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Developing Evaluation Skills with Legal Translation Trainees

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Abstract. Axiomatically, translation is twofold: an activity/process (more accurately designated by the term *translating*) and a product (the term *translation* can be restricted to the product). It seems that the product dimension has gained increased importance, being the most visible part of translation as market-driven, design-oriented, precise and measurable – complying with specifications. Translation engenders a sequence: identification of text type and of end users' needs (experts or non-experts in the field), evaluation of the complexity of the source text via global reading, followed by a close reading of its parts, the translating of the document, the translator's checking of final version, editing and proofreading. The translator's choices are accountable in point of cost-effectiveness (efficiency) and effectiveness. Therefore, the legal translator should master the methodological toolkit, conceptual frame and related terminology, and adopt an inward-looking perspective (intuition, subjectivity, ingrained habits, insights deriving from his/her expertise and experience) alongside an outward-looking one (working against objective criteria, standards of quality, benchmarks, etc).

Keywords: legal translation, evaluation skills, cost-effectiveness

1. The rhetoric of translation evaluation

The overall purpose of translation evaluation, in general, and of developing evaluation skills with legal translation trainees, in particular, is that to further raise awareness of the rule-governed nature of the translation process (the text as a self-contained entity, structured internally, alongside controlling socio-cultural variables) and identify regularities of behaviour so as to benchmark without being premised by simplifying assumptions that may hinder rewarding outcomes.

In an attempt to map translation evaluation to Optimality theory, we may state that translation as a rule-governed process and a product of linguistic and socio-cultural behaviour is cost-effective or optimal with respect to the degree of

compliance with a set of criteria specified for a certain task. To put it crudely, there is need to decode (in the source language) and encode (in the target language) a given message completely and coherently.

Reading and (re)writing in the language industry, i.e. for translational purposes, is based on "an attitude of knowledge-based receptivity" (Stolze in Hansen, G., Malmkjær, K., Gile, D. 2004: 41) allowing the translator an expert holistic positioning of the text in the host culture (be it symmetrical or not to the one in the home culture), discourse field, and conceptual frame.

Undoubtedly, translation evaluation is ideologically and axiologically loaded – in this respect, we favour a multidisciplinary pattern underpinning linguistics, pragmatics, intercultural communication, cognitive sciences,[1] and the ethics of translation and of translation evaluation, in particular.

2. Ongoing dichotomies and beyond

Translation is both enactment/process (customarily designated by the term *translating*) and a product (the term *translation* as restricted to the product). It seems that the product dimension has gained increased importance, being the most visible part of translation as design-oriented, precise, and measurable – complying with specifications.

Basically, translation is performed by taking into account the readership's/ client's expectations (*skopos*) and the text type (observance of stylistical conventions); in fact, we should be aware of a nexus of relationships, of interconnnectedness, and postulate the dialectical nature of the relationship that the translators built and maintain with the market. Translation is stepwise, engendering a sequence:

– identification of text type and of end users' needs (experts or non-experts in the field),

– evaluation of the complexity of the material to be translated by a global reading,

– followed by a close reading of its parts,

– the translating of the document,

– the translator's checking of the final version – "the editorial process through the looking-glass" in Gile and Hansen's words (Gile and Hansen 2004: 297), and

– proofreading.

1 "As a result of constant selection pressure towards increasing efficiency, the human cognitive system has developed in such a way that our perceptual mechanisms tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli, our memory retrieval mechanisms tend automatically to activate potentially relevant assumptions, and our inferential mechanisms tend spontaneously to process them in the most productive way" (Wilson and Sperber 2002a: 254).

The text type and the clients' needs weigh heavily in the choice of the translation strategy, namely reader-oriented/communicative or author-centred/semantic translation (Newmark 1988), and the translator's agency, even if the degree of visibility is not easily detectable, should not be undermined:

> Human action is intentional, but determinate, self-reflexively measured against social rules and resources, the heterogeneity of which allows for the possibility of change with every self-reflexive action (Venuti 1996: 206).

The professional translator is not solely a practitioner adopting an empirical approach. S/he has also acquired theoretical knowledge of the framework of translation, i.e. there is an expected degree of routinization, awareness of recurrent problems and of a set of recontextualizable etic models (which we would like to call *reusables*). We assimilate this to situation monitoring in opposition with situation management when the translator deals with highly specific problems with reference to a particular text, and s/he needs to evaluate them as different from the ones pertaining to the global framework, and for which s/he should be able to provide emic solutions.[2] More often than not, the solutions to these particular problems may derive by using recontextualization strategies, accountable in point of cost-effectiveness (efficiency) and effectiveness. To our mind, such interdependencies were clearly identified within the Polysystem theory[3] (originally concerned with literary translation), but they equally apply to specialized translation.

The legal translator should master the conceptual frame, the methodological toolkit, and related terminology. During training sessions, trainees come to understand that it is essential for the translator to allot time to editing and to proofreading (by another set of fresh eyes) and revising the translation, focusing on doubtful points.

The inward-looking perspective of the translator is to be accompanied by the outward-looking one (objective criteria), thus securing referential accuracy, naturalness of the target-language text, internal and external coherence (consistent use of terminology throughout all the translated documents), efficient use of the available resources, ability to benchmark and appreciate best practices, and, last but not least, a reflective approach to the ongoing work/project and the completed one.

Furthermore, there is need to mention that the trainees have become familiarized with the new European standard EN 15038 regulating the requirements for translation services (effective since August 2006).

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2 The etic perspective is concerned with generalizations or universal laws, whereas the emic approach is related to (highly) specific features.

3 „… it suffices to recognize that it is the *interdependencies* between these factors which allow them to function in the first place. Thus, a CONSUMER may "consume" a PRODUCT produced by a PRODUCER, but in order for the "product" (such as "text") to be generated, a common REPERTOIRE must exist, whose usability is determined by some INSTITUTION. A MARKET must exist where such a good can be transmitted. None of the factors enumerated can be described to function in isolation, and the kind of relations

Hence, strict polarized dichotomies should be abandoned, crediting translation as an instance of communication embedded within a given situation and within a broader socio-cultural context. Furthermore, translation evaluators should achieve consilience or unity of knowledge (the term is transplanted from biology – Wilson 1998) in order to balance subjective views and objective requirements and to decide on the quality label they attach to the deliverable/delivered product.

3. Methodological scenario

The proposed methodological toolkit follows Dieng-Kuntz's (qtd by Schwartz 2006: 101 ff.) method of construction of a corporate semantic Web, accommodating it to legal translation evaluation requirements.

In what follows, we shall exemplify by a workshop (translation project simulation) with trainees belonging to the Master's programme *English and French Languages. European Legal Translation and Terminology*, University of Craiova, 1st-year students, sample population: 24 members.

The main objective of the workshop was to familiarize students with the workflow of a translation project beyond theoretical grounding, i.e. from a hands-on perspective.

From the viewpoint of workshop management, we divided the students into groups of 6, assigning them different roles: the translator[4] (undertaking self-revision), the terminologist (in charge with terminology search and management), the proofreader (mostly concerned with the linguistic level), the monolingual expert in the field (involved in the unilingual reading of the target text) (all of them acting as knowledge holders), the end user and the annotator, i.e. the mediator in charge with building the documentation centre to be made available to all the members of the group and of the other groups.

The workshop was held in the multimedia laboratory, ensuring all the related logistics (monolingual and bilingual legal dictionaries – paperback copies, included).

Stage 1: Inventory of fixtures: we include here source- and target-language texts, and available technology. More specifically, we selected the source text:

Multiple framework service contract (retrievable from http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/newsroom/cf/_getdocument.cfm?doc_id=4225) and the target text: *Model-contract cadru multiplu prestari servicii* as the official translation (retrievable from http://cor.europa.eu/en/about/tenders/calls/Documents/ContractModelECDR-DE-56-2013/RO.pdf).

that may be detected run across all possible axes of the scheme" (Even-Zohar 1990: 34).

4 Although the translated text to be evaluated is the official version provided by EC, we still assigned this role so as to raise awareness of the translator's profile and accountability.

Stage 2: Choice of application scenario:

– user-aimed and application-aimed – profiling intended users: experts in the field, dealing with such contracts on a regular basis, and learning or working environments: trainees, professional translators, trainers, other stakeholders;

– information sources – translator's expertise, available dictionaries, glossaries, memory systems, or other databases. Prior to the organization of the workshop, students had been already familiarized with the translation, terminology, and drafting resources provided by The Directorate-General for Translation (DGT), European Commission, namely:

– *How to write clearly:* with a view to achieving a natural, „simple, uncluttered style," avoiding translation pitfalls such as „false friends, jargon, and abbreviations" (please visit: http://ec.europa.eu/ipg/basics/management/day_to_day/dgt/index_en.htm);

– the in-house *English style guide*: concerned not only with stylistic and functional aspects but also with developing basic knowledge of the EU structure, legislation (primary and secondary), institutions, official publications, etc. (please, visit: http://ec.europa.eu/translation/english/guidelines/documents/styleguide_english_dgt_en.pdf);

– the *Interinstitutional style guide:* mainly establishing a frame of reference for drafting documents in the other languages of the European portfolio (please, visit: http://publications.europa.eu/code/en/en-000300.htm);

– *IATE – The EU's multilingual term base:* containing more than 8 million terms in all official EU languages and covering a broad variety of domains, which we consider extremely useful in the painstaking endeavour to standardize European legal terminology, providing equivalents rather than correspondents as overtly shown in its policy statement „Find a foreign-language equivalent of a term in the institutions' official term database" (please, visit: http://iate.europa.eu).

– *Translation and drafting resources:* providing, *inter alia*, a glossary of Romanian legal terms (please visit http://www.csm1909.ro/csm/linkuri/08_08_2008__16613_ro.pdf); a body of Romanian laws (so that the translators may get accustomed to the specificities of the legal discourse in Romanian; please, visit: http://www.lege-online.ro/portal-legislatie, http://www.lege-online.ro/portal-legislatie, http://www.legex.ro/); free access to PROZ – the translators' forum (please, visit: http://www.proz.com/search), etc.; EUR-Lex – providing direct access to the European Union law in all the official languages as well as extensive search facilities, acting as a reference centre or benchmark (please, visit: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/).

– contents and grain of the ontology – categories to deal with and related properties: legal language – service contract, translation evaluation.

Stage 3: Construction of the ontologies: deciding on the conceptual vocabulary of the communities of practice (concepts and related definitions, conceptual networks, partonomy of concepts, i.e. hierarchical structures, cumulatively representing shared knowledge or common ground). This conceptual modelling derives

– from human sources – participants and their status roles; in our case, the trainees learnt how to share knowledge and accept criticism;

– from textual corpus – the workshop laid the foundation bricks of a corpus-based model of legal translation evaluation;

– from structured databases.

Our focus was twofold: on the one hand, the students had to become familiar with the key vocabulary and textual patterning associated with *Multiple framework service contract/ Model-contract cadru multiplu prestari* servicii. In this respect, we envisaged the isomorphism of the English and Romanian texts in point of richly modified noun phrases, of Present Simple Tense, Passive Voice, impersonal constructions, use of acronyms, vagueness: *reasonably/rezonabil, all the necessary steps – toate măsurile necesare;* nevertheless, there are instances of anisomorphism, such as the (over)use of the modal verb *shall* in English, which was rendered in most of the instances by the verbal phrase *are obligația să* (indicating obligation). On the other hand, we paid close attention to the metalanguage of translation quality assurance and quality control. More specifically, we aimed at developing the trainees' ability to report (identify, categorize, and correct) errors according to their seriousness and frequency;[5] to document errors from a long-term/lifelong learning perspective (reference was constantly made to the quality standard EN 15038, effective since August 2006); to assimilate specific job profiles (see division of labour in the group work); to assimilate and use legal translation evaluation criteria (level of naturalness/language authenticity; internal and external coherence/consistent use of terminology; compliance with translation ideology, i.e. the translator's divided loyalties to the source text and target text or tailoring the translation to accommodate to the readership's expectations/client's specifications; correct usage and referential accuracy).

Stage 4: Validation of the ontologies:

– consistency checking from system viewpoint – examination of thematic files (collections of legal documents on specific fields of EU activity);

– knowledge audit and validation by experts – definitely, the reference texts are official versions approved by EU management authorities; besides, the

5 For the sake of quantification, the degree of seriousness of an error is jointly determined by the extent to which it impedes carrying the message across and by the amount of (cognitive) effort required for remedial work. Hence, they fall into major and minor errors. We also classify errors according to language areas: grammatical errors, lexical errors, and pragmatic errors (register-related, field-related, etc.).

trainer's expertise counts as knowledge audit alongside other knowledge holders' evaluation of the product;

– evaluation by end-users – the follow-up of the workshop involved case studies presented by mainstream literature or arising during trainees' internships.

Stage 5: Constitution, organization and validation of resources – accepting granularity (entire documents or relevant parts of the documents):

– new resources created: the added value is related to the drawing up of a final legal translation evaluation report and the creation and organization of a legal translation evaluation database;

– legacy resources adapted (transformed, re-organized, transferrable) – general translation evaluation criteria are adapted to legal translation evaluation.

Stage 6: Annotation of Resources – this indexing is aimed to secure compatibility with the work environment:

– manual annotation;

– automatic annotation;

– semi-automatic annotation.

Starting with Stage 7, the cycle curves upon itself via the repetition of stages 1–6. We mention that, in our case, stages 7-8 represent future collective projects.

Stage 7: Validation of the annotations and of the newly created databases

– consistency checking from system viewpoint;

– knowledge audit and validation by experts;

– evaluation by end-users.

Stage 8: Maintenance and dynamic evolution of the newly created databases so as to allow end-users to retrieve, disseminate, and exploit resources cascading in a proactive way, and enabling co-operation:

– ontologies;

– resources;

– annotations.

Conclusions

In a pedagogical approach that builds legal translation evaluation competence, incrementally with the trainees' active participation and constructivist stance, emphasis should be placed on maximizing their autonomy, providing them with a viable methodological toolkit, clearly identified (achievable) goals, and a choice of paths to follow. Admittedly, the above mentioned methodological scenario is collaborative and learner-centred, valuing the trainees' contribution and capitalizing both trainer's and trainees' knowledge.

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Potential Ambiguity Translation Performances within Legal Language Institutional Nomenclature

Ambiguous Valences of *Performance* in Contract Language

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Abstract. Motivated by a paradoxical corollary of ambiguities in legal documents and especially in contract texts, the current paper underpins a dichotomy approach to unintended ambiguities aiming to establish a referential framework for the occurrence rate of translation ambiguities within the legal language nomenclature. The research focus is on a twofold situation since ambiguities may, on the one hand, arise during the translation process, generated by the translator's lack of competence, i.e. inadequate use of English regarding the special nature of legal language, or, on the other hand, they may be simply transferred from the source language into the target language without even noticing the potential ambiguous situation, i.e. culture-bound ambiguities. Hence, the paper proposes a contrastive analysis in order to localize the occurrence of lexical, structural, and socio-cultural ambiguities triggered by the use of the term *performance* and its Romanian equivalents in a number of sales contracts.

Keywords: unintended ambiguities, legal translation

Introduction

The paper addresses some specific problems in the attempt to localize the nature of ambiguities as an unintended outcome of legal translation. Without claiming comprehensiveness, our scientific motivation regards the paradoxical emergence of ambiguities in legal documents and, more specifically, in contracts, for in such texts we have to distinguish first and foremost between intended and unintended ambiguities. Such a distinction is mainly necessary forasmuch as various scholars claim that legal language and contract language are both extremely precise and vague (Vîlceanu 2004). In this respect, Crystal and Davy (Crystal and

Davy 1979: 210) state that "exactness of meaning is a tricky thing to calculate". Similarly, Cao (Cao 2007: 23) endorses that "the English legal language is full of imprecise and ambiguous expressions which are not necessarily intended". This approach to unintended ambiguities also represents the focal aim of the present research paper as we shall dwell on the identification of unintended ambiguities in contract texts. In the following sections, we shall propose an analysis of unintended ambiguities employed at the linguistic and cultural level alike.

1. Ambiguities – definitions and meaning

Conventional definitions of the term and the concept of *ambiguity* are provided by various standard dictionaries, which conceptualize ambiguity as something difficult to understand. In this climate of opinion, *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics and Teaching* defines the noun *ambiguity* and its derivative adjective *ambiguous* as "a word, phrase, or sentence which has more than one meaning" (Richards and Schmidt 2002: 24). From a similar perspective, *A Dictionary of Law* terms ambiguity as "uncertainty in meaning" (Martin 2003: 24). This definition matches our previously established distinction between intended and unintended ambiguities, hence, legal ambiguity targets two technical deliverables, namely a patent ambiguity – obvious to anyone looking at the document, for example, when a blank space is left for a name, and a latent ambiguity, which at first appears to be an unambiguous statement, but the ambiguity becomes apparent in the light of knowledge gained other than from the document.

Following the same pattern, the term *ambiguous*, functioning as an adjective, is said to refer to a notion which reveals more than one meaning, so that it is not clear which is instead (Summers et al. 2005: 39).

However, although our approach to ambiguities is derived from mainstream literature, we shall further use the phrase *unintended ambiguities* instead of *latent* or *patent ambiguities*, on the grounds that our investigation aims at identifying and describing ambiguity dimensions rather than legal ambiguous interpretations (Vîlceanu 2008).

2. Localization of translation ambiguities within legal language institutional nomenclature

Two prevailing translation-oriented co-ordinates converge toward a referential framework for the occurrence of unintended ambiguities, which, albeit their multifaceted perspectives, may be regarded as two overlapping dimensions.

2.1. Linguistic approach to translation ambiguities

A plethora of linguistic perspectives postulated by leading scholars led to various interrelated taxonomies, as linguistic unintended ambiguities have been systematically described in terms of lexical, grammatical, semantic, or pragmatic features.

Under the circumstances, Lyons postulates that ambiguity may occur when using partial homonyms, as at this level ambiguity "depends upon a difference in the lexical meaning of two partial homonyms," though absolute homonyms may also produce ambiguity (Lyons 1995: 55). Admittedly, the author reinforces that *lexical ambiguity* is in close relation to *grammatical ambiguity*, and analysing *homonyms* or *polysemes* in terms of grammatical equivalence or non-equivalence we could avoid ambiguity. Strictly referring to ambiguities as expression forms, Cruse makes the distinction between the *lexical* and *grammatical* ambiguity of a structure (Cruse 2006: 17) and, similarly, Bussmann differentiates between lexical, semantic, and syntactic ambiguities (Busmmann 2006: 50). Nonetheless, in order to avoid ambiguities, Bussmann highlights the importance of syntactic relations, which the author labels "polysyntacticity" and "constructional homonymy," while lexical ambiguities are discussed in terms of semantic polysemy or homonymy.

In respect to the occurrence of lexical and grammatical ambiguities, various taxonomies have been corroborated, starting from Ullmann (Ulmann 1977 qtd by Tambunan 2009), who proposes a classification model comprising three types of ambiguities: phonetic, grammatical, and lexical ones. Leech endorses lexical and structural ambiguities, and validates lexical ambiguities as closely related to the semantic meanings of words, while structural ambiguities derive from grammatical and syntactical forms (Leech 1980: 7–16).

Consequently, our endeavour to spot legal ambiguities linguistically will imply two distinct interpretations revealed either by word forms and phrases particularities or by more complex structures, which, according to Yule, "are represented differently in deep structure" (Yule 2006: 88).

Defined by Trosborg as an instance of Language for Special Purposes (LSP), which further frames a series of highly specialized sub-languages, legal language is regarded by Tiersma as an "archaic, formal, impersonal, and wordy or redundant" language, which can be relatively precise or quite general or vague, depending on the strategic objectives of the drafter" (Trosborg 1997: 17). While a lawyer or a legal practitioner is mainly concerned with the understanding of law, a linguist and, similarly, a translator are concerned with how to give meaning of law in communication (Tiersma 2008: 7).

Undeniably, linguistic unintended ambiguities do occur in legal language and subsequently in contract language if we put trust in Cao, who postulates

the existence of "lexical and structural or syntactic ambiguities" within legal documents. Hence, unintended linguistic ambiguities may occur due to lexical variations between the source and target language, the author suggesting that "a basic linguistic difficulty in legal translation is the absence of legal equivalent terminology across different languages" and certain terms may generate faulty comprehension, being further ambiguously reproduced in the target language.

The typical nature of legal language should be taken into consideration as an instance of LSP, a highly specialized language; Cao argues that it is the specific, highly specialized style of each legal system that would further involve unintended ambiguities, the author claiming that this aspect is more evident in contracts between foreign business partners (Cao, 2007).

Convincingly, Tiersma advocates that legal language displays a "tremendous amount of technical terms" (Tiersma 2008: 15), which, going back to Crystal and Davy's seminal statement, are "those words which appear to have a very precise reference" (Crystal and Davy 1979: 210). However, ambiguity may occur in using or translating potential deliberate vague words such as *rule*, *regulation*, *norms*, *terms*, etc.

What may appear more ambiguous than the use of archaisms or technical terms are common words used with uncommon meaning. The occurrence of ambiguities by using such words within legal documents is advanced by Tiersma, who states that "there are many words that have both an ordinary as well as a legal meaning," defined as "legal homonyms" (Tiersma 2008: 16). Likewise, enlarging upon common words with specialized meanings, we mention Cao's point of view, which indicates that apart from the unequivocal legal words, there are many other words in legal documents that have both an ordinary meaning and a technical one, rendered by the author as "ordinary versus legal meanings" (Cao 2007: 53).

Translation ambiguities may be encountered at the structural level as well. Either at the phrase or sentence level, ambiguities may occur by applying calques: *effective costs – costuri effective*; functional equivalents *occupational health and safety – securitate şi sănătate în muncă*, *natural or legal person – persoană fizică sau juridică* or shifts *to avoid any misunderstandings – pentru evitarea oricăror neînțelegeri*.

Considering all these markers that define the field of contract language, we can further assume that such an environment becomes even more productive for the occurrence of ambiguous situations (Oțăt 2011: 204–209).

2.2. Socio-cultural approach to translation ambiguities

It is held that language is an expression of culture and distinctiveness of its speakers, highly influencing the way its members perceive the world. Subsequently, socio-linguistic ambiguities emerge whenever cross-cultural language barriers distort meaning in translation.

From the perspective of the translation process, such ambiguities are fairly recurrent, especially when dealing with culture-bound items. That is why, in order to localize and, moreover, to avoid ambiguities when translating legal documents, we should try to compare the cultures of two societies, as Nord considers that translation is a phenomenon pertaining to each culture (Nord 1993: 34). Correspondingly, the avoidance of ambiguities may succeed based on an increased awareness of the socio-cultural context, which Hatim and Mason regard as a more important variable than text genre (Hatim and Mason 1990). In order to avoid ambiguities, we should regard text interpretation within the larger social context, adopting a translation-oriented strategy which would also assist us locate and avoid ambiguities, especially when translating culture-bound items. Next, we strengthen our approach to ambiguities by the perspective postulated by Nida, who highlights the importance of biculturalism in successful translation as even more important than bilingualism since words only have meanings in terms of the cultures in which they function (Nida 2001: 82).

However, we should not overlook the existence of cultural gaps between the source language and the target language, the utmost notorious dispute in approaching all of the culture-specific concepts which occur in the source language but are totally unknown in the target language. Under the circumstances, ambiguity recognition and avoidance becomes a hard nut to crack.

Based on the wide range of strategies and procedures envisaged for translation, we keep considering the translating activity within a social context. Aiming at localizing socio-cultural bound ambiguities as a product of legal translation, it is worth considering a twofold approach postulated by various researchers. On the one hand, ambiguities may simply occur on account of the special nature of legal language, as it implies highly technical linguistic constrains, compelling the translator to a lifelong learning and professional development. On the other hand, we should be aware of the various differences between legal systems. Thus, besides its highly technical facet, we should be aware that legal language is not universal for all speech/cultural communities, but, as Cao pointed out, "it is tied to a national legal system"; it is a social practice, and thus legal texts necessarily bear the imprint of such practice or organizational background (Cao 2007: 28).

Still, it is not only the peculiar characteristics of each legal system which may lead to ambiguities, but the cultural differences as well. We could say that it is due to cultural differences that specific legal systems have been developed among different societies, concurring with Cao in that as "language and culture or social contexts are closely integrated and interdependent". Subsequently, in order to localize and avoid ambiguity, translators have to make hard decisions, sometimes within the constraints of language, which highly affects and influences the performance of a translator (Oțăt 2011: 204–209).

3. Ambiguous valences of *performance*: a corpus-based analysis

In what follows, we shall propose a corpus-based analysis in an attempt to establish at what levels unintended ambiguities occur during the translation process, i.e. during the translation of English contracts into Romanian.

Based on the previously illustrated dichotomous approaches to the occurrence of ambiguities either due to ambiguous instances caused by translators themselves during the translation process – mainly linguistic ambiguities – or the transfer of those ambiguous instances from the source language without any further attempt at clarification, i.e. cultural-bound ambiguities, we further intend to carry out a contrastive analysis in order to localize the occurrence of lexical, structural, and socio-cultural ambiguities caused by the use of the term *performance* and its Romanian equivalents in a number of sales contracts, namely 6 English–Romanian bilingual contracts.

Acknowledging that most of the analysed contracts contain confidentiality clauses, we shall avoid disclosing such classified information as *contract data*, *addresses, prices,* or *sums*. Additionally, due to scope and limitations, we shall refer to the analysed texts by using numerical organization according to their proper-name abbreviations accompanied by their drafting or registration date. At the end of the paper, a numerically organized list will be attached, revealing both the abbreviated forms and their corresponding complete titles.

3.1. Lexical and structural approach

In terms of legal language lexical approach, the term *performance – efectuare*, *funcționare*, *performanță* is rendered as common word with a technical meaning, referring specifically to the accomplishment of conditions required by a contract.

Regarding the use of this term, it is worth taking into consideration that in Romanian the noun *performance* does not have a single, precise equivalent, as various definitions have been assigned to this term. In LSP contexts, namely in the *Dicționar economic englez-român*, *performance* is defined as *I. îndeplinire, efectuare, săvârşire; faptă II. funcționare III. performanță* (Năstăsescu 2009: 265). Such examples have also been encountered within our analysis, where noun phrases like *the complete and secure performance – finalizarea integrală şi în siguranță* have been properly used and translated in the analysed texts.

However, in example (1), we can speak of an ambiguous meaning of the English noun phrase *complete and secure performance* and the Romanian equivalent *finalizarea integrală şi în siguranță*, as the term *performance – finalizarea integrală* might have in this excerpt a second interpretation, i.e. "the act of doing a piece of work" (Summers et al. 2005: 1050), which would mean *efectuare*. Even

though the counterpart of the term *performance*, namely *finalizare*, is lexically precise, ambiguity might arise from the original variant of the text, where *performance* might have been used with its general standard meaning, i.e. the act of doing a piece of work, duty, and not necessarily referring specifically to the accomplishment of conditions required by a contract.

(1) 2.1 […] all the works which are necessary to fulfil the conformity with the contract documents, the ones that arise from the contract duties as well as the ones that are not mentioned but which are necessary for the complete and secure performance of the project.

2.1 […] toate lucrările necesare pentru a asigura conformitatea cu documentele contractului, cele care rezultă din obligațiile contracte precum şi cele care nu sunt enumerate dar care sunt necesare pentru finalizarea integrală şi în siguranță a proiectului.

(Ctr. No.259/2009 HTC & Axima: 3)

Another kind of ambiguity may be interpreted in (2), where the term *performance – prestare* acquires a double meaning. Analysing the sentence in (2), we first understand that the works are *performed – prestație*, i.e. "the act of doing a piece of work, duty" (Summers). However, the occurrence of the noun phrases *a specific date* and *the essence of the contract* reinforce the meaning of the noun phrase *performance of the services – prestare a serviciilor*: that of a contract agreement.

(2) 2.5 […], the time of delivery of the goods and of performance of the services is of the essence of the Contract.

2.5 […] momentul livrării de bunuri şi de prestare a serviciilor constituie obiectul contractului.

(Ctr. No. 239/2010 HTC & Arcons Proiect: 4)

3.2. Structural and socio-linguistic approach

A type of ambiguous meaning was encountered in nominal expressions such as *performance guarantee* and *performance warranty*. Ambiguity in these situations arose not only due to the use of the noun *performance*, which, according to the examples above, may lead in certain situations to ambiguous interpretations, but also due to the use of the other constituent element of the nominal structure, i.e. *warranty* and/or *guarantee.* According to Martin, *warranty* in contract law means "a term or promise in a contract, breach of which will entitle the innocent party to damages but not to treat the contract as discharged by breach," while *warranty* in insurance law is explained as "a promise by the insured, breach of which will entitle the insurer to treat the contract as discharged by breach (Martin 2003: 535). The word has the same meaning as *condition* in the general law of contract" and another meaning is linked to "a manufacturer's written promise as to the extent

he will repair, replace, or otherwise compensate for defective goods; a guarantee". *Guarantee*, on the other hand, is defined as "secondary agreement in which a person (the guarantor) is liable for the debt or default of another (the principal debtor), who is the party primarily liable for the debt". However, the Romanian equivalents of the two terms above are rather ambiguous, as both the noun *guarantee*, defined as *s. garanție, asigurare* and *warranty*, *s. garanție, condiție asiguratorie* (Năstăsescu 2009: 154) reveal almost the same meaning. Consequently, nominal structures such as *performance guarantee* and *performance warranty*, although regarding two different situations in English, may produce ambiguous interpretations in Romanian due to an ambiguous rendering of the terms.

Such situations were encountered within out text analysis; even though the English structures *performance guarantee* and *performance warranty* might have referred to different circumstances under the contract, both constructions were translated into Romanian as *garanție de bună execuție*, leading to ambiguity as to whether *the performance* of the works undertaken by the contractor is related to "a term or promise in a contract, breach of which will entitle the innocent party to damages but not to treat the contract as discharged by breach," or to a "secondary agreement in which a person (the guarantor) is liable for the debt or default of another (the principal debtor), who is the party primarily liable for the debt" (Martin 2003: 535).

3.3. Socio-linguistic and cultural discussion

Regarding the use of the term *performance*, we have also identified a third different situation. Within various bilingual contracts, we have encountered the compound noun *performance bond* and its Romanian equivalent *scrisoare de garanție bancară*. Ambiguity seems to occur in this situation as well. In legal English, Martin (Martin 2003: 535) defines *performance bond* as "a bond giving security for the carrying out of a contract," which actually means *garanție de bună execuție* in Romanian. Still, Năstăsescu defines the term *bond* as *I. datorie, creanță II. document de ganație III. angajament de plată*; thus, a kind of ambiguity may also arise during the translation process (Năstăsescu 2009: 45), of whether the *performance bond* refers to *1. A deed by which one person (the obligor) commits himself to another (the obligee) giving security for the carrying out of a contract"* (Martin 2003: 52), thus a *garanție de bună execuție*, or 2. to a financial document issued by a financial institution related to "debt securities by a borrower to investors in return for the payment of a subscription price," namely *document de plată* or *scrisoare de garanție bancară*. However, such instances of ambiguity occurred less frequently, as the meaning of the two terms, *performance bond – scrisoare de garanție bancară* were properly understood and used in accordance with the contract law and language specific to each country.

Conclusions

The prevailing analysis method that defines each of the previously mentioned procedures reveals that the linguistic and translation units of the source language are compared to those of the target language in order to reach general operative solutions for the translator.

Aiming to localize some instances of ambiguities that are likely to occur due to the special nature of legal translation, we have established that ambiguities may be localized at the lexical and structural levels, and are explained in terms of inadequate use of English as applied to the highly technical field of legal language. However, ambiguity did not arise necessarily due to translators' misunderstandings or misinterpretations, but also due to social, cultural, and political factors to be taken into consideration when drafting or translating contracts.

Consequently, when translating between two legal systems, ambiguities may be avoided by applying the principle of cultural embeddedness. However, the wider the system gap, the higher the degree of translational difficulty.

Bilingual Corpus

1. Ctr. No. 22/2009 HTC & Nestor – Legal Assistance Agreement: Nestor NeStor Diculescu and Hochtief Construction AG Essen
2. Ctr. No. 180/2009 HTC & Flowtex – Works Contract: Hochtief Construction AG Essen Hochtief Construction AG Essen and S.C. FLOWTEX TECHNOLOGY S.A. Mediaş
3. Ctr. No. 236/2010 HTC & Autohton TM – Works Contract: Hochtief Construction AG Essen S.C. AUTOHTON TIM S.R.L.
4. Ctr. No. 247/2010 HTC & Somaco – Purchase Contract: Hochtief Construction AG Essen and Somaco Grup Prefabricate
5. Ctr. No 279/2010 HTC & Richter Intercom – Works Subcontracting: Hochtief Construction AG Essen and Sc. Richter Intercom Srl.
6. Ctr. No. 230/2008 HTC & Top Proiect – Consulting Services: Hochtief Construction AG Essen and Top Proiect Consulting

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Multilingualism and Education in Transylvania

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Abstract. The topic of this paper is the situation of language skills and a determining factor of it in minority context: languages of instruction in Transylvania. Presenting the socio-demographic context and the status of languages as they are manifested in language skills. Language skills are presented referring to mother tongue skills, second and foreign language competence. The paper emphasizes that the connection between schooling, education, and language usage is evident in the case of minority languages since the instruction in minority languages is a key factor for the maintenance of the language. The empirical data used in the paper come from several sources, most important of them being a sociolinguistic survey in a representative sample of Hungarians in Transylvania carried out by The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (Cluj/Kolozsvár) in 2009.

Keywords: bilingualism, language skills, education, linguistic rights

1. Language skills in minority and majority context

Transylvania as a historical region has been characterized by multilingualism for centuries.[1] The widespread bilingualism and multilingualism of the inhabitants in the region is often mentioned in historical and literal works.

In the background of multilingualism is the history of a multiethnic region, linguistic and cultural contacts, and many territorial changes through which Romania passed in the 20th century, and as a consequence the majority-minority status change of Hungarians and Romanians in Transyilvania. Presenting the current socio-demographic context and the status of languages as they are

1 The term Transylvania was used to refer to the historical Transylvania, the central part of the country. But today the term conventionally includes not only the historical Transylvania, which was part of the Hungarian kingdom, but also the provinces of Banat, Crişana, and Maramureş. We use the term Transylvania in this broader sense.

manifested in language skills, I focus on education as a determining factor for language skills and for the vitality and the usage of languages. The connection between schooling, education, and language usage is evident in the case of minority languages since the instruction in minority languages is a key factor for the maintenance of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

1.1. Socio-demographic context

At present, there are six ethnic groups living in Transylvania: Romanians, Hungarians, Romas, Germans, Ukrainians, and Slovaks. According to the last census (2002), Romanians (74.69% of the population) and Hungarians (19.6%) together form 94.29% of the Transylvanian inhabitants. Thus, the Hungarian ethnic group is still the largest minority community in Transylvania, although their proportion has been decreasing almost continuously in the last decades: in 1956, 25% of the population in Transylvania was of Hungarian identity, while in 2011 that proportion was 17.9% (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. *The number and percentage of Romanians and Hungarians in Romania and Transylvania between 1956 and 2002*[2]

Year	Total population of Romania	Total population of Transylvania	Romanians in Transylvania	Hungarians in Transylvania
1956	17,489,450	6,218,427	4,041,156 (64.98%)	1,558,254 (25.05%)
1966	19,103,163	6,719,555	4,559,432 (67.85%)	1,597,438 (23.77%)
1977	21,559,910	7,500,229	5,203,846 (69.38%)	1,691,048 (22.54%)
1992	22,810,035	7,723,313	5,684,142 (73.59%)	1,603,923 (20.76%)
2002	21,680,947	7,221,733	5,393,552 (74.69%)	1,415,718 (19.6%)
2011[2]	20,121,641	6,789,250	4,794,577 (70.62%)	1,216,666 (17.92%)

The decrease in the number of the Hungarians between 1977 and 2011 might be due to three factors: law birth rate, emigration, and assimilation (Benő–Szilágyi 2005: 136).

2 Source: National Institute of Statistics. http://www.recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/

1.2. Language skills and the relationship of languages

The researches made recently about the language skills of the population in Romania and Transylvania suggest that bilingualism and multilingualism among Hungarians in Transylvania is widespread. 93% of the Hungarians declared that they could speak at least one language besides their mother tongue and almost half (44%) of them considered that they can speak at least two other languages. These proportions are above the European and Romanian average (see *Table 2*).

Table 2. *Do you know any other language besides your mother tongue? (at least at conversational level)*

	None (%)	At least one (%)	At least two (%)	At least three (%)
EU (2006)[3]	44	56	28	11
Romania[4]	53	47	27	6
Hungarians in Romania[5]	7	93	44	16

The previous surveys and estimates also related that 80–90% of Hungarians in Transylvania are bilinguals (Csepeli et al., Péntek 2001a).

If we compare the Hungarians' and Romanians' language skills according to their own admission, we can see an evident asymmetry: most of the Hungarians in Transylvania can speak Romanian; meanwhile, the majority of Romanians cannot use Hungarian. According to these data, 83.9% of the Hungarians can speak well Romanian, but 7.34% Romanians in Transylvania declared that they understand no word or only a few words in Hungarian. The differences at others levels of language competence are also significant (see *Table 3*). The asymmetry is due to the fact that Romanian-speaking students do not learn Hungarian language in public schools and they are not encouraged to learn Hungarian in any way.

3 European Commission: *Europeans and their languages.* Special EUROBAROMETER 243, 2006: 9–13

4 Ibidem

5 Horváth–Veress–Vitos 2010: 40

Table 3. *Hungarians' and Romanians' language skills in Transylvania*[6]

	Romanian language skills of Transylvanian Hungarians (%)	Hungarian language skills of Romanians in Transylvania (%)
I speak the language as mother tongue	10.6	2.52
I speak the language fluently	24.8	2.88
I speak it well with accent	27.4	2.16
In most of the cases, I can make myself understood speaking the language	21.1	7.19
I can make myself understood with difficulty	9.7	9.71
I understand only a few words	5.5	23.74
I understand no word	0.9	51.8

In 2009, The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (Cluj/Kolozsvár) carried out a sociolinguistic survey in a representative sample of Hungarians.[7] Since the sample consisted of more than 4,000 Hungarian-speaking respondents, the empirical data make possible the analyses of the correlations between different social variables and language skills.

The questionnaire also gathered information about the second or third language as foreign language. The admitted foreign language knowledge shows important differences among Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania, especially if we focus on German and French language competence. The proportion of German languages skills at conversational level among Hungarian-speaking respondents is 20%, while that proportion is 6% among Romanians. The French communicative competence seems to be more general among Romanians, since 24% of them declared that they could have a conversation in French; among Hungarians that proportion is only 11% (*Table 4*). These facts are rooted in the different traditions of foreign language learning among Hungarians and Romanians (Hungarian–German and Romanian–French cultural connections are well documented in history).

6 Horváth 2003: 16–17

7 I want to express my acknowledgment to Mr. István Horváth for providing access to the empirical data of the survey.

Table 4. *Respondents able to participate in a conversation in a foreign language (in percentage)*

	English (%)	German (%)	French (%)
EU (2006)[8]	38	14	14
Romania[9]	29	6	24
Hungarians in Romania[10]	30	20	11

If language skills are analysed according to the socio-demographic variables, certain differences are evident: Hungarian speakers living in countryside know in a lesser degree both the state language (Romanian) and a foreign language than those who live in large towns. The differences are even more striking between younger and older speakers. Almost 20% of the young respondents (18–34 years old) declared that they spoke English very well. That proportion is 5.3% among middle-aged (33–54 years old) respondents and 1.2% among older respondents (*Diagram 1*).

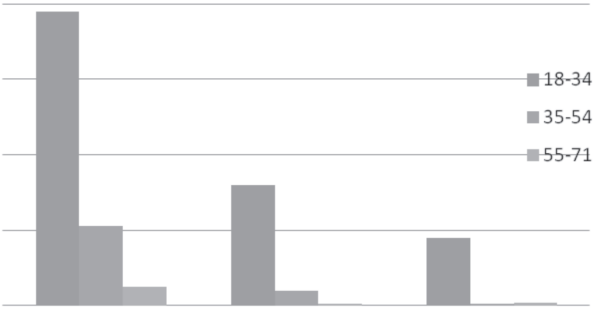

Diagram 1. *English language skills and the age of respondents*

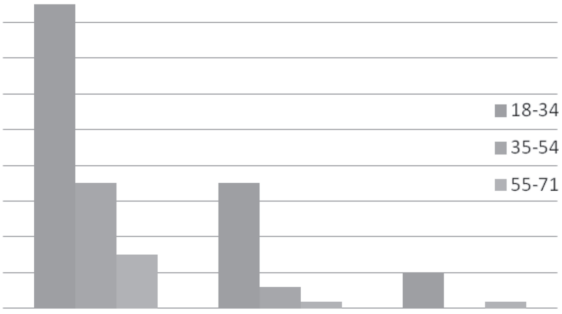

Diagram 2. *German language skills and the age of respondents*

8 European Commission: *Europeans and their languages.* Special EUROBAROMETER 243, 2006: 9–13

9 Ibidem

10 According to the survey carried out in 2009 by the The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities.

German language skill differences are also significant regarding age: younger respondents declared to a greater extent that they can speak Germany very well or at an advanced level (*Diagram 2*).

As it could be expected, the level of education is also correlated with the second and third language skills: the more educated was the respondent, the more often he/she declared that he/she can use a second or a third language at a higher level.

2. Multilingualism, education, and minority linguistic rights

In general, being bilingual or multilingual is an advantage, but in minority situation this advantage is not always obvious since the possibilities of studying in the mother tongue for ethnic minorities are limited at higher level in a "national state," and the minority students have to choose from fewer specializations if they insist on learning in their mother tongue.

As a consequence of this situation, the persons belonging to ethnic minorities are in disadvantageous positions on the labour market since the labour market has also got a "specific cultural-symbolic component, structuring cultural elements and language skills" (Sorbán 2011). According to the census data from 2002, the situation of Hungarians in Romanian employment areas is different from the Romanians: the Hungarians remain underrepresented in management positions and in the sphere of intellectuals, but they are over-represented within skilled and unskilled workers or in the fields of commerce or services (Veres 2007: 47). In that situation, bilingualism or multilingualism is a real chance – only if any kind of biases are eliminated and the languages are used accurately with self-confidence, in professional sphere and everyday life, too (Sorbán 2014).

Since language skills and the positions on the labour market are closely connected to education, to the language of instruction, and to the methods of language teaching in public education, it is worth analysing the education system as a background of multilingualism in Romania.

Although after 1989 the education system in Romania has developed, many problems of the ethnic minority education remained unsolved. In the following, we will try to give a general picture of the status of education in minority languages in the pre-university education system as well as in higher education and will try to emphasize the prestige and the function of languages in a bilingual or multilingual context.

2.1. Pre-university education system

In Romania, there are three types of education for ethnic minority children:

1. Educational structures with tuition in the native language for the Czech, Croatian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Slovakian, and Ukrainian minority. These structures include 2,732 educational units in which 209,842 children and pupils study.

2. Educational structures with partial tuition in the native language in 5 schools including 561 children and pupils. This form of study is characteristic for the Croatian, Turkish, and Tartar minorities, for whom some vocational subjects are also taught in the native language.

3. Educational structures in Romanian language where the native languages are also studied if there are demands for that study. That includes 387 schools with 30,964 pupils. Such structures are organized for the native languages of the Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Italian, Polish, Roma, Russian, Czech, Croatian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Slovakian, Turkish-Tartar, and Ukrainian minorities.[11]

The maintenance of minority languages can be assured only by the first type of education. All the other types of education help the language shift process in which the minority groups have been involved for decades. Language shift in that case means the losing of the mother tongue in favour of the official language, which is the language of the majority group.

In 2002, the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research (MER) published a report about the education of minorities and the presence of minority languages in the Romanian education system (MER 2002). In that report, we find data about the presence of minority languages in different levels of education as well as about the language of instruction. Comparing the report data to the last census's demographical data (2002), one can see the proportion of education in minority languages in different education levels as compared to the country-wide data. Making that comparison, we found that the education in minority languages is underrepresented according to the number of pupils present in Romanian public education with mother tongue compared to the total number of ethnic minorities (see *Table 5*).

11 MER 2002

Table 5. *Presence of minority languages in different educational levels. (The percentages are referring to the proportion of the population or of the ethnic group engaged in a certain level of education with mother tongue tuition.)*

Educational level	Total – country		Total – minorities		Total – Hungarians	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pre-school education	616,014	2.84	46,351	2.03	40,266	2.81
Primary education (grades I.–IV.)	1,028,697	4.74	57,814	2.53	51,609	3.6
Middle school education (grades V.–VIII.)	1,291,839	5.95	63,927	2.8	57,889	4.03
Secondary education (grades IX.–XII./XIII.)	710,663	3.27	32,626	1.43	28,301	1.97
Vocational education	252,347	1.16	7,090	0.31	7,090	0.49
Post-secondary education	72,685	0.33	2,034	0.08	2,001	0.13

In pre-school education, tuition in the native language of the minorities is close to the total country proportion (especially in the case of the Hungarian minority): 2.84% of the population is engaged in pre-school education and the proportion of Hungarians in pre-school education having native language instruction is 2.81% (compared to the Hungarian population in Romania).

In middle school (grades V.–VIII.) and secondary education (grades IX.–XII./XIII.), ethnic minorities getting mother tongue instruction is largely underrepresented. At these levels, the proportion of mother tongue instruction for ethnic minorities is less than half of the total country proportion: in middle school education, it is 2.8%, while country-wide that proportion is 5.95%.

At the level of vocational and post-secondary education, the possibilities of studying in native language are even more reduced for the ethnic minorities: the proportion of ethnic minorities who study in their mother tongue at these levels is just one quarter of the country's overall proportion.

According to these proportions, the instruction in Hungarian is better organized than the instruction in other minority languages due to the fact that ethnic Hungarians in Romania consider native-language education ranging from nursery school to university as a natural and rightful demand. In the early 1900s, Transylvania had a highly developed Hungarian educational network where instruction in Hungarian took place at every level. And, of course, the Hungarians' numerical ratio and their historic traditions are a strong base for the functioning of mother tongue tuition at all educational levels.

It is worth mentioning that in Romanian public (general) education more than 150,000 pupils are learning in Hungarian (the number of Hungarian teachers is 12,000). Although there are 58 Hungarian schools and 138 bilingual

(Hungarian–Romanian) schools, the Hungarian community has no power of decision concerning the matters of education. Since the possibility for learning in Hungarian in certain regions is reduced, and the possibilities for continuing higher education in Hungarian is uncertain, about 50,000 (25–30%) of the Hungarian-speaking pupils are learning in Romanian in the pre-university education system.

Since there is a lack of continuity in native-language education and the possibilities are reduced for vocational training in mother tongue, a large number of students of ethnic minority origin are forced during their primary school years to Romanian-language schools.[12] *Council of Europe, Second opinion on Romania* mentions certain problems of education for minorities:

"17. (…) Shortcomings however persist in the education area, in particular for numerically smaller minorities, and it is to be hoped that the new decentralized system of financing education will make it possible to better meet the existing needs.[13]

2.2. Higher education

In higher education, the ethnic minorities are underrepresented both in their number and proportion as well as in the participation of their native language in the education. According to the report elaborated by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, the proportion of students of ethnic minority origin is half of the general (country-wide) proportion. In the case of ethnic minorities, 1.31% of the total ethnic minority population is studying in higher education, while for the total number of Romanian citizens that proportion is 2.63% (see *Table 6*).

Table 6. *Participation of ethnic minorities in higher education*

Academic year	Total number and proportion of students		Total number and prop. of ethnic minority students		Hungarian-speaking students		Difference for Hungarian students		Hungarian students trained in Hungarian
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
2001–2002	571,613	2.6	30,043	1.3	24,598	1.7	13,172	0.9	8–10,000

In the academic year 2001–2002, the number of Hungarian-speaking students in higher education was 25,000, and only 30–40% of them (8–10,000 students) were trained in Hungarian. That proportion is valid nowadays, too. If we take

12 It was recommendend in 1997 to Romania by the Coucil of Europe: "It takes note of the Romanian authorities' resolve to further the rights of national minorities and especially to amend the 1995 Education Act so as to allow mother tongue instruction for members of national minorities." (Resolution 1123 on the honouring of obligations and commitments by Romania)

13 Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Second Opinion on Romania, adopted on 24 November 2005.

into consideration that in Romania, with a population of 21.6 millions and 571,613 students learning in higher education, for the Hungarians in Romania that proportion should be 37,770. The difference is 13,172, which is referring to the number of Hungarian-speaking students who are missing to have the same proportion for the Hungarian-speaking students as the nation-wide proportion. In another approach: for 1,000 inhabitants, the number of students is 26 in Romania and for the Hungarian-speaking community in Romania that number is 17.1. That means that a Hungarian-speaking Romanian citizen has less opportunity to study in higher education than Romanian-speaking Romanian citizens.

As it was mentioned, the Hungarian training in the state universities in Romania does not cover all the fields: there are no possibilities to study in Hungarian technical sciences, agricultural studies and the possibilities are reduced for studying law, music, and fine arts in Hungarian. That is why the demand for a state university with Hungarian instruction is well-founded. But the Law of Education does not allow the setting up of a Hungarian-language state-funded university (although there are more than 54 state universities in Romania), but allows only for a multicultural university whose language of instruction is regulated by a separate law. In the field of Hungarian-language higher education, the establishment by the Hungarian government of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania represented a big step forward.

At present, instruction in the Hungarian language is offered by certain faculties and specializations at the following universities: the Babeş–Bolyai University of Cluj, the University of Medicine and Pharmacology Târgu Mureş, the Theatrical University of Târgu Mureş, and the Faculty of Hungarian Studies at the University of Bucharest. The Romanian law on education also puts in the category of private schools the denominational institutes of education. Such institutions include the Hungarian-language university-level Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj, The Catholic Theological University of Alba Iulia, and the Partium Christian University of Oradea.

In some universities of Romania, there are organized sections of study and specialization in other minority languages, too: "Babeş–Bolyai" University of Cluj-Napoca – German, Romany, and Yiddish; University of Bucharest – Slovak, German, Turkish, Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Romany; Academy of Dramatic Art of Timişoara – German; "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Theatrical Art Department – German; "Politehnica" University of Bucharest – German; "Politehnica" University of Timişoara – German; West University of Timişoara – Czech and Serbian; University of Suceava – Ukrainian and Polish; "Ovidius" University of Constanța – Turkish.

All this data show that the situation of education for minorities is very complex in Transylvania. For larger ethnic and linguistic minorities (Hungarian, German), the possibilities for learning in mother tongue is assured at certain levels, while for other minorities the language of education is Romanian and the mother tongue can be taught only if there is any demand for this type of instruction. Different minorities have different demands and expectations considering their right for education in mother tongue. Their loyalty to mother tongue is also different among the ethnic minorities, and in their national identity the mother tongue plays different roles.

Thus, for example, the problem of academic education is insistently tackled in the Hungarian publications. The other ethnic groups either do not discuss the problem or declare themselves satisfied with the solutions, the judicial frame offered by the Law on Education.

What is common for all ethnic minorities in Transylvania is the problem of maintaining their mother tongue and culture in the conditions of decreasing in number and missing very important linguistic rights in Romanian legal codification and in official practice (Benő–Péntek 2003).

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A Hungarian Writer's Experience of the Mediterranean: On Ferenc Herczeg's *Szelek Szárnyán* Travelogue/ Ship`s Log

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Abstract. One of the works of the much disputed and until recently often avoided oeuvre of Herczeg Ferenc is the attention-grabbing work entitled *Szelek szárnyán* [*On the Wings of the Wind*] (1905), a travelogue and a ship's log. Its analysis casts another view on the life of this writer, born in South Banat, who, at the beginning of the 20th century, sailed the Adriatic and the Mediterranean with his nephew in his sailing boat called Sirály (The Seagull) – thus demonstrating and choosing a secessionist lifestyle, even abandoning Budapest –, and his inspiration by the sea reached a peak in this volume (Secessionist in every sense, advertising the beauties and values of the Adriatic). This prose work was created in the context of Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, and Boka Kotorska, which (apart from its Secessionist character), owing to its cross-artistic and multicultural features, blends various art forms and ways of expression. It gives a superb experience to the reader. The study interprets and analyses Ferenc Herczeg's volume *Szelek szárnyán* as a complex genre created in a cross-artistic environment, with the objective to emphasize and present its special role and standing in Hungarian literature as well as in the field of fine and applied arts.

Keywords: experience of the Mediterranean, Secession, ship's log, travelogue, Secessionist fine and applied arts

Ferenc Herczeg (1863–1954) was the most acclaimed Hungarian writer of the first half of the 20th century; he was celebrated by his contemporaries and readers as the 'king of writers'. In 1925, 1926, and 1927, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature on grounds of his novel *Az élet kapuja* [The Gate to Life]. After World War II, due to his origin (born in Vršac to a German middle-class family,

with Hungarian sentiments) and his activities with the Hungarian revisionists,[1] he was accused of irredentism, thus having deprived him of any previous awards and titles. He was expelled from the Hungarian Writers' Society, where he used to be vice-president. His works were black-listed; they could not be published until the mid-1980s, and were aesthetically degraded.

With the regime change-over, his oeuvre was rehabilitated in the political sense; however, owing to traditional literature-historical thought – interpreting national literatures as a 'unison' story –, there is still a strong general opinion of Ferenc Herczeg by which he was an "epigone character"[2] imitating the style of Mór Jókai[3] and Kálmán Mikszáth,[4] a superficial writer of bestsellers, whose "one-sided psychology" resulted from narrowing down his "story-telling talent […] solely to the magnates and the gentry"[5] (Utasi 2002: 78).

Up-to-date historical thought, however, evaluates these phenomena in a more shaded way. Since history too lives in variants – and there are increasingly more narratives on these (White 1973) –, given its historical trait, literature also exists in variants of utterance within the same culture. Within such a mesh, expressions other than the canonic literary utterances, hence bestsellers, also have a rationale and value-creating effect. The role of literary science is to comprehend these differing movements.

From one perspective, interpreting the phenomena of Hungarian historical narrative from the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, following the novel-writing style of Jókai and Mikszáth does not mean epigonism but a choice of narrative tradition which was probably convenient in the first two decades of the 20th century – overshadowed by war – to reconstruct the Hungarian historical

1 The Hungarian Revision League (1927–1944) as a social organization was founded to organize and co-ordinate irredentist activities, aiming to raise awareness in the most influential countries of the world about the injustice of the Trianon Treaty, thus facilitating its revision. Ferenc Herczeg was the chairman of the organization.

2 "What must have been most deceiving at the time was the intellectual and artistic likeness of Herczeg's historical novels to certain respected, esteemed antecedents. Ideologically, he seemed to connect with the most prominent figures of the second half of the past century (Kemény, László Arany) and as a writer to Mikszáth's proven 'bravado technique'. Nevertheless, this was exactly what made his oeuvre transient. In both relations he would only repeat something from earlier when the political circumstances and the laws of genre creation required something completely different." (Imre 1996: 154)

3 Mór Jókai (1825–1904) was one of the most prominent Hungarian novelists of the 19th century. He was Sándor Petőfi's (1823–1849) colleague and friend, and took part in the 1848/49 Hungarian revolution. His oeuvre comprises of over a hundred volumes.

4 Kálmán Mikszáth (1847–1910) was another acclaimed Hungarian novelist and publicist of the 19th century, as well as MP. He is considered by Hungarian literary historians to be Mór Jókai's spiritual heir.

5 Csaba Utasi refers to the aesthete Jenő Péterfy (1850–1899): […] at the end of the 90s, Jenő Péterfy emphatically stressed: it would be such a waste if Ferenc Herczeg limited his narrative talent strictly to the circle of magnates and the gentry since his psychology would slowly turn one-sided." (Utasi, 2002. 78)

novel pointing at the dissimilarity of the past and its role in questioning crisis modelling but also its role in finding answers to the incidences of the contemporary world. That is to say, on grounds of this view, the historical narrative always puts the reconstruction of a certain era in the service of questioning the present (Bényei 1999). Contemporary Hungarian historical novel reflects on it in the sense of this thought and reconstructs Jókai's and Mikszáth's 19th-century historical narrative, the one in which Herczeg's narrative also founded a tradition.

Scarce research conducted in the 1980s – like the research by Béla Németh G. (Németh, 1985) – made it clear that contrary to the stereotype created about Ferenc Herczeg he was not a writer of the gentry but of the elite middle class, which had been the bearer and recipient of elite culture in Hungary before World War II and which was later qualified by cultural policy governed by socio-realist ideology as the number one public enemy, an antiestablishmentarian intellectual composition. Therefore, it was not unusual that his oeuvre, although it was a success story of the Horthy-era[6] but distanced from Nazism, was erased from the public mind for decades. Then, in the early 1950s, the elderly, exiled Ferenc Herczeg made a request to the Hungarian Communist Party pleading that at least his works which were not against the regime be published. This did not happen – except for one book written in 1905; *Szelek szárnyán* [*On the Wings of the Wind*], a travelogue and ship's log about his voyages on the Adriatic – posthumously turned into a teenage adventure novel –, came out in 1957.

It should be pointed out that contemporary critics, such as Frigyes Karinthy,[7] the ingenious writer for *Nyugat* magazine, in his article dated 1910, also qualified *Szelek szárnyán* as a shallow, entertaining piece of writing lacking any poetic depth. The differing viewpoints originate from the social-cultural affiliation of the two writers, the social grounding of their views. "With my poor, deplorable soul, crammed with philosophy and poetry by anguish and anxiety, I somehow try to comprehend this viewpoint as if I were standing on the shore watching the yachts gliding in the distance. […] However, the nobility glide on white yachts, sailing past happy and joyful isles and exercising their smooth skin to bronze in the scorching seaside sun. This perception inevitably does not grasp anguish! – thus it cannot understand poetry either: – and to the least its highest and most intense apex: worship and comprehension of nature" (Karinthy 1910: 1150). Of

6 In Hungary, the political period between November 1919 and 15 October 1944 was named after Vice-Admiral Miklós Horthy, who was at that time the head of state. His ideology was the 'Christian national idea'. The most important elements were revision of territory, antiliberalism, criticism of the Hungarian Jew population's 'expansion,' anticommunism, and conservativism.

7 Frigyes Karinthy (1887–1938), Hungarian poet, writer, translator. He was a contributor to *Nyugat*, a magazine at the turn of the 20th century gathering the major authors of Hungarian literature of the time. His friendship was legendary with Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936), Hungarian poet, writer and aesthete born in Subotica, who was also a first-generation *Nyugat* contributor. Among his most popular works are the volume of parodies *Így írtok ti* [*This is How You Write*] published in 1912 and the novel *Utazás a koponyám körül* (1937) [*Voyage around My Skull]*.

Herczeg, he primarily demands poetry, the intense poetic experience of nature, and refuses the lightsome ways of life – offered by existential security –, i.e. their presentation in literature, as mediated in *Szelek szárnyán*.

From a perspective of over a decade, Frigyes Karinthy's judgment of values proves implausible. He overlooks the bibliographic, genre-typical characteristics and complexity of *Szelek szárnyán*. He handles the work as one of *belle-lettre*, and not as an album comprised of the interaction of several art forms (applied arts, fine arts, literature). He does not take into account that the literary range of the book engages not only the genre registers of a short story/novella but also the toolkit of a ship's log/travelogue – not so poetic, and shifting the boundaries of fiction towards transient genres and interdisciplinary language range (e.g. sailing terminology). This is exactly the reason why his narration is broken, fragmented: judging by form, it is a mesh of short stories, anecdotes, and other prose-epic forms.

Reviews also skip the fact that *Szelek szárnyán*, i.e. the album of fine arts and literature, is not signed only by Ferenc Herczeg. Apart from him, there are works of fourteen painters;[8] the contents list notes: the artwork in the book contains paintings, drawings – pen, charcoal, and ink drawings. According to their technique and character, among them, there are cover pictures and lithographs in three or four colours, in-text drawings/pictures, title pages, front plate pictures, and flyleaves.

Frigyes Karinthy states, objecting to firstly Herczeg's lack of depth in understanding nature, then lack of poetic depth and lack of experience in the description of the Adriatic, that Herczeg is only a 'describer' (in today's terms: narrator); what is missing is the poetic vein, and the landscapes are short of genuine lyric. In addition to the fact that this narrative orientation – seen from a hundred years' perspective –, does not seem to be a significant disadvantage in prose writing, we should also observe that the critic oversees certain important aspects of attitude and origin, e.g. that the landscapes created by Herczeg are not metaphoric expressions of his lyrical experiences identifying with nature but visual images, so-called vedute, registering scenes of nature, inspired by visual arts, presented from a large-scale perspective (Imre 1966).

What might also follow from contemporary positioning, time distance, theoretical orientation, and lack of basics is that Frigyes Karinthy does not at all recognize and does not refer to, or he even rejects, that *Szelek szárnyán* is such a literary/artistic album/breviary which was entirely created in the spirit of Art Nouveau; what is more, it presupposes – not only in a visual sense but also in the view of the world and mode of existence – a Secessionist manner, which, on the one hand, means leaving the rejected present and present-time society, while, on the other, a decadent attitude towards indulgence in life. Therefore, Herczeg, having sailed around the islands and the coast of the Adriatic in his twenty-

8 See more in the chapter *A magyar könyvkötészet szecessziós remeke.*

six-ton cutter, was not only inspired by this aristocratic passion but also by his pursuit for the zest of life and the quest of seizing the moment of (decadent/ Secessionist) joys.

The story of the 'Sirály'

Ferenc Herczeg's passion for the Adriatic also reflects in his narrative in the author's memoires. Years before he wrote *Szelek szárnyán,* he had also spent his summer holidays on a sailboat. At the time, when he had not yet owned his boat called Sirály [Seagull], he rented a cutter (a fast, single-masted sailboat) in the Croatian coast, on the island of Lošinj (for which Herczeg consistently uses the name: Lussin), and in it he sailed the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea (Herczeg 1939). The reason why it was in Lošinj was because the Austro-Hungarian Empire had six shipyards there and its port was the second largest on the Adriatic coast. In addition, it was also one of the centres of the Austro-Hungarian navy. The people of Lošinj were reputed for being fine sailors. As Herczeg put it, they were "the toughest and craftiest seamen of the Adriatic" (Ibid. 191).

Herczeg explained his dedication to the sea and sailing the following way:

> The sailboat for me was neither a means of transport nor a piece of sports equipment but a place to be, for instance: a floating mansion which enabled me to spend the summer months at sea, almost in the bosom of the sea. I was not attracted by the techniques of sailing, which is in point of fact a rather mundane chore, but by King Neptune's waving, blue crystal realm with its heavenly silence, captivating beauty, magnificent wealth of life, its exciting and incomprehensible caprice. Could I have turned into a dolphin each summer, I would much rather have spent my vacations in that form.
>
> I presume that if I had not fled to the sea in good time I would have drowned in a cup of tea in Budapest. I could not have escaped otherwise from that so-called worldly life. I did not need aloneness more than anyone of my acquaintances; I could only find myself in being alone. If there is any human value in me, its seeds were ripened mostly by the vast silence of the crystal desert, the blazing heat of the Adriatic sun (Ibid. 192).

Having soon realized that he could sincerely be at home at sea while sailing in his own boat, he decided to purchase one. In 1904, accompanied by Sándor Hegedűs Jr., he travelled to Great Britain, to Cowes, a famous seaport and world-renowned centre of sailboat- and yacht-building. He bought a 26-ton, slim yawl (two-masted sailboat), which he first named Hajnal [Dawn] and later renamed it Sirály [Seagull]. This comfortable marine craft was 63 feet in length and, apart from the suite, it had a cabin and a double guest room (with a separate toilet and a bathtub embedded into the floor), a kitchen, a four-bed room for the crew, and a

sail store-room. A certain captain Chambers, a red-haired Scottish seaman, sailed it in 23 days to the port in Fiume (today: Rijeka), where Herczeg could take it over. The new owner hired a four-man crew to operate and maintain the boat; he had uniforms tailored for them, and he ploughed through the waves of the Adriatic under their navigation. The boat's homeport, where it was moored in wintertime, was Portoré Bay (today: Kraljevica) near Fiume. In addition, it was accepted into the "K. u. K. Yacht Eskader," which entitled the boat to fly the military colours. "Sailing the sea, in many years, I only met two Austro-Hungarian yachts. One belonged to Ákos Pauler, a university professor, and the other was also owned by a university professor: E., a professor from Zagreb" (Herczeg 1939: 201–202) – Ferenc Herczeg wrote in his memoirs. According to him, the elite owners of yachts and sailboats in the Austro-Hungarian empire gathered in Pola (today: Pula): "[…] in the Port of Pola, the yachts of the Austrian gentry were anchored, but they were mostly sailed during 'the sailing week'. On that occasion, the yacht owners wore their white uniforms, invited each other's ladies for tea, sailed to the nearby Brioni, and afterwards returned home to Vienna or to their Czech castle. Weeks- and months-long voyages were undertaken only by the three of us: two professors and a writer" (Ibid.).

In the summer of 1904, in fine "weather for sailing" (Ibid. 205), Herczeg cruised around the Dalmatian isles accompanied by his two good friends from Budapest. In 1905 (the year when *Szelek szárnyán* was published), his itinerary was the Bay of Corinth; before that, however, he had sailed to Venice, which he regularly visited every year. In his words, he could find his way better "in the labyrinth of canals and alleys smelling of fish and seashells than in the outskirts of Budapest" (Ibid. 231).

In August 1909, the Sirály – sailing from Spalato (today: Split) to Sebenico (today: Šibenik) – off the island of Zirone – almost got shipwrecked. It ran into a windstorm, and only with tremendous effort and by lucky chance could the vessel escape bad fate. Subsequent to this calamity, Herczeg decided to dispose of his boat. L. Janko, an eccentric British gentleman living in Fiume, bought it from him and named it Helen. An interesting detail of the sailboat's further fortune is that the new owner later sold it to King Alexander, who eventually donated it to the Bakar Naval Academy. "I could not afford another boat" – complained Ferenc Herczeg – "the World War came, which pulled the Adriatic from under us. Whenever I stroll along the seafront in Abbazia (today: Opatija) and watch the blue water, I feel like a bankrupt landowner who goes on foot in front of his once owned castle. Sometimes I get a strange feeling that my long-gone youth wanders somewhere out there, in the distant south, out in the sunny Adriatic, among the silvery grey islands." (Ibid. 297)

A Secessionist masterpiece of Hungarian book art

The first edition of *Szelek szárnyán* (1905)[9] was much more than a simple typographic work: it was a genuine masterpiece of Hungarian Secession, the publishing of which concurred with the flourishing of Secession. Secession as a direction in art at the beginning of the 20th century proved to be decisive not only in graphic art but also in fine arts and typography. The recognizable characteristics of this style propagating uniqueness, dynamism, and creative freedom are the elaborate, winding lines and floral motifs as dominating decorative elements. Typographic art all round Europe was "based on the tendency towards the perfection of paper, font style, the engravings, and artistic binding" (Pomázi 2008, www.mgonline.hu/.../tipo2008_pomazi_orsolya.pdf). It spectacularly renewed typographic art, for – in Orsolya Pomázi's words – "text processing is dominated by ornaments, while the text is wedged into a geometrical form, a decorative symmetry. Graphics and typography are linked, and should there be any misbalance, empty space is filled with an ornament" (Ibid.).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the more demanding publishers affirmed new decorative forms abiding the rule of Secessionist graphic art and typography, and strived to present the readers with beautiful and high-standard, crafty products instead of inornate, commonplace ones. Such a publication was *Szelek szárnyán*, one of the most impressive examples of Hungarian Secessionist book art. In it, we can find the Secessionist tendencies in all the phases of book making, from the cover and headers to closing ornaments, initials, and illustrations. It clearly brings out, or, to be more exact, it sets a standard to create a conceptual and formal unity.

The book was published by the Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt. company, which was one of the most influential publishers in Hungary, having published the most significant works of contemporary literature between 1841 and 1948, and made such exquisite Secessionist volumes (with contributions from the most prominent Hungarian Secessionist artists) as Kálmán Mikszáth's book *Az én kortársaim*[10] [My Contemporaries] or the volume *Az Ujság albuma*[11] [Album of News] by multiple authors. Besides the publishers Nyugat folyóirat- és könyvkiadó, Korvin Testvérek, Singer és Wolfner-cég, and Herzig Miksa, it was surely Athenaeum that reared Hungarian Secessionist typographic art.

9 Herczeg Ferenc: *Szelek szárnyán*. A gift to the subscribers of Ujság. Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdaipari Rt. Budapest, 1905, 111 pp. [quarter-page size, canvas binding].

10 Mikszáth Kálmán: *Az én kortársaim*. Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt., Budapest, 1904 [rubber binding] with full-page and in-text graphics, richly illustrated with reproductions. Most of the full-page illustrations are protected with inscriptive parchment paper. The binding plate, the cover, and header ornaments were done after Árpád Basch's drawings.

11 [canvas binding] The volume was illustrated by prominent graphic artists: Árpád Basch, Tihamér Margittay, Károly Kotász, Ákos Tolnay, László Kimnach, Jenő Jendrassik, Andor Dudits, and Imre Gergely.

Designing and publishing *Szelek szárnyán* was a result of joint artistic enterprise and at the same time a bravado of the printing industry: it was composed on Monotype setting machines in Athenaeum, the illustrations requiring various printing techniques were done by Athenaeum's printing, stone, and copperplate department, while the paper was delivered by Első Magyar Papíripar Rt. in Nagyszilabos. The colour reproductions were protected with parchment paper.

It was a genuine artistic joint endeavour that, besides Árpád Basch (1873–1944)[12] – who painted the front cover, the front plate picture, and the flyleaf –, the creative design was done by thirteen other prominent authors: Ákos Garay (1866–1952),[13] Ákos Tolnay (1861–?),[14] Tihamér Margitay (1859–1922),[15] Imre (Földes) Feld (1881–1948),[16] Imre Gergely (1868–?),[17] Károly Mühlbeck (1869–1943),[18] Andor Dudits (1866–1944),[19] Oszkár Mendlik (1871–1963),[20] Károly Kotász (1872–1941),[21] László Kimnach (1857–1906),[22] József Karvaly (1864–1928),[23] János Vaszary (1867–1939),[24] and Géza Udvary (1872–1932).[25] Another notable fact is that some of them (Imre Gergely, Oszkár Mendlik, József Karvaly) had first-hand experience of the Mediterranean, meaning they were richly inspired by the sea. It should also be mentioned that this illustrious group of artists contributed with almost a hundred (smaller or bigger) Secessionist style drawings, pictures, and paintings to embellish Herczeg's volume;[26] thus, they could rightly be seen as co-authors of the book.

12 Painter and graphic artist, one of the masters of Hungarian applied graphic art, poster artist, and illustrator, editor of *Magyar Géniusz* (Seregélyi 1988, 50).

13 Graphic artist, renowned for his specific technique of pen drawings; notable for his Hungarian folk style illustrations mostly presenting the life of hussars, gypsies, and shepherds. (Ibid. 1988, 197).

14 Portrait and landscape artist, member of the Benczúr Társaság (B. Society) (Ibid. 1988, 624).

15 Painter of salon life in the fashion of Bastien-Lepage (Ibid. 1988, 182).

16 Made decorative pictures and posters, ran an independent graphic studio in Budapest; after 1921, he was the artistic manager of the Helikon publishing company in Temesvár (Ibid. 1988, 182).

17 His fragments of Italian landscapes, streets, and flowers are colourful and inspiring (Ibid. 1988, 200).

18 Painter and graphic artist; became popular for his humorous and satirical drawings and illustrations (Ibid. 1988, 428).

19 Professor at the Fine Arts College in Budapest, devoted to historical paintings, painted altar-pieces; in his paintings, the historical and religious characters are elevated to gigantic heights (Ibid. 1988, 143).

20 Studied also in Italy, later sailed the seas around the world, and his art reflects his fascination by the ancient mysticism of the sea (Ibid. 1988, 404).

21 Wood carver, decorative designer, industrial artist, art teacher; his oil paintings are dominated by landscape and occasional blazing lights uniting the soft colours (Ibid. 1988, 335).

22 Painter, fresco painter, and art teacher, who was popular for his paintings and drawings of soldiers (Ibid. 1988, 308).

23 Tutored by Bertalan Székely, Bertalan Karlovszky, and Simon Hollósy; he went on study tours to Italy several times (Ibid. 1988, 292).

24 Teacher, painter, whose French-style lightness, witty, and at times superficial fashion often changed and showed the fauvist influence of Matisse, Dufy, and Van Dongen (Ibid. 1988, 656).

25 Painted academic style portraits and frescoes (Ibid. 1988, 637).

26 Bibliographies mention only Ferenc Herczeg's portrait and 25 illustrations, while the total number of drawings/illustrations in the volume amounts to almost a hundred.

It seems that the unity of text and illustration was a dominant requirement to this volume. For instance, Árpád Basch's illustrator bravado was that in the header of the introduction to the book he drew the famous painting *Calm sea*[27] by Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901), "the giant of drama and decoration, and a great colourist, the extraordinary virtuoso of deep and bright colours" (Andrássy 1915: 193) – the mermaid with three seagulls, which Herczeg referred to in the introductory lines. The enlarged initial letters of the chapters meaningfully and authentically give a graphic illustration of the ports of call of Herczeg's luxury yacht, before the reader reads about it in the text. The layout of the text, and the type setting, is completely subordinated to the picture: in the parts of the text where it is important to show the picture the illustration simply 'steps into' the text, it brushes it away, and 'takes its place'. We could quote several examples of how the illustrations in the book become of the same importance as the text. What is more, we shall venture the statement that the illustrative material gives certain grandeur to the volume, and the interaction between the text and the picture definitely heightens, intensifies the reader's experience. Their eye rests longer on either the text or on the surprisingly appropriate pictures. The interaction of the two gives a (more) intense experience. This experience is enhanced by suddenly emerging drawings done with various printing techniques, which are sometimes simple, black-and-white pen, ink, or charcoal drawings, sometimes there are lithographic coloured pictures, or three-coloured illustrations or glued-in pictures made with a particular printing technique. It is exactly experimenting, 'playing around' with these particular printing techniques that gives the reader a light dynamic experience, a surprise effect when noticing an illustration commanding attention after turning the page.

Being a travelogue, there is almost an automatically arising requirement (besides the elaborate, crafty work) for genuineness and recognizability of the illustrations, which is unequivocal regarding people, places, and buildings. Thus, among the illustrations, in one of the ink drawings by Ákos Garay we can recognize Ferenc Herczeg himself (Herczeg 1905: 17).

In addition to what has been mentioned, these pictures have another important function: to show otherness and strangeness. To present in an exotic way the people, cities, and buildings belonging to other cultures, to point to the (cultural) differences, what can possibly be expected from such a volume.

Looking at the illustrations, we cannot but think that many artists, if not all of them, had had personal experiences in the sites presented in the book, meaning that their work was not based on photographs or postcards. This Adriatic experience is unequivocally reflected in their pictures.

27 Ferenc Herczeg in his introduction mistakenly mentions the painting, kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Bern, as *Szélcsend* (Windlessness)

After the first edition, *Szelek szárnyán* was subsequently published a few more times (in 1910,[28] 1925,[29] 1933,[30] 1936,[31] and 1957[32]) but never again with such luxurious, artistic workmanship.

In the introduction to the 1957 edition remade into a youth novel, Adorján Stella tried to direct the readers' attention to the misjudged Ferenc Herczeg: "'He lives in an ivory tower' – people would say without knowing him or his works. For Herczeg's colourful works that could fill a whole library, the fruits of a long and abundant life, after many decades still show that the outstanding writer not only knew the period he lived in and its people, but he also presented a lasting picture in a stainless frame" (Stella 1957).

Another important fact is that much before the institutional interest in the Adriatic [more precisely, the foundation of the Hungarian Adriatic Society (1911) and the start of *A Tenger* [*The Sea*] magazine (1911)], *Szelek szárnyán* (1905) popularized the beauties and attractions of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic Sea.

Herczeg's Adriatic breviary and Secession as a way of existence

Ferenc Herczeg's book *Szelek szárnyán*, considering its artistic and multicultural aspects, represents an exciting synergy of art and language forms. It can be viewed and interpreted as a ship's log and an album of fine arts, as well as an artistically set travelogue. Nevertheless, it is not only an alloy of design and fine arts but this worldview also brings a varied genre discourse of literary expression which inspires and runs Herczeg's specific prose.

The "softly unraveling female body" (Kovačev Ninkov 2002: 12) as the constant element of Hungarian Secessionist decorative and visual symbolism as well as content featuring lyrical experience of the world shows the influence of Viennese Secession, insomuch – as opposed to the trends following authentic folk motifs which became renowned in the Paris World Exhibition[33] – that the Viennese

28 Herczeg: *Szelek szárnyán*. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, 1910.

29 Herczeg Ferenc: *Szelek szárnyán – Andor és András*. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, 1925 [Works by Herczeg Ferenc VI].

30 Herczeg Ferenc: *Szelek szárnyán – Andor és András*. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, 1933 [Anthological gift edition].

31 Herczeg Ferenc: *Szelek szárnyán – Andor és András*. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, 1936 [Memorial edition of selected works by Herczeg Ferenc 9].

32 Herczeg Ferenc: *Szelek szárnyán*. Táncsics Könvvkiadó, Budapest, 1957 [stitched paperback edition, with black-and-white illustrations by graphic artist Lajos Kondor].

33 The World Exhibition in Paris (Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Paris) took place from 14 April to 12 November 1900 with magnificence. More than 80,000 exhibitors and 50 million visitors were present. At the turn of the century, the pavilions and exhibition halls exhibited the history of humankind and their endeavours in the past millennia. The thematic pavilions presented to the public the world's industrial, technological, and scientific marvels,

Secession[34] has nothing to do with folk ornamentation. For instance, these symbols appear on the buildings in Subotica designed by the most illustrious representative of Secessionist architecture and decorative arts, Ferenc Raichle:[35] "[…] Two years after the establishment of the Viennese group Secession and building their exhibition hall, Ferenc Raichle, although he designed buildings of eclectic style, managed to smuggle onto the facade the lyrical figure conceived in the spirit of symbolism and Secession whereas containing the decorative elements of the baroque: it was the softly unraveling female body lying on a horizontally positioned crescent, like in a bed, or in a boat, turning her face to us; with the sun behind her, sprinkled with freshly opened flowers underneath and around her" (Ibid.).

If we look at the first lines of the introduction to *Szelek szárnyán* describing Böcklin's painting, and the header which contains Basch's drawing made after Böcklin, we cannot but notice the authentic symbol kit of Secession: "Under the azure blue firmament, a poriferous cliff spotted with saltwater emerges from the motionless sea. On the stone, there is a mermaid resting, accompanied by a few black-headed seagulls preening drowsily. Suffocating silence, scorching heat, blazing sunshine can be felt from the frame. The fishtailed girl makes a languid gesture with her arm as if meaning to stand up; nevertheless, her numb limbs draw her back down to the stone. Daydreaming, wistfully, with sweet faintness, though wickedly delighted, she looks out far beyond, as if expecting the upcoming storm which will give reckless life to the slumbering sea. Never has there been a more direct symbolism of the ominous calm before the storm than in this serene painting of demonic force" (Herczeg 1905: 1).

With the description of Böcklin's painting, Ferenc Herczeg intones the Secessionist experience of the Adriatic conveyed by the travelogue (literary diary), clarifying for us the antique experience of the world (i.e. Greek mythology)

but culture and arts were also given their due place. Among others, Art Nouveau attracted great numbers of visitors.

34 At the turn of the 19th-20th century, the Vienna Secession (Union of Austrian Artists) gathered the most influential Austrian artists (Gustav Klimt, Josef Engelhart, Maximilian Lenz, Alfred Roller, Kolo Moser) and artist groups (Hagenbund, Siebener-club) of the Secession. Its foundation and activities in fact meant the birth of modern art in Vienna. Its beginning was marked by the foundation (in 1897) of the Union of Austrian Fine Artists, also known as Secession, while it ended when Gustav Klimt and other artists seceded (1905) from the group. The group's exhibition house (*die Sezession*) was designed by Joseph Maria Olbrich and was built in 1897-98. The construction was financed by the members of the group. It is recognizable for a golden spherical cupola, and the motto of the Secessionist movement is written in golden letters above the entrance of the pavilion: "To every age its art, to every art its freedom".

35 Ferenc J. Raichle (also spelled as Raichl) (1869–1960) is an Apatin-born Hungarian architect, arts collector, entrepreneur, and businessman. At the turn of the 19th-20th century, he was one of the most influential representatives of Secessionist architecture in Vojvodina, and one of the founders of the Hungarian Secessionist national style. His most significant work was his own family house in Subotica, the Raichle palace.

and cultivating the characteristics of the past – opposite to the varieties of folk Secession. It also refers to the statement that the experience of the Adriatic mediated by the writer and the landscapes are not of poetic character but visual images based on (visual) artistic views. In the book, Secession as the style which is suitable for receiving and presenting the landscape, there is also a direct reflection: "On the shore of Veglia [today: the island of Krk – author's comment], there are three cliffs of the size of a seal's head sticking out of the water. On the three cliffs, there are three big black birds, three cormorants. They were as strangely alike as a Secessionist upholstery pattern" (Ibid. 13).

For the expression of Secessionist experience, we can recognize the romantic adoration towards the antique and strange past in the references to Ariosto:[36] "This charming and cheerless nest seen from the sea is so romantic as if it had been dreamt out by Ariosto, while viewed from a close-up looks so barren like an extinguished lime kiln. Arbe (the island of Rab – author's comment), the mournful widow of the Adriatic, sits high on a mountain-top protruding into the sea. Around its bold towers, there are ruined little palazzos lying low, where hundreds of orphaned descendants of Venetian noblemen dwell, like a flock of sparrows in a deserted nest of eagles" (Ibid. 20).

The literary text formed by the attributes of the Secessionist way of life and understanding of the world luxuriates in the features, symbols, and signs of the forms typical of the style. We can underline a number of text pieces and images from the context of *Szelek szárnyán* as impressive examples of Hungarian Secession in literature and visual arts or the sense of life conveyed by the style. Such is, for instance, the adoration originating from the ruins of romance toward the exotic, mystic places and situations, toward the narration and presentation of the experience and situations of dreams or solitude (given by an island) in parts and chapters of the text of different genres.

The descriptions and narrative writing of the third chapter of the travelogue (*Zára* [Zadar – author's comment]) is broken by e.g. essayistic insert, a contemplation on dreams, which passes on towards its recipient the experience mythically rooted in the universe, the Secessionist images and feelings of desire, more precisely the experience of the opium haze of romanticism (e.g. Coleridge: Kubla Khan). "I do not know a more edifying work than sitting at the helm under the moonlit sky. One does not think then, but is in a strange state of waking dream when embroidered, graceful, and funny nonsense bubbles in the mind. As if in a hashish haze. Last night was magnificently glorious. It seemed the constellations in the sky multiplied; never seen diamond-eyed things emerged out of the infinite night. The pair of each star danced on the black water, and since the sky melted together with the water on the horizon I got a strange feeling

36 Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), Italian poet, 'the Italian Homer'. His chief work was the epic, *Orlando Furioso* (1516).

that my soft-sailing boat soundlessly hovered in the starry universe. […] Stars above me, stars underneath, stars everywhere" (Ibid. 25).

The mythical experience of the world and the cult of the past featuring the Secessionist female principle appears powerfully in the fourth chapter of the travelogue/ship's log presenting Zaravecchia [today: Biograd na moru; Hungarian: Tengerfehérvár – author's comment]. The place evokes a glorious historical period of the Hungarian Monarchy: "[…] King Kálmán[37] was crowned here as king of shores and islands. It was here that he received his beautiful fiancée, the Norman Buzilla [Hungarian: Busila – author's comment], the daughter of Roger I., a Sicilian nobleman" (Ibid. 32). The Sicilian Norman princess, Buzilla, is presented as a Greek goddess, predominantly resembling Pallas Athena, both in the in-text engraving showing her 'sailing' into history and in a charcoal drawing (by Andor Dudits): "It must have been a magnificent picture when the dragon-prowed Norman galleys arrived off Tenger-Fejérvár where the towers were decorated with Árpád dynasty flags fluttering in the tramontana. I can see the yellow-haired, red-faced noble Norman pirates as their eyes meet those of the brown-faced mounted Turanian nobles. The grey eyes of the Normans sparkled with the Sicilian sun, while the walnut-coloured eyes of the Hungarians shone with the blaze of the Pannonian sun. When the first sailor shook hands with the first horseman, in their handshake they felt the steel force which had cut the way for each nation through foreign mazes. Then the fanfares and clarions were sounded: from the backboard of the commander galley, a female figure stepped ashore. In her linen-coloured hair there shone a gold rim; her purple robe waved around her figure in stiff folds; her slippers were golden. She is tall, slim and muscular, like a steel blade; the pirate daughter's look is hard and calm, like a hawk's; her cheeks, however, are rosy and clear, like that of the child of the north. Her look falls on a tiger-skulled, hooked-nosed man with blazing eyes, and then from the maiden's heart hot blood gushes into her white cheeks… Hail, on Hungarian land, young queen!" (Ibid.) In this image, the female ideal from ancient mythology blends in with the Hungarian Turanian legend,[38] while in the

37 Kálmán Könyves (around 1074–1114), Hungarian king of the Árpád dynasty (reigned 1095–1116). He succeeded his uncle (Saint) László I instead of his own brother Prince Álmos, whose raids he repeatedly beat, and consequently he had him blinded. He was an educated ruler, thus the nickname 'Könyves' [Bookish]. Since the subsequent kings of the Árpád dynasty came from Álmos's line, the chronicles paint them quite unfavourably. However, it is unlikely that he could have become either an archbishop or a king if he really lisped, was lame, cross-eyed, and hunchbacked; it is likely that he was not as athletic as his younger brother hardened in battle.

38 The Turanian territory today is a Central Asian plain covered in steppes. Turanian nations comprise peoples who once inhabited the Euro-Asian steppes, and their present-day descendants. The term was mainly used at the beginning of the 20th century although it still occurs. This term is not used by comparative linguistics. The idea lies in the observation that these peoples have had numerous mutual anthropological, cultural, and partly linguistic ties. Hungarians also fall into the group of Turanian nations. According to the legend, the disunity among Hungarians is a consequence of an ancient curse. The legend probably dates back to the late 19th century, since

sea experience the past reminiscent writer's colourful language prevails over the spectacle and adventure.

The base of Secession as a form of existence consists of the thought of withdrawal from the society, alongside with the synchronous attitude, the conduct of the lonely traveller. Besides several smaller episodes[39] of escape from the noisy, ideologically burdened (e.g. by the Austrian hegemony and the Croat nationalist ideology), thus dismissed, socially regulated public life, *Szelek szárnyán* also contains whole novellas and short stories. Such is the story of the mysterious hermit of the island of San Nicolo (today: Sveti Nikola), or the one about the old men of Gomena. Of the two, the one about the hermit roughened by life on the barren island – of whom the narrator suggests to have been a victim of unrequited love – is a late sentimentalist story reflecting Rousseau, while the novella showing the strange world of the old tuna fishermen of Gomena; varying the duality of pretense and reality represents a surrealist/nightmarish 20th century novella. The imagery and the context, the artistic spectacle and the might of the language give a complete, full impression. The ninth chapter (Gomena) also begins – like all the chapters in the book – with a description of a view from the sea: "Near the cape of Gomena is possibly the most barren spot of the Sabbioncello Peninsula. Yellow stone hills embrace a small bay in a wide strip. There is not as much grass growing here as to feed a hungry caterpillar. From the cliffs on the shore there is a tall mast rising into the blue sky: there lies the tuna fishermen's dwelling. Their hut, which was made from stacked yellow rocks, can only be seen from a five-step distance" (Herczeg 1905, 67). The description of the barrenness of the place is illuminated by the in-text drawing by József Karvaly, which is followed by the narrative on the life of the old tuna fishermen living on the rocks of Cape Gomena having become outcasts and redundant in the society: "If on the neighbouring island of Curzola [today: Korčula – author's comment] someone mentions the tuna fishermen of Gomena, people smile pitiably. The crew of the fishing boat consists of five old men, each

there are no earlier mentions of it, and the idea of the Hungarians' Turanian origin spread only subsequent to the German linguist Max Müller's work *Science of Language*, published in 1861.

39 We might have stayed longer in Szebeniko [Šibenik – author's comment] if the Croat member of the Viennese Council had not got the idea of travelling to the coast by the Metković train. The appearance of the foreman of the Croat nationalist idea had a special effect on the citizens of Sebbenico: they howled day and night. They screamed really loudly, in the worst pitch of their lungs, and making a noise with some instruments whose loudness equalled firecrackers exploding in a mortar. A dozen of teenagers, who were entranced by the howling disease, were sitting all through the night on a turned-over boat, ten steps away from where the Sirály was moored, and they were singing heroic epics, which could have been a decent contestant in respect of length to the Kalevala epic. Among them, there were people with huge lung capacity, who could have cracked the cupola of a basilica; however, there was not a soul to have any musicality. When we already got used to their monotony, an orchestra marched along the seafront, drumming and trumpeting, as if wanting to wake up the dead. We listened to the noise till dawn, but soon we raised our anchors and sailed toward more silent seas" (Herczeg 1905, 47).

of them over seventy years of age. They must be at least four hundred and twenty years old. The poor old gawks fool themselves that the world still makes use of them: however, the obstinate fish must be very suicidal to let themselves be caught by them. The tunas swim in big schools, usually near the shore. Whether a shoal of tuna swim towards Ragusa [today: Dubrovnik – author's comment] or towards Spalato [today: Split – author's comment], they have no business in the old men's bay. Even if they happen to get in there, it is questionable whether the short-sighted granddad on the lookout mast will notice the rare newcomer at all" (Ibid. 67). The reason why their life of outcasts is so upsetting as opposed to the narrator's rejection of social life is because it means lack of social status, being cast out and involuntary withdrawal. While for them there is no way back, the narrator's voyage is a chosen freedom, a decadent disillusionment – with ever so apparent reconnections towards civilization.

Conclusion

Ferenc Herczeg bought his twenty-ton cutter in 1904, which he later named Sirály and in which he had many adventures round the Adriatic until 1909. His voyages – as opposed to the general opinion – meant more to the well-off writer's high-class passion: he was the most prominent Hungarian example of the existential manifestation and a literary illustration of Secession, which gained ground at the turn of the century.

Published in 1905, *Szelek szárnyán* was Ferenc Herczeg's first travelogue, or one of the first ones, written on his own boat. The narrated and presented voyage was supposedly not his first one on the Sirály since the three-man crew (Tonio, steersman, from Lussin [Lošinj]; first seaman, the Lame General, a Morlach from Selze; second seaman, the old Zepe, also the cook) are quite familiar with the boat as well as with its owner's habits and way of thinking (this is also true vice versa), and who make an efficient, well-functioning team ('crew').

The voyage – from Baross Harbour in Fiume (Rijeka) to Bocche di Cattaro (Kotor Bay) and back – lasted from July 1st to August 25th, continuing and cruising towards the 'high seas of the Adriatic,' past the South Dalmatian islands and anchoring here and there – to finish back in the Quarnero (Kvarner) Bay and Fiume. "We sail across the Morlach channel to Arbe, from there – keeping to the Dalmatian shores – we sail to Zara, Sebbenico, Trauba [today: Trogir – author's comment], Spalato [Split – author's comment], and to Ragusa. Our southernmost point will be Bocche di Cattaro. On our way back, we shall sail out to the high seas and venture around the islands. In other matters, we do not make any preliminary arrangements. We anchor where we like. We stay in a place as long as we feel good there..." (Herczeg 1905, 4) Besides the crew and the owner of

the boat, i.e. the narrator/log keeper, there is his best man and his 11-12-year-old son (Herczeg's godson), as well as his dog called Cezar travelling on board. The narrator introduces them as people who are not new, and this is not their last time, in such a cruise. About the boy, whom he calls 'the kid,' we learn, for instance, that "he gets two kinds of disciplining" (Ibid. 8): "During the winter, his mother and teachers strive to mould him into a tame, diligent and god-fearing young man, while during the summer, the mermaids of the Adriatic turn him into a tough and reckless sea rascal. Beside his mother's pantry, there is a cabinet with shelves full of neatly lined and signed compote jars filled with sea creatures conserved in spirit. The enrichment of this collection was one of the noblest tasks of the Sirály's expedition" (Ibid.).

It is not by chance that the travelogue starts with Herczeg's description of the painting *Calm Sea* by Arnold Böcklin. Later he reflects on this – within his oeuvre of a religious value – artistic view which is characterized by the mixture and synergy of fiction and reality, of the real and the unreal, of the everyday and festive: "We sailed around the whole island in the dinghy. The cliffs and the lagoons are all as if they had been created by Böcklin's fantasy" (Ibid. 73).

The dual conduct, i.e. the presentation of the voyage as a Secessionist/decadent way of life, is the most important content of Ferenc Herczeg's multi-genre, interdisciplinary, and intercultural feature of this cross-artistic book. These meant an appropriate content and form of the Pannonian man's attraction towards the Adriatic and its pan-artistic expression.

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The Blending of Cultural Patterns in Texts of Teenagers

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Abstract. My paper examines how the cultural attitude of teenagers develops in the dual force field of the public pedagogy mediated through the school and that of environmental culture. More precisely, I would like to track the changes and alterations of cultural attitude in a force field defined by several cultural patterns determined by different codes.

Keywords: cultural patterns, cultural attitudes, environmental culture, literacy

The public pedagogy transmitted by the school is very closely connected to high culture. The school as an educational institution intends to continue the traditions in which the task of filtering and arranging information was fulfilled by science and art. Literacy is the core of the transmission of knowledge and erudition, and it builds on a code that is suitable to transmit the human knowledge and erudition fixed and accumulated in the different professional disciplines. The basis of the cultural pattern being formed by the environmental influences is constituted by the popular taste strongly determined by popular culture. The effect of the latter is more powerful as it dominates the everyday world, it takes into consideration the expectations of the average receiver and builds on a code that everyone understands and enjoys. The main medium of popular culture is visual culture (movies, TV, magazines, video). As for the visual information, popular culture had the possibility to become almost totally dominant in forming taste as school (except for a few special forms of training) does not teach students to see in the best sense of the word, and the "glasses" that are created and offered by visual arts and through which we perceive the world are missing (Eco, 1976).

The problem is that there is a great distance between the two cultural patterns and, while the transfer between canonic and consumable culture is theoretically possible, in the everyday practice, the free choice of any of the artistic spheres

proves to be problematic as the biggest issue is that "the equation is not symmetrical". This means that the receiver brought up in the popular culture cannot step into "the sanctuary" of high culture as he/she does not have the necessary literacy, competence, or training. It is also true that he/she does not want to (Almási 2003, 14–15).

Thus, the main feature of the field forming the cultural behaviour and attitudes of teenagers is that it is filled with contradictions and tensions. The patterns offered by the school have a higher social prestige than the patterns of the environmental culture, as they aim to achieve the requirements of socially sanctioned literacy in the case of teenagers, the significant part of whom, on the other hand, are watching the orientating patterns that need mental effort and work from the medium of popular culture ensuring entertainment and relaxation, consider them hard to understand, boring, or sometimes outmoded. There are radically different orientation patterns existing side by side; their effects prevail and they form the attitudes of the teenagers towards their environment, towards the arts, towards knowledge, their aesthetic preferences and the action patterns to follow in a contradictory manner.

The conflicting orientation patterns result in hesitation, which is mostly reflected in the modifications of aesthetic attitudes and the changes in taste; on the other hand, they give birth to eclecticism due to the interaction between the patterns, as the effects migrate from one sphere to another. The compositions of the students reflect the complicated system of conflicts and interactions; the texts created in the different text production tasks (a specific communication situation) are the best indicators of literacy; that is why, based on them, the changes and alterations in the students' cultural attitudes can be best studied.

The research is preceded by the study of the level of written communication competence, which made it possible to analyse a large number of texts written in different genres by the subjects of a representative sample. The phenomena outlined during the assessment of the results (the significant drop in performance in "adult" tasks, the ambivalence of the texts, the significant differences in the level of performance and skills in the text design and text editing operations) signal the duality between the opposition and intertwining of the different patterns. The characteristics of the compositions suggest that behind the ambiguity of the texts there is a contradiction that arises from the conflict between the receptive patterns organizing experience and the patterns that formulate them and direct text production. The processes present in the compositions, the text-editing solutions as well as the stylistic characteristics suggest that the receiver's attitude is formed by the environment; text production is however directed by educational patterns.

Based on these experiences and realizations, I designed the empirical tests which aim to study the relationship between the receiver's attitude and text production

practices. The target population of the study consisted of high school students. I chose this age-group because this stage of the educational process prepares for university education and it forms the communicational literacy of the future intellectuals. I included every class in the study as I wanted to trace the changes (if any) during the four years of education regarding the relationships between the different cultural patterns. I also tried to identify the factors that limit the validity of the educational patterns in the specific communicational situations.

Data collection began in the school year of 2006 and it was carried out for three consecutive academic years in such a way that the first measurement was exploratory in nature, designed to see whether the repeated tests would justify the previous experiences and insights. The results proved the hypothesis that the eclecticism of the texts is caused by the intertwining of the different patterns and by the specific combinations between them. The following two surveys were carried out on an expanded sample: besides the students attending a theoretical high school, it also included secondary vocational school students. It featured students living in cities and students from villages, commuting to smaller towns.

The instruments of the study consisted of text production tasks. The students had to write two types of essays: a descriptive and a narrative one. I chose these two because the descriptive essays show the worst results on the national level, while descriptions contain features which indicate that the attitude towards the reality to be described forms text production in a specific way. In the case of the narrative essays, the Transylvanian students had the best results, but the compositions reflected a distorted perception of time and space, and this ambiguity was also present regarding spelling and in reference to stylistic norms.

The first text production task requested the students to create a text describing a landscape in which they could freely choose the text-organizing concept, the only restriction being presenting a landscape that is well-known for them. The second task requested the narration of a personal experience or a fictitious life event, the restriction consisting of assigning the experience with a given title (Accident on the ice). Both tasks had to be performed during one class each. The students were aware of the fact that they were participating in a study and that their compositions will not be corrected and graded. This aspect was important as it freed them from the constraints of the school and of the teachers, they could freely form the material in accordance with their taste and personal ideas.

When reading and evaluating the collected material, it became clear that based on the national criteria developed and applied one can qualify the level of text production skills; however, these are no longer suitable in describing the characteristics of the text. Another surprising phenomenon was that neither the descriptive nor the narrative compositions reflected the stratification of the sample according to settlement, type of school, and grades. They could not be grouped according to the aspects of the compilation of the sample. Despite the

diversity and variety of the texts, they showed the specific characteristics of uniformity both in the descriptions of landscape and in the narratives.

One of the main features of the descriptions of landscape is that the combination of real elements create fictional worlds, the elements of the natural environment create some kind of an artificial natural world, which is adapted to the aesthetic ideals of the students, and in which the general rules of perspective do not apply, the laws of biology and physics learnt during classes are unknown.

The main characteristic of the compositions is being constructed from panels. The stories suggest the feeling of "I have seen this before". The texts create worlds that resemble the real world from afar, but in which everything (the plot, the heroes, space and time) is subordinated to the requirements of curiosity and "uniqueness". The strive to be interesting can be traced in the unexpected plot twists and the high number of bizarre ideas, as well as in the representations of space and time. The strangest solutions result in the achievement of the aims of originality: the details are drawn upon the well-known storylines operating according to specific algorithms, which are in fact "original"; however, their impact is not calculated properly as they break the time structure of the narrative, they transport the events in the virtual world, they query the credibility of the previous parts of the narrative, and they result in humour where the events are dramatic in fact. In the light of all the above, it seems that behind the strive for originality there is a thirst for novelty, the single aim of which is novelty itself and, as it lacks all content or aesthetic motivation, they often promote the appearance of kitsch.

In addition to the differences arising from the specificities of the genre, the compositions (both in the case of the descriptive and the narrative ones) show surprising similarities in the way experience (connected to nature or to some life experience) is processed and expressed. Both the descriptions of nature and the narratives lack the sense of experience that makes the story credible. This results in a number of paradoxical situations. In the descriptions of landscapes, the writers – ignoring the laws of perspective – represent the invisible as well; the reality of space and time expressed by linguistic tools (adverbs, adverbials) is suddenly overwritten by the presentation of simultaneous actions unfolding in this narrow space. The narratives contain descriptions of first person singular events presented as if the narrators were external spectators (for example, in one of the compositions, the narrator uses the following words about an accident: "suddenly I disappeared from the horizon..."). The lexical and grammatical information connected to the verb are not aligned in time with the events or are even in a conflict with them; the actor or the narrator falls out of role too often (sometimes linguistic errors that can be interpreted as a slip of the tongue also highlight this, for example: "Suddenly he falls out of balance."). All of these reveal the lack of the force of an authentic experience that generates unity.

The compositions (both types) reflect the intention of the writers to create texts that can be considered literary. This pursuit is materialized most obviously in the linguistic expression, perhaps exactly in the endeavour to meet the language standards, to elaborately formulate the texts, to use stylistic and artistic devices so that the representation is illustrative, the presentation smooth and interesting. Nevertheless, as opposed to the legitimate and commended aims, the procedures reflecting artistic creation, the chosen stylistic devices achieve a different effect from what they were designed for.

They apply stylistic devices to create expressive descriptions, but they do not achieve the desired effect as they do not get the necessary images from the appropriate resources or they ignore the emotional unity of the context. Examples from descriptions of landscape: "Behind the distant mountains, like a big red tomato, the sun was setting slowly and reverently." Or: "The moon already hid behind the shining cloak of the sky. The sun shines as a victorious warrior in the blue sea. The wild geese slice the air as knife slices butter. Not far from me, a river was flowing. The fish were shining in the water like little stars." Similar solutions from narrative texts: "I found a pair of ice-skates in the legs of my trousers. White, shiny, not a scratch on them; like a bride: untouched, shiny, chaste." Another example: "I suddenly heard a strange noise, like someone breaking nuts. By the time I noticed, I was in the water, I didn't feel anything as it was as cold as if my heart had stopped, like the watch that was not wound." Finally: landscape description in the narrative: "The moon shined its teeth on the surface of the lake, like a little lantern."

The students seek elegance in their writing, but sometimes their style becomes complicated or stilted. "Spots of snow rest on the evergreen branches. The darkness reigns above the tall trees, only the moon, this bright face, and the distant lights, small diamonds, the stars show the way. In the total silence and above the fabulous scenery, two strong, wide wings are spread, their owners a lonely mountain eagle" (description of landscape). "It was Christmas Eve. Beautiful atmosphere. The most beautiful holiday in the world. It was cold outside, it was snowing, the house was full with the members of the family, we took part in a festive supper" (narrative).

Another characteristic appears on the level of language use, and it can also be considered general. The phenomenon is connected to specific modalities of linguistic form, when the writer uses a proper linguistic form (at least the pupil thinks so), but its meaning is problematic. In this case, the linguistic form means something else than what it means to express. In the following examples, it becomes obvious that for the student it is not the truth in the text that is most important but the fact that he/she considers the discovered linguistic expression to be a hit. "The small creek majestically flowed in its bed". (There is a semantic opposition between the subject and the predicate, the small water

yield of the creek cannot flow, let alone majestically, maybe gurgle). "We rapidly crawled home". (The adverb is logically inconsistent with the predicate, one can only crawl slowly). "The water in the creek clattered beautifully in my ear" (the onomatopoeic verb to clatter refers to an unpleasant sound effect, which contradicts sounding beautifully).

The cited examples suggest that the pupils understand artistic form differently than they were taught in school. Therefore, it would be interesting to study what the pupils consider literary, as the intertwining and mixing of the patterns of the classical and popular interpretation of art can be best traced in this approach.

The compulsory curriculum of secondary education includes literature, and the pupils know that Hungarian and Romanian literature is a compulsory subject in their final exams, with a national system of requirements, including both an oral and a written examination. The process of teaching literature starts in primary school and by secondary school it reaches a phase in which the pupil can enrich his/her already acquired knowledge (based on the ideal goals of the curriculum) with information in the field of the theory of literature, of genre, of stylistics, of textology, and of aesthetics and (if possible) can create readers enjoying art. The aim of text-centred interpretation is not simply guiding the pupils through the history of literature, but to teach them the techniques of attribution of meaning with the help of interpreting works that belong to the classical arts or their renewed forms in classical modernity and avant-garde. The school still needs to offer the cultural patterns (inherited system of symbols) with which the work of art can be approached.

The teachers of literature need to make the pupils aware that the receiver does not interpret arbitrarily, but he/she needs to adapt to the guidelines coded into the work. This is the first level of reception, the frame drawn by the work (Iser calls it the primary code), one function of which is to transfer the receiver into the secondary code (Iser), where interpretation is expanded, as the receiver activates his/her own world of experience and searches for the meaning of the work in order to find answers to his/her own self-interpretation as well.

Thus, the school offers the values of high culture, and with the help of analysing and interpreting practices support the development of the receiver's attitudes that can independently and competently relate to the values transmitted within the institutional framework of cultural heritage. The question is whether the level of education can guarantee the knowledge transmitted by the school to become a competence based on a personal value or not.

The texts of the pupils seize the situation in which the receiver's behaviour is determined not by the school but by the intellectual-sociological background of the environment, which is characterized by total enclosure by the popular (Almási 2003: 15). One of the main consequences of the reign of popular culture is that it fundamentally changes the intentions vis-á-vis the work, determined

by motives outside aesthetics (the desire to be entertained, the prestige of knowing and having seen, the decorative function). This attitude of the recipient does not assume either the aesthetic orientation of the receiver or the aesthetic embeddedness of the work. Aesthetic orientation is important because it is based on the differentiation of life and art, it requires an active and interactive cultural behaviour, as aesthetic orientation starts with the contemplative relationship with the work (Almási 2003: 174). The receiver needs to assume the intellectual effort required by contemplation: he/she surrenders to the world of the work, collating fiction with the elements of reality, evaluating and making judgements. The popular arts do not require this type of differentiation, "work" in aesthetic contemplation can be avoided; thus, it offers the pupils a pattern which is much more convenient to follow and which works against the pattern of the school.

The aesthetic embeddedness of the work is important as it becomes part of the general communicational shift of symbols. In Hartmann's conception, the essence of a work of art is that it has two layers: the physical, which is identical with every other object, and the intellectual, which speaks only through the act of the receiver (Hartmann 1977: 137–157). If this embeddedness is terminated, the character of the work calling for interpretation cannot prevail as it blends into the environment as a decorative element (for example, the pharaoh statuette around the neck of the pupil, the copy of one of the works of art on the series-produced pencil-box or even the picture of a celebrity). This emphasizes the notion that art means to be some kind of decoration or background music, or even a status symbol, the tool to become a star in a group, but certainly not anything serious or even a troublesome practice. (Is it by chance that the majority of pupils consider acquiring general knowledge important in order to become socially successful?)

The diverse and varied offer of popular culture reaches everyone with the help of modern mass communication, through new types of media. Since it works with loud effects, it attracts attention, and due to the use of the simplified code, it can address anyone. It is only natural that its effect has a powerful impact upon cultural attitudes (Propp 1975).

One of the main consequences of the modifications in the attitude of the receiver that organize experience is that the relationship between reality and fiction is changed. This phenomenon can be very precisely identified in the texts of the pupils: contours and boundaries are blurred, everything is (can be) intertwined; there is a possibility to swap between the paradigms operating under different codes.

The reports of change: "Under the bushes, insects and small animals run back and forth. On the branches of the bushes, birds eat the ripe nuts. The little stream winds near the canopy. Sheep drink from the water. (...) Finally, the trail reaches the top of the pine forest; there it is swallowed by a pasture, where sheep, lambs, goats, and cows graze. Next to the herd, the cowherd is sadly playing on his flute. (...) The fresh snow is glistening. Over the clouds, the dim light of a few stars and

the yellow half-sickle of the moon can be seen, which signals that the night is here and from now on darkness has the power."

Reality or fiction? It is both, and it is neither. It is a description of landscape, as the task requested. The narrator complies with the requirements of the genre, consistently applying the editing principle of receding, carefully formulating the sentences; selects adjectives to represent vividly. Nevertheless, the credibility that creates unity, either that of reality or that of fiction, is missing. Small elements query this unity, such as the simultaneous presence of three seasons (canopy, ripe nuts, fresh snow), the forms of relief and time of day which are completely independent of the grazing habits.

Another portrayal: "I am standing in the middle of the nature. There is a meandering river in front of me. The sound of water beautifully rattles in my ear. At my feet, a highway enters to infinity. Under the highway, a hill is covered by a beautiful pine forest. On the other side of the river, a farm can be observed. In the middle of the farm, the tower of the church stands proudly. It seems to reach up to the skies and suddenly disappear into infinity. Next to the farm, cows are grazing, the shepherd is lying asleep on his coat."

The text is based on the "original" combination of literary effects. He is inspired by the poems of Gyula Juhász (Evening in the lowlands) and Petőfi (The Tisza). He builds up his text with elements of the landscape, but he also places himself in the plotted landscape; starting the presentation from a given point, using the editing principle of receding, expanding dimensions into infinity, both in vertical and horizontal directions. The spatial features are indicated by adverbs; there are twelve adverbs of place in the short passage, however, it cannot be decided where things are located compared to one another. The description does not evoke a sight that we can imagine. It might only recall snatches of the original verses: "... stretches shivering into the starts,..." (the poplar in the yard); "The road slowly ambles (...) and suddenly vanishes into infinity." Based on these, a characteristic lowland landscape is invoked, without hills and pine forests.

The stories also imply the mechanism described by Umberto Eco, having intertextuality at the heart. The main idea here is that whole series are made of the same material. Students also have familiar stories: the frames of the stories are the same, the details differ; motifs wander from one story to another, characters only change their clothes and situations, but remain the same.

Several compositions could be entitled *Birthday on ice*. The stories centre on the celebration of a birthday. The requirement formulated in the introductory part: "This has to be a surprise." anticipates that the characters, who want to quit the everyday monotony, will begin the intrigue with an unexpected, unusual, surprising idea. Everyone is happy about the idea of celebrating the birthday on the frozen lake: "No one could take the smile off their faces, but we tried to remain ordinary. I was the main organizer, everyone helped me." The rush begins,

everyone is doing their duties according to the plan; there was only one problem: "They said that the weather would be warm next day. Since it was February, it was pretty cold, but spring was just around the corner. Everything was settled, the only problem was the ice..." Finally, "the big day has arrived"; after lunch, "we thought that now is the best time for the surprise: we blindfolded her (the celebrated) and put her in the car. We went to the lake and made her stand in the middle of it; I was carrying the cake, while my brother had the skates. We were already on our way, while our friends were watching gleefully my mother's face, but my brother stumbled on the slightly wet and lumpy ice. He dropped the skates; the weight of which cracked the thin ice, so the orphan skates popped under the water."

So, the goal was reached: "The surprise gift was even more surprising because everybody was trying to pull out the lonely, soaked skates from the ice-cold water."

The narrator is so overwhelmed by the "great idea" that the presentation of the story is full of contradictions, inconsistencies, and even absurdities: for example, the arrival of the spring scheduled for a certain day, how the celebrated is held by the thin ice, so on and so forth – because every paragraph of the text contradicts the previous one.

The narrators, who have chosen the stories based on the idea of celebrating on ice, do try their best in order to be "original". In the following composition, where the celebrated is a classmate, an even bigger surprise is prepared. "I remembered that our neighbour had an old car; I bought this car as a present. The big day had arrived and everyone was helping me in taking the car on the ice and covering it. We managed to do it, but we didn't think about that the weather would later warm up, so the ice would not hold for sure the weight of the car." The acme: "After all, the accident occurred at 3 pm, when everyone handed over their gifts on the ice. When I unveiled the car, Szabi sat in. Once he shut the door, the ice crashed in under the car, and it started to sink in the cold water. Everyone ran there to pull out Szabi from under the ice, and they took him to the hospital with a car for further nursing." The sequence of events ends with the hospital visit; the final sentence features the events as an unforgettable experience.

What patterns could inspire the narrations which are based on bizarre ideas, always ignoring the reality and constantly dropping back there in a clumsy way? There is a huge advertisement in Mureş County that could bring us closer to understanding. It can be seen, for example, on the busy route between Târgu Mureş and Sighişoara, and it lures young people to hold their weddings in the middle of a lake. The image depicts a summer landscape with lush vegetation, a blue lake with an island in the middle of it, where a slender female figure in wedding dress is standing. The landscape is familiar from the descriptive compositions of the students, while any element of the presented scenes can be replaced with another one.

The principle of content adequacy learnt in writing classes at school prevails in most of the texts. The bottom line in forming the story consists of the memories

recalled by the title, the evoked material of experiences, and the activated narrative patterns. It is remarkable how the title of the writing task does not bring to surface personally experienced life events, which can be turned into authentic narrations in accordance with the known rules of forming the story. On the contrary, such story frames are used that function on the base of a well-defined algorithm, and which offer the stereotypical roles as action patterns to be played. So, the personal experiments are not being formed into a story, but the already existing frame needs to be supplemented with details, the offered roles need to be played, and the emergent story needs to be narrated.

Cindy Sherman's procedure sheds light on the essence of this "reverse" technique, based on which she created her series named Untitled Film Stills. The criticism considers the exhibition to be "the brilliant elaboration, graphic visualization, and careful analysis of the stereotypical behavioural patterns mediated by the rhetorical photo vision and the film" (Sebők 2003: 151).

The artist's procedure: after watching dozens of films, mainly B-movies, she tried to simplify them, to deduce them in certain algorithms. After detecting the stereotypical roles offered to the viewers as action patterns, she played these roles, and she exhibited the photos taken about the acting as stills from the movie. Their impact is special because the copy is not defined by the original, but the original is stimulated by the copy, the creation of different narratives in everyone's imagination. The viewer gets help from mass culture in re-creating the story from the movie.

On the basis of the test sample's analysis, it can be stated that there is an internal contrast between the receptive attitude that organizes experiences and the creative attitude that composes the text. This inconsistency is projected on the text, determining one of its main characteristics, the eclectic nature. The school is unable to provide the cultural training for high school students (future potential intellectuals), which would familiarize them with the artistic paradigms operating by different codes while preparing them to choose consciously. This is also proven by the fact that during the years of education there is no significant change in the relationship between different patterns.

The interaction of the two cultural patterns (educational and environmental) can be observed both in the narrative and descriptive compositions, as well as how they switch from one to another. However, the narrations present the rhapsodical nature of the changes more powerfully; while the kitsch cannot be captured only in the approach to nature, in the banality of the reflections on nature but also in human behaviour, gestures, poses, positions and modes of acting, communication situations.

The eclectic nature of the text is manifested in its complexity by revealing something about the technique that serves as a basis for it. Since students want to meet teachers' expectations, they try to adapt the patterns of text production

learnt in school. They manage to do this by moving the used elements from their original place, from popular culture into a construction where the rules of traditional narratives or descriptions are decisive. The experiment is not very successful because the dialectical relationship between the whole text and its fractions is often compromised in many ways.

Since the patterns function based on two different codes, the incompatibility results that frequent changes need to be made, which could affect various levels of text, which will always have an unexpected or unpredictable impact.

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Technology-Based Projects in Medical English

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Abstract. The paper presents empirical results of applying asynchronous writing and speaking tools in Medical English learning (ME). Class-size Voice-Thread and Blogger-based non-mandatory projects were conducted with general and dental medicine students in two consecutive years for one semester each, with significantly improved outcomes in terms of extension of the writing and speaking time in the target language, motivation and engagement levels as well as confidence and awareness of one's competence.

Keywords: technology, Medical English, ESP, VoiceThread, blog

1. Emerging technologies in ME

Emerging technologies have been reshaping language teaching and learning by making students more active, engaged, and motivated learners (Lerner 2009) while promoting autonomy, reflection, and collaboration. Moreover, technology-based projects apply the novel concept of **minimally-invasive education** (Mitra 2011), the pedagogical method that uses "the learning environment to generate an adequate level of motivation to induce learning. Students working autonomously or from peers are more likely to take more responsibility for their own learning in the future".

Within the context of internationalization of services and training in the medical field, pre-service medical students face the challenge of employing English in their life-long learning and future professional development through conference presentation, article publication, international team building for evidence-based decision-making, as well as patient–doctor communication. Consequently, communicative competence becomes a key issue in teaching and learning English for Medical Purposes (EMP).

This paper is a survey of technology-based projects carried out in two successive years with ME students of the University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Tîrgu-Mureş, Romania, within the framework of task-based learning. It reflects on harnessing emerging technologies (i.e. speaking and writing tools) and allowing partial control (McFarland 2009) to course participants, resulting in more active and communicative ME language learning experiences.

2. Added value of technology in ME writing and speaking

The general Medical English teaching format is not different from that of other ESPs, and is based on teaching large mixed ability groups for a total of less than 100 hours (structured on two modules and 4 semesters, i.e. two hours/week) in the first two years of study as part of the core curriculum of complementary subjects. Physical restraints (the amount of time and formation of all skills, mixed entry levels of competence) are seconded by the generally acknowledged increased difficulty of the first years in medical higher education when the students' basic motivation is to acquire field knowledge to the detriment of English language learning and awareness.

In terms of basic competences, conference presentations and article writing make writing and speaking key ME productive skills that encompass the two extremes of formality: distance (highest formality in writing) versus informality (closeness in speaking), and premeditated production (access to resources is possible in the case of writing) versus spontaneous production (real-time, in the case of speaking).

Speaking is involved in giving feedback to patient stories in the process of patient management from history taking to informal bed-side or professional case presentations. However, class-speaking is fraught with limitations due to large groups and mixed ability in accuracy-fluency. On the other hand, teaching ME writing presents certain difficulties pertaining to amount (restricted time devoted to ESP within the medical curriculum), commitment (involves additional time investment for reflection, which makes writing less desirable for class activities), and motivation (writing activities are de-motivating and boring as they involve planning, drafting, revising). Writing assessment has also evolved from tests for composition skills to portfolio-based writing, the latter offering a more faithful picture of the students' progress and development (Hirvela 2005).

The next section of the paper will detail the way in which technology was used to encourage spoken and written production extension while responding to future doctors' professional communication demands. More specifically, it will explore the benefits of customizing asynchronous blog writing and VoiceThread speaking for Medical English. We hypothesized that emerging technology-

enhanced projects will optimize communication towards more active and autonomous ME production, likely to prepare students for career advancement, attendance at conferences, academic and work collaboration across borders and internalization of workplaces.

3. Project presentation

3.1. Method

The study is a retrospective survey that investigates technology-based asynchronous writing and speaking with Blogger (B-writing) and VoiceThread (VT-speaking) respectively, on the basis of:

– text analysis for assessment of time, volume, and quality of production (comment monitoring for VT-speaking plus individual feedback for B-writing);

– reflection on action of both students and trainer for both projects (Yang, 2009);

– end-of-project questionnaire-based oral interview for evaluation of students' motivation and attitude (VT-speaking).

Technology-based asynchronous activities were:

– non-mandatory, complementary, learning and communication-oriented;

– basically task-based: i.e. the primary objective was communicative rather than linguistic; students were confronted with real, field-specific tasks (e.g. advise a patient on oral health and treatment plan – B-writing; "How can the state health system be improved" – VT-speaking); focus on language was secondary to the communicative task.

Subjects were second-year students in Dental Medicine (N= 25 participants out of 62) for the B-writing, and second-year General Medicine students for the VT-speaking project (N= 80 participants).

Learner profiles. Participants in the two projects had A2–B2 levels in terms of ESP language proficiency, and apart from accessing materials on the class wiki or the university e-learning platform, students had no previous exposure to technology-based projects in any other mainstream subject or language learning.

Purpose:

– active and communicative ME speaking and writing (Murray, 2007);

– activation of online reading and listening;

– increased motivation and engagement in autonomous ME practice;

– building additional extra-linguistic academic skills: searching for information, synthesizing and developing arguments, remixing and rephrasing information.

3.2. Voice Thread – Asynchronous speaking project

Voice Thread (Educause, 2009) is an interactive, multimedia tool that enables conversation around various types of media: images, videos, PP, which can be adapted to different proficiency levels while offering students the opportunity to share and listen to their voices.

However, in terms of models, there is a gap of evidence-based successful application of VT in higher education (Bart 2011, Brunvand 2011, Gillis 2012), let alone ME learning (Aponte 2010). The starting premise of our ME-VT application was that extension of speaking through meaningful, task-based asynchronous activities will optimize speaking and contribute to the formation of public speaking confidence and competence, essential for the medical profession.

The group of 80 second-year students was involved in the class-sized VT-based speaking project in the months of February–June 2013 (https://voicethread.com/share/4370164/). Speaking with VT, functioned as a springboard for more engaging, relevant speaking activities, which were subsequently used as a formative assessment tool (Pop 2013), on the following topics: basic qualities for a good doctor, how to improve the state health system versus private practices in Romania, facets of medical specialities, lessons learnt from movies/books on the medical profession – case studies, a hospital experience – reflections on medical life seen from the hospital bed, symptoms of different diseases (guessing game).

Students worked on the speaking skills of debating, exemplifying, arguing, and on sub-skills, i.e.: intonation, stress, weak forms, use of cohesive devices, discourse markers for introducing ideas, developing, explaining, and concluding.

End-of-project oral interview evaluated:

a) students' satisfaction with the VT-speaking project: 70 students (87.5%) enjoyed speaking on the proposed topics and found the experience novel and motivating. The rest encountered technical problems in recording (lack of microphone, Internet connection);

b) students' perception of the usefulness of VT-speaking project: 72% found the speaking useful, 28% were neuter or did not know;

Outcomes: Using voice tools as a supplement is superior in many ways to real-time speaking and beneficial to pre-service ME students as it is:

– *student-centred and democratic*: more students had the opportunity to speak rather than only the fluent and confident ones;

– *creative*: speaking statistics show that 346 asynchronous comments were recorded by 96% of participating students;

– *learning-oriented*: prior preparation is possible in asynchronous speaking as well as listening to oneself and others, rehearsing and re-recording, likely to optimize the speaking performance in terms of confidence and quality.

– memorable and transparent.

3.3. Asynchronous blog-writing project

This section will reflect on the project hypothesis, objectives, issues of material design, strong points, and shortcomings of the B-writing project. Blogger was tailored as strategic framework to suit the pedagogical need of communicating in writing for medical purposes and promoting writing quality while offering a space for students to be connected and share content on authentic, field-related topics.

Writing with blogger (http://medicalenglishumf.blogspot.ro) was addressed to 2nd-year students in Dental Medicine (N=62), of which about one third (25 students, 40.3%) contributed with single or multiple comments. Activities extended basically for the second semester of the academic year 2013–2014 although the blog posts started during the first semester. Students were initially apprehensive and reluctant to contribute with extra work, as prior informal class discussions and final input demonstrated, although all students admitted the importance of relevant extensive practice for writing enhancement.

The project hypothesis was that: a) extending the writing practice through relevant and engaging topics, b) offering individualized feedback, and c) working in the public space will optimize communicative writing quality in terms of accuracy and fluency while contributing to an enhanced awareness of the students' needs, ability, and confidence in their ME writing.

Therefore, the main **objective of our project** was to bridge the gap between class ME learning and real ME communication, through extension of the time spent in the target-language environment and adaptation to the ME communicative needs while developing the students' writing skills: e.g. reflecting, instructing, summarizing (abstract writing), arguing, counselling, giving bad news, empathizing, interviewing in an integrated format with listening, reading, and note-taking.

Material design. With limited field knowledge and lacking task-based peer-models of best practice (unlike in Business English, for instance), the ME teacher faces the challenge of stirring the students' participation and originality, while remaining relevant yet not too content-specific.

The example below will illustrate the customization of content to task-based writing and integration of reading meant to enforce development of patient communication skills, adequate vocabulary recycling, and encouragement of self-expression:

1) Task example:

"One of your patients presents to your dental practice with serious oral problems and he confesses he likes one of the foods/drinks in the slideshow below. Read the presentation on: Foods your dentists avoid, then pick one of the types of foods/drinks your patient exaggerates with, and WRITE A SHORT DIALOGUE of your communication with this patient (5–10 replies),

advising him/her why he/she should avoid that item and what to do instead. Manifest consideration, politeness for your patient's decisions, but be convincing enough about what is good and bad for his/her teeth in the long run*".*

This task focused on offering advice to a patient, with consideration of politeness and turn-taking (primary focus). The communicative purpose is evident in the number of comments the task generated (e.g. 70 comments, including teacher replies). The generated comment below shows adequate use of vocabulary with clear argumentation of causes, exemplification, instructions on "how-to" and politeness in advising dental patients:

1) Student comment example:

'Hi Liza, good to see you again. You look so fantastic and I see that you lost some weight as well. What brought you here today? How may I help you?...'

'Hello, Dr. Pancsi! Good to see my best friend as a dentist after two years. I really need your help. You are right, I lost weight by being on a diet and working out hard for a year. However, my teeth are getting discolored and my gum is bleeding and receding. I am worried I might lose my teeth, Dr. Pancsi.'

'Have you been taking any diet pills, Liza?'

'To be honest, yes, as I wanted to get a better result as quick as possible.'

'Oh, Liza, this was a big mistake. You should have asked me for advice before. Even though it may seem like a quick way to trim your waist and lose weight, it can also be a fast track to tooth decay and gum diseases. These pills decrease salivary flow, which causes dry mouth and puts you at risk for tooth decay, cavities, gum disease and comfort. Some of the pills can cause discolored teeth as well. That is the reason why your teeth are getting yellowish, Liza.'

'Please, give me some advice. What am I suppose(d) to do to protect my teeth and gum?'

'First of all, stop taking the pills and start a new diet based on veg(e)table(s) and fruits. Try to eat leafy veg(e)tables, like spinach, as by chewing them, they scrub and clean your teeth. Eat more dairy products, as they are the primary sources of calcium, which is essential for healthy teeth. Calcium stre(n)gthens tooth enamel. For example, cheese is the best dairy product, containing a type of protein which along with calcium, play[s] an important role in stabilizing and repa(i)ring tooth enamel.'

'That's great Pancsi! And what about the color of my teeth? Could you please recommend a natural whitening option?'

'I would [strongly] recommend strawberries! Eat strawberr[ies] as [they] contain malic acid, a natural enamel whitener. The other option would be to crush one strawberry and mix it with baking soda. Spread it on your teeth with a tooth brush and leave it for about 5 minutes and then brush your teeth gently not to harm your gum and teeth. Try to use a soft brush and make circular movements in order to massage your gum to stimulate the circulation of blood in your gum.'

'Thank you so much, Pancsi for your help. I am grateful for your advice and glad to have you as my best friend. See you soon!' (by B. A.)

A rough statistics of the blog-writing for this post only will amount to an equivalent of about 30 A4 pages of additional, autonomous task-based ME writing. In terms of the language accuracy, individual feedback involved correction of recurrent language errors (e.g. *vegitables* in the post above) as well as challenging self-correction (the student was asked to correct the lack of agreement in his/her comment, e.g.: *eat strawberry as it contains...*).

B-writing project outcomes

Employment of task-based asynchronous blog-writing in ME contributed to significant improvement of the students' autonomous reception and production (McLoughlin 2008) (see *Table 1* below):

Table 1. *B-writing project – quantitative results*

Production	– Over 770 comments by 25 students – Teacher-to-student (T to S) and self-correction was visible for all comments versus the private character of feedback and correction in classical writing
Listening (YouTube clips)	5 additional video clips
Reading (extra medical articles)	7 articles on: – Low-cost dental care – Excess sugar linked with heart disease death – The truth behind major dentist myths – Association of parental stress and early childhood caries – Case study – Free checks in Edinburgh to raise awareness of mouth cancer – Foods your dentists avoid; Teacher and peer comments
Vocabulary revision	Vocabulary quiz with PhotoPeach

Besides the communicative ME purpose, the B-writing project represented a faithful portfolio of student activities and was employed for evaluation and progress documentation, the feedback being individualized and transparent (Pop 2014).

The major B-writing project drawback was that it was time-consuming for both teacher and students: it was difficult for one teacher to offer quality feedback to such an extensive input as most comments clustered in the pre-examination period, which further demonstrates that students are extrinsically motivated to a great extent.

As a final recommendation, peer comments rather than comments responding to the teacher's initial post should be encouraged as these would enhance communicative cross-exchanges and, therefore, collaboration.

4. Conclusions

The paper fills a gap in the literature on technology-task-based speaking and writing for pre-service Medical English and reflects on results and challenges of such class-size student-centred and learning-oriented customization.

Project outcomes and students' reflections on the tasks confirmed the adage that the less we teach, the more they learn:

– both asynchronous writing and speaking projects allowed students to revise, reflect, and therefore to learn;

– solving real tasks determined students to read more extensively in order to articulate original points of view;

– public writing allowed comparison with peers' productions and generated more faithful self-assessment in terms of content and accuracy proficiency;

– providing additional opportunities for writing practice made students more conscious that editing and constant improvement are mandatory;

– satisfaction and confidence in language use increased with practice;

– more students engaged in the speaking than in the writing project (97.6% versus 40.3%), which may reflect, on the one hand, the prevalence of preferred speaking versus writing learning style and, at the same time, on the latter's increased difficulty.

To conclude, as development of productive EMP skills are crucial within the context of career advancement and internalization of the medical labour market, technology may offer the right framework for the generation of additional relevant written and oral communication in order to bridge the gap between institutional learning and real-life communication.

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The *Travelling* Metaphor in Contemporary Terminology

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Abstract. External motivation, the classification and characteristics of this type of motivation – attributed to an impressive number of specialized terms in contemporary scientific languages – is the topic we propose to approach in our study. The motivated relationship between the signified object and the term and the metasemic motivation (in the case of change of meaning) are two of our general research directions. The definition of the metasemically motivated "travelling" metaphor in terminology, the cultural sources of this type of metaphor, the patterns of interdisciplinarity it creates in the corpus of terms and/or specialized discourse, and the multi- and plurilingual dimension represent the specific objectives of our research (applicative and theoretical). The descriptive-linguistic method, the contrastive method are the methods applied in the study to show the extent to which the condition of precision of the specialized meaning is met in the different languages. The results of this research reveal that external motivation, the metaphor, represents one of the creative forces of present terminology.

Keywords: motivation, metasemic, metaphor, multilingual, terminology

1. Theoretical framework

"Motivation" is a characteristic of specialized terms as opposed to the majority of linguistic signs of arbitrary (or unmotivated) character in terms of the extrinsic relationship between the concept and extralinguistic reality. Motivation can be analysed from several perspectives.

There is an *absolute motivation*: the sound form "evokes traits of the designated content" (*Dicționar de Ştiințe ale Limbii* 2005: 330). The interjections *sst*! *deh*! as well as the onomatopoeia *hodoronc-tronc*! *tronca-tronca*! reproduce sounds, noises in a spontaneous manner. There are words with a phonetic symbolism that also reproduce spontaneous noises: *cotcodăceală* ('cackle'), *a mârâi* ('to growl'),

a hârâi (‘to growl’), etc. *Relative motivation* is achieved not only on the level of phonetic elements.

Scholarly literature describes other types of motivation as well: a. *internal motivation* is of a diachronic nature. The disappearance of basic words led to the disappearance of internal motivation; b. motivation by *semantic elements* (such as *pro-, retro-, super-,* etc.) is a constant of the common lexicon but also that of the specialized lexicon as well. The same internal motivation determines compound words (*tărâie-brâu* ‘punk’) and the compounds used in science (*morfologie* ‘morphology,’ *pediatrie* ‘paediatrics’).

Synchronic motivation is another type of internal motivation and is manifested both on the level of the lexicon and/or on the morphological level. We talk about *paronymic motivation/homonymic motivation*: the primary signs *capră* (‘1. goat, 2. leapfrog’)*, broască* (‘1. frog, 2. lock’) are reference terms to express distinctive features from the signified field of the new signs formed based on common features that exist between the objects designated by the primary sign and the secondary sign (formal identity in both examples). This characteristic defines the homonyms *capră* (‘1. goat, 2. leapfrog’), *broască* (‘1. frog, 2. lock’), and *lac* (‘1. lake 2. lacquer’). The primary term is always arbitrary. For instance, the word *lac* (‘lake’), designating the surface of a body of water is arbitrary in its internal relationship as in its report to external reality, to the referential plane. The derived term, however, designating the substance that gives shine to nails/ the parquet, etc. is internally motivated based on resemblance on the ontological plane (reflected on the plane of consciousness), the geographical reality and *lac* (‘lacquer’), the gloss used in cosmetics/the chemical industry.

External motivation is based on developing a relationship between the signified object and the signifying form, outside the linguistic system. *Metasemic* motivation is a type of external motivation, manifested in the case of semantic changes in contemporary terminology/specialized languages. The primary meaning of a word in the common languages and/or a specialized language can acquire numerous secondary meanings, derived, thanks to the “meta” function (the semantic and informational, communicative ensemble) that contributes to the creation of several term corpora through semantic changes. Metasemic motivation is a characteristic of the language of science, of the connected domains of activity, and it is a source of creation of the terminological metaphor.

2. Metasemic motivation in the specialized languages

Vasile Bahnaru creates a classification of metasemy, proposing the term “implicative metasemy,” which manifests itself in two ways (Bahnaru 1988: 156); these are: 1. “aesthetic implicative metasemy” and 2. “denominative implicative metasemy”.

1. If the first typology is manifested by a poetic image which overlaps the idea of the message of artistic creation, 2. denominative implicative metasemy has the function to designate the relationship between a sign and the extralinguistic reality or the referent in its acception of a particular object belonging to a given class (the *colleague* in front of you), belonging to the reference to action (*to read*, not *to sing*), the quality of the name (*beautiful, gentle*), to the attribute of the action (*brotherly, English*). The general patterns of achieving implicative metasemy differs from the vocabulary of natural languages to that of specialized languages. On the lexical level, metasemy is achieved through general patterns the actual manifestation of which is specific to each language. These are patterns that contribute, on the one hand, to the emergence of new meanings, contained in the concept of a word (University: Technical University, University of Medicine, People's University of Arts). Secondly, the concrete patterns of implicative metasemy are relevant through semantic mutations that generate homonymy (lexical/morphological): *lac* ('lacquer, nail polish') – cosmetic product; *lac* ('lacquer') – chemical product for maintenance; *lac* ('lake') – stretch of water, etc.

Eugen Coşeriu considered metasemy a type of cognitive (unitary expression) and/or an aesthetic metaphor (spontaneous and immediate of a vision, of a poetic intuition), a momentary identification of different objects (Eugeniu Coşeriu 1952, 2009) realized on the level of the signified.

The type of motivation of the terminological metaphor is *metasemic in its nature*, based on modifications of meaning, of conceptual traits realized based on analogy, etc. It is a type of motivation that is realized on the level of the bi-lexical and pluri-lexical metaphor. Within the medical metaphor "amaurotic cat's eyes" [designates in ophthalmology a type of unilateral blindness, accompanied by a shiny aspect of the pupil (*Dicționar medical* 2007: 754)], there is a primary signifier, the "eye" (in the phonetic expression "cat's eyes," it is also another metaphor), which designates the anatomical element. This first signifier forms a secondary signifier (illness of the eye) through the semantic relationship it establishes with the determinatives "cat's" and "amaurotic," in context. A relatively similar situation of metasemic motivation exists in the medical metaphor "caput medusae," which designates a visible collateral circulation in the abdominal wall, created by the dilating of the paraumbilical veins as a result of the permeabilization of the umbilical vein due to portal hypertension (*Dicționar medical* 2007: 308). The primary signifier (the phonetic form "head") designates through analogy the mushroom-shaped form of blood vessels. By the relation of meaning established with the meaning of the determinative "medusae," this first signifier becomes a secondary signifier (based on the conceptualization of the "visible," "transparent" character of the disease).

We can observe from the given examples the complexity of the concept in establishing differences in meaning, in differentiating the terminologies ("eyes"/

"cat's eyes" / "amaurotic cat's eyes," etc.) The surface level of the polilexical metaphors is heterogeneous, including in terms of linguistic expression different syntagmatic units: med. *active serum* (Lat. serum, zer), med. *brush fillets*, med. *amaurotic cat's eyes*, med. *caput medusae*, etc.

The complexity of the context is not given by the surface level but by the deep levels, the different degrees of fixing the elements of the metaphor.

The degree of the logical and semantic cohesion of bi- and polilexical metaphors, their age, and common semic basis impose stable structures and stable contexts.

The terminological metaphor: definition, classification

Linguistics differentiates between scientific metaphorization and terminological metaphorization. 1. The notion of scientific metaphorization has a broad scope, including both conceptual metaphorization and theoretical metaphorization. The complexity is given by the correlation with the creative, psychological, and theoretical dimension of the process itself. The terminological metaphor has a general reference upon three interdependent levels: the gnoseological level (that of the theory of cognition), the conceptual level, and the semiologic level (code and information character).

By terminological metaphor, we understand a functional variant of the scientific metaphor. The analysis of the types of terminological metaphors we consider is carried out on two levels (Oliveira 2009):

1. at the denominative level (of linguistic realization)

The word *canal* was used in everyday Latin with the meaning 'ditch, gutter' and belongs to the preconceptual pattern of the "habitat". It has come to be used by current terminology, by several specialized languages being used interdisciplinarily.

In the medical language, for example, *canal* (Fr./ En. duct, canal, channel NA: ductus, canalis) is one of the denominative metaphors that names the general concept of "space of leakage or passageway for organic matter (food, blood), air or other anatomical structures (vessels, nerves)." The tubular structure that dominates the products of the secretion of an exocrine glands. It is a metaphor synonymous with other two *denotative constructs*, "conduct" and "duct".

2. on the level of abstract images (of concepts)

As there has been a term in the example, a denotative metaphor, 56 conceptual metaphors have been created through conceptual and semantic expansion in the English, French, and pan-Romance terminologies in general: alveolar canal, deferent canal, ion channel, tarsian channel, etc. Similarly, in the case of the denominative metaphor *thorax*, the following metaphorical concepts have been created through expansion: med. Ro. *torace în butoi* (cf. Fr. *thotax en tonneau*;

Eng. *barrel chest*); Ro. *torace în carenă* (cf. Fr. *thorax en carène*; Eng. *chicken breast*); med. Ro. *torace în clepsidră* (cf. Fr. *thorax en sablier*; Eng. *rachitic chest*); med. Ro. *torace în pâlnie* (cf. Fr. *thorax en entonnoir;* Eng. *tunnel chest*), etc.

The "travelling" metaphor in terminology

The following are part of the so-called "travelling" metaphors: Ro. *blestemul Ondinei* 'Ondine's curse,' Ro. *călcâiul lui Achile* 'Achilles's heel,' *mărul lui Adam* 'Adam's apple,' *sindromul Alice în Țara Minunilor* 'Alice in Wonderland syndrome,' etc. They are used in sociolinguistics, especially in the specialized discourse with a high degree of science popularization. In a general sense, the "travelling" metaphor is used in the study of the vocabulary and focuses on quasi-universal constructions belonging to the European heritage (Chiş 2005). A few examples: *from Annas to Caiaphas, from Alpha to Omega, Achilles's heel, Pandora's box, Penelope's canvas, the bed of Procustes*, etc. In specialized languages, the *travelling* metaphors, besides the aforementioned culture-specific words, include several source domains. Culture-specific words and idiomatic expressions may have an expressive function in interpersonal communication and/or in the language of the media, in the language of fiction, etc. The terminological metaphors of "hard" science go beyond these functions carrying the expressive vs. subjective dimension through the cognitive and logical status of metaphorical constructions: 1. they contribute to the creation of new scientific concepts; 2. they "name" concepts through analogy. We believe that through the conceptual systems and subsystems of contemporary science they belong both to Europe and the whole world, the architecture of the Greek and Roman houses, the way to represent the real world and the world beyond ancient civilizations, the way to understand phenomena, elements of material civilization, etc.; Greek-Latin mythological names (*Atlas, Axis*, names of vertebrae in Anatomy), Norse mythology, oriental tales, literary works, etc.

The source domains of the *travelling* metaphor are varied, their importance consisting in the ensuring of the transparency necessary for specialized communication.

The Greek and the Roman house is one of the most productive domains for the terminological and/or conceptual metaphor in medical terminology, in the NA language, and in economy. *Economy* is one of the many conceptual metaphors coined from *οϊκο* – and *νομ*(ο)-, *νόμος*, which entered European languages through Latin. In the common lexicon of the Greek language, οϊκος, οϊκία had multiple meanings: 'house, home, environment'; 'hall, auditorium'; 'residence'; 'goods, property, fortune, country,' and *νομ(ο)*- meant 'custom, way of being; order; law, right'. The acception of a way of organizing private property conferred by Xenofon to the term is Xenophon; it is nuanced by Aristotle for whom *oikonomia* meant

'the art of homemaking' and 'the art of trade'. The term *oeconomia* (Fr. *économie*; Sp. *economia*; It. *economia*; Rom. *economie*; En. *economy*) can be found in Latin used by Quintilian almost two millennia ago, used with an empirical acception.

The pattern/the *anthropological* resource domain is particularly productive in the medical conceptual constructs: med. *silhuette sign;* med. *blue toe syndrome*; med. *long fibres syndrome*; med. *red man syndrome*; med. *silvery hair syndrome*; med. *crutch palsy,* etc. By the "known/determined" characteristic conferred by the definite article (syndrome/sign/disease), the conceptual sphere of the denoted is expanded (to be compared with: med. *sindromul picioarelor fără repaus* – 'Restless Legs Syndrome' with *sindrom al picioarelor fără repaus* – 'Syndrome of Restless Legs,' the latter created for comparison), the apparently subjective charge being neutralized. The logical-semantical convergence of both terms is used in the cognitive approach: med-restless legs + syndrome; med. crocodile tears + syndrome, etc. On the level of expression, conceptual constructs are polylexical terminological syntagms, in which the determinant identifies notional characteristics (matter, object, possessor, class, whole, part, etc.) of denotation. The pattern *manus* has known in its own evolution moments of expansion, in which several conceptual constructs have been realized based on analogy. *Manu militari* with a referent in criminal law is a conceptual metaphor used with the meaning 'by public force'. We can find the *manus* model on the macro-systemic level, in the corpora of terminological constructs with referents in the management of marketing: Ro. *manufactura* (Fr. *manufacture*; Sp. *manufactura*; En. *manufactory*); Ro. *manuscris* (Fr. *manuscrit*; Sp. *manuscrito*; En. *manuscript*), in the language of social sciences (Ro. *manipulare*; Fr. *manipulation*; Sp. *manipulacion,* etc. as opposed to the English language, where the equivalent *handling* is used), in market economy (Ro. *manufacturier*; Fr. *manufacturier*; Sp. *manufacturero,* etc). The term *management* has the same root, *manus*, but it has acquired a specific meaning: discipline of economics having as its aim the study of the application of control and leadership politics, strategies, and decisions in economic and social activities, depending on the domain, in order to obtain the desired results regarding the stability and development of these activities. *Management* (< En. *management*; Fr. *management*; Sp. *management*) is a universal conceptual construct to which an adequate equivalent is hard to be found in the languages of contemporary Europe. Terms such as Ro. *administrație* (< Fr. *administration*), Ro. *organizare* (< Fr. *organiser*), Ro. *gestiune* (< Fr. *gestion*, Lat. *gestionem*), Ro. *conducere* (< Lat. *conducere*) do not include all the meanings within the concept of *management.* The recent term of *leadership* borrowed from English, which is used more and more insistently in the Romanian language, designates only one conceptual feature of the notion of *management*.

The *socio-economic/political/geographic* pattern, etc.: med. Persian Gulf Syndrome; ec. Black Friday; ec. Black Tuesday, etc. is expanding in contemporary

specialized languages. Based on this pattern, extremely complex metaphors are created with different syntagmatic realizations. The determiners, usually proper nouns, create the extension through conceptual traits related to space, to time/ period, to possessor, to identity, etc. These are metaphors built upon names of geographical regions and countries (med. Persian Gulf Syndrome), etc., and possess a high degree of implication in the terminology of different domains.

The syntagms in this category illustrate Roman Jakobson's hypothesis that in describing metaphors one should not exaggerate the challenge of semantic approach (v. Mihaela Mancaş in *Dicționar de Ştiințe ale Limbii* 2005: 308). In the syntagm *Persian Gulf Syndrome,* the semantic connection is not a powerful one, so we cannot mention the identity of the semes regarding the metaphorical term and the metaphorized but one of identifying a conceptual trait of the denoted ("varied symptoms of the Persian Gulf War veterans, 1990–1991"). The conceptual constructs having as their resource domain socio-economy, geography do not modify/substitute a trait, but create a new notion through adding "identifiers". We should not confuse the class of *metaphors of designation* with syntagms containing a proper name, also, designative, non-transparent: Thales' theorem, Euclid's postulates (formulae, in a traditional sense), Avogadro's number (numbers) and/or in *nominative*: Apert disease, Coandă effect, Lance sign, Cotzen syndrome, Conn probes, Casoni reaction. The *zoomorphic* preconceptual pattern is not particularly productive: med. *semnul ventuzei* 'the sign of the suction valve'; med. *sindromul lacrimilor de crocodil* 'crocodile tears syndrome'; med. *sindromul leopard* 'the leopard syndrome,' etc. The terminological metaphor *capital* (cf. neutre pl. Latin *capita – capete*) designates the concept of the totality of financial resources of an enterprise (money, stocks), creating a conceptual basis for about 23 metaphors of abstract (conceptual) images in the international business language: Ro. *capital activ negativ* (Fr. *capital actif négatif*, Sp. *capital activo negativo*,); Ro. *capital circulant* (Fr. *capital actif circulant*; It. *capitale di circolazione*; Sp. *capital circulante*); Ro. *capital uman* (Fr. *capital humain*, Sp. *capital humano*, It. *capitali umani*), etc. The notion is connected to the custom of Romans who owned animals to lend a certain number of "capita".

The terminological metaphor created on the basis of *habitat* and that of *material culture* belongs equally to the European material heritage: ec. *economie* 'economy'; med. *semnul scăriței* 'ladder sign'; med. *semnul sertarului* 'drawer sign'; med. *sindromul de ansă oarbă* 'blind loop syndrome'; med. *sindrom vestibular* ('vestibular syndrom'); med. *suberoză* 'suberosis,' etc. The Greco-Latin mythology is the resource domain that covers both from the conceptual and linguistic point of view an impressive number of scientific terms formed by analogy. In the English and Romance terminologies, there are about 17 metaphorical constructs formed on the basis of the preconceptual model *moneta* – semantically related to the verb *moneo*, *ere*, *ui*, *itum* (to recommend, to warn),

but also the epithet "advisory," which was assigned to Juno, the goddess (the Roman mint was placed in the Temple of Juno Moneta). The doublet *moneda* and *moneta* circulates in international terminology, the first one having a Greek etymon, the second a Latin etymon; both forms competed in forming the conceptual metaphor of *moneda* 'money, instrument of payment': Ro. *monedă comercială* (Fr. monnaie commerciale; Sp. moneda comercial); *Ro. moneda fără valoare*; Ro. *moneda din aur şi argint* (Fr. *monnaie en or et argent*; Sp. *moneda de oro y plata,* etc…).

Other resource domains of the travelling, terminological, and conceptual metaphors are: the pattern of the organic: med. stearină 'stearin,' etc; the mineral/vegetal kingdom: med. *sindromul prafului organic toxic* 'toxic organic dust syndrome'; med. *spicul* 'spicule'; med. *spor* 'spore'; med. *stafilom* 'stafiloma'; med. *talie* 'tiller' (în Lat. *talea* – tiller), etc.

Erudite metaphors: med. semnul arlechinului 'Harlequin sign'; med. semnul crenelului 'embattled sign,' med. blestemul Ondinei 'Ondine's curse,' etc.; the interdisciplinary terminological metaphor: sindromul de calotă 'calotte syndrome'; med. sindromul de linie mediană 'median ligament syndrome,' etc.; religious metaphor: med. semnul rugăciunii mahomedane 'the sign of the Mohammedan prayer,' etc; the metaphor with the substrate of forms of civilization: med. semnul steagului 'flag sign'; med. sindromul de restaurant chinezesc 'Chinese restaurant syndrome'; med. specul 'speculus,' etc.

The study of the terminological metaphor in general, that of the *travelling* metaphor is extremely complex. The utility of metaphorical constructs (of concept/image and denomination) is given by three aspects: the degree of fluidity of information in specialized communication, transparency of meaning and notional characteristics, and preservation of the specificity of national languages.

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Translation in ESL Classes

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Abstract. The problem of translation in foreign language classes cannot be dealt with unless we attempt to make an overview of what translation meant for language teaching in different periods of language pedagogy. From the translation-oriented grammar-translation method through the complete ban on translation and mother tongue during the times of the audio-lingual approaches, we have come today to reconsider the role and status of translation in ESL classes. This article attempts to advocate for translation as a useful ESL class activity, which can completely fulfil the requirements of communicativeness. We also attempt to identify some activities and games, which rely on translation in some books published in the 1990s and the 2000s.

Keywords: language teaching, method, translation, communicative and post-communicative language classes

1. Introduction

Language and culture are inseparable; hence the teaching of language is always intertwined with the teaching of culture. Linguistic and inter-linguistic communicative competence rely heavily on cultural and intercultural knowledge. Within intercultural knowledge and competence, the process of translation plays an essential role. Translation and teaching translation have been strongly debated issues in the field of foreign language teaching, and today we differentiate professional translation from pedagogic or school translation. The two types of translations, as we shall see, differ widely; what connects them is their capacity to bridge the gap between two cultures.

The attitude towards translation tasks in foreign language classrooms has been different in every major period and approach to language teaching. Adriana Vizental (2008: 30) makes an overview of the main trends in foreign language teaching, distinguishing between several successive generations of approaches:

– the grammar-translation method (GTM);
– the audio-lingual approaches (ALA);
– the communicative approach (CLT);
– the post-communicative turn (PCT).

Each method displays a different treatment of translation as a classroom activity.

2. The Grammar-Translation Method

Translation is a long-standing method in teaching foreign or second languages.

> Long before Grammar-Translation (GT) methods arose in the 19th century, there had been an emphasis on grammar in language teaching using translation techniques which had been developed in the 16th century. During the reign of the GT paradigm, translation was used to *understand* and *learn* grammatical use of the L2 better by providing *meaning* (mother tongue translation). Rather unnatural L2 sentences, often translated from the learner's first language (L1), were used to introduce the grammatical targets. The methodology, with its focus on learning grammar rules and vocabulary, and deductive L2 learning, did not provide for listening and speaking activities. It also induced a false impression that fixed word to word, or phrase to phrase, translation is possible between L1 and L2 (Machida 2008: 140–141).

According to Vizental (2008), the *grammar-translation method*, or *the classical method*, is one of the oldest methods, its principles and techniques being similar to those used for teaching "dead" languages such as Latin or Greek. As its name suggests, the *grammar-translation method* relies on acquisition of language by learning *vocabulary* and *grammar rules*, with *translation* employed as the main operational technique. One of the most important shortcomings of GTM was learners' inability to cope with actual communicative situations in spite of mastering the grammar of a language.

3. The Audiolingual Method

"By mid-20th century, the Audiolingual Method (ALM), based on the Army Specialised Training Program developed during the Second World War, had swept into second language teaching. It exemplified the shift of emphasis in foreign language teaching from written to spoken" (ibid. 141–142). The audio-lingual approaches (ALA) focused on developing *oral skills*, and considered reading and writing of secondary importance…

> 20th century audio-lingual teachers suggested teaching the foreign language by using it exclusively. No explanation in or translation into the students' native tongue was allowed in their classes: all instructions had to be given in the target language, and meanings were explained with the help of visuals, realia (real objects), paralanguage, and demonstration (Vizental 2008: 31–32).

The *audio-lingual method* that emerged adopted at least three basic ideas from the *direct method*:

– the ban imposed on the learner's mother tongue; exclusive usage of the target language for teaching purposes;

– the contextual presentation of vocabulary and grammar;

– the importance given to habit formation (ibid. 33).

Audio-linguists insisted that both vocabulary and grammar should be taught *in context.* Learning *vocabulary* in context was extremely important because bilingual lists may give rise to all kinds of mistakes. The audio-linguists' approach to *grammar* is that – since students generally view grammar as difficult and boring – theoretical presentations should be avoided. Among the basic audio-lingual *techniques*, Vizental mentions the following:

– using commands to direct behaviour, i.e. students perform actions as indicated by the teacher/other students;

– repetition and memorization, to facilitate habit formation;

– drilling, i.e. practising the new vocabulary and grammatical patterns in:

> – exercises, e.g. repetition drills, substitution or transformation exercises;
>
> – question–answer (teacher–student or student–student) exchanges, based on the text;
>
> – grammar/vocabulary games;

– conversation practice, role play: i.e. dialogues similar to the text are performed by pairs of students in front of the class, etc. (ibid. 34).

4. The Communicative Method

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the *communicative approach* to language teaching, which also had several actual teaching models, e.g. the functional-notional approach, the total physical response, the competency-based approach, etc.

> The same post-war period saw development of a number of approaches based on or diverging from Chomsky's theories. One of the most significant and enduring was the Communicative approach, which placed emphasis on *meaningful input in L2* (exposure to L2 in realistic situations) and a *naturalistic approach* (like children's L1 learning). As a result, teaching

> explicit linguistic forms and using the mother tongue were avoided. More latterly, the limitations of using a Communicative approach alone have been raised with respect to the teaching or learning of academic or professional language use, and it is charged with not providing opportunities to develop some language knowledge and skills, such as accuracy in language use.
> Another approach from that time was the notional/functional syllabus, which organized the language to be taught under notional and functional categories and emphasized *language as a tool of communication.* In place of the word-to-word or linguistic equivalents of other approaches, it promoted teaching a new language through presenting functional equations between the first and second language usage. A key criticism of this approach was that it could give learners the basis from which they could generate their own expressions (Machida 2008: 141–142).

The communicative approach is not a highly structured method, but rather a broad set of ideas generally accepted as good teaching practice. Communicative language teaching relies on the premises that:

1. the ultimate *aim* of foreign language teaching is to develop the learners' *communicative competence:* human communication relies on much more than the interlocutors' linguistic competence; fluent speakers are able to interact linguistically thanks to their knowledge of society and of discourses, to their ability to interact spontaneously and cope with a variety of everyday situations;

2. learning begins with *imitation*; but, unless the learner moves on to the stage *of free production,* it does not turn into actual, long-term learning: teachers must allow students freedom and encourage their creativity in producing their own language;

3. developing *language skills* is more important than teaching content:

– the students must be equipped with tools for language performance in the real world; such tools facilitate life-long learning, outside the school system;

– the students must be taught *to use* the language functionally and strategically, to achieve real-world aims, the way people do in real life;

4. *meaning* is more important than form; *fluency* of language is as important as linguistic accuracy; grammar should be taught only when necessary:

– learners must acquire *confidence* in their linguistic abilities and become less scared of making mistakes; *errors* are a natural part of learning: as long as the speaker manages to get his/her message through, the teacher should not interfere to correct their mistakes;

– the students must *learn* the language by *using* the language, i.e. by struggling to communicate; this way, they learn vocabulary and grammar in context;

5. *appropriacy* of language is as important as linguistic accuracy:

– communication takes place in a certain *social* and *discoursal background*; communicating means establishing relationships between the *interlocutors*

(e.g. their respective age, sex, familiarity, roles of speaker/listener); between the *speaker* and the *setting* in which the interaction takes place (e.g. place, time, activity type), between the *speaker* and the *type of discourse* (e.g. casual conversation or formal debate), etc.;

– the students must be taught to observe social conventions and *adapt* their language to the requirements of the social and discoursal context, i.e. select their vocabulary and communicative strategies according to the situational context;

6. *active participation* and *affective involvement* in the learning process *motivate* the students and enhance learning:

– the student must become a *partner* in the learning process, a negotiator between the *self,* the *learning process,* and the *object of learning*; active modes of learning (e.g. pair work, group work) ensure long-term acquisition;

– learners must be able to *personalize* the topic and relate it to their own lives and interests; this way, the learning material becomes real and meaningful;

7. *spontaneous*, improvised practice is more efficient than mechanical repetition:

– ordinary communication is spontaneous and unexpected; memorized patterns cannot cover the wide range of real-life situations; the students must be encouraged to use everyday language, typical for ordinary communicative exchanges;

– analysing the needs of language learners in society, communicative teachers concluded that people need primarily *oral language skills*; however, reading and writing must also be considered;

8. language is a mere medium for communication; communication has a social *purpose:*

– language must not be taught for its own sake (e.g. for mastering patterns) but for the purpose of sending and receiving messages;

– the learner must be given a purpose for producing language (e.g. exchanging information, approving, or criticizing);

9. communication is basically *interactive:*

– classroom activities must simulate real-world interactions: the students share and negotiate information, the way people do in real social and discoursal contexts that imitate those in which real communication takes place;

– interactive techniques (e.g. simulation, role play, debate) are efficient procedures for language learning;

10. language learning should be *task-oriented:* the students must be made to *perform tasks* with the help of the language, the way people do in the real world;

11. language must be learned with the help of *authentic material:*

– the *textbook* is only a framework for the teacher's lesson;

– the teacher must use linguistic material similar to those from real life (e.g. magazine articles, instructions of usage, guidebooks)

– *mother tongue* is an important element of the students' world: the students' mother tongue should be used whenever explanations in the target language would be time-consuming; translation is also accepted (Vizental 2008: 35–37).

The typical text of the communicative approach is the *authentic material.* Since communicative language teaching targets *productive* and *communicative* skills, the texts may only provide a framework for subsequent activities, and there must always be an information gap which will trigger exchange and negotiation of meaning in students' interactions. The communicative curriculum no longer focuses on content (i.e. on the lessons to be learned) but on *language functions.* By emphasizing language functions, communicative teaching becomes *competency-based* (i.e. learners must show what they *can do* with the help of the language) and *task-oriented* (i.e. they are taught to *perform practical tasks* with the help of the language, in situations that simulate or approximate those encountered in real life) (ibid. 39).

5. Current post-communicative paradigm

A number of new approaches to language learning have appeared in recent years. They are called by Vizental the post-communicative turn (PCT), but the terms *eclectic method, cognitive method, post method*, etc. are introduced by others (Vizental 2008). Although they cannot be described as a unified theory, the new methods show clearly that teachers have analysed the strengths and weaknesses of the previous approaches thoroughly. The *post-communicative turn (PCT)* views language learning as:

– *task-oriented*: language learning focuses on *meaning* and on *authentic activities* (i.e. activities that approximate those in the outside world); the learners are taught to use the language to construct and communicate meaning;

– *context-oriented*: language learning is successful if the *content* to be taught and the *context* of learning are *compatible* with the learner's world knowledge and personal experience;

– *collaborative*: learning is achieved through *social interaction* and *negotiation of meaning*;

– *cognitive*: language learning must go hand in hand with *cultural awareness*; the students are taught to differentiate between their mother tongue patterns and those of the target culture;

– encourage *learner autonomy*: learners must *control* their own learning and *construct* their own knowledge, they must be aware of the processes and strategies of language learning (ibid. 44).

B. Kumaravadivelu calls this latter trend of language teaching methodology the *postmethod condition.* "Having witnessed how methods go through endless

cycles of life, death, and rebirth, the language teaching profession seems to have reached a state of heightened awareness—an awareness that as long as it is caught up in the web of method, it will continue to get entangled in an unending search for an unavailable solution, an awareness that such a search drives it to continually recycle and repackage the same old ideas, and an awareness that nothing short of breaking the cycle can salvage the situation. This renewed awareness coupled with a resolve to respond has created what I have called the *postmethod condition*" (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 162). Kumaravadivelu prefers to call this period postmethod rather than eclectic as he believes in the (quasi-nietzschean) idea of the death of the Method, launched by the British applied linguist Dick Allwright, who gave a plenary talk in 1991 at a conference at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, a talk entitled *The death of the method*. The main idea of this talk was the unhelpfulness of the existence of 'methods'.

As Kumaravadivelu puts it, teachers find it difficult to develop a

> … valuable, internally-derived sense of coherence about language teaching in part because the transmission model of teacher education they may have undergone does little more than passing on to them a ready-made package of methods and method-related body of knowledge. They find such a method-based teacher education woefully inadequate to meet the challenges of the practice of everyday teaching. […] In a clear repudiation of established methods and their estranged myths, teachers try to derive a "method" of their own and call it *eclectic method*.
>
> Constructing a principled eclectic method is not easy. […] The difficulties faced by teachers in developing an enlightened eclectic method are not hard to find (ibid. 170–171).

As Long states in the *Routledge encyclopedia of language teaching and learning* (Long 2000: 4), practising teachers end up with some form of eclectic method that is usually little more than an amalgam of their inventors' prejudices. Similarly, Kumaravadivelu concludes that the *postmethod condition* is

> … a sustainable state of affairs that compels us to fundamentally restructure our view of language teaching and teacher education. It urges us to review the character and content of classroom teaching in all its pedagogical and ideological perspectives. It drives us to streamline our teacher education by refiguring the reified relationship between theory and practice. *Postmethod pedagogy* can be visualized as a three-dimensional system consisting of three pedagogic parameters: particularity, practicality, and possibility. As will become clear, each parameter shapes and is shaped by the others. They interweave and interact with each other in a synergic relationship where the whole is much more than the sum of its parts (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 170–171).

Many of the principles and techniques of the post-communicative turn have their roots in communicative teaching. Still, the performances of the communicative approach are improved in the following points:

– grammar must be taught thoroughly;
– writing must be practised fully;
– literature must be given its due role.

That is why, according to Adriana Vizental, today's teaching practice skillfully combines techniques and procedures borrowed from previous generations:

– *beginners,* who basically need *acquisition* of language, benefit from the techniques of the *audio-lingual* methods; situational dialogues, pattern practice, repetition and memorization, etc. lead to good linguistic habits;

– at *advanced* levels, when the students need to develop an ability to deal with the language *independently*, the *grammar-translation* method may produce good results – after all, the grammar-translation method is still basic for achieving "high culture"; theoretical presentation of grammar, translation, summarizing, etc. are efficient techniques for independent work;

– *communicative activities* must be set at all levels, to supplement the performances of the other approaches: the students must be made to develop the text and *interact* with one another, express thoughts and feelings, negotiate meanings, use the language functionally and strategically; by using authentic material, setting up real-world-like situations, activating the students' personal experience, and involving them emotionally, the teacher creates a positive atmosphere that facilitates learning; communicative activities must be accompanied by efficient error-correction techniques;

– *post-communicative* teachers rediscovered the value of *writing* in the formation of the educated person; writing assignments can be *task-based* (fill out an application form, order a product from a catalogue, find information on the Internet, etc.); however, understanding the modern learner's need to formulate thoughts in writing in a systematic and educated way, post-communicative teachers also returned to *non-communicative* subjective writing tasks (e.g. the essay) (Vizental 2008: 45).

6. Translation tasks in foreign language classes

The question that we try to answer in this study is whether today's foreign language classes should or should not involve translation exercises. The answer to this question seems to have given birth to debates, as the number of studies and articles on this topic shows it. Let us try to summarize some of the main ideas of these contributions. The first and foremost difference should be made between professional and non-professional translation, called pedagogic or school translation.

Kinga Klaudy separates pedagogical translation from real translation. According to her:

> Pedagogical and real translation can be distinguished on the basis of function, object, and addressee. As regards function, in the case of pedagogical translations, translation is a tool, whereas it is the goal of real translations. We can speak of pedagogical translation when the aim of teaching is not the development of translation skills, but the improvement of language proficiency. In such cases, translation tasks serve merely as a means of consciousness-raising, practicing, or testing language knowledge. We can speak of real translation only if the aim of translation is to develop translation skills. The two types of translation can be distinguished on the basis of the object of the translation: while in real translation the translator communicates information about reality, in pedagogical translation the translator provides information about his/her level of proficiency.

And finally, a distinction can be made on the basis of the addressee of the translation: while in real translation the addressee is a reader, who wants information about reality, unsuspecting and well-intended, not set to find mistakes, in pedagogical translation, the addressee is the teacher or examiner, who wants to find out about the language proficiency of the translator and feels compelled to find mistakes.

From all this, it follows that real translator training starts where foreign language teaching ends. In other words, in secondary schools, and even in the foreign language departments of universities and colleges, we may only speak of pedagogical translation, while the teaching of real translation remains the task of translator and interpreter training colleges and postgraduate courses, designed specially for this purpose (Klaudy 2003: 133).

Albert Vermes comes up with an overview of pros and cons of using translation in ESL classes in his article *Translation in foreign language teaching: a brief overview of pros and cons* (published in *Eger Journal of English Studies* X (2010): 83–93) The author starts up with the necessity of distinguishing between pedagogical translation and real translation, as suggested by Klaudy (Klaudy 2003: 133).

> A discussion of translation pedagogy requires that a distinction be made between two types of translation, which she calls pedagogical translation and real translation. [...] Pedagogical translation is an instrumental kind of translation, in which the translated text serves as a tool of improving the language learner's foreign language proficiency. In real translation, on the other hand, the translated text is not a tool but the very goal of the process (Vermes 2010: 83).

Another scholar referred to by Vermes is Gile (1995), whose distinction between school translation and professional translation is essentially similar

to that suggested by Klaudy. Gile defines school translation as the writing of texts following lexical and syntactic choices induced by the source-language text, as opposed to professional translation, which is aimed at a reader who is fundamentally interested in the contents of the text (Gile 1995: 22).

> In school translation, the focus is on the language, while in professional translation it is on the content of language. Professional translation can thus be seen as a different level of translation, where linguistic problems, in a strict sense, are a mere side issue. Thus the teaching of translation for professional purposes is also qualitatively different from the use of translation in foreign language teaching (Vermes 2010: 84).

All in all, Klaudy's (and Vermes's) taxonomy deals with two kinds of pedagogical translation:

– one serves as a tool of foreign language teaching *and*

– the other as a tool of translator training.

The object of the first is information about foreign language proficiency, while the object of the second is information about translational proficiency. To distinguish these two subtypes, Vermes uses Gile's term *school translation* for the first type and he calls the second type *simulated translation*.

> The use of translation for the purposes of language teaching is bound to be associated with the Grammar-Translation Method, which was first employed in the secondary schools of Prussia at the end of the 18th century. The method appeared as a reaction to a social need, as the teaching of modern languages to masses of learners (who) required changes in earlier practices of language teaching. The Grammar-Translation Method was a modified version of the ancient Scholastic Method, which was traditionally used to study the written form of the classical languages through a meticulous lexical and grammatical analysis of classic texts. The first voice to cry out against the use of translation in foreign language teaching came from the Reform Movement of the late 19th century, and it was followed by a wave of renewed attacks by proponents of the Audio-Lingual, the Direct, the Natural, and the Communicative Language Teaching Methods throughout the 20th century (ibid. 85–86).

Malmkjær provides some further general objections to school translation, which are the following (Malmkjær 1998: 5):

> Translation is independent of the four skills which define language competence: reading, writing, speaking and listening; it is radically different from the four skills; it takes up valuable time which could be used to teach these four skills; it is unnatural; it misleads students into thinking that expressions in two languages correspond one-to-one; it produces interference; it prevents students from thinking in the foreign language; and it is a bad test for language skills (Malmkjær qtd by Vermes 2010: 87).

Vermes quotes Lado (1964) who argues against school translation on the following grounds:

> (a) There are few, if any, fully equivalent words in two languages. (b) Supposing that the words in the two languages are equivalent, the learner will mistakenly think that the translations can be used in the same situations as the originals. Such overextensions produce interference phenomena in language acquisition. (c) Word-for-word translations result in incorrect constructions (Lado qtd by Vermes 2010: 89).

Heltai's (1996) findings suggest that language learners at the intermediate level are not prepared to do translation in the true sense of the term.

"Their translations are dominated by decoding and encoding processes, and exemplify a kind of semantic translation in which only the referential function of the text is observed. Learners' translations are clearly different from professional translations in this regard."

Vermes reaches the conclusion that:

> …there are some good reasons in favour of the inclusion of translation exercises in the foreign language syllabus or, at least, that there are no fundamental reasons for its exclusion. The objections to the use of translation in foreign language teaching are all based on a limited view of translation. But translation is not only structure manipulation; it is primarily a form of communication. And, as such, it necessarily involves interaction and cooperation between people, which makes it a potentially very useful device in foreign language teaching (Vermes 2010: 89).

Sandra J. Savignon also advocates the possibility of implementing translation exercises in a communicative language teaching approach. Disappointment with both grammar-translation and audio-lingual methods for their inability to prepare learners for the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of meaning should not impose a ban on using translation in activities labelled communicative.

> Communicative language teaching need not entail complete rejection of familiar materials. Materials designed to promote communicative competence can be used as aids to memorization, repetition, and translation, or for grammar exercises. Similarly, a teacher who has only a grammar-translation manual can certainly teach for communicative competence. What matters is the teacher's understanding of what language learning is and how it happens…. Finally, CLT does not exclude a focus on metalinguistic awareness or knowledge of rules of syntax, discourse, and social appropriateness. Focus on form can be a familiar and welcome component in a learning environment that provides rich opportunity for focus on meaning; but focus on form cannot replace practice in communication (Savignon s.a.: 26–27).

Sayuki Machida's article, *A step forward to using translation to teach a foreign/second language*, presents a progress report on research into using translation as an effective teaching method in a foreign/second language class.

"To be successful, the act of translating requires understanding of the original text, and linguistic and non-linguistic abilities and skills to recreate the original text meaning in another language." Thus, according to Machida:

… in the current post-communicative, cognitive paradigm, translation as a teaching method in the second/foreign language class has the following potential strengths:

– it naturally creates more opportunities for the learners to focus not only on meaning but also on the form of the text;

– working back and forth between L1 and L2 can naturally bring not only explicit attention to the form and meaning of the text, but also discussion on linguistic and non-linguistic forms;

– the act of translating can provide the learners with holistic challenging projects, involving problem-solving, and integrate linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic knowledge beyond communicating using language (Machida 2008).

In Machida's research, feedback from the students and teacher observation have shown a definitely positive attitude towards developing the *act of translating* as a major method. "To conclude, considering the theoretical potential, positive reception from the students, the actual outcomes and findings from this first implementation, translation as a main teaching methodology is feasible, and appears potentially an effective method for teaching L2" (Machida 2008: 154).

Bantas and Croitoru speak about *translation as a profession* and *didactic translation* (Bantas–Croitoru 1999: 94), this latter being similar to Klaudy's pedagogic translation. Didactic translation is viewed as an acquisition method and competence test at the same time. It is part of the inter-linguistic teaching strategy (ibid. 101). Bantas relies his advocacy on H. G. Widdowson (*Teaching language as communication*, London: OUP, 1979: 101) and H. H. Stern (*Issues and options in language teaching*, Oxford: OUP, 1992: 279), who stand up, in their work, for the use of translation exercises in inter-lingual teaching strategy, as effective tools of foreign language teaching (Bantas–Croitoru 1999: 95).

The role of translation as a teaching tool grows when coming across pragmatic issues, culture dependency, and topics involved in language teaching.

> The approach to translation in an educational context, whereby words and grammatical structures in the source language were replaced with their 'correct' equivalents in the target language, did not fail to leave its mark on the generations of translators regularly subjected to the process. […] In addition to the part that it played in language teaching methodology, translation fulfilled yet another function for modern European linguists following in the footsteps of de Saussure. Unlike the UK and the USA, for

> many smaller nations in Europe, knowledge of more than one language constitutes a lifeline with the outside world and contrastive studies of modern languages have traditionally been a pursuit of scholarly interest […]

In addition to studying language as determined by social and geographical factors, linguists have also begun to investigate other factors influencing its use. Now a discipline in its own right, the field of pragmatics is receiving increasing attention among linguists interested in examining the purposes for which sentences are used and the real-world conditions under which they are appropriately uttered… Problems may, for instance, arise when speech acts are transferred in translation: situations such as when we make a complaint or a request, offer an apology, or give a compliment (Anderman 2007: 45–62).

The importance of translation in communicative and post-communicative language classrooms seems to be even more evident when thinking of the huge influence pragmatics played in the emergence of communicative language teaching. When teaching English, one has to pay special attention to matters like indirectness, politeness, speech acts, etc. Teaching the difference between speech acts like *How do you do?*, *What do you do?*, *What are you doing?*, and *How are you?* may require certain elements of translation into mother tongue, as otherwise students may fail to comprehend that *How do you do?* has turned, from a pragmatic viewpoint, into a greeting formula rather than an inquiry expecting an answer related to one's well-being.

7. Translation tasks in textbooks and teaching resources

Relying on H. G. Widdowson's idea that translation and turning sentences or larger chunks of language from mother tongue to foreign language and vice-versa can contribute to the enrichment of foreign language skills, we have tried to uncover the way in which translation tasks are present in different manuals and language books used by teachers of English (Widdowson 1979). We have selected a number of activities, games, and exercises which appear in the following books: Dókus Tünde, *Angol szituációk* (2002); Némethné Hock Ildikó, *Express English. Angol nyelvkönyv I* (1995); Paul Davis, *More grammar games: cognitive, affective and movement activities for EFL* (1995).

In Paul Davis's *More grammar games*, we identified the following games relying on a certain amount of translation; we have included them in our corpus:

– *Self-generated language*

It is a grammar game targeting beginner to elementary students. Here is a script of the game with elements of translation or inter-linguistic shifts and use of mother tongue highlighted.

1. Ask for a volunteer to tell a story about themselves to the group. It may take a moment for a teller to emerge. *The teller may speak in English or in a mixture of mother tongue and English.*

2. Ask the teller to take the pile of coloured squares and to put one up where the class can see it after saying each sentence of their story. The coloured square from then on represents that sentence.

3. Sit behind the teller. Ask the teller to begin. After each sentence you repeat it in a form as close to the teller's as possible. You give a helpful counselling reformulation rather than a teacherly correction. When the teller has said three or four sentences, stop them and point to one of the three or four coloured squares. Either the teller or someone in the group repeats the sentence represented by the card you are pointing to. Ask the teller to go on. After two or three more sentences you ask someone to recap from the beginning.

4. When the teller has finished the story, ask students to point to cards they remember and to say what they can bring back to mind. Each student may work from one card only, so there is sharing rather than people with good memories monopolizing.

Variation:

At the beginning of a lesson, divide the class into small groups, and give out copies of the *Instructions sheet* below,[1] together with sets of 20–30 square cards. Leave the room for a good 30 minutes. It's important to resist the temptation to keep popping back. *You may want to rewrite the hand-out half in mother tongue and half in English* if the class level is very low. It is good to use mixed language texts with beginners.

– *A sprinkling of people*

It is a game meant to practise collective nouns and it can be played with upper intermediate or advanced students. Here is a script of the game with elements of translation or inter-linguistic shifts and use of mother tongue highlighted.

1. Tell the students you are going to dictate a list of phrases to them. Ask them to estimate and write down the number of individuals they would expect to find in each collective, e.g. 'a herd of elephants: 10–30'.

1 Instruction sheet
1. Please read these instructions.
2. Choose a leader. The leader will organize your work.
3. Choose a story-teller. The story-teller will tell a personal story or describe a place.
4. Give the coloured squares to the story-teller. They produce a sentence and put down a card. The card represents the sentence.
5. The story-teller begins.
6. After two or three sentences, the leader stops the story-teller, points to a sentence card and asks someone to reproduce the sentence. The leader does this after every two to three sentences.
7. Take twenty minutes to tell the story this way. At the end, one person tells the whole story.
8. Everybody writes their version of the story. They have another fifteen minutes to do this.

A clump of trees / a party of tourists / a gang of terrorists / a unit of freedom fighters / a fleet of ships / a spate of rumours / a troop of monkeys / a gaggle of geese / a squadron of fighter planes / a clutch of eggs / a sea of faces / a pride of lions / a hail of bullets / a pack of wolves / a litter of kittens / a school of dolphins / a flight of steps.

2. Write up the words you reckon may have been misspelt. The students check the meanings with you.

3. Get estimates from round the class of the numbers in typical groups e.g. 'a clump of trees is a lot less than a little wood'.

4. Ask them to identify the five phrases that are the least easy to translate into their mother tongue. They compare phrases.

5. Explain that in English you sometimes have a choice of collective nouns. Tell them you will read out pairs of phrases – they are to take down the one they prefer in each pair. Read each pair of phrases twice:

a flock of birds	*a flight of birds*
a swarm of insects	*a colony of insects*
a herd of goats	*a flock of goats*
a troupe of actors	*a company of actors*
a wad of banknotes	*a roll of banknotes*
a pack of cards	*a deck of cards*
a team of experts	*a panel of experts*
a bunch of grapes	*a cluster of grapes*
a sheaf of papers	*a bundle of papers*
a crowd of reporters	*a gaggle of reporters*
a gang of thieves	*a pack of thieves*

Write up any words they are unsure how to spell, e.g. 'troupe' rather than 'troop'. Group them in threes to explain their choices of phrase. Now pair the students and give out the *Collective phrase questionnaire*.[2] Ask the students to work through it, each answering each of the questions.

2 COLLECTIVE PHRASE QUESTIONNAIRE
– Have you ever been in a party of tourists? How many of you were there?
– Can you think of a clump of trees near your house? Roughly how many trees?
– Have you ever seen a shoal of fish? Where? What time of the day was it?
– What do you call a big group of bees on the wing? When did you last see a swarm of bees?
– What do you feel on seeing a litter of new-born puppies?
– When did you last carry round a wad of banknotes? Do you often do this? How do you feel if it is a really thick roll?
– Have you ever baked a cake? Have you ever baked a batch of cakes or tarts?
– I bet you have a bunch of keys in your bag/pocket. How many in the bunch?
– Is there a flight of steps near your home? How long would it / does it take you to get up them? How many steps are there, approximately?
– How many cards are there in a deck of cards? Are there any special cards in your country with a different number in the pack?

– *Haves and have-nots*

It is a game which involves dictation and addresses intermediate students. Here is a script of the game with elements of translation or inter-linguistic shifts and use of mother tongue highlighted.

1 Give out a copy of *Haves and have-nots* worksheet to each student. Alternatively, you could get the students to make the worksheet. Tell them to turn their pages longways and rule four columns with the following headings:

(1) I smell/I taste (2) I hear (3) I see (4) Feel through my body

2. Tell the students you are going to dictate short sentences to them. Ask them to experience these as situations. If they first *hear* the situation, they write it in column two. If they first *feel* the situation, they write it in column four, etc. Many people will see, hear, and feel many of the situations. The choice of column is governed by which of these things they actually do *first* – what pops up first from the unconscious.

3. Dictate each sentence/phrase twice,[3] leaving time for students to conjure up the situations.

4. Put the students in threes and ask them to compare where they put the sentences. Ask them to share some of the situations they smelled, heard, saw, or felt.

5. Ask them to go back over the sentences and decide which, *when translated into their mother tongue, would not have the equivalent of the verb 'to have' in them*. (In Italian, you *make* a dream and in both Greek and Japanese you *see* a dream.)

– *The world of take*

It is a game for intermediate students. Here is a script of the game with elements of translation or inter-linguistic shifts and use of mother tongue highlighted.

1. Put the students in small groups to brainstorm all the uses of the verb *take* they can think of.

– When did you last give someone a bouquet of flowers? Or receive a bunch of flowers?

– What would you mean if you said that most of the audience in the theatre were Japanese but that there was also a sprinkling of French?

3 Dictation sentences for *Haves and have-nots*

I have a headache.
I went to hospital and had a baby.
I have it in me to do great things.
I had a good breakfast.
She had it off with him.
Children love to have stories read to them.
She had some money stolen.
I had a dream last night.
I had my head down.
I had a small operation on my nose.
He hates him – he really has it in for him.
The police had me up for speeding.
We had the grass cut.
I have two very good friends.

2. Ask each group to send a messenger to the next group to pass on their ideas.

3. Dictate the sentences below,[4] *which they are to write down in their mother tongue. Tell them only to write in mother tongue, not English*. Be ready to help explain any sentences that students do not understand.

4. Ask the students to work in threes and compare their translations. Go round helping and checking. If your students do not share the same mother tongue, group students from the same language or language groups. In this sort of class, you will probably have three or four people from unrelated languages working together as well. They will learn a lot about each other's languages from this exercise.

The rationale of this game is that students come to see how similar and how different the grammars of mother tongue and of foreign languages actually are. As the author, Paul Davis, puts it, this game is "a gem of a translation exercise, as you have the author of what you are translating there at your elbow. You are translating within a living relationship and you are a protagonist rather than a third party, as is the case in an interpreting situation" (Davis 1995).

Another type of exercise involving translation is the mixed language conversation. Dókus Tünde's book, *Angol szituációk*, provides a whole array of situations, model conversations, and mixed language conversations which can be adapted for a communicative language classroom. A conversation like the one below can be used in pairs, in small groups; it can be cut into halves, then reconstructed and acted out; it can be used even as a lockstep activity (the teacher dictates the sentences in mother tongue; when role-playing it, the students have to translate their replies on the spot), etc. An introductory description of the situation may be provided not only in mother tongue (as in this example provided here) but also in English.

> *Ön nagyon rosszul érzi magát, ezért felhívja külföldi barátját, hogy lemondja az esti vacsorameghívást. Kérjen elnézést, és mondja el, hogy mik a panaszai. Fogadja el a felajánlott segítséget.*

4 Dictation sentences for *The world of take*
The new president took over in January.
The man took the woman's anger seriously.
'You haven't done the washing up, I take it,' his wife said to him.
The little boy took the old watch apart to see how it worked.
'I think we ought to take the car,' he said to her.
This bloke always takes his problems to his mother.
'We took the village without a shot being fired,' she told him.
'Take care,' the woman said, as she left home that morning.
He took charge of the planning team.
The woman asked what size shoes he took.
'Yes, I really take your point,' he told her.
'If we go to a movie,' she told her boyfriend, 'it'll really take you out of yourself.'
The news the boy brought really took the woman aback.
The chair asked him to take the minutes of the meeting.
'You can take it from me, it's worse than you think.'

Szia, Dániel! Laci vagyok.
Hello, Laci! I just wanted to call you to say that the reservation is okay. We have a table for two at seven.
Pont ezért telefonálok. Sajnos, semmiképpen sem tudok menni. Nem tudom, mi történt, de borzalmasan érzem magam.
That sounds terrible! I hope it's not too bad. What's the problem?
Rettentően fáj a gyomrom. Lehet, hogy attól a gulyástól, amit ebédre ettem. Nem vagyok hozzászokva a nehéz ételekhez.
Are you sure you can't come? You might feel better by seven.
Nem hiszem. Fel sem tudok kelni. Amint felállok, rögtön elkezdek szédulni.
Then I think you should see a doctor. Or better still, I will call my doctor and ask her to have a look at you.
Azt hiszem, tényleg jó lenne, ha kihívnád az orvost.
I think you need looking after. You know what, I will come over to you and make you something to eat.
Nagyon kedves tőled, de egy falatot sem tudnék lenyelni. Hányingerem van, ha ételre gondolok. De ha átjössz, talán jobban fogom magam érezni.
All right! See you later! (Dókus 2002)

Némethné Hock Ildikó's *Express English* provides a long list of simulations and role plays; most of them being in mother tongue, students are asked to perform the conversation in English (Hock 1995).

– Angol ismerőse Magyarországon szeretne letelepedni. Javasolja neki, hogy ne egy nagyvárosban, hanem vidéken vegyen házat. Írja le részletesen a vidéki élet előnyeit. Miközben ismerőse a városi élet pozitív oldalait emeli ki, mondja el neki, hogy vidéken is jó az ellátás. Minden kényelem megvan, kocsival pedig nincs messze a város, a színház, a nagyobb áruházak.

– Hívja meg a barátját egy színházi előadásra! Mondja el, hogy ez egy nagyon híres darab, és bár az előadás csak egy hét múlva lesz, már most meg kell venni a jegyeket, mert hátha elfogynak. Ismerőse a páholyba szeretne ülni, de Ön úgy gondolja, hogy oda túl drága egy jegy. Döntsék el, hogy végül is hova fogják kérni a jegyet és melyik előadásra mennek el.

– Ön elmegy az orvoshoz, mert nagyon fáj a karja. Az orvos érdeklődésére elmondja, hogy már egy hete érzi a fájdalmat és akkor a legrosszabb, amikor reggel felkel. De tulajdonképpen egész nap fáj és gyakran a munkát is abba kell hagynia, hogy pihenjen. Próbált már kenőcsöt is tenni rá, de az sem segített.

Sentence level translation can be used especially in the case of passive voice, where the following types of model sentences can be used in the presentation and the practice stages of grammar lessons. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the production phase cannot rely on translation tasks as well, only that they should be embedded in more communicative tasks or they should be made communicative by the use of information gap and interaction.

He is not often invited to parties. Nem hívják meg gyakran bulikba.

When was this house built? Mikor épült ez a ház?

Who was this novel written by? Ki írta ezt a regényt?

The Prime Minister has been shot. A miniszterelnököt lelőtték.

I can't work. My office is being cleaned. Nem tudok dolgozni. Takarítják az irodámat.

I turned round and saw that I was being followed. Amikor megfordultam, láttam, hogy követnek.

All these books were published in Britain. Ezeket a könyveket mind Nagy-Britanniában adták ki.

The Tower can be found in London. A Tower Londonban található.

Her blood pressure must be checked regularly. A vérnyomását rendszeresen ellenőrizni kell.

300 copies of this magazine have to be sold. 300 példányt el kell adni ebből a folyóiratból.

Homework should be done properly. A házi feladatot jól kellene megcsinálni.

The flowers needn't be watered. A virágokat nem kell megöntözni.

You may be asked silly questions. Lehet, hogy buta kérdéseket kapsz.

You are going to be watched. Figyelni fognak.

If you didn't help me, the house would never be sold. Ha te nem segítenél, ez a ház sohasem lenne eladva.[5]

8. Conclusions

We can conclude that, after being neglected in the times of audio-lingual methods, translation started to be reintroduced in foreign language classes in the decades of communicative and post-communicative language teaching. What is important with translation tasks in communicative and/or post-communicative language classrooms is that they should always be integrated within a communicative activity. As Widdowson puts it:

> …the incorporation of translation into these procedures [of language teaching] ensures that it is carried out as a communicative activity. Their purpose is to make clear to the learner just what is involved in such an activity by relating it to his own experience of language. Translation here is an operation on language use and not simply on language usage and aims at making the learner aware of the communicative value of the language he is learning by overt reference to the communicative functioning of his own language (Widdowson 1979: 160).

5 Sample sentences taken from Ildikó Némethné Hock's *Express English*.

Sentences like the ones above can be used as a starting point for a dialogue; they can be used as first or last sentences of a story (both oral and written). Translation can be integrated into dialogues, pair work, or group work activities. The sentences used for translation should also be as real-life-like as possible; sentence level and text level translation – even when focusing on a certain grammar item – should replicate a real world situation or reply and they should always be personalized so as to fit students' daily linguistic encounters. There are plenty of teaching materials and resources at language teachers' disposal; it is up to them to use these materials in their classes by transforming them into communicative activities rather than using boring and mechanical translation exercises. Since translation is a universally useful activity, which has the power and capacity to bridge the gaps between cultures, we daresay it is a skill whose development should also be incorporated in today's teaching activities, alongside the other four language skills. The key element of today's foreign language teaching is real-life-like communication, situations, speech acts, and language functions that replicate real world situations and contexts. Integrating translation tasks in such real life communication may maximize students' foreign language skills by implementing in classroom activities what happens in real life: as translation happens in the minds of foreign language learners, no matter we admit it or not.

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Cultural and Specialized Skills of a Subtitler

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Abstract. The article offers a practical approach to the skills a present-day translator needs in order to create high-quality translations. Although a lot of theories can be found regarding the skills of a translator, it is worth checking the reality, which is the primary aim of this article. After a short introduction about the standard skills, we look into the subtitling of an episode from a TV series. Our presupposition is that a subtitler has to combine all sorts of information from different fields effectively in order to maintain quality, including general and specific knowledge of the subject matter. Furthermore, the particular environment of subtitling may contain certain pitfalls, such as the technical know-how, layout, and constraints deriving from the nature of subtitling. We can draw the conclusion that a well-prepared translator can successfully handle the technical challenges of multimedia translation of whatsoever type.

Keywords: translator's skills, subtitling, legal terms, English, Romanian

1. Introduction

We have already expressed our view regarding the expectations concerning translations in the 21st century (Imre 2013: 102, Imre 2014: 251), arguing in favour of translations supported by technology. This technology, revolving around computers, created numerous new jobs, even within the field of translation, having in mind multimedia translators.

Díaz-Cintas discusses the importance of audiovisual translations (AVT) in an article in 2005, stating that "The computer has been one of the advances to have greatly changed the world of translation in general" (2005: 1). He also mentions the large number of "computer programs designed exclusively for subtitling work," but in order to deal with subtitling, we would like to take the 'grand tour' of skills a present-day translator needs to remain competitive on the market of translations.

We are well aware of the fact that a huge number of books and articles have already discussed the basic skills of a translator, although not being able to define a proper terminology for that. Thus, translators need specific *competences*, *skills, knowledge* or *ability* (cf. SOED definitions in Trumble and Stevenson 2002: 467, 2857) to be successful, and the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) for the European Commission focuses on three main *skills* when shaping the translator's *profile*: *language skills, thematic skills*, and *translation skills,* where *skills* refer to the SOED definition "highly trained or experienced, esp. in a particular accomplishment" (Trumble and Stevenson 2002: 2857).

On the other hand, the European Committee for Standardization (CEN) established the European Standard for Translation Services (EN-15038, 2006), mentioning five *competences*: *translating* competence (including specialization and meeting customers' requirements), *linguistic and textual* competence, *cultural* competence, *technical* competence, and *research* competence, out of which the last one is present during the entire translation process (Durán Muñoz 2012: 79–80).

Others may argue that today we cannot overlook the importance of technical 'know-how' in the translation industry. Quality assurance is directly connected to term bases, translation memories, computer-assisted translation tools in general, and specific translation software as well. In the case of AVT, we should be familiar with various programmes, such as *Subtitle Edit, Subtitle Workshop*, or *Aegisub,* to mention but a few, but it is much more than that.

Furthermore, the cultural aspect of translations is rather overshadowed in a mere trident approach (language, thematic, and translation skills) to the issue. As it is not our aim to establish a full list of skills for translators, suffice it to state that the cultural aspects (both similarities and differences) become more and more obvious in this globalized world, and translators not being comfortable with both cultures involved can be easily turned into sitting ducks for the public (cf. the expression 'lost in translation'). No wonder that McKay states: "In-country experience is a big asset for a translator, since translation work involves knowing not just the structure of the language to be translated, but the cultural framework that surrounds it" (McKay 2006: 18), and she adds that "most professional translators have at least some experience working and/or living in a country where their source language or languages are spoken; many translators lived and worked in their source language country for many years". Thus, translators may be well prepared with the necessary language and cultural skills they need during audiovisual translation.

In the following, we will offer an insight into the set of skills a specialized translator – the subtitler – needs in order to produce a good-quality subtitle.

2. Subtitling

Multimedia seem to have fully integrated into our everyday life, capturing our attention in all languages due to – primarily – economic reasons. Nevertheless, the revolution of technology and globalization offered entertainment as well to large masses of people, and today's Hollywood productions pervade our lives with movies and, more recently, with highly popular TV series.[1]

Although there are nations in favour of dubbing – France, Germany, Italy, and Spain (Díaz-Cintas 2003) –, we suspect that there are many people who watch these TV series either online or download full seasons in English with the possibility to add subtitles. According to Szarkowska (2005), subtitling is "the form that alters the source text to the least possible extent and enables the target audience to experience the foreign and be aware of its 'foreignness' at all times". However, foreignness is basically 'Americanism,' as "in Hollywood even God speaks English", as Nornes mentions (2007: 23) referring to Shohat and Stam's book (1994). The impact of this statement is highly important, if we combine it with Whitman-Linsen's observation:

There is no question that the image Europeans have of America is enormously influenced by motion pictures. What is often overlooked is that it is the dubbing industry handling these films which ultimately does the cultural filtering. Dubbing has the power to represent and misrepresent, distort, sway, and, in general, make a tremendous contribution (positive or negative) to America's image abroad (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 11).

The above statement has become much more noteworthy as the author was only focusing on dubbing, whereas AVT includes subtitling as well, which may be considered as one of the most favoured types of translation (Díaz-Cintas 2003: 195). We now consider multimedia translations as shifting from the so-called "text"-to-be-translated to "whatever"-to-be-translated, such as from the four types of media (TV, radio, printed, and Internet), completed with audiovisual and mobile devices as well. Audiovisual translation may include *subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, surtitling, scanlation, fan translation,* or (software) *localization* (Imre 2013: 191–200).

Yet, we should bear in mind the warning: "…nothing is simple when it comes to subtitles; every turn of phrase, every punctuation mark, every decision the translator makes holds implications for the viewing experience of the foreign spectators" (Nornes 2007: 2). At this stage we should only mention two of the formal requirements regarding subtitles, such as the display of no more than 6 seconds (usually at the bottom of the screen), but typically no more than two lines of 35 characters each. These two are already enough to draw the conclusion: "a verbatim rendition is rarely possible" (Imre 2013: 193), and the skills of the subtitler are highly challenged.

1 http://www.imdb.com/search/title?title_type=tv_series, 16.06.2015.

The challenge may start with the difficulty of the source text, but a rather sobering observation comes from Nornes, who dots the i's this way: "For the time being, spectators will most likely continue to lock away translators in the darkest spaces of the film world, letting them out only to berate them" (2007: 16), reminding us Lambert & Hermans' remark: there is hardly any feedback between the employer and the translator, unless there is an external complaint (2006: 158). Yet, the translator/subtitler has to be strong enough to deal with that (a possible psychological skill?).

What is worse, these complaints are predominantly related to language and culture, without taking into consideration important guidelines to professional subtitling, such as the *Code of good subtitling practice* (Carroll and Ivarsson 1998), the BBC's *Online subtitling editorial guidelines* (Ford Williams 2009), or the *ITC guidance on standards for subtitling* (1999). Yet, the more we deal with subtitling, the more we realize how many possible hindrances there are for a high-quality subtitle and how much a professional subtitler should know in order not to receive complaints. In the following, we will analyse a Romanian subtitle of a popular TV series (*Suits*) in 2015, focusing on cultural aspects and legal terminology deriving from the theme of the series.

3. Cultural skills for *Suits*

Díaz-Cintas (2005: 15) states that usually "more importance seems to be given to the actual cultural referent than to a 'correct' translation. The consumer is genuinely interested in the foreign culture and language and the acculturation of terms is avoided." This means that cultural translations are of utmost importance, supported by Kolebáčová, who mentions that "strictly speaking, everything is culture-bound" (2007: 25).

The problem is also amply discussed in Wierzbicka's book, drawing the conclusion that although anything can be expressed in any language, it may be "quite different from one language-culture system to another" (1992: 21). In Newmark's definition, *culture* is "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression" (Newmark 1988: 94).

When subtitling, the translator is faced with extremely many 'cultural challenges,' which are not so obvious. However, Kolebáčová (2007: 31) offers an insight, mentioning 11 categories (e.g. icons, infrastructure, activities) with many specifications (e.g. famous people, buildings, sports). While watching *Suits* (S01E01),[2] a list of nearly 300 entries was created with culture-related or legal terms. Unskilled translators/subtitlers usually have problems with language

2 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1632701/, 19.04.2015.

(phraseology, false friends, proverbs, idioms, etc.), abbreviations, acronyms, culture-specific words and expressions (realia), and translating words belonging to slang and taboo.

The last one seems to be a serious issue, as Romanian subtitles tend(ed) to be very prudish, which is hardly compatible with the present-day (American) English used in the movie industry. Judgment over the expressive language may also be subjective, so we may try to comfort ourselves with certain standards of translation, according to which the subtitler – first of all – should retain "a maximum of the original text" (Karamitroglou 1998: 8). The same idea is expressed in the code of subtitling: "All important written information in the images (signs, notices, etc.) should be translated and incorporated wherever possible" (Carroll and Ivarsson 1998: 1). The *Editing* section of the *BBC subtitling editorial guidelines* states that viewers should not be deprived "of words/sounds when there is time to include them" (Ford Williams 2009: 4).

As for 'bad' language, the BBC is explicit: "Do not edit out strong language unless it is absolutely impossible to edit elsewhere in the sentence – deaf or hard-of-hearing viewers find this extremely irritating and condescending." Thus, taboo words "should not be censored unless their frequent repetition dictates their reduction for reasons of text economy" (Karamitroglou 1998: 10), and the ITC Guidance gives the verdict: "without censoring" (ITC Guidance on Standards for Subtitling 1999: 4).

We collected thirteen taboo words/expressions in the first episode of *Suits*, out of which only one translation was explicit (Ro. *Mută-ți curul înapoi* 'Get your ass in there'); a further one used the official/legal expression for sexual intercourse (Ro. *întreține relații sexuale* 'to have sex'), and there were two 'standard' established equivalents (Ro. *naiba* for 'God damn it' and 'hell'). Seven taboo words/expressions were translated with euphemisms (e.g. *to have the balls* Ro. *avea curaj* 'to have courage'), and two strong taboo expressions were simply left out in the Romanian version.

The good question is whether this is acceptable or not, taking into account the translators' ethics, the accepted social norms in the 21st century, but one thing is sure: it was a conscious decision of the subtitler going against the previously listed subtitling practices. This means that either the practices rely too much on the English-speaking community standards, or they try to be professional disregarding social norms. On the other hand, the Romanian subtitler follows an unwritten standard, which cannot be called unprofessional. (S)he gives enough proof of knowledge from other type of cultural knowledge, such as clothing (*Do you know your inseam?* Ro. *Ştii ce mărime porți?*), playing cards (*I'm all in.* Ro. *Pariez tot.*), education (*dean* Ro. *decan*) or expressions (*make one's bed* Ro. '*Ți-ai aşternut patul.*). The subtitler even uses a Romanian prison slang (*bătrâne* 'old women') for the English slang *grands* 'one thousand dollars'.

However, certain cultural issues were detected. For instance, a *B-student* is translated as *un student de B minus* ('a B minus student'), instead of using the Romanian scoring system (*student de nota 6/7*). Similarly, if someone gets *1,000 on his/her SATs* is not understood, unless we know the maximum (2,400), but the translator preserved the original score (Ro. *1000 la examene*), leaving the viewer a little puzzled. *Serpico* may be understood metaphorically in English, as he was a NYPD officer (Frank Serpico)[3] and the protagonist of an American movie; yet, the name cannot be preserved in the Romanian translation, as it is not the synonym for a police officer.

We support Karamitroglou's (1998) conclusion that "there is no standard guideline for the transfer of culture-specific linguistic elements," although we do not agree that he only lists five possible alternatives: cultural transfer, transposition, transposition with explanation, neutralization (plain explanation), and omission.

4. Terminology for *Suits*

The importance of terminology is constantly stressed since the advent of CAT-tools, including term bases and translation memories. For instance, the mushrooming of various new jobs/fields of activity and the new meanings of 'old' words lay a considerable stress on professional translators, struggling hard to maintain quality. Thus, *general* translation is clearly distinguished from the *specific* one, the latter leading to a specific collection of terms.

Law is a specific field of activity, resulting in thousands of words and expressions with particular meaning, and one should have a thorough knowledge in this area not to commit mistakes with serious consequences (similarly to the medical field).

The importance of legal terminology is also signalled by the numerous dictionaries (mono- and bilingual) published, although sometimes there is no clear distinction between legal and economic terms (the common element may be the financial aspect and the crimes related to it).

Suits is about lawyers and cases, thus we expected the TV series to contain legal terms above the average. We collected more than 170 entries, ranging from common legal terms (*deal*) to specific ones (*to pass the bar*) or very specific ones, only understood by experts in the field (*Sarbanes-Oxley Act*).[4]

The Romanian translator handled the legal terms well, proving talent in proper wording (e.g. *paralegal* Ro. *asistență juridică* or *the case gets dismissed* Ro. *cazul este dizolvat*). Furthermore, we can observe successful renderings (e.g. *fight the*

3 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0070666/, 22.04.2015.
4 http://www.soxlaw.com/s404.htm, 23.05.2015.

subpoena Ro. *somație, hearing on a subpoena* Ro. *o audiere pentru cererea mea*), or good transfer operations, such as broadening (*BarBri Legal Handbook* Ro. *o carte pentru avocați*), addition (*study for the bar* Ro. *Am studiat pentru testul de barou*), or finding a suitable equivalent (*CEO* Ro. *şef*).

The subtitler even differentiates expressions having the same verb in English (*make an argument*, *make somebody come forward*), rendering them with *construct* (Ro. *a construi un argument*) and *make* (Ro. *să o faci să mărturisească*). At a certain point (00:19:40 – 00:21:00), the entire discussion is about law, with fragments from law books with very difficult sentences. Although we can observe a successful word for word translation in this part, due to the limitations of subtitling, the subtitler cannot use explicitation in case of *IRC, Section 409A,* the *Sarbanes-Oxley*, or the *Sixth Circuit, May 2008*. Yet, we can consider the Romanian version successful, as the point here was to prove how good the interlocutors are at law, after which the viewers can accept both of them as experts.

In case the subtitler considers the translation of all the seasons and episodes of *Suits* (probably at least 80 episodes), creating a term base should be considered as *sexual harassment – agresare sexuală, bar – barou, corroborate – confirma, blackmail – şantaj, evidence – probă*, etc. will come up in subsequent episodes.

We cannot help not mentioning that here and there the subtitler omitted certain expressions, e.g. *grill somebody, affidavit, I object*, probably thinking them irrelevant from the point of view of the storyline. After all, it is true that "It will never be possible to apply all of the guidelines all of the time, because in many situations they will be mutually exclusive" (Ford Williams 2009: 3). Thus, overall, we can draw the conclusion that the unknown subtitler did a very good job, even if omitted a basic rule for translators: "The (main) subtitler should be acknowledged at the end of the film or, if the credits are at the beginning, then close to the credit for the script writer" (Carroll and Ivarsson 1998: 2).

5. Conclusions

We can state that the bulk of the responsibility lies with the subtitler. Carroll correctly observes that today the subtitler is a translator, technician, and typist as well (2004: 2), and "whoever can offer the lowest rates anywhere in the world has a good chance of getting the contracts" (Gouadec 2007: 286).

In the case of subtitlers, we are still faced with the evergreen problem, namely that the "authorship goes unrecognized" (Nornes 2007: 4), even when this could be easily obtained. For instance, unofficial subtitles – based on the English ones and uploaded by fans without any remuneration – could easily contain the name of the subtitler. However, few subtitles contain the name, although now there is a tendency to offer the nickname and/or an e-mail address of the subtitler.

It goes without saying that technology "[…] have made life easier for all those working in the world of subtitling," although the work profile is much more ample as "linguistic competence and sociocultural and subject knowledge are no longer sufficient in order to be able to operate effectively in this profession" (Díaz-Cintas 2005: 2). The technical knowledge should be completed with effective research skill/competence, enabling subtitlers "to be conversant with the information and communication technologies" (Díaz-Cintas 2005: 2).

This way we could handle the "growing concern among many professionals" regarding quality assurance in translation/subtitling, but we can also welcome the idea of video player software (e.g. *BS Player*) to offer the rating of subtitle at the end of the video or when downloading one from the Internet.

Although professional subtitle is supposed to be the result of teamwork, in most cases this means only the subtitler and the proofreader (cf. *TED Talks subtitles*). We can also agree with Díaz-Cintas (2005: 5) when stating that Ivarsson and Carroll's (1998) attempts of a code of good subtitling practice were not very successful.

Our analysis shows that a subtitler is a forever learner in the field of culture, translation, and language, but we should add further areas as well, such as the ever-demanding technical skills, research skills, self-management skills (in negotiation and finances), and even psychological skills that strengthen the translator/subtitler in the ups and downs.

Finally, we can take the necessary preventive measures if we remember "Subtitling conventions are not set in stone." (Díaz-Cintas 2005: 16) and, whatever the case, the proper knowledge of the source and target language will always prevail.

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Phonetic Adaptation of Hungarian Loanwords in Romanian

The Adaptation of Stop Sounds (Occlusive Plosives)

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Abstract. In current linguistics, as well as in the fields of contact linguistics and sociolinguistics, the assessment of contact between the different languages used by speakers living in the same geographical/political area receives a pronounced role. These languages inevitably come into contact. The research on language contact between Hungarian and Romanian has a past marked by scholarly works that focus especially on the lexical-semantic level. Because contact between linguistic phenomena occurs at every level of language, it is necessary to focus on the smallest linguistic elements as well. In our work, we analyse a corpus of words borrowed from Hungarian by the Romanian language, focusing on stop sounds. In our paper, we establish the main phonetic transfer modalities, discussing the subject in an international framework.

Keywords: language contact, phonetic adaptation, stop consonants, Hungarian language, Romanian language

1. Introduction

Contemporary linguistics – while in the previous decades the main goal was the establishing of language families and the description of language systems from the point of view of descriptive grammar – is more open towards translation research, contrastive and comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, etc.

An important research area investigates the contact elements between languages, becoming a fundamental topic in the field of sociolinguistics.

The research of linguistic contact between Romanian and Hungarian has a significant history, and such investigations have been conducted both by Romanian and Hungarian researchers (see Alexics 1888; Blédy 1942; Márton 1965; Todoran 1965; Kis 1975; Bakos 1982; Kiraly 1990; Benő 2008).

In Thomason's definition, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time. Language contact often involves direct interactions between groups of speakers, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical region. Sometimes speakers of two or more languages live together in a single community. In such cases, there may be mutual bilingualism or multilingualism in that particular settlement. Languages have been in contact certainly for thousands of years, and probably since the beginning of humankind (Thomason 2001: 1–8).

In our paper, we analyse the most important results of language contact: loanwords. In Bussman's definition, *borrowing* is "adoption of a linguistic expression from one language into another language, usually when no term exists for the new object, concept, or state of affairs. Among the causes of such cross-linguistic influence may be various political, cultural, social, or economic developments (importation of the new products, prestige, local flavour, internationalization of specialized languages and jargons, among others)" (Bussman 1998: 139).

As Siemund states, it has been found that in a contact situation between two communities the replication of the linguistic material in one language from the other begins with lexical units and only much later begins to affect grammatical units (Siemund 2008: 5). The borrowing of lexical elements involves above all the phonological level.

For the description and categorization of language contact situations, Sarah G. Thomason has developed a four-level borrowing scale: casual contact, slightly more intense contact, more intense contact, and intense contact (Thomason 2001: 71).

The Romanian-Hungarian language contact situation (viewed from the perspective of Romanian) could be included on the first level of this scale, which is *casual contact*. In such cases, speakers of the recipient language do not need to be fluent in the donor language; at the same time, there are few bilinguals among the recipient-language speakers. Only non-basic vocabulary elements are borrowed. The *lexical module* of the language contains only content words – most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The *structural module* of the language is not affected in any way.

The investigation of the Hungarian influence on Romanian has become a scientific concern in the second half of the nineteenth century (Todoran 1965: 921). Rosetti claims that the first elements of Hungarian entered the Romanian language in the XIth and XIIth centuries (Rosetti 1978: 382). Victor Grecu shows that, in general, we can speak of two layers of Hungarian influence: an older layer, which contains general words which were spread in the whole of the language, and another layer represented by dialectal words, limited to the Transylvanian area (Grecu 2004: 197–200).

1.1. Our research

Our study falls into the first of three contact situations described by Hasselblatt – de Jong – North: "the traditional in-depth investigation of a certain contact situation, usually involving no more than two languages" (Hasselblatt – de Jong – North 2010: 1).

We focus on one aspect of linguistic contact, namely the investigation of phonetic-phonological transfer modalities of words borrowed from Hungarian by Romanian. We do not investigate other structural levels of the Romanian language, for example the lexical-semantic or pragmatic dimension of these words. As a result, our research deals with the contact between languages from the point of view of applied phonetics, using the methods of contrastive linguistics.

The paper includes the analysis of phonetic adaptations of stop sounds based on a corpus of 727 words borrowed from Hungarian, focusing on the modalities of phonetic adaptation of these borrowed items in the case of 826 sounds.

This research started in 2012 with the listing of every dictionary entry of the *Noul dicționar universal al limbii române* (hereinafter NDULR) (edited by John Oprea, Carmen Gabriela Pamfil, Rodica Radu, and Victoria Zăstroiu, 3rd edition, published in 2009), where authors indicated the existence of a Hungarian etymon, on individual sheets. The research was continued in 2014 with the creation of a digital database (an Excel document), on which filtering, statistical calculations, and categorization was performed.

Our research and paper uses the system of the International Phonetic Alphabet (see *The handbook of the International Phonetic Association*, 1999) and for the illustration of the sounds we use the method of generative phonology.

As, besides the outlining of adaptation methods, our aim is to identify the typical transfers characteristic of each phoneme, the methods that are more frequent than 20% are defined as phonetic transfer schemes.

1.2. The articulation correspondence between the two languages

The donor language in our research is Hungarian, so we start from the phonetic system of this language.

Table 1. *The occlusive explosives/stops of the Hungarian language*

	LABIAL		**ALVEOLAR**		**PALATAL**		**VELAR**	
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced
stops	[p]	[b]	[t]	[d]	[c]	[ɟ]	[k]	[g]

Table 2. *The occlusive explosives/stops of the Romanian language*

	LABIAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATAL		VELAR	
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced
stops	[p]	[b]	[t]	[d]	–	–	[k]	[g]
aspirated stops							[k^h]	[g^h]

As we can see in tables 1 and 2, there are no articulation correspondents for the palatal stops of Hungarian.

1.3. Illustration in generative phonology

The generative phonological analysis method was introduced in Hungarian linguistics by Péter Siptár, and it was first presented in the book *Új magyar nyelvtan* (New Hungarian grammar), published in 2003. Siptár's method can be applied to the study of the Romanian phonetic system as well, as it is actually a structured illustration of the sounds of a language. It can be used to explore phonetic transfer, and it has the advantage of highlighting the changes during phonological adaptation.

This method of illustration was developed for both vowels and consonants, but in our case only the illustration of consonants is relevant. It is based on two major elements: the **reference point**[1] and the **sound elements**, which always mark an articulatory feature of the sound. *Table 3* summarizes the elements used in the illustrations (Siptár 2003: 322–325).

Table 3. *Illustration elements of consonants*

P	labial	**N**	nasal
Y	postalveolar and palatal	**L**	lateral
K	velar	**R**	trill
K^H	aspirated velar	**H**	durable
Z	voiced obstruent	**S**	sibilant

2. Analysis

2.1. Voiced, bilabial obstruent

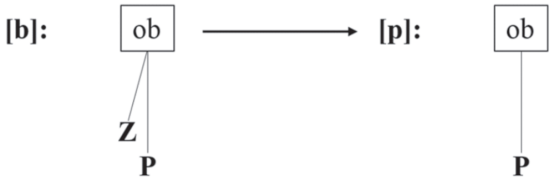
The IPA symbol of this sound is **[b]**, and it has a corresponding letter in both languages: ***b***. It appears in the Hungarian words – in our corpus – 129 times. In 97.67% (N=126), the phonetical transfer maintains the articulatory features

1 In Siptár's terminology: *gyökércsomópont.*

(ex. Hu. *abrak* [ɔbrɔk] > Rom. *abrac* [äbräk], Hu. *bábos* [ba:boʃ] > Rom. *băbaş* [bəbäʃ], Hu. *bakó* [bɔko:] > Rom. *bacău* [bäkə͡u], Hu. *bádog* [ba:dog] > Rom. *badog* [bädo̯g] etc.), and this modality of transfer does not depend on the phonological environment.

The percentage is bigger than 20%, so we consider it a phonetic adaptation scheme for the [b] sound. Besides this, two more phonetical adaptation modalities can be observed, where changes of phonetic features can be noticed.

In the first case, the sound gets an H element (durable) and it changes the manner of articulation (explosive, bilabial → fricative, labiodental) (ex. Hu. *plajbász* [plɔjba:s] > Rom. *plaivaz* [pläjväz]).



The other adaptation modality is produced with the loss of the Z element (voiced → voiceless) (ex. Hu. *comb* [ʦomb] > Rom. *ţîmp* [ʦimp]).

The voiced, explosive, bilabial obstruent has, in conclusion, three phonetical adaptation modalities, noticed in our research corpus (see *Table 4*).

Table 4. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [b] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[b] = [b]	-	scheme (97.67%)
2.	change of one articulation feature	[b] → [p]	**voicing**: voiced → voiceless	modality
3.	change of two articulation features	[b] → [v]	**manner**: stop → fricative **place**: bilabial → labiodental	modality

2.2. Voiceless, bilabial obstruent

The IPA symbol of this sound is **[p]**, and it has a corresponding letter in both of the languages: ***p***. It appears in the Hungarian words – in our corpus – 112 times.

In 98.21% of the cases (N=110), the phonetic transfer maintains the articulatory features (ex. Hu. *kalap* [kɔlɔp] > Rom. *clop* [klo̯p]; Hu. *paripa* [pɔripɔ] > Rom. *parip* [pärip]; Hu. *pelenka* [pɛlɛŋkɔ] > Rom. *pelincă* [pe̯liŋkə]; Hu. *picula* [pitsulɔ] > Rom. *piț ula* [pitsulä] etc.), and this modality of transfer is not depending on phonological conditions.

We have also two examples for the case when the string of elements is developed by the addition of the Z element (voiceless → voiced) (Hu. *képezni* [ke:pɛzni] > Rom. *chibzui* [kʰibzui] and Hu. *csörpör* [ʧørpør] > Rom. *ciorobor* [ʧi̯o̯ro̯bo̯r]).

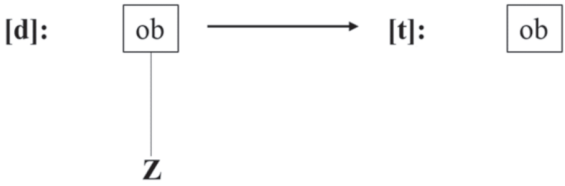
The voiceless, explosive, bilabial obstruent has, in conclusion, two phonetic adaptation modalities observed in our research corpus (see *Table 5*).

Table 5. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [p] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[p] = [p]	–	scheme (98.21%)
2.	change of one articulation feature	[p] → [b]	**voicing**: voiceless → voiced	modality

2.3. Voiced, alveolar obstruent

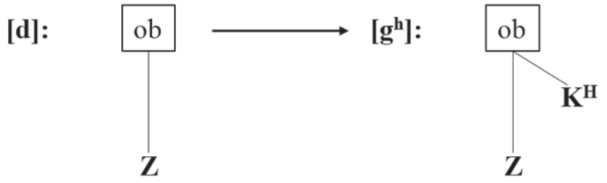
The IPA symbol of this sound is **[d]**, and it has a corresponding letter in both languages: ***d***. It appears in the Hungarian words – in our corpus – 78 times. In 83.33% of the cases (N=65), the phonetic transfer maintains the articulatory features (ex. Hu. *eredni* [ɛrɛdni] > Rom. *arădui* [ärədui]; Hu. *gazda* [gɔzdɔ] > Rom. *gazdă* [gäzdə]; Hu. *hordó* [hordo:] > Rom. *hârdău* [hɨrdə̯u] etc.), and this modality of transfer does not depend on the phonological environment.



7.69% (N=6) of the words in the analysed corpus show the [d] → [t] change. This transfer modality appears both when the Hungarian sound is in a stressed

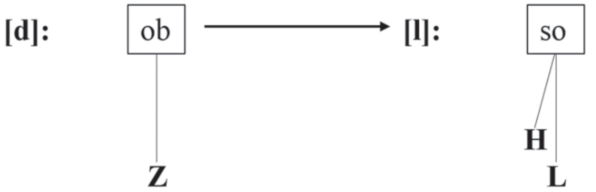
syllable and it is transferred into a stressed syllable in Romanian (Hu. *dob* [dob] > Rom. *tobă* [tǫbə]; Hu. *várda* [va:rdɔ] > Rom. *vartă* [värtə]), as well as in the case when the stressed syllable in Hungarian becomes unstressed in Romanian (Hu. *alkudni* [ɔlkudni] > Rom. *alcătui* [älkətui]; Hu. *hadnagy* [hɔdnɔɟ] > Rom. *hotnog* [hǫtnǫg]; Hu. *ütődött* [ytø:døt:] > Rom. *hututui* [hututu͡i]; Hu. *spikinard* [ʃpikinɔrd] > Rom. *spiclinat* [spiklinät]).

Another phonetic transfer modality is dropping the sound from the structure of the borrowings (ex. Hu. *szabadság* [sɔbɔʧ:a:g] > Rom. *săbăşag* [səbəʃăg], Hu. *szabad* [sɔbɔd] > Rom. *nesăbuit* [nęsəbuit]; Hu. *horzsolódni* [horʒolo:dni] > Rom. *hârjoni* [hɨrʒǫni]).

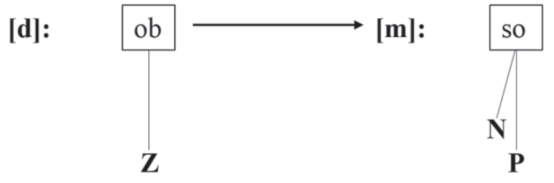


A fourth phonetic transfer modality is [d] → [gʰ]; it is present in two words in our corpus (ex. Hu. *dibiny* [dibiɲ] > Rom. *ghiob* [gʰiǫb]; Hu. *eredni* [ɛrɛdni] > Rom. *hereghie* [hęręgʰię]). In these examples, we could identify the change of the place of articulation: the alveolar consonant in Hungarian becomes a velar, aspirated one in Romanian.

In the last two identified modalities, a major change can be observed in the manner of articulation: obstruents become sonorants. In the generative phonological illustrations, this change appears in the modification of the reference point.



In the example Hu. *kérkedni* [ke:rkɛdni] > Rom. *chercheli* [kʰęrkʰęli], we observe that the stop, alveolar, voiced obstruent becomes a voiced, alveolar, approximate sonorant.



The last phonetic adaptation modality can be observed in the example Hu. *csudafa* [ʧudɔfɔ] > Rom. *ciumăfaie* [ʧi̯umăfăi̯e̯]. Here, the voiced, stop, alveolar, obstruent becomes a voiced, bilabial, nasal sonorant.

In conclusion, we can establish six phonetic transfer modalities (*Table 6*):

Table 6. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [d] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[d] = [d]	–	scheme (83.33%)
2a.	change of one articulation feature	[d] → [t]	**voicing**: voiced→ voiceless	modality
2b.		[d] → [gʰ]	**place**: alveolar → velar aspirated	modality
3.	change of two articulation features	[d] → [l]	**manner:** obstruent → sonorant; stop → approximate	modality
4.	change of three articulation features	[d] → [m]	**manner:** obstruent → sonorant; stop → nasal **place:** alveolar → bilabial	modality
5.	drop of the sound from the structure of the borrowing	[d]↓	–	modality

2.4. Voiceless, alveolar obstruent

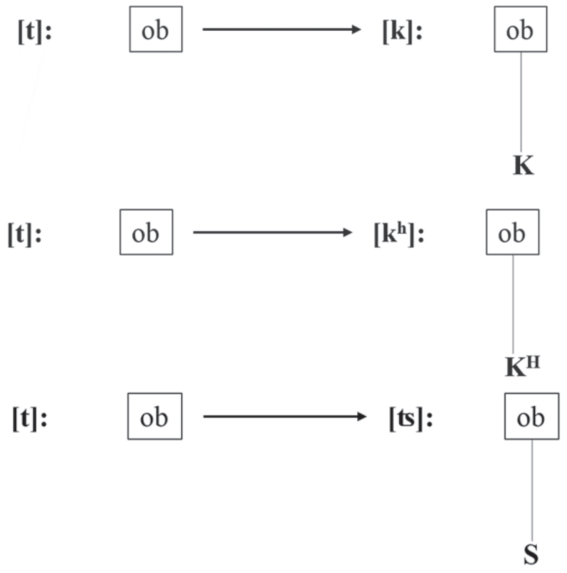
The IPA symbol of this sound is **[t]**, and it has a corresponding letter in both languages: ***t***. It appears in the Hungarian words – in our corpus – 78 times. In 90.9% (N=170), the phonetic transfer maintains the articulatory features (Hu. *alkotni* [ɔlkọtni] > Rom. *alcătui* [ălkətui]; Hu. *bolt* [bolt] > Rom. *boltă* [bọltă]; Hu. *katlan* [kɔtlɔn] > Rom. *cotlon* [kọtlọn]; Hu. *lakatos* [lɔkɔtoʃ] > Rom. *lăcătuş* [ləkətuʃ], etc.), and this transfer modality does not depend on the phonological environment.

In 4.27% (N=8) of the sounds, the dropping of the sound from the structure of the borrowing could be observed (Hu. *költség* [kølʧe:g] > Rom. *chelşug* [kʰẹlʃug]; Hu. *csoport* [ʧoport] > Rom. *ciopor* [ʧi̯ọpọr]; Hu. *dobostorta* [doboʃtortɔ] > Rom. *doboş* [dọbọʃ]; Hu. *ütődött* [ytø:døt:] > Rom. *hututui* [hututu̯i]; Hu. *sóhajt* [ʃo:hɔjt] > Rom. *şioi* [ʃi̯ọi]; Hu. *szaggatni* [sɔg:ɔtni] > Rom. *soage* [sọă̯ʤẹ]). In the majority of these cases, the sound is dropped together with the syllable containing it. In other cases, we identify the phenomenon of the *apocope*.[2]

In our research corpus, there are three examples for words where [t] becomes [k], ex. Hu. *sötét* [ʃøte:t] > Rom. *şutic* [ʃutik]; Hu. *hitlen* [hitlɛn] > Rom. *viclean* [vikl̩ă̯n]; Hu. *hitlenség* [hitlɛnʃe:g] > Rom. *vicleşug* [vikl̩ʃug]. In this phonetic

2 *Apocope:* drop of a sound or group of sounds from the end of the word (Dimitrescu 1978: 121).

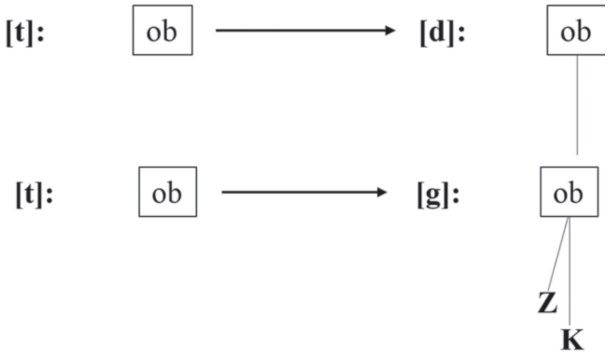
adaptation modality, we can identify a subtype, the aspirated pronunciation of [k]: Hu. *betű* [bɛty:] > Rom. *bechiu* [bẹkʰiu].



There are two examples for the change of [t] in [ʦ]: Hu. *csikoltó* [ʧikolto:] > Rom. *ciocâlțeu* [ʧi̯okɨlʦẹu̯]; Hu. *darabant* [dɔrɔbɔnt] > Rom. *dorobanț* [dọrọbänʦ]. In this case, the manner of articulation is changed (stop → affricate).

In the case of two words, there is a [t] → [d] change (ex. Hu. *hajtó* [hɔjto:] > Rom. *haidău* [hăi̯dəu̯]; Hu. *merítő* [mɛri:tø:] > Rom. *meredeu* [mẹrẹdẹu̯]). We observe as well that in these cases the [d] sound is always followed by a diphthong in the Romanian borrowings.

The last phonetic adaptation modality is the change of the [t] consonant into [g]: Hu. *pántlika* [pa:ntlikɔ] > Rom. *panglică* [păŋglikə].



The voiceless, alveolar, stop obstruent has, in conclusion, seven phonetic adaptation modalities observable in our research corpus (see *Table 7*).

Table 7. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [t] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[t] = [t]	–	scheme (90.9%)
2a.	change of one articulation feature	[t] → [k]	**place**: alveolar → velar	modality
2b.		[t] → [k^h]	**place**: alveolar → velar aspirated	modality
2c.		[t] → [ʦ]	**manner:** stop → affricate	modality
2d.		[t] → [d]	**voicing:** voiceless → voiced	modality
3.	change of two articulation features	[t] → [g]	**place:** alveolar → velar; **voicing:** voiceless → voiced	modality
4.	drop of the sound from the structure of the borrowing	[t]↓	–	modality

2.5. Voiced, velar obstruent

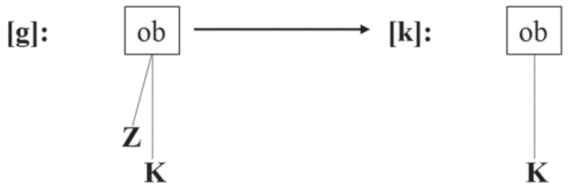
The voiced, velar stop has the **[g]** IPA symbol and its corresponding letter is ***g*** both in Hungarian and Romanian. This sound appears in our research corpus 106 times.

The typical adaptation scheme for this sound is maintaining the articulatory features in 88.67% (N=94) of the cases. This adaptation modality does not have any phonological preconditions, it can appear in any phonotactic environment (ex. Hu. *egres* [ɛgrɛʃ] > Rom. *agriş* [ägriʃ]; Hu. *vágás* [va:ga:ʃ] > Rom. *făgaş* [fəgäʃ]; Hu. *jószág* [jo:sa:g] > Rom. *iosag* [i̯o̯säg]; Hu. *nadrág* [nɔdra:g] > Rom. *nădrag* [nədräg]; Hu. *agár* [ɔga:r] > Rom. *ogar* [o̯gär], etc.).

The voiced, velar stop sound has five other phonetic transfer modalities. The first is produced by changing the place of articulation (velar → bilabial). There are five examples for this modality: Hu. *targonca* [tɔrgonʦɔ] > Rom. *tărăboanță* [tərəbo̯ä̯nʦə]; Hu. *gugyor* [gu̯jor] > Rom. *budur* [budur]; Hu. *guba* [gubɔ] > Rom. *bobou* [bo̯bo̯u̯] and Hu. *gomb* [gomb] > Rom. *bumb* [bumb].

We have to mention that this change is produced when the [g] sound has [ə] as antecedent and the [o̯ä] diphthong and [u] vowel as postcedents.

There are four examples for another adaptation modality, which can be observed in our corpus: Hu. *morog* [morog] > Rom. *morocăni* [mo̯ro̯kəni]; Hu. *salugáter* [ʃɔluga:tɛr] > Rom. *şolocat* [ʃo̯lo̯kät]; Hu. *cájg* [ʦa:jg] > Rom. *ţaică* [ʦäjkə].

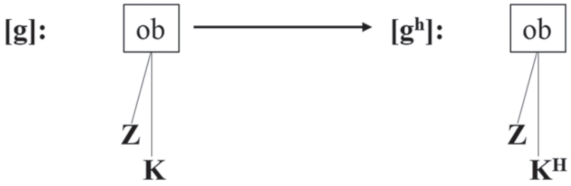


We can notice in the illustration the drop of the Z element (voiced sound), this phenomenon occuring in the phonotactic situation where the sound has the [o̯, j, e̯] sounds as antecedents and [ə, o̯, i̯u̯] as postcedents.

There are two words which drop the [g] sound (Hu. *szaggatni* [sɔg:ɔtni] > Rom. *soage* [so̯ädʒe̯]; Hu. *betegség* [bɛtɛkʃe:g] > Rom. *beteşug* [be̯te̯ʃug]).

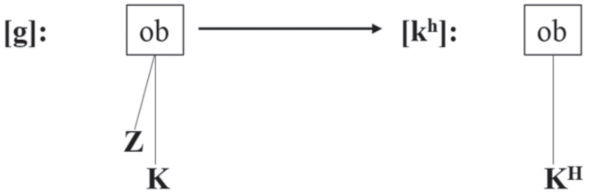
We note that in the case of the first word the sound is not dropped from the structure, but – because in Romanian there are no consonants with long pronunciation – it is shortened. In the other word, we encounter a consonant syncope.[3]

At the same time, there is one example (Hu. *tingilingi* [tinglingi] > Rom. *tinghi-linghi* [ting^{h}i-ling^{h}i]) for the situation where the consonant is pronounced aspirated.



We note that both sounds of the word which undergo this transfer have [n] as antecedent and [i] as postcedent.

The last phonetic adaptation modality of this sound that occurs in our corpus is similar to the previous one (Hu. *tengeri* [tɛngɛri] > Rom. *tenchi* [te̯nk^{h}i]).



In the case of this transfer modality, we notice that, besides the fact that the sound is pronounced aspirated, it drops the Z (voiced) element as well, so the

3 *Syncope:* drop of a sound or groups of sounds between two sounds inside the word (Dimitrescu 1978: 121).

corresponding sound in the borrowing becomes voiceless. The phonotactic situation is identical to the above.

Based on our research, we found the following phonetic transfer modalities to the sound [g] (see *Table 8*):

Table 8. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [g] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[g] = [g]	–	scheme (88.67%)
2.	maintaining the articulation features with aspirated pronunciation	[g] → [g^{h}]	aspirated pronunciation	modality
3a.	change of one articulation feature	[g] → [b]	**place:** velar → bilabial	modality
3b.		[g] → [k]	**voicing:** voiced → voiceless	modality
4.	drop of the sound from the structure of the borrowing	[g]↓	–	modality

2.6. Voiceless, velar obstruent

The voiceless, velar obstruent stop has the IPA symbol **[k]** and it has an articulatory correspondent in both languages. The grapheme corresponding to this sound is ***k*** in Hungarian and in Romanian is marked with two letters: ***c*** and ***k***. This sound appears 180 times in the Hungarian words of our corpus.

As in the other cases discussed above, this sound has only one phonetic transfer modality that can be considered a scheme: maintenance of the articulation features. The percentage of these sounds in our corpus is 84.44% (N=152).

Such words are for example: Hu. *abrak* [ɔbrɔk] > Rom. *abrac* [äbräk]; Hu. *bicska* [biʧkɔ] > Rom. *brişcă* [briʃkə]; Hu. *csonka* [ʧonkɔ] > Rom. *cionc* [ʧi̯onk]; Hu. *csuka* [ʧukɔ] > Rom. *ciucă* [ʧi̯ukə]; Hu. *kocsi* [koʧi] > Rom. *cocie* [kọʧi̯ę], etc.

In the case of this sound, we notice another phonetic adaptation modality, which appears in a significant number (11.66%, N=21) consisting of the aspirated pronunciation of the sound in the borrowing.

This involves the change of the K element in K^H (ex. Hu. *költség* [køltʃe:g] > Rom. *chelşug* [kʰe̯lʃug]; Hu. *kezes* [kɛzɛʃ] > Rom. *chezaş* [kʰe̯zäʃ]; Hu. *kép* [ke:p] > Rom. *chip* [kʰip]; Hu. *dikics* [dikitʃ] > Rom. *dichici* [dikʰitʃʲ], etc). We notice in the analysed corpus that this change appears when the sound has antecedents such as [r, e, i, o, u] and [e, i] as postcedents. These sound groups (letter groups) were introduced in the Romanian alphabet as *che, chi*.

There are four words which drop the [k] sound from the borrowing: Hu. *kenkdö* [kɛnkdø][4] > Rom. *chindeu* [kʰindʲe̯u]; Hu. *kukkadoz* [kuk:ɔdoz] > Rom. *cucăi* [kukəi]; Hu. *hasker* [hɔʃkɛr] > Rom. *hârşie* [hɨrʃi̯e̯], and Hu. *mogádok* [moga:dok] > Rom. *mogâldeață* [mo̯gɨldʲe̯ätsə].

We notice two aspects: in the case of the word Rom. *cucăi,* in fact, there is no consonant syncope, but a simple contraction of pronunciation duration. The [k] sound is maintained in the phonetical body of the word. The other two words are adapted with not only dropping the sound, but also the whole syllable.

We have two examples where the change of a phonetic feature of the sound can be observed. This is the change of the representative element of the sound: the K (velar) changes into H (prolonged).

The words in the corpus are: Hu. *matikálni* [mɔtika:lni] > Rom. *mătăhăi* [mətəhəi] and Hu. *tárkony* [ta:rkoɲ] > Rom. *tarhon* [tärhо̯n].

Finally, we have a word (Hu. *mellék* [mɛl:e:k] > Rom. *meleag* [me̯le̯äg]) in which the addition of an element can be observed, so that by the addition of the Z (voiced) element, the [k] sound becomes [g].

On the basis of the above, we find the following modalities of phonetic adaptation for the [k] sound (see *Table 9*):

4 In the case of this word, we must mention that it was probably misspelled in NDULR (p. 296, col. III) and the proper form would be *kendő* [kɛndø:]. Therefore, we cannot talk about the drop from the middle of the word in the form of a consonant syncope.

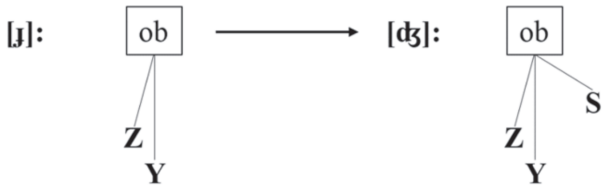
Table 9. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [k] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1.	maintaining the articulation features	[k] = [k]	–	scheme (84.44%)
2.	maintaining the articulation features with aspirated pronunciation	[k] → [kʰ]	aspirated pronunciation	modality (11.66%)
3.	change of one articulation feature	[k] → [g]	**voicing:** voiceless → voiced	modality
4.	change of two articulation features	[k] → [h]	**manner:** stop → fricative; **place:** velar → laryngeal	modality
5.	drop of the sound from the structure of the borrowing	[k]↓	–	modality

2.7. Voiced, palatal obstruent

The IPA symbol of the voiced, palatal obstruent stop is [ɟ] and it has no articulatory correspondent in Romanian, thereby the qualitative change of the articulatory features of the sound is necessary in the process of phonetic adaptation. The sound in Hungarian is marked with the ***gy*** grapheme. It appears in the Hungarian words 24 times.

A percent of 33.33% (N=8) of the sounds are adapted in the form of the [ʤ] sound, ex. Hu. *agyag* [ɔɟɔg] > Rom. *agiag* [ädʒʲäg]; Hu. *gyaló* [ɟɔloː] > Rom. *gealău* [ʤe̯älə̯u]; Hu. *hölgy* [hølɟ] > Rom. *helge* [hẹlʤẹ], etc.

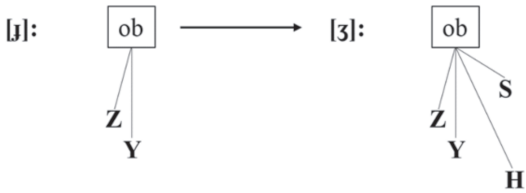


The analysis of the phonetic context has not led to the finding of rules since this change occurs whenever the word and the series of ante- and postcedents is very complex.

A percentage of 20.83% (N=5) of the sounds have undergone the [ɟ] → [gʰ] change, ex.: Hu. *gyömbér* [ɟømbeːr] > Rom. *ghimber* [gʰimbẹr]; Hu. *gyűlés* [ɟyːleːʃ] > Rom. *ghiuluş* [gʰi̯uluʃ]; Hu. *lengyel* [lɛŋɟɛl] > Rom. *lengher* [lẹŋgʰẹr], etc.

In the words taken as examples, we can notice that this change occurs only when the [ɟ] is the first sound of the syllable.

In 16.66% (N=4) of the sounds, the [ɟ] became [ʒ]: Hu. *gyanú* [ɟɔnuː] > Rom. *jenui* [ʒẹnui]; Hu. *gyönni* [ɟønːi] > Rom. *joi* [ʒọi]; Hu. *gyomlálni* [ɟọmlaːlni] > Rom. *jumuli* [ʒumuli], and Hu. *gyűrűzni* [ɟyːryːzni] > Rom. *jurui* [ʒurui].



Although we have few examples, we find that this modality of phonetic adaptation works only when the sound is in the initial position in the word.

Besides the above described phonetic transfer modalities, there are other ones, represented by few examples:

– [ɟ] → [g]: Hu. *hadnagy* [hɔdnaɟ] > Rom. *hotnog* [họtnọg]; Hu. *jobbágy* [jobːaːɟ] > Rom. *iobag* [jọbäg];

– [ɟ] → [d]: Hu. *gugyor* [guɟor] > Rom. *budur* [budur];

– [ɟ] → [ʃ]: Hu. *hagyma* [hɔɟmɔ] > Rom. *haşmă* [häʃmə];

– [ɟ] → [r]: Hu. *melegágy* [mɛlɛgaːɟ] > Rom. *melegar* [mẹlẹgär];

– [ɟ] → [ʧ]: Hu. *nagyságos* [nɔcʧːaːgoʃ] > Rom. *nociagoş* [nọʧi̯ägọʃ];

– [ɟ] ↓: Hu. *bugyli* [buɟli] > Rom. *bulicher* [bulikʰẹr].

Table 10. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [ɟ] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1a.	change of one articulation feature	[ɟ] → [gʰ]	**place:** palatal → velar aspirated	scheme (20.83%)
1b.		[ɟ] → [d]	**place:** palatal → alveolar	modality
1c.		[ɟ] → [g]	**place:** palatal → velar	modality
2a.	change of two articulation features	[ɟ] → [ʤ]	**manner:** stop → affricate; **place:** palatal → post-alveolar	scheme (33.33%)
2b.		[ɟ] → [ʒ]	**manner:** stop → fricative; **place:** palatal → post-alveolar	modality

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
3a.	change of three articulation features	[ɟ] → [ʃ]	**manner:** stop → fricative; **place:** palatal → post-alveolar; **voicing:** voiced → voiceless	modality
3b.		[ɟ] → [ʧ]	**manner:** stop → affricate; **place:** palatal → post-alveolar; **voicing:** voiced → voiceless	modality
3c.		[ɟ] → [r]	**manner:** obstruent → sonorant; stop → trill; **place:** palatal → alveolar	modality
4.	drop of the sound from the structure of the borrowing	[ɟ]↓	-	modality

2.8. Voiceless, palatal obstruent

The voiceless, palatal, obstruent stop has the **[c]** IPA symbol, and it has no articulatory correspondent in Romanian, this requiring qualitative change in the process of phonetic adaptation. The corresponding grapheme is Hungarian is ***ty***, and this sound appears 10 times in our corpus.

Since it is such a small number, we cannot afford to establish certain conclusions through a detailed analysis.

There are four words that were borrowed by modifying the [c] sound into [t]: Hu. *bástya* [ba:ʃcɔ] > Rom. *baştie* [bäʃtię]; Hu. *kallantyú* [kɔl:ɔɲcu:] > Rom. *colătău* [kǫlətə͡u]; Hu. *mátyás* [ma:ca:ʃ] > Rom. *matiaş* [mätiäʃ] şi Hu. *patyolat* [pɔcolɔt] > Rom. *potilat* [pǫtilät].

We have two words where we can observe the change of [c] into [k]: Hu. *kótyavetye* [ko:cɔvɛcɛ] > Rom. *cochii-vechii* [kǫkʰi:vɛkʰi:] and Hu. *fátyol* [fa:col] > Rom. *fachiol* [fäkʰi̯o̯l].

Still, in two words, the [c] → [ʧ] adaptation modality is present: Hu. *konty* [koɲc] > Rom. *conci* [kǫnʧʲ] and Hu. *pityóka* [pico:kɔ] > Rom. *picioică* [piʧi̯o̯jkə].

There is a word in the corpus which shows the [c] → [d] modality: Hu. *bátya* [ba:cɔ] > Rom. *bade* [bädę].

In the case of this sound, we do not establish schemes given that it occurs in a small number. All of the noticed phonetic transfer methods are considered modalities (see *Table 11*).

Table 11. *The phonetic adaptation modalities of the [c] sound*

	Noticed phenomenon	Change of sound	Changes in articulation features	
1a.	change of one articulation feature	[c] → [t]	**place:** palatal → alveolar	modality
1b.		[c] → [kʰ]	**place:** palatal → velar aspirated	modality
2a.	change of two articulation features	[c] → [d]	**place:** palatal → alveolar; **voicing:** voiceless → voiced	modality
2b.		[c] → [ʧ]	**manner:** stop → affricate; **place:** palatal → post-alveolar	modality

3. Conclusions

As in the process of borrowing and phonetic adaptation it is possible to have changes on the level of articulation manner, place, and duration, we are going to formulate several conclusions considering these factors.

The 8 analysed phonemes have 41 phonetical adaptation modalities in total, on average, 5 different modalities of adaptation per sound. The sounds that have articulation correspondents in the two languages [b, p, d, t, g, k] feature the adaptation modality which consists of maintaining the articulation features.

On the level of the manner of articulation, we can establish the following types of changes: (1) stop → fricative: [b] → [v], [k] → [h], [ɟ] → [ʒ], [ɟ] → [ʃ]; (2) stop → approximate: [d] → [l]; (3) stop → nasal: [d] → [m]; (4) stop → affricate: [t] → [ʦ]; [ɟ] → [ʤ]; [ɟ] → [ʧ], [c] → [ʧ]; (5) stop → trill: [ɟ] → [r]. There are three examples for the change of an obstruent feature into sonorant ([d] → [l], [d] → [m], [ɟ] → [r]).

On the level of the place of articulation, we are going to see changes for alveolar, velar, bilabial, and palatal sounds.

The alveolar sounds can become – in the light of our corpus – velar with aspirated pronunciation ([d] → [gʰ], [t] → [kʰ]), velar ([t] → [k], [t] → [g]), and bilabial ([d] → [m]) (see *Figure 1*).

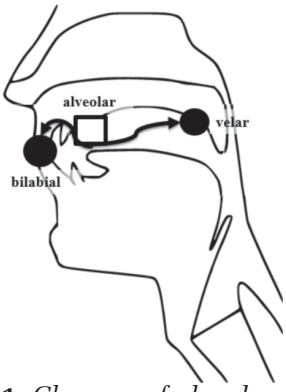


Figure 1. *Changes of alveolar sounds*

The velar sound can become laryngeal ([k] → [h]) or bilabial ([g] → [b]) (see *Figure 2*).

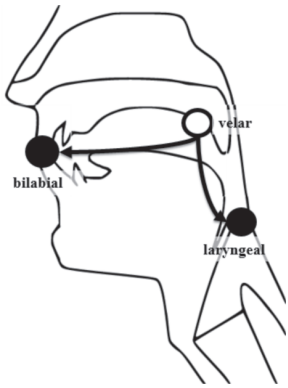


Figure 2. *Changes of velar sounds*

In our research corpus, the bilabial sound can become labiodental ([b] → [v]).

Finally, the palatal sounds have four modalities of changing. They can become velar with aspirated pronunciation ([ɟ] → [g^{h}], [c] → [k^{h}]), velar ([ɟ] → [g]), alveolar ([ɟ] → [d], [ɟ] → [r], [c] → [t], [c] → [d]), or post-alveolar ([ɟ] → [ʤ], [ɟ] → [ʒ], [ɟ] → [ʃ], [ɟ] → [ʧ], [c] → [ʧ]) (see *Figure 3*).

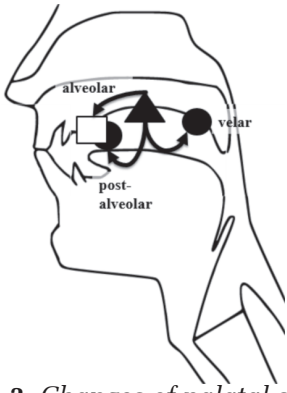


Figure 3. *Changes of palatal sounds*

On the level of voicing, we have examples for both the voiced → voiceless ([b] → [p], [d] → [t], [g] → [k], [ɟ] → [ʃ], [ɟ] → [ʧ]) and voiceless → voiced ([p] → [b], [t] → [d], [t] → [g], [k] → [g], [c] → [d]) changes.

Finally, there are examples for the drop of the sound from the phonetic structure of the words ([d]↓, [t]↓, [g]↓, [k]↓, [ɟ]↓).

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Born or Made? An Overview of the Social Status and Professional Training of Hungarian Interpreters in Romania

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Abstract. There is a recurrent debate in the scholarly literature on interpreting studies: are interpreters made or born? While classical interpreting schools state that great interpreters are born and that formation and development is of a secondary importance, the newest publications on this topic place a much greater stress on the formation and development of interpreting abilities, skills, and competences. The latest results also challenge several ideas and stereotypes concerning the personality and attitudes of interpreters. This article outlines the position and situation regarding Hungarian interpreters in Romania with a special regard to the legal framework, and to the present state of professional training. The study also discusses why interpreters of Hungarian are much more likely to be born in Romania, and not made, (a factor that hinders the professionalization of Hungarian interpreters in Romania). Equally significant are the legislative loopholes which enable untrained individuals to perform interpreting activities (even economic activities), the result of which is a significantly poorer image of the profession, and a lowering of the quality of work it produces. We also give a short overview of the translation and interpreting programmes. As the majority of the Hungarian population in Romania reside in Transylvania, we confine our overview to Transylvanian universities.

Keywords: translation and interpreting studies, Romanian legal framework, minority languages and translation, interpreting, translation and interpreting training in Romania

1. Are interpreters born or made? Short overview of the literature

Interpretation is regarded as a special form of translation, preceding written translation and in fact writing itself (see Pöchhacker 2004: 9). Although interpreting is usually defined as oral translation, this does not include all types of interpreting, for example sign interpreting. The experts suggest that the most important viewpoint in distinguishing translation from interpretation is its *immediacy*, as the source-language text (written, oral, or signed) is transmitted "here and now" (vid. Pöchhacker 2004: 10). Another important differentiation criterion is the availability of the source text: while the translator has the source text available in some fixed form, allowing him/her to refer back to it, an interpreter gets only one attempt at producing the target text (Kade qtd by Schäffner 2004: 1).

The debate regarding nature or nurture has been long present in the scholarly literature, as several scholars and researchers hold different views on the skills needed by interpreters in performing their task. The literature features two main models regarding (mainly conference) interpreters: "the acquired-skills model as opposed to the inborn-abilities model" (Kopczyński–Kowaluk 1997: 2075). Most scholars consider these two models to be mutually exclusive.

One of the most important representatives of the born-not-made school of thought was Nida, while Healey supported the made-not-born approach (Gile 2009: 7). Popular thought and – as our study presented below also shows – even that of translators and interpreters is more in favour of the inborn-abilities model: an interpreter is first and foremost born to be an interpreter, with personality traits such as extroversion, good social skills, sometimes an exhibitionist, self-confidence, outstanding memory skills, quick reaction time, good concentration abilities, good presenting skills, etc. (Válóczi 2010: 29).

The professionalization of interpreting brought about a shift in perspective regarding the need for training, and the latest literature on interpreting includes publications and studies supporting the made-not-born approach.

For example, the results of Kopczyński and Kowaluk's 1997 article show that "trained interpreters have mastered some strategies which allow them to deal with the task more satisfactorily compared to untrained bilinguals" (Kopczyński–Kowaluk 1997: 2082), and these are consistent with the criteria of the acquired-skills model. However, they conclude that interpretation talent does exist, as "some people are more gifted than others" (Kopczyński–Kowaluk 1997: 2083).

The website of the International Association of Conference Interpreters features the following answer to our question:

It takes training, practice, a professional attitude, and enough determination to stay the course for a career as a professional interpreter. Acquaintance with many foreign languages and cultures is simply not enough. Before you can begin to

work as a professional, you must master interpretation methods and techniques by attending an appropriate university-level course. You do not necessarily have to be brought up speaking many languages to become an interpreter. Nowadays, most of those who become interpreters have acquired their foreign languages, but to a very high level of proficiency.[1]

In his 2009 book on interpreter and translator training, Gile concludes that "while certain 'natural' aptitudes are prerequisites to high-quality translation – especially literary translation – or to simultaneous interpreting, it makes little sense to challenge the idea that guidance into Translation *can* be useful, be it for the purpose of helping natural talents unfold and develop or for instruction in technical procedures (…) and in the acquisition of linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge" (Gile 2009: 7).

Gile also states that while formal training is not mandatory for would-be translators in the 21st century, it can perform at least two very important functions: on the one hand, formal training can help individuals wishing to become professional translators or interpreters "enhance their performance *to the full realization of their potential*," while, on the other hand, it can provide a more rapid acquisition of skills than through field experience and self-instruction (Gile 2009: 7).

In the following, we present the status of Hungarian translators and interpreters in Romania, the legal framework, a number of training programmes as well as the results of a survey conducted among Hungarian translators and interpreters working in Romania regarding their views and opinions on the most important problems and issues of the profession in this context.

2. The status of the Hungarian sworn translators and interpreters in Romania

2.1. Translation and interpretation: lack of professional differentiation

Before attempting a detailed discussion of the legislation regarding sworn translators and interpreters, it is important to stress that authorization bodies do not acknowledge the underlying differences between the two occupations or professions (vid. Greere–Tătaru 2008, Greere 2010). In the following, I aim to present the scale of diversification of the two professions in a bottom-up sense: first, I deal with the classification of occupations, then with the nomenclature of economic activities, and finally with the legislation in force.

Romanian market practices show an awareness of the fact that "translation and interpreting are two different professions, entailing two distinct sets of competences and being performed by different specifically trained individuals" (Greere 2010: 792). Accordingly, the 2014 Classification of Occupations in Romania

1 http://aiic.net/p/1669#Q5 (last accessed on April 21, 2014).

includes several occupations in interpreting and translation. These occupations form two conceptual groups from the point of view of our research: one represents the different interpretation activities: 264302 – *Interpret* ('interpret'), 226602 – *Interpret în limbaj mimico-gestual – studii medii* ('sign language interpreter – secondary education'), 235202 – *Interpret în limbaj mimico-gestual – studii superioare* ('sign language interpreter – university degree'), 264303 – *Interpret relații diplomatice* ('interpreter in diplomatic relations'), while the other group includes translation-related occupations: 343517 – *Traducător – studii medii* ('translator – secondary education'), 264306 – *Traducător – studii superioare* ('translator – university degree'), and 264307 – *Translator* ('translator').[2]

The nomenclature of economic activities (the statistical classification of economic activities) in Romania differentiates the two types of activities (written and oral translation, where interpreting is conceptualized as the latter), and the two activities receive one NACE code (7430 – *Activități de traducere scrisă şi orală (interpreți)* 'written and oral (interpreting) translation activities').[3]

Legal stipulations also address the two professions as one: Law 178/1997 regarding the activity of translators and interpreters, employed by "legal authorities including the Ministry of Justice, courts and tribunals, notary public offices and attorneys-at-law do not distinguish in any way between the two professions" (Greere 2010: 792), as throughout the text of the legal document 'and/or' is used between the word *translator* and *interpreter.*

2.2. Legislation and authorization

According to the present legal stipulations and procedures in Romania, there are two distinctive procedures in obtaining an official professional status for translators and interpreters.

The Ministry of Justice authorizes translators and interpreters to work for legal authorities: the Ministry, courts and tribunals, notary public offices, and attorneys-at-law. This area of occupation suggests a need for specific translation and interpretation skills and competences; however – as discussed below –, in most situations, this is not the case. The Ministry of Justice also lists professional translators and interpreters adding up more than 36,600 authorized translators, including more than 1,400 translators and interpreters with Hungarian as (one of) their working language(s).[4] It is important to mention that it is not known how many of them are active.

2 Although the occupations of *traducător* and *translator* are differentiated, there is no description whatsoever of their activities, and thus it is not clear why there is a need for this distinction.

3 http://coduricaen.info/definitie-Activitati-de-traducere-scrisa-si-orala-(interpreti)-7430.html (Last accessed: 13 March 2014)

4 The list of authorized translators: http://www.just.ro/MinisterulJusti%C8%9Biei/Listapersoanelorautorizate/Interpretisitraducatoriautorizati/tabid/129/Default.aspx (last accessed on 26 March 2014).

According to the stipulations of Law 178/1997, translators and interpreters authorized by the Ministry of Justice must be available for the Superior Council of Magistracy, the Ministry of Justice, the High Court of Cassation and Justice, the Public Prosecution Service, the National Anticorruption Directorate, the criminal investigation authorities, the courts, notaries public, lawyers and bailiffs; thus, it can be stated that it is "focused on procedures that are applicable in contexts where authorized translators and interpreters are required for the linguistic transfer of communication instances with legal value" (Greere 2010: 794). The law also stipulates that the institutions and legal entities enumerated above can only employ translators and interpreters who are professionally prepared and have an authorization issued in their name by the Ministry of Justice.[5]

Authorization is issued based on an application file submitted to the Ministry of Justice (*by dossier*), after which the applicant is issued an authorization which covers translation *and* interpreting from *and* into the foreign language it was requested for. The conditions of request are discussed below.

The second procedure of obtaining a translation certificate is by a testing procedure organized by the Ministry of Culture for different domains and special languages. This is available for graduates of undergraduate non-language degrees, who wish to obtain their certification as translators.

As Greere (2010) states, authorization is considered by many an official professional recognition by Romanian authoritative bodies and by the society as a whole: there are several biases in Romania regarding translators, according to which "an authorization is the only indicator of quality and only the holder of such an authorization is a professional" (Greere 2010: 791). Such attitudes seem to determine all aspects of professional activity having a distinctive mark on the way lay people, other professionals, and those belonging to the profession see themselves.

In the following, I wish to discuss the authorization process as well as the consequences of this lax procedure, the questions implied by the law on authorized and sworn translators and interpreters belonging to national minorities (with a special regard to the Hungarian minority), the flaws present in the authorization procedure and the text of the law, the aspects of linguistic rights, language ideologies and (cultural) biases behind the authorization procedure as well as the status of the authorized translators and interpreters form the professional point of view.

2.3. The process of authorization from the point of view of national minorities

The conditions of issuing the authorization by the Ministry of Justice (besides the eligibility conditions regarding citizenship, capability of performance, the lack of

5 „Persoane atestate în profesie şi autorizate de Ministerul Justiției" (Art. 2, Law 178/1997).

a criminal record, as well as the professional and social recognition) include the following criteria of attesting the language skills needed:

1. The applicant holds an undergraduate language degree (or equivalent) in a foreign language (Philology and Applied Modern Languages alike) for which (s)he requests authorization, or

2. The applicant holds an undergraduate degree (or equivalent) certifying that (s)he graduated from a university programme organized in the foreign language for which (s)he requests authorization, or

3. The applicant holds a certificate (or equivalent) which shows that (s)he is the graduate of a high school with tuition in a foreign language or in the language of the national minorities (a language for which (s)he requests authorization), or

4. The applicant holds a translation certificate issued by the Ministry of Culture in the legal domain, based on which (s)he is certified to translate from Romanian into a foreign language, and based on which (s)he requests authorization to translate from the foreign language into Romanian.

It is important to stress that if the above conditions are met, the authorization is automatically issued by the Ministry of Justice "without having tested or verified in any way the distinctive competences required" (Greere 2010: 792), except for the last situation; nevertheless, the testing procedure is conducted by the Ministry of Culture and not by the Ministry of Justice.

Based on the above, a major conclusion can be drawn vis-á-vis translators and interpreters authorized and working in Romania, with a special regard to those belonging to the national minorities: as applicants are only required to attest their foreign language skills (proving Romanian language skills are not mentioned, as it is not required at all), in the case of translation authorizations issued by the Ministry of Justice the *A* language of every applicant is considered to be Romanian. It is no exaggeration to state that in the light of the legislature in force every person who wishes to become an authorized translator – or more importantly, from the point of view of our study, an authorized interpreter – is supposed to be a native speaker of Romanian, with the Romanian language as his/her mother tongue.

The same idea is supported by the fact that the authorizations include only the "foreign languages" they are issued for (in the case of an English–French translator in Romania, only the English and the French languages), Romanian being the "default language" of translations and interpreting activities.

2.4. Professionalization or not? Challenges and downsides

2.4.1. Romanian language teaching

According to the 3rd criterion above, anyone who has graduated from high school with tuition in any foreign language or in the language of a national minority can apply for an authorization of translation. As a result, several issues arise from the point of view of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

The Inter-Institutional Committee for Translation and Interpretation states that "The A language is one (native tongue or equivalent) which the interpreter masters perfectly, and into which he/she is capable of interpreting consecutively and simultaneously from all his/her B and C languages. In exceptional cases, an interpreter may have two A languages."[6] Although many Hungarians living in Romania declare themselves to be balanced bilinguals, in a survey conducted in 2004, only 0.8% declared themselves speakers of Romanian at the mother-tongue level.[7]

Romanian language teaching for the national minorities is still a highly debated topic in Romania. It is a fact that in the case of the Hungarian majority regions the teaching of the Romanian language has proven to be ineffective (or even a failure), and this is supported by the poor results obtained at national tests. Consequently, it has been a heated debate whether to continue teaching it as a mother tongue – which has proven not to be useful and successful in the Romanian language acquisition of Hungarian minority pupils – or teach it as L2 or foreign language, which has stirred heated arguments among the Romanian majority.

Because of the failure of Romanian language teaching for Hungarian pupils in Romania, it is important to stress that very few of the Hungarian mother-tongue pupils who graduate from a high-school with tuition in the Hungarian language have the necessary language skills to perform translation and interpretation, let alone any special training, to be able to make a living from this activity. However, as Greere (2010) also states, "many language graduates[8] will seek out the authorization whether they intend to become translators or not, transforming translation into a safety net rather than a profession" (Greere 2010: 793).

2.4.2. Hungarian – national minority language or foreign language?

Article 1 of Law 178/1997 stipulates that translators and interpreters in Romania translate from and into foreign languages (into Romanian and from Romanian – as a default).[9] The question of linguistic rights arises again, as according to

6 http://europa.eu/interpretation/doc/lang_profiles_in_demand.pdf (Last accessed on 26 March 2014).

7 On the bilingualism of Romanian Hungarians, see Horváth 2005.

8 And, in our case, graduates of high-schools with tuition in minority languages.

9 "…interpreți şi traducători pentru efectuarea traducerilor în şi din limbi străine" (Article 1 of Law 178/1997).

the text of this particular law the languages of national minorities in Romania are conceptualized as foreign languages as well, which is not in harmony with several other legal documents. For example, Law 1/2005, the Law of National Education differentiates between three groups of languages when discussing possible tuition: the Romanian language, worldwide spoken languages, and national minority languages.[10] This mirrors a completely different point of view and attitude: first and foremost, national minority languages are accepted as the mother tongue of the minority in question. However, the ideology behind Law 178/1997 considers Romanian to be the mother tongue of any Romanian citizen wishing to become authorized as a translator/interpreter, while the national minority languages are considered to be foreign languages.

This issue is of a paramount importance. For example, the regulation governing admissions and language classification of the International Association of Conference Interpreters states that the interpreters work into their native languages (their *A* languages) in both modes of interpretation, simultaneous and consecutive.[11] From this point of view, it is important for a Hungarian mother-tongue interpreter to have Hungarian recognized as his/her mother-tongue, and not to be expected to perform high-quality interpreting into a language of which (s)he does not have a perfect command.

Besides the problems it raises regarding linguistic rights, this ideology has another consequence related to the quality of translation as well as the professional acceptance of the occupation: in many cases, Hungarian mother-tongue translators and interpreters lack the language skills to produce high-quality translation and interpreting into Romanian. As a consequence, their professional acceptance is problematic, regardless of the high-quality translations they may produce into their mother-tongue or the high command they have of other foreign languages.

One need not forget that the Ministry of Justice issues authorizations to employ translators and interpreters in legal procedures, which are carried out in the language of the state, and thus it must be accepted that the Romanian language skills are a prerequisite in translating and interpreting in the legal domain. However, the issues raised and discussed above serve to stress the fact that the current procedure, although it demands it, does not guarantee high-quality translation or interpreting in legal contexts. Amendments to this procedure are strongly called for, and one of them is the issue of attesting Romanian language skills.

10 http://www.utcluj.ro/media/documents/2013/10._LEGE_nr1_actualizata.pdf (last accessed on 28 March 2014).

11 http://aiic.net/page/49 (last accessed on 28 March 2014).

2.4.3. Tacit acceptance of the lack of specialized training

The second important conclusion that arises from the above presented conditions (specifically condition number 3) is that any graduate, whether of a bilingual high-school or establishment offering tuition in the language of national minorities, can (if they hold a certificate) request authorization. This implies that there is no need for any specialized training in order to work for the Ministry of Justice or any other legal authorities in Romania as a translator or interpreter. It is important to stress from our perspective that whoever graduates from a high-school with tuition in Hungarian intending to become a Hungarian sworn translator and interpreter (as the Romanian language is the "default" language), and to perform translation and interpreting between Romanian and Hungarian, can do so, as – in the light of the current legislation – there is no requirement to certify special knowledge, translation or interpreting skills, or even general linguistic abilities, (not to mention issues of special languages and terminologies).

This is, however, unacceptable from the point of view of the profession. In the latest literature on translation and in the professional practice, it is increasingly common to see translation and interpreting as a process not unlike that of preventive medical intervention, as the translator/interpreter needs to anticipate the factors potentially threatening correct interpretation and minimize them (vid. Blum-Kulka, qtd by Robin 2013: 61).

That is why Chesterman (2001) has proposed the introduction of the so-called Hieronymic Oath (similar to the Hippocratic Oath), which, on the one hand, would serve the recognition of the profession and would help distinguishing the professional (and sworn!) translators from amateurs, while, on the other hand, providing ethical guidelines for the profession. However, under the current regulations, none of the above seems to be important.

Criterion number 4 includes the conditions regarding legal translations (*traducător pentru specialitatea ştiinţe juridice*); however, this refers only to the recognition and supplementation of the authorizations issued by the Ministry of Culture based on an exam in legal translation. It is of particular interest that, while the Ministry of Culture organizes translation exams in several professional languages (e.g. for arts, chemistry, medical language, physics, geography, IT, economics, sociology, etc.), the Ministry of Justice only recognizes the certificates issued for the legal professional language, not the others. This brings to the fore another inconsistency: while the graduation diploma acquired in the language of national minorities (where the level of acquisition of specialized languages is highly questionable) *is* accepted by the Ministry of Justice as the legal base for issuing translation certificates, the certificates of professional translation granted by the Romanian Ministry of Culture (based on exams frequently preceded by specialized languages, terminology, and special text editing training) are *not* recognized.

Nevertheless, the responsibility of sworn translators and interpreters is great: in the case of certificates issued by the Ministry of Justice, the authorized persons – as we have previously mentioned – need to be constantly available to the judicial bodies. Within 60 days of the issuing of the certificate, the translators/interpreters are required to register at the district court of their permanent residence, based on which registration the competent judicial authorities can apply for their services. If the translator/interpreter refuses to collaborate and to offer services twice within one year or if a customer notifies the Ministry of Justice in writing, calling in to question the translator's/interpreter's professional ability to fulfil the task, the Ministry has the power to withdraw the certificate under paragraph d) and e) of Article 6 of Law 178/1997.

3. Professional training of (Hungarian) translators and interpreters in Romania with special regard to Transylvania

3.1. Faculties and institutions with departments for the training of translators and interpreters in Transylvania

The training of translators and interpreters in Romania is organized in two different types of departments established at various faculties within several public and private universities: departments of applied modern languages and departments of translation and interpreting studies. According to Appendix No. 8 of the Government Resolution on the approval of fields of study and specializations/study programmes, the structure of higher education institutions for the academic year 2014/2015 and approval of titles conferred to undergraduate education graduates enrolled in the academic years 2011/2012, 2012/2013, and 2013/2014, the students graduating from applied modern languages programmes receive a bachelor's degree in Applied Modern Languages, while those graduating from translation and interpreting studies programmes receive a bachelor's degree in Philology. However, based on both of these degrees, an authorization can be issued by the Ministry of Justice.

As the aim of this study is to trace the difficulties the Hungarian translators and interpreters face in their process of professionalization, we do not deal with all Romanian universities that offer translator/interpreter training; we include only those faculties and institutions that have departments dedicated to the training of translators and interpreters in Transylvania, as the vast majority of the Hungarian population lives in this region of the country.[12]

12 We operate with the present-day, wider meaning and definition of Transylvania, which also includes the historical regions of Crişana, Maramureş, and the Romanian part of Banat (see e.g.

In the following, we include a list of institutions training translators and interpreters in departments and programmes of applied modern languages:

1. Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca (public university) – Faculty of Letters – Department of Applied Modern Languages

2. Transilvania University of Braşov (public university) – The Faculty of Letters – Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

3. The West University of Timişoara (public university) – Faculty of Letters, History and Theology

4. "Vasile Goldiş" Western University of Arad (private university) – The Faculty of Humanities, Political and Administrative Sciences

5. "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu (public university) – The Faculty of Letters and Arts

6. Petru Maior University of Târgu-Mureş (public university) – Faculty of Sciences and Letters

7. North University of Baia Mare (public university) – Faculty of Letters

8. Tibiscus University of Timişoara (private university) – The Faculty of Journalism, Communication and Modern Languages – the specialization is no longer available.

Faculties and institutions with specialist departments for the training of translators and interpreters in Transylvania, within Departments of Translation and Interpreting Studies:

1. "1 Decembrie 1918" University, Alba Iulia (private university) – The Faculty of History and Philology

2. Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (private university, specific statute) – Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş.

In the following, we present the most relevant data regarding the aims and curricula of the departments that organize BA programmes to train translators and interpreters. Most of the information is based on the documents and texts published on the websites of the different faculties and departments. Our analysis includes only BA programmes because – as presented above – there is no need to hold an MA degree to become a sworn translator and interpreter in Romania. We also provide a short presentation of the only MA programme in translation and interpreting that offers training in the Hungarian language.

3.1.1. Departments of Applied Modern Languages

3.1.1.1. Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca – Faculty of Letters (Department of Applied Modern Languages)

The department was established in 1991. Its main scopes are connected to the field of study with the same name and are defined by several specific features:

http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/603323/Transylvania).

it is multilingual, multidisciplinary and is built on its own language policy, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the AILEA Charter (Chart Internationale des Langues Étrangères Appliquées). It offers a course in at least two languages (both at an equal, highly professional level); the subjects are taught mainly in one of the foreign languages and are associated with a broad package of applied disciplines in the field of study: Applied Informatics and Multimedia, Economics, Management, Marketing, Public Relations, Law, Accounting and International Relations.

The language regime is identical to the one adopted by all the universities training professional translators and interpreters: A = native language (in the case of Romanian lines of study, it is the Romanian language), B = English or French, C = English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian. Language D is optional and requires an intensive course of 6 semesters in a language other than English or language B or C. This specialization forms and develops higher-level skills in general and specialized translation, terminology, multilingual professional communication, linguistic and cultural mediation, applied informatics and multimedia, text editing and revision, economics, accounting, marketing, management, law, public relations, and international economic relations. Internship is required in partner companies, recruitment being based on the specific skills gained at the Department of Applied Modern Languages Post Graduation Diploma: General Translator, Specialist in Professional Multilingual Communication.

The BA programme offers 4 semesters of "initiation in simultaneous/consecutive translation"; however, based on the syllabi on the website, only two of them include actual interpreting training and practice. This is almost exclusively done within the MA programme of the department: European Masters in Conference Interpreting.

3.1.1.2. Transilvania University of Braşov – The Faculty of Letters – (Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics)

The website lists the following under the heading of competences to be developed by the programme: acquisition of linguistic structures of the two foreign languages included in the study programme; understanding of the grammatical system of the languages studied within the framework of the programme; acquisition of fundamental communication techniques specific to the languages involved in the programme; acquisition of the main theories regarding translation from a foreign language into the native language of the student, as well as the ability to communicate effectively in both foreign languages featured by the study programme.

The short description of the programme includes the following: the Applied Modern Languages study programme (French–English, German–English) is

structured on three basic components: i) fundamental disciplines (contemporary modern language, terminology), ii) specialized disciplines (theory and practice of translation, French/English/German cultural studies, specialized language, communication strategies, business correspondence), iii) supplementary disciplines (general economy, applied informatics, European integration and community institutions, modern language). In the second year of study, the programme incorporates optional disciplines; students can also choose a pedagogical module that would support a teaching career. The description also presents career opportunities: graduates can find jobs as specialized consultants, secretaries, researchers, translators/interpreters, experts, civil servants, etc.

3.1.1.3. The West University of Timişoara – Faculty of Letters, History and Theology

The specialization in Applied Modern Languages within this faculty was established in 2005, and it prepares specialized translators. Graduates will have gained skills in the following languages: English, French, German, Spanish (advanced), and Russian, Serbian, and Croatian (intermediate), as well as Italian and Portuguese (as optional modern languages).

3.1.1.4. "Vasile Goldiş" Western University of Arad – Faculty of Humanities, Political and Administrative Sciences

According to the faculty website, the mission of the Modern Languages Department (MLD) at the "Vasile Goldiş" Western University of Arad is to provide – through the study programmes and services offered – the assimilation and in-depth study of foreign languages in a European context. Through its educational offer, the department focuses on the development of communicative abilities and skills, and provides courses in the theory and practice of translation, interpretation and, of course, culture and civilization. All these elements are designed to guide the students on their way to achieving personal and professional excellence. The programme offers three foreign languages: English, French, and German.

3.1.1.5. "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu – Faculty of Letters and Arts

The study programme offers English, French, and German both as majors and as minors; the students are required to choose two of them. The most important subjects include Linguistics; Translation theory, Anglophone literature and cultures, American studies, British cultural studies, Canadian studies, Reception of Anglo-American literature in the Romanian culture, Comparative cultural studies, Political theory, Translation studies and specialized languages, Cognitive

and applied linguistics, Civilization and mass media, The theory of translation and interpreting, Informatics, and Database management.

3.1.1.6. Petru Maior University of Târgu-Mureş – Faculty of Sciences and Letters

The programme is structured around two foreign languages, English as major and French as minor. The major subjects included in the programme are linguistics and grammar and foreign language competences, language for special purposes and terminology, academic writing skills, culture and civilization, language registers of the working languages, translation strategies and their adequate application, oral and written mediation, documentation techniques, event organization, NGOs and the functioning of the civil sector. According to the website, after graduation, the graduates may become: event organizers, external referents, translators and interpreters, proofreaders, editors, and linguists.

3.1.1.7. North University of Baia Mare – Faculty of Letters

The disciplines of the programme include economic and administrative terminology (French, English, and German) as well as an optional pedagogical module. Graduates will be licensed in applied modern languages and will become specialists in economic and administrative terminology in French, English, and German. They will have the possibility to work as specialized translators in the mentioned language pairs and, if they graduate teaching seminars, may become English / French / German teachers in primary and secondary education.

3.1.1.8. Tibiscus University of Timişoara

When it first offered BA studies for applied modern languages and training of translators and interpreters, it did so at the Faculty of Journalism, Communication and Modern Languages, which was founded in 1991 as the Faculty of Journalism and Sociology. It has not organized entrance examinations for this specialization since 1st of October 2013.

3.1.2. Universities (Faculties/Departments) organizing BA studies to train translators and interpreters under the name of Translation and Interpreting Studies

3.1.2.1. "1 Decembrie 1918" University, Alba Iulia – Faculty of History and Philology

Unfortunately, there is not much information regarding the programme on the official website of the university; however, the students are offered English and

French and courses in the field of linguistics, culture, and applied informational technology.

3.1.2.2. Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania – Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş

The BA studies programme of Translation and interpreting studies was founded in 2008 and was accredited in November 2014. It is the only programme that offers translation and interpreting training in the Hungarian language in Romania. The programme is part of the human sciences training branch. There are 50 places available, 20 tuition free and 30 with tuition, with three possible combinations: English–Hungarian (30 places in total), German–Hungarian (10 places in total), and Romanian–Hungarian (10 places in total).

The objective of the specialization is to train professionals who will be able to undertake specialized translations and deliver services of interpretation in international and multi-language conferences. Students are trained to translate from a foreign language (English, German, and Romanian) into Hungarian in an appropriate manner (grammatically and stylistically adequate translations) and to translate from Hungarian into their working language. It must be observed that in this case Romanian is included in the group of foreign languages, and Hungarian is considered the native language of the students.

The disciplines taught include the following: Contemporary English Language, British and American Culture and Civilization, Contemporary Hungarian Language, Hungarian Culture and Civilization, Comparative Linguistics, Terminology, Textology, Public Relations and Communication, Translation Theory, Theory and Practice of Interpretation (4 semesters).

Graduates may find employment as: free-lance translators, official translators hired in public administration, advisors in PR departments of international companies, advisors in advertising companies, employees or free-lance service providers to editing companies and publishing houses.

3.2. The only MA programme with Hungarian as a working language

The Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Economic and Human Sciences Miercurea Ciuc organizes a Master's programme with international character, its partner institution being the University of Debrecen. There are 12 tuition free places and 16 with tuition. The programme is called Translation and Interpreting, and the languages of training are Hungarian, English, and Romanian.

This MA programme is designed to train professionals to develop and successfully apply the knowledge acquired in the domain of translation and

interpreting in the fields of business, media, tourism, diplomacy, and international relations, at grant agencies, local governments, institutions, and foundations. A very important aim (amongst others) is the development of students' attitudes and intercultural tolerance in order to nurture discrimination-free behaviour; to help them easily make correlations between different cultures and languages and to study and analyse them. The programme develops the students' writing and presentation skills; it introduces them to the multi-, trans-, and intercultural phenomena of liberal arts from the viewpoint of translation studies, enabling them to identify and analyse the intercultural relations and to optimize strategies of maintaining and expanding these developed relations.

After graduation, the graduates may become: translators and interpreters, spokespersons, proofreaders, editors, linguists, event organizers, cultural referents, and linguistic consultants. After the completion of an MA programme, students can continue their studies in graduate-PhD programmes.

Conclusions

The disciplines taught at these faculties/departments are broadly similar. Unfortunately, theory prevails over practice. The translator training process needs to focus on the future translators and interpreters, and should do so from the moment potential students decide to sit an entrance examination. The process should continue to develop and nurture the required qualities through to the beginning of their working lives, as they set up translation agencies or secure their first job. Furthermore, training should place special emphasis on finding and holding on to clients, and avoiding basic mistakes. Vital professional issues of costs, rates, deadlines, time to market, productivity, ethics, standards, qualification, certification, and professional recognition should also be dealt with. The developments that have led to ongoing changes in the profession and industry, such as CAT-tools, and the impact of industrialization, internationalization, and globalization should also be incorporated in the curricula. Language for specialized purposes is very often only an optional subject and this should also be addressed: without greater focus on LSP, translators/interpreters cannot succeed.

Except for the ones organized by the Sapientia University, none of the above presented programmes include Hungarian as a working language, and very few of them offer interpreting courses, these being almost exclusively taught at the MA level. This means that in very many cases graduates of BA programmes, regardless of having attended an applied modern languages or a translation and interpreting programme, and who become authorized by the Ministry of Justice, have scarce or no training in interpreting. This results in providing a poor-quality service, and as such undermines the wider recognition of the profession. As we

have already mentioned, the profession is not very well defined, translation and interpreting skills are not differentiated; a lack of prestige can also be observed.

In order to highlight this, we have chosen from the list of Standard Occupational Classification the ones that are recommended by the above institutions for students graduating as specialists in Translation and Interpreting or in Applied Modern Languages: 43-0000 Office and Administrative Support Occupations: General and keyboard clerks, General office clerks, Secretaries (general), Keyboard operators; 25-4000 Librarians, Curators, and Archivists; 11-2031 Advertising, PR, other activities related to communication; 27-3091 Interpreters and Translators: Interpret oral or sign language, or translate written text from one language into another: Diplomatic Interpreter, Court Interpreter.

We wish to continue our study regarding the social status and professional training of Hungarian interpreters and translators in Romania with the help of an online survey and by interviews aimed mainly at identifying the difficulties they face in their profession. The aim is also to gather empirical data to support our hypothesis that there is a need to differentiate translators from interpreters in the Romanian context as well. Unfortunately, the current situation favours neither this nor the specialization of translators and interpreters in different specialized languages.

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