Research Article

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Source and target factors affecting the translation of the EU law: Implications for translator training

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Abstract: By virtue of its very nature, the process of translating European legislation presents certain particularities that any translator working in this domain must be aware of. These particularities are mainly related to the manner in which the EU law is drafted, to the categories of people representing its intended audience, and to what is understood by the concept of equivalence. All these aspects determine an interesting interplay between the source and the target factors influencing the process of translating the EU law. Which are the source factors, on the one hand, and the target factors, on the other, that facilitate the creation of a good translation in this field? Which are the implications that the particularities of the process of translating EU legal texts have for the process of translator training? The article will offer some answers in this respect, relying on both theoretical information and qualitative research data relevant for the translation from English into Romanian.

Keywords: European legislation, source text, target audience, translator training

1 Introduction

Multilingualism, which is regarded as "a powerful symbol of the European Union's (EU) aspiration to be united in diversity" (European Education Area, n.d.), represents one of the policies that ensure the good functioning of this entity. In fact, the multilingual character of the EU and its institutions is supported legally by Regulation 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community and by the amendments made whenever a new state joins the Union. According to this Regulation, the languages of all the Member States are official languages, and the documents of general application must be drafted in all the Union's official languages. This means that the attainment of the EU's goals depends to a large extent on the activity of translating a wide range of documents from one of the Union's procedural languages (English, French, and German) into the languages of all the Member States. A report published by the European Commission at the beginning of 2023 is relevant for the volume of work carried out by the Directorate-General for Translation (DGT), a translation service with a staff of around 2,000, 70% of which is represented by translators, language technology experts, quality experts, terminologists, and revisers. DGT ensures the translation of more than 2.5 million pages a year, 2,355,021 of these pages having English as a source language. It is also worth noting that more than half of DGT's work (54%) is represented by legislative documents (European Commission 2023).

Given the considerable volume of translation activity involving EU legal texts, as well as the essential role played by this category of texts for the good functioning of the Union as a whole, it is obvious that the familiarization of the students with the specific features and the difficulties presented by the translation of

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the EU legislation is a useful component of any academic programme devoted to training future translators. I have dealt with this specialized domain in my activity as a translator trainer over the last decade as part of a course addressed to the first-year students in the MA of Theory and Practice of Translation organized by the West University of Timișoara. Before providing my students with any training in this respect, I usually confront them with an EU legislative text in its bilingual (English and Romanian) variant, and I ask them to identify, in a relatively spontaneous manner, the potential problems that such texts may pose to the translator working in this field. Most frequently, the answers they offer make reference to possible comprehension problems related to the particular structure of these texts, to the fact that they are full of repetitions, that they contain numerous words and word combinations which do not occur in the normal language use, or that the Romanian variants of the texts sometimes display solutions whose justification they do not understand. My students' reactions after the initial contact with the EU law are justifiable, because the texts in this category do present a range of structural and linguistic particularities, and the process of rendering them into another language is influenced by an interesting interplay between a series of source and target factors that any translator working in this field must be aware of. It can be rightly assumed that, if translation students are familiarized with these factors, they will be likely to produce good translations in this field; however, in practice, things are more complicated, because, in the case of the EU legislation, translation theory challenges basic concepts like source text (ST) or target text (TT). In what follows, I will discuss the particularities of the process of translating EU legal texts, pointing to the implications that these particularities have for the process of translator training.

2 What is special about the translation of the EU legislation?

In spite of the fact that it deals with legislative texts, the translation of the EU legislation occupies a distinct position in the context of the legal translation in general, and this happens for various reasons. First of all, it is the very nature of the EU law, which clearly differentiates it from the national legislation: European legislation represents a legal system which, in 1963, was described as "a new legal order of international law for the benefit of which the states have limited their sovereign rights, albeit within limited fields, and the subjects of which comprise not only the Member Suites but also their nationals" (Judgment of the Court of 5 February 1963, paragraph 3). Moreover, being at the confluence of a variety of languages and national legal systems, European law is regarded as a mixed jurisdiction (Cao 2007, 25) or as a hybrid legal system (Biel 2014, 337, Čavoški 2017, 59). The specific nature of the EU legislation, in conjunction with the multilingualism characteristic of its context of use, will obviously influence the EU language, which can also be described as being hybrid, since it presents "a constant interplay between the supranational and national elements in translation" (Biel 2014, 337).

In close connection to these particularities, the translation of European legislation can be defined as "a category in its own right" (Biel 2014, 335), as it questions some concepts of central importance in translation studies, such as ST, TT, or equivalence. As Biel explains, this type of legislation is drafted in one of the procedural languages, it undergoes several negotiations and revisions, and it is possible that the process of its translation into the other official languages may have to start even before it reaches its final variant. In this context, the concepts of ST and TT are frequently replaced by that of the language version, and the idea of equivalence is presumed to exist not in relation to a single ST, but between all the language versions of a certain legal document (Biel 2014, 336). These arguments are in line with Article 55 of the Treaty on EU, which stipulates that the texts in each of the languages spoken in the Union's member states are equally authentic and, thus, excludes the source–target dichotomy. Referring to this aspect, Seracini (2020, 19) explains that the avoidance of the word 'translation' is meant to prevent "any possible suggestion that the ST is predominant compared to the TTs, thus reinforcing the concept that the texts in the different languages have equal legal force".

I do not fully agree with the idea that some of the terms that lie at the very heart of the theory of translation are not valid when it comes to the translation of the EU legislative texts. It is true that the process of rendering EU legal documents from the language in which they are drafted to all the other official languages does have some distinctive characteristics, but it still is a process of translation. This fact is acknowledged by various documents available on the official sites of the EU, such as the Interinstitutional Style Guide (Publications Office of the European Union 2022) or the English Style Guide (European Commission 2023), in which we encounter the terms ‘translation’, ‘translator’, ‘source text’, and ‘target text’. Moreover, Translation Quality Guidelines, a document published in 2015 by the European Commission (2015, 2), emphasizes the essential role played by translation for the functioning of the Union and states that, since all the official language versions of the EU law have the same formal status, “the existing Commission drafting guidelines are not only relevant for the drafters of the original texts but also for the translators and revisers”.

In view of all these aspects, I consider that, for practical purposes, such as translation research or translator training, the process of translating EU law should be approached in terms of the traditional source–target distinction, even if the syntagm ‘linguistic variant’ can also be used. In spite of the fact that any of the three procedural languages of the EU can represent the source, translator training can focus on one of them as the language of the ST and then proceed to an analysis of the linguistic features presented by this type of text, with a view to highlighting the potential problems with which the translators of such texts might be faced. The following section will offer an illustration of the manner in which the process of translating EU legislative texts from English into Romanian can be approached for training purposes.

3 EU law in the context of translator training

The manner of dealing with the EU legislation in the context of translator training is influenced by the fact acknowledged earlier, namely that the texts in this category – both as originals and as translated variants – present some special features that should be taken into account by the translators of this field, no matter at which stage of the drafting process they join in. Consequently, in order to familiarize students with the process of translating EU legislation from English into Romanian, the translator trainer is supposed to guide them towards a thorough understanding of the features displayed by the original texts and the source context and, then, to help them become aware of the criteria that they must take into account in order to appropriately transfer these texts in the context of the target culture. A very useful method in this respect is that of genre analysis for translation purposes, because, by becoming aware of the norms governing the EU legal texts written in English, on the one hand, and the norms that should govern the Romanian translations of these texts, on the other, the students are likely to produce TTs that are not only correct, but also functional.

My research activity has already focused on some of the benefits presented by the use of genre analysis for didactic purposes – both in the case of foreign language teaching (e.g. Cozma 2014) and in that of translator training (e.g. Cozma 2012). Basically, there are two important elements of the genre analysis that can be exploited in the teaching context with a view to familiarizing students with particularities of a different culture: the sociocultural situation which normally imposes the use of the genre texts, and the macro and microstructural conventions which determine the linguistic format of the respective texts. I consider that these aspects also determine the general directions that genre training is supposed to follow if the teacher intends to develop the future translators’ awareness of the specific features of these documents. More exactly, based on the contributions made by Bhatia (2004), on the one hand, and by Borja et al. (2009), on the other, I devised a model of training future translators in the field of the EU law that involves the following stages:

3.1 Sociocultural considerations

The production of an appropriate translation depends on a good understanding of the socio-cultural context in which that genre text is normally used in the source context, as well as on a parallel with the situation in which its translated variant is supposed to function. The situational considerations should regard details about the ST production, the intended original audience and the extent to which it resembles the addressees of the TT, the purpose of that text as a representative of its genre, as well as existing sub-genres.

When the teaching process is focussed on the translation of the EU legislation from English into Romanian, students must be made aware of the special features presented by the context in which this type of legislative document is produced and is used. Thus, they should understand that the communicative purpose of the EU law is similar to that of any national legislation, in the sense that it is meant to impose obligations and confer rights, but, additionally, it has the function of achieving European unification and of creating a new legal order. The process of creating the STs in this category has also some special characteristics, since the preparation and the adoption of the European legislation involve a wide range of institutions and individuals, and the texts themselves are written by people who are not necessarily native speakers of the Union's procedural languages (English, French, and German). Moreover, the recipients of legislation do not represent a homogeneous category, as they include people of various nationalities, both members of the legal community who use such texts as part of their daily work routine, and ordinary people to whom the texts are basically addressed. It is important to stress that the addressees of the Romanian EU texts do not differ from the addressees of the original texts. All these considerations contribute to a better understanding of the genre texts and account for the linguistic format they display.

3.2 Organizational structure

Since producers of texts in a particular genre tend to be consistent in the way they structure the overall message, the segments making up those texts, as well as the function served by each segment, represent essential aspects of the genre conventions that must be identified and discussed in the translation class. Familiarization with the macrostructural features of the genre in which they are working contributes to the students' logical comprehension of the material to be translated. But the syntagm 'EU law' covers a wide range of documents which present slight differences due to the particular contexts of use, and therefore, translator trainers need to be clear about the sub-genre in focus at a particular moment. For instance, the documents which, according to Article 288 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, represent 'legal acts' (regulations, directives, decisions, recommendations, and opinions, as well as delegated and implementing acts), are characterized by the following organizational structure: Title, Preamble (Opening text, Citations, Recitals and Enacting formula), Enacting terms, Concluding formulas and Annexes (the Interinstitutional Style Guide 2022, 33–40, the English Style Guide 2016/2023, 86–8). Moreover, as I will explain later, the typology of linguistic features specific to a genre is greatly influenced by the function of the text segment in which these features are used.

3.3 Pragmatic approach to the linguistic features

Before actually dealing with the challenges that the linguistic features specific to a certain category of texts might present in the transfer from a source to a target language, trainee translators should understand the presence of certain linguistic forms (e.g. the repetition of some lexical items, the use of specific verbal constructions, the preference for a certain type of vocabulary, etc.) from a pragmatic point of view. The pragmatic perspective is useful for translators because it goes beyond the study of words or grammatical structures and focuses on higher units of the text, taking into account the context, the intention of the speaker, and various implicit elements that must be accessed by the addressee. In other words, in the context of pragmatics, language is explored in close connection to the uses to which it is put. Awareness of the mechanisms by which speech acts or the cohesive devices structure the discourse specific to this category of documents is essential for the translator both at the stage of ST comprehension and at that of TT production.

3.4 Lexico-grammatical features

All the stages described so far are meant to prepare the ground for the examination of the lexico-grammatical features displayed by the EU texts written in English. In the case of this type of convention, students are familiarized with the following levels of linguistic description: general vocabulary (e.g. neologisms and formal/informal), terminology, word combinations (e.g. collocations, idioms, and specific expressions), sentence structure and complexity, specific features of the nominal and the verbal phrases (e.g. formal or informal neologisms), as well as other semantic and grammatical particularities. Decisions about the manner of dealing with these linguistic features in the process of translation must be based on some research involving, among others, parallel texts (both legal texts originally written in Romanian, and EU legislation already translated into our language), glossaries of terms and other helpful documents available on the official sites of the EU, or even information from specialists of the field.

The model of genre analysis for translation purposes described in this section is supposed to offer trainees some basic knowledge and skills that are necessary for the production of Romanian EU legal texts which are not only linguistically correct but also functional in the target context. It is important to note that, by acquiring these skills, students also become aware of the source and the target factors influencing the creation of a good translation in this field. Research evidence meant to illustrate these factors is provided in what follows.

4 Source and target factors in the translation of the EU law: research evidence based on the transfer from English to Romanian

The methodological suggestions offered in the previous section will be illustrated with findings generated by the qualitative analysis of a bilingual corpus containing 30 EU 'legal acts' (the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU) written in English and their Romanian translations. All these texts, collected from EUR-Lex, were issued in the period 2018–2022 and represent part of the teaching material that I have used in the last 5 years during my course devoted to the translation of the EU legislation. Reference to the EU documents is made by means of the CELEX number (e.g. 32019D1570, 32022R1917), which is a combination of symbols denoting the sector to which the document belongs, the year in which the document was adopted, the type of document (represented by a letter), and the number of the document, represented by the last four figures. The complete list of the documents used in my research study is given at the end of the article. The results of the analysis performed on these texts from pragmatic, lexical, and grammatical perspectives are presented below.

4.1 The pragmatic perspective

The approach of the linguistic features of the EU legal texts from a pragmatic perspective reveals that the functional values assumed by the EU texts written in English have generally been transferred at the level of their Romanian translations, a characteristic that should come as no surprise in the case of a genre which aims at achieving the same communicative purpose, irrespective of the language in which it is realized. In other words, the main features presented by the cohesive devices and the speech acts displayed by the Romanian variants of these documents are greatly influenced by their English sources.

Thus, the Romanian texts illustrating this genre preserve the speech act typology of the original English documents, but the two linguistic variants of the texts differ, of course, with regard to the linguistic devices indicating these acts. The most interesting case in this respect is that of the Romanian commands, whose illocutionary force indicators are represented by verbs in the present tense of the Indicative Mood, the third-person singular, while their English counterparts are signalled by modal constructions built with the help of mandatory *shall*: e.g. "Contracting Parties *shall decide* on the appropriate time..."/"părțile contractante *decid* cu privire la momentul adecvat" (32020D0143). This aspect will be discussed in more detail in the section devoted to the grammatical features of the EU law (4.3).

Additionally, influenced by their sources, the Romanian EU documents in my corpus show a marked preference for cohesion achieved by means of lexical reiteration, to the detriment of the anaphorical pronouns. In other words, pronouns are avoided as much as possible, and nouns are repeated in order to avoid any ambiguity: e.g. "The competent *Eurosystem central bank* shall provide to the reporting agent the written notification ... after the serious misconduct first became known to that *Eurosystem central bank*. Where there is an alleged infringement of daily reporting requirements, the competent *Eurosystem central bank* shall provide such notice [...]"/"*Banca centrală* competentă *din Eurosistem* transmite agentului raportor notificarea scrisă ... după ce respectiva *bancă centrală din Eurosistem* a luat cunoștință pentru prima dată de abaterea gravă. În cazul în care există o pretinsă încălcare a cerințelor de raportare zilnică, *banca centrală* competentă *din Eurosistem* transmite o astfel de notificare." (32022R1917). Even in situations when the English original documents use pronouns, the Romanian translator sometimes prefers to resort to the lexical device of reiteration, a strategy which is clearly meant to avoid any ambiguity at the level of the translated text: e.g. "Where *the controller* restricts, wholly or partially, the right of access..., *it* shall ... inform the data subject concerned [...]"/"În cazul în care *operatorul* restricționează, complet sau parțial, dreptul de access..., *operatorul* informează persoana vizată [...]" (32022D2359).

4.2 Lexical choice

Under the influence of their sources, the Romanian EU texts are characterized by a high proportion of lexical items with a formal character, mostly neologisms which have a rather abstract meaning and which may sometimes create difficulties of comprehension on the part of the non-specialist audience. These lexical items are not problematic in translation, since the Romanian translators have at their disposal equivalents that produce a similar effect and that sometimes even have the same Romance etymons as the English ones: e.g. *applicable/aplicabil*, *to confer/a conferi*, *to consolidate/a consolida*, *discretionary/discreţionar*, *dissemination/diseminare*, *institution/instituţie*, *to notify/a notifica*, *onerous/oneros*, *procedure/procedură, proportionate/proporțional*, *to validate/a valida*, etc.

Another category of general lexical items which is very well represented both in the English EU texts and in their Romanian counterparts is that of the function words, among which a special place is occupied by the linking devices. There is a tendency among the Romanian translators of such texts to render the English simple prepositions and conjunctions by means of Romanian preposition and conjunction phrases, thus increasing the level of explicitness in the TT: e.g. "*where* the supplier has been authorised for this purpose"/"*în cazul în care* furnizorul deține o autorizație în acest sens" (32018L1028); "*under* Article 5(1) and (2) of Regulation (EU) No 1163/2014 (ECB/2014/41)"/"*în conformitate cu* articolul 5 alineatele (1) și (2) din Regulamentul (UE) nr. 1163/2014 (BCE/2014/41" (32022D0514). This is clearly an influence from the target context, where the same tendency was noticed by the researchers of the Romanian legal discourse (e.g. Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2001) and was put in relation to the necessity of making the legal provision clear and unambiguous.

EU texts, just like texts from any other specialized field, include a wide range of terms and collocations denoting realities specific to the Union. Since, before the accession process, our country had not had any previous experience with such realities, it is obvious that the EU – specific terms and collocations – started being used in our language as a result of the translation process, under the influence of the STs. However, it must be stressed that, once they have been accepted as official equivalents for the ST ones, these terms and phrases have to be used consistently by all the Romanian translators working in this field: e.g. *the Council of the European Union/Consiliul Uniunii Europene*, *Treaty on European Union/Tratatul privind Uniunea Europeană, third country/țară terță, Community rules/norme comunitare*, etc.

The presence of a series of standardized expressions is also a general feature of the legal discourse. In most of the cases, the TT solutions for these expressions are determined by the normative documents originally written in Romanian: e.g. *fără a aduce atingere* (for the English *without prejudice to*), *a intra în vigoare* (for the English *to entry into force*), *(care) intră sub incidența* (for the English *within the scope* or *covered by*), etc. A special position among the standardized expressions displayed by the Romanian texts that I analysed is occupied by the constructions based on inversion at the level of the noun phrase, a feature that, as Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001) notes, was identified in the Romanian legal texts as early as in the eighteenth century and that represents a proof of the stereotypical and conservative character of the legal discourse: e.g. *bună credință* (for the English *good faith*), *depline puteri* (for the English *full powers*), *prezentul regulament* (for the English *this Regulation*), etc.

4.3 Grammatical features

The Romanian documents in my corpus have taken over many of the grammatical features presented by their English originals, but, at the same time, they reveal certain particularities that can be explained by other types of influences, such as the differences between the two language systems involved in the process of translation, or the influence exerted by the norms of the legal-administrative documents originally written in Romanian.

Syntactic complexity is clearly a feature displayed by both the English texts in my corpus and their Romanian translations. However, in the English EU documents, this complexity is manifested mainly at the levels of the clause and of the phrase, while in their Romanian translations, it is also quite richly present at the level of the sentence. This happens because, quite often, the Romanian translator renders various types of English non-finite structures by means of finite clauses which have the status of sentence constituents: e.g. “Most Council Decisions *establishing* the Union’s position within RFMOs […]”/“Majoritatea deciziilor Consiliului, *care stabilesc* poziția Uniunii în cadrul ORGP-urilor […]” (32019D1570); “The existential threat *posed by* climate change requires enhanced ambition […]”/“Amenințarea existențială *pe care o prezintă* schimbările climatice impune un nivel de ambiție mai mare […]” (32021R1119).

Syntactic discontinuities represent a phenomenon that researchers have often associated with the legal discourse (for instance, Crystal and Davy 1969 for the English legal discourse or Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2001 for the Romanian one). In most cases, the Romanian translators of EU law preserve the discontinuities presented by the English sources of these texts. However, sometimes, the target variant displays a slightly different syntactic makeup, either because of the differences between the ST and the TT structures (e.g. “this Eurosystem central bank *shall promptly notify* the authorised ECB personnel”/“această bancă centrală din Eurosistem *informează prompt* personalul autorizat al BCE” – 32018O0014) or for the sake of greater clarity and naturalness of the Romanian translation (e.g. “*The Paris Agreement, inter alia, sets out* a long-term goal […]”/“*Printre altele, Acordul de la Paris stabilește* un obiectiv pe termen lung […]” – 32018R0841).

The highly nominal character generally displayed by the language of the legislative writing (Crystal and Davy 1969, Bhatia 1993, Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2001) is also one of the features revealed by the English and the Romanian EU texts. Thus, the texts in my corpus present complex nominal phrases with many of the modifiers being expressed by nouns: e.g. “the conditions for the application of the relevant provisions of the Schengen acquis in Ireland in that area”/“condițiile de aplicare a dispozițiilor relevante din acquis-ul Schengen în Irlanda în domeniul respectiv” (32020D1745); “the data collection for the use of information and communication technologies domain”/“colectarea de date pentru domeniul utilizării tehnologiilor informației și comunicațiilor se realizează” (32021R1223). The Romanian variants of the EU documents make use of even more nouns than their English counterparts, because the translator resorts to this type of solution not only for ST elements with the same morphological status but also for some non-finite forms of the verbs: e.g. “Such mechanisms should allow disputes *to be settled* impartially”/“Astfel de mecanisme ar trebui să permită *soluționarea* litigiilor în mod imparțial” (32019L0790); “Decision (EU) 2022/2522 … *amending* Decision (EU) 2021/2255 on the approval of the volume of coin issuance in 2022”/“Decizia (UE) 2022/2522 … *de modificare* a Deciziei (UE) 2021/2255 privind aprobarea volumului emisiunii de monede metalice în 2022” (32022D2522). This feature represents an influence from the target side, since, in the Romanian legal discourse, the phenomenon of nominalization is characterized by “a variety of forms and high productivity” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 174, my translation).

The syntactic patterns used in order to render the obligatory character of the law in the English EU documents, on the one hand, and in their Romanian translations, on the other, represent an important point of difference between the two linguistic variants under analysis. As already pointed out in Section 4.1, the English modal constructions built with the help of mandatory *shall* are paralleled by Romanian verbs in the Present Tense of the Indicative mood: e.g. “The relevant NCB *shall remunerate* holdings of minimum reserves [...]”/“BCN relevantă *remunerează* rezervele minime obligatorii [...]” (32022R2419), “the provisions of that Article *shall apply* only until 31 December 2019/“dispozițiile articolului respectiv *se aplică* numai până la 31 decembrie 2019” (32019R1692). The presence of the verbs in the Indicative mood in the translated variants is clearly an influence of the target factor, since this is the form traditionally used in the legal documents originally written in Romanian.

The differences between the grammatical norms of the original EU texts and those of their translations represent some of the reasons why, overall, the English documents are characterized by a more condensed and synthetic type of expression, while their Romanian counterparts are more elaborate and more explicit.

4.4 Discussion of findings

The results of the analysis regarding the English and the Romanian EU legal texts in my corpus support the idea expressed at the beginning of this article, namely that the process of rendering EU legislation into another language is influenced by an interesting interplay between a variety of source and target factors that the (future) translators of the field must know and understand. The most important factors revealed by my research study are briefly discussed below.

In the case of the influence exerted by the source factors, it must be mentioned, first of all, that the pragmatic features revealed by the Romanian texts are generally formed under the close influence of the English originals. Since all the linguistic variants of the EU documents are realizations of one and the same genre, and, consequently, are meant to achieve a similar communicative purpose, it is not surprising that the Romanian texts illustrating this genre preserve the speech act typology of their English sources and that, in both these sets of texts, the preferred cohesive device is the lexical reiteration. The English STs are also responsible for the high proportion of neologisms with a rather abstract meaning displayed by the Romanian EU documents, neologisms which, as illustrated earlier, sometimes even have the same Romance etymons as their English sources. The third source influence mentioned here refers to the fact that the process of translating EU legal texts from English (as well as from German and French) enriched the Romanian legal-administrative language with a wide range of terms specific to the EU.

As regards the target factors, a very important role is played by the standardized expressions, which, represented either by constructions with a reversed word order (*prezenta decizie*, *bune practici*, *libera circulaţie*, etc.) or by other phrases with a formulaic character (*a aduce atingere*, *a intra în vigoare*, etc.), are considered to be one of the stylistic marks of the legal texts originally written in Romanian (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001). In the early 2000s, when the European legislation started to be translated into our language, such standardized expressions were used as models by the first Romanian translators of this category of texts and thus contributed to the integration of the Romanian EU legal texts within our national legislation. Another target influence is represented by the tendency of the Romanian translators of EU legislation to use numerous prepositions and conjunction phrases, even when the English sources reveal simple linking devices. The preference for the use of complex structures as linking elements is based on the belief that they render the syntactic relationships between the various grammatical constituents with more precision and that they are also an expression of the elevated style generally associated with the legal texts. The use of more nouns in the Romanian EU texts in comparison to their English counterparts is also determined by the normative documents originally written in Romanian, where, as pointed out earlier, the phenomenon of nominalization is very productive. Finally, the use of verbs in the Present Tense of the Indicative mood in order to render the obligatory character of the law is not at all determined by the formal features revealed by the corresponding original structures (the English verb phrases built with the modal *shall* followed by a verb in the infinitive), but is determined by the norms that the Romanian legislation has in this respect.

5 Conclusions

The evidence of both theoretical and practical nature provided in this article supports the idea that the translation of the EU law does indeed present some particularities connected, on the one hand, to the specific features of the context in which the STs are produced and, on the other, to the variety of factors influencing the linguistic format of the translated variants. It is these particularities that should represent the focus of the training provided to the future translators of this field, as they are expected to produce texts with a double direction of integration: within the system of the Romanian normative documents, as well as within the multilingual bulk of texts making up the European legislation.

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Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union – consolidated version (12012E/TXT). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/treaty/tfeu_2012/oj (14.03.2023).

Appendix: List of EU texts making up the corpus

1. *2018D0051*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018D0051&qid=1699379788397
2. *32018D0402*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018D0402&qid=1699379839406.
3. *32018L1028*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018L1028&qid=1699379870136
4. *32018O0014*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018O0014&qid=1699379908946
5. *32018R0841*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018R0841&qid=1699379944607
6. *32018R0673*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32018R0673&qid=1699380266924
7. *32019D0129(03)*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019D0129%2803%29&qid=1699380308885
8. *32019D1570*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019D1570&qid=1699380349303
9. *32019D1938*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019D1938&qid=1699380388928
10. *32019H0429(01)*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019H0429%2801%29&qid=1699380430905
11. *32019L0790*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019L0790&qid=1699380467196
12. *32019R1692*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32019R1692&qid=1699380672589
13. *32020D0143*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32020D0143&qid=1699380705615
14. *32020D1745*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32020D1745&qid=1699380743911
15. *32020R0776*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32020R0776&qid=1699380786955
16. *32020R0910*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32020R0910&qid=1699380840793
17. *32020R1812*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32020R1812&qid=1699380873013
18. *32021D2243*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021D2243&qid=1699380904914
19. *32021L1233*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021L1233&qid=1699380945543
20. *32021L1883*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021L1883&qid=1699380980013
21. *32021R1119*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021R1119&qid=1699381016289
22. *32021R1223*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021R1223&qid=1699381047941
23. *32021R2090*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32021R2090&qid=1699380629997
24. *32022D0514*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022D0514&qid=1699380588508

25. *32022D2359*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022D2359&qid=1699380549041
26. *32022D2522*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022D2522&qid=1699380515529
27. *32022L2464*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022L2464&qid=1699379558681
28. *32022R1917*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022R1917&qid=1699380029075
29. *32022R2253*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022R2253&qid=1699379714390
30. *32022R2419*: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-RO/TXT/?from=EN&uri=CELEX%3A32022R2419&qid=1699379995053

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METAPHORICAL CONSTRUCTS IN THE ROMANIAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract*: The paper is focused on the metaphors used by Romanian young people when expressing their perceptions of the European identity and when discussing the manner in which Romania's status as a member of the European Union affects their everyday life. In line with the principles of cognitive linguistics, which argue that metaphorical language use is a reflection of the way people think, I consider that the metaphors thus identified are not only relevant for my subjects' attitudes towards the present social and political realities, but they can also guide various professionals with a role as shapers of the European identity.*
Keywords*: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor, European identity, European Union (EU)*

1. Introduction

In an article on collective identity written in the early '90s, Anthony Judge (1991) noted that the notion of Europe is more and more difficult to comprehend. If that was the perception more than thirty years ago, we can imagine how difficult it is to understand our continent today, when the European Union (EU), basically meant as "a cornerstone of European stability and prosperity" (cf. Archick 2021: 1), is characterized by a far more complicated situation. Lately, the European Union has been confronted with various types of internal crises, such as the crisis of multiculturalism, social and political crises (for instance, the Brexit), crises of a financial and economic nature (illustrated, for instance, by the eurozone crisis), the crisis created by the large influx of non-European refugees and migrants, as well as with a multitude of external challenges.

People tend to consider that problems like those mentioned above represent "the business" of the specialists in politics, economy, or sociology, but this is only partially true. The reality is that the European Union, with both its benefits and its problems, exerts a certain influence on the lives of the citizens in all the member states making it up. This idea represents the guiding principle of a course on European Institutions that I teach to the 1st year students enrolled in the Theory and Practice of Translation MA programme, organized by the West University of Timişoara. During this course, I try to raise the students' awareness about a series of issues specific to the European Union, issues which, even if apparently remote from our immediate sphere of interest, are actually factors that affect us to a larger or lesser extent. In an attempt to identify my students' preliminary knowledge and their expectations at the beginning of this course, I usually ask them to reflect a little bit and offer their personal views on the issue of the European identity and on Romania's status as a member of the EU. Doing this for several years, I have been surprised to discover that my students' answers contained numerous metaphors, and, at a certain moment, I decided to study this phenomenon in a more systematic manner. Therefore, I initiated a research study that was focused on the metaphorical constructs used by the Romanian students when expressing their perceptions of the European Union, in general, and of the European identity in particular.

In discussing the metaphors identified as a result of my investigation, I rely on the insights offered by cognitive linguistics. For a thorough understanding of the principles underlying the present study, in the following section I will outline the theoretical framework that I have adopted, making reference, at the same time, to some practical evidence provided by other researchers interested in the phenomenon of metaphor.

2. On metaphor and its use

The use and the implications of metaphors have preoccupied scholars since ancient times, one of the earliest approaches in this respect coming from Aristotle. In the traditional theory, metaphor is a property of words: the name of a certain entity is used with reference to another entity, due to a point of similarity existing between the two. Such associations of words are often used for artistic and rhetorical purposes, and, consequently, are encountered more frequently in literary works than in non-literary contexts. In order to use metaphors, people need a special talent, so it is believed that only great poets and orators can really master them. Thus, metaphor is often regarded as a peripheral linguistic phenomenon that people can do without, as it is used only for the sake of achieving special effects, and it does not represent an inevitable part of everyday communication (cf. Kövecses 2002: vii-viii). This traditional view shaped the perception and the study of metaphor until the early '80s, when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) published their book entitled *Metaphors We Live By*, a book which challenged the aspects mentioned above and offered a different perspective on this phenomenon.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) state from the very beginning that metaphor is not peripheral to language: on the contrary, it "is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action". In their opinion, metaphors are "not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words" (idem: 6), but should be understood as metaphorical concepts, because "human thought processes are largely metaphorical" (ibid.). In this way, Lakoff and Johnson established the view that metaphors are not only ornamental devices that make thoughts more vivid and communication more interesting, but also tools that play an important role in structuring peoples' perceptions and in processing their conceptual knowledge.

Lakoff and Johnson's book marked the beginning of the conceptual metaphor theory, being followed by a large amount of research "that has confirmed, added to and also modified" (Kövecses 2017a: 13) the initial ideas. One of the scholars with an essential contribution to the further development of the conceptual metaphor theory is Zoltan Kövecses. In line with Lakoff and Johnson's view, he (2002, 2017a) defines the conceptual metaphor as understanding one domain of experience in terms of another. The two domains involved in the conceptual metaphor are called the source domain and the target domain. The source domain, which is typically concrete, represents the conceptual domain that is used in order to enable the understanding of another conceptual domain. The target domain, which is typically abstract, refers to the conceptual domain which we try to understand with the help of the source domain. The cognitive process underlying metaphor is possible due to a set of fixed correspondences (or mappings) between the source and the target domain (Kövecses 2002: 12). In the process of metaphorical conceptualization, an essential role is played by the context, but as Kövecses (2015, 2017b) argues, context should be understood in a broad sense, "one that covers our cognitive interaction with various elements and properties of the situation of discourse, the discourse itself, the conceptual-cognitive background, and the body of the speaker" (Kövecses 2017b: 322).

The contributions made by Lakoff and Johnson, on the one hand, and by Kövecses, on the other, have turned the study of metaphor into one of the central areas of research in the general field of cognitive linguistic. My own research study is based on the principles put forward by these contributions, as I will illustrate in the next section. However, the cognitive view on metaphor did not stimulate only the linguistics-oriented type of research. The claim that metaphors represent an expression of the humans' thought inspired a great number of scientific articles, books, and conferences in a variety of other disciplines, like philosophy, pedagogy, psychology, cognitive anthropology and exact sciences. The result is that, under the influence of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, numerous researchers are now interested in investigating the working of metaphor in various languages and socio-cultural systems all over the world. A few examples of such investigations are offered below.

Due to their role as facilitators in the process of understanding the world around us, metaphors are studied even in domains characterized by rigour and accurate expression, and I will refer here to the case of mathematics. Numerous studies on the use of metaphor in mathematics start from the idea that metaphors represent tools for identifying and understanding people's perceptions towards mathematics. Latterell and Wilson (2017), for instance, study the individuals' "mathematical identity" by comparing metaphors for mathematics from elementary preservice teachers to metaphors created by secondary preservice teachers. They find that elementary preservice teachers describe mathematics as an ongoing struggle in which the mathematics is active and they are the victims, while the secondary preservice teachers describe mathematics as an ongoing struggle in which they are active. Another line of research on metaphor in mathematics is based on the assumption that metaphors can contribute to the better understanding of the mathematical concepts. An influential study in this respect is that of Lakoff and Núñez (2000), who, starting from the observation that most fundamental mathematical ideas are metaphorical in nature, set out to explore the metaphors used in the language of mathematics with a view to promoting a truly scientific understanding of mathematics, one which is based on processes common to any kind of human cognition. The two researchers find that people create arithmetic by means of four different metaphors that create an abstract conceptual space starting from various interactions with the real world: object collection, object construction, the measuring stick, and moving along a path. Adopting a similar perspective, Frăţ ilă and Jumanca (2011) discuss a number of conceptual metaphors used by teachers as means of explaining difficult mathematical issues to secondary and high school pupils. Their study reveals, for instance, that, in metaphorical terms, a circle is a thread arranged in a circular shape, an equation is a pair of scales in equilibrium, a mathematical function is an engine which turns fuel into motion, and, in a fraction chain whose limit tends to zero, the numerator and the denominator are competing runners. It can be concluded that, regardless of the assumption from which it starts, the analysis of the metaphors in this field is ultimately meant to improve the process of teaching and learning the difficult and abstract mathematical concepts and ideas.

Researchers have also been interested in the use of conceptual metaphors in a wide range of medical conditions. For instance, a study by Coll-Florit, Climent, Sanfilippo and Hernández-Encuentra (2021) analyses the conceptual metaphors of depression in a corpus made up of blogs written by people suffering major depressive disorder. The metaphorical constructs that were identified correspond to three broad domains related to mental health: metaphors of depression, metaphors of interpersonal communication and social context, and metaphors of medicine and professional treatment. Some findings indicate that life with depression is generally conceptualized by means of two main source domains, "war" and "journey", with a predominance of war metaphors. Surprisingly enough, medicine is conceptualized as a repressive power, and the doctor as a prosecutor or as a captor that locks the individual with depression into a diagnosis. As the researchers themselves point out, the analysis of these metaphors can deepen one's understanding of mental health and can enhance communication between patients and doctors.

Another scientific field that regards metaphors as valuable tools for interventions is that of psychology. An interesting contribution comes from Dooremalen and Borsboom (2010), who signal the abundance of metaphors that are used in psychological conceptualization and explanation (e.g., the metaphor of the brain as a computer, or the thermometer metaphor in psychological measurement), but stress that "metaphors are untrue" (idem: 121), and, consequently, they should be used only as heuristic devices in the process of generating testable hypotheses and developing psychological theories. Fetterman and Robinson (2014), among many others, demonstrate the usefulness of metaphors as heuristic devices. In an article which reviews a series of projects focused on the link between metaphor and personality, the two authors conclude that metaphors matter in what makes people different from one another. Among the numerous examples that they mention, there is a study which shows that people who prefer the red colour score higher in interpersonal hostility than the blue-preferring individuals, or one which correlates the place where people locate the self – in the heart or the head – with whether those people are logical or emotional, friendly or distant, smarter or less smart, etc.

The usefulness of the metaphor has been also acknowledged in the social sciences, especially in relation to organizations and their management. Mention must be made of Gareth Morgan's (1986/2006) seminal book, *Images of Organization*, which "offers scholars and students a comprehensible overview of organization theory and a set of diverse perspectives to guide research" (Örtenblad, Putnam and Trehan 2016: 876). Starting from the idea that all organization and management theory is based on metaphor, Morgan proposed a set of eight different metaphorical views of organizations: machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, flux and transformation, instruments of domination. These metaphors provide a multidimensional view of the organizational life, and, consequently, suggest new ways of managing and designing organizations.

I cannot end the illustration of the possible investigations on metaphor without making reference to education, a field in which metaphors have been long acknowledged as useful tools by teachers and as interesting objects of study by researchers. For instance, in a study on the relationship between teaching and learning, Badley and Hollabaugh (2012) explore three clusters of metaphors:

transmission, facilitation, and catalyst metaphors. Some years later, Littlemore (2017) provides an overview of the research focused on the role played by metaphor in a range of educational contexts, and identifies two 'hot topics' in the field of metaphor and educational discourse: the extent to which the use of metaphor can actually shape and influence thinking, and the variation in metaphor use across different genres. More recently, conceptual metaphor is approached by the field of ecolinguistics and the ecology of language learning, where the class of students is seen as an ecological community embedded in an ecological environment (cf. Dragoescu Urlica and Stefanović 2018: 542-544).

I have mentioned just a few studies here, but I consider that they create a good image of the complexity that characterizes metaphor, and, implicitly, of the array of research opportunities that it presents. Moreover, the reference to various research studies focused on metaphor is meant to prepare the ground for the presentation of my own study in this respect. As pointed out earlier, the main purpose of the present paper is to study the metaphors used by Romanian young people when expressing their perceptions of the European identity and when explaining the manner in which Romania's European membership affects them at both the social and the individual level. The analysis of the information offered by my subjects is made in the framework of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor described and illustrated in this section. The main findings of my study, as well as some implications that these findings might have from social and pedagogical perspectives is described in detail in the following section.

3. Metaphors regarding the European Union: a research perspective

The metaphorization of various aspects specific to the European Union is a very frequent practice, as demonstrated by the politicians' speeches, by the media discourse or by the legal-administrative documents of the European Union. Expressions like "multi-speed Europe" or "variable geometry Europe" are already acknowledged as standard references to the differences between the various member states and to the necessity of dealing properly with these differences. The usefulness of metaphors in this context has been acknowledged for a long time. For instance, Judge (1991) suggested that a dynamic system of metaphors can provide a better understanding of the complexity and the subtleties characterizing the European identity. In his view, a good strategy for creating the image of the European Union would be to use a system of metaphors based on familiar concepts, such as an ecology of options, a physiology of interdependent organs, a nuclear fusion reactor, an organic molecule of variable geometry, a pattern of circulating traffic or a crop rotation cycle.

Metaphors referring to the European Union have also been approached in numerous research studies. Hülsse (2006) starts from the role of metaphors as means of imagining and, at same time, constructing social reality, and discusses five conventional metaphors of the EU enlargement: as a family reunion, as homecoming, as growing together, as a path, and as entry into a house. As a reaction to a more recent situation, Islentyeva (2019) analyses the metaphors occurring in the British right-wing press as strategies for constructing the idea of Europe in the light of the changing social and political situation determined by the Brexit referendum. The author mentions "death of Europe", "Europe as suicidal" and "relationship with Europe as a (broken) marriage" as the most creative, and, at the same time, the most negative metaphors.

However, metaphors regarding a united Europe occur not only in public documents, but also in the common people's language, as my study demonstrates. The study starts from the following hypothesis: by projecting the meanings of a familiar issue onto a less familiar or abstract one, the metaphor is an important means by which people understand and express their reactions to a wide range of realities of the surrounding world. In line with the view of cognitive linguistics, which presents metaphorical language use as a reflection of the way people think, I consider that the metaphors used by my students represent valuable information, because they do not only signal the students' way of thinking and their attitudes towards the European Union and the European identity, but can also be of use to the authorities that contribute to the shaping and the development of the young people's European identity.

3.1. Research methodology

As a data collection instrument, I used a questionnaire, which was applied, between October 2018 and June 2021, to 108 students in the MA of Theory and Practice of Translation, organized by the West University of Timişoara. The respondents offered their answers in writing. The questionnaire included two open-ended questions:

1. How would you describe Romania's status as a member state of the European Union? Mention both positive and negative aspects, offering relevant details and examples;
2. What does the European identity mean to you personally? Mention both positive and negative aspects, offering relevant details and examples.

After collecting the answers from the 108 subjects, I started the process of data analysis. This process involved two stages. In the first stage, which had a preliminary character, I analysed my students' answers with a view to identifying instances of metaphorical use of language. More exactly, I was interested in finding out the percentage of subjects whose answers provided at least one metaphor in the natural course of communication, no matter if that metaphor referred to their European identity, or to Romania's status as an EU member state. At this preliminary stage, the analysis was made in quantitative terms and revealed that 41 of my students, namely 38% of the total number of subjects, resorted to metaphors when they completed the questionnaire.

For the second stage of my research study, I focused only on the answers offered by the 41 subjects identified earlier, and I performed an analysis of the metaphors used by them. Since my intention was not to make statistics, but just to reflect a certain reality, I used techniques specific to the qualitative type of research. The students did not provide their answers anonymously, but their names are not revealed in the discussion of the research findings. Therefore, I indicate the authors of the examples offered in this paper by means of codes consisting of numbers from 1 to 41.

The main findings resulted from the analysis of my subjects' answers are presented and discussed in what follows.

3.2. Findings

The analysis of the metaphors expressing my students' perceptions of their own European identity, on the one hand, and of our country's European membership, on the other, was made in the terms proposed by cognitive linguists. This analysis revealed that the target domain represented by "the Romanians as European citizens" is correlated with four source domains.

3.2.1. A still developing body

The analysis of the data collected by means of the questionnaire indicates that, in some students' view, Romania has not reached its full potential as an EU member, but the situation is likely to change in time. However, there are relatively few respondents who hold an optimistic view of EU as a place which offers proper conditions for this frail body to get bigger and stronger. Thus, some students describe their European identity as a "new-born baby" (27), "a child that needs to grow" (19), or "a blooming bud" (31). On the same line of reasoning, Romania's status is seen as a "younger sister in the EU family" (3) or as an "explorer in a heaven yet to be discovered" (11).

In spite of this idealistic image of EU, my students mention that it is other people that have to make the important decisions for this helpless creature. This idea is presented in a negative light by other subjects, as the next categories of metaphors indicate.

3.2.2. The obedient subordinate

A great number of students describe their European identity as being marked by lack of individuality. Thus, they confess that they feel like "a drop in the ocean" (17) or "a fish in the ocean" (23) in order to signal that they do not really consider themselves to count very much as European citizens. Similarly, Romania's European membership is described as "a flock of sheep" (21, 38), which obediently follows its shepherd, as a "slave", because "they are our master, we have nothing else to do but obey" (14), or as an "ox" (33), which needs to be led and told where to go.

In spite of all the aid and the guidance offered by the EU authorities, some subjects feel that, judged in the European context, our country is "a fish out of the water" (1) or a "lost people in the world" (7), expressing their worry that we are not familiar with the new obligations, and we are not fully prepared for the new standards imposed on us.

3.2.3. The nonentity

There are also respondents who take the idea of subordination to the extreme and consider that their European identity or Romania's EU membership are of no importance in the context of the united Europe. They refer to themselves or to Romania with nouns and phrases like "doormat" (28, 37), "ghost" (5) or "shadow in the crowd" (20), expressing their opinion that we are invisible to the rest of Europe. One subject perceives Romania's membership to this supranational structure as a threat to his/her own national identity and explains that "EU is the sword and mace that will destroy any individuality" (18).

Some subjects express similar views, but are not so harsh in their formulations, and refer to Romania as Europe's "Cinderella" (9, 26) or the "third wheel" (of a cart) (13).

3.2.4. The beneficiary

In some of my students' view, the European Union represents "a pool of opportunities" (10, 32) that the inhabitants of the member states can take advantage of. In this context, they perceive their European identity in terms of the benefits they have as a result of our country's status as an EU member state. This idea is rendered by images of the European Union as "a dream come true" (41), "an open door" (25), or even "a finance company" (12). One respondent described his/ her European identity as a "backup system", explaining that, "in case things go wrong in Romania, there are other countries to move to" (8). Even in this case, there are metaphors that reflect a deprecatory attitude: Romania is "a poor relative" (16) among the other European countries, and the European identity allows us to "sit down at the same table with the rich" (35).

In very general terms, the results of my study indicate that Romanian young people tend to have rather negative perceptions of Romania's European integration and their status as EU citizens. However, an in-depth interpretation of these findings is provided next.

3.3. Interpretation

The interpretation of my research findings is made according to three main perspectives on metaphors, formulated under the influence of the various approaches of both theoretical and research nature, discussed in section 2.

The first perspective is determined by the cognitive linguists' claim that metaphor starts from a relatively abstract or unstructured idea and connects it to a more concrete, better-known entity. The mere fact that my subjects use metaphors when referring to their European identity or to Romania's status as an EU country indicates that they perceive such issues as being unfamiliar to them, and even somehow remote from their sphere of interests. Moreover, the negative connotations frequently carried by these metaphors may be interpreted as the symptom of a certain fear of the unknown, of emotion experienced by people in the absence of sufficient and relevant information on a particular topic. The metaphors used by my subjects are actually manifestations of their tacit knowledge or interpretations of EU-specific issues, which can be assessed and exploited by the initiators of such research studies as this.

The second perspective involves the claim that context, understood in a broad sense, plays an essential role in the process of metaphor production. The age of the subjects, their (lack of) formal training in EU issues, their personal experience with the effects of Romania's integration within the European Union, their (lack of) personal transnational experiences are all factors that influenced my students' manner of metaphorizing the EU issues. This is how we can explain that, in spite of the common cultural background, some of my students perceive the European identity as a threat for their national identity, while others see the opportunities created by this supranational identity. Of course, it can be claimed that such metaphors are influenced by some objective factors (for instance, Romania's image in Europe), but I consider that the personal factors (that is, the amount of information, the type of experiences so far) play a more important part.

The third perspective, which has been partly anticipated by the first two, is related to the view of metaphors as tools that help towards the improvement of a certain practice. In the case of this study, metaphors can be used in the process of shaping the young people's European identity. According to Royuela and López-Bazo (2020), the development of a collective identity involves two main mechanisms: information and experience. Professionals from various institutions and organizations, such as educators, sociologists, or political scientists, can interpret such metaphors, and then decide on a course of action that effectively contributes to raising the young people's awareness with regard to EU issues, and, if possible, even to creating opportunities for experiences (for instance, opportunities of personal contact with Europeans from other countries). And it is my strong belief – a belief, which, in fact, lies at the very heart of my study – namely that, with effective educational practices, the people's attitudes can change.

4. Conclusion

In spite of the fact that metaphors depend very much on the individual reality of the person who uses them, and, therefore, are characterized by a certain degree of subjectivity, they are useful in communication because they reveal what lies beyond words. More specifically, metaphors share meaning that is very closely related to the people's feelings, attitudes, and beliefs, as individuals and as participants in social life. And, as already mentioned in this paper, the information inherent in any metaphor is valuable, as it can be used both as a means of understanding reality, and as a means of creating it.

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On the multicultural character of restaurant menus: a translational perspective

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Abstract: Starting from the reality that, in today's globalized world, people have easy access to a wide range of cuisines from different cultures, the present paper discusses the multicultural nature of the menus offered by the Romanian restaurants, and especially by those specific to the Banat region, with the ultimate purpose of analysing the way in which food names of various origins are rendered in the English variants of these menus. The results of this analysis are relevant for the manner in which the various culture-specific features of restaurant menus are handled in the process of translation into a foreign language.
Keywords: food names, culture-specific, menus, techniques, translation.

1. Introduction

Food represents an essential element of a culture, being considered an important marker for any person's ethnic identity. The early experiences that people have with food as part of their families generally create memories that last a lifetime. One proof in this respect is the fact that the taste and the smell of the childhood foods will almost always evoke nostalgia, being associated with a feeling of warmth and well-being. Moreover, no matter where they go, immigrants take with them the food of their native countries, as this brings them comfort and helps them preserve their cultural identity. One explanation for this close connection between food and culture is offered by Kittler *et al.* (2012: 39), who consider that "eating is a daily reaffirmation of [one's] cultural identity".

Discussing food from a linguistic perspective, most of the terms used to denote various types of dishes, ingredients or styles of cooking represent lexical items which are deeply rooted in the cultural contexts in which they were created, and, consequently, their exact meaning is often difficult to understand by outsiders. In the context of globalization, various types of culture-specific foods and ways of cooking have spread across national borders, and, inevitably, have come to influence the eating habits of the people all over the world. One consequence is that, from a linguistic-cultural perspective, restaurant menus have acquired a marked multicultural character, because, quite frequently, their pages include food names specific to a wide range of cuisines. Starting from this reality, the present paper has two different, but still closely related objectives. On the one hand, it aims at discussing the multicultural nature of the menus offered by the Romanian restaurants, and especially by those specific to the Banat region, with a view to identifying the linguistic elements which actually contribute to their multiculturalism. On the other hand, the paper analyses the English variants of the food names of diverse origins present in the same menus, in an attempt to arrive at findings that are relevant for the manner in which the various culture-specific features of restaurant menus are handled in the process of translation into a foreign language.

2. A linguistic analysis of the multicultural character of the Romanian restaurant menus

The corpus used in this study is made up of 28 menus provided by restaurants which are located, in their vast majority (24), in the Banat region, in the South-West of Romania. Most of these restaurants (18) provide a mixture of dishes from both the Romanian and the international cuisine. Additionally, there are two restaurants which offer exclusively Romanian food, while the other eight restaurants have an ethnic character (Serbian, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese). The menus were personally collected by the author, with the permission of the personnel present there.

Taking into consideration the linguistic element which creates the culturally-specific character of a particular dish or product, the culinary terms of various origins revealed by the restaurant menus making up my corpus can be categorized into four broad categories: terms which denote dishes specific to a certain cultural space, which include culture-specific products or ingredients, which contain some geographical or cultural references, and which represent metaphorical constructs. In what follows, I will present each of these four categories of terms, illustrating them with relevant examples. I want to mention that, even if the starting point for the categorization of the food names in my corpus is represented by the Romanian variants of the dishes and products, I will also offer an English translation or a description for a better understanding of the phenomenon under discussion. However, no comments regarding the English variants of the terms will be made here, since this will represent the focus of section 3.

2.1. Food names denoting dishes specific to a certain cultural space

The menus in my corpus provide numerous examples of dishes which are representative for a wide variety of cuisines, as illustrated by the examples offered below.

Almost any restaurant offering Romanian traditional food includes in its menu dishes such as *sarmale* (minced meat rolled in cabbage leaves), *mici/ mititei* (grilled minced meat rolls), or *mămăligă* (a type of cornmeal porridge similar to polenta). Desserts like *găluşte cu prune* (potato dumplings with plums), or *papanaşi* (sweet cheese dumplings with cream and jam) must also be mentioned here.

Culinary treats from Banat's neighbouring countries are also present in the menus under analysis. Thus, a great frequency is registered by the Hungarian *gulaş* ('goulash') or the Serbian *pleşcaviţa* ('pljeskavica'), which are popular in many countries across Europe. Frequent are also the dishes from the Italian culinary scene: *carpaccio*, *focaccia*, *pizza* or *risotto*, which have acquired international fame, and, consequently, hardly need any translation into English.

From the more remote culinary traditions, we have examples like the Chinese *Dou Fu* (consisting in tofu set in a spicy sauce) and *Dim Sums* (a Cantonese style of steamed dumpling prepared in very small portions), the Japanese *sashimi* (thinly sliced raw seafood often seasoned with soy sauce) and *sushi* (vinegared rice mixed with other ingredients), the Vietnamese *Bun Bo Nam Bo* (literally meaning 'noodles with beef from the south'), or the Arabic *şaorma* (also written as *shaorma*) and *kebab*, which both represent extremely popular offers in the menus of numerous Romanian fast food restaurants.

2.2. Food names denoting or including culture-specific products or ingredients

An essential contribution to the multicultural character of the menus in my corpus is made by the wide range of ingredients or products which are served either individually, or as part of a dish. The Mediterranean cuisine proves to be very resourceful in this respect. Thus, the menus under analysis are full of Italian terms denoting types of cheese, such as *bocconcini* (an Italian term which denotes 'little bites or morsels', but which, in the international cuisine, is generally restricted to the sense of 'bocconcino di mozzarella'), *burrata*, *Grana Padano*, *parmesan* (written also as *parmezan*, the form adapted to the Romanian linguistic system), types of pasta, like *fagottini*, *gnocchi*, *penne*, or cured meat products, such as *pancetta* or *prosciutto*. The Spanish *chorizo* and *tortilla*, the French *foie gras*, or the Cypriot *halloumi* complete this image.

Sometimes, the foreign names are used even in the case of products or ingredients which are not necessarily culture-specific, but highlight the specific character of the restaurant or its style of cooking. For instance, in the restaurants which offer Mediterranean food, we encounter names like *pepperoncino*, the generic Italian name for hot chili peppers, or like *nero di sepia* (i.e., the Italian name for 'squid ink'), which is an ingredient mainly used to colour rice or pasta black, and to enhance the flavour of sauces.

The multicultural character of the restaurant menus is proved even more conclusively by the names of dishes which bring together products or ingredients specific to different cultural backgrounds. Some examples in this respect are *spätzle cu burrata* ('spätzle with burrata'), combining a product usually associated with the German tradition with one of Italian origin, or *spaghetti Beijing* ('Beijing Spaghetti'), which adds an Asian flavour to the classic Italian pasta.

2.3. Food names including geographical or cultural references

The menus under analysis reveal a wide range of food names which include some geographical reference. In certain cases, the reference is made under the form of a nationality adjective which signals the fact that a particular dish or product either originates from, or is prepared in a manner specific to the denoted country: *salată grecească* ('Greek salad'), *mici sârbeşti* ('Serbian chevap'), *sos olandez/ Hollandaise* ('Hollandaise sauce'), *tochitură românească* ('Romanian stew'). Similarly, there are food names which make reference to a certain region: e.g., *aripioare de pui "Si Chuan"*

('"Si Chuan" chicken wings'), *clătite a la Hortobágyi*[1] ('Hortobágyi pancakes'), *găluşte tiroleze* ('Tirolese dumplings'), *sarmale bănățene* ('Banat traditional stuffed cabbage'). Most frequently, however, the culinary terms involve names of cities and towns: e.g., *supă Beijing* ('Beijing soup'), *humus Beiruti* ('hummus Beiruti'), *muştar de dijon* ('Dijon mustard'), *pâine în stil Choka* [2]('Choka's bread'), *brânză Roquefort* ('Roquefort'), *şnițel vienez* ('Wiener Schnitzel').

The culture-specific character of the dishes can also be given by references to cultural or historical figures perceived as symbols of a certain nation. Thus, my corpus provides names like *friptură Esterházy* ('Esterházy steak'), whose name is related to a Hungarian noble family with origins in the Middle Ages, *prăjitură Mozart* ('Mozart cake'), an Austrian cake which is inspired by the Mozartkugeln chocolate marzipan truffles, and which inevitably evokes the famous composer, *pui "Gong bao"* ('"Gong bao" chicken'), a Chinese dish which can be literally translated as "palace guardian", and which is considered to have taken its name after the high-ranking court official Ding Baozhen, also called Ding Gongbao (cf. Lin 2016), *şnițel Karageorge* ('Karadjordje's steak'), a reference to the leader of the Serbian people in their struggle for independence, or *Chateaubriand*, a steak named after the French author.

2.4. Food names representing metaphorical constructs

A special category of food names with a marked culture-specific character includes terms based on metaphors or on other figures of speech. I am sure that such constructs can be found in various cuisines; however, the examples revealed by the restaurant menus in my corpus basically belong to the Romanian culinary tradition, on the one hand, and to the Asian one, on the other.

In the case of the Romanian cuisine, a relevant example is *pomana porcului*, which literally means 'the meal prepared in the memory of the slaughtered pig'. The dish consists of various cuts and offal of pork, such as ribs, tenderloin, and liver, which are fried in lard, being offered immediately after sacrificing the animal.

Another dish which is frequently found in the Romanian restaurants is called *scăricică/ scăriță*, literally meaning 'little ladder'. The dish itself is not specific to the Romanian cuisine, since it actually consists in pork ribs. However, it is mentioned here due to the metaphorical load that its name has in our language: the specific shape of the ribs has determined the Romanians to use the terms *scăricică* and *scăriță* in alternation with *coaste*, which represents an objective description of the dish in question.

From the category of the desserts, I must mention a dish which the Romanians consider to be part of their own culinary tradition, representing one of those tastes of the childhood that accompany them for the rest of their life: *lapte de pasăre* (literally rendered as 'bird's milk'). It consists in rounded dumplings made from beaten egg whites and sugar, which float in a substantial quantity of vanilla custard. Even if the

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1 Region in eastern Hungary.

2 A town in the North Banat District of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Serbia.

people in my country generally consider that *lapte de pasăre* is a Romanians traditional dessert, this is not exactly the case, since similar recipes are used in other countries, like France, where it is known under the name *île flottante* ('floating island').

From the Chinese cuisine, we have a traditional Sichuan dish with a funny name, *furnici în copac* ('ants in the tree'). It is called this way because of the image created by its ingredients: bits of ground meat and noodles, which are seen like ants climbing the branches of a tree.

The Chinese menus in my corpus also reveal the name of a dessert which is based on an oxymoron: *îngheţată prăjită* ('fried ice cream'). The two contradictory terms which appear side by side in the name of this dish are meant to create a certain effect, giving us, at the same time, some hints about the manner in which it is prepared: it consists of a scoop of ice cream in a thick crunchy crust that is fried briefly in order to create a warm shell around the still-cold ice cream. It is a popular dessert in the Asian restaurants, even if it is not restricted to such environments.

All the examples offered above are relevant for the manner in which the food names of diverse origins present in my corpus create the multicultural character of the Romanian restaurant menus available in the Banat area. More such examples will be mentioned in the next section, which will take things one step further and will focus on the way in which all these culture-bound elements are rendered in the English variants of the same menus.

3. Rendering the culture-specific character of the food terms in the Romanian – English translations of the restaurant menus

In order to achieve the second objective of my study, I will perform a comparative analysis of the Romanian and the English variants of the restaurant menus making up the corpus presented in the previous section, with a view to shedding light on a series of aspects which might be relevant for the process of translating this category of texts: Which are the techniques used by the translators of these texts?; How does the translated variant render the culture-specific character of a particular food name?; How appropriate are the solutions offered by the translators of the texts under analysis? Before offering possible answers to such questions, I will provide some theoretical considerations regarding the role of culture in translation, on the one hand, and the manner in which translators can deal with the problems raised by the culture-specific elements, on the other.

3.1. Culture-specific items in translation

As culture-specific elements, food names are very important from a translational point of view. Since the acknowledgement of the fact that translation activity involves not only two different languages, but also two different cultural traditions, culture has become an element worthy of great attention in the approaches proposed by various translation theorists, such as Newmark (1988), Baker (1992), or Katan (2012). Even if illustrating different trends or schools of thought, such approaches stress the idea that the profile of a competent translator must necessarily incorporate the ability of identifying the culture-specific features of the source text, and of selecting the best solution for rendering those features into the target language.

When it comes to the problem of dealing with cultural differences in translation, a significant contribution comes from Venuti (1995), who introduced the key concepts of domestication and foreignization, concepts representing two opposed translation methods. According to Venuti, domestication reveals the translators' orientation towards the target culture, entailing the reduction of the foreign text to the target-language cultural values, while foreignization involves their concern for the preservation of the source-culture specificity, resulting in a target variant which registers the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text (Venuti 1995: 20).

Trying to help translators solve the problems created by the culture-specific items, several theorists propose taxonomies of procedures, strategies or techniques that can be used to this end. Maybe the best-known example in this respect is Newmark's (1988) taxonomy of translation procedures; however, I will mention here a few contributions of a more recent date. Thus, Katan (1999: 87) distinguishes three main translation strategies: generalisation, deletion and distortion. Another theorist, Olk (2013: 348–351), provides a classification which includes seven categories of procedures, ranking from a foreignizing to a domesticating scale: transference, transference + explicitation, transference + explanation, target-language expression referring to the source culture, neutral explanation, omission, and the substitution of a source text cultural element by one specific to the target culture. Following the same line which involves maximal distance from the target reader at one end and minimal distance at the opposite end, there is Marco's (2018: 3–4) classification of translation techniques for culture-specific items, including: borrowing, which may be pure or naturalised, literal translation, neutralisation (under the form of description or generalisation/particularisation), amplification/compression, intracultural adaptation (the original culture-related item is replaced by another source culture item which is more familiar to target readers), intercultural adaptation (a target culture item is substituted for the source text item), and omission.

As we can see, the ways in which the translator can deal with the culture-specific items are variously labelled as "procedure", "method", "strategy" and "technique". A thorough attempt to delimit the reference of these terms was made by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002), and, in line with their terminology, I will use the term "techniques" in the sense of operations materializing solutions for certain problematic translation units. More specifically, in my study, techniques represent the analytical tools that allow me to study the manner in which the result of the translation process functions in relation to its corresponding source-text unit. As for the typology of translation techniques used in the process of analysis, it is mainly based on Marco's (2018) contribution, with a few terminological adjustments. Thus, respecting the same arrangement from the foreignizing end to the domesticating one (cf. Venuti 1995), the techniques used in my research study are: borrowing (pure or naturalised), literal translation, description, generalisation/ particularisation, linguistic amplification/ compression, established equivalent, and omission.

3.2. The translation-oriented analysis of the restaurant menus

Using the analytical tools presented above, my translation-oriented analysis is based on the restaurant menus making up the corpus described in section 2, and involves a comparative approach to the manner of rendering the culture-specific elements in the Romanian vs. the English variants of these menus. I want to mention that the analysis of the respective menus is performed in qualitative terms, because my intention is not to provide statistics, but to reflect a certain reality, and to draw attention to aspects that might lead to the facilitation and even to the improvement of the work of the translators dealing with this particular text type. The discussion of the research findings will point to the translation techniques that have been used for rendering the various categories of culture-specific food names discussed earlier. For privacy reasons, the names of the restaurants will not be revealed, and, consequently, whenever the source of a certain example must be mentioned, a code will be used, consisting in capital letter R (from the word 'restaurant'), accompanied by a number from 1 to 28.

Since multiculturalism is the underlying concept of this whole paper, the findings are organized according to the national cuisines with the best representation in the area of Banat. The most relevant examples revealed by my corpus are presented below.

3.2.1. Romanian cuisine

For the terms denoting traditional Romanian dishes, there are relatively few cases in which the translator uses the domesticating technique of the established equivalent. One such example is *bulz/ mămăligă*, frequently paralleled by the target variant 'polenta' (R2, R10, R25), which is actually a term of Italian origin. Even if the descriptive English term 'boiled cornmeal' could have been used, this solution does not occur in any of the menus that I analysed. What does sometimes occur, however, is the variant 'maize' (R1, R26), which is a generalization, and does not represent an appropriate translation choice. The established equivalent is also used in the case of *scăricică* or *scăriță*, which are both rendered as 'ribs' (R2, R8, R24), thus losing the metaphorical load of the original terms, and in the case of *tochitură*, translated as 'stew' (R2, R5, R8).

At the opposite end, the foreignizing technique of borrowing is used for dishes like *mici/ mititei* (R2, R24), *zacuscă* (R12, R26), *sarmale* (R8, R25) and *Pomana porcului* (R10). Sometimes, the terms denoting such dishes are rendered by combining borrowing with the technique of description: *mici* ('grilled ground meat rolls') (R8), *zacuscă* ('traditional Romanian vegetable spread') (R8), *Pomana porcului* ('traditional Romanian dish') (R8). There are also cases when these traditional dishes are paralleled by English variants based exclusively on the technique of description. Thus, *mici/ mititei* is rendered as 'minced meat rolls' (R7) or as 'grilled minced meat rolls' (R5, R10). For *sarmale*, we find several variants, such as 'stuffed cabbage' (R2), 'meat rolled in cabbage' (R7, R22), or 'stuffed cabbage rolls' (R12), but I consider that none of these is entirely accurate, and I would suggest 'minced meat rolled in cabbage leaves' as a more suitable descriptive equivalent in this case. Similarly, the translation of *Pomana porcului* as 'Romanian traditional winter cold platter' (R2) does not capture the specific character of this dish, which would be better reflected by the variant 'freshly slaughtered pig dish/ plate'.

Far from being restricted to the cases mentioned above, the neutralizing technique of description is quite frequently used for the food names specific to the Romanian cuisine, even if the target variants do not always represent very felicitous translation solutions. One example in this respect is *lapte de pasăre*, rendered as 'egg white dumplings' (R6) and as 'vanilla egg white dumplings' (R11), which both offer only fragmented information on the contents of this dish. The translator could have offered a more complete variant like 'egg white dumplings in vanilla cream/ sauce', or could have resorted to the equivalent 'floating islands'. Another example is *papanaşi*, which registers various English translations in my corpus, ranging from relatively appropriate – e.g., 'sweet cheese dumplings' (R2) – to rather inaccurate descriptions of this dish: 'jam and sour cream doughnuts' (R5), 'fried dumplings' (R7) or 'doughnuts with cheese' (R11).

I want to mention that, in addition to the instances of pure borrowing used for the famous Romanian dishes mentioned above (cf. *mici/ mititei, zacuscă, sarmale* and *Pomana porcului*), this technique is also responsible for the translation solutions offered in the case of some geographical references involving mainly names of regions or cities. Thus, *ciorbă rădăuţeană de pui* is rendered literally as '"Radauteana" chicken soup' (R7), in which the geographical reference represents a borrowing that has undergone a mild process of naturalization through the removal of the diacritics. The change is more significant in *cârnăciori olteneşti* translated as 'Oltenian sausages' (R5), where, for the adjective with regional reference, the translator selects the variant 'Oltenian', a forced lexical creation based on borrowing a root of Romanian origin, i.e. *Olte(a)n*, to which the English suffix of nationality *-an* is added.

Sticking to the foreignizing sphere of the translation techniques, the analysis of my bi-lingual corpus also reveals some examples of literal translation (combined or not with another technique), which represents a frequent choice for the food names consisting in multiple words, such as *găluşte cu prune* – 'dumplings with plums' (R1, R24), *fasole bătută* – 'mashed beans' (R2, R22), or *clătite bănăţene* – 'crepes from Banat' (R12)/ 'pancakes from Banat' (R26).

3.2.2. Influences from Banat's ethnic groups: the Serbian, Hungarian, Austrian and German cuisines

The situation of the English translations offered for the Serbian dishes in my corpus is quite interesting, because, most frequently, the target text variants involve some borrowed word of Serbian origin, which is not necessarily present in the Romanian source. Thus, *frigăruile podgoriei*, for example, is rendered as 'wineyard's raznjici' (R3), a solution based on a combination of literal translation and the borrowing of a Serbian term which does not occur in the Romanian source. Similarly, *zacuscă* is paralelled in the English menu by the pure borrowing 'ajvar' (R3), while *mici sârbeşti* is rendered by means of the slightly naturalized 'chevapi' (R3, R27).

I must also mention the case of the famous *pleşcaviţa*, a dish which occurs in the Romanian menus either in this naturalized form (R10, R19, R23), or as the semi-naturalized *pljeskavita* (R3), or as the pure borrowing *pljeskavica* (R6, R27). No matter the manner in which it is spelt in the source variant, the English rendering of this dish is 'pljeskavica' (R6, R10, R19, R23, R27), a translation solution based on the pure borrowing of the Serbian term. In the same vein, *caimac* (R27), also spelt *kaimak* (R3), is rendered in the English target texts by means of the pure borrowing 'kajmak' (R3, R27).

My corpus also reveals instances when the borrowing of Serbian origin is present in the Romanian variant of the respective dish. In most such cases, the technique of borrowing is combined with the literal translation: *şniţel Karageorge* – 'Karadjordje('s) steak' (R3, R27), *salată şopska* – 'Shopska salad' (R3, R27), *cârnaţi Sremska* – 'Sremska sausages' (R27).

When we speak of the Hungarian cuisine, the first thing that comes to our mind is goulash, the famous and most frequently cooked dish outside the borders of Hungary. This dish is present in the menus making up my corpus, without being restricted to the restaurants specialized in Hungarian food. In all the cases, the Romanian term *gulaş* does not raise any translation problems, being paralleled by the English 'goulash' (R9, R15, R23, R28).

As for the English variants of other dishes representing the Hungarian cuisine, their analysis reveals a preference for the technique of borrowing, which is often associated with the literal translation: *clătite a la Hortobágyi* – 'Hortobágyi pancakes' (R15), *muşchi de vită Szeged* – 'Szeged beef tenderloin' (R28), *ciolan de porc cu nokedli* – 'pork knuckle with nokedli' (R28). Sometimes, the translator prefers to render the culture-specific elements by resorting to the technique of description. Thus, for *clătite a la Hortobágyi* we also find the English variant 'Hungarian stuffed crepes' (R28), while *nokedli* is paralleled by the descriptive phrase 'Hungarian dumplings' (R25).

Just like goulash in the Hungarian cuisine, one of Austria's national dishes, the Wiener Schnitzel, represents a hugely popular meal all over the world. One consequence is that the menus under analysis provide numerous instances of this dish (*şniţel*, in Romanian), which, in the vast majority of cases, are rendered in English by means of a combination of established equivalent and pure borrowing: 'Wiener schnitzel' (R3, R9, R22). Sometimes, the nationality adjective is paralleled by its English form: 'Viennese schnitzel' (R12, R19). Unfortunately, I have also identified a case of wrong translation, 'Vienna steak' (R13), which does not denote the Austrian specialty, but is an early name for what would now be termed a hamburger (cf. Ayto 2013).

Tastes from the Austrian and the German cuisines are also evoked by the presence of the specific type of pasta called *spätzle*, a term which represents a borrowing in Romanian. The English variants of the dishes containing this kind of pasta are based on a pure borrowing, in association with the literal translation: *spätzle cu Burrata* – 'spätzle with Burrata' (R24), *spätzle vegetariene* – 'vegetarian spätzle' (R23).

The combination of literal translation and borrowing is also used in the case of some famous desserts, such as *tort Linzer* – 'Linzer tart' (R13) or *prăjitură Mozart* – 'Mozart cake' (R23). However, there is one translator who prefers to render *tort Linzer* by means of the neutralizing technique of description – 'nut and jam layer cake' (R26).

3.2.3. The exquisite taste of the Mediterranean cuisine

In the Banat region, there are a multitude of restaurants serving Mediterranean food. As I have already mentioned in section 2, the Romanian menus of these restaurants are full of names of Italian origin, which, in the vast majority of cases, are preserved in the English translations. Therefore, it can be definitely affirmed that the foreignizing technique of borrowing, often in association with the literal translation, represents the solution most frequently used for the English renderings of the Mediterranean food names. Some relevant examples are *salata Caprese cu bocconcini* – 'Caprese salad with bocconcini' (R12), *risotto cu legume* – 'risotto and vegetables' (R6, R12), *pizza pane cu Grana Padano* – 'pizza pane with Grana Padano' (R12), *Penne Carbonara* – 'Penne Carbonara' (R4, R13), *fusilli cu pesto Genovese* – 'fusilli with pesto Genovese' (R14).

I have noticed that, in the case of one restaurant (R12), the translator sometimes introduces an additional explanatory element in the English variant. Thus, if in the Romanian menu we have *quadroni, ravioli cu ricotta şi spanac, risotto cu funghi porcini*, the English translations involve, among others, the technique of amplification: 'quadroni <u>pasta</u>', 'ravioli with ricotta <u>cheese</u> and spinach', 'risotto with funghi porcini <u>mushrooms</u>'.

I have also identified a few situations when the translator decides to offer the established equivalents for the terms of foreign origin present in the name of some Mediterranean dishes. In some cases, the result is felicitous, like in *spagetti pomodoro e basilico* – 'spaghetti with fresh tomato and basil' (R14), while in others it entails some loss. One such example is *risotto cu fructe de mare* – 'rice with seafood' (R9), where the English 'rice' is too general in comparison to the source term *risotto*, which involves a certain manner of preparing the rice.

The technique of borrowing, usually in association with the literal translation, is also reflected by the English variants of dishes and products specific to other Mediterranean cuisines: *cârnați chorizo* – 'chorizo sausages' (R6), *chicken paella* – 'paella de pui' (R13), *halloumi la grătar* – 'grilled halloumi' (R9), *sos meunière* – 'meunière sauce' (R11), *sos remoulade* – 'remoulade sauce' (R3, R6), or *sos tzatziki* – 'tzatziki sauce' (R11).

3.2.4. Flavours from the Asian cuisine

Finally, the most remote cuisines present in the menus under analysis are those from China, Japan and Vietnam. The analysis of the Asian food names reveals that, no matter what kind of culinary tradition they represent, the English variants generally involve a combination of borrowing and literal translation. Some examples from the Chinese cuisine *are supa de hun dun* – 'Hun Dun soup' (R16), *orez Yangzhou* – 'Yanzhou rice' (R16), *homar "jin xiu"* – '"Jin Xiu" lobster' (R16), *supa "Whan Toun"* – '"Whan Toun" soup' (R18), *aripioare de pui "Si Chuan"* – '"Si Chuan" chicken wings' (R18). Similar examples can be found in the menu of the Japanese restaurant (R20): *supa Miso* – 'Miso soup', *tempura cu fructe de mare* – 'seafood tempura', as well as in that of the Vietnamese restaurant in my corpus (R21): *Ramyun cu fructe de mare* – 'Ramyun with seafood', *Pho tron cu vită* – 'Pho tron with beef'. Sometimes, in the English translation, the borrowing is accompanied by a compressed variant of the information present in the original text: e.g., *salată de ciuperci shitake* – 'shitake salad' (R20), *salată de alge wakame* – 'wakame salad' (R20).

There are also a few cases when the translator resorts to the neutralizing technique of description: *crevete "fengwei"* – 'crispy fried king prawns' (R18*), spaghete "Zhajiang"* – 'Chinese noodles with bean sauce' (R18), *furnici în copac* – 'rice noodles with ground meat' (R16), but they clearly lose some of the local colour usually associated with an ethnic restaurant.

3.2.5. Discussion of the research findings

As a very general remark, the English variants of the Romanian menus in my corpus reveal the translators' marked preference for the foreignizing techniques, since borrowing and literal translation were frequently used as instruments in the process of producing solutions to the various cultural problems in the original texts. One implication is that the English translations preserve many of the elements which contribute to the multicultural character of the Romanian menus (cf. section 2), and, consequently, are very likely to produce a similar effect on their intended audience. Another implication is that the target readers have the opportunity of immersing themselves in a different culture, and, therefore, to learn something about it.

The analysis of my corpus has also identified description as a recurrent translation technique. It is true that the target solutions built in this way sometimes render the contents of a certain dish with more accuracy, but they have a neutralizing effect, and, consequently, diminish the culture-specific character of that dish name. It is interesting that, as my research indicates, description registers the highest frequency in the case of the English translations of the Romanian food names, being more rarely encountered in the English variants of culinary terms of other origins. Considering the fact that translations were made in Romania and were intended to the foreign visitors of our country, most probably the translators used this technique with the purpose of presenting the Romanian dishes in a manner which is as clear and detailed as possible.

Finally, the domesticating techniques occur relatively sporadically: the established equivalent is used only for a few dishes or products, while omission is not present at all.

All these findings reiterate the fact that cultural factors play an essential role in the process of translation. The cultural context in which the translation is produced, the cultural background of the translator, the cultural specificity of the source text, as well as the intended effect on the target audience are all elements which influence the translator's choices, and, which inevitably determine the particular linguistic make up of a translated text.

4. Conclusions

The present study has been based on two different, but closely related directions of research conducted on a bilingual corpus of restaurant menus from Romania's Banat region. The first line of research has revealed the multicultural nature of the Romanian variants of these menus, identifying and illustrating those linguistic elements which create the cultural specificity of the various food names. Taking the analysis one step further, the second line of research has pointed to the techniques predominantly used for the English translations of the same menus, exposing the extent to which these techniques ensure the preservation of the multicultural character at the level of the target texts. The main conclusion is that the foreignizing techniques used by the translators of these menus generally preserve the multicultural nature of these documents, and, therefore, the effect produced by the English variants is comparable to that of the original texts. However, there are also cases of translation solutions which reveal the loss or the inappropriate rendering of important cultural information. This stresses, once more, the necessity that translators should pay special attention to the manner in which they deal with elements of culture in general, and with terms denoting food in particular, because food "is the cornerstone of life and lies at the heart of our cultural identity" (Chiaro and Rossato 2015:239).

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Research Article

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Equivalence and (un)translatability: Instances of the transfer between Romanian and English

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Abstract: In very broad terms, translatability means that the translator is able to establish a relation of equivalence between a certain source text and its target variant. The notion of equivalence has a very complicated status in translation studies, because, on the one hand, this discipline does not provide a generally accepted definition of the concept, and, on the other, because it has a very complex nature, involving a variety of levels. The present article is based on the assumption that, even if there are situations when the source-language lexico-semantic items, grammatical structures or whole texts are so problematic that they seem almost impossible to be transferred into another language. The term "untranslatability" is not appropriately used with reference to such situations, because a certain type of equivalence can be always achieved. The article will approach the notions of equivalence and (un)translatability in both theoretical and practical terms, offering relevant examples specific to the transfer between Romanian and English.

Keywords: culture, equivalence, translatability, translation studies, untranslatable

1 Introduction

By its very nature, translation involves two languages, each of them having its own grammatical and lexical particularities and its specific manner of expressing various experiences and of reflecting the material and the spiritual culture. Considering the differences between the two languages in contact, it is natural that any translated text should be characterized by a certain degree of distortion or loss in comparison to its original. There have been translation theorists, such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, Jose Ortega y Gasset, or George Steiner (cf. Dimitriu 2006, 36–8), who consider that texts which involve too much loss are actually "untranslatable." Rejecting this idea, the present article brings theoretical and practical evidence in favour of the hypothesis that, even if it is impossible to achieve absolute identity between a certain text and its translated variant, this does not mean that it is impossible to establish a relation of equivalence between them. More exactly, translatability is always possible, but the translator has to decide in each particular case on the type of equivalence relation that he/she intends to establish between the source and the target texts. In line with the functionalist and the descriptive theorists, I consider that the translator's decisions in this respect should not be guided only by the linguistic format of the original text, but also by a series of constraints imposed by the target context, such as the rules of the target-language system, the norms valid in the target culture in the case of each particular genre or type of texts, the purpose of translation, and the specific features of the translation audience. The main objective of this article is to argue for the usefulness of

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adopting a target-oriented concept of equivalence, considering that such a concept excludes the idea of untranslatability. To achieve this objective, I will present, first of all, the evolution of the notion of equivalence in the translation theory, then I will discuss some means by which equivalence can be achieved in practice, and, in the end, I will illustrate some situations that are considered to raise difficulties in the translation from Romanian into English.

2 On equivalence and other notions of correctness in the translation theory

Ever since the earliest attempts at reflecting on their activity, translators have been interested in the factors that contribute to the realization of a good or well-formed translation (cf. Schäffner 1997, 2–3, Venuti 2000, 5, Imre 2013, 85). Even if this interest has been constant throughout the years, the terms in which the notion of accuracy or correctness has been discussed in the theory of translation vary to a great extent, as they depend on what was understood by translation at a particular time or within a particular approach. Commenting on this aspect, Hermans (1996, 25) notes that the concept of "fidelity," which initially played a central part, was later replaced by "equivalence" as a theoretical and methodological concept in the approaches to translation. Starting with the 1980s, "equivalence" too has been progressively questioned and even rejected, largely in favour of the concept of "norms." A brief presentation of the evolution undergone by the notions denoting correctness in translation will be offered below.

For centuries on end, the accuracy of the translated text was approached in terms of the relation of fidelity or faithfulness existing between a translation and its source. This relation represented a matter of dispute between the supporters of a literal translation, who considered that translators should be consistent with the actual wording of the original text, and those of a free translation, who claimed that the most important element is the content of the source text and the message that it conveys (cf. Venuti 2000, 122, Bassnett 2002, 47, Dimitriu 2006, 41). Initially, this dispute resulted into a vast body of theoretical contributions on the subject of translation, which were not based on any elaborate theoretical perspective. Such contributions were mainly represented by comments made by translators on their own work, as it was the case of the ancient Rome writers, like Cicero and Quintilian, who advocated free translation, or the Bible's first translators, who recommended the word-for-word type of translation (cf. Dimitriu 2006, 42); additionally, there were philosophical reflections on the question of translatability, a relevant example in this respect being Schleiermacher, who, according to Bassnett (2002, 72–3) made, in 1813, a serious attempt at discussing translation on a more theoretical basis.

Starting with the second half of the twentieth century, when translation studies emerged as an academic discipline, translation research and theory started acquiring a more systematic character. As Malmkjær (2018, 15) notes, at that time, many theorists interested in translation or interpreting looked to linguistics for theoretical input, because linguistics was perceived as the most appropriate discipline to inform the study of translation. In this context, translation was considered to be a linguistic phenomenon, a process of transcoding between the two languages in contact, and, consequently, the standards of accuracy and correctness were set in terms of sameness of meaning at the level of the translation units, which was the level of the word or the phrase in the case of the linguistic approaches, and the level of the text, in the case of the textlinguistic approaches. Halverson (1997) points out that the theorists with linguistic orientation addressed various aspects specific to the equivalence relation: some of them aimed at defining the units between which equivalence could be achieved (e.g. Catford 1965, Reiss 1989), while others focused on the qualities which define the nature of the equivalence (e.g. Nida 1964, Koller 1989).

The concept of equivalence started to lose ground once the theorists of the field embraced the idea that translators always deal with a text in a situation and in a culture. This idea was developed, with special focus on the purpose of the text, by the functionalist approaches. The representatives of these approaches (e.g. Vermeer 1989, Nord 1997) consider that the starting point for any translation is not the linguistic structure of the original text, but the purpose (skopos) that the translated text is meant to achieve in the target culture. This is the reason why their view of a correct, adequate translation is related to a somewhat less strictly defined set of criteria than the traditional linguistic ones. The functionalists' target orientation does not imply that the source text has little relevance. On the contrary, Nord argues that the construction of the target text is based on a thorough source-text analysis. The role of this analysis is to guide the translation process by providing "the basis for decisions about (a) the feasibility of the translation assignment, (b) which source-text units are relevant to a functional translation, and (c) which translation strategy will lead to a target-text meeting the requirements of the translation brief." (Nord 1997, 62). This means that the source-text elements must be adapted to the target-language conventions according to the target-text skopos.

If in the linguistic, textlinguistic, and to a certain extent, the functionalist approaches the production of an appropriate translation was generally discussed in close connection to factors such as linguistic correctness and textual conventions, the descriptive translation studies focus on the socio-cultural dimension of the act of translating. The major effect of this focus was that the concept of norms became the new standard of accuracy and correctness.

The concept of translational norms as it is understood in the theory of translation today has been greatly influenced by the contributions made by Toury (1980, 1995) and Hermans (1996). In Toury's (1995, 55) definition, norms represent "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance-instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations." Translation, which is viewed as a norm-governed type of behaviour, has its own norms, and the role of these norms is to help the translator deal with the differing constraints exerted by the source text and language on the one hand, and by the target language and culture, on the other. It can be stated that, according to the descriptive translation studies theorists, the decisions made during the translation process are mainly determined by the translational norms and not only by the two language systems in contact. As Toury (1995, 57) explains, even the various shifts that occur as result of the translation process may be regarded as a type of equivalence that reflects target norms at a certain historical moment. In Halverson's (1997, 216) view, the adoption of a norm-based theory of translation focused the scholars' attention on "regularities of translation behaviour (norms) and the situational/cultural features which may account for these regularities." This fact has proved extremely beneficial especially in the case of translation research, for which it has opened up a series of new possibilities.

As illustrated in the present section, the discussion of the notions denoting translation correctness and well-formedness indicates that, in translation studies, "the focus of conceptual debate is the quality in terms of which the sameness is defined" (Halverson 1997, 209–10). In time, "sameness" evolved from a relation existing between the linguistic formats of the original and its translation to a complex notion that involves linguistic, pragmatic, and cultural factors on both the source and the target sides. But how can equivalence be actually achieved in the practice of translation? Section 3 will try to offer some answers in this respect.

3 Means of achieving translation equivalence

In the discussion of the means by which equivalence can be achieved, I must mention, first of all, the significant contribution made by Venuti (1995), who introduced the key concepts of domestication and foreignization, concepts which denote two opposed translation methods. In Venuti's view, domestication reveals the translators' orientation towards the target culture, entailing the reduction of the foreign text to the target-language cultural values, while foreignization involves their concern for the preservation of the source-culture specificity, resulting in a target variant which registers the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text (Venuti 1995, 20). These two concepts represent essential elements in the practical part of this study, as they set the extremes between which equivalence is discussed in the case of the examples offered there.

Trying to help translators deal with the problems with which they may be faced as part of their work, several theorists have proposed taxonomies of procedures, strategies, or techniques that can be used to this end. Maybe the best-known example in this respect is represented by the seven procedures of translation suggested by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000) on the basis of a comparison of the lexical and syntactic structures of English and French. The procedures in question are: borrowing (which is the simplest translation method and is used mostly for the creation of a stylistic effect), calque (when each of the elements in a borrowed expression are translated literally), literal translation (the word-for-word translation), transposition (the replacement of one word class with another word class), modulation (a variation in the form of the message, due to a change in the point of view), equivalence (or total syntagmatic change, like in the case of idioms, cliches, proverbs, etc.), and adaptation (when the situation referred to by the original message is unknown in the target culture, and therefore, the translator must create an equivalent situation).

The important fact is that the terminology used by Vinay and Darbelnet in the case of these translation procedures has proved to be very influential and has been frequently mentioned in the later literature of the field (for example by Newmark 1981, 1988 or by Chesterman 1997). Thus, Newmark (1988, 45–7) considers that translation methods range across a continuum between the emphasis on source language at one end, and the emphasis on target language at the other, and proposes eight such methods: word-for-word translation (with the strongest emphasis on the source language), literal translation, faithful translation, semantic translation, communicative translation, idiomatic translation, free translation, and adaptation (with the strongest emphasis on the target language). Similarly, Chesterman (1997, 88) claims that strategies are used as solutions for a translation problem related either to the text as a whole or to some segment in it, and consequently, they represent means of conforming to norms. Chesterman (1997, 92) makes a basic distinction between comprehension strategies, on the one hand, which have to do with the whole nature of the translation commission, and production strategies, on the other, which concern the manner in which the translator manipulates the linguistic material to produce an appropriate target text. Focusing on the latter category, Chesterman (1997, 94–112) offers a comprehensive classification of the possible changes to which translators might resort when they are not satisfied with the target variant that immediately comes to their mind. More specifically, he discusses 30 translation strategies that are divided into syntactic strategies (which primarily manipulate form), semantic strategies (which have to do with lexical semantics and with aspects of clause meaning), and pragmatic strategies (which regard the selection of information in the target text).

There have also been theorists who devise classifications related specifically to the treatment of the culture-specific items. Olk (2013, 348–51), for instance, suggests seven categories of procedures, ranking from a foreignizing to a domesticating scale: transference, transference + explicitation, transference + explanation, target-language expression referring to the source culture, neutral explanation, omission, and the substitution of a source-text cultural element by one specific to the target culture. Following the same line which involves maximal distance from the target reader at one end and minimal distance at the opposite end, there is Marco's (2018, 3–4) classification of translation techniques for culture-specific items, including borrowing, which may be pure or naturalized, literal translation, neutralization (under the form of description or generalization/particularization), amplification/compression, intracultural adaptation (the original culture-related item is replaced by another source-culture item which is more familiar to target readers), intercultural adaptation (a target culture item is substituted for the source-text item), and omission.

As we can see, the ways in which the translator can conform to notions of correctness are variously labelled as "procedure," "method," "strategy," and "technique." A thorough attempt to delimit the reference of these terms was made Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002), and, in line with their terminology, I will use the term "techniques" in the sense of operations materializing solutions for certain problematic translation units. More specifically, in my study, techniques represent the analytical tools that allow me to study the manner in which the result of the translation process functions in relation to its corresponding source-text unit. As for the typology of translation techniques used in the process of analysis, it is the one proposed by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002, 509–5011): adaptation, amplification, borrowing, calque, compensation, description, discursive creation, established equivalent, generalization, linguistic amplification, linguistic compression, literal translation, modulation, particularization, reduction, substitution, transposition, and variation.

4 Translating the "untranslatable": A few examples specific to the transfer from Romanian to English

4.1 Methodology

4.1.1 Object of study and sources

As repeatedly stressed in this article, I strongly believe in the concept of translatability and in the possibility of achieving translation equivalence. However, what I also want to stress is that equivalence and, implicitly, translatability cannot be approached and discussed in terms that are generally valid and universally applicable in any type of translation situation, as they depend a lot on a variety of factors imposed not only by the source context, but also by the target one. In an attempt to offer evidence of practical nature, in addition to the theoretical one, in the present section, I will discuss three situations that are considered problematic in the case of the transfer from English into Romanian, and I will illustrate some of the means used by translators to realize this transfer. The three situations refer to the translation of literary texts, of culture-specific items and of idioms, the examples offered here being taken either from research studies that I have previously conducted or from scientific articles written by other researchers interested in such aspects.

4.1.2 Results

4.1.2.1 Literary texts

A first example is that of translating literature, which, undoubtedly, represents a very challenging task for any translator. In fact, it is very likely that the most difficult translation decisions are generally made by the translators working in the field of literature. This happens because, on the one hand, translation represents the main means by which people get to know the work of a foreign writer, and, on the other, the texts produced by such translators will be integrated within the target culture and will inevitably exert a certain influence on it. As a mediator between two literary systems, the translator has to decide in each case on the right balance between the use of the foreignizing techniques, which bring the source culture closer to the target one, and the domesticating techniques, which make the translation sound as if it had been originally written in the target language. In spite of such difficulties, several translators have taken on the chore of dealing with literary texts produced by Romanian writers whose works are considered to be almost untranslatable because of the linguistic features they display, and I will refer here to only two such writers: Ion Luca Caragiale and Ion Creangă.

According to Momescu (2004), the literature created by Caragiale is one of an "internal-use only" type, because it is full of puns, allusions to local events and behaviours that are very difficult to translate. Moreover, in Caragiale's works, language represents an essential means of portraying the characters, because it attests the region from which they come, their social category, and their profession. Consequently, the texts abound in neologisms and dialectal peculiarities that often create a humorous effect. An influential English variant of eleven of Caragiale's sketches and stories was offered, in 1979, by the British Professor Eric Ditmar Tappe, who was specialized in Romanian studies and was very familiar with the Romanian literature and culture. According to Pioariu (2002), the British professor produced a very good translation of Caragiale's works, one which reflects not only the ideas conveyed by the original but also the type of lexical items typically displayed by it. In spite of some losses which are inherent in such an endeavour (for instance, the scarcity of the English variants in comparison to the variety of Romanian lexical items with the same semantic value: *gogoși*, *baliverne*, *absurdități* paralleled only by "nonsense," or *parol*, *nene*, *frate* rendered simply as "really," "old chap," or "old man"), Pioariu (2002) stresses the important contribution made by Tappe in making a great Romanian writer known outside the borders of our country.

As far as Ion Creangă's works are concerned, they reflect the language of the nineteenth century peasantry, being characterized by colloquial speech, regional phonetics, and popular expressions. Pointing to the difficulties raised by the translation of Creangă's (1978) masterpiece *Memories of My Boyhood*, Cenac (2014, 158–159) makes special reference to the author's "use of numerous terms related to rural life and system (such as names of tools belonging to a primitive agricultural system), to coinage, weights and measures, to church service, religious rites, superstitious or social standing." Cenac (2014) notes that, when rendering this multitude of culture-specific items into English, the two translators, Ana Cartianu and R.C. Johnston, resort to techniques that help the target audience understand the original message, preserving, at the same time, the cultural specificity of the source text. Thus, when possible, the Romanian cultural elements are rendered by means of their target language established equivalents, which, for more clarity, are followed by an explanation. Such examples are *Săptămâna Luminată* ("The Enlightened Week" – the week before Easter), *Câneleagă sau săptămâna hârții* ("the Carnival Week" – the week between Christmas and Epiphany when meat is allowed even on the fast days, Wednesdays and Fridays), *a se duce cu plugușorul* ("to take the New Year's plough" – a peasant custom which can be described as follows: a group of children goes from house to house and offers good wishes for the new year), *colivă* ("cornmeal cake" – a dish of boiled grain, honey, and walnuts carried at the head of the funeral procession and later divided among the mourners) (cf. Cenac 2014, 159–60). However, there are numerous culture-loaded terms for which the translators use the foreignizing technique of borrowing, often accompanied by the technique of description. This is the case of words such as *husași*, *sorocovăț*, *mocani*, *mămăligă*, *Moși*, *șezătoare*, *doină*, or *irmilic*, which the translators employ as such in the English variant and add some further explanatory notes (cf. Cenac 2014, 160).

These examples suggest that, in the case of literary texts, any translation technique is appropriate as long as the result is a target variant which reflects its original, but, at the same time, acts as a literary text in its own right. If this sometimes involves preserving the original form of certain words or structures, it does not mean that those lexical elements cannot be translated. As the translator Dana Crăciun explains in an interview conducted by the journalist Carmen Neamţu, translators should not erase any sign of foreignness in a literary translation, because "foreignness, a whiff of otherness does not necessarily mean a bad translation" (Neamțu 2017).

4.1.2.2 Culture-specific items

As pointed out above, among the difficulties pertaining to the translation of literature, an important position is occupied by the culture-related terms. But the use of such terms is certainly not restricted to literary contexts, and consequently, translators of various types of texts are very likely to be faced with the challenge of rendering them into a foreign language. The cultural lexical items present a great diversity and include, among others, terms related to fields such as geography, art, religion, social culture, gastronomy, word denoting types of clothing, objects, and actions specific to a particular cultural context. Irrespective of the translator's level of linguistic knowledge, the culture-loaded lexical items raise problems in the process of transfer into a foreign language, problems which are not determined by the words themselves, but by the realities they denote, that is by the notions, the objects, or the situations which are not part of the target audience's everyday life (Petrehuş 2016, 239).

As a result of globalization, a category of culture-related lexical items which are frequently translated is that of the terms which refer to foods, ingredients, and methods of cooking. This is the reason why I will illustrate the manner in which some terms denoting traditional Romanian dishes are dealt with in the process of transfer from Romanian to English. The examples that I will use are taken from twenty menus offered by restaurants in the Banat region, in the South-West of Romania. Most of these restaurants (eighteen) provide a mixture of dishes from both the Romanian and the international cuisine, and the other two offer exclusively Romanian food. I must mention that the terms discussed below were collected in the context of a larger research study meant to identify the linguistic elements which contribute to the multicultural nature of the menus used in the Romanian restaurants in the Banat region (cf. Cozma, in press).

My analysis revealed that the translators made use of a variety of techniques for achieving equivalence in these texts. Thus, there are relatively few cases in which the translator uses the domesticating technique of the established equivalent. One such example is *mămăligă*/*bulz*, frequently paralleled by the target variant "polenta," which is actually a term of Italian origin. Even if the descriptive English term "boiled cornmeal" could have been used, this solution does not occur in any of the menus under analysis. What sometimes occurs, however, is the variant "maize," which is a generalization, and is not an appropriate translation choice. At the opposite end, the foreignizing technique of borrowing is used for dishes like *mici*/*mititei*, *zacuscă*, *sarmale*, and *Pomana porcului*, which are often preserved as such in the English variants of the menus. Sometimes, the terms denoting such dishes are rendered by combining borrowing with the technique of description: "mici (grilled ground meat rolls)," "zacuscă (traditional Romanian vegetable spread)," "Pomana porcului (traditional Romanian dish)." There are also cases when these traditional dishes are paralleled by English variants based exclusively on the technique of description. Thus, *mici*/*mititei* sometimes occurs only as "minced meat rolls" or as "grilled minced meat rolls." For *sarmale*, we find several variants, such as "stuffed cabbage," "meat rolled in cabbage," or "stuffed cabbage rolls," but I consider that none of these is entirely accurate, and I would suggest "minced meat rolled in cabbage leaves" as a more suitable descriptive equivalent in this case. Similarly, the translation of *Pomana porcului* as "Romanian traditional winter cold platter" does not capture the specific character of this dish, which would be better reflected by the variant "freshly slaughtered pig dish/plate." Far from being restricted to the cases mentioned above, the neutralizing technique of description is quite frequently used for the food names specific to the Romanian cuisine, even if the target variants do not always represent very felicitous translation solutions. A good example in this respect is *papanași*, which registers various English translations in my corpus, ranging from relatively appropriate – e.g. "sweet cheese dumplings" – to rather inaccurate descriptions of this dish: "jam and sour cream doughnuts," "fried dumplings," or "doughnuts with cheese."

I consider that the manner in which the traditional Romanian dishes are rendered into English in the restaurant menus needs more interest and attention from the field of translation research. As already mentioned, food is closely connected to culture, and this does not mean that the food terminology is untranslatable, but that the foreign terms used as equivalents for the Romanian traditional dishes should be carefully selected and should be used consistently in the menus all over the country.

4.1.2.3 Idioms

The third situation that is often associated with the idea that translation equivalence is difficult, if not even impossible, to achieve is the one in which translators are supposed to offer appropriate equivalents for the idioms contained by the source texts. Just like the categories discussed above, these lexical items are also part of the culture-bound linguistic elements, but they are usually dealt with separately due to the particularities that they present. Idioms represent combinations of words whose meanings differ from the literal meanings of the individual words making it up. More exactly, these combinations of words have new semantic values that can be understood only in relation to information and experiences shared by the members of a specific cultural space. Due to the close connection between idioms and the context in which they are used, the idiomatic expressions are often problematic in the process of translation, which means that the translator has to find appropriate techniques to render them into a foreign language. In what follows, I will give some examples of Romanian idioms, which are presented as difficult to understand, and at the same time, as funny, on various websites meant for English-speaking people who either visit Romania or want to learn Romanian (cf. Lektor, Tour in Romania).

In very general terms, the analysis of the manner in which the "problematic" Romanian idioms are rendered into English reveals that, quite frequently, the translator can resort to the domesticating technique of the established equivalent, that is they have the opportunity of using idioms which, even if dissimilar in form, express a similar meaning. A few examples are *a vinde castraveți grădinarului* (literally "to sell cucumbers to the gardener"), which refers to telling someone something that they already know, can be rendered by the English "to preach to the choir"; *la Paștele cailor* (literally "at the horses" Easter), which basically means that something will never happen, can be paralleled by the English "when pigs fly"; *a fi prins cu mâța-n sac* (literally "to be caught with the cat in the bag"), which is used when someone is caught cheating or lying, has the English equivalent "to be caught red handed." In other cases, however, English does not provide idiomatic expressions with a similar semantic value, which does not mean that the Romanian idioms in question are untranslatable, but that other translation techniques must be used. Thus, idioms like the ones illustrated next are rendered by means of lexical structures which describe their meaning: *a o căuta cu lumânarea* (literally "to look for something with a lit candle") is well paralleled by "to be looking for trouble"; *a umbla cu cioara vopsită* (literally "to walk around with the painted crow") can be translated by "to try to fool somebody" or "to try to lie to someone"; *a freca menta* (literally "to rub the mint") basically means "to waste time," "to do something fruitless." or "to be lazy." These examples show that, even if certain particularities of the original idiomatic expression are inevitably lost, their general meaning can be rendered by the use of appropriate translation techniques.

4.2 Interpretation of results

The results presented so far confirm my initial hypothesis, namely that translatability is always possible as long as translators try to establish a relation of equivalence based not only on the linguistic format of the original text but also on a series of factors that have to do with the target context. Such factors might impose the use of domesticating techniques, which adapt the source text to the target-language cultural values and aim at making the translation sound as if it had been originally produced in the target language. My analysis has revealed a preference for such techniques in the case of the Romanian idiomatic expressions, which were rendered, whenever possible, by the English established equivalents. In other cases, the target context might impose the use of foreignizing techniques, especially when the translation was meant to give the target audience "a taste" of the source culture. This has frequently happened in the case of the transfer of various culture-specific items used in literary texts or in restaurant menus originally written in Romanian, which were often preserved as such in the English variant of the text. Moreover, in any of the situations illustrated above, the translator resorted, whenever necessary, to a neutralizing technique like description or generalization, which either accompanied a domesticating/foreignizing technique or replaced it completely.

All these findings point once more to the essential role played by cultural factors in the process of translation. The cultural context in which the translation is produced, on the one hand, and the cultural background of the translator, the cultural specificity of the target audience, as well the intended effect that the translation is meant to create are all elements which influence the translator's choices, and, which inevitably determine the particular linguistic make up of a translated text.

5 Conclusions

The evidence of theoretical and practical nature presented in this article supports the idea that translation equivalence is a relative concept, because not all theorists and practitioners of this field use the same criteria in judging or in applying it. For some of them, it is crucial to render the source-text information with exactness, others aim at preserving the style of the original author, while others take into account the socio-cultural context of the target language. What translators must be aware of is that the type of equivalence relation that they are supposed to achieve is very much dependent on the specific features of each translation situation. The identification of the potential translation problems in correlation with the features of the translation situation is essential for the subsequent selection of the appropriate techniques, and for their effective application during the translation process.

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TRANSLATION ERRORS ACROSS GENRES: A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *Even if there may be types of translation errors which have a rather general character, in most of the cases they are closely related to the genre that the text to be translated represents. The paper offers an analysis of the translation errors contained by the assignments of 30 MA students in Translation Studies from the West University of Timisoara, Romania. The assignments consist in the translation from English into Romanian of texts belonging to three different genres: travel guides, legislation, and medical case reports. The errors are analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, with a view to arriving at conclusions of relevance for the improvement of the training process.*
Keywords: *functionalist approach, genre, translation error, translator training*

1. Introduction

The basic purpose of any translator training programme is that of providing the students with a level of knowledge and skills which is likely to ensure their status as professionals on today's globalized translation market. During the training activity, errors must be given special attention by the trainer, because they are closely related to the actual manifestation of the translation competence, as it will be detailed later in this paper. In other words, teachers are supposed create an atmosphere in which translation errors are regarded as essential learning steps, because they point, on the one hand, to the problems with which the translator may be confronted in a certain situation of translation, and, on the other, to the appropriate behavior that he/ she should adopt in order to avoid or to solve them.

The starting point of the present endeavor is represented by the assumption that, if the trainee translators have an appropriate representation of the concept of translation error, they are more likely to employ techniques meant to avoid errors, by rationalizing their decision-making processes in an objective way, and, in close relation to that, by acquiring the ability to discuss translations in an objective manner. Moreover, knowledge and awareness of the level of expectations to which their work must rise on the real translation market would certainly get future translators closer to the status of professionals in that field.

It stands to reason that the manner in which translator trainers approach errors during the training process will exert a major influence on the way in which their students relate to this concept. But how can translation teachers actually help the trainees perceive the concept of error as a tool which proves to be useful not only during the formal training itself, but also beyond it? It is obvious that the answer to this question is very complex and it has to do with the quality of the climate that the teacher creates in relation to the whole process of evaluation. However, in this paper, I will focus on two courses of action that translator trainers can follow in this respect. Firstly, the trainer should make it clear to the students what a translation error represents in the context of professional translator training, especially in contrast to the concept of error in foreign language learning, a concept which, almost surely, dominated their perception on evaluation for many years. Secondly, the translation teacher should involve the trainees in activities which point to the close relation between error and the genre to which the target text belongs. These two aspects will be discussed in detail in what follows, taking into account both theoretical and research data.

2. The concept of translation error in professional translator training

The view which is offered by the foreign language teaching methodology – a view which, unfortunately, is sometimes applied in the case of translator training, too – is generally focused on the word or phrase as an isolated unit and mainly takes into account the student's competence as a foreign language learner. The problem is that this type of evaluation heavily penalizes the cases in which the grammatical rules are ignored or the basic vocabulary is not known, but does not take very much into account the communicative function that words and phrases are meant to fulfill in the particular passage, text, situation and culture in which they are used.

Being aware of these shortcomings, the representatives of the functionalist approaches to translation propose a professional translator's perspective on errors and evaluation, a perspective centered on the communicative function that a particular phrase and utterance is supposed to achieve in a given situation. Thus, if in the foreign language teaching pedagogy, the translation error is perceived as a deviation from a system of norms or rules, in functionalism it is defined in terms of the purpose of the translation process or product. In this context, inadequacy is no longer considered as a feature inherent in a particular expression, but as a feature ascribed to that expression from an evaluator's point of view. Consequently, it is suggested that the deviation from a grammatical rule or the distortion of meaning must be seen within the text as a whole and in close relation to other elements, such as the translation assignment and the translation recipients.

Christiane Nord, one of the main proponents of functionalism, defines translation error in the following terms: "If the purpose of a translation is to achieve a particular function for the target addressee, anything that obstructs the achievement of this purpose is a translation error" (Nord 1997: 74). It is obvious that errors are not defined on intrinsic criteria such as correctness, but are identified by the recipient in relation to features of the translation that do not meet a given standard. More specifically, a translation error occurs when the recipient's expectations are frustrated because the translator has failed to follow the task instructions in some way. In Nord's (1997) view, such a definition of errors is useful for the translator trainer in that s/he can formulate the translation brief in such a way that even the students with a more modest linguistic competence can fulfill the task. As she illustrates, the translation brief may state that the target text will be revised stylistically by a native speaker, in which case certain grammatical and lexical mistakes can be tolerated as long as they do not block comprehension. At the same time, if the students do not know exactly the situation for which they are translating, they will completely focus on the surface structures of the source text, thus being more likely to make various translation mistakes (Nord 1997:74).

It seems, therefore, that a clear formulation of the translation brief is of central importance for the achievement of high-quality work in professional translator training. First of all, the students are supposed to compare the translation brief with the results of the source-text analysis. In this way, they will identify the various translation problems raised by the text in question, and, then, will try to find appropriate solutions. It is the adequacy or inadequacy of the solutions offered by the trainee translators that represents the basis for the evaluation of a target text. During the process of evaluation, translation errors can be categorized, in close relation to the translation problems, as: *pragmatic translation errors*, caused by inadequate solutions to pragmatic translation problems such as the lack of receiver orientation; *cultural translation errors*, due to an inadequate decision with regard to the adaptation of culture specific conventions; *linguistic translation errors*, caused by an inadequate translation in the case of language structures; and *text-specific translation errors*, which are related to a text-specific problem and can usually be evaluated from a functional or pragmatic perspective (cf. Nord 1997: 75-76).

Another representative of the functionalist approaches to translation, Paul Kussmaul (1995), supports the same idea: in professional translator training, the evaluator should take into account the communicative function of a particular word, phrase or sentence. In this context, the distortion of meaning or the ignorance of grammatical rules must be considered within the text as a whole and in relation to the translation assignment and the receptors of the translation. Like Nord, Kussmaul refers to the interrelation between detecting errors and noticing problems, and considers that the analysis of the problematic text passages should form the basis for the teachers' evaluation of their students' translations. He discusses the following categories for evaluation: the *cultural adequacy* of the translated text, its *situational adequacy*, the various *speech acts* that it contains, the *meaning of its words*, and its *grammatical accuracy* (Kussmaul 1995: 130-145).

It seems, therefore, that, in the functionalists' view, the translator trainer is no longer interested in finding out the source of a student's mistake (as it happens in the case of foreign language teaching), but is only interested in the effect that the error has on the target reader. But, as suggested earlier, this is not a very easy task for the teachers who want to objectively evaluate their students' translation mistakes, because, in each individual case, they must ask themselves: What are the effects produced by that particular error? Does it affect the meaning of a sentence, of a passage, or of the whole text? Does it distort communication in any way, or does it weaken the psychological effect? In other words, as Kussmaul (1995: 130) explains, teachers must be aware that, in certain situations, what seems to be a simple semantic error may actually distort the meaning of the whole sentence, or even the whole text, and that they are supposed to approach these errors accordingly.

This perspective on errors and evaluation is in line with an idea which was very much emphasized by the functionalist approaches to translation, namely that the professional translator training should produce a new understanding of the translator's task. A learning context in which the students are faced with an ideal situation and are offered the linguistic tools meant to help them in any kind of circumstances is not of great help in this respect. Instead, the translator training process should try to reproduce various real-life situations whose role is to turn the students into professionals. During this process, if the students are made aware of the criteria that their translations must meet in order to be considered functionally appropriate by the evaluator, they will gradually learn to take responsibility for their own work.

3. A competence-based approach to translation errors

One of the most important conclusions revealed by the previous section is that, in professional translator training, the concept of translation error goes far beyond instances of breaking rules of grammar, or incorrect renderings of semantic and stylistic features of the texts to be translated. This happens because, as mentioned in the Introduction, there is a close relation between translation errors and the concept of translation competence, which, in very general terms, can be defined as a complex of knowledge and skills that a person needs in order to be able to translate well. More specifically, my conviction is that an error occurs when there is a failure in the manifestation of the translation competence, an idea also expressed by other theorists and researchers in the field of translation studies, such as Hatim (2001) or Martinez Melis and Hurtado Albir (2001). Consequently, identifying the exact elements which make up the general competence of the translator might represent a good starting point for the categorization of the possible errors made by the future translators.

The problem is that the field of translation studies does not provide a unitary view on the concept of translation competence, because ever since the beginnings of this discipline, there have been

numerous attempts at naming and defining this concept, as well as at identifying its sub-types and organizing them into comprehensive models. Such models were proposed either by individual researchers, such as Bell (1991), Hatim and Mason (1997), Neubert (2000), or in the context of research projects like PACTE (Process in the Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation), carried out at Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona (PACTE 2003) and EMT (European Master's in Translation), funded by the European Commission (EMT 2009).
Since my intention in this study is not to clarify the concept of translation competence, but to make it useful in the context of translator training, I will focus only on those sub-competencies that can be clearly correlated with the errors present in my students' translations. Starting from the various sub-constituents of the translation competence proposed by the models mentioned above, and in close connection to the functionalist approaches to error discussed in section 2, I have designed a set of 18 criteria for identifying translation errors that can be used in the context of professional translator training. These criteria are divided into 5 broad categories, which correspond to the areas of competence that the various translation errors may regard. The criteria in the categories from 1 to 4 are formulated from the perspective of the translation product, while category number 5 involves the perspective of the translation process:

NO.	AREA OF COMPETENCE	CRITERIA
1.	LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE	- grammar (e.g. tenses, agreement, choice of word class, word formation, etc.) - general words and word combinations (collocations, set expressions) - mechanics (spelling, punctuation, capital letters)
2.	CULTURAL ADEQUACY	- treatment of culturally-embedded words and phrases - respecting the target conventions for the genre to which the translation belongs - appropriate and consistent use of officially accepted target language terminology
3.	DISCOURSAL ADEQUACY	- cohesion and coherence (e.g. correct use of connectives, pronouns, lexical reiteration, lexical chains, etc.) - style and register (e.g. figurative meanings, formal vs. informal register, etc.) - structure awareness (at the level of text, paragraph, sentence)
4.	METHODOLOGICAL ABILITY	- the translation is either too free or too literal - omissions - additions - distorted message - indecision (e.g. several synonyms) - miscopied figures or names
5.	PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE	- observing the instructions given in the translation task - ability to justify the translation decisions - use of various documentation and technological resources

Table 1. Criteria for identifying translation errors

This set of criteria is partly based on the checklist of translation assessment resulted from earlier research (cf. Cozma 2013), a checklist which was further improved and developed. I must stress that, in line with the functionalists' view on translation assessment, the importance of each of these criteria does not have an absolute nature, as it may depend on the particular skill or area of expertise that the translation teacher intends to highlight at a particular stage of the training process. Thus, it is possible that criteria regarding linguistic knowledge may weigh more at the beginning of the instructional process, while, towards its end, the criteria regarding professional expertise should become predominant.

4. Translation errors across genres: a research study

After pointing to the specific character of the error in the context of translator training, and after establishing a set of criteria for identifying the translation errors, in what follows I will use the information revealed so far with a view to determining the relationship between translation and genre. To that purpose, I will discuss the findings yielded by the analysis of the errors contained by the translation portfolios prepared by 30 students in the MA of Theory and Practice of Translation offered by the West University of Timisoara, Romania, portfolios which contain the translations from English into Romanian of texts belonging to three different genres: travel guides, legislation, and medical case reports.

4.1. Research methodology

The students were required to prepare a portfolio including the English into Romanian translations of six texts belonging to three different genres: two online travel guides (one presenting the advantages of visiting London as a family and one advertising three Italian road trips), two texts belonging to the European legislation, and two medical case reports from the field of cardiology. Each genre is represented by texts which are comparable from the point of view of their length, having about 1500 words. The task of the students was to translate those texts as if they were to be included in the Romanian variant of the journal or of the site from which the source was taken. This means that the communicative function and the intended audience of the target texts were similar to those of the originals. The students did not provide their translations anonymously, but their names are not revealed in the discussion of the research findings. The source of the examples offered in this paper is indicated by means of a code consisting of two letters and a number from 1 to 30: the letters indicate the genre to which the target text belongs (TG = travel guides, EU = European legislation, and MR = medical case reports), while the number identifies the portfolio including that particular translation. The identification of the linguistic forms which can be labelled as translation errors was made by two teachers with a long experience (14 years and 11 years) in the field of translator training.
I must mention that the criteria that I used in the analysis of the translation errors are only those formulated from the perspective of the translation product, namely those related to the areas of linguistic knowledge, cultural adequacy, discoursal adequacy, and methodological ability. The decision to restrict my analysis to these criteria has two main justifications: on the one hand, it is my conviction that the level of the translator's competence is very well reflected by the quality of the target text, while, on the other, there is the fact that the data collected in this way can be easily used for training purposes. This does not mean that the fifth category of criteria, the professional expertise, which involves the perspective of the translation process, cannot be used in the context of translator training. In fact, it represents the starting point for further research, as it will be explained later.

4.2. Findings

For a detailed view on the problem of translation error across genres, the interpretation of the data provided by my subjects is made in both quantitative and qualitative terms. From a quantitative perspective, the study aims at identifying the frequency registered by a certain type of translation error across the three genres under analysis. The percentages corresponding to the error types revealed by my students' translations are presented synthetically in the table below:

AREA OF	TYPES OF ERRORS	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSLATION ERRORS

COMPETENCE		TRAVEL GUIDES	EU LEGAL TEXTS	MEDICAL CASE REPORTS
LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE	- grammar	2 %	2 %	2 %
	- lexical items	15 %	11 %	14 %
	- mechanics	3 %	2 %	1 %
CULTURAL ADEQUACY	- cultural items	27 %	2 %	8 %
	-genre conventions	7 %	21 %	4 %
	- terminology	cf. cultural items	10 %	24 %
DISCOURSAL ADEQUACY	- cohesion and coherence	2 %	13 %	2 %
	- style and register	7 %	2 %	6 %
	-structure awareness	5 %	16 %	13 %
METHODO-LOGICAL ABILITY	- too free or literal	14 %	5 %	7 %
	- omissions	13 %	5 %	2 %
	- additions	-	2 %	2 %
	-distorted message	2 %	9 %	15 %
	- indecision	3 %	-	-
	-miscopied elements	-	-	-

Table 2. The percentage representation of the various types of translation errors

In qualitative terms, the various categories of errors are illustrated with relevant examples revealed by the translations of the genre texts under analysis. I must mention that the examples basically belong to those categories which have registered a high frequency. Additionally, I will also offer examples of error types which, even if not so frequent, are worth mentioning due to the effect that they have on the quality of the target text.

4.2.1. Translation errors in travel guides

In the case of the travel guides, most of the errors made by my subjects involve the inappropriate treatment of the cultural items (27 %), which coincide with the terminology of the field to which the two texts belong. In the case of the text about London, the cultural items are represented, in the vast majority of cases, by names of tourist destinations. A correct translation solution for the London destinations is represented by the use of their Romanian official equivalents. Instead of that, some of the students decided to preserve the English names of the places in question: e.g. "to visit … the *Science Museum* and *The Natural History Museum*" – "pentru a vizita … *Science Museum* și *The Natural History Museum*" (TG8, TG17, TG 26). In some cases, it was obvious that my subjects had no idea about the name of the place referred to in the original text and the preservation of the English variant was perceived as an easy translation solution: e.g. "to visit the *V&A*" – "pentru a vizita *V&A*" (TG23). This Romanian translation is very likely to be confusing for the target readers, who would need some extra information in this case (for example, "V&A, Muzeul Victoria și Albert"). There were also situations when my subjects tried to translate names that are better left in their original form: e.g. "in a roomy apartment at *Native Hyde Park*" – "într-un apartament spațios la *Parcul Nativilor Hyde*" (TG13). The preservation of the original name, to which the explicitation element "hotelul" is added (that is, "Hotelul Native Hyde Park") is clearly a more felicitous translation solution that was used by numerous subjects (e.g. TG4, TG18, TG24).

In the the text about Italy, the errors are related to the manner of treating other types of culture-bound elements, such as "*trattorias*" – "*restaurante*" (TG5, TG13, TG27)/ "*localuri*" (TG20) or "*biscotti*" – "*biscuiți*" (TG2, TG5, TG10, TG18, TG22, TG27, etc.)/ "*fursecuri*" (TG9, TG28). Since the role of these Italian terms in the original guide is that of introducing the reader into the atmosphere of the region presented there, the translator should try to produce a similar effect in the Romanian variant of the text. Consequently, the preservation of these terms, maybe accompanied by an explanatory phrase, represent good translation solutions in this case: "trattorias, restaurantele sale specifice" (TG19) or "biscotti, celebrii biscuiți italienești" (TG16).

A high percentage (15 %) is also registered by the errors involving the use of the more general lexical items. This category of errors is illustrated, on the one hand, by Romanian words which fail to render the meaning of the original lexical items: e.g. "hire a *pedalo*" – "a închiria un *pedalier*" (TG28), "check out the mighty, rainforest-like Palm House and climb the … staircase to look down over the *canopy*" – "vizitați Casa de Palmieri, asemănătoare cu pădurile tropicale și urcați scara ... pentru a privi în jos peste *baldachin*" (TG26), "*road trip*" - "*excursie*" (3)/ "*călătorie*" (16)/ "*drumeție*" (17). On the other hand, the errors involve inappropriate combinations of words as translation solutions for the collocations contained by the English original text: e.g. "to *have a picnic*" – "pentru *a avea un picnic*" (TG13), "while *absorbing* educational *stories*" – "în timp ce *acumulează povești* educative" (TG5), "fields … that *line the roads*" – "câmpii … care *întind drumurile*" (TG25).

Two categories of errors which have to do with the sphere of the methodological ability present similar percentages: too free or literal (14 %) and omissions (13 %). The texts under analysis provide numerous instances of translations which are too literal, and which tend to produce a rather humorous effect: e.g. "leaving you *child-free*" – "lăsându-vă *fără copii*" (TG6), "you can start by *hopping* on a double decker bus" – "puteți începe prin *a sări* într-un autobuz …" (TG23). Similarly, some examples of translations which omit relevant information from the source text are: "a *year-round* wonderland of sensory attractions" – "o zonă minunată de atracții senzoriale _ " (TG9), "home to *realistic* wax works" – "casa figurilor de ceară _ " (TG11).

In the area of the discoursal adequacy, the errors are mainly related to the criterion of style and register (7 %) and to that of structure awareness (5 %). In the case of the errors of style and register, the translations either fail to render the figurative meaning inherent in the original formulation: e.g. "London *is overflowing with* …" – "Londra *e plină de* …" (TG2, TG11, TG30), or are too informal in comparison to the English variant: e.g. "*Cram* in some more culture" – *Umpleți-vă capul* cu și mai multă cultură" (TG8)/ "*Înghesuiți-vă* să aflați mai multe informații culturale" (TG21). Some Romanian variants reveal the translators' lack of structure awareness: e.g. "at Madame Tussauds, home to … wax works" – "la casa Doamnei Tussauds …" (TG26), "meandering roads" – "drumuri meandre" (TG30).

Errors regarding the translator's observance of the genre conventions are also present in my students' translations (7 %), but are mainly restricted to cases of rendering the English verbs in the Imperative mood by Romanian similar forms in the 2nd person singular instead of the polite 2nd person plural: e.g. "*Disembark* and *head* to Tower Bridge" – "*Debarchează* și *pornește* către Podul Londrei" (TG21, TG29), "*cruise* past crumbling monasteries" – "*treci* pe lângă mănăstiri în ruină" (TG1, TG14).

In the case of the errors with a lower representation (3 % and below), I only want to offer a few examples. Firstly, there are the errors caused by indecision (3 %), which are worth mentioning because, as Table 2 shows, they occur only in the texts representing this particular genre: e.g. "a surprisingly *good* playground" – "un loc de joacă *bun/ favorabil*" (TG14), "connecting all nine *decks*" – "care leagă toate cele nouă *punți/ etaje*" (TG6). Secondly, I will illustrate a few errors related to the use of the mechanics (3 %), because, again, they have an even lower representation in the other two genres: e.g. "a 3-minute walk" – "o plimbare de 3-minute" (TG22), "Guests aged six and over can dress up …" – "Oaspeții în vârstă de 6 ani și peste*,* se pot îmbrăca..." (TG24). Finally, another error type which is rare in all the genres under analysis is that related to grammar (2 %), like the one in this example: "Hintze Hall*'s* ceiling" – "tavanul Hintze Hall" (TG3), where the translator failed to render in Romanian the relationship of possession expressed by the original noun phrase.

4.2.2. Translation errors in EU legal texts

In the two EU texts that my subjects translated from English into Romanian, the errors characterized by the highest percentage are those which involve some disregard of the genre conventions (21 %). Most of these mistakes are caused by the translators' lack of knowledge concerning the standardized expressions and formulations which are closely related to the stereotypical character of any type of legal discourse. Some examples in this respect are: "*having regard to*" – "*în concordanță cu*" (EU4)/ "*cu referire la*" (EU10), "*terms and conditions*" – "*modalitățile și condițiile*" (EU10)/ "*termenii și circumstanțele*" (EU21), "*has adopted this regulation*" – "*a adoptat legea*" (EU19)/ "*a adoptat următorul regulament*" (EU30). In such cases, the correct translation is the one which displays linguistic forms which are used in the legal texts originally written in Romanian, and which represent the norm for this genre: "având în vedere", "termenii și condițiile", "adoptă prezentul regulament". Other mistakes related to the genre conventions involve the mistranslation of the modal verb *shall*, which represents the norm for expressing the obligatory character of the law in English: e.g. "the amounts described in Article 2 *shall be transferred*" – "sumele indicate în articolul 2 *trebuie transferate*" (EU1), "any interest … *shall be calculated* on a daily basis" – "dobânzile … *trebuie calculate* zilnic" (EU8). The norm for the Romanian documents of this type is represented by verbs in the Present Tense of the Indicative Mood, so the correct forms for the examples above are "se transferă" and "se calculează". The disregard for the genre conventions was also illustrated by the manner in which reference is made to various parts of the legal document(s): e.g. "*Article 2(2)*" – "*articolul 2(2)*" (EU2, EU8, EU20), "*Article 36(2)*" – "*articolul 36(2)*" (EU2, EU8, EU20, EU25). The norm for the cases illustrated above is "*articolul 2 alineatul (2))*" and "*articolul 36 alineatul (2)*".

Another type of errors with a high frequency in the Romanian variants of the EU texts is related to the translators' lack of structure awareness (16 %). Due to the structural complexity characterizing the texts of any legal genre (e.g. Bhatia 1993), the translators of such texts must pay great attention to the manner in which the corresponding target variants are formulated, because, otherwise, the results might be at least confusing, if not meaningless for the target reader, like in these examples: "To this effect, each NCB shall, by virtue of this Article and without the need for any further formality or act, be deemed to have either transferred or received with effect from 1 January 2019 the share in the ECB's subscribed capital ..." – "În acest scop, fiecare BCN, în temeiul prezentului articol și fără a mai fi necesară nici o altă formalitate sau act, se consideră că au fost fie transferate, fie primite cu efect de la 1 ianuarie 2019, cota din capitalul subscris al BCE …" (EU23), "The fishing quota allocated to the Member State referred to in the Annex to this Regulation for the stock referred to therein for 2018 shall be deemed to…" – "Cota de pescuit alocată Statelor Membre la care se face referire în anexa acestei legi pentru rezerve cu referire la aceasta pentru 2018 este considerată …" (EU27)/ "Cota de pescuit alocată anului 2018, a Statului Membru menționat în Anexa la prezentul regulament pentru stocul raportat în aceeași anexă se consideră…" (EU29).

The same feature of structural complexity, on the one hand, and the students' lack of experience with this type of texts, on the other, can be considered as possible sources of the translation errors related to cohesion and coherence, which, as Table 2 shows, are characterized by a relatively high percentage (13 %) as compared to the translations belonging to the other two genres. The failure to render the connections between the various sentence elements in a logical and appropriate manner has led to target text formulations which are ambiguous: e.g. "for transfers of capital *shares* … in order to ensure that the distribution of *these shares* corresponds to …" – "de transfer al *cotelor* de capital … pentru a se asigura că distribuția *acestor acțiuni* corespunde …" (EU10), "it shall be prohibited to retain on board … fish from that stock caught by *those vessels*" – "se interzice menținerea la bord … a peștelui din respectivul stoc capturat de _ *nave*" (EU22). In the first example, the source of the ambiguity is represented by the fact that the translator rendered the noun “shares” by two different Romanian words in the context of the same sentence, while in the second one, the problem is that the translator ignored the demonstrative “those” and, as a consequence, the noun “nave” has acquired a very general meaning.

The correct use of the lexical items, be they general or specialized, has proved to be problematic in the texts belonging to this genre. Thus, the errors related to the terminology of the field (10 %) are caused by the subjects’ failure to use the Romanian established equivalents for a series of terms which belong either to the EU domain, or to the field to which the law in question applies: e.g. “*Regulation*” – “*reglementare*” (EU8)/ “*lege*” (EU27) instead of “regulament”, “*rules*” – “*legi*” (EU14) instead of “norme”**,** “*paragraph 1*” – “*paragraful 1*” (EU17) instead of “alineatul (1)”**,** “*shares*” – “*acțiuni*” (EU10)/ “*pondere*” (EU29), instead of “cote”, “*capital key*” – “*grilă de capital*” (EU13), instead of “grilă de repartiție pentru capital”. The words and the word combinations of general use also represented the source of numerous errors (11 %) in the texts under analysis: e.g. “*prohibiting ... activities*” – “*interdicția activităților*” (EU26), “the amount of the ECB's *capital* that each NCB shall *pay up*” – “valoarea *capitalului* BCE pe care fiecare BCN o *plătește*” (EU28).

Finally, I will refer to the errors which have to do with the translator’s methodological ability, which are relatively numerous in the EU texts under analysis. The translator’s failure to render the relationships between the various elements of the original utterance in an appropriate manner at the level of the target text is also responsible for the numerous instances of distorted message (9 %). A few examples in this respect are: “the latest available marginal interest rate“ – “ultima rată marginală disponibilă a dobânzii” (EU13) (instead of “cea mai recentă rată a dobânzii marginale disponibilă”) and “using the actual-over-360-day method of calculation” – “utilizând metoda reală de peste 360 de zile de calcul” (EU14)/ “prin aplicarea metodei de calcul cu 360 de zile” (EU26) (instead of “metoda de calcul <număr de zile/360>”). The message is also distorted in some cases of omission (5 %): e.g. “according to the information *received by* the Commission” – “conform informațiilor _ Comisiei” (EU5), “for *ensuring* compliance with the rules” – “cu scopul de a _ respecta reglementările“ (EU25). The same percentage (5 %) is registered by the instances when the translation is too free or literal. One example in this respect is: “*flying the flag* of Greece” – “*care navighează sub steagul* Greciei” (EU5), which represents a relatively free rendering of a collocation whose equivalent should be “a arbora pavilionul“. Another example is: “Council Regulation … *establishing* a Union control system” – Regulamentul Consiliului … *stabilind* un sistem de control al Uniunii” (EU17), where the English participle is literally rendered by a Romanian form with a similar value, which, however, sounds awkward in this context.

4.2.3. Translation errors in medical case reports

In the medical case reports, the most numerous errors are clearly those related to the terminology of the field (24 %). The examples offered here are illustrative of the cases in which the subjects resorted to a translation solution which is erroneous simply because it differs from the word or the word combination available in Romanian for the same concept: e.g. “*files* of patients” – “*fișiere* de pacienți” (MR4, MR21), instead of “fișe medicale/ foi de observație”, “*echocardiography*” – “*Eco cardiogramă*” (MR18), instead of “cardiografie”, “*Student’s t-test*” – “*testul-t al studenților*” (MR2, MR8, MR25), instead of “testul t Student”, “*heart failure*” – “*deficiența inimii*” (MR4), instead of “insuficiență cardiacă”, “*ejection fraction*” – “*fracționarea ejectoare*” (MR14), instead of “fracția de ejectare”, “*control subjects*” – “*subiecții controlați*” (MR19, MR23), instead of “subiecții de control/ din grupul de control”.

The very specialized character of the medical case reports is also responsible for the high percentage (14 %) of errors regarding the lexical items of general character present in these texts: e.g. "*systemic*" – "*sistematică*" (MR28), "global *burden* of ... deaths" – "*povara* globală de decese" (MR1), "rheumatic *disease* which *occured*" – "boli reumatice care *au avut loc*" (MR11), "the *patient* was *awake* and *oriented*" - "*pacientul* a fost *trezit* și *instruit*" (MR6). In such cases, the translator has to deal with words and collocations which, even if not specific to the medical field, are, still, rather rare in the everyday language use.

Another linguistic feature of the medical texts, namely the complexity which often characterizes their noun phrases, can be considered responsible for the numerous translation errors involving distorted message (15 %). The following examples illustrate the manner in which the meaning is affected if the translator changes the originally intended relations between the various constituents of the noun phrase: "*preoperative risk stratification model*" – "*model de stratificare a riscului preoperator*" (MR20), instead of "model stratificat de risc preoperator", "*carotid artery intima media thickness measurement*" – "*măsurare cu ultrasunete a grosimii intime medii a carotidei*" (MR9), instead of: "măsurare cu ultrasunete a grosimii medii a intimei arterei carotide".

A relatively high percentage is also registered by the errors of structure awareness (13 %): e.g. "the thrombus was partially dislocated … *by the inferior vein cannula*" – "trombul a fost dislocat … parțial *de o canulare venoasă inferioară*" (MR18), instead of "prin canularea venei inferioare", "we *sought to determine* the clinical outcomes … *and to assess* whether …" – "*am solicitat determinarea* rezultatelor clinice … *și să ne dăm seama* dacă …" (MR5), instead of "am solicitat determinarea rezultatelor clinic … și evaluarea posibilității ca ….", "*study design and setting*" – "*studiul de proiectare și stabilire*" (MR16), instead of "descrierea/ structura și cadrul studiului". Lack of structure awareness can also lead to methodological errors which involve a very literal rendering of the original text elements (7 %): e.g. "*GDM mothers*" – "*mame DZG*" (MR10), instead of "mame cu DZG/ diabet zaharat gestațional", "*CVD deaths*" – "*decese BCV*" (MR2), instead of "decese cauzate de BCV/ boli cardio-vasculare", "*intensive care*" – "*îngrijire intensă*" (MR26), instead of "terapie intensivă".

In addition to the wrong use of terminology, the errors in the area of cultural adequacy are also related to the treatment of the cultural items (8 %). Such mistakes generally involve inappropriate translation solutions for the names of medical institutions or organizations used in the English texts. Quite frequently, these names are preserved in their original forms, instead of being replaced by the official Romanian equivalents: e.g. "Centre in *Sub-Saharan Africa*" – "centru ... din *Sub-Saharan Africa*" (MR30), "guidelines from the *American Heart Association*" – "directivele din partea *American Heart Association*" (MR13, MR22, MR27). There are instances when the translators do offer Romanian equivalents, but they are not correct either, being combined with errors from other areas of competence, such as ommission: e.g. "*European Society of Cardiology and European Respiratory Society*" – "*Societatea Europeană de Cardiologie și Respiratorie*" (MR3), or lack of structure awareness: e.g. "St Elizabeth Catholic General Hospital Cardiac Centre" – "Spitalul General Centrul de Cardiologie a Spitalului St Elizabeth" (MR17).

Finally, I will illustrate a few errors regarding style and register (6 %), which are caused by the use of lexical items that, even if correct in meaning, are too informal for the category of texts in which they are used: e.g. "*collapse*" – "*leșin*" (MR17, MR29), while the more appropriate variant would be "lipotimie", "kidney *injury*" – "*vătămarea* rinichilor" (MR14), instead of the more appropriate "lezarea/ traumatizarea rinichilor".

4.3. Discussion of research findings

Both the quantitative and the qualitative findings regarding the translation errors made by my subjects in the case of the three types of genre texts under analysis support the idea representing the starting point of this study, namely that errors are closely related to the genre in which the translator is working. I will just mention here the most important results.

In a genre whose texts make extensive use of concepts which are very deeply rooted in the culture in which they were created (cf. travel guides), it is very likely to have numerous errors derived from the inappropriate treatment of the cultural items. A genre with a very conventionalized character (cf. the EU legislation) will most probably raise translation problems related to the genre conventions: if these conventions are not respected, they will certainly turn into sources of translation errors. In a genre with a very specialized character (cf. medical case reports), it should come as no surprise that the incidence of the errors depends, to a very large extent, on the manner in which the translator deals with the terminology of the field.

I want to stress that the findings that emerged from my analysis are valid for the English into Romanian translation of the respective texts. A proof in this respect is the low percentage registered by the grammatical mistakes in all the three genres focused on in my study. If the starting point of the translation process were represented by Romanian travel guides, EU texts and medical case reports, I am sure that the grammatical errors present in the subjects' English translations would be more numerous, and, therefore, all the other percentages representing the subjects' translation errors would be somehow different. This means that the translator trainer must take into account the fact that translation errors depend not only on the genre, but also on the source language – target language pair in use at a particular moment of the teaching process.

Finally, I want to refer to the relevance that the findings of my study have with regard to the development of the translator's competence. The relation between the errors revealed by my subjects' translations and the areas of competence involving the perspective of the translation product are presented in the table below:

AREA OF COMPETENCE	**PERCENTAGE OF TRANSLATION ERRORS**		
	TRAVEL GUIDES	**EU LEGAL TEXTS**	**MEDICAL CASE REPORTS**
LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE	20 %	15 %	17 %
CULTURAL ADEQUACY	34 %	33 %	36 %
DISCOURSAL ADEQUACY	14 %	31 %	21 %
METHODO-LOGICAL ABILITY	32 %	21 %	26 %

Table 3. Translation errors in relation to the four areas of competence

It is obvious that, no matter the percentage representing a certain category of errors, the training process should be based on a balanced approach, in which future translators are involved in activities addressing all the areas of competence. One of the findings revealed by my research study, namely that, sometimes, the translation errors belong to more than one category, represents one more argument for an integrated approach. However, the quantitative results of my study also suggest that certain areas of competence deserve special attention during the training process, as I will explain below.

One such area of competence is that of the cultural adequacy, because, in all the three genres under analysis, the various types of cultural errors rank first among the overall translation mistakes made by my subjects. What varies, however, from one genre to another is the frequency registered by the various types of cultural errors identified in the students' translations. Thus, if in the travel guides, most of the cultural errors involve the treatment of the cultural items, in the EU texts, the highest percentage of such mistakes is represented by cases of disregarding genre conventions, while in the medical case reports, cultural errors are mainly related to the use of the specific terminology. This points to the important role played by the activities meant to develop the translator's cultural sub-competence, and, at the same time, to the necessity that these activities should also focus on the specific character that the cultural problems present from one genre to another.

Another area of competence which represents the source of numerous translation errors is the methodological ability. In fact, the translator's methodological ability, which has to do with all the operations which ensure the transfer from the source language text to the target language one, is considered to be the sub-competence which is most specific to the activity of translation, and which integrates all the other sub-competences (cf., for example, Schäffner 2000: 148). It is obvious, therefore, that the training process must make future translators aware of the manner in which the various omissions, additions, indecisions, or message distortions will affect the quality of the target text. This purpose can be achieved, for instance, by activities which require the future translators to use various documentation and technological resources, or to justify the translation decisions they have already made. Such activities can also be used in the context of a possible extension of the present research study, one which adopts the perspective of the translation process and focuses on the subjects' professional expertise, with a view to finding some explanations for the errors contained by the portfolios analyzed so far.

5. Conclusion

The main idea put forward by this paper is that, in professional translator training, the assessment of the students' work has a role which consists in much more than just providing a basis for grading. Evaluation is very important because it represents one of the stages at which translator trainers have good opportunities of teaching their students how to behave like experts. More specifically, if the translator trainer always explains why a particular error has been assessed in a certain way, his/her students will know what kind of arguments to use when discussing the quality and appropriateness of the translated texts with their clients or employers, and, in this way, they will set certain standards for their own work. In this context, the separate assessment of the various features displayed by the translation work and the translator's behaviour does not only increase the objectivity of the evaluation process, but also represents a good means of raising the students' awareness of what exactly is required from a good translator.

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Translating Collocations in Political Speeches: A Norm-centred Approach

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Abstract: Collocations are elements that must be given special attention in translation, because they are essential for the correctness and the naturalness of any target text. Starting from the assumption that target texts reflect the norms followed by the text producer, the author examines a series of political speeches in English, along with their official Romanian variants, with a view to identifying the manner in which the Romanian translators of such texts should deal with their collocations and specific expressions.

Keywords: collocations, norms, political speeches, translation techniques

1. Introduction

One of the essential conditions for the production of a good translation is represented by the translator's ability to identify the appropriate semantic and terminological fields, and to clearly understand the overall tone and intended message, in order to give the correct interpretation of the lexical items present in the source text. This is not an easy task, because, as it is commonly known, words rarely convey meanings in isolation, but tend to co-occur in various combinations which sound natural to the native speakers of a particular language, and which represent the collocations and the specific expressions of that language.

Since any language imposes its own restrictions on the manner in which words can be combined in order to render the intended meaning, it should come as no surprise that the situation gets even more complicated when equivalents in other languages are sought (Pungă and Pârlog 2017: 256). Due to the interplay of linguistic, stylistic and cultural elements characteristic of their nature, collocations are elements

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deeply rooted in the system of a particular language, and, therefore, their replacement by inappropriate expressions would certainly affect the functionality of the target text.

One possible explanation for the problems caused by the translation of the source-text collocations is represented, in Baker's (2011) view, by the tension between naturalness and accuracy. More specifically, she claims that the translator is frequently faced with "a difficult choice between what is typical and what is accurate" (Baker 2011: 60). The aim of producing translations which are not only accurate to the original, but also sound natural in the target language is valid in the case of any type of text. However, I consider that attaining this aim is essential when it comes to the translation of political speeches, because such texts combine lexical units in ways meant to give extra force to their messages and to facilitate the achievement of the intended effect.

How can the (future) translators of political speeches prepare to deal with the challenges raised by the collocations typically used in such texts? Which are the norms that they are supposed to follow? How do the already existing official translations help in this respect? My paper will try to offer some answers to these questions by examining the Romanian official variants of five State of the European Union addresses in comparison to their English sources, with a view to identifying the manner in which the Romanian translators of such texts should deal with their collocations and specific expressions.

The starting point of my inquiry is represented by the hypothesis that the target text mirrors the norms followed by the text producer. As a result of the translation process, norms become an integral part of the target text, being reflected by the various linguistic features of that text, and, as such, they are amenable to analysis and description. Consequently, I consider that an analysis of the collocations displayed by the official translations of the texts under analysis will be useful for the identification of the norms that must be respected. Moreover, by comparing the Romanian collocations to the corresponding elements in the original texts, we can gather evidence of the techniques that the translators of such texts can use in order to achieve similar results.

2. Translation norms and translation techniques: conceptual challenges

The manner in which the concept of translational norms is understood in the theory of translation today has been greatly influenced by the studies of Toury (1980, 1995, 1999) and Hermans (1996, 1999). A great contribution to the field of norm theory was also made by another important theorist, namely Chesterman (1997), whose approach is partly influenced by Toury's and Herman's ideas. The present paper will be based, to a great extent, on the manner in which norms are defined and categorized by Chesterman (1997).

Thus, in my analysis of the State of the European Union speeches, norms represent explanatory phenomena which are reflected by the recurrent linguistic features of a certain type of texts. More specifically, I will focus on the category labelled by Chesterman as "expectancy norms", norms of usage belonging to the category of the quantitative expectancy norms (cf. Chesterman 1997: 82), that is, those norms which involve the intended readers' expectations for the distribution of various types of linguistic features of the target text.

Trying to explain how the various translation norms are actually attained in practice, Chesterman (1997: 88) introduces the concept of translation strategy, which, in his definition, represents a kind of process by which the translator tries to conform to norms. Strategies are used as solutions for a translation problem regarding either the text as a whole, or some segment in it.

Chesterman (1997: 92) makes a basic distinction between comprehension strategies, on the one hand, which have to do with the whole nature of the translation commission, and production strategies, on the other, which concern the manner in which the translator manipulates the linguistic material in order to produce an appropriate target text. Referring to the latter category, Chesterman (1997: 94-112) offers a comprehensive classification of the possible changes to which translators might resort when they are not satisfied with the target variant that immediately comes to their mind.

Chesterman's classification of the various production strategies has the merit that it attempts at systematizing the approaches developed by other theorists of the field (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958, Nida 1964). The only problem is that Chesterman proposes the term strategy, while other scholars use different names with reference to the same aspect. It must be admitted that the discipline of translation studies is characterized by a certain degree of terminological and conceptual confusion with regard to the names used for the general text-processing and the translation specific operations performed by the translator. Chesterman (1997: 87) is perfectly aware of this confusion, but does not aim at a clarification in this respect, and, as I explained above, uses the term strategy in order to refer to all these practices.

More recently, however, Lucía Molina and Amparo Hurtado Albir (2002) have made an attempt at organizing the existing knowledge of translation procedures, methods, strategies and techniques, with the specific purpose of clearly delimiting their reference. Thus, they use ***procedure*** as a general term denoting any action performed by the translator as a result of a choice from a variety of possibilities, and covering all the other three concepts, i.e. method, strategy and technique. ***Method*** is defined as a global option which affects the text as a whole, and which depends on the aim of the translation. The translation method, which may be interpretative-communicative, literal, free or philological, affects the manner in which the micro-units of the text are translated, i.e. the translation techniques (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002: 507-508). ***Strategies*** represent the procedures used by the translator in order to solve the problems that occur during the translation process. Strategies, which may be used for comprehension or for reformulation, "open the way to finding a suitable solution for a translation unit" (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002: 508), and the solution is, then, materialized by means of a particular translation technique.

Consequently, the strategies are part of the translation process, while the techniques affect the linguistic makeup of the result.

In Molina and Hurtado Albir's (2002: 509) approach, ***techniques*** represent procedures that help us analyse and classify how translation equivalence works. In other words, they are analytical tools which allow us to study the manner in which the result of the translation process functions in relation to its corresponding unit in the source text. The translation techniques proposed by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002: 509-511) are: adaptation, amplification, borrowing, calque, compensation, description, discursive creation, established equivalent, generalization, linguistic amplification, linguistic compression, literal translation, modulation, particularization, reduction, substitution, transposition and variation. The terminology used by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002) represents an important instrument in the analysis of the Romanian variants of the State of the European Union speeches in comparison to their English sources.

3. Techniques used for the English into Romanian translation of the collocations used in the State of the European Union addresses

3.1. The corpus

Before I present the results of the analysis proper, I want to say a few words about the texts making up my corpus. As I mentioned in the introductory section of this paper, my analysis will be focussed on a special type of political speech, namely on the State of the European Union address, which is the annual speech made by the President of the European Commission in the European Parliament's plenary session in September. My corpus is made up of five State of the Union addresses written in English, together with their official Romanian counterparts. More specifically, the corpus includes two speeches addressed by José Manuel Durão Barroso in 2012 and 2013, and three speeches delivered by Jean-Claude Juncker in 2015, 2016 and 2017. The years when the speech was made will be used between brackets in order to indicate the source of the examples given in my paper.

The State of the European Union addresses, like most of the European Union's official documents, are produced in the three working languages of the EU institutions, English, French and German. From these languages, the texts are translated into all the official languages of the European Union. So, the starting point of my analysis represents a special situation of translation, one in which a certain target text has three possible sources. Anyway, as it is claimed by various external voices (for example, in newspaper articles in *The Guardian* or the *Economist*), the institutions of the European Union are dominated by the English language. This situation is vaguely admitted even in a European Union official document, the English Style Guide for the authors and translators in the European Commission, which, in its introduction, states that "now … so many texts in and around the EU institutions are drafted in English by native and non-native speakers alike" (2018: 1), and, consequently, the English-language authors and translators must be aware of the accepted linguistic conventions for the documents in question. Some of these conventions, namely those regarding the collocations and the specific expressions that these texts predominantly contain, will be discussed in what follows.

3.2. The result of the analysis

Literal translation, the technique which, according to translation research, is the preferred choice when the translator is not faced with a problem, is very well represented in my corpus: e.g. *have diminished this understanding* – "a estompat această accepțiune" (2015), *bold, determined and concerted action* – "acțiunii temerare, hotărâte și concertate" (2015), *stand firmly against* – "suntem total împotriva" (2016), *little commonality* – "puține puncte commune" (2016).

This technique is used even for collocations with a metaphorical value, such as: *shored up the foundations* – "am reconsolidat fundațiile" (2017), *migration must stay on our radar* – "migrația trebuie să rămână pe radarul nostru" (2017).

Even in the case of this basic technique, there are a few aspects that the future translators of political speeches must pay attention to. First of all, there are cases when certain English collocations may have several possible word-for-word Romanian variants, but the ones displayed by the official translations under analysis represent felicitous solutions, being in line with the general linguistic features normally associated with this type of texts, which involve the use of more elevate, more formal words: e.g. *big issues* – "chestiuni majore" (2015), *wrong solutions* – "soluții eronate" (2016), *bridging differences* – "armonizarea diferențelor" (2017). Secondly, there are numerous instances when the Romanian variants of the collocations make use of prepositional phrases, while the source text variants display simple prepositions or structures with no preposition at all: e.g. *the consensus on fundamental objectives* – "consensul referitor la obiectivele fundamentale" (2013), *our asylum policy* – "politica noastră în materie de azil" (2015), *proposals on the emergency relocation* – "propunerile … cu privire la transferul" (2015), *we have agreed on a proper European Defence Union* – "am căzut de acord cu privire la o adevărată Uniune Europeană a Apărării" (2017). The use of these complex constructions is prompted by the need for clarity usually expected from this type of documents, and indicates, at the same time, the text producer's care for an elevated style.

When the rendering of an English collocation represents a term or an expression which is recognized as an official counterpart in the target language, we have an ***established equivalent***. My texts provide several examples of established equivalents which can be basically divided into two categories. The first category includes terms specific either to the European Union field or to the fields to which the speech makes reference: e.g. *single market* – "piața unică" (2012), *free movement* – "libera circulație" (2016), *the rule of law* – "statul de drept" (2016), *the Posting of Workers* – "detașarea lucrătorilor" (2016). The second category includes idiomatic expressions of general use: e.g. *a degree of give and take* – "un anumit grad de concesii reciproce" (2017), *through thick and thin* – "la bine și la greu" (2017).

A very high frequency in my texts is registered by the technique of ***linguistic amplification***, which means that the meaning of the English collocations and expressions is often rendered in Romanian by means of more linguistic elements: e.g. *unsustainable public debt* – "nivelul nesustenabil al datoriei publice" (2012), *we are tackling our challenges* – "căutăm … soluții la provocările cu care ne confruntăm" (2013), *a political Commission* – "o Comisie cu caracter politic" (2015), *unseaworthy boats* – "ambarcațiuni neadaptate navigării pe mare" (2015), *our policy approach* – "modul în care ne elaborăm politicile" (2015), *border controls* – "efectuarea de controale la frontierele …" (2015), *keep governments ... in check* – "țin în echilibrul necesar guvernele …" (2016), *abuses by powerful companies* – "abuzurile comise de companiile puternice" (2016), *climate action* – "acțiunile de combatere a schimbărilor climatice" (2016), *global actor* – "actor … pe plan mondial" (2017), *open policy making* – "un proces deschis de elaborare a politicilor" (2017). It is obvious that the English collocations are characterised by a more synthetic form of expression, while the Romanian ones render the same meanings by means of more complex structures. The difference between the linguistic complexity of the English collocations and the corresponding Romanian ones can be partly explained by systemic or usage differences between the two languages, but it is mostly due to the translator's preference for more explicitness.

Another technique used with a relatively high frequency is that of ***transposition***, which, in very many cases, involves the rendering of English verbal or adjectival elements by means of Romanian nouns: *to ... draw all the consequences* – "asumarea … tuturor consecințelor" (2012), *is sharply rising* – "înregistrează o creștere puternică" (2013), *now is not the time to take fright* – "acum nu este momentul temerilor" (2015), *our imperative to act* – "stringența acțiunii" (2015), *will make our financial system more resilient* – "va permite sistemului nostru financiar să capete o reziliență sporită" (2016). Sometimes, transposition is associated with other techniques, like ***particularization***: e.g. *to tackle smugglers* – "de combatere a persoanelor care introduc ilegal migranți" (2015), or ***modulation***: e.g. *bring this agenda to life* – "punerea în practică a acestei agende" (2017).

Modulation is often used for rendering the figurative meaning of metaphorical collocations by means of literal formulations: e.g. *Europe has fought back* – "Europa nu s-a lăsat învinsă" (2013), *a fair playing field* – "un spațiu al concurenței echitabile" (2016), *helping the wind change* – "schimbarea în bine a situației" (2017), *a window of opportunity* – "un context favorabil" (2017).

The Romanian text producer's tendency to express a more precise meaning is also proved by his/her use of the ***particularization*** technique: e.g. *we will be needing talent* – "vom avea nevoie de oameni talentați" (2015), *data protection* – "protecția datelor cu caracter personal" (2016), *privacy matters* – "păstrarea confidențialității datelor personale contează" (2016).

The analysis performed in this section has led to the identification of a number of features characterizing the collocations and the expressions typically used in the English versus the Romanian variants of the State of the European Union addresses. But the results of my analysis are meant to serve a further purpose, because, as I have already mentioned, the features of the Romanian collocations discussed so far can be considered as illustrative of the expectancy norms characteristic of this category of texts, and can be taken as models by the translators who want to produce effective texts in this field, no matter if they use English, French, or German as a source language.

4. Conclusion

The conclusions that can be drawn from the comparative analysis of the English and the Romanian collocations used in the State of the European Union speeches making up my corpus will be presented from three perspectives.

First of all, it is obvious that the producers of the Romanian variants of these speeches have a predilection for techniques which ensure more explicitness at the lexico-semantic level of the target text. This effect is created by the frequent resort to linguistic amplification, or by the preference for the use of complex prepositional phrases which render the relationships between the various constituents of the collocation with more precision

Secondly, the collocations present in the Romanian speeches under analysis make use of more nouns than their English counterparts, because the translator resorts to this type of solution not only for source text elements with the same morphological status, but also for some original text verbs or adjectives. The multitude of the nouns, as well as the nominalizations frequently present in the Romanian texts that I have analysed, are also an expression of the formal and elevated style characterizing political speeches in general.

Finally, the texts in my corpus reveal several cases in which the metaphorical expressions in the English speeches are paralleled by Romanian structures with a concrete meaning. This is a sign of the Romanian text producer's care for rendering the original meaning with more clarity, a choice which does not always prove to be felicitous, especially in the light of the fact that political speeches rely to a great extent on the rhetorical power of the metaphors, and, consequently, their translation should try to preserve this feature.

All in all, it can be concluded that the producers of the Romanian variants of the political speeches under analysis reveal a general tendency to formulate the target text in a manner meant to clarify and to explain the meaning of its source. This is the reason why, the synthetic form of expression characterizing most the collocations present in the State of the European Union addresses written in English is often paralleled by a greater degree of explicitness in the Romanian variants of these texts.

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A psychological approach to professional translator education

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Abstract

Just like any other skill, translation competence can be trained, and the process of translating training involves specific theoretical and practical instruction. The starting point of this paper is represented by the assumption that the efficiency of translator training is determined not only by circumstances of social, economic, pedagogical, and organizational nature, but also by a variety of psychological factors. By being aware of such factors, the professional translator trainer will know how to create a psychological climate which is very likely to turn the educational process into a positive experience for the future translators. Qualitative research methods are used in order to identify the manner in which trainee translators define their needs, expectations and even fears in relation to their own professional development. Starting from the research data, as well as from their experience as translator trainers, the authors make a series of methodological suggestions whose relevance goes beyond the context of translation teaching, being valid for the process of education in general.

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Keywords: psychological factors, translator training, methodological suggestions, positive classroom environment;

1. Introduction

It is widely agreed that translation, like any other skill, can be trained by means of specific theoretical and practical instruction. However, there is something that translator trainers are not always sure of, and that is the answer to the following question: how should translation courses be designed and organized so that they would offer the students exactly what they need for their prospective career? Unfortunately, there is no unitary answer to this question, because, just like in the case of other aspects, translation methodologists have varying opinions in this respect. This whole situation gets even more complicated by a paradox. Nowadays, when people tend to specialize in as few and as narrow areas as possible, translators are expected to do exactly the opposite, i.e. they are supposed to have a very good knowledge of all the domains with which their work interferes. This means that the translators' profession involves a lot of pressure nowadays, and this pressure is also felt by the translation students, who, consequently, expect to receive solid and complex training meant to enable them to face the challenges of translating in the real world.

In this context, it is obvious that the task of the translation teacher does not consist only in developing in their students those skills which underlie the general translation competence, but also in creating a psychological climate

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which is very likely to turn the educational process into a positive experience for the future translators. Starting from this premise, the paper discusses the findings of a research study regarding the manner in which trainee translators define their needs, expectations and even fears in relation to their own professional development, and, in close connection with these findings, tries to outline a methodological framework for building translation competence in a manner which takes account of such psychological factors.

2. Psychological factors in translator training: trainees' perspectives

In order to identify the psychological aspects that students themselves consider relevant in the context of their training for the translation profession, we conducted a mini-research study based on a questionnaire, where students were asked to answer the following questions:

- Which are your fears and worries related to a potential career as a translator?
- What should a translator course cover in order to make you feel psychologically secure about being a translator?
- What can the translation teacher do in order to help you in this respect?

Since our intention was not to make statistics, but just to arrive at findings which reflect a certain reality, we used a methodology which is characteristic of the qualitative type of research. The subjects were represented by the first and the second year students in the Translation MA programme at West University of Timisoara, and the answers they provided pointed to a wide range of psychological and emotional factors that they perceive as influencing the efficiency of their training process. The thorough analysis of the data gathered in this way led to the identification of three categories of such factors, categories which are briefly presented below.

2.1. Anxiety caused by lack of familiarity with various specialized domains

Almost all the subjects mentioned that their greatest fear as trainee translators refers to the lack of familiarity with many of the specialized domains in which they might be expected to work in the future. On the one hand, they are anxious that they would not possess the necessary terminology or cultural knowledge that enables them to produce a target language text considered functionally appropriate in a certain professional field. Referring to this aspect, one student made the following comment: "I am scared about the time a client will come and ask me to translate a type of text which has a certain terminology and I have not had the opportunity of 'meeting' those terms, and a dictionary does not help me so much.". On the other hand, students fear that they might not have the ability to render naturalness to the translation they perform, or that the source text might be so difficult that it causes a lot of translation problems.

2.2. Expectations related to acquiring "tricks of the trade"

In close connection to the fears caused by the unfamiliar or the difficult character of the text to be translated, most of the students also confessed that they expect their teachers to give them the opportunity of acquiring various specific skills and knowledge associated with their future profession. In their view, these "tricks of the trade" should regard several aspects, such as: a certain amount of theory (for example, types of translations, translation methods, stages of the translation process, etc.) and, more importantly, a lot of practice with translations specific to various fields of activity; advice regarding professional aspects, such as time management or coping with deadlines; useful resources, like dictionaries, databases, terminological instruments; techniques of translation evaluation, etc. The subjects even stated the fact that they would like their teachers to be professional translators themselves, because, in this way, they could benefit from useful examples from real-life translation practice. To summarize the students' opinions in this respect, we will quote one subject who considers that "the translation teacher should explain to us what it takes to be a good translator."

2.3. Need for psychological support from the translator trainer

In addition to the previous factors, which refer to the translation teacher's role as importer of knowledge, our study also revealed the students' need for an emotionally safe atmosphere during the training process. Thus, in their vast majority, the subjects declared that their worries and fears are more likely to be eased by a translator trainer who "builds and sustains optimism", who has "an understanding attitude", and who is "both encouraging and severe". One of the students even goes as far as to claim that the teacher's care for a positive classroom environment should be regarded as a priority: "the teacher should be supportive, creative and focus on the weak points of the students, instead of following a strict, pre-set agenda". It seems, therefore, that students perceive their good training for the translation career as being dependent not only on the teacher's ability to develop their professional skills, but also on the emotional atmosphere created during the process of training.

3. Integrating psychological considerations into translator education: suggested methodology

We strongly believe that the manner in which the trainees define the psychological factors that they consider important for their development as future translators must be taken into account when teachers decide on the content of any professional translation course. As the conclusions discussed in the previous section indicated, students fear that they might not turn into "good" translators if the training process does not enable them to deal with the differences imposed by the actual language use in the various domains that potentially involve translation work. What can translator trainers do to help their students in this respect? In very general terms, they should organize the educational process in such a way that, on the one hand, it will increase the future translators' awareness with regard to the specific linguistic and structural features characteristic of texts from various domains of activity, and, on the other, it will enable them to decide on the best manner of rendering those features into the target language. One way in which teachers can achieve this objective is by using the genre as a teaching aid, as it will be briefly explained below.

The value of the concept of genre in the context of professional translator training does not represent a novelty, since it has been already addressed by various theorists, such as Hatim and Mason (1990), Bhatia (1997) or the members of the GENTT (Text Genres for Translation) research team (for example, Montalt Ressurrecció, Ezpeleta Piorno, and García Izquierdo 2008). In Hatim and Mason's definition (1990: 69), genres represent "conventionalized forms of texts which reflect the functions and goals involved in particular social occasions as well as the purposes of the participants in them". Any genre-based educational approach is focused on the creation of meaning at the level of discourse and not the acquisition of lexical or syntactic forms. In other words, by using such an approach, translator trainers aim at making their students aware that, beyond the linguistic forms making up the text to be translated, there is a higher level of order and patterning in language, and the requirements imposed by this higher order must be respected by anyone who wants to function effectively in a certain English language discourse community.

By understanding that the linguistic features presented by a text from a certain specialized domain are not random, but are greatly determined by conventions, and that these conventions can be internalized, it is very likely that translation students will feel more comfortable about the challenges that their future career might involve. Consequently, during the training process, translator trainers should guide their students in the adoption of a holistic approach, in which, first of all, they identify the socio-cultural context that is relevant to the text to be translated, on the one hand, and for the target text, on the other, and, then, establish the value of the individual structural elements in relation to their initial findings. Starting from a series of methodological suggestions that have guided us in our practice as translator trainers (e.g. Adab 1996, Stolze 2009), in what follows, we will describe the holistic approach mentioned above in terms of four stages, which do not necessarily form a sequence, but are all valid simultaneously, even if not to the same extent.

3.1. Situational considerations of the source and the target texts

A good understanding of the socio-cultural background in which a certain text was produced, and a parallel with the situation in which its translated variant is meant to function represent important premises for the production of an appropriate translation.

The future translators should be guided to pay attention to details about the specialized domain to which the source text belongs, its producer and the readership for which it is intended. Stolze (2009: 138) points out that the period when the text was produced may also be of relevance, because, for instance, an older technical text generally requires different knowledge regarding terminology in comparison to a report on the most recent scientific developments in a certain field. Similarly, translators must perform an initial evaluation of the possibility that the target situation might present some cultural differences, either in its concepts or in its form. Even the specific structure – or linear organization – of the source text should be compared to that of a typical text belonging to the same category in the target culture, because, on the basis of this comparison, the translators decide whether they have to reorganize the information in the source text or even omit part of it.

This first stage plays an essential role in making the students feel comfortable in relation to the text to be translated, however difficult or unfamiliar it might be. Starting from the relevance that each of the elements mentioned above will bear to the task of translating the texts, and from the knowledge that they themselves have in this respect, the future translators decide whether they are capable of translating the text or whether further research is needed.

3.2. Research stage

If the previous stage leads to the identification of certain translation problems (for example, of structural, terminology or cultural nature), the translator must start doing some research. According to the specific needs of the translation situation, the research activity may take various forms, such as analyzing parallel texts, searching the Internet, consulting a glossary of terms, an encyclopedia, or even talking to a specialist in the field.

During this stage, teachers help their students develop the ability to acquire the necessary reference sources, a skill which is essential for producing high quality translations. The translator should come back to the research stage at any point during the translation process, whenever he/she considers it necessary.

3.3. Target text production

At this stage, the translators are supposed to make decisions and choices taking into account the social characteristics and educational background of the intended reader, the domain-specific expertise of the target reader, the genre and communicative purpose of the target text and the fact that scholars and researchers may wish to consult the document many years after its publication, for informational and/or comparative purposes.

In order to create in their students the self-confidence that is so important for the achievement of a high level of performance, translator trainers must offer them practice and guidance with regard to several aspects of target text production. Firstly, students must be made aware that, when the source and the target cultures present institutional or conceptual differences, the translator is expected to use such equivalents that make the translation functionality in the target context. Then, they must know that the recognized target equivalent represents the translation solution in the case of the domain specific terms; however, if such an equivalent does not exist, an additional explanation might be given. Finally, as regards the various syntactic and lexical patterns which represent genre conventions, the target norms must be always used, independent of the forms in the source variable.

3.4. Assessment of the translated variant

It is important that future translators should understand the essential role played by translation revision, which is meant not only to check whether their work is linguistically accurate, but also whether it accurately conveys the information inherent in each unit of translation. In other words, translator trainers should constantly insist on the fact that, once the translator has a complete version of the text, s/he must systematically work through both the source and the target texts with a view to assessing the quality of the translation. If necessary, the translators might ask a native speaker of the target language – or even a fellow-translator – to read their text, because another person, who has not seen the source text, could bring a greater degree of objectivity, free from any source text / source language interference or expectations.

This stage of translation assessment, although sometimes neglected, represents a *sine qua non* condition for anybody who really wants to do a good job as a translator, because, as Adab (1996: 34) suggests, "in a professional context, evidence of lack of revision is not acceptable, and a final text has to read as though it had originally been written in the target language".

4. Conclusion

By giving the students' training based on the correlation of the linguistic features of their communicative functions, teachers raise the future translator's awareness in connection two various subtle issues, which could otherwise be neglected and might turn into translation errors. It is obvious that translator trainers cannot offer their students practice with regard to each and every problem that they might encounter in their future career. However, what they can do is to organize the translation course in such a way that, as Wills suggests (1996: 6), it "should motivate the student toward his field by making him find out for himself the manner in which the learning of translation goes together with a translation in the real world". And, as the research and the theoretical evidence presented in this paper clearly indicates, the quality of the emotional environment created during the professional translator training process is essential for the achievement of this objective.

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