Grosz 1990:88). Volgens Lacan (in Grosz 1990:88) is alle seksorgane en prikkelareas in die vorm van 'n rand ("rim"), wat die ruimte uitmaak tussen twee liggaamlike oppervlaktes – 'n tussenruimte tussen die binneste en buitenste liggaam. Hierdie liggaamlike ruimtes funksioneer as drempels tussen dit wat binne-in die liggaam is, met ander woorde deel van die subjek, en dit wat buite is, met ander woorde 'n objek vir die subjek. Die drempels (van taal: "nuwe territory poetic", "pis", "kak"; en inhoud) word onder andere uitgebeeld in Krog se "toiletgedig" (G 15) / "toilet poem" (DLS 54; gedeeltelik aangehaal):

things of course about which one would never write a poem
dinge natuurlik waaroor 'n mens nooit 'n gedig sou skryf nie
force their way into the territory of poetic themes
dring in die nuwe territory poetic temas binne
[...]
I piss shuddering rigid half squatting
pis ek rillend verstard effens hurkend
between my legs
tussen my bene deur
into a toilet bowl heaped halfway up
in 'n toiletbak tot in die helfte opgehoop
with at least four different colours of shit
met minstens vier verskillende kleure kak

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[14] Ek gebruik met opset die woord "dinge" omdat dit tegelyk na die tasbare en die nietasbare verwys – dit is nie noodwendig objekte nie, ook nie elemente nie. Kristeva noem dit "physical flows" of "bodily refuse" in die liggaamlike konteks (Mansfield 2000:83).

Die aversie wat die leser byvoorbeeld ervaar in 'n gedig soos "toiletgedig", spreek van 'n abstrakte proses van teenstrydigheid, onsekerheid en 'n besoedeling van die binneste wat alle orde, betekenis, waarheid ontwrig (Mansfield 2000:85). Krog berei die leser in die eerste reël voor op dit wat gaan volg, en sy sluit die gedig op 'n banale hoogtepunt af met "elke senupunt van weersin orent om mal te word / as maar net 'n enkele druppel op teen my sou spat." Die teenstrydigheid lê daarin dat die subjek in die gedig self besig is om 'n abjekte aksie uit te voer, maar 'n intense weersin ervaar oor die gevaar wat in die laaste twee reëls uitgespel word. Die leser lees hierdie teenstrydigheid raak en herken dit in hom- of haarself en dit is op hierdie punt waarop sy of haar orde en bekende waarheid ontwrig word. Dieselfde geld onsekerheid en veral die besoedeling van die binneste – die vreedsaamheid met die bekende orde, die veilige ruimte van denke en gevoelens word ontwrig.

Volgens Viljoen (2009:191) hanteer Krog die liggaam as tematiese gegewe sterk konvensioneel in veral haar eerste vier bundels, en word daar eers vanaf die vyfde bundel, *Otters in bronslaai* (1981) beweeg na groteske, monsteragtige en abjekte voorstellings. Krog gebruik "die liggaam in beeldende verbinding met ander entiteite soos byvoorbeeld die poësie en die landskap" (Viljoen 2009:192), en in werke soos *Country of my skull* en *Kleur kom nooit alleen nie* word ook die land as liggaam gesien. Soos in die vorige afdeling aangedui, beeld Krog telkens ook die maak van poësie uit as 'n proses wat in die liggaam ontstaan (vergelyk "Digter wordende" en "first sign of life" oor die ongebore fetus), en besin sy in haar poësie oor die problematiek van skryf oor die liggaam, sodat sy voortdurend sekere grense, veral die grense van genres waarin sy skryf, verskuif (vergelyk Viljoen 2009:192). In *Down to my last skin*, skryf Krog aan die Engelse leser:

you moved in me today
…
like a poem you began without my knowing
a coupling of image and sound
with an umbilical cord to life veined through my blood
after weeks swollen into a gesture of word and vertebrae
a verse trembling this morning into wanting to be written (DLS:35)
en,

to awake one morning into sound
with the antennae of vowel and consonant and diphthong
to calibrate with delicate care the subtlest
movement of light and loss in sound
…
the poet writes poetry with her tongue
yes, she breathes deeply with her ear (DLS:59).

In die lig van 'n oorskryding of verskuiwing van grense,[15] en in die lig van die teenwoordigheid van die abjekte in Krog se poësie, is die volgende twee aanhalings relevant: "Transgression is associated with the sacred, the moment of rupture when the excluded element that is forbidden by the taboo, is brought into focus" (Richardson 1998:51), en "[t]ransgression does not deny

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[15] Volgens Viljoen (2009:205) oorskry Krog die grense wat verband hou met poëtiese dekorum en korrektheid in die gedig deur haar vermenging van taal asook die gebruik van kragwoorde soos "pis" en "kak".

the taboo but transcends and completes it" (Bataille in Richardson 1998:55).[16] Volgens Kristeva (1982:207) is alle literatuur[17] waarskynlik 'n vorm van die apokalips – die laaste groot oordeel – deurdat dit geleë is op 'n baie brose grens waar identiteite (subjek/objek, ens.) nie bestaan nie of net-net bestaan: dit is dubbel, wasig, heterogeen, dierlik, gemetamorfoseer, gewysig, abjek. Hierdie tipe literatuur sou ook as 'n mineuraktiwiteit binne 'n gegewe kultuur kon funksioneer, 'n mineurletterkunde wat ontwrig en subverteer. Dit is in werklikheid 'n ontsyfering van die mens se worsteling en krisisse, sy mees intieme en veelseggende apokalips. Die vraag word gevra: "Does one write under any other condition than being possessed by abjection, in an indefinite catharsis?" (Kristeva 1982:208).

In die gedig "on my behalf" (BB 19) word die Engelse leser wat nie noodwendig vertroud is met Krog se poëtika nie, bekendgestel aan dit waarmee sy haar as digter, politieke aktivis, skrywer, ma, huisvrou en vrou tot op hede besig gehou het – dit wat die onderliggende dryfveer was agter die digproses. Hoewel die gedig 'n vertaling is van "namens myself" (V 19), waar die Afrikaanse leser met 'n soortgelyke "belydenis" te make het, is die herdigting van die gedig in Engels in *Body bereft* belangrik in die konteks van dit waarmee Krog haar voortaan as digter in Afrikaans en Engels gaan besig hou – hoe sy 'n meer beliggaamde digter gaan wees, hoe die politiek van skuld, verantwoordelikheid, gemarginaliseerdheid, identiteit minder belangrik raak in die aangesig van ouderdom en die onvermydelikheid van die dood:

i no longer need to approach anybody on someone's behalf
namens niemand hoef ek iets meer te benader nie
i no longer need to be accountable for others
namens niemand hoef ek meer verantwoording
or to ask forgiveness on behalf of those who know no guilt
te doen of om vergifnis te vra nie
i no longer need to put anybody's marginalized
niemand se gemarginaliseerde perspektief
perspective on the table or imagine
hoef ek meer op die tafel te plaas nie
myself into the skin of another
of my in ander se vel te verbeel nie
because the first forays of death have arrived
die eerste voorhoedes van die dood
and the body slips like sand through
het opgedaag en die liggaam gly soos sand
the fingers. apathy neutralises the senses
deur die vingers. apatie neutraliseer die sintuie
as survival deploys its brutal forces. one gets cut
oorlewing ontplooi soos 'n woestaard en sny
off from others and becomes more and more
jou af van ander sodat jy al hoe meer vertroud
familiar with the complete inward-turning of death –
raak met die na-binne-gedraaidheid van die dood

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[16] Oor die onderwerp van die onreine en die taboe, vergelyk ook Douglas (1966). Wat die karnavaleske en die groteske liggaam betref, vergelyk Bakhtin (1984), veral sy bevraagtekening van die grense tussen die amptelike en nieamptelike sfere in die samelewing, en die rol daarvan in sosiale transformasie.
[17] Kafka, Sartre, Bataille, Baudelaire word byvoorbeeld genoem.

drawer after drawer you are being emptied out
laai vir laai word jy leeggemaak
until only your empty inside moves your emptiness about[18]
tot net nog die leë binnekant jou raak

Soos Viljoen beweer, is Afrikaanse lesers reeds vanaf *Otters in bronslaai* blootgestel en as't ware "opgevoed" nie net in die outobiografiese element in Krog se poësie nie,[19] maar ook die liggaamlikheid daarvan, die abjekte element daarvan (Hambidge 2009). Met die verskyning van *Verweerskrif / Body bereft* was die polemiek wat rondom die voorblad en inhoud van die bundel ontstaan het, dus verrassend, maar terselfdertyd te verwagte. Gegewe die geweldig intieme wyse waarop daar met ouderdom asook die verwering van die liggaam omgegaan word, en die algemene opvatting dat dit die mees eksplisiete voorblad van 'n Krog-bundel tot op hede is,[20] is dit te verstane dat die gemiddelde leser van Afrikaanse poësie heel waarskynlik ongemaklik sou voel en op grond van morele oortuigings beswaar sou maak. Die grensoorskryding, oftewel die "visuele taboe-deurbreking" (Van Vuuren 2006:9) in hierdie geval, het, soos in die geval van byvoorbeeld "toiletgedig", "die effek om die leser te laat gril én lag, maar dit is ook 'n manier waarop [Krog] die ruimte vir vroulike liggaamlikheid binne die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing met sy streng reëls betreffende vroulike liggaamlike decorum uitbrei" (Van Vuuren 2006:9), of te bowe kom, om aan te sluit by Bataille (in Richardson 1998:55).

Spies (2006:9) beskryf *Verweerskrif* – en veral die voorbladfoto – as "afstootlik", en verklaar dat dit vir haar gaan oor die "blootstelling van die ou liggaam aan die openbare oog."[21] Sy gaan verder deur te sê "[of] ons dit nou wil erken of nie, is skoonheid in dié verband nie in die aanskouersoog nie, maar in die jong liggaam. [...] Die bundel en die reaksies daarop het my weer laat besef in watter mate Afrikaanstalige lesers en kritici aan kulturele geheueverlies ly, met as onderdeel die ignorering van die tradisie van die Afrikaanse poësie" (Spies 2006:9). Wat Spies deur hierdie veroordeling bevestig, is in die eerste plek die manier waarop die abjekte ontvang word en gevolglik verwerp word, in die tweede plek hoe die jonger liggaam steeds as die volmaakte, ongeskonde ideaal van 'n vroulike liggaam voorgehou word (hoe die stem van die menopousale vrou gevrees en ontken word, vergelyk Tamara Slayton in BB 21, V 21),[22] en derdens die ambivalensie in die hunkering of verwagting na "direkte segging" (vergelyk Eliot se "objective correlative", soos aangehaal in Spies 2006:9), maar die afkeer daarin en die implisiete versugting na teks en beeld wat grense, posisies en reëls respekteer (met ander woorde die teenpool van die abjekte).

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[18] Oor die "I" as subjektiwiteit in die gedig kan 'n afsonderlike studie gedoen word, veral oor die verskuiwing in die gedig van die ek-verteller na die derdepersoonsverteller en die objektiwiteit wat intree op dieselfde moment as wat die liggaam op intiemer wyse ervaar word.

[19] In Krog se oeuvre gaan die spreker deur die ervarings van moederskap, menopouse en veroudering, en worstel sy met die wyse waarop die historiese, sosiale en politieke deur die liggaam geartikuleer word, terwyl in haar latere bundels 'n element van verset intree teen oorheersing van die man en die familie (Viljoen 2009:201).

[20] Dit is die eerste bundel van Krog waar sy baie nou betrokke was by die keuse van die voorblad.

[21] Vergelyk Sontag (2003) vir 'n bespreking van die foto as uitbeelding van pyn. Volgens Sontag is foto's 'n objektiewe rekord asook persoonlike getuienis, sowel 'n getroue weergawe of transkripsie van 'n werklike gebeurtenis as 'n interpretasie van daardie werklikheid.

[22] Vergelyk Dumas, Laberge en Straka (2005) se sosiokulturele studie oor liggaamlike estetika en die *age*habitus van ouer vroue.

'n Belangrike punt wat die tradisie van die Afrikaanse poësie betref, is dat Krog in haar werk met sowel die manlike tradisie in Afrikaans as met haar "literêre moeders" in gesprek tree, en dat sy, soos Viljoen beweer, wel deeglik veral Eybers ("die grootste digteres" (bron), "my classy heldin" (bron)), se tradisie aanvanklik voortsit, maar dan ook elders aansluiting soek soos by Erica Jong (Hambidge 2009). Krog identifiseer aanvanklik ook met Jonker as literêre voorganger, maar breek uiteindelik weg namate die verhouding tussen die persoonlike en die openbare en die politieke meer ambivalent raak. In *Verweerskrif / Body bereft* put Krog uit veel meer as net die Afrikaanse tradisie: afgesien van digters soos Amichai, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Hugo Claus, Kopland, Paul Celan, gee sy vernaam erkenning aan Sharon Olds,[23] Adrienne Rich[24] en die werk van Tamara Slayton,[25] Anne Sexton, en aan ouerwordende vroue in die algemeen.

Volgens De Lange (2006:4) skryf Krog haar in *Verweerskrif* nogmaals los van die kanon, en getuig die taalgebruik van 'n groter weerloosheid, 'n nog feller direktheid en kruheid as in vorige bundels. In teenstelling met Spies beskou De Lange die bundel as vernuwend deurdat Krog vreesloos waag en daardeur nooit vir alle lesers aanvaarbaar of veilig skryf nie, 'n houding waarvan die basis in *Dogter van Jefta* gelê is wat haar grensoorskrydenheid (vergelyk "Ma") en haar verhouding met haar literêre moeders betref (Hambidge 2009; Viljoen 2009). Dit eggo op sy beurt Olds se benadering waar sy die liggaam en liggaamsdele eksplisiet benoem sonder om in ag te neem wat die leser as betaamlik of kuis beskou. Dit is waarskynlik die sterk feministiese diskoers in die bundel wat skerp reaksie uitgelok het, nie net van Afrikaanse kritici nie, maar ook vanuit Engelse literêre kringe, die "hekwagters van die Engelse taal", soos Krog dit beskryf (Brümmer 2006:15). Sowel die Afrikaanse as Engelse bundel het enkele maande ná die plagiaatdebakel wat deur Stephen Watson aangevoor is verskyn, en 'n mens het verwag dat Krog weerloos sou staan tydens die onmiddellike resepsie van veral *Body bereft*. In haar resensie van Breytenbach se bundel *Veil of footsteps* (2008), noem Sampson (2008) Breytenbach die Groot Skrywer, en verklaar, "[h]e is not at home in English. There is the feeling that he is writing with false teeth." Dieselfde sentiment word gelug deur die hekwagters

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[23] "Is there anything that shouldn't or can't be written about in a poem? What has never been written about in a poem?" vra Olds. Olds se poësie getuig van eksplisiete beelde en taal wat sosiaal afgedwingde stiltes oorskry en 'n "erotics of family love and pain" verbeeld. "[t]he point here is that the poet will not shirk the direct confrontation with the body; indeed, Olds often names the body and its parts with an explicitness far beyond any decorous concern with the reader's sense of modesty. But by doing so she disarms the words as inherited metaphors themselves, metaphors that have phallocentrically created special 'dirty' vocabularies for the private use of men, or just as exclusively, clinical vocabularies for the use of controlling medical figures. Both special languages have to do with the tradition of articulate male power over the mute female body; Olds reclaims both the power to speak for her own body and, with a delightful voluptuous arrogance, usurps the descriptive role as well. She traces bodies slowly and deliberately with her tongue: it is a gesture in which one feels the generosity of a lover, the inner necessity of a mother animal, and the conscious aestheticism of the artist" (Kahn g.d.).

[24] "Rich's poetry has clearly recorded, imagined, and forecast her personal and political journeys with searing power. In 1956, she began dating her poems to underscore their existence within a context, and to argue against the idea that poetry existed separately from the poet's life. […]Intimately connected with this struggle for empowerment and action is the deepening of her determination 'to write directly and overtly as a woman, out of a woman's body and experience.' In the poem "Tear Gas," she asserts 'The will to change begins in the body not in the mind / My politics is in my body'" (Pope g.d.).

[25] Slayton word aangehaal aan die begin van "leave me a lonely began" (V 21 / BB 21): "the voice of the menopausal woman is feared and denied. She has been made invisible or encouraged to remain forever young…" Slayton was die stigter en direkteur van die Menstrual Health Foundation in Sebastopol, Kalifornië, en aktief betrokke by die bewusmaking by vroue van hulle liggaamlikheid en seksualiteit tydens verskillende lewensfases. Die volgende aanhaling is gepas in die konteks van Krog se bundel: "We design so much of the way we live our lives – the compulsive consumerism, the compulsive relationships – out of a profound cultural fear of death" (West g.d.).

van Engels, soos Krog na hulle verwys, in die resepsie van haar werk (Brümmer 2006:15). Hierdie sentimente bewys, in kort, die beginsel van 'n mineurgebruik van taal, oftewel die 'geheim' daarvan, naamlik dat die majeurtaal en -leser 'n vreemdeling voel in sy/haar eie taal (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:48). Dit is dus nie slegs Breytenbach of Krog wat nie tuis is in Engels nie, maar die majeurtaal wat nie tuis voel in sy eie vel nie; die leser wat met kunstande lees.

Stephen Watson se aanklag teen Krog in *New Contrast*, waarin dit duidelik blyk dat sy aanval nie slegs oor plagiaat *per se* gaan nie, maar veral ook oor 'n Afrikaanse digter wat in Engels durf publiseer. As rolspeler (direkteur van die tydskrif, akademikus by 'n Engelse universiteit, gepubliseerde digter in Engels) het Watson 'n bepaalde invloed gehad op die manier waarop Krog ná die verskyning van die artikel beskou sou word. Watson (2005:48) plaas Krog binne die plaaslike buiteliterêre tradisie van plagiaat[26] en impliseer dat sy nie deel genoem kan word van die Afrikaanse en nog minder die Engelse tradisie nie. Afgesien van sy kritiek op haar as digter, trek hy Krog se loopbaan as skrywer in twyfel met sy verwysing na haar gebruik van Hughes se konsep *mite* in *Country of my skull*. Weer eens wonder 'n mens hier oor die redes ágter die kritiek: Watson vergelyk Krog met Eliot se intelligente gevoeligheid. Sy verwysing na Eliot is waarskynlik nie toevallig nie. Krog sê immers in *A change of tongue* (CT 271), "I do not have T.S. Eliot or Philip Larkin in my bones." Die kritiek op Krog blyk dus eerder op die vlak van haar posisie in die literêre veld te lê, maar spesifiek die teenwoordigheid van 'n tradisioneel Afrikaanse skrywer binne die Engelse literêre veld waar die hekwagters waarskynlik feller optree teenoor Krog as wat binne die Afrikaanse literêre veld gebeur. Die ironie, sê Watson (2005:61), is dat Krog hierdie 'wandaad' van plagiaat pleeg te midde van haar status in Suid-Afrika. Wat presies Watson met Krog se status in Suid-Afrika bedoel, is onduidelik, veral in die lig van sy opmerking teenoor Verstraete (2006:79): "I just think of her as a housewife from Kroonstad masquerading as Joan of Arc. So I didn't have a sense of her as a cultural icon." In dieselfde onderhoud (Verstraete 2006:79), beskryf Watson *Country of my skull* as "another bad and appropriative piece of work. [...] There must have been something else going on in the whole issue for people to have gone so 'bedonnerd' about it ."

Dieselfde tipe scenario het inderdaad hier afgespeel as in die geval van *Down to my last skin* en *the stars say 'tsau'*[27] se resepsie binne Engelse literêre kringe. Stephen Gray (2006) se fel kritiek op *Body bereft* is veral simptomaties van die punt wat die bundel wil maak, naamlik dat die gemeenskap wegskram van dit wat die orde versteur (by name Krog as Afrikaanse digter binne die Engelse literêre veld), en op 'n meer direkte vlak die wyse waarop die gemeenskap ouer vroue en die oudwordproses misken (Kennedy 2006:2). Gray (2006) vra hoe goed Krog se tweede taal, Engels, is, en of haar waagstuk om in Engels te publiseer geregverdig kan word. Hy noem onder andere Krog se selfvertaling van die gedigte, "transliteration", wat hy op sy beurt regverdig deur te noem dat daar ongeveer 500 onakkurate vertalings asook talle "poeticisms" is,[28] en te verklaar dat "such private ache confessions" in die Engelstalige literatuur reeds met Sylvia Plath se dood begrawe is. Deur Plath in die argument in te bring, verwys Gray dus na die wêreldliteratuur, en nie spesifiek na Suid-Afrikaanse Engelse literatuur nie. Die standaard vir Krog se posisionering binne die Engelse literêre veld word inderdaad hoog gestel.

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[26] Watson verwys na die joernalis en skrywer Darrell Bristow-Bovey wat van plagiaat aangekla is. Volgens Watson staan hy en Pamela Jooste buite die literêre tradisie of die literêre veld. Watson groepeer Krog by hierdie tradisie, hoewel sy duidelik binne 'n literêre tradisie (hetsy Afrikaans of Engels) staan as digter en skrywer.

[27] Vergelyk Vosloo (2010).

[28] Dit is onduidelik waarna Gray presies verwys.

Een van die belangrikste aspekte wat na vore kom uit Gray se resensie, is die aandag wat Krog as Afrikaanse skrywer van die Engelse literêre veld opeis. Krog is geen nuweling op die toneel nie; soos aangedui, is haar stem binne die Engelse literêre veld in Suid-Afrika en internasionaal reeds met *Country of my skull* en *A change of tongue* as belangrik geag, waarna sy verdere literêre kapitaal (meestal in Suid-Afrika) bekom het met die publikasie van *Down to my last skin*. Afgesien van die plagiaataantygings van Watson, wil dit voorkom asof haar groeiende status as Afrikaans-Engelse skrywer 'n bedreiging inhou vir die bestaande orde van die Engelse letterkunde in Suid-Afrika spesifiek. Dit is nie toevallig nie dat Gray (2006) opmerk "[n]ow we are to believe Krog just *sommer* writes in both the old official languages [...] Krog's poetry represents the end of once-brave Afrikaans literature as such, as it collapses into pretension and incompetence." Twee dinge val op in Gray se kritiek: sy gebruik van die Afrikaanse woord "sommer", wat waarskynlik doelbewus was om ironies te wees, en sy aanklag teen die Afrikaanse literatuur in die algemeen. Vir Gray gaan dit dus nie soseer daaroor dat dit Krog is wat in Engels skryf nie, maar dat dit 'n Afrikáánse digter is wat dit waag om in Engels te publiseer. Gray se resensie sou noodwendig 'n rol speel in die manier waarop die Engelse publiek *Body bereft* ontvang. Hiermee saam is dit belangrik om te noem dat Engelse lesers wat vir die eerste keer Krog se poësie in Engelse vertaling lees, dit nie noodwendig kan waardeer binne dieselfde konteks as wat dit aanvanklik geskryf is nie, omdat hulle nie haar volle oeuvre en die tematiese stramiene ken nie: die doelbewuste Afrikaanse ondertoon in Engels, die teenwoordigheid van die abjekte in haar werk en die feministiese inslag.

Op dieselfde wyse waarop Krog se habitus as skrywer en vertaler uit haar werk blyk, is die persepsies en verbandhoudende reaksies op die verskyning van 'n bundel soos *Verweerskrif / Body bereft* 'n gevolg van sosiale gedrag wat in die konteks van 'n gemeenskap van disposisies ontstaan (Bourdieu 1977:35). Die leser, resensent, kritikus, teoretikus tap uit 'n hele spektrum beskikbare strategieë, en kies (op onbewuste vlak) uit 'n spektrum moontlike uitkomstes wat die wêreldbeeld in 'n bepaalde sosiale en kulturele konteks, en op 'n gegewe historiese moment, hulle toelaat om te sien. Die leser is nie bewus daarvan dat sy of haar keuse van optrede op hierdie manier 'beperk' is nie, en die keuse van optrede word dus ervaar as die onvermydelike omstandighede van gedrag. Sy of haar verhouding tot hierdie keuses word ook nie in 'n kulturele, ideologiese of godsdienstige konteks ervaar nie, maar as bloot praktiese oorwegings gesien. Soos in die geval van die skrywer, ontstaan ook die leser se strategieë dus uit 'n kollektiewe en dinamiese (veranderende) 'geskiedenis' van moontlike gedrag – "systems of durable, transposable dispositions", oftewel habitus (Bourdieu 1977:72). Hierdie aspek van die resepsie van 'n literêre werk is iets wat relatief min aandag geniet wanneer dit kom by die beoordeling of selfs interpretasie van sodanige resepsies. Net soos wat die habitus van die skrywer of digter of vertaler die kompleksiteit en ambivalente aard van sosiale en kulturele gedrag verklaar, is die vryheid in gedrag en optrede van die leser in 'n sekere sin voorbestem, met inagneming van die (relatief groot) ruimte vir spontaneïteit wat daar wel bestaan.

Op soortgelyke wyse as wat Kristeva van die abjekte as 'n tussenruimte praat, kan die vertaalhandeling vanuit die mineur- in die majeurtaal – met 'n mineuraanwending van die majeurtaal – gesien word as 'n abjekte handeling. Krog word daarvan beskuldig dat sy niestandaard Engels[29] gebruik: woorde soos "filigree", "unbeknownst", "wisps", "tintinnabulous bliss" en "nimbular mush" gee volgens Gray (2006) aan (Engelse) poësie 'n slegte naam. Hy sê

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[29] 'n Mens sou kon praat van 'n deterritorialisering van Engels in hierdie geval: na aanleiding van Gray (2006) se kommentaar blyk Krog haar eie "point of underdevelopment, [her] own patois, [her] own third world, [her] own desert" in *Body bereft* te gevind het.

voorts haar Afrikaanse ondertoon is onpoëties en onaanvaarbaar, en noem "drybaked cunt", "my downsitting and mine uprising" uit *Body bereft* as voorbeeld. Met die benadering om die Afrikaanse onderbou in Engelse vertaling te behou, hou Krog die kontaksone tussen Afrikaans en Engels lewendig as 'n plek van veelvuldige artikulasies, waar taal en die aanwending daarvan nie as 'n grens hoef te funksioneer nie. Krog gaan nie noodwendig op 'n bewuste vlak met haar werk om asof sy (en die werk) haarself in 'n oorgangsruimte of hibriede ruimte *wil* posisioneer nie. Die rede hiervoor het waarskynlik te doen met die feit dat daar tradisioneel onder Afrikaanse skrywers (en Afrikaanse uitgewers) die persepsie bestaan dat hulle as randfigure in die Suid-Afrikaanse Engelse literêre veld beskou word. Hoewel Krog hierdie persepsie verwoord wanneer sy aan Brümmer (2006) bely dat sy al die jare uitgelos is toe sy net in Afrikaans geskryf het, maar haar nou 'n "randfiguur" voel binne die Engelse literêre veld (en selfs daarbuite), is dit waarskynlik veilig om te beweer dat Krog eerder binne 'n hibriede ruimte in die Engelse literêre veld staan. Hierdie tussenruimte of kontaksone, 'n "in-between", 'n *third space*, is 'n ongemaklike, ontblote ruimte wat simptomaties is van die spanning wat heers tussen twee meer definitiewe ruimtes uit die oogpunt van die Engelse leser: die een bekend (Engels), die ander vreemd (Afrikaans), die een plaaslik en die ander globaal, intimiderend, gelykmakend, universeel.

Met die teenwoordigheid van 'n *habitus van die abjekte* in Krog se poësie in die algemeen, en in *Verweerskrif* in die besonder, wend sy taal op 'n mineurwyse aan in *Down to my last skin* en *Body bereft*. Krog gebruik skatologiese, plat taal, sy oortree taboes in verband met menstruasie, sy span 'n gedronge taal en hortende ritme in, sy stel die stem van die ander, die kultuurvreemde voorop, die klipperigheid van die landskap word 'n simbool van haar taalkundige gebrek of onvermoë om haar volledig uit te druk in die niemoedertaal (en moedertaal). In *Lady Anne* in "'n Gedig oor skuld" (LA 100) word daar 'voorbrand' gemaak (hoewel op 'n onbewuste (habitus)vlak) vir haar eie oorgang na 'n tweetalige skrywer of vertaler. 'n Mens sou in die lig van haar ambivalente posisie binne die Engelse literêre veld die woord "Afrikaans" met "Engels" kon vervang (gedeeltelik aangehaal):

[...]
wil die digter 'n gedig skryf
verby die drag geraamtes
van almal wat mank en [Engels] is
maar die tong sal anders moet lê:
bevry die allerwoordste woord deur vers
wat wil klapwiek namekaar en nuut
die gedig sal wys hoe
woord in hierdie landskap waar word
[...]

Die gedig impliseer op 'n ander vlak ook die "wording" of *becoming* as skrywer/vertaler waaroor Krog in "Digter wordende" / "poet becoming" skryf, maar in 'n risomiese konteks: die wordende-skrywer of die wordende-vertaler. Volgens Deleuze en Guattari (Mansfield 2000:145) is die tema van wording 'n belangrike aspek:

> it sees the life of things in terms of an ever-changing and ever-
> renewed movement out of fixed forms into new possibilities.
> "The rhizome operates by variation, expansion, conquest,

capture, offshoots." Structures and identities attempt to fix the truth in a knowable form. Yet nothing is ever in a state of permanent immovability. Everything is always crossing over into something else, decomposing and recomposing itself beneath the identities truth would like to erect.

In die lig van die bespreking van die tussenruimte waarin Krog haar as vertaler bevind, verkry die gedigsiklus "Country of grief and grace" (DLS 95) / "land van genade en verdriet (K 37) 'n bykomende betekenis, afgesien van die uitsluitlik politieke:

(a)
between you and me
tussen jou en my
how desperately it aches
hoe verskriklik
how it aches
hoe wanhopig
how desperately it aches between you and me
hoe vernietig breek dit tussen jou en my
[...]
where do we go from here
waar gaan ons heen van hier?
your voice slung
jou stem slinger
in anger
in woede
over the solid cold length of our past
langs die kil snerpende sweep van my verlede
how long does it take
hoe lank duur dit?
for a voice
hoe lank vir 'n stem
to reach another
om 'n ander te bereik
[...]

Gedig (a) se eerste strofe sou gelees kon word as 'n verwysing na Engels[30] en Afrikaans, waar die stem van die ander in woede geslinger word oor die skrywer wat haar stem laat uitreik na die ander, verby die grense van waarheid en vernietiging, ter wille van oorlewing, groter erkenning, 'n groter teenwoordigheid in die land wat behoort aan "the voices of those who live in it."

(b)
in the beginning is seeing
in die begin is sien
seeing for ages

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[30] Die ander stem sou ook 'n swart stem kon wees na aanleiding van die titel van die gedig "land van genade en verdriet" en die konteks van landskap, taal en identiteit (vergelyk Van Coller & Odendaal 2003; Viljoen 2002).

sien vir eeue
filling the head with ash
die kop vul met as
no air
geen suurstof
no tendril
geen spriet
now to seeing speaking is added
by sien word eindelik woord gevoeg
and the eye plunges into the wounds of anger
en die oog stort af in die woedende wond
seizing the surge of language by its soft bare skull
hoor! hoor die opwel van medemenslike taal
in haar sagte weerlose skedel
[...]

Die direkte verwysing in gedig (b) na die "soft bare skull" van taal, waarvan die titel van die boek *Country of my skull* waarskynlik afgelei is, dui op die broosheid, indien nie die leegheid nie, van taal, en dit is in gedig (f) waar die digter die beliggaamde ervaring wat taal is artikuleer:

it breathes becalmed[31]
sy haal asem
after being wounded
gekalmeer na die litteken
in its wondrous throat
aan haar wonderbaarlike keel
in the cradle of my skull
in die wieg van my skedel sing dit
it sings it ignites
ontbrand dit
my tongue my inner ear the cavity of heart
my tong my binneste oor die gaping van my hart
shudders towards the outline
sidder vorentoe na die buitelyn
new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals.
van 'n woordeskat nuut in sag, intieme keelklanke

In gedig (g) stel Krog die titel van haar volgende Engelse bundel, *Body bereft*, aan die leser bekend:

this body bereft
die liggaam beroof
this blind tortured throat
die blind gefolterde keel
[...]

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[31] Die woord "it" is dubbelsinnig: in een opsig kan dit na die land verwys, in 'n ander opsig na taal (Afrikaans). Let ook op die verskil tussen die gebruik van die onpersoonlike voornaamwoord "it" in Engels en "sy" en "haar" in Afrikaans in die eerste strofe, en die oorgang na "my" in strofe 2 in Engels en Afrikaans.

Die liggaam, die teks, die taal van die digter word op die voorgrond gedwing, en dit, volgens Nel (2008:52), "sinspeel op die liggaam wat beroof is – daar is gevolglik 'n element van verlies en rou ingebed in die titel." Die verlies en rou dui egter nie slegs op liggaamlike aftakeling nie; dit sou ook kon verwys na die verlies en rou inherent in die digter (Krog) se naderbeweeg aan die Engelse veld in Suid-Afrika deur middel van vertaling, en die vrees vir die aftakeling (as skrywer) en verlies wat onvermydelik daarmee gepaardgaan. Dit verwys na die taal en die poësie wat deur die skryf in Engels geroof kan word. Die spel tussen die Afrikaanse titel, wat doelbewus na die taal- of skryfhandeling verwys, en die Engelse titel is op sigself 'n belangrike element in die verstaan van die stryd waarna hierbo verwys word – beide funksioneer as intertekste van mekaar.

Op metafiksionele vlak funksioneer *Body bereft* dus nie slegs as 'n vertaling of herdigting van Krog se Afrikaanse gedigte in *Verweerskrif* nie; daar is veel meer fasette daaraan wat verband hou met die teenwoordigheid van die kontroversiële digter en skrywer in 'n literêre veld waar sy nie so welkom voel nie.[32] Hoewel die twee digbundels op die oog af as spieëlbeelde van mekaar voorkom, bevat *Body bereft* drie gedigte wat nie in *Verweerskrif* opgeneem is nie: "writing ode" (BB 33) wat 'n herdigting is van "skryfode" (K 66), "letter-poem lullaby for Ntombizana Atoo"[33] (BB 57) wat 'n herdigting is van "slaapliedjies vir Ntombizana Atoo" (K 79), en "farewell" (BB 65) wat 'n herdigting is van die gedig "afskeid" uit die gedigsiklus "Van litteken tot rivier" (K 100). Dit is vertalings wat nie oorspronklik in *Down to my last skin* opgeneem is nie, maar wat na my mening essensieel is vir Krog se oeuvre in Engels. Dit is veral "writing ode" wat 'n sentrale posisie in die bundel beklee omdat dit aan die Engelse leser die wese van Krog se poëtika – haar geartikuleerde habitus – weerspieël.

7.   Slot

'n Mens kan aanvoer dat Krog op ten minste twee maniere of vlakke die revolusionêre potensiaal wat volgens Deleuze en Guattari (1986) opgesluit lê in die mineuraanwending van taal, binne 'n majeurletterkunde aanwend. In die eerste plek, met die verskyning van haar eerste digbundel, skryf sy binne die Afrikaanse literêre veld wat op daardie stadium as 'n majeurletterkunde binne Suid-Afrika beskou is. Afrikaans as taal was 'n majeurtaal wat die institusionalisering daarvan betref. Binne hierdie opset was Krog se styl minder konvensioneel en haar onderwerpe selfs nog meer uitdagend. Dit is egter veral met die publikasie van *Country of my skull* en *A change of tongue* in Engels, waar Krog verder gaan en binne die majeurtaal wat Engels is (teenoor Afrikaans), 'n tipe (Suid-Afrikaanse) Engels (met 'n sterk Afrikaanse ondertoon) gebruik wat as't ware as 'n mineuraanwending van die majeurtaal funksioneer (vergelyk Pakendorf 1993).

Waar vernuwing of innovasie binne die polisisteemteorie gekoppel word aan dit (literêre werk of skrywer) wat vanaf die periferie na die sentrum van die literêre sisteem "beweeg", en sodoende 'n sentrale posisie inneem, sou die omgekeerde kon geld binne Deleuze en Guattari se raamwerk: 'n nuwe manier van gebruik wat die aantrekkingskrag van 'n hoër, dominante orde teenstaan en 'n nuwe literêre kontinent of ruimte (in Bhabha se raamwerk) daarstel wat

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[32] Die *Unheimliche* van Freud is hier van belang. Die abjekte – hier, Krog se skryf en teenwoordigheid in die Engelse literêre veld – verdwyn nooit nie. Dit bestaan op die periferie van bewussyn, soveel so dat daar altyd 'n vrees bestaan by die subjek van 'n verlies aan identiteit en 'n terugkeer na die moeder se buik (McAfee 2004:48).

[33] Die Engelse weergawe verskyn die eerste keer in Chapman se *A new century of South African poetry* (2002:264). Hier word die woorde "letter-poem" bygevoeg by die titel.

nóg konformerend nóg idealisties is; wat Krog nóg aan die outonome pool van die literêre veld plaas nóg aan die heteronome pool van kulturele produksie. In *Country of my skull* en *A change of tongue* skep Krog in 'n mate so 'n ruimte, en weer in *Verweerskrif* en *Body bereft*, vernaam op abjekte vlak. Op dié manier baan sy die weg vir die konseptualisering van 'n *inter*nasionale en kosmopolitiese kultuur wat die inskripsie en artikulasie van die hibriditeit van kultuur as grondslag het. Krog beskou vertaling as "die transformasie van 'n teks vanuit 'n magtelose tot 'n magtiger taal; die transformasie van 'n magtige teks wat magteloos gemaak word deur 'n magtelose taal, word bemagtig, kom tot sy reg in en deur die magtige taal" (Krog 2002b:2).

Krog se vertaling en vertalings in Engels belig wat Deleuze en Guattari (1987:106) beskryf as 'n majeurtaal wat 'n mineurgedaante aanneem – daar is nie twee tale nie,

> rather two usages or functions of languages […] Minor languages are characterized not by overload and poverty in relation to a standard or major language, but […] like a minor treatment of the standard language, a becoming of the major language (ibid:105),

aangesien taal altyd 'n mengsel is,

> a schizophrenic mélange, a Harlequin costume in which very different functions of language and distinct centers of power are played out, blurring what can be said and what can't be said.

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Providing truly patient-centred care: Harnessing the pragmatic power of interpreters

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Abstract
In order to achieve the aims set out in South Africa's National Policy on Quality in Health Care (2007:4), the gap between standards and actual practice must be measured, reduced, and ultimately, eradicated. One of the most obvious gaps in our health service is the failure to ensure that patients and healthcare professionals understand each other. Without successful communication, the provision of quality patient-centred care will always hang in the balance. Healthcare professionals in South Africa have to improvise when treating patients who do not speak their language – generally by using ad-hoc interpreters, who may be nurses, refugees, family members, or even children. A number of studies (Cambridge 1999, Meyer et al. 2003, Penn 2007) have found that using ad-hoc interpreters to overcome language barriers is often problematic. In this article, a specific intervention is described which takes the form of a professional development workshop for counsellors and community workers working with refugees, aimed at reaching a better understanding of how to work with interpreters. An ad-hoc interpreter participated in a role play with a therapist and refugee client, and was then substituted by a professional liaison interpreter. The workshop participants (who could not understand French or Lingala, the languages spoken by the refugee client and the refugee interpreter) commented on the differences between the two interpreters' performances and their impressions of the power dynamics between participants, caused in part by factors such as positioning and eye gaze. The researcher then conducted a conversation analysis to supplement these findings. Aspects considered include the effect of procedural factors (control of turn length, attribution of roles and briefing of participants, use of the first person, memory management and overload) as well as linguistic aspects of the communication flow. The analysis indicated that it was the ad-hoc refugee interpreter's lack of knowledge regarding the procedural aspects of the interpreting process that impacted most on the communication flow, rather than any possible transference or re-telling of her own story, as has previously been indicated in the literature. The trained interpreter's linguistic knowledge and awareness of procedural aspects led to smoother communication between participants. It is recommended that interpreters in therapeutic contexts be trained to participate as active co-participants so that they may control turn duration, be aware of role attribution and positioning, and extend their memories to enable them to interpret accurately in the long consecutive mode.

Keywords: healthcare interpreting, refugee interpreting, professional development

1.   Introduction: How do we achieve quality patient-centred care in South Africa?

The National Policy on Quality in Health Care (2007:4) sets out the main objectives of Government to assure quality in healthcare in South Africa's public and private sectors. The national aims for improvement include, but are not limited to:

- Addressing access to health care;
- Increasing patients' participation and the dignity afforded to them;
- Reducing underlying causes of illness, injury, and disability through preventive and health promotion activities;
- Ensuring the appropriate use of health care services, and
- Reducing health care errors (adverse events).

In order to achieve these aims, it is important to measure the gap between standards and actual practice, and work out ways to close the gap. One of the most obvious gaps in South Africa's health service, which underlies all of the healthcare objectives mentioned in the policy, is the failure to ensure that patients and healthcare professionals understand each other. Without successful communication, none of the goals mentioned above can be achieved, and the provision of quality patient-centred care will always hang in the balance. Despite its obvious importance as a medium of communication, interpreting between languages is not explicitly mentioned in any healthcare policy in South Africa to date, a clear oversight given the fact that lack of access to quality healthcare as a result of language and cultural barriers is a problem that countless South Africans face (Anthonissen 2010, Deumert 2010, Pfaff and Couper 2009). In the absence of an official public service interpreting agency which could source trained interpreters, medical professionals in South Africa have to improvise when treating patients who do not speak their language – generally by using ad-hoc interpreters, who may be nurses, family members, or even children.

A number of studies undertaken both in South Africa and internationally (Cambridge 1999, Meyer et al. 2003, Penn 2007) have found that using ad-hoc interpreters to overcome language barriers in healthcare is often problematic. Relatives of patients acting as interpreters have an obvious difficulty in remaining impartial, possess little to no medical knowledge and often an insufficient command of English, whereas using nurses as ad-hoc interpreters adds to the workload of already overburdened nursing staff, who have also not been screened for language proficiency or trained as interpreters. However, most studies on the topic seem content to document the rather unsatisfactory situation confronting healthcare professionals using ad-hoc interpreters, rather than trying to find solutions to improve the situation. The same applies to mental healthcare contexts. The fact that most therapists are forced to "make do" when an interpreter is needed (Holland and Penn 1995, Friedland and Penn 2003) is simply accepted, and the problems accompanying the "ad-hoc approach" (Roberts 1997) are merely described and documented.

This article is part of a larger research project at the University of the Witwatersrand, entitled the Language in the Caring Professions Project, which aims firstly at evaluating language practices within the caring professions in selected public/private hospitals in Johannesburg, and secondly at advocating for structured change in language practices through awareness-raising and training of healthcare professionals in the optimal use of language practitioners, as well as the use of trained interpreters or translators, where practically possible. Accordingly, this study

explores one specific type of intervention – the use of professional development workshops for therapists and community workers, aimed at reaching a better understanding of how to work with interpreters successfully and maximise patient satisfaction. Ad-hoc interpreters participated in role play with a healthcare professional, and were then substituted by a professional liaison interpreter. The workshop participants then analysed the differences between the two interpreters, and gave their impressions of the role attribution by participants, the effect of interpreter alterations of the pragmatic meaning of utterances, procedural factors and power dynamics.

2.   Liaison interpreting in mental health contexts

Mental health is still the Cinderella of healthcare in South Africa. Three quarters of the people in South Africa who suffer from a mental health disorder are not getting the care they need. (Kahn 2013). According to a Department of Health briefing of Parliament in June 2013, the public sector faces a severe shortage of psychiatrists and psychologists:

> Only 14% of the 2,692 clinical psychologists registered with the Health Professions Council of SA are working in the public sector — just 0.32 psychologists per 100,000 of the population and 0.28 psychiatrists per 100,000. (Kahn 2013)

Added to this is the language barrier, which is a very real issue (Drennan 1998, 1999; Mouyis n.d.). Overburdened therapists must counsel their clients with the aid of an interpreter who is generally not trained. Effective therapy using an interpreter depends on a number of factors, not least of which is the training or experience the interpreter has in the interpreting process. One of the common misconceptions is the idea that if someone "knows how to speak" a language, they will be able to interpret. This is not necessarily the case. The interpreter needs to be trained to interpret in order to avoid the tendency to "filter" information. For instance, Marcos (1979) discusses three major sources of distortion which can cause clinically significant "filtering": deficient linguistic or interpreting skills, lack of knowledge and sophistication in mental health, and interpreter attitudes toward either the client or the clinicians.

Assuming the interpreter is qualified to work in a clinical setting, a second, vital factor which contributes to the success or otherwise of the interpreted counselling process is the therapists' knowledge of how to work with an interpreter. The addition of an interpreter into the traditionally dyadic therapeutic relationship between therapist and client is known to alter the process of psychotherapy (Miller et al. 2001:5) The process is very different when working via a third person than when working one-on-one with the client, and the therapist must recognise these differences and be willing to make adjustments for them. As Hamerdinger and Karlin (2003:2) put it:

> When the skilled clinician is teamed with a highly qualified interpreter, both professionals will be constantly monitoring each other for […] shading and skewing of the message. The difficulty lies when the therapist is not experienced in using interpreters and not aware of the effects of the interpreter on the therapeutic relationship. Considerations of alliances become critical. Is the client allied with the therapist or the interpreter? More importantly, is the interpreter allied with the therapist or the client? Do both the client and the therapist trust the interpreter and the interpretation? Being unprepared to deal with these dynamics will make the work less effective.

There are several schools of thought as regards the appropriate role of interpreters in mental health sessions (cf. also Pöchhacker 2006). Several authors believe that interpreters should be seen as *co-therapists*, and should therefore be trained in social work, psychotherapy and psychiatry (Westermeyer 1990, Hatton 1992, Pentz-Moller and Hermansen 1991). Mudarikiri (2003, in Bot 2005:13) argues that interpreters should be seen as "bilingual health workers or social care professionals in their own right […] with whom one can, together with the patient, jointly seek out culturally appropriate solutions to the service-users' difficulties". Advocates of the interpreter-as-co-therapist model are also of the view that the interpreter should be informed in advance about the nature of the therapy, and that the consultation should be evaluated with the therapist after the session.

Others point out that an interpreter trained as a therapist might be less effective as a *translator* (i.e. in transferring the message from one language to another) in that there may be a tendency to influence the process of counselling with the interpreter's own ideas about how the therapy should proceed. For this reason, several authors (Acosto and Cristo 1981 and Garcia-Peltoniemi and Egli 1988, both cited in Bot 2005:13) emphasise that the interpreter must distance him-/herself from the therapeutic process and limit him-/herself to representing what is said as accurately as possible.

A third position (to which I subscribe) is that interpreters should be seen as active co-participants in an interaction (cf. Roy 2000), and acknowledge their influence on that interaction. Interpreters are not neutral, and cannot be seen as mere conduits or language channels, and thus the interpreter-as-translator model cannot hold water. As previous research shows (Wallmach 2008), it is extremely dangerous to allow even trained interpreters to interpret in a therapeutic context without any knowledge of the therapeutic process. Nevertheless, in my view, the interpreter-as-co-therapist model is not tenable either, since the exigencies of the interpreting process are such that an interpreter has enough to concentrate on in managing their role effectively and facilitating the communication accurately from one language to another without having to worry about directing the counselling process in addition to this. I therefore concur with Bot (2005:18) that the model of "interpreter-as-active-translator/co-participant" is the most suitable one: it does not lead to the role confusion of the co-therapist model, while it recognises the presence of the interpreter. It should be stressed that there is an important distinction between viewing the interpreter as co-therapist and as co-participant. Health professionals might reject the conduit model as de-humanising and, in wishing to acknowledge the influence of the interpreter as a professional, turn to the label of "co-therapist", whereas in fact it is sufficient to recognise interpreting itself as a profession, and the interpreter as an active representative of that profession.

3.   Interpreting for refugees in mental health contexts

A survey conducted in 2003 by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) (Belvedere et al. 2003, in Higson-Smith et al. 2006) on refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa included approximately 1,500 refugees and asylum seekers living in the cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban. Refugees participating in this study originated from Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Cameroon, Sierra Leone and Sudan. Approximately 60% of the participants in this study were asylum seekers, and over half the total sample had waited more than four years for their status to be determined. The average age of the asylum seekers was 31 years and

approximately half were married. The median income of this group was R650-00 per month. While this study was not focused specifically on services to asylum seekers and refugees, it was noted that 60% of the sample had tried to make use of emergency healthcare while in South Africa. Of those who had tried, 17% reported having been denied care. One can only imagine the mental situation of at-risk minorities such as refugees and asylum seekers, whose very existence and livelihood is threatened.

While interpreting within the mental health setting has been the focus of considerable clinical discussion, there is little research available on the use of interpreters with refugee clients, particularly in the South African context. Given the general shortage of therapists, it is hardly surprising that counselling for refugees in South Africa also suffers from a lack of capacity. In addition, given the language barrier, the unfortunate situation is that overburdened therapists most often counsel their clients with the aid of an interpreter who is generally not trained, and is often a refugee. Miller et al. (2001:6) emphasise that psychotherapy with political refugees differs from psychotherapy with other clients who might require an interpreter, and the problem is compounded if the interpreter is also a refugee. For instance, refugees have often been exposed to extreme violence, deprivation and persistent psychological trauma, and may subsequently develop post-traumatic stress disorder (Weiten 1995). They have also experienced multiple losses – from social networks to personal possessions – and are displaced from a familiar environment that supports their role and place in society and thus their ability to function within that society (Miller et al. 2002). The stories of trauma, separation and loss are likely to make the therapeutic process emotionally intense, especially for the interpreter, who may have undergone similar experiences in the past. Figley (1995:xiv) uses the term "compassion stress" to describe how professional caregivers, therapists in particular, experience "the natural behaviours and emotions that arise from knowing about a traumatizing event experienced by a significant other – the stress resulting from helping or wanting to help a traumatised person". Not only do interpreters "know about" events, they are responsible for conveying the emotional content and effect of any narrative, often through the use of the first person, which could potentially increase the likelihood of compassion stress. Interpreting involving work in highly sensitive and emotive situations, directly witnessing traumatic events or interpreting the telling of traumatic events can certainly exponentially increase the stress experienced by an interpreter (Hetherington 2011). Interpreters are generally trained to think that they are neutral, whereas the opposite is very possibly true. In many liaison or community interpreting settings, particularly in the case of untrained interpreters, an alliance develops between the interpreter and the non-English-speaking person, since they share a common language and common community. According to Hamerdinger and Karlin (2003:5):

> This skew is potentially dangerous in the mental health setting. Issues of co-dependency on the part of the interpreter, transference issues, counter transference, and borderline behaviour on the part of the client, can all subtly undermine the therapy. Because the therapist and the interpreter are working together towards a specific therapeutic goal, it is critical that the alliance be between the interpreter and the clinician. The consistent use of pre- and post-conferencing helps ensure this happens, and that it is therapeutically productive.

Despite the fact that ad-hoc interpretation in healthcare contexts has been shown to be problematic, the assumption seems to be that using ad-hoc interpreters is simply the norm, at least in South Africa. The fact that most therapists are forced to "make do" when an interpreter

is needed (Holland and Penn 1995, Friedland and Penn 2003) is simply accepted, and the problems accompanying the "ad-hoc approach" (Roberts 1997) are simply described and documented. However, our approach within this project was slightly different – to empower healthcare professionals through professional development workshops in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the skills involved in interpreting from a professional perspective, and to determine how a mediated interview using a professional interpreter might better achieve the aims of the professional than when using an ad-hoc interpreter.

3.1 Professional development workshop participants and objectives

A workshop was organised at a trauma counselling centre in January 2013. This workshop was attended by three interpreter trainers and 22 counsellors/community workers, including two untrained refugee interpreters who spoke Lingala, French and English. None of the counsellors/ community workers spoke either French or Lingala. The instructors had no control over the number of participants per group, who were invited to attend by the counselling centre. The stated aim of the workshop was to exchange ideas on interpreting, which the participants had not reflected on previously. Some of the counsellors expressed a desire to learn to "navigate the spaces between counsellor and interpreter", to "learn something new that might help bridge the language barrier", to "know what is expected of an interpreter", and/or to see how to "work with the interpreter as co-counsellor". The trainers' aim was to impart some knowledge of certain basic aspects of interpreting practice, such as the importance of an interpreting brief, the importance of impartiality as well as confidentiality and accuracy, and sharing techniques on how to make the communication flow more smoothly. Conversely, the trainers wished to learn from the professionals which particular context-specific skills an interpreter might need, and how standard interpreter training should be modified to accommodate the real-life practice of therapeutic contexts.

Two role plays were performed during the workshop in order for the workshop participants to compare the differences between a counselling session where an ad-hoc interpreter was used, and a counselling session where a professional interpreter was used. One of the ad-hoc interpreters (herself a refugee) was asked to participate in a counselling session role play with an English-speaking therapist and a Lingala/French-speaking refugee. A second role play was then conducted with the same therapist and refugee client, but using a professional French/English interpreter from Cameroon who had received more than a year's training in liaison and conference interpreting.

4.   Methodology and analysis

The analysis of the role plays was conducted in two parts. In the first part, the workshop participants (who could not understand French or Lingala) observed the two role plays and gave oral feedback, analysing the differences between the two interpreters, and giving their impressions of the role attribution by participants and the power dynamics caused in part by factors such as positioning and eye gaze. For the second part of the analysis, the researcher transcribed both role plays with the assistance of a French transcriber, and provided an indicative English gloss of the French sections. She then conducted a conversation analysis to supplement the findings of workshop participants in order to determine the effects of procedural factors (such as the control of turn length, conscious attribution of roles and briefing of participants, memory management and overload) as well as the effect of linguistic aspects on

the communication flow. Conversation Analysis (CA) was deemed to be a suitable approach to take to explore the dynamics of an interpreted therapeutic interview, since the approach focuses on naturally occurring data in order to describe the detailed and intricate analysis of turns, topics and patterns of interactive collaborative language (Friedland and Penn 2003:96). As Lesser and Perkins (1999:91) note, "[s]ocial interaction is seen as an operation achieved by its participants rather than something static arising from internalised rules, developed through socialisation".

In the therapeutic context, a key dimension is how to relate to the other's perspective. In order to deliver his or her professional view on the matter, the therapist must be able to create a rapport with the client in order to elicit the client's perspective and display understanding and sensitivity towards the client's concerns, while at the same time maintaining a professional distance from the client. A counselling session can therefore be characterised as "quasi-conversational" institutional interaction – no formal turn-taking takes place, but turn design and lexical choices are important (Arminen 2005:85). Of course, these expectations must change the moment an interpreter has to mediate between the two parties, since a non-formal turn-taking order is replaced by a rigid turn-taking order, with the interpreter taking every second turn at talk (Wallmach 2008). It has been shown that in ordinary interaction speakers instinctively know how to signal a turn, and that there are in fact few gaps between turns and very little overlapping speech (Jefferson 1992). However, in interpreted interaction with a trained interpreter, it is the interpreter and not the speaker(s) who manages the interaction, often signalling the end of a turn using a hand gesture (Wallmach 2008). An untrained interpreter may not be able to manage the turn length of the participants, which in turn could impact on his/her ability to remember long chunks of information contained in long turns.

Another important aspect of a therapeutic interview is the non-verbal interaction between participants. The requirement that both talk and physical action must be taken into account if we are to understand complex activity has come to be recognised by conversation analysts as well. For example, Schegloff (1987) speaks of "talk-in-interaction" and Moerman (1990, in Jordan and Henderson 1995:42) suggests that the distinction between verbal and non-verbal interaction is a total fallacy as "communication by means of pure language, without context, without body, without time, simply doesn't exist". For talk-driven interaction, the most relevant non-talk activities are gesturing and gazing, since both coordinate the talk (Jordan and Henderson 1995).

Thus, aspects such as positioning and eye gaze, role attribution and rapport between participants, turn length and turn control, and interpreting accuracy were key aspects of the analysis of the two role plays. I will begin by discussing positioning and eye gaze, since this is in fact the only aspect that was fully understood by the workshop participants, owing to the fact that they did not speak French. I will then discuss the commentary on the role plays by the workshop participants, followed by an exploration of role attribution and rapport between participants, turn length and turn control, and linguistic accuracy.

4.1 Positioning and eye gaze

In commenting on the differences between the refugee interpreter role play (Role Play 1 in Figure 1) and the trained interpreter role play (Role Play 2 in Figure 1), the first important difference noted was that of positioning and eye gaze, indicated in Figure 1 below. The pointed end of the ellipse indicates the most common direction of eye gaze in each role play.

Role Play 1: Refugee/ ad-hoc interpreter (I) next to client (C) and opposite professional (P)	***Role Play 2: Trained interpreter (I) between client (C) and professional (P)***
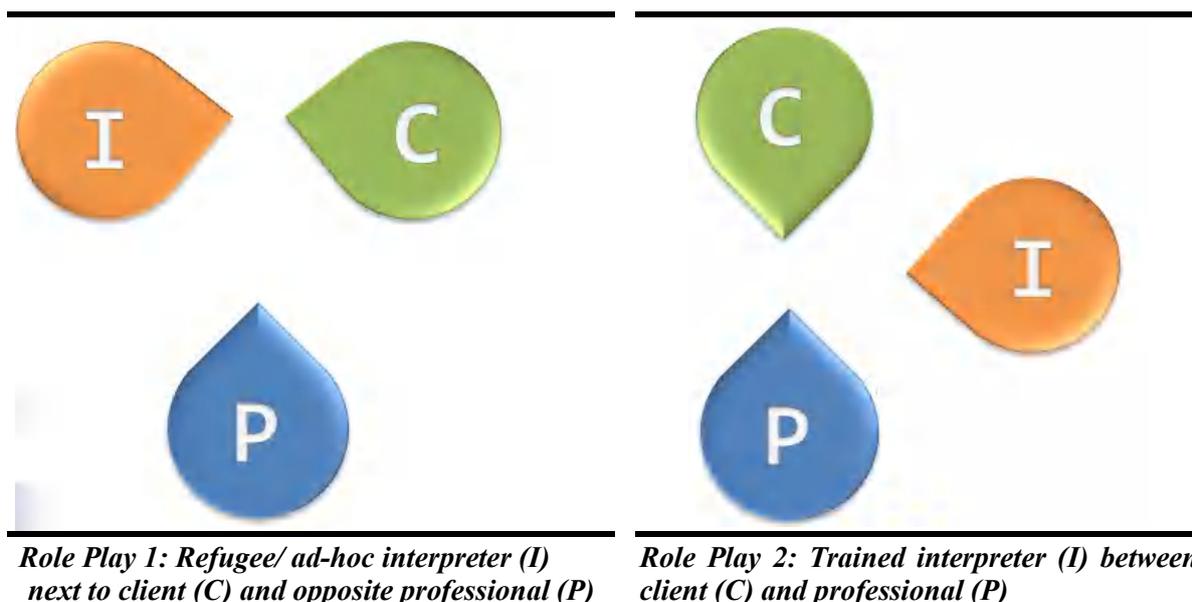
Figure 1. Differences in positioning and eye gaze

In Role Play 1, where the refugee interpreter and client were placed next to each other, facing the therapist/professional, the refugee interpreter's eye gaze was focused mainly on the client, thereby excluding the therapist to a large extent, whereas in Role Play 2, the trained interpreter positioned herself midway between the two parties, thus enabling the therapist and client to look directly at each other. Correct positioning is always difficult for the interpreter, and there is no single correct position. There are also pros and cons to every position. Haffner et al. (2003:4) point out that if the interpreter sits next to the client, the provider can see both the patient and interpreter, which means that the client is likely to speak directly to the provider. There is, however, the risk that an alliance may form between the client and the interpreter which might exclude the therapist:

> [T]his arrangement may encourage a reticent patient to be more forthcoming because the interpreter's presence at the patient's side may be felt as supportive. The downside to this position is that the provider may tend to look at the interpreter instead of the patient. The patient may view the interpreter as an ally and might try to confide in the interpreter or seek the interpreter's advice. Patients may be more inclined to make side comments to the interpreter. In addition, some patients just do not speak to the provider and will actually turn around to talk to the interpreter at their side. (Haffner et al. 2003:4)

The advantage of sitting in the middle, between the provider and the client, is that the client and provider are more likely to see the interpreter as an unbiased participant (Haffner et al. 2003:4). In the second role play, the trained interpreter took notes to aid memory, often looking down at them. This, coupled with her positioning between the other two participants, arguably contributed to the perception that she was a more neutral co-participant, enabling the client and therapist to focus on each other and not the interpreter, and promoting direct communication between them.

In the next section, I discuss the comments made by the workshop participants in more detail.

4.2 Commentary by workshop participants on role play demonstrations

The two role play demonstrations raised a number of issues in the minds of the workshop participants. A key question that arose was whether interpreters should efface themselves or act as "co-counsellors". The differing positioning and eye gaze in the two role plays provoked a great deal of discussion. The workshop participants discussed what effect this had on the communication process, including the question of whether the allegiance of the interpreter should be with the therapist or the client. They debated at length whether it was correct for interpreters to efface themselves, and some were of the view that the trained interpreter in the second role play was not engaging with the process. They felt that the refugee interpreter in the first role play had a greater rapport with the client than the trained interpreter did in the second role play. It should perhaps be pointed out here that the shared experience of the ad-hoc interpreter and refugee client, in terms of common language and common community, cannot in itself be considered to be therapeutic.

The participants, who were not in a position to analyse linguistic accuracy, also criticised the fact that the trained interpreter took notes during the role play, and felt that the different positioning plus the lessening of eye contact as the interpreter took her notes was "distancing", and meant that the interpreter was "not engaging, not able to co-counsel". They felt that her rendition was "too unemotional, did not reflect the emotions". Interestingly, the counsellor who participated in both role plays commented that she felt much more included in the process during the second role play with the trained interpreter. This was not surprising, since the fact that the trained interpreter effaced herself through positioning, eye gaze and note-taking meant that it was possible for a rapport to form between the refugee client and the therapist instead of between the client and the interpreter, as was the case in the first role play.

After watching the role play with the trained interpreter, the ad-hoc interpreter commented that she had not realised that the interpreter has to interpret everything and should not summarise ("It is important to interpret the thing that the client is saying."). She also commented on the trained interpreter's use of the first person. The other participants agreed that these aspects could be incorporated into an interpreted therapeutic interview.

All of the participants agreed that they had learned a number of things about the interpreting process as a result of the workshop, for example that "interpreting is complex, just speaking another language is not enough", that culture, emotion and power dynamics are important, and that a briefing beforehand might assist in managing the expectations of both parties. The participants agreed that they had been taking the interpreting process for granted, assuming that seamless communication was taking place without being aware of all the factors involved. They agreed that it was important to improve supervision and to include the interpreters in post-session briefings. Some mentioned that viewing the interpreters as co-counsellors might not be the only position to take, since an interpreter has a great deal to think about without trying to counsel as well.

In the next three sections, I discuss role allocation and attribution, turn length and turn control, and linguistic accuracy in more detail, after analysing the transcripts of the two role plays. My findings will then be correlated with the workshop commentary.

4.3 Role allocation and attribution: Alliance and 'alienation'

A second point of discussion during the workshop was the attribution of roles and the question of allegiance, and whether the trained interpreter was correct in her use of positioning and eye gaze (perceived as distancing by the participants), in contrast to the refugee ad-hoc interpreter, who they believed had a better rapport with the client. The opening sequence in the first role play with the ad-hoc interpreter proceeded as follows:

Time	Participant	Script
00:00:00 – 00:00:16	Professional	My name (gesture) is Susan[1] // I'm--I'm going to be your counsellor// and um // I just want to say um uh / this is our first meeting so / I wonder how um / what your needs are / and how we can help you / better um in counselling // (sits back)
00:00:17	Interpreter	Jambo. (Lit. *Hello*)
00:00:18	Client	Jam'sana. (Lit. *Good morning*)
00:00:19-00:00:32	Interpreter	(Counsellor sits back)[2] Lit. *My name is Camille // I am going to translate from Lingala // I am going to interpret for her (gesture)*

Figure 2. Opening/lead-in by ad-hoc interpreter in first role play

The counsellor introduces herself to the refugee client and then sits back to wait for the interpretation. The ad-hoc interpreter, who is positioned next to the refugee, as explained earlier, turns to look at him, thus excluding the counsellor from the interaction, and greets him in Swahili. The client returns the greeting, and then the interpreter introduces herself in Lingala, giving her name and saying that she will be interpreting for "her" (the counsellor). The use of the third person to refer to the counsellor as well as the fact that the interpreter does not interpret what the counsellor says, but instead introduces herself and gives her name, has an alienating effect for the counsellor, who would naturally feel excluded from the interaction, and sits back because she does not understand the proceedings. At the same time, the ad-hoc interpreter has managed to create an alliance between herself and the client.

In contrast, as can be observed in Figure 3 below, the trained interpreter briefs both parties in both languages, explaining that she will interpret everything that is said, she will remain neutral and maintain confidentiality, and also that she will use a hand gesture to stop the speaker if too much information is given and she is in danger of forgetting the details of what has been said. The briefing statement has a procedural function – in speaking to both parties in turn and interpreting everything that she herself says, the interpreter is in fact demonstrating to both parties how she means to proceed. The briefing statement has the effect of explicit non-alignment with either party as well as making the role delineation clear. The interpreter also uses the first person when speaking as the client or the professional, which removes the distancing effect of the third person usage by the ad-hoc interpreter. This particular briefing statement is perhaps slightly longer than the norm, but the entire exchange takes only about a minute. The briefing statement is a standard way for trained liaison interpreters to brief both parties and try to avoid certain problems from occurring. Tebble (1999:84) terms this the "contract" – the stage at which the interpreter can provide his/her briefing statement explaining

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[1] All names appearing in the transcripts have been anonymised to protect the identities of the participants in this study.

[2] The Lingala portion was not transcribed here.

his/her role. The interpreter may also choose to state his/her ethics of impartiality, and assure both parties of his/her intention to maintain accuracy and confidentiality (Tebble 1999:84).

Time	Participant	Script
00:00:00	Professional	Bertrand um / uh we've got a new interpreter today and your name is Gwen //
00:00:06	Interpreter	Edith
	Professional	Edith // Edith
00:00:09- 00:00:18	Interpreter	Euh … je--nous sommes très heureux--je suis très heureuse de--de vous voir aujourd'hui / Nous avons une nouvelle interprète / et notre interprète / c'est--c'est Edith (Lit. *Uh I--we are very happy--I am very happy to--to see you today / We have a new interpreter / and our interpreter / it--it is Edith*)
00:00:19- 00:00:20	Client	OK // Merci beaucoup (Lit. *OK // Thank you very much*)
00:00:21- 00:00:23	Interpreter	Thank you very much // (French)… before we start the session I would like to brief both of you
00:00:24	Professional	(Interjects) yeah
00:00:25- 00:00:37	Interpreter	Avant qu'on ne commence cette session / j'aimerais vous dire comment est-ce que l'interprétation va se p--va se passer / et je vais commencer par la dame et ensuite je vais vous dire ce que je viens de dire // donc je vais interpréter tout ce que vous aller dire / je ne vais … (interruption) (Lit. *Before we commence this session / I would like to tell you how the interpretation will--will take place / and I am going to start with the lady and then I will tell you what I have just said // so I am going to interpret everything you are going to say / I am not going to …*)
00:00:38- 00:01:00	Interpreter	(French) … I will interpret everything / everything that will be said / after listening I am not going to leave out any information and uh also I will make a sign with my hand if the information is too--too much so that you could just stop time for me to interpret what is said and uh / yes so
00:01:01- 00:01:17	Interpreter	Je vais donc interpréter tout ce qui sera dit / avec beaucoup de précision / Cependant si j'ai des problèmes si … euh … vous dites beaucoup de choses s'il y a trop d'informations je vais juste vous faire un signe de la main / pour que vous vous arrêtiez un moment que je lui dise ce que vous venez de dire et ensuite on va continuer / C'est bon ? (Lit. *I am therefore going to interpret everything that is said / with a lot of precision / however if I have problems if … uh … you say too many things if there is too much information I will just make a gesture with my hand to you / so that you can stop a*)

		moment and I can tell you what she has just said and then we will continue / Is that all right?)
00:01:18-00:01:19	**Client**	**OK/ Merci** (Lit. *OK / Thank you*)
00:01:20	**Interpreter**	**Thank you**

Figure 3. Opening/lead-in including briefing statement by trained interpreter (second role play)

4.4 Turn length and turn control

Giving an explicit brief in which using a hand gesture to stop the speaker is mentioned is a very useful technique, since it makes it possible for the interpreter to control the turn length. In this way, she can ensure that no turn is too long for her to remember and then render it accurately in the other language. A cursory look at the turn length of the four turns which were longer than 10 seconds in duration (in Figure 4) demonstrates that the ad-hoc interpreter's turn is substantially shorter than the original turn in each case.

Participant (client) turn timings	Duration of original ST turn (seconds)	Duration of interpreted turn (seconds)	% of original length
00:00:01- 00:00:56	55	32	32/55 = 58%
00:01:33 - 00:02:18	45	28	28/45 = 62%
00:03:06 - 00:03:56	50	15	15/50 = 30%
00:04:22 - 00:05:11	51	23	23/51 = 45%

Figure 4. Length of interpreted client turns as percentage of original turns (ad-hoc interpreter)

This would seem to indicate that the ad-hoc interpreter was unable to control the turn length of the participants, which resulted in a lack of accuracy as a result of memory overload. For an untrained interpreter, turns of 50 seconds or longer could be deemed too long. In contrast, the turns in the second role play were much shorter as the trained interpreter controlled the length of the turn with a hand gesture. The longest turn during the second role play was 22 seconds, which the trained interpreter rendered in 26 seconds. Of the three turns recorded that were longer than 10 seconds in duration, the interpreter either took slightly longer to render them than the original, or very slightly shorter (11 seconds as opposed to 13 seconds in the original) (see Figure 5).

Participant turn timings	Duration of original ST turn (seconds)	Duration of interpreted turn (seconds)	% of original length
00:01:20 - 00:01:32 (P)	12	14	14/12 = 116%
00:01:48 - 00:02:01 (C)	13	11	11/13 = 85%
00:02:14 - 00:02:36 (P)	22	26	26/23 = 113%

Figure 5. Length of interpreted turns as percentage of original turns (trained interpreter)

4.5 Linguistic accuracy

An examination of the transcript of the first role play revealed that the ad-hoc interpreter made a number of grammatical errors in both English and French. This, coupled with some trouble in finding the correct term when interpreting (for instance, her inability to find the English term for *deporté* (lit. 'deported')) and her problems in remembering all the details and controlling the speaker, meant that the flow of communication was rather disjointed in parts. The ad-hoc interpreter also made use of explicitation or labelling in her interpretation of two consecutive turns, in other words, making general phrases or questions made by either the client or the counsellor more precise or explicit. For instance, the counsellor asks:

> What um / I just want to get an idea of how that is making you feel today // what is going on for you at the moment //

The counsellor's question is general, aimed at eliciting more information, while obliquely referring to past trauma ("that"). However, the interpretation below by the ad-hoc interpreter makes specific mention of Lindela, a refugee camp, and a specific comparison between the refugee's current state of mind compared to his feelings when he was incarcerated at the refugee camp at Lindela, thus in effect changing the counsellor's line of questioning without the counsellor being aware of this. The ad-hoc interpreter also persists in the use of the third person (*c'est pourquoi elle demande* (lit 'that's why she is asking')), thus perpetuating the distancing effect between client and counsellor:

> Yeah / c'est pourquoi elle demande qu'est-ce que vous sentez maintenant là quand vous êtes assis là-bas par rapport à tout ce qui s'était--qui s'était passé là-bas là où vous étiez à **Lindela**?
> (Lit. *Yeah / that's why she is asking what you feel now there when you are sitting there compared to everything that happened over there where you were at **Lindela**?)*

The client then responds to the interpreter's more direct question, explaining his state of mind in a 50-second turn:

> Hum c'est quoi // euh / jusqu'à présent euh / euh quand j'essaie un peu de--de penser ou bien de se souvenir de ce qui s'était passé // euh / ça me crée vraiment une colère très approfondie euh / je peux même dire que c'est--je me sens un peu dépressé // euh / **je n'arrive quelquefois pas à dormir normalement** / euh / au milieu de la nuit quelquefois je / euh / ça fait une situation là où je--c'est comme si quelqu'un vient et

me--ou bien quelquefois je--je rêve que il y a quelqu'un--il y a les gens qui me--qui me suivent il y a les gens qui veulent me tuer et--et soudainement je vais me réveiller // et vouloir courir ou bien essayer un peu de demander de l'aide / euh // ça--ça m'affecte vraiment //

(Lit. *Hmm it's what // uh / up to the present uh / uh when I try a bit to think or even to remember what happened // uh / I experience a really deep anger uh / I can even say that I feel it's--I feel a bit depressed // uh / **sometimes I can't sleep normally** / uh / in the middle of the night sometimes I / uh / it creates a situation there where I--it's as if someone comes and--or even sometimes I--I dream that there is someone--there are people who are--who are following me there are people who want to kill me and--and suddenly I will wake up // and want to run or try a bit to ask for help / uh // it really affects me //*)

The interpreter's turn (below) is only 15 seconds long, and summarises the client's emotions as "every night I've got nightmares":

Ja about that I can say **every night I've got nightmares** because I can't sleep where every time when I sleep I dream like these people are following me so I feel very depressed and deep anger about what happened //

By failing to interpret the client's exact line of thought into English and labelling the experience as "nightmares", the ad-hoc interpreter has effectively excluded the counsellor from the client's thought-processes, and any insight into the client's state of mind that might have been gained from a more accurate rendition is lost.

A similar situation occurs a second time (in Figure 6) when the client explains that when he sees how the Home Affairs officials in South Africa treat refugees as if they are animals (*comme si nous sommes des animaux*), he remembers what happened before and states that he wants to go there and do something, a type of revenge (*une sorte de vengeance*). Again, the interpreter's turn is much shorter, taking less than half the time of the original turn. Apart from omitting a number of details from the first part of the client's turn regarding the process of renewing his visa, as well as the comment about being treated like animals, she labels his feelings of vengeance as "xenophobia times". The interpreter has had to summarise, and labels the entire experience as "xenophobia times", relying on expected formulaic themes rather than the client's actual words. This could be as a result of memory loss, since the turn is too long for an interpreter who is not trained to use notes. Again, the counsellor has no access to the client's actual words, and therefore misses the important reference to wanting to take revenge of some sort. This causes the narrative to become disjointed, and the meaning is no longer co-constructed between client and counsellor.

00:04:22-00:05:11 (51 sec)	Euh / je crois que cette colère vraiment m'affecte / euh / et profondément parce que souvent quand je pars euh / au ministère de l'Intérieur tu vois ici / euh / ils ont un système là où nous devons euh / nous devons / euh nous devons renouveler nos--le visa surtout nous qui sommes réfugiés // euh là aussi les--les--la manière dont on traite les gens c'est--c'est--c'est pas vraiment normal c'est--c'est comme si euh nous sommes les animaux // euh quand--quand je vais là-bas que je vois comment est-ce que les--les--les agents ou bien les officiers d'émigration traitent ça me fait mal ça me fait-- ça me fait / euh / se souvenir de ce que j'ai--j'ai--j'ai connu // euh je--je me sens toujours euh / agressif et je me sens toujours aller là-bas et faire quelque chose une sorte de--de vengeance //
	(Lit. *Uh / I think this anger is really affecting me / uh / and deeply because often when I leave uh / for the Ministry of the Interior (Home Affairs) you see here / uh / they have a system there where we must uh / we must / uh we must renew our--the visa especially we who are refugees // uh there too the--the--the manner in which they treat people it is--it is--it is not really normal it is--it is as if uh we are animals // uh when--when I go there and I see how the--the--the agents or emigration officers treat it makes me sick it makes me--it makes me / uh / remember what I--I--I knew // uh I--I always feel uh / aggressive and I always feel like going there and doing something a sort of--of vengeance //*)
00:05:13-00:05:36 (23 seconds)	Ja every time when I get to Home Affairs / about a renewed papers every time when they treat us like / they are pushing us / I always feel anger in me I feel like doing something // I always going there when I think and I see what they are doing at Home Affairs // making me to think to think back what I've been asking is a favour ... xenophobia times

Figure 6. Explicitation/labelling by ad-hoc interpreter

In contrast, in the second role play, the trained interpreter employed a number of strategies which assisted her in maintaining accuracy, notably the fact that she controlled the turn length of both parties and employed long consecutive note-taking techniques, both of which minimised memory overload. As a result, she was able to retain the counsellor's line of questioning, avoid labelling or summarising, and maintain the themes introduced accurately. Her level of linguistic skill in both languages is also relatively high, as can be seen from the exchange in Figure 7.

Time	Participant	Script
00:01:20	Professional	Thank you um Bertrand I wonder how you have been since I saw you the last time / when you began to tell me the story and I know I did not get the whole story but I'm wondering how you were feeling during the week
00:01:33-00:01:47	Interpreter	Euh // Bertrand j'aimerais savoir comment vous vous êtes port--comment vous vous portez et comment vous êtes--vous vous êtes porté depuis la dernière fois que nous nous sommes vus / C'est vrai que vous m'avez raconté votre histoire et je n'ai pas vraiment compris toute l'histoire mais j'aimerais bien savoir comment vous vous portez aujourd'hui
		(Lit. *Uh // Bertrand I would like to know how you were feel--how you were feeling and how you--how you felt since the last time we saw each other / It is true that you have told me your story and I didn't really understand the whole story but I would really like to know how you are feeling today*)
00:01:48-00:02:01	Client	Euh / je me porte un peu / euh / un peu bien / euh // différemment de ce que je me sentais la fois--la fois passée // euh parce que c'était vraiment une situation que je n'ai jamais partagée avec quelqu'un d'autre

		(Lit. *Uh / I am feeling a bit / uh /a bit good / uh // differently than that which I felt the--the last time // uh because it was really a situation that I have never shared with anyone else*)
00:02:02	Interpreter	Uh I'm fine today / and uh / since last time I've been feeling better because I've been talking to you and I talk to you about things that I never shared with anyone else before.
00:02:14	Professional	Okay, okay it's a big privilege for me to hear your story and I want you to know that // because there are no two people who have the same story / and um uh I am wondering how your anger is at the moment where / uh you say you feel better and it was good to tell me your story // So I am wondering what's happening to your feelings as well?
00:02:37- 00:03:03	Interpreter	Euh // I wou… / je voudrais que tu saches que ça a vraiment été un privilège pour moi de partager ton expérience et / euh / je ne connais personne qui ait vraiment vécu la--la--la même expérience que toi / Donc je voudrais savoir en ce qui concerne ton--ta--ta colère / comment est-ce que // euh / comment est-ce que tu te portes sur le plan de la colère? // Comment est-ce que tu te sens par rapport à cette colère? // C'est ce dont j'aimerais qu'on--que l'on parle aujourd'hui / et je pense que ce serait bien qu'on en parle // (Lit. *Uh // I wou- / I would like you to know that it was really a privilege for me to share your experience and / uh / I do not know anyone who has really lived the--the--the same experience as you // So I would like to know as regards your--you--your anger / how do you // uh / how do you feel as regards this anger? // How do you feel as regards this anger? // That is what I would like us to talk about today / and I think it would be good to talk about it //*)

Figure 7. Procedural and linguistic knowledge demonstrated by trained interpreter

In the next section I will attempt to draw together the workshop commentary with the conversation analyses of the role plays conducted after the workshop.

5.   Findings and recommendations

Firstly, it is important to mention that the concept of a professional development workshop as a way to raise awareness of how to work with interpreters does seem to have merit, and encourages reciprocal learning, reflection and discussion by both counsellors and interpreting trainers. Using role plays circumvents the ethical dilemmas involved in observing authentic therapeutic encounters and, while one might argue that role plays are simulated encounters and therefore are not "real" enough, the preceding analysis shows that the interactions contain sufficient interesting material for the discussion of differences in performance between an ad-hoc interpreter and a trained interpreter (the proviso being, of course, that two of the three participants in the role play, namely the client and the professional, are experienced participants in therapeutic interactions and are therefore able to lend authenticity to the interaction).

The professional development workshop described in this study provided a forum for counsellors and community workers to reflect on the role of the interpreter in the therapeutic context and to re-examine some assumptions. Many of the participants became aware, possibly

for the first time, that working through an interpreter alters the counsellor's relationship with the client, and that the interpreter has a great deal of influence on the dynamics of the therapeutic interaction. The counsellor in the role play was able to evaluate the difference between working with an ad-hoc refugee interpreter (who, it must be said, had a great deal of experience in this type of setting) and working with a trained interpreter, who had little therapeutic experience but a great deal of procedural knowledge of liaison interpreting. While the majority of the workshop participants felt that the trained interpreter was too self-effacing and unemotional, and criticised her use of note-taking by saying that it impacted on her ability to co-counsel, the counsellor who participated in both role plays commented that she felt much more included in the process during the second role play with the trained interpreter. This was not surprising, since the fact that the trained interpreter effaced herself through positioning, eye gaze and note-taking meant that it was possible for a rapport to form between the refugee client and the therapist, instead of between the client and the interpreter, as was the case in the first role play. The trained interpreter's conscious use of note-taking and positioning, plus the attempt to create the impression of impartiality, indicated to the researcher that she was attempting to conform to the general norms of the liaison interpreting profession as learned during training. The workshop participants, not being familiar with these norms, wished her instead to conform to the norms of therapy and act as co-therapist.

The subsequent analysis of the effect of procedural factors on the communication flow, such as the control of turn length, attribution of roles and briefing of participants, use of the first person, memory management and overload, provides a clear explanation for why the counsellor felt more included in the process when using a trained interpreter. In the second role play, the trained interpreter's knowledge of the procedural aspects, coupled with her linguistic prowess, led to a smoother communication flow. She was able to control the turn length and take notes to avoid memory overload, thus avoiding labelling or summarising, and enabled an accurate rendition of the counsellor's line of questioning. Her briefing of the participants was an important aspect of her management of her role as interpreter.

The perceptions of the workshop participants that the ad-hoc interpreter had a greater rapport with the client needed perhaps to be balanced by a greater awareness of the distancing effect of the interpreter's use of the third person on the relationship between the client and the counsellor, which emerged from the conversation analysis. In addition, the fact that the ad-hoc interpreter had not previously been aware of the necessity to interpret everything that was said was borne out in the analysis, where her inability to control the length of the turns, coupled with a tendency to label or summarise, impacted seriously on the accuracy of her rendition. The workshop participants, not being conversant in both languages, were unable to appreciate this.

The lack of verbatim accuracy of the exchanges interpreted by the ad-hoc interpreter might also lead one to ask whether it is possible that the ad-hoc interpreter, herself a refugee, was in fact re-living her own experiences instead of transferring her client's words verbatim into English. Although the interchange between client and ad-hoc interpreter was a role play only, this is a possibility that deserves consideration. As explained earlier, the problem of providing therapy to political refugees is compounded if the interpreter is also a refugee, since there is an added risk that refugee interpreters might tell their own story rather than faithfully re-telling the client's narrative (Miller et al. 2001). This particular analysis would seem to indicate, however, that it was the interpreter's lack of knowledge of interpreting procedures and requirements, and

the concomitant issues with memory, role management and terminology, that led to lack of accuracy, rather than her transference of the client's story into her own experience.

It seems clear, then, that knowledge of the refugee setting on its own is not sufficient to facilitate smooth communication between a counsellor and his/her client. An interpreter working in this type of setting should possess sufficient linguistic competence to perform the task accurately, as well as sufficient procedural knowledge to brief the participants, control turn length and avoid memory overload. Where it is impossible to employ trained liaison interpreters, ad-hoc interpreters need to receive additional training in how to manage the procedural factors involved in liaison interpreting contexts as well as receiving insight into the special demands of therapeutic contexts, trauma and stress.

In addition, attention needs to be paid to the nature of the counsellor-interpreter relationship in order to improve the quality of the therapeutic interview. Ideally, just as the interpreter needs to be qualified to work in a clinical setting, so the therapist needs to be qualified to work with an interpreter. Developing an effective working relationship which allows both participants to fulfil their roles without role confusion is vital for effective therapy. While the interpreter should be viewed as a colleague and not simply as a channel, it is also important that the interpreter be allowed to focus on performing as a professional interpreter during consultations, and not attempt to act as a co-therapist. Holding pre- and post-consultation briefing sessions would enable the therapist and the interpreter to consult around therapeutic goals, and allow the therapist to draw on the interpreter's linguistic and cultural observations to supplement his or her own clinical judgement.

It would have been beneficial for all parties concerned had a follow-up workshop taken place, where the results of the conversation analysis could have been communicated to the participants. It would then have been possible for the participants to explore their initial perceptions of the ad-hoc interpreter's performance, and to determine whether the lack of accuracy demonstrated subsequently in the analysis would change that perception. In their examination and CA-based analysis of an interpreted speech therapy setting using an untrained interpreter, Friedland and Penn (2003) state the following:

> Note that a static checklist of qualities to be aspired to by an interpreter e.g. fidelity (Gile 1995) would not necessarily work in a context such as this one, because there are times when the flow of the interview required the mediator not to translate word for word. Training of interpreters should be context appropriate rather than standard. There are instances (e.g. United Nations) where an absolute verbatim translation is essential. There are other contexts where in the interests of factors such as time, trust, agendas, such a goal is unnecessary and indeed an inhibitor.

Their comment is relatively typical of professionals who are not trained interpreters, and indicates a lack of awareness of a number of factors, most notably the fact that conference interpreting and liaison interpreting are different types of interpreting, and that training of interpreters is in fact context-specific and not standard. Evaluations of quality in modern interpreting schools do tend to be context-specific. For instance, conference interpreters (who may later work at the United Nations, Pan-African Parliament, etc.) are assessed on their ability to transfer a complex, fast-paced conference speech into the other language in the simultaneous mode of interpreting, whereas liaison interpreters (who may later work in healthcare,

therapeutic or legal settings) are evaluated on their ability to manage the interpreter's role and the participants' expectations as well as their mastery of procedural factors such as turn control and note-taking in the short and long consecutive modes. Trainers do not advocate word-for-word interpretation in either setting – languages are not isomorphic, and it is the transfer of meaning that is key for every interpreter, not the transfer of individual words. Overall faithfulness to the message is, however, non-negotiable within the constraints of each setting, and interpreters must take into account the purpose of the communication and the sender's intentions. Pöchhacker (2002:96-97) states the following on the subject of quality in interpreting:

> There is considerable agreement in the literature on a number of criteria which come into play when assessing the quality of interpreting. While the terminology may vary from one author or text to the other, concepts such as accuracy, clarity or fidelity are invariably deemed essential. […] [T]he interpreter is essentially expected to "represent fully" the original speaker in his/her interests and intentions (Cf. Gile 1991:198) […] Quality essentially means "successful communication" among the interacting parties in a particular context of interaction.

6.   Conclusion

To conclude, it would seem that it was the ad-hoc refugee interpreter's lack of knowledge regarding the procedural aspects of the interpreting process that had the greatest negative impact on the communication, rather than her refugee status and possible transference or re-telling of her own story, as has previously been indicated in the literature. It is recommended that professionals using interpreters improve their knowledge of the impact of the interpreting process on therapeutic situations. Equally, interpreters employed in therapeutic contexts should be trained to participate as active co-participants so that they may control turn duration and extend their memories, which will then enable them to interpret accurately in the long consecutive mode with the aid of notes, as well as to deal with role attribution and positioning. Only then will the pragmatic power of interpreters be properly harnessed, and not hampered by lack of technique.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

/	Micropause
//	Pause with falling intonation
Uh/euh	Hesitation