THE IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSLATION THEORIES FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING PEDAGOGY

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ABSTRACT

The following thesis is an attempt to explore the relationship between translating and language learning. Chapter one is an attempt to relate the theory of Translating with that of Second Language Teaching. In the second chapter a review will be given of the history of translating within language teaching methodology, particularly noting the reasons why translating as a language teaching activity fell into disfavour. It will isolate and evaluate the criticisms which have been levelled at translating as a pedagogical device.

Chapter three will look at the notion of Communicative Competence and this will include an investigation of the pragmatic and strategic dimension to language teaching. This will lead to a discussion of translating within the framework of developments along this dimension. The argument will centre around the point that within a discourse framework translating as a teaching method is much more relevant and that the criticisms and arguments against it discussed in chapter two therefore no longer apply.

In chapter four the relationship between Translating Strategies and Interlanguage Strategies will be examined. This chapter will look at and compare the kind of processes at work within pidgins and creoles and first and second language acquisition with those used in Translating.

Chapter five will follow on from the previous chapter with an empirical study of translating strategies and will test the hypothesis that translators and language users make use of similar strategies; and will include a description of data collection, a statistical study and conclusions.

In chapter six the relationship between translating and communicative methodology will be examined. I will look particularly at how translating relates to questions of syllabus design and the polarities of accuracy and fluency .

Chapter seven will contain specific proposals for pedagogy looking at particular areas within linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence. This chapter will include materials which have been piloted both with Arab learners of English and English learners of Arabic.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis arguing that translating does have a vital role to play within a broader communicative approach to language teaching and looks at a number of potential areas for further research.

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INTRODUCTION

The reasons which prompted this research emerged from my own experience whilst working as a teacher in the Middle East. As someone with knowledge of Arabic I was more and more called upon to act as a translator. Although I had never been specifically trained to do such work the lack of people with the necessary skills meant that I had somehow to try and function whilst at the same time trying to get hold of some of the basic theory of translation.

As a language teacher trained in the mid-seventies I had a built in resistance to any idea that translation might confer any benefits as far as developing language competence was concerned. Like many others I had been told not only that translation was bad language teaching methodology and to be avoided in the classroom but that any use of the mother tongue was suspect. The latter idea had always struck me as a little less than disinterested theory, particularly when one observed the numbers of language teachers around one who neither spoke their students' language nor indeed made any attempt to be anything other that obdurately monolingual.

To my surprise I began to notice that, at least as far as written text was concerned, my knowledge of the language appeared to rapidly improve. Out of this surprise grew a desire to question the criticisms made about translating within language teaching pedagogy. Why had translating fallen into disrepute within language teaching? Did it really prevent people from thinking in the second language and what did that actually mean

anyway? Were the criticisms levelled against translating really justified?

Reading through Anthony Howatt's book on the history of language teaching (1984) it became clear that translation had played a large part in language teaching methodology until relatively recently. It had fallen into disrepute at a period roughly contemporary with the advent of the Direct Method and in Howatt's opinion it was time that applied linguists re-appraised translation as a language teaching activity.

> "The practice of translation has been condemned so strenuously for so long without any really convincing reasons that it is perhaps time the profession took another look at it. Was it really translation that the reformers objected to a hundred years ago, or, as Prendergast suggests, the way in which it was used". (op.cit.p.161)

Thus out of my own experience with translation, and my reading around the subject, I set out to research the relationship between language teaching and translating, to examine what if anything the two processes had in common, and whether the two processes were interrelated.

CHAPTER ONE

TRANSLATION THEORY AND ITS RELATION TO SECOND

LANGUAGE TEACHING

The aim of this chapter is to first define translation and to attempt to clarify what part of the process I intend to research. Following this I will review translation studies and try to draw out the main points of contact between the theory of language learning and translation studies. This seems a reasonable project given that translating is a language concern and that it ought to be the case a priori that translating might be compared with other language concerns. I hope to be able to demonstrate that as translating is concerned with the re-textualization of communication it has to be concerned with pragmatics that is translation theories demonstrate that translating is a pragmatic activity and not as some critics of translating in language teaching have maintained a process limited to the decoding of syntactic and semantic features. Translation theories have like theories of language learning developed from a narrow view of language to one concerned with the conditions of communication and it is this development that I wish to focus on.

In this chapter I want first to define what I mean by translating in order to be clear about what parts of the process I intend to research. Following this I will review translation theory and try to identify the main points of contact between language learning theory and translation theory. The review will

be divided into four main sections corresponding to the four major approaches to translating ie. linguistic, machine translation, literary approaches and philosophical approaches. These four approaches do not form entirely water tight compartments but the division is useful from the point of view of discussion and analysis.

1.1 THE PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES OF TRANSLATION

The word translation is used in the literature to refer to both process and product, however in this thesis in order to avoid ambiguity translation will be used to refer to the product and translating will refer to the process. Unfortunately there will be inevitable inconsistencies because of established uses eg. Machine Translation should according to my definition be Machine Translating but because of established usage it
will be referred to as Machine Translation, similarly Translation Theory should often be Translating Theory but here again I will have to follow established convention.

Before we begin to examine Translation Theory I would like to define more precisely what is meant by translating or rather to look at the products and processes that the word covers. As well as being both a product and a process translating can be either oral or written, although the latter is more usually described as interpreting.

Interpreting can itself be further subdivided into three distinct processes depending on the context it occurs in and the treatment and style of delivery employed by the interpreter. Liaison Interpreting is characterized by a lack of formality and is situated within the context of the conference table. The interpreter shuttles between both languages both from the foreign language into the mother tongue and vice-versa. This incidentally appears to be the only form of translating where from mother tongue into the foreign language is professionally acceptable. Institute of Linguist guidelines stress that translators and interpreters should only work from the foreign language into their mother tongue. In this interpreting style the interpreter is allowed to present the material in summary form.

Consecutive interpreting is uni-directional, ie. from the foreign language into the interpreter's mother tongue, usually within the context of a conference where the speaker addresses the audience from a podium or lectern. Often the interpreter is in a booth behind the audience addressing them via microphone and headsets. The speaker will break up the message into manageable bits and the interpreter will formulate each block of the message using the notes he or she has taken. The message should be interpreted accurately and in full.

Simultaneous interpreting is again uni-directional and situated within the context of a speaker addressing a conference audience, however rather than wait for the speaker to complete a block of

the message, the interpreter translates the message while the addresser is actually delivering the speech. There is usually a lag of approximately an utterance between the speaker and the interpreter.

The chuchoter or whispering technique of interpreting involves the interpreter whispering into the speaker's ear throughout the dialogue.

A form of translating which parallels interpreting is oral translating where a written text is translated at sight orally. Sometimes translators are asked to give such 'at sight' oral translations when a short text eg. letter or memo of not too much importance is required to be translated. This processes is sometimes used as a testing procedure and in fact the Institute of Linguists and certain Universities include tests of this nature in their examinations.

Written translation as both process and product is classified in various ways. It is most often thought of as interlingual though it can clearly be viewed as an intralingual process (see Steiner 1975). Intralingual translation may be synchronic, as when modern technical texts are re-written in the same language as a contemporary non-technical text, or diachronic when for example students of literature are asked to paraphrase a passage of Shakespeare into contemporary English.

Interlingual written translation is variously classified

according to text type, either in broad terms such as Literary and Technical or in the universal categories employed by text linguists eg.narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative and instructional. (see de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, Hatim, 1983, Werlich, 1976, and Reiss, 1977).

The process of translating has been described in various ways most commonly word for word, or literal translating over against free translating. Catford describes these as rank bound and rank free translation respectively (Catford, 1965). Newmark proposes Semantic versus Communicative (Newmark, 1981) and Nida, Formal Equivalence as against Dynamic Equivalence (Nida, 1964). I think that for uniformity and ease of comprehension across the various branches of Applied Linguistics it makes more sense to refer to Semantic and Pragmatic types of translating bearing in mind that we are not dealing with absolutes here but more a question of degree along a continuum.

A distinction which needs to be kept in mind within interlingual translating is the direction of translating ie. whether the translating is taking place from the mother tongue of the translator into the foreign or second language or vice versa. As mentioned above many professional bodies such as the Institute of Linguists recommend that translators and interpreters should only work into their mother tongue.

Yet another area of possible confusion is the distinction between teaching translating to students whose aim is to become

practising translators and the use of translating as part of a methodology for students whose goal is to acquire general communicative language skills. Clearly these two goals need to be kept carefully separate as the methodologies will be distinct.

Finally there are the various ways in which translating can be employed within the language teaching classroom. We can use full translating techniques where the entire source text is given an equivalent in a target text or we can ask students to translate only selected words or phrases from the source text. Heike (1985) has suggested transliteration as an alternative to full translating by which is meant successive passes through a text translating limited parts of the text at each attempt. Heike defines transliteration in this sense,

> "as a more selective form of translation
> with less global goals and, in contrast to
> translation proper a strictly pedagogical
> orientation". (op.cit.p.101)

A similar pedagogical use of translating is envisaged by Tudor (1987) who describes a process of 'skim translating'.

One central difficulty when trying to assess the various arguments against the use of translating and translation as pedagogical devices is the lack of explicitness when it comes to defining what it is precisely that they disapprove of in translating. Before recommendations can be made on how translating is to be employed pedagogically it is necessary to be precise about what we mean when we use the term and what type

of translating it is that we are recommending. The same must obviously be true of criticisms against its use. Hopefully table one will clarify diagrammatically the various processes included within this all embracing term.

```
                                                          ┌Simultaneous
                                         ┌Interpreting──┤Consecutive
                          ┌Interpreting──────────┘        │Liaison
                          │                               └Chuchoter
          ┌─Interlingual  │
          │               │                   ┌Oral At  Sight
          │               └Translating────────┤          ┌Narrative
          │                                    └Written───┤Descriptive
          │                                               │Expository
          │                                               │Instructional
          │                                               └Argumentative
Translating
          │                        ┌In Language Teaching───┬─Full
          │               ─────────┤                       │
          │                        │                       └Partial
          │                        └In Translator Training
          │           ┌Synchronic──────────┬─Simplification
          └─Intralingual│                   └─Paraphrase
                        │                    │Modern versions of old texts
                        └─Diachronic─────────┤(eg. Contemporary
                                             │   versions of Shakespeare)
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The Products and Processes of Translation

1.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRANSLATION THEORY AND LINGUISTICS

Essentially what I hope to draw out of this review is that Translation Theories demonstrate that translating is not simply about the transmission of codes based solely on semantic and formal linguistic elements but rather concerns the re-textualization of communication and therefore is inevitably concerned with pragmatic features of language. It is significant that Translation Theory has followed a similar line of development to language teaching and has grown from a narrow view of language to one concerned with the conditions of communication. The early focus on formal linguistics (see below Hockett on immediate constituent analysis and Nida's application of transformational generative grammar) shifts to an interest in semantics and then once the concern moves to meaning it becomes obvious that meaning is bound up with culture and inevitably with language users which brings us ultimately to pragmatic features of language.

Before looking closely at linguistic approaches to translating it is worth noting that the relationship between Translation Theory and Linguistics is not one which has been affirmed by everyone in fact many would agree with Jorden (1979) that,

> "It has yet to be shown that linguistics has
> a relevant contribution to make to the
> general practice of translation".

An entirely different view is expressed by Sager (1969:2) who writes in favour of using linguistic theory to teach translating. Others who follow Sager are Fawcett (1981), who has written on

the teaching of Translation Theory, and Mason (1982), who discusses the role of Translation Theory in the Translating class. The views of those who do see a relationship between Translation Theory and Linguistics are summed up by Wendland (1982:125),

> "Just as theory without practice is dead, so also practice without continual direction and stimulation from theory profits little."

In Steiner's view (Steiner 1975:239) there are no significant translation theories,

> "Over two thousand years of argument and precept, the beliefs and disagreements voiced about the nature of translation have been almost the same. Identical familiar moves and refutations in the debate recur, nearly without exception, from Cicero and Quintilian to the present day.

Wilss (1982:51-53) although conceding that there are problems with translation theories nevertheless concludes that as translators work with the medium of language linguistics must be a primary concern of translation studies. Catford (1965:1) similarly agrees that a theory of translating has to be based on linguistic theory:

> "Translation is an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another. Clearly, then, any theory of translation must draw upon a theory of language............a general linguistic theory".

Ebel (1968:50) believes that contemporary linguistics and the modern theory of translation have profound affinities. A number of translation theorists view translation theory as a branch of applied linguistics, indeed a younger brother to language teaching. Others are careful to point out that though Translation Studies may have affinities with linguistics it is not subordinate to it. (See Nida, 1974:1045 and 1969:495). Both Firth (1957) and Snell-Hornby (1983) have noted that translating is not exclusively a language activity. Steiner (1975: frontispiece) would certainly support the view that linguistics is less relevant for translating than other disciplines and in de Beaugrande's view (1978:8) Translation Studies must pursue areas beyond linguistics. This is certainly a view that I would support in fact a central aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that translating is vitally concerned with pragmatic knowledge.

Despite the conflict of opinions and the many denials it is quite clear that Translation Theories do reflect contemporary linguistic trends. In the forthcoming sections I will look at the effects that such trends as Philology, Transformational Generative Grammar, Scale and Category Grammar and Textlinguistics have had upon Translation Theories and note the gradually shift away from purely formal linguistic concerns to one centred on the pragmatic features of language.

1.3 THE PHILOLOGICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION

The Philological approach to translation is pre-linguistic. Like most pre-linguistic approaches to language study it is characterised by a concentration on the written word. No distinction is made between langue and parole and there is a heavy emphasis on the diachronic view of language and the evolutionary relationships between languages. The view of language presented is entirely prescriptive. (see Bolinger 1975:513-14 for an overview of philology). This approach to translation is of little interest to us as there is no obvious advantage for the language learner to so prescriptive an approach.

1.4 FORMAL LINGUISTIC APPROACHES

These approaches include all those schools which try to study language in a rigorous and positive way but exclude the study of semantics. Formal linguistic approaches study language as a structure with interrelated parts. This would include Bloomfield and early Chomsky.

The insights of the formal linguistic school gradually found their way into translation studies (see on this Despatie, 1967:70, Nida, 1976:,Wilss, 1982:65, Lefevere, 1980:154) the immediate effect was to challenge the philological presuppositions which had formed the basis of pre-linguistic approaches to translating. Nida (1964:21) acknowledges the debt owed by translation theory to formal linguistics:

"Perhaps one of the most the most significant contributions of modern linguistic science to the field of translation has been the liberation of translators from the philological presuppositions of the preceding generation."

The Formal Linguistic approach views translating as primarily interlingual code transfer. It lays emphasis on comparing and contrasting the structures of the languages involved. Meaning is discussed in terms of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between the respective systems. There is very little attempt to link such meanings within the language system to actual language use in the outside world in other words the pragmatic dimension is neglected. Translating is conceived of as a purely linguistic operation and it is assumed that there is a pre-existent message which has an independent meaning of its own and that this meaning can be expressed in one code or another. The approach, in contrast to the Philological view, is Descriptive rather than Prescriptive.

The Formal approach to Translating begins with Nida (1945:203-6) who noted that the differences which exist between languages and the changes in translating which need to be made as a result of such differences include phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical factors. Nida was the first scholar to apply the terms of formal linguistic correspondence to bible translating (Nida, 1947). Not long after Hockett (1954) proposed that the basic units of translating should be immediate constituents. Following on from this work Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) made a detailed and formal linguistic comparison between French and

English and this work was later repeated for other language
pairs. (Malblanc, 1961 and Truffaut 1968, for French and German,
Friederich, 1969, English and German). This work to some extent
shadows that of the contrastivists in language teaching (see
Lado, 1957) and like them neglected the pragmatic features of
language.

In 1965 Catford examined Translating on four planes of language,
the phonological, graphological, grammatical and lexical. His
model was Scale and Category Grammar (an early version of
Systemic Grammar) after Firth and Halliday. For Catford the
central task of Translation Theory was that of defining the
nature and conditions for translation equivalence. In order to
establish equivalence Catford proposes borrowing the concept of
rank from Scale and Category Grammar. He suggests that the
translator begin with morpheme rank and for each item postulate
a most probable equivalent. Then the translator should move to
the next rank above ie. word and then make a new selection which
may affect the previous selection and lead to its being
cancelled. The process is then repeated through group and clause
to sentence with each move leading to a re- evaluation of the
previous selection. The sentence is regarded as the upper limit
as rarely will this rank fail to provide a suitable translation
equivalent.

Unlike other Formal linguists Catford does concern himself with
meaning and Translating and with his work there is a perceptible
shift away from purely morpho-syntactic concerns. His view of

meaning is derived from Firth and as such refers to the total network of relations entered into by any linguistic form. Consequently for Catford it was untenable that SL.and TL. texts could have the same meaning or that there could be a transference of meaning. Catford exemplifies this belief with a formal translation equivalent of a Russian sentence "Ja prišla" ie. "I have arrived".

```
I———————————Speaker———————————Ja
              female
have               arrival                    prišla
arrived            on foot
                   completed
                  prior event
              linked to present
```

(Catford 1965:37)
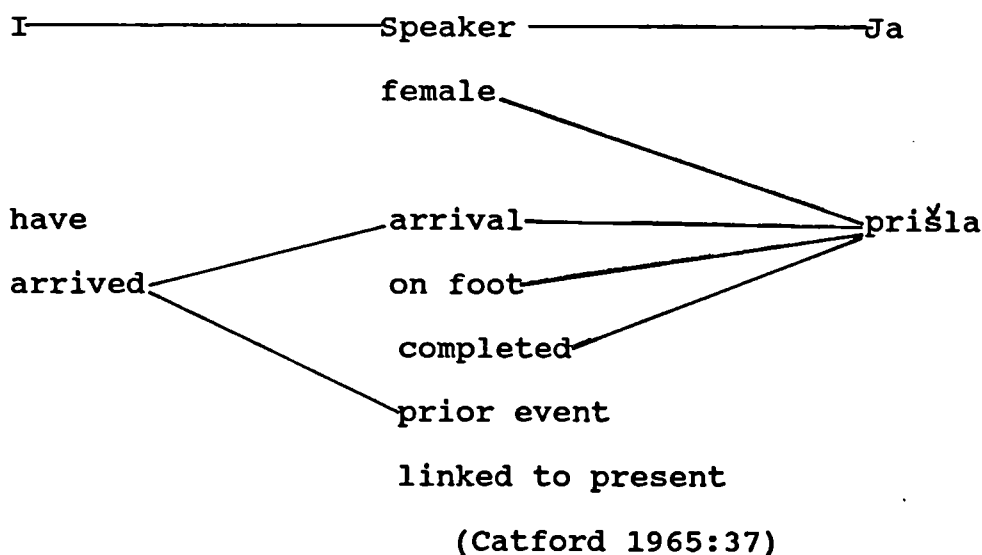
Catford is also interested in the interaction between culture and translating and proposes that certain elements of culture are untranslatable in much the same way that certain elements of form are untranslatable. With Catford the concerns of Translation Theory begin to extend from the purely formal to the semantic and the cultural.

In the 1960's a number of approaches to translating attempted to

apply Chomsky's theory of Transformational Generative Grammar including Revzin and Rosencvejg 1964), Vinay (1966), Callens (1970), Walmsley, (1970), Hoof (1971), Kade(1971), Montague (1974) and Jager (1975). The model was welcomed as a technique for analyzing the process of decoding the source language text and as a procedure for describing how appropriate equivalent expressions in the target language text could be generated (see Nida, 1964:60).

Nida believed that when the translator was faced with a difficult text to translate a useful strategy would be to transform the source text back into its component kernel sentences and then translate these into the target language. The final operation needed would be to apply the necessary transformations according to target language rules and thus build the final version of the target text. Nida called this strategy back transformation.

The application of Transformational Generative Grammar to Translating coincides with enthusiasm for Machine Translation. Those concerned to develop Machine Translation needed a full and explicit account of the translating process and tried to reduce the complications of human language activities to the formation and deciphering of codes. As MT. specialists were soon to discover this exclusively mechanistic and formal linguistic view of translation ignored the many different dimensions of human verbal communicative acts. Chomsky (1966) predicted that there would be little success in applying T.G. to translating or language teaching and in this he was right. The formal

linguistic theory on which the translation theories were developed had no pragmatic component and as such was ill equipped to deal with a process which involves the input of world knowledge. (see 1.3 below and Bar Hillel 1958)

1.2.3 ETHNO-SEMANTIC APPROACHES

In the sixties a significant change in approach within linguistics resulted from the re-instatement of meaning. Although the cultural dimension of language had been emphasised by Boas, Malinowski (1923) and later Levi-Strauss, semantics had been laid on one side as being beyond the scope of linguistic theory at that time. With the Ethno-Semantic approach meaning became a legitimate and indispensable part of the study of language. However meaning was not just seen as one level having structural relations within a code system with the other levels of language but also in its anthropological contexts. According to this view of language the:

> "real semantic content of language is
> the ethnography of the culture in which
> that
> language is spoken". (Despatie, 1967:63)

Seen in this light translating is essentially a cultural artifact which expresses a state of culture within which the translator works and therefore its ways change when cultural attitudes change (Rabin, C.1972:13)

The earliest culturally oriented theory of translating was probably that of Humboldt (1836) which was a significant

contribution towards anthropological semantics (see Nida, 1964:5)

Firth supported the view that the central problem of translating

was semantic, "The whole problem of translation is in the field

of semantics". (1957:32) Another early proponent of an

Ethnosemantic approach was Casagrande, J.B. (1954:338, original

emphasis).

> "The attitudes and values, the
> experience and tradition of a people,
> inevitably become involved in the
> freight of meaning carried by a
> language. In effect one does not
> translate LANGUAGES, one translates
> CULTURES. Ethnography may, in fact, be
> thought of as a form of translation.

Although the cultural element had hardly been touched upon until

the early sixties, Nida (1964, and 1969) placed ethnosemantic

concerns at the forefront of Translation Theory. Since this

point in the development of Translation Studies culture has

been considered by many to be one of the two major dimensions of

translating.

> Translation has two sides, closely
> connected with each other. One is
> language, the other is cultural
> background. (Rabin, C.1972:11).

The major characteristics of the Ethno-semantic approach are that

meaning is no longer thought of as consisting of structural

relations within a code system but as relating to social and

anthropological contexts. The question of translatability is re-

opened particularly in the light of the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis

of cultural determinism. The possibility of untranslatability

is acknowledged and discussions about translating and translation

are generally much more open ended than with the Formal Grammatical approach, similarly solutions offered to translating problems are generally much more tentative.

Studies in semantics lead to an interest in the technique of Componential Analysis and its possible value for translating. Although many were concerned in researching this area (see Lounsbury, 1956, Goodenough, 1956, Bendix,1966 Goss, 1967, Elkins, 1968) Nida was in fact the only one to discuss its relevance to translation (Nida and Taber 1969:76, Nida, 1971). In Nida's 1971 article he demonstrates how componential analysis was in fact used to select an equivalent for the Biblical term 'reconciliation' in the Venda language of Northern Transvaal. Nida argues that there are three fundamental classes of semantic components: the common, the diagnostic and supplementary components. Common components are those features shared by all the meanings being compared and which constitute the basis of the comparison. Diagnostic components are those features which distinguish the meaning of any set. Supplementary components are additional features which may often be connotative in significance but which are not strictly necessary in contrasting a particular set of meanings.

Nida maintains that the crucial problem for the translator in interpreting a source text is that in dealing with a set of componential features it must be decided which of these sets go together with the greatest probability of mutual fit. The task then is not to reproduce words but to find the closest natural

equivalents for the sets of componential features. Correctness
of translation is not determined in terms of corresponding sets
of words but rather on the basis of corresponding sets of
semantic components accurately represented in the restructuring.

Another considerable influence on translating during this period
was the study of folk taxonomic (Conklin, 1955, 1962). One
possible reason for the absence of any cultural component in
translation approaches up till this time was the fact that
translating had been confined to European languages which share
similar cultural backgrounds. It was no accident that most of
the impetus for a cultural component came from those concerned
with Bible translating. The fact that the Old Testament is
written in a non-European language (Hebrew) and that the mother
tongue of most of the protagonists in the New Testament was
Aramaic, gave Bible translators insights into cultures and
languages distant from those of Europe. In addition Bible
translators were concerned to translate the Bible into languages
of remote cultures and it was logical that the study of culture
and its importance for translating should become the basis for
Bible translating programmes (Bradnock, 1964 and Babut 1971).
The importance given to ethno-semantic concerns has meant that
the teaching of Source Language culture has become a standard
part of the curriculum in many translation institutes. Clearly
from this point on linguistic approaches to translating become
concerned with the culture and the users of language and not

simply linguistic systems and the transmission of codes.

An illustration of a typical cultural problem which a translator might face is given by Adams,

> Probably it is not very important that when the word 'tree' is used a Norwegian thinks automatically of a pine, while a Polynesian thinks of a palm; but it is a more serious problem when the word is set before an Eskimo who has never laid eyes on a tree of any sort. Translation then is faced with a double leap to explain the word and then to explain the experience........(1973:7)

Reyburn (1969:163-5) in summing up the variations in cultural meaning points to the fact that different cultures often assign different meanings to the same forms and activities as well as the converse ie. to assign similar meanings to very different forms and activities. In addition there are some activities whose communicative intent in the Source Language culture is different from that understood in the Target Language Culture.

Peeke (1965:49) writes of his experience of translating the gospels for peoples with no knowledge of horses, donkeys, wine, grapes, market places, political boundaries, or servant/ master relationships. The Journal The Bible Translator has been appearing regularly since the fifties with articles documenting such cultural problems. Similar reports have come from those who have attempted secular translating "everyone of the psychosocial keys to the motivation of the play [Shakespeare's Hamlet] were unintelligible and unacceptable to the Tiv, the tribesmen in

Nigeria (Taber 1980:423).

1.2.4 DYNAMIC EQUIVALENCE

An important technique introduced into the Ethno-semantic approach was that of Dynamic Equivalence. This technique has a long history in its various guises. Koller (1972) refers to "equivalent effect translation" and Newmark (1981) writes about 'communicative translation' as opposed to 'semantic translation'. Reiss (1968) describes a technique called "effect-centred text translating" whereas Catford (1965) discusses the differences between "cultural translation and linguistic translation" and finally Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) discuss "direct procedures as opposed to "indirect procedures".

In one form or another this binary classification has existed for a long time. The whole of translation history seems to be a pendulum swing between "free/idiomatic" translating and "literal/word for word" translating.

> In the pre-linguistics period of writing on translation, which may be said to date from Cicero through St. Jerome, Dryden Tytler, Herder, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Buber, Ortega y Gasset, not to say Savory, opinion swung between literal and free, faithful and beautiful, exact and natural translation, depending on whether the bias was to be in favour of the author or the reader, the source or the target language of the text. (Newmark, 1981:38)

In spite of the existence of this dichotomy within translating throughout the pre-linguistic era, the modern linguistic

versions are more rigorously defined. The most influential and popular version is that of Nida's Dynamic and Formal Equivalence (Nida, 1964:156 ff.) In Nida's formulation of Dynamic Equivalence the need for a pragmatic dimension to translating is made clear. In Dynamic Equivalence the Target Language Text should produce the same effect on the Target Language readers as the Source Language Text had on the original readers. Thus in extending Translation Theory to effects on readers Nida extends the theory from formal to pragmatic concerns. Formal Equivalence on the other hand adheres as closely as possible to the semantic meaning of the source text and is "basically source-oriented; that is, it is designed to reveal as much as possible of the form and content of the original message". (Nida, 1964:165)

Nida refutes the traditional idea that the source language text and the target language text stand in a relation of equivalence and that the meaning of the former is transferred to the latter. With Dynamic Equivalence there is no such replacement of meaning the translation is considered to be just one manifestation of the source text for an audience in a different spatio-temporal background. Such spatio-temporal concerns are in effect pragmatic concerns. Thus the translator is released from the burden of total equivalence and the task of translating becomes more clearly defined.

Perhaps Nida's Christian conviction that the Bible as God's message should be transmittable to every language and culture

leads to the universalist assumption which underlies much of the theory that "Anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message". (Nida and Taber 1969).

The success of the method is judged according to how similar the responses of the target language text readers are to those of the source language text readers (see Nida:1969:1). Consequently a good translation of machine instructions would be one which allowed an engineer to successfully work on that machine. Rabin comments,

> Therefore, the test of such a translation is not linguistic..........The test of a successful translation is therefore, social, psychological or cultural (Rabin 1972:12)

Nida defines Dynamic Equivalence as follows:

> quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the RESPONSE of the RECEPTOR is essentially like that of the original receptors. Frequently, the form of the original text is changed; but as long as the change follows the rules of back transformation in the source language, of contextual consistency in the transfer, and of transformation in the receptor language, the message is preserved and the translation is faithful. The opposite principal is FORMAL CORRESPONDENCE. (Nida 1969:200)

A number of translation theorist have commented on the marked shift in emphasis from Formal to Dynamic Equivalence in this century (Nida, 1964:160) which mirrors the swings from 'faithful' to 'free' which pervade the history of translation and at times

have been the subject of controversy and even persecution (cf.execution of Etienne Dolet, 1509-46 for allegedly mistranslating one of Plato's dialogues Bassnett-McGuire, 1980:54 and in general Kelly:1979). It is significant, I believe, that Second Language Learning Theory has similarly moved away from concerns with the formal structural properties of language towards a greater emphasis on pragmatic features and this is something which will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

A central technique employed to achieve Dynamic Equivalence was that of cultural transposition. This technique involved the translator in filling in cultural gaps which existed in the target language culture by adapting an element of that culture and extending it to cover the source culture item. An example might be substituting horse for camel if camel was completely unknown in the target culture. J.B. Phillips substitutes 'hearty handshake' for 'kiss' in his translation of the "New Testament in Modern English" on the grounds that in Northern European society the equivalent of greeting with a kiss is a handshake (see Boecker 1973:47, Nida, 1964:159-60). However this technique is not without its problems:

> Translators of the Bible in Eskimo tell
> us with understandable pleasure that, in
> casting about for an equivalent to 'lamb
> of God', they find a very successful
> rendering in the phrase 'seal of God'.
> It is a triumph, no doubt about it. But
> how then does one translate 'The Lord is
> my shepherd'"? (Adams, 1973:7).

The problem is not just limited to cultural matters but extends to other aspects of language like grammatical and sociolinguistic matters, in fact when treated as the ultimate panacea for all translation problems Dynamic Equivalence can become an anything goes policy. Nida was alarmed by this tendency and tried to clarify his own position in 1977:

> not every dynamic rendering, irrespective can legitimately be regarded as D.E.translation.

Nida distinguishes between two types of D.E. translation 'cognitive content' and 'emotive response'. When the focus of translation is on the cognitive content the degree of transposition depends upon the importance of the historical time-space setting. Where the objective of the text is to elicit an emotive response from the receptor the translator is comparatively free to employ various devices to achieve a similar objective (Nida b:500-30). Nida's final words on the subject seek to set limits to the D.E. principle:

> Translations which focus upon cognitive content in some instances or upon emotive response in others may be regarded as dynamic-equivalent (D.E.) translations. The ways in which individual translations treat the underlying text may differ radically, and the legitimacy of each translation must depend upon both the nature of the original text (as determined by the two sets of intersecting factors mentioned above) and the type of receptors for which the translation is prepared (1977b:502)

In spite of Nida's understandable reservations regarding Dynamic

Equivalence, from this point on in the development of linguistic theories of translating pragmatic concerns in translating become increasingly central.

1.2.5 THE TEXT LINGUISTIC APPROACH

This approach to translating utilizes the theory and findings of the text linguists (in particular de Beaugrande 1978, de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Werlich 1976, Hatim 1983, Neubert, 1983). Text linguists set out to explain and describe both shared features and distinctions amongst texts and text types. In order to achieve this text linguists need to discover what standards texts fulfil, how they are produced and received, what people are using them for in a given setting of occurrence and so on. Put differently text linguistics is concerned with the interaction of text users both in the production and reception of texts and is thus essentially concerned with pragmatics.

For de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) a text is defined as a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality ie. cohesion, coherence, acceptability, intentionality, situationality, intertextuality and informativity. A text type is viewed as a global framework which

controls the range of options likely to be used.

A translating methodology based on a typology of texts essentially tries to devise strategies whereby the translator can analyze the source language text systematically. In order to facilitate this a set of text types have been identified each with its own characteristics and each therefore demanding a different approach to translation. Clearly this involves training translators in sensitivity to these various text types and in the ability to write in their various styles.

The question of text types is a challenging one for linguistic typology. The major problem being that many instances of text do not manifest the exact characteristics of any one ideal type but are often a blend of more than one type. In addition the demands of a particular text type can be overridden by the demands of a particular context.

de Beaugrande believes that we can't dispense with the traditional text types which people actually use as an heuristic in the process of production and reception. He maintains that we can define some of these text types along functional lines (de Beaugrande is here using 'function' as in Systems Theory ie. the contribution of an element to the workings of the entire system-in this case the system of communication). The most common types identified are Descriptive, Narrative, Expository and Argumentative and some claims are made for the universality of these types.

Many theorists believe that a typology of texts can contribute to translating. de Beaugrande in particular believes that a typology of texts can assist the translator to analyze both the text and the range of receiver reactions so that he or she can preserve as much as possible of this range. A science of texts is thought to be able to assist the translator in this as the language elements are viewed as processes and operations.

The textual standard of intertextuality is of particular importance to the translator and is linked to the role of the reader/ translator. This view of intertextuality ties in with Barthes' theory of the reader as not so much a consumer of text as a producer (Barthes 1974) and as being the place where the text is inscribed. All texts are therefore interdependent because the reader is the focus for this interdependency and fuses the many strands of intertextuality in the one reading/ translating, as Paz puts it:

> Every text is unique and, at the same time, it is the translation of another text. No text is entirely original because language itself, in its essence, is already a translation: firstly, of the non-verbal, world and secondly, since every sign and every phrase is the translation of another sign and another phrase. However, this argument can be turned around without losing any of its validity: all texts are original because every translation is distinctive. Every translation, up to a certain point, is an invention and as such it constitutes a unique text. (Paz 1971:9)

Intertextuality is thought to be the standard of textuality which

is responsible for the evolution of text types as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics. Through intertextuality the parameters of a particular type gradually become fixed and become part of the reader/ writer/ translator's presuppositions and expectations about such types. Translators need to know how these parameters are realized in the target language text and a text typological approach to translating aims at educating translators in their reception and production. Ultimately therefore, a text -typological approach to translating is a pragmatic approach which is concerned to inform the translator about the communicative aspects of text production.

1.3 MACHINE TRANSLATION

I do not intend in this section to give a detailed review of machine translation research but rather I want to discuss those areas of the research which have implications for language learning. A similar development to that which has taken place in linguistic models of translating is evident in machine translation. Machine translation models have moved from a basis in pure linguistic models to models which draw on insights from pragmatics, natural language understanding (N.L.U.) and artificial intelligence (A.I.). As a result of this development it has become clear to researchers in this field that machine translation cannot operate successfully without reference to pragmatic features of language and it is this fact which is central to the argument of this thesis.

A further development in machine translation indicates that the translating process requires some kind of interim phase and this insight is paralleled by research in second language acquisition which posits a similar interim phase in the learner's transition from language which is closely aligned with mother tongue norms to one which is more like, if not identical with the second language.

To take the issue of the role of pragmatics in machine translation first, it is helpful to look at some of the aims and theory surrounding early machine translating. Attempts to develop fully automatic M.T. began in the 1950's with the intention of translating from one specific source language into one target language. This [1]system used large dictionaries with linear manipulation of input and output followed by some reorganization of word order within a local context. The system was rather crude, produced disappointing results and relied heavily on human editors to produce an acceptable text.

DIRECT TRANSLATION
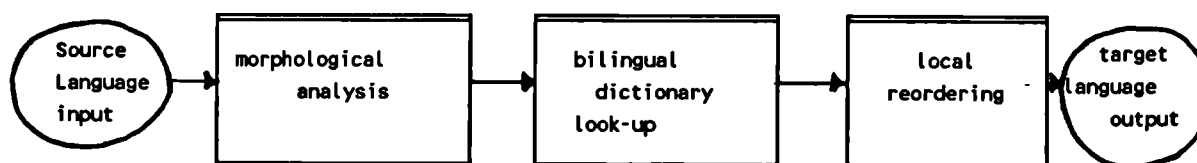
(Taken from Hutchins and Somers 1992:72)

The major problem encountered at this stage was dealing with ambiguity. In the case of homonyms such as 'saw' which might represent a noun, a present tense verb or a past tense verb there was very little available which would enable the machine to disambiguate and produce the intended sense. Some models (eg. *SYSTRAN*) developed a system known as local scope where an analysis was performed on each separate word in order to determine its part of speech, sense and possible idiomatic usage using those words to the immediate left or right of the word being analyzed. However such a limited system as local scope was inadequate to disambiguate homonyms. Without more detailed attention to the wider context the system would inevitably produce poor results.

In 1958 a review of machine translation research was commissioned and its findings were published in the A.L.P.A.C. report. The report was the work of Bar-Hillel who condemned the enterprise largely for the reasons discussed above. In Bar-Hillel's view fully automatic reliable machine translation was not possible as human translators ultimately relied on their knowledge of the world to perform their tasks. In Hillel's opinion it would be impossible to programme a machine with adequate world knowledge consequently in his opinion the whole enterprise was doomed to failure. To illustrate his point Bar-Hillel pointed out that although in the following example a human translator would have no difficulty in disambiguating the sense of the word 'pen' a machine could never be programmed to do this as the kind of

knowledge required was not available in pure linguistics or computational algorithms but only through experience of the world.

> Little John was looking for his toy box.
> Finally he found it. The box was in the
> pen. John was happy. (Bar-Hillel,
> 1958)

Since Bar-Hillel made this statement considerable progress has been made in artificial intelligence and natural language understanding and it now seems that his pessimism was unjustified. The salient point, however is that he drew attention to the fact that translating involves more than the decoding of formal linguistic features but centrally involves attention to the pragmatic features of language.

Further developments in machine translation have led to the replacement of local scope, mentioned above, with [2]global scope systems. Again the development is a significant move towards incorporating a more pragmatic approach to the model where the meaning of a word is determined by reference to its context ie. a unified analysis of the sentence (more rarely the paragraph). The more context involved in the determination of meaning clearly the more pragmatically oriented the model becomes and this is certainly the trend in more recent models of machine translation.

A further development in machine translation which is relevant to this discussion is the reflection in the models of an interim phase in the process of translating reminiscent of interim phases in other . . e onerorena, nctably pia na iist an .

second language acquisition. I referred above to the general
dissatisfaction with direct models of translation which moved in
a straight forward fashion from one source text language via
morphological analysis and dictionary look up to a specific
target language synthesis following minor local re-ordering. It
was felt that an intermediate phase would improve the product and
in this they were in agreement with some linguistic models (see
Nida and Frawley above).

The stimulus for such a phase came from the idea prevalent in the
1960's that there were deep linguistic universals which underlay
the surface structures of languages. The theory was that the
representation of meaning in machine translation should be cast
in an intermediate or pivot language (a term significantly used
to model child language acquisition). This representation of
meaning is independent of the source and target languages rather
in the same way that second language users' productions are now
viewed. [3]This approach to machine translation has two phases:
understanding and paraphrasing (see Winograd, 1972,1973). The
first phase is expressed as an interlingua and the second phase
generates the target language(s).

The advantages of this system were at first thought to be that
because of the interlingua it could lead to multilingual
translations and would produce high quality translations. This
particular approach was favoured by those working in natural
language understanding (N.L.U.) and artificial intelligence
(A.I.). Supporters of this approach claim that it is superior

to a transfer approach as the latter only 'understands' at the surface level however as Tsujii (1985) has noted not all information is conveyed by the deep case structures as surface structures convey extra information concerned with eg. the focus of the discourse, old and new information etc. and that such information is relevant to the target language structures.

> Generally speaking,for translation, we have to extract from texts, not only what is described (the extra-linguistic aspects of texts) but also how it is described and how the texts are organized (the linguistic aspects of texts).(Tsujii op.cit.p 655)

INTERLINGUAL APPROACH

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Taken from Hutchins and Somers 1992:74)

Since the demise of a purely behaviouristic view of language

acquisition, learners have come to be seen as creatively constructing their own language which, however is in a constant state of transition. Such learner language is known as learner's interlanguage (Corder, 1967) and is felt to be independent of both mother tongue and foreign language norms but which gradually approximates to the foreign or second language.

I would claim that the process of translating like language learning is a similar interim system to interlanguage, though in the case of translators most of the interim forms remain inaccessible as they are synthesized into target forms before they are written down. It is therefore only with the novice translator that evidence of such interim language becomes available.

The most recent development in machine translation is the [4]transfer approach and this system also uses an interim language phase. In this system the underlying representation of the meaning of a grammatical unit differs depending on the source language from which it was derived and the target language into which it is to be translated. There is therefore a transfer stage where one specific meaning representation is mapped onto another consequently the overall process is analysis, transfer and synthesis. The transfer phase is contrastive and lexical items, stereotyped expressions and syntactic and semantic structures of the language are compared before being transferred to the target language.

Direct translation has then been abandoned for Indirect and

Transfer models of machine translation which employ an interim phase in the translating process similar to interim phases in other language phenomena. I will be looking more closely at the precise nature of these similarities in chapter 4; at this point I merely want to note the similarities between the interim phases of machine translating and language acquisition.

The evolution of machine translation models away from systems designed to deal with the transfer of linguistic codes to models which include components developed from artificial intelligence and natural language understanding to deal with the pragmatic features of language is something I want to pursue in more detail later in this thesis. It is, I think, significant that both language teaching and translation theory now recognize the importance of pragmatic knowledge and in chapter three I want to look at the role translating might play in the development of communicative competence.

TRANSFER MODEL

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Taken from Hutchins and Somers 1992:76)

1.4 LITERARY APPROACHES

Literary approaches to translating see the process as essentially about interpretation. Views of text interpretation have changed substantially over the last twenty or so years from a sole concern with the text to an approach which maintains that the reader's experience of the world is at least co-equal in importance to the marks on the printed page. Such approaches are diverse in scope and there is considerable overlap with philosophical approaches. In fact the hermeneutic approach owes much to the philosophical influences of Heidegger and Gadamer. The development in literary approaches to translating has been from literary theories which see interpretation in terms of a decoding model to more discourse oriented approaches where meaning is negotiated between the reader and the text and where the importance of the reader's experience is taken into account.

The discovery of Benjamin's paper Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers originally published in 1923 and the influence of the philosophers Heidegger and Gadamer has led to a renewal of interest in hermeneutic inquiries into translating and interpreting. The movement views interpretation as being on a metaphysical plane and its concerns are ontological rather than epistemic. The word hermeneutic comes from a Greek verb (ἑρμηνεύω) which means to interpret and the approach is best described as the science of interpretation. Hermeneutics covers other fields than translating notably biblical exegesis, general philological methodology and the science of linguistic understanding, however this discussion will be limited to its

relevance   to   translating.

In the sense that translating can be broadly conceived of as interpreting and re-textualization then all translating can be thought of as hermeneutics.   The hermeneutic approach to translating is not that of a straight forward recovery of meaning through decoding linguistic form but an active interaction between the language of the text and the translator who employs experience of the world and other texts in an attempt to negotiate meaning.

In a hermeneutic approach this is not a passive process; the text is not an object but rather a co-subject with whom the translator negotiates.   The understanding of a text requires more than analysis, description and classification (see Lefevre, 1976:160) neither is language perceived of as neutral but rather ontological and intersubjective. Hermeneutics opposes a view of language scientifically characterized as epistemic, positive and objective. The translator has then to enter into a dialogue with the text and negotiate meaning with it rather in the way that discourse approaches to reading model this process (Widdowson 1979).

For the ontological interpreter 'understanding' ceases to be a mode of knowing in order to become a 'way of being' and of relating itself to beings and being (Ricoeur 1971:141-2). Heidegger laid emphasis on the role of language in human existence and perceived language as a mode of Being (Sein) of

man's primary manifestation of his humanity. The hermeneutic
approach believes it wrong to view signs as mere indicators or
language as just a means of expression rather it inverts the
commonly held relation of man and language and sees man as the
instrument of language rather than language as man's tool. For
Gadamer when speaking we submerge ourselves in the vital energy
which makes man.

> The understanding of a text has not
> begun at all as long as the text remains
> mute. But a text can begin to
> speak......When it does begin to speak
> however, it does not simply speak its
> word, always the same, in lifeless
> rigidity, but gives ever new answers to
> the person who questions it and poses
> ever new questions to him who answers
> it. To understand a text is to come to
> understand oneself in a kind of
> dialogue. This contention is confirmed
> by the fact that the concrete dealing
> with a text yields understanding only
> when what is said in the text begins to
> find expression in the interpreter's own
> language. (Gadamer [1962] 1976:57).

For the hermeneutic interpreter it is sterile to try and
reconstruct the meaning hidden in a text as every act of
interpretation should be a genuine conversation through which
'something different has come to be' (Gadamer op.cit.)
Paradoxically the interpreter's own giveness or prejudice in the
sense of pre-judgements (see Gadamer op.cit.240) is seen as a
positive asset in understanding. An indispensable element of
epistemic understanding is its insistence on existentiality,
historicality and scientific repeatability. For the hermeneutic
interpreter the proverb that one can't wash ones feet in the same
river twice is central as the same utterance heard or uttered a
second time is no longer the same utterance. All understanding

takes place in historical time and thus our present is a vital
extension of our past, consequently understanding is not a
repetition or duplication of a past intention but a mediation of
past meaning into the present situation. This belief in an
element of inexplicability in human communication is by no means
new to literary critics indeed I.A.Richards pointed out that
scientific methods were not always applicable to human
understanding (1938:103-4).

What then does hermeneutics mean to translators? By helping them
to understand the nature of understanding they can approach the
source language text more honestly (Gadamer 1976 Editor's
Introduction xxii). The hermeneutic approach evokes courage and
humility in the translator. Humility because understanding of
the source language text is always relative to one's own giveness
and therefore meaning can never be imposed or transposed onto the
consciousness of another. Courage because the personal
creativity of translators is affirmed and they need not be
haunted by the myth of the reading or the translation of the
text.

The translator is then an educator who has been freed from purely
epistemic perspectives and thus any skill, knowledge or strategy
which can help the translator sympathize with an author can be
used. A personal hermeneutic experience of interpretation can
be induced by a broad literary training in such disciplines as
eg. literary criticism, stylistics, translation criticism,
comparative literature, aesthetics, creative writing etc.

Other literary approaches to translating betray the influences
of the various literary schools to which they owe allegiance.
Examples can be found of approaches which reflect the influence
of close reading, reader centred, new criticism , structuralist,
deconstructionist and others, though space does not permit me to
look at them all in detail. All that I can attempt here is to
look at a number of examples which draw on these theories and
give a summary of their main points of contact with language
teaching.

Rabessa, the well known translator of Gabriel Garcia Marquez sees
the translator as a close reader and a writer.

> The translator, therefore like the
> critic and scholar, must be a reader.
> The ideal translator must be the ideal
> reader, a rare breed, for a translation
> must be the closest possible reading of
> a work. The fact that people who can
> read another language well cannot always
> translate it well into their own tongue
> means that the translator must also be
> a writer. He must have at least those
> "technical" skills that the writer
> possesses. Although his own imagination
> is governed by that of his author, it
> still must be able to understand and
> follow what the latter is imagining. A
> translator is a reader, then, but one
> who writes what he reads. (Rabessa
> 1975:23)

He sees the translator as an ideal reader therefore in his view
current theories of reading are relevant to translating.
Essential to such theories is how the reader creates meaning from
the text. Clearly a simple de-coding and transmission model of
reading is no longer adequate as a reader must negotiate meaning
with a text. The reader has to enter into a discourse with the

text; a discourse which is informed by the reader's particular experience. The marks on the page can only become meaningful when they are brought to life through interaction an interaction ultimately informed by the reader's pragmatic knowledge.

Similarly, Rabessa's claim that the translator has to be a writer means that current approaches to writing are relevant to translating. Writing is currently also viewed as a discourse process (1980,1984). Although writers do not have a physically present addressee with whom they can negotiate meaning, the process of writing includes the ability to imagine an addressee and to predict how they will react to and negotiate text. Put differently the writer has to be simultaneously addresser and addressee and the negotiation process normally carried out by at least two interactants has to be carried out in the head of one. This is of course no mean feat and probably has a lot to do with why so few ever come close to making a particular success of writing.

Rabessa has also decried the disappearance of translating as a tool within language teaching, as for him to translate a text is to give that text the closest possible reading. A reading which enables readers to absorb elements of language and culture that a more superficial reading would overlook. He adds that translating provides a comparative framework which allows the learner to relate elements of the foreign language with relevant elements of the mother tongue. In other words translating enables what is known to be brought into contact with the

partially known in a comparative framework.

Reader centred approaches thus place crucial importance on the role of the reader in the interpreting process. As each reader must inevitably approach a text with a different world view the text will be re-interpreted and recreated according to that reader's own time, culture and experience. Barnstone (1983) notes that every translation varies with the translator precisely because translating depends so vitally on the two processes of reading and writing and for him translators must in the last analysis be judged in terms of having written their own work which can only be legitimately thought of as a 'perfect counterfeit'.

Interesting for later discussion are Rabessa's views on language and literature teaching. He feels that translation work improves a student's language and he decries the disappearance of translation as a tool in language learning. For Rabessa the most careful reading that can be given to any text is to translate it. The study of language becomes clearer within a comparative framework and such a comparative framework is provided by translation where what is known is brought into contact with the partially known in a relevant framework.

In Derrida and later Barthes' writings the intellectual movement known as Deconstruction emerged as a challenge to the way in which Structuralism, initially a liberating approach to literature and other disciplines, had been appropriated and as

it were tamed by the academic establishment. Through the use
of paradox and other devices deconstruction unpicked the
established binary terms used by the structuralist critics eg.
the Saussurean concepts of the arbitrariness versus the non
arbitrary nature of the sign, the signifier and the signified,
the primacy of speech versus writing etc. In doing so most of
the accepted apparatus of literary criticism was overturned. On
the question of the sign and translation and of whether any
translation can be made to signify the same thing as the original
text, Derrida (Positions 1981:31) in discussing whether the
opposition between sign and signified is an historical delusion,
has this to say:

> That this opposition or difference
> cannot be radical and absolute does not
> prevent it from functioning, and even
> from being indispensable within certain
> limits-very wide limits. For example no
> translation would be possible without
> it. And in fact the theme of a
> transcendental signified was constituted
> within the horizon of an absolutely
> pure, transparent and unequivocal
> translatability. Within the limits to
> which it is possible, or at least
> **appears** possible, translation practices
> the difference between signifier and
> signified. But if this difference is
> never pure, translation is no more so;
> and for the notion of translation we
> would have to substitute a notion of
> **transformation**: a regulated
> transformation of one language by
> another, of one text by another. We
> will never have, and in fact have never
> had, any 'transfer' of pure signifieds,
> -from one language to another, or within
> one language- which would be left virgin
> and intact by the signifying instrument
> or 'vehicle'.
> (op. cit. original emphasis)

Deconstructionalist approaches acknowledge the creative aspect
of translation but are also concerned with its destructive

effects. Translating destroys the source language to release its meaning and recovers the 'pure' language which is inherent in all languages however in doing so the original must be to some extent defaced.

Waldrop (1984) compares translation to a ruined statue, the original is visible, though mutilated and eroded, yet in some strange way it is made more beautiful by the nature of its imperfections in the way that some ruins are beautiful as ruins.

Literary approaches to translation are uniformly against the idea of translation as an exact science, a view which can be found in certain linguistic and machine translation approaches. The translator is studied as a writer and a reader and these terms are exploited for all that is currently known about these complex processes. Because the act of translating is not viewed as an exact or scientifically precise event literary approaches stress and celebrate the creative capacity of the translator.

1.5 PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION

In this brief discussion of philosophical approaches to translating I will not be able to provide a comprehensive review of the field (see Guenthner and Guenthner-Reutter, 1978) but will try to foreground a central issue in philosophical debates about translating which I believe is relevant to this thesis. In attempting to formulate precisely on what basis translation equivalence is predicated philosophers have drawn attention to

the use which translators necessarily make of non-linguistic knowledge. In the past it was assumed that translating must be primarily if not solely concerned with linguistic knowledge and indeed it has been criticised as a language teaching tool precisely for this reason. However when an actual instance of what philosophers refer to as radical translation was investigated (Chadwick, 1970) it became evident that translators in fact make use of pragmatic knowledge far more frequently than they did of syntactic systems. In other words philosophical investigations into radical translating support the evidence drawn from linguistic and literary models of translating which demonstrate that translating is not simply a semantic and syntactic process but one which relies heavily on the processing of pragmatic knowledge.

Radical translation refers to the process of translating a language which the researcher or translator has never previously encountered. Quine (1960) was the first philosopher to pose the question of radical translation which he did within the context of a fictitious jungle linguist confronted with a hitherto untranslated language. Quine asked how such a linguistic field worker would set about the problem of decoding this language. It is not without significance that Quine's example should have Bloomfieldian and Skinnerian echoes as Quine's view of language is essentially empiricist and behaviourist believing language to be accountable entirely in terms of stimulus and response. In pursuing the problem of radical translation Quine hypothesized that the field worker would have to ask a native speaker

informant to assist him with the problem. The easiest part of the task would be identifying physical concepts such as the description of colours and the shapes of natural objects. However, when it came to dealing with mental concepts such as descriptions of a person's propositional attitudes Quine speculated that the linguist would run into the problem of projection. The difficulty as Quine saw it would be that such linguists could never be sure whether or not they had projected their own mental scheme onto the newly encountered language. For Quine the central problem was that the mental system would have to be worked out in terms of physical descriptions of the environment and the behaviour of the inhabitants.

Another philosopher who has concerned himself with the problem of radical translation is Davidson (1973). Wallace (1979), in a discussion of Quine and Davidson's approach to this problem argues that both theories can be divided into three parts which answer three basic questions:

> 1. What is the evidence on which translation is based?
>
> 2. How is the evidence marshalled? That is, what are the principles for sifting and sorting the evidence so that it speaks for or against competing schemes of translation?
>
> 3. What is the evidence marshalled for? That is, in what form are translations stated?
>
> (Wallace, op.cit.p.194)

Quine and Davidson agree that the answer to the third question is that it takes the form of a translation manual, where a recursive correlation is established between the sentences of the foreign language and those of the linguist's native language. Concerning question one Quine and Davidson give examples of the physical scheme and the things which the jungle linguist would first encounter on arrival eg. the shapes and colours of naturally occurring objects. Descriptions of sentence meaning, translation of sentences, description of what someone has said, and descriptions of a person's propositional attitudes are agreed to be part of the mental scheme.

However when it comes to the second question of how the evidence is to be marshalled the two philosophers have strongly divergent views. Quine's approach to the evidence as noted above is essentially behaviourist so that when a speaker responds to language heard while viewing a scene by either assent or dissent they respond by using what Quine refers to as an observation sentence. Agreement or disagreement with an observation sentence will depend only on the speaker's past learning of the language, present stimulus and on no other learning. Consequently all speakers of the language would be prompted to assent or dissent in the same way from the same patterns of stimulus. Quine's requirement for an adequate translation is that it correlate an observation sentence of the foreign language with an observation sentence of the ethnographer's language for all range of stimulus. Such an essentially behaviourist theory is of course flawed as has been demonstrated forcefully by Chomsky (1959)

precisely because no one can predict what linguistic response
will be given to any stimulus and the likelihood is that such
responses will vary considerably amongst native speakers.

Davidson's view is more plausible and is convergent with the idea
now well established in pragmatic literature that meaning is
negotiated between interactants. In Davidson's terms speakers
communicate with each other on the basis of what he calls a
principle of charity.

> Charity is forced on us; whether we like
> it or not, if we want to understand
> others, we must count them right in most
> matters(Davidson 1974)

and
> What matters is this: if all we know is
> what sentences a speaker holds
> true........then we cannot take even a
> first step towards interpretation
> without knowing or assuming a great deal
> about the speakers' beliefs. Since
> knowledge of beliefs comes only with the
> ability to interpret words, the only
> possibility at the start is to assume
> general agreement on beliefs (ibid:18)

Davidson's theory is reminiscent of Grice's co-operative
principle (1975, 1978) in that understanding between speaker is
believed to depend on co-operation at the deepest level, or as
Davidson puts it counting others "right in most matters". For
Davidson the key issue is that we should translate in such a way
as to maximize agreement with the speaker of the other language
whereas for Quine an adequate translation depends on the
correlation of an observation sentence of the foreign language
with an observation sentence of the ethnographer's language
across all ranges of stimulus. Consequently Quine and Davidson

arrive at different answers to the question of whether two languages can be translated or not. Quine maintains that the answer must be no as the observation sentences of any two languages may not match or relate to the precise same set of stimulus. However Davidson asserts that translation is always possible as we can always produce a translation which will maximize agreement, or put in pragmatic terms, translators can always negotiate meaning between source and target languages.

Fortunately an actual instance of radical translation exits and the methodology of those who worked on the translation is available for scrutiny. The answer to the problem which has concerned philosophers such as Davidson and Quine can be found in the accounts of the decipherment of Linear B. In 1900 a number of clay tablets were found at a dig in Knossos by the scholar Arthur Evans. The tablets were inscribed in an unknown script and in an unknown language. It was not until 1952 that the problem was finally solved. Wallace (1979:199) describes the tablets:

> The tablets are inventories,accounts, or receipts. They record commodities, persons, or other items by means of ideograms, which are introduced by, names, words, and sentences written phonetically and followed by numerals or numerals together with signs from the system of weights and measures. Thus the basic entry of the tablets has the form: sequence of phonetic signs, space, ideogram, space, numeral (or numeral plus signs for weights and measures).

These numerals and ideograms were essential for the eventual decipherment of the documents and clearly they were an early clue

as to the text type of the tablets.

Some of the initial methods used by the scholars appeared to lend weight to Quine and Davidson's theories. Some of the ideograms were obvious and self-explanatory and so the preceding word was taken to name or describe what that ideogram represented. This appears to support Quine's theory of how the evidence would be used ie. the language is firstly keyed in to the physical world.

On the other hand the way the numerical system was interpreted appears to support Davidson's theory of the principle of charity.

> That we have to deal with a decimal
> system is clearly shown by the fact that
> the units are never more than nine in
> number, the same rule applying to the
> tens and hundreds. (Evans, 1935)

By applying the principle of charity such an interpretation can be reached for if we take the system to be other than decimal all their additions will be incorrect however if we assume that they are decimal then their additions are correct- thus maximizing agreement in accordance with Davidson's principle of charity.

However Wallace (ibid) claims that for Quine and Davidson a picture would be as much a symbol as a phonetic sign. Consequently according to their theories it would not be possible for a symbol to have a self evident interpretation. In the actual practices of scholars working on linear B the scholars took as evidence what that philosophers would have regarded as theory. In the same way Wallace says we cannot strictly apply Davidson's

principle of charity to the interpretation of numbers for if all that was known about the inscriptions was that they were asserted or believed there would be no reason to assume that the signs on the right end of the inscriptions were numerals.

The evidence presented by linear B is in a much more powerful form than that which Quine and Davidson offer for interpretation. It enables the linguists to use what they know about the contextual frame ie. palace records, administrative records together with other aspects of the context of situation ie. the archaeological evidence of the size of the palace and the population of the time. If the data were presented in the impoverished form suggested by Quine and Davidson it is doubtful if interpretation would have been possible. Put differently the data of linear B allowed the linguists to make use of pragmatic knowledge.

The evidence on which linear B was interpreted is often richer that expected by the philosophical theories yet it is interesting to note that at times it is poorer. The theories for example assume that the noise/speech, writing/doodling distinction will be given, however in one instance it was not clear whether an inscription was actual writing or illiterate doodling. In the end what had initially been taken as a Cypriot form of the word for the Greek god Poseidon was eventually agreed to be a possible attempt by an illiterate person to fake the appearance of writing. (Chadwick, J.1970)

Quine's theory of observation sentences hardly fits the facts and though Davidson's theory of the principle of charity may fare slightly better than Quine's he makes all the interpretative moves basically alike and what is clear from the evidence of the scholars is that there is considerable diversity in the type of interpretive moves and in the insights employed.

It is illuminating to look at a number of examples from the early stages in the process of decipherment and bare in mind how they contrast with Quine and Davidson's theories. Cowley (1927) was able to decipher the words for 'boy' and 'girl' from a large tablet listing 37 personnel entries following the following form:

sequence of phonetic signs---Woman ideogram--Number-XY-Number.
or
sequence of phonetic signs-Woman ideogram-Number-XZ-Number.
or
sequence of phonetic signs-Woman ideogram-Number-XY-number-XZ-Number.

Although the number system had by this time been deciphered and the woman ideogram could be taken as self evident the sequence of phonetic signs was not yet understood. Despite this Cowley was able to deduce that XY and XZ meant 'boy' and 'girl' though he could not be certain as to whether he was dealing with words or compound ideograms. Later it was demonstrated that Cowley was essentially correct though in fact he was wrong about which sign meant boy and which meant girl. Wallace (ibid) points out that

judged in strictly philosophical terms Cowley's reasoning is not valid. Cowley's inference was that if women workers were regularly recorded as accompanied by others then these others were likely to be children. Clearly Cowley was employing world knowledge to arrive at an interpretation.

Ventris (1973) was able to classify a number of personal names purely on the basis of exhaustive comparison of the context in which the sequence of signs occurred. An important criterion was that the sequence should occur with a man or woman ideogram followed by a number one. In order to arrive at this interpretation Ventris used the prior interpretations of the ideograms and the numerals as well as the context of situation ie. palace administrative records of organized economic activity. Again we have an example of one of the translator/ researchers utilizing pragmatic knowledge this time schematic knowledge of administrative records.

Even in the decipherment of the morphology of linear B the role of pragmatic knowledge and inferencing based on such knowledge was central to the decipherment process. As an illustration of this it is worth quoting at length Kober's description of her methodology for identifying inflection which proved to be the most important contribution during the pre-decipherment stage.

> Since a study of the kind here contemplated is almost unprecedented, it is necessary to set down the rules governing what will be considered admissible as evidence. Any facts mentioned which do not conform strictly to these rules must be considered

supplementary and under no circumstances as evidence on which further theorizing can be based.
The rules are simple. It is obvious that in any language written in an alphabet or syllabary, a certain number of words can be found that have many signs in common and still are not related -eg. in English the pairs 'heavy' and 'heaven', 'berry' and merry 'each have four signs in common. Yet they are not related, although a careless alien might conclude that they showed suffixal and prefixal inflection respectively. The words must come from statements dealing with the same subject matter; then the presumption that similar types of words are used is valid: if identical words or phrases appear in the different statements, the assumption is strengthened. If in statements, connected with one another by an identity of subject matter and a certain amount of identity in the words used, similar words appear, differing only slightly in spelling, the deduction that such changes are due to inflection is certainly permissible. Once the fundamental likelihood that a change of a certain type represents inflection is established, the findings may be supplemented by similar examples from extraneous material. (Kober,A.1945)

Kober makes clear the central importance of the context of situation and notes that one cannot afford to draw conclusions about the morphosyntactic material in isolation from the pragmatic. The problem of accidental similarity ('heavy', 'heaven'), was a serious difficulty which the scholars were able to overcome by careful attention to contextual clues eg. ideograms and the text type of administrative record. The problem of inflection could not have been solved if all they had to go on was a system of beliefs as envisaged by Quine. Clearly the contextual frame was of considerable importance and on a

number of occasions the scholars involved in the decipherment left the inscriptions and researched the real world eg. the number of sheep in Crete, how many rams it would need to breed flocks etc. This point, which is of considerable importance to this thesis, was one which both Quine and Davidson both overlooked in their accounts of radical translation. In Wallace (ibid.) the theories of Quine and Davidson when compared to an actual instance of radical translation do not fit the overall evidence because they overlook such factors as world knowledge, pragmatics and the context of situation.

1.6 SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

The aim of this chapter has been to define the processes and products of translating and then to review aspects of translation theory which have relevance for language learning. The purpose of this has been to see how feasible it might be to incorporate translating into a broader communicative language teaching methodology. It is important to any discussion of the place of translating within language teaching that the products and processes of translating be precisely understood. It is, incidentally also important to understand such products and processes in the other disciplines in which translating plays a role eg. comparative literature, sociology, anthropology etc. Translating is not, nor can it ever be a precise mirror image of the target language text and this is not attributable simply to the defects of the translator. Given a perfect knowledge of both source and target languages and all the necessary skills, translators cannot achieve an exact mimesis. Appreciation of

this fact informs all approaches to translating.

Linguistic approaches to translating follow a surprisingly similar path of development to that evident in language teaching namely a progression from a focus on purely formal aspects of language to a concern with its communicative features. Given that language learning and translating are both manifestations of language use it is perhaps more surprising that they should ever have been viewed separately.

Early philological approaches to translating were prescriptive and adopted a diachronic perspective to language. This approach lacked a distinction between langue and parole. Later formal views of translating corrected the earlier prescriptivism and altered the focus of attention to the synchronic dimension of language but, however, were still limited in perspective. The semantic and pragmatic dimensions of language were still neglected and translating was felt to be simply about the mechanistic transfer of codes. Such approaches gave no recognition to the creative dimension of translating and the whole process was felt to be about form without regard for a user perspective.

The Ethno-Semantic approach brought with it an attention to meaning and employed componential analysis as a tool with which to achieve Dynamic Equivalence. With the formulation of the Dynamic Equivalence approach to translating the progression in linguistic approaches to translating to pragmatics and the

importance of culture is finally made. The central claim of a Dynamic Equivalence approach is that function should have priority over form. This dimension is further strengthened and extended in the Text Linguistic approach to the translating process. For the first time the whole text becomes the unit of analysis and the reader's experience of the world and other texts becomes an important factor in the translating process. The translator in a Text Linguistic approach to translating is no longer conceived of as a passive, mechanistic decoder of linguistic form but has an active, creative role to play.

The parallels with developments in language teaching methodology are evident although there is one important difference. The communicative approach to language teaching has been accused of neglecting the formal aspects of language in favour of the pragmatic whereas translating by its very nature has to unite form with function and this is one important benefit from translating which I will discuss in chapter 3.

The discussion of machine translation resulted in a similar conclusion to that drawn from linguistic models of translating namely translating requires attention to the pragmatic features of language. It was discovered that the central difference between machine and human translators is that humans draw on pragmatic knowledge and that unless such a component can be devised and implemented within machine translation models the entire project is doomed to failure (Bar-Hillel, 1960). If this pragmatic component is so essential to the success of machine

translation it follows that translating cannot be about the mere transposition of linguistic codes as has been argued. Translating deserves a place within a communicative approach to language teaching because it is centrally concerned with the communicative aspects of language.

Other important developments within machine translation which concern this thesis are the interlingua and transfer models. Both Frawley and Nida's linguistic models (see chapter 4) support the idea that translating requires an interim transfer phase. Research into Artificial Intelligence and Natural Language Understanding have described the process of translating with great delicacy in order to clarify the actual human counterparts. Transfer and Interlingual systems of machine translation suggest that translating like language learning requires an interim phase. This phase is known in language learning as interlanguage and has parallels with other interim systems like pidgins, creoles and first and second language acquisition. I shall be discussing these similarities in chapter four.

Literary approaches to translating emphasise the central role of translators as 'readers' and 'writers' and therefore current approaches to reading and writing are relevant to translating. Translators must call into play all the skills employed by competent readers in order to interpret the source text and must also possess the ability of writers when they produce the target text.

Literary translators like Rabessa argue that translating should be used pedagogically as it provides a comparative framework for relating features of the source language with the target language. This view has support from Brumfit (1981) who maintains that learning is facilitated if it is presented within a systematic framework as opposed to a random presentation.

Finally the philosophical approach to translating through a discussion of the problem of radical translation and by reference to actual details regarding the decipherment of Linear B confirms that reference to pragmatic knowledge is essential for translators. The view then that translating is merely about the transposition of linguistic codes and is therefore of no value within a communicative approach to language teaching is consequently falsified.

All the approaches to translating reviewed in this chapter clearly demonstrate that any characterization of translating which ignores its fundamental concerns with the pragmatic dimension of language must be inaccurate. It follows therefore that translating ought to have a role within communicative language teaching because this approach is concerned with the pragmatic features of language. Translating is particularly relevant to this approach as there are concerns that the communicative approach has neglected the formal aspects of language in its zeal to pursue the communicative and translating is a process which though concerned with the pragmatic must necessarily remain involved with form.

I shall pursue the place of translating within a communicative approach later in this thesis in chapter 3. However before I discuss this I want to look at the role translating has played within the history of language teaching and in particular isolate the reasons which it was abandoned after it had played so prominent a role for such a large part of that history.

CHAPTER TWO

TRANSLATING IN LANGUAGE TEACHING: A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter I looked at the products and processes of translating and what translation theory tells us about these. The central lesson to emerge was that pragmatic features are a salient feature of translating and that any model of the process which omitted to take account of these features and which represented it as the transcoding of semantic and syntactic elements misrepresented it. In this chapter I want to look at which periods in the history of language teaching have encouraged the use of translating in particular and bilingual approaches generally, and which have led to a monolingual approach. In this way I hope to uncover what reasons lie behind the rejection of translating within language teaching and then examine these reasons in the light of what translation theory has to say about them. Unfortunately I will not be able to give a comprehensive history of language teaching (but for this see Kelly, 1969, Stern, 1983, Howatt, 1984, and Richard and Rogers, 1986).

It has to said from the outset that a monolingual approach which bans the use of translating as a part of its methodology, or which rejects any reference to the mother tongue, is a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of language teaching. In effect bilingual approaches to language were the norm until a dissatisfaction with the Grammar Translation method led to the Reform Movement in the late 19th. century. Significantly the key members of the Reform Movement, Sweet and Jespersen, were not

against the use of translating (see below p,81), in fact Sweet wrote quite persuasively for the inclusion of translating within the language class (Sweet, 1989/1964). The real opponent of translating was Berlitz (1888/92) and given the lack of any theoretical basis to his particular version of the Direct Method, it is difficult to understand why his opposition to translating had such a pervasive influence. Commercial reasons are as prominent as any in the rationale behind the Berlitz version of the Direct Method. If schools were to run courses in several different languages it would be difficult and expensive to recruit teachers who knew both the foreign language and the mother tongue of the learners: far cheaper to have monolingual teachers who were native speakers of the required foreign language who could quickly be shown the simple but rigid methodology required.

In order to uncover then the reasons behind the abandoning of translating within language teaching I will need to examine the various teaching methodologies and the theories on which they have been built. I will look first at bilingual methods of language teaching which actively employ the use of translating. These methods span from the Middle Ages to the late 19th. century at which point attitudes to translating begin to change. I will look in detail at these changes and try to establish their extent and the reasons which lay behind them. I will then discuss monolingual methods which more or less exclude translating ie. from the Reform Movement to the present day Communicative Approach. Finally I will look at a number of fringe

methodologies which have arisen since the sixties and which have to some extent re-instated translating as an integral part of their methodologies.

2.2 BILINGUAL APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE TEACHING FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO 1800.

[5]From the earliest attempts to teach French in the 14th. century to the late 19th. century the central methodology pursued was bilingual. Texts were nearly always everyday dialogues which were felt to be practical and were accompanied by mother tongue translations. Very often such language teaching manuals were so called double manuals and as such were not specific to one foreign language. That is a double French English manual was thought to be equally useful for learning either English or French. Caxton's manual of 1483 was simply a bilingual text without linguistic notes or comment and yet was felt to be sufficient as a language teaching course book. The prevailing methodology was what became known as the double translation method and pupils were required to translate from the foreign language to the mother tongue and then back again (Ascham,1570). Later Webbe (1627) was to condemn a literal semantic approach to translating but continued to use translating based on larger units of equivalence. By utilizing more context Webbe was in effect arguing for a more pragmatic use of translating within language teaching. Similarly Comenius (1592-1670) insisted on connecting language with the world of things and in so doing was moving away from translating texts in isolation to a renewal with the context of situation. The earliest E.F.L. course books also

retained the basic methodology of everyday dialogues and the use of translating as a pedagogic device. The progress made in this period was not achieved by abandoning the practice of translating but through a shift away from a literal semantic type of translating to one which took account of the pragmatic features of language.

Throughout the Anglo-French plantagenet dynasty French was the second language of Britain, though towards the end of the middle ages French was gradually replaced by English. The earliest extant manual for teaching French was produced by an unknown East Anglican author from Bury St. Edmunds and dates from 1396. It consists of a useful collection of everyday dialogues for travellers to France and is the first of several such manuals which appeared in the 15th. and 16th. centuries and were forerunners of the situational type language teaching textbooks which appeared in the Tudor period.

Early language teaching manuals relied on texts, and dialogues often accompanied by a translation in the mother tongue and were intended to give a sense of how the language was used in 'real life'. The use of dialogue in language teaching has a long tradition and was certainly used to teach spoken Latin in the Middle Ages. An example of such a Latin teaching dialogue is that produced by Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham in the 11th. century before the Norman conquest and contains a Latin text with an interlinear translation in Anglo Saxon. The text is accompanied

by questions and answers on everyday rural life, farming, hunting and trading. Such texts served as a model for later use of dialogues in language teaching and the tradition is still continued in modern text books, though providing an interlinear translation has in most cases been dropped. However an area of language teaching which still maintains dialogue with translation is that of the modern phrase book.

The end of the 15th. century saw the production of double manuals in Flanders and elsewhere which were intended to teach English to French speakers and also French to English speakers. William Caxton produced such a double manual in 1483 on his new printing press though the sub heading suggests that it was probably a reworking of an older Flemish-French manual. The manual simply consisted of a bilingual text with no linguistic information offered on either English or French. Wynken de Worde, Caxton's assistant produced a further double manual entitled "A Lytell treatyse for to lerne Englisshe and Frensshe" dated around 1498. This also used an interlinear technique of French and English. Gabriel Meurier is credited with being the first teacher of English as a Foreign Language and used his own double manual in his teaching called "A Treatise for to Learn to speak French and English" (1553) (see Howatt 1984).

The St.Bartholomew massacre of 1572 in Paris provoked a mass exodus of Huguenots refugees and amongst them were three influential teachers Jacques Bellot, Claudius Holyband and John Florio. Although they were all native speakers of French they

did not decide to adopt a monolingual approach to teaching but rather continued in the bilingual tradition of the earlier double manuals. Bellot's book is intended for craftsmen who required some written language skills. Holyband produced two textbooks "The French Schoolmaster" (1573) and "The French Littleton" (1576) which like their earlier counterparts made much use of bilingual dialogues and avoided linguistic studies (see Howatt op cit).

The methodology employed with these textbooks was reading aloud of the texts to secure a thorough grasp of pronunciation followed by the "double translation" method, a practice made famous by Ascham (1570) author of "The Schoolmaster" a Latin course book, who counselled "Children, turn your lessons out of French into English, and then out of English into French". The advantage of this approach was believed to be that whilst maintaining the same content, the potential inherent in both languages could be manipulated to express, as far as possible, common meanings.

The methodology of Webbe's Latin textbook (Children's talk, 1627) intriguingly foreshadows that of the Direct Method school though significantly he did not abandon translation but rather retained a bilingual comparative approach. However his approach to translation was refreshing in that he insisted on shifting the unit for equivalence from word to clause level and condemned a semantic, literal type of translation. Unlike the proponents of the Direct Method, Webbe was able to identify what was wrong with the pedagogic use of translating and so instead of abandoning a

valuable technique sought to get at the root of the problem ie the type of semantic literal translating advocated.

The work of Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) is of great interest both for his insights as an educator, philosopher and protestant theologian. His central concern was the connecting of words to the world of things reflecting Bacon's view that `words' were

> but the images of matter; and except they
> have a life of reason and invention, to fall
> in love with them is all one as to fall in
> love with a picture (Kitchen,ed.1973:25)

Comenius advocated a move away from the use of isolated text and sought to include the context of situation. Part of his method involved bringing actual material into the classroom or failing this to provide pictures depicting the lexis used in his lessons. He produced several famous textbooks including Janua Linguarum Reseratae, a course in three parts structured around the image of a temple; the porch (Vestibulum) being the preparatory stage, the gates (Januae) lead on to the great court (Palatium) and finally the treasure house (Thesaurus) the last stage in the curriculum where translation and the comparison of languages are to be studied. The Latin teaching texts are presented alongside their vernacular equivalents in parallel columns. His other great work Orbis Sensualium Pictus (The World of the Senses in Pictures) uses pictures with numbered objects referring to words in the text in keeping with Comenius' philosophy that all knowledge emanates from the world of the

senses.   Translating remains a central element in Comenius'
methodology but through its use he tried to connect the text with
the world thus involving pragmatic as well as semantic elements.

With the revoking of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louise XIV
the Huguenot refugees steadily returned to Britain and with them
came a new group of language teachers known as the `Little Blois'
group. They included Paul Festeau, a Swiss from Lausanne and Guy
Miege who published the "Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre
l'Anglois" in 1685.   For the first time the material
incorporates the work of native grammarians and continues the
tradition of dialogues in the foreign language accompanied by a
mother tongue translation.   The dialogues show scenes from
contemporary English life eg. a coffee house conversation with
illustration. Unfortunately these dialogues do not seem to have
been written with the help of native speaker informants and in
fact it is not until the late 19th century that native speakers
become involved in the writing of E.F.L course books.

2.3   ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN EUROPE

The political and religious unorthodoxy of England in relation
to the rest of Europe fostered interest in the English language
towards the end of the 17th. century. Other contributory factors
were the interest provoked by the English pragmatic philosophers
Hulme and Locke amongst the French Intelligentsia, and the
passion for English literature in particular the popularity of
Shakespeare amongst Germans.

The method followed in teaching English in Europe did not vary from that used earlier to teach English to non native speaker refugees that is bilingual manuals continued to be standard practice. The first such manual to appear for Germans to learn English was Henry Offlen's "Double Grammar for Germans to Learn English and for Englishmen to Learn the German Tongue" (1687).

The earliest Scandinavian English teaching manual is the Swedish translation of a German original written by Johann Konig in 1706 which contained everyday dialogues and some model letters all accompanied by mother tongue equivalents. Italy received its first English text book in 1728 "Gramatica Inglese per gl'Italiani" by Ferdinando Altieri who had been a teacher of Italian amongst the nobility of London. A further work was produced in 1779 by Evangelista Palermo entitled "The Amusing Practice of the Italian Language". The first part contained "a choice collection of humorous stories, bon-mots, smart repartees, etc." in which "are inserted some well digested Grammatical Notes". The second part contained Italian stories to translate into English and the third "some very pretty novels" to be translated into Italian, finally there were thirty six 'Familiar Dialogues'. A work such as Palermo's would have been considered equally valid for Italians learning English as English students wishing to learn Italian, the idea of specialized material for particular language groups does not seem to have taken root before the 19th. century.

Portugal took an earlier interest in English than Spain with Jacob de Castro's "Grammatica Lusitano-Anglica" a double grammar which was published in London in 1731. It was not until 1784 that an equivalent double grammar for Spain appeared in Madrid produced by Thomas Connelly.

Although Russia remained steadfastly Francophile, because of the principal role English played in naval affairs similar to its current role in aviation, the earliest books on English were written for cadets at the St. Petersburg Naval Academy. The principal method employed was that of translations of English originals with some dialogues, everyday phrases and a small amount of descriptive material.

In 1797 possibly the earliest E.F.L textbook for the third world was introduced in Serampore Bengal; John Miller's "The Tutor or a New English and Bengalee Work well adapted to Teach the Natives English in Three Parts". It begins with an introduction to the alphabet using a simple phonic method, then follow vocabulary lists of a non-literary, practical kind which are arranged in alphabetical order together with their Bengali translation equivalents. Although grammar is included it is incidental to the main part of the book which consists of a set of practical dialogues related to river-boat trading; the final part of the book is devoted to handwriting exercises.

After this point the history of English language teaching divides into two streams one being the development of language teaching

within the British Empire and the other being the response of the
19th. century reform movement to language teaching methodology
largely reflecting the educational and social changes which took
place in 19th. century Europe.

2.4 LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE 19TH. CENTURY

The general picture of 19th. century language teaching is one of
the Grammar-Translation method gradually giving way to more
practical approaches. The circumstances which led to this change
were a combination of utilitarian considerations like the
increased commercial contact which took place in Europe and the
intellectual arguments of the early reformers.

Language teaching in the 19th. century was affected by three
major currents. The first was the gradual integration of foreign
language teaching into the modern school curriculum. By 1900
most grammar schools had modern languages though the acceptance
of such languages provoked strong resistance from the classics.
A second influence was the expansion of markets and the closer
commercial contacts which were formed in Europe together with the
need for an educated civil service. These factors combined to
produce a demand for more utilitarian types of language courses.
The third current was the intellectual Reform movement of the
1880's including specialists like Jacotot, Marcel and Gouin (see
Kelly, 1969, Howatt, 1984, Richards & Rogers 1986) whose ideas
were developed later by West and Palmer.

2.5 THE GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD

The main breach with the earlier tradition of the double manual was to replace the translating of dialogues and texts with the sentence. It was this change which led to most of the criticism levelled against Grammar Translation. The reason for this major switch in methodology was that sentences could be graded and thus made to focus on grammatical structure; something which it was felt texts and dialogues tended to obscure. The problem with this change in methodology was that it became centred entirely around the semantic and grammatical in language to the detriment of the pragmatic. The features of language which Comenius, Webbe and others had sought to retain in their material were suddenly removed and consequently translating exercises became a sterile transposition of semantic and formal elements of language encapsulated in decontextualized sentences.

It was this particular type of formal, semantic translation which the Reform Movement objected to (see below p.78) and which led to the beginnings of the Direct Method. As it happened the Direct Methodologists, and in particular the Berlitz version of this method, not only objected to a narrow, semantic, formal translation limited to sentences but banned all forms of translating in language teaching. Unfortunately this ban, though based on a misunderstanding, has continued more or less until the present day despite the fact that Sweet and Palmer noted that the arguments were based on a fallacy (see p.82). It was not translating itself which was at fault in the Grammar Translation method, nor for that matter the presentation of grammar, but the

particular type of translating which was employed. This type of translating had played no part in the earlier double manuals. By removing pragmatic, contextual features of language the exponents of the Grammar Translation method transformed translating from a beneficial exercise into one which had very little to recommend it. As soon as pragmatic features of language were removed bizarre sentences with no possibility of use began to appear in Grammar Translation courses. The phenomenon of native speaker selection (Pawley and Syder, 1983) was disregarded in favour of the goal of grammatical accuracy.

There appears to be very little carefully documented history of grammar-translation. Most accounts claim that the method became popular in the late eighteenth century though evidence suggests that the teaching of grammar in association with translation has occurred throughout history (Kelly 1969). However as a specific methodology it was devised in Prussia towards the end of the 18th. century and was the favoured methodology of the Prussian gymnasien. The name 'grammar -translation' was coined by opponents of the method though the original motivation of its creators was reformist and intended to adopt the traditions and circumstances of self-study methods to the grammar school classroom. The principal aim was to develop the methods of the 18th. century educated individual students who first studied grammar and then applied this grammar with the aid of a dictionary to texts, and by adapting such methods make language learning easier for school pupils.

As discussed above the traditional text based approach was replaced by one which used the sentence as the main exemplifying unit in much the same way that the 20th.century Structuralist approach did. It was the special status attached to the sentence which provoked most of the criticism levelled against this method and not the use of grammar or translation as such. (see Palmer 1917/1968:289 ff.)

Johann Valentin Meidinger (1756-1822) is believed to be the originator of the method though the earliest textbook employing the method in English appeared in 1793 and was written by Johann Christian Fick (1763-1821) who modelled his work on that of Meidinger as acknowledged in the title of Fick's work "Practical English Course for Germans of both sexes, following the method of Meidinger's French Grammar". Howatt (op.cit :132) notes that the use of `practical' in 19th. century courses did not have the modern sense of useful but rather a course which required practice and the use of exercises. A novel feature of the grammar-translation method was the provision of exercises made up of sentences for translation into and out of the foreign language. It was hoped that the sentences would exemplify the grammar more clearly than unsimplified texts, as such sentences were graded and presented new grammatical points one at a time in an orderly and organized way with useful examples. This was thought to be clearer than selecting texts from recognized authors and as mentioned above this aspect of the method was taken up by 20th.century structuralists. Other contributors to the method were Johann Seidenstucker (1765-1817) and Karl Ploetz

(1819-1881).

The grammar-translation method appeared against a background of educational and social change in the 19th. century and it is against this background that the obsession with accuracy and the neglect of spoken language needs to be understood. Modern languages were introduced into Cambridge in 1880 and twenty years later were taken up by Oxford and these universities became responsible for determining the secondary school curriculum and controlling the public examination system. Spoken languages were unacceptable to the dons who scoffed at 'travel-courier' learning and replaced it with philology. Another factor which shaped the teaching of modern languages was the influence of the classics thought to be intellectually more demanding. French was forced to imitate Latin and be as demanding, resulting in textbooks filled with lists of exceptions, selections from the `best authors' and an obsession with trivial detail.

The most consistent user of grammar-translation methodology was Franz Ahn (1796-1865) a schoolmaster from Aachen who published a French reader for German learners in 1827. He published a French course in 1834 which was the first of a series of famous publications following "A New Practical and Easy Method" these courses were aimed at the private learner market and used a bilingual approach with grammatical descriptions. A typical lesson begins with a brief introduction to pronunciation, followed by a grammatical survey and new vocabulary items, the final exercise would be sets of sentences to translate into the

mother tongue and a further set to translate into the foreign language. Ollendorf (1803-1865) extended the method with a question and answer technique which bears some similarity to the structural approach. Very little attention was paid by any of these writers to syntactic problems or word order and there is no sense of when sentences are inappropriate; providing a sentence is grammatical no other criteria apply. This gives rise to some quite bizarre sentences, the most famous perhaps being "Stop the chase, the postilion has been struck by lightening". Sweet produced the following surreal sentence from a Greek class he had attended "The philosopher pulled the lower jaw of the hen" (Sweet 1899/1964:73) and named the phenomenon 'the arithmetical fallacy'. The arithmetical fallacy according to Sweet was the belief that in order to produce sentences all one needed was a knowledge of grammar and a good dictionary and then one could begin to construct them by combining words according to the known rules. Intriguingly Sweet foreshadows what Hymes has discussed as appropriateness and the actual probability of language occurring "Whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate" and "Whether (and to what degree) something is done" (Hymes 1971)

2.6 THE REFORM MOVEMENT

The movement began in the late 19th. century with the principal aim of reforming the excesses and educational fallacies of the grammar-translation method. However it is important to stress from the outset that they did not condemn all uses of translating

within language teaching (see for example Sweet 1899/1964:197-
207) The publication of Vietor's pamphlet "Der sprachunterricht
muss umkehren"! (Language Teaching Must Start Afresh Vietor
1886) marks the beginning of the movement. This was followed by
the forming of the Quousque Tandem Society in Scandinavia
(Quousque Tandem was a pseudonym used by Vietor). Paul Passy in
France formed the Phonetic Teachers Association in the same year
and Jespersen became one of its first members. The International
Phonetic Association (IPA) was formed and its journal Le Maitre
Phonetique was first published in 1889.

The movement expanded and culminated in the publication of two
major works, Sweet's The Practical Study of Languages (Sweet op.
cit.) and Jespersen's How to Teach a Foreign Language which
appeared in 1904 in English (originally published as
Sprogundervisnig in 1901). Sweet's work is impressive but lacks
a human touch and although he has a sense of humour it is of the
Oxbridge waspish don variety. One can never be sure what kind
of learner he exactly has in mind, at times he clearly has an
adult learner embarking on a course of self study in view,
whereas on other occasions the concern is with school learners
of modern languages. Jespersen's work complements Sweet by
providing a human dimension to second language teaching regarding
it as an

> activity on the part of one individual
> to make himself understood by another.
> These two individuals and their
> relations to each other must never be
> lost sight of if we want to understand
> the nature of language. (Jespersen,
> 1924:17)

Vietor was motivated to call for reforms in language teaching by his experiences in the German school classroom where he noted that school children were overburdened with linguistic nonsense and were forced to learn from Latin based paradigms of the" house/Oh house/of the house/by, with, or from the house/" variety. He based his ideas on improvement on a preliminary training in general phonetics. This insistence on training and use of phonetics is characteristic of the whole movement; Sweet's book contains five chapters devoted to phonetics and he himself insisted that phonetic transcription should remain until the learner was ready to read original literature (Sweet op.cit). A probable reason why this emphasis was so central to the movement and yet has gradually disappeared from language teaching methodology is the gradual development of sound recording technology which by providing readily available models of spoken language have reduced the need for phonetic transcription. Before the introduction of such technology phonetics was the only means of ensuring any progression in the accurate production of spoken language.

The principle of the connected text rather than isolated sets of improbable sentences was one stressed by Vietor and marked a return to some of the principles embodies in the double manuals. The source of this idea was the gradual emergence of psychology

in the 1880's and in particular the notion of association which meant that the learner had to form correct associations between linguistic elements themselves and between these linguistic elements and the things in the world to which they referred. Clearly the grammar-translation practice of translating disconnected words and sentences contradicted this theory and it was thought that it would lead to the formation of cross associations. This view more or less reflects the more modern idea of mother tongue interference or 'language transfer'.

The principle of association was also the basis for discouraging indiscriminate use of translating in the classroom as it was felt that 'cross associations' with the mother tongue would be encouraged. It is significant to note that this was the first time in the entire history of language teaching that translating was criticized as a methodology and also significant that none of the principal members of the Reform movement condemned it entirely or suggested that it should be banished from language teaching.

Sweet commenting on the frequently repeated advice that learners should learn to think in the foreign language points out that no one can think in a language until they have a thorough knowledge of it. The advice is predicated on the theory that thinking in the language means each idea is associated directly in the foreign language instead of first with a native expression which is then translated into the foreign language. On the dangers of cross association Sweet makes clear that for him translation is

not the culprit:

> This has led many into the fallacy that
> if we were only to get rid of
> translation in teaching foreign
> language, substituting pictures or
> gestures, we should get rid of the
> cross-associations of our own language.
> But these cross-associations are
> independent of translation. They arise
> simply from the fact that each idea that
> comes into our minds instantly suggests
> the native expression of it, whether the
> words are uttered or not:and however
> strongly we may stamp the foreign
> expression on our memories, the native
> one will always be stronger. (Sweet
> 1989/1964 :1977)

Sweet is critical of Franke's claim that the use of pictures creates a direct association between the foreign word and what it refers to without the intermediacy of the native language (Franke 1884). The picture cannot transfer all the associations which the word carries and is not practical when trying to explain abstract ideas. Sweet maintains that we cannot eliminate cross-association because every idea is indissolubly associated with some word or phrase.

He is equally critical of the use of gestures as these may easily be misunderstood. As foreign words need to be explained as clearly and unambiguously as possible all explanations ought to be in the mother tongue. Sweet warns of the dangers of thinking or living oneself into a language as one can become used to coping with a partial understanding with no definite sense of the special shades of meaning which words carry simply because there may well be no corresponding expressions in the native language.

> In this way translation is a most
> valuable means of testing the accuracy
> and correcting the mistakes in our
> unconsciously and mechanically formed
> associations between our ideas and their
> expressions in the foreign language.
> (Sweet op cit :201)

For Sweet there are three stages in the use of translating within language teaching the first being the translation of words or phrases this being the most convenient method of explanation. Later he felt that translation should be reduced to a minimum and that students should try to derive meaning from context. Finally translation is re-introduced so that the student can be brought face to face with the divergences between the native and foreign language by means of free and idiomatic translation. A possible fourth stage might be when the student has formed a complete knowledge of the relations between the mother tongue and foreign language that translating between them be then practised to develop ease and accuracy.

It is interesting to note that though the Reform movement is often quoted as the period when translating within language teaching falls into disrepute that no principal member of this movement actually condemned it. I have already outlined Sweet's views above and though Jespersen was a little less convinced of the benefits of translating he did concede that "translation might still be a useful and indispensable means in the service of language instruction". (Jespersen 1904/67:56). Jespersen's view is that occasional translation exercises could be advisable though not as the main diet of instruction(see Jespersen op.cit:40-86).

2.7 DIRECT METHOD

The proponents of the Direct Method, and in particular the Berlitz version of this method, were directly responsible for discouraging and eventually banning the use of translating as a pedagogical device in language teaching. They were influenced in this by Montaigne; a 16th. century theorist who had himself learned Latin entirely by conversing in the language with his school master. Montaigne believed that second language learning would best proceed if treated like first language acquisition. In this of course he foreshadows Krashen (1982). The method, like Krashen's became known as the Natural Method. It was felt that as first language acquisition proceeds without reference to any other language so second language learning should proceed without reference to the first. Any use of knowledge contained in the first language was thought to have a negative effect. Consequently it was argued that translating by making use of the first language would interfere in the natural acquisition of a second language.

The argument was based on the view that as translating was about semantic transposition it would inevitably lead to the interference of the L1 semantic system with that of the second language. The idea that translating could be concerned with pragmatic features of language was not accepted. In addition the then current psychological theory of cross association supported the theory that translating, or any reference to the mother tongue would create confusion in the minds of the learners by

superimposing inappropriate semantic and syntactic associations from the first language onto the second.

In order to avoid such dangerous cross associations reference to the mother tongue had to be avoided at all costs. Thus to promote the growth of direct associations between objects and concepts in the external world with second language lexis, teachers of this method employed a technique known as the object lesson. In such an object lesson a teacher would make reference to concrete objects in the real world and then chain these together with qualifying phrases and related sentences eg. **This is a book. The book is red. The book is on the table.** In an example such as this the teacher would make use of an actual red book situated in front of the learners on a table. In this way it was hoped that concrete direct associations would be created in the minds of the learners between objects and the foreign language without cross associations being encouraged in the mother tongue.

Sweet argued against this theory pointing out that however strong the association created between the foreign language and the object taught it could never hope to efface the strength of the same association with the native language. It might therefore be just as well to make use of this association rather than vainly attempting to obliterate it.

Very little by way of theoretical argument against translating can be found in the work of Berlitz (1888). One significant

factor which has perhaps been overlooked is the commercial. Many teachers who worked at Berlitz schools were in effect young people financing their travels around the world. Consequently the turn over of staff at such schools was rapid and training was rigid and superficial. As Berlitz schools often offered a range of language courses it would have proved very expensive to employ teachers who knew both the mother tongue of the learners and the required foreign language. Far more commercially viable to employ relatively untrained native speakers with little or no knowledge of the learner's mother tongue who could be quickly inculcated into a rigid and simplistic methodology.

Some criticism of translating within language teaching had been made by members of the Reform movement but these criticisms were provoked by the worst excesses of the Grammar-Translation method and it is clear that the reformers sought only to contain and limit the amount of translating that took place and ensure that a variety of different types of language exercises were introduced. However the advocates of the Direct Method took a much more inflexible position to translating and banned its use in the classroom altogether. The effects of this ban have been surprisingly pervasive and it is still felt to some extent today. This is all the more surprising when one considers how poorly thought out the criticisms of translating were.

It was Sauveur (1874) who revived the ideas of Montaigne and added the further claim that a foreign language could best be

taught without translating or the use of the learner's mother tongue and this led to the beginnings of the Direct Method.

The Direct Method is reasonably adequate for the elementary stages of the language but unfortunately tends to peter out around intermediate level. Howatt (op.cit.:198) suggests that the major contribution of Communicative Methodology is that it develops more advanced linguistic activities which can be used to follow on from where the Direct Method leaves off.

Gottlieb Heness had used the object lesson technique in Germany and later co-operated with Sauveur in America teaching French and German commercially. Both Sauveur and Heness taught faculty members at Yale University running intensive courses of one hundred hours ie. two hours a day, five days a week for four and a half months. They then moved to Boston in 1869 and opened a school of Modern Languages both writing versions of their ideas and experiences, Sauveur's entitled "An Introduction to the Teaching of Living Languages without Grammar or Dictionary" (Sauveur:1874) has survived and contains a useful outline of their methodology.

They advised against over correcting though linguistic points might be picked up for the purpose of investigation as long as these were not seen as offenses against the foreign language. The introduction gives advice on how to talk to learners including the two principles that teachers should ask 'earnest questions' (ie. genuine) and that a principal of coherence be

followed "to connect scrupulously the questions in such a manner that one may give rise to another (Sauveur 1874:28). The point of the latter advice was that a learner would more easily be able to understand a teacher who followed such a principal of coherence as he could then predict the course of the conversation.

Sauveur in his introduction declares that learning a second language is comparable to learning one's first language. In a review of methods for the Modern Language Association Kroeh (1887) strongly commends Sauveur's approach though he takes issue with him on the comparability of first and second language:

> ...the conditions will never again be the same as those under which (the learner) learnt his mother tongue....The new language has not the same chance of success as the first. It has a habit to overcome. (Kroeh ibid.: 179-180)

The most influential and central figure in the development of the Direct Method is that of Maximillian Berlitz so much so that this method is sometimes described as the Berlitz Method. Berlitz like Sauveur was an immigrant and appeared at a time in American history when the demands of the immigrant community to learn English presented a very real problem. These immigrants were not an educated elite but the poor and dispossessed rather similar in their needs to the Huguenots refugees to sixteenth-century England. Berlitz was in a unique position to address these needs and so opened a school in Providence, Rhode island. Berlitz' assistant was a French teacher Nicholas Joly who had not then

learned to speak English. The Official History of the Berlitz Organization (1978) maintains that Berlitz fell ill and left his assistant Joly to teach French. Returning one month later Berlitz was amazed to find Joly with his students, who all appeared to be doing well, talking together in French. From this account it would appear that Berlitz discovered the method without any influence from Sauveur though to what extent Joly had heard about Sauveur's work in Boston is an open question.

The method was a tremendous success both in terms of results and in terms of commercial gains. Within thirty years a network of schools had been set up throughout Europe and America with sixteen schools in America and thirty in Europe. Initially they began with French and German courses and then moved into English as a Foreign Language. Essentially Berlitz catered for beginners and for learners outside the school system.

Taking into account the considerable influence which the method and the schools exerted on language teaching it is all the more surprising that Berlitz himself never wrote a manual. In fact it would not be unfair to describe the method as essentially anti-theoretical with very few clear or straight forward directions other than oddly enough the prescription against translating under any circumstances, "teachers are cautioned against the slightest compromise on this point" (Berlitz 1907:7). There appears, however to be no theoretical argument presented in support of this part of the methodology.

Other features of the Berlitz' approach are a strong emphasis on oral work with no grammatical explanations until later in the course and a maximum use of the question and answer technique. The methodology was intended not so much to be theoretically sound as teacher proof which considering the type of teacher employed by Berlitz is hardly surprising. All Berlitz teachers had to be native speakers of the language they were teaching and tended to be young and concerned with finding a means to finance their travels. Consequently there was a high turnover of staff which meant that training could not be too deep.

The ban on translating in language teaching almost certainly stems from the influence of the Berlitz school. The evidence suggests that Sauveur and Heness were not nearly as dogmatically opposed to the use of translating. As mentioned above there were some criticisms from certain members of the Reform Movement but only of a limited nature. It is difficult then to understand why the ban placed on translating by Berlitz should have had such a lasting and pervasive influence particularly when one considers how anti-theoretical the school was and how uninterested it seems to have been in the development of a teaching profession. Perhaps the answer lies in the commercial success of the method and the fact that it was international and successful and consequently became more well-known compared to more academic approaches. Whatever the reason the theoretical bases of the ban are weak being as far as one can discover based on the psychological theory of associationism and a rather naive belief in a natural intuitive method where acquisition of the second

language is seen to equal acquisition of the first.

The effects of the Direct Method are that teachers sense a dichotomy between what they believe they should do in a language classroom and what they actually do. The introduction of the monolingual principle into language teaching brings with it the difficulty of enforcing it in practice particularly in the areas of explaining grammar or new lexis and in classroom organization. There are two major problems which teachers constantly face when employing the Direct Method, one is how to convey meaning without using translation, and the other is how to safeguard against serious misunderstanding without any reference to the mother tongue of the learners. A further problem mentioned above is how to extend the method beyond the elementary stage as one cannot use object lessons with advanced learners.

2.8 LANGUAGE TEACHING FROM 1900 ONWARDS

From the early 1900's onwards language teaching as an autonomous profession gradually comes into existence as a result largely of the intellectual foundations of the Reform Movement merged with the monolingual methodology of the Direct Method. In many respects Harold Palmer was the catalyst which enabled the profession to develop. Palmer co-operated with Daniel Jones at the University of London in the area of phonetics. Palmer had worked as a Berlitz teacher and was clearly influenced by Direct Method methodology although his attitude to translating was far from being as rigid as that proscribed by Berlitz.

Palmer was also interested in the area of vocabulary research and eventually co-operated with Michael West to produce the Carnegie Report on vocabulary selection (1936). Another contributor to vocabulary research was Lawrence Faucett who with Itsu Maki published a word frequency count for English published in Japan in 1932. Faucett also published the first large scale Direct Method course known as The Oxford English Course (1933) and in 1932 started the first training course for English as a Foreign Language teachers at the Institute of Education at London University.

Palmer's influence on the development of the profession in Britain and abroad was considerable and it is interesting to note some of his views particularly regarding the place of translating within language teaching. His major publication The Principles of Language Study (1922) contains many of his major ideas. He obviously saw a strong resemblance between first and second language acquisition and stressed the importance of "spontaneous capacities of assimilation" (Palmer ibid.:8) which could be prevented by conscious learning. In this he seems strangely to foreshadow Krashen (1982).

Palmer stressed the importance of drill work before free work intending that the student should not be given opportunities for free conversation, free composition and interestingly free translation before a reasonable proficiency had been acquired in the corresponding forms of drill work. The principle of proportion is central in Palmer's thinking and means giving the

right amount of time to the various aspects of language study (translating is specifically mentioned) so as to ensure a harmonious whole.

> We also observe the principle of
> proportion when we give the right amount
> of drill-work or free-work, or
> translation -work or `direct' work, of
> intensive reading or extensive reading.
> A well-proportioned course like a well-
> graded course, ensures a steady and
> ever-increasing rate of progress.
> (Palmer ibid.:137)

Gradation is another central tenet of Palmers by which he means passing from the known to the unknown by easy stages each of which serves as a preparation for the next. The principle of concreteness concerns "....one of the fundamental principals of the psychology of study that we must work from the concrete to the abstract". (ibid.:81) However translating does not necessarily violate the principle of concreteness as the direct methodists had claimed:

> The 'direct methodists' of the more
> extreme type interpret concreteness in
> a curious way, and identify it with the
> non-translation principle and the
> principle of the exclusion of the mother
> tongue as a vehicular language. They
> tend to think that by keeping English
> out of the French lesson, the teacher
> causes French to be acquired concretely.
> In certain cases this is true but there
> are probably far more contrary cases.
> (Palmer ibid.:83)

Palmer cites four ways of providing a student with the meaning of given foreign units:

1. By immediate association eg. pointing to the object referred to by a noun or performing the action described by a verb.

2. By translating ie. giving the nearest equivalent in the native language.

3. Using a synonym or paraphrase.

4. By context ie. embedding the foreign unit in sentences which make the meaning of the unit clear.

These four are given by Palmer in their relative degree of concreteness though he feels that translating may on certain occasions be more concrete than immediate association. For Palmer translating is not necessarily indirect or lacking in concreteness more often than not it is more concrete than a cumbersome or vague definition or an obscure context.

The Reform pioneers according to Palmer had hoped that foreign languages could be learned by methods approximating to those used by native speakers learning their first language. However this goal was not easily pursued and the reason for the failure resulted from a bad diagnosis of the Grammar Translation Method. It was imagined that translating was the root of all that was evil and so it was banned in every shape or form, there was to be no bilingualism at all and all references to the mother tongue must be excluded. However the real evil according to Palmer lay in paying exaggerated attention to grammatical construction ".....that was the dragon that the St.George's might well have slain had not the red herring of 'translation' unfortunately been drawn across the track". (ibid.:126)

Palmer goes to some lengths to vindicate and "to rehabilitate in some measure the character of the comparatively innocent process of translation". It seems strange that this call made in 1922 went so curiously unheard.

2.9 THE SITUATIONAL AND ORAL APPROACH.

Palmer and A.S. Hornby were the two leaders in this approach who built on the work of the Reform Movement and sought to develop a more scientific oral approach than the Direct Method. A number of the principles of this approach have already been mentioned including vocabulary control, gradation, proportion and concreteness. Grammar control was developed by Palmer, Hornby and other British applied linguists who analyzed English into sentence patterns which could be used to absorb the rules of English sentence structure.

The linguistic theory underlying Situational Language Teaching is best characterized as a type of British structuralism. The basis of language teaching is to be the spoken language and this appears to be inherited from the Reform Movement and to some extent the Direct Method. The approach is based on the sentence patterns developed by Palmer, Hornby and others and marks a major break with the Reform Movement who recommended a text centred approach. In effect a sentence based approach marks a return to one of the key Grammar-Translation features. Accuracy (another Grammar-Translation feature) is a key feature of this approach as is the scientific selection and grading of vocabulary.

Grammatical items are to be introduced in a graded fashion "passing from the known to the unknown in easy stages" (Palmer op.cit.)   The presentation of grammatical and vocabulary items is situational and thus explanation is kept to a minimum with learners using an inductive process to get at the meaning through the situation.

The approach aims to develop all the four skills starting with listening and speaking. This aim is to be achieved through a structurally ordered linguistic syllabus. The syllabus is a list of grammatical structures and not of situational settings and thus situational refers to the method of presentation rather than to the way the syllabus is organized.

Although Palmer's influence does not extend to all oral/situational courses it is clear that he believed in an inculcation period where learners could attempt to comprehend without being pressurized into producing language. It is also clear as discussed earlier that he believed in the application of translating where necessary.

2.10 THE AUDIOLINGUAL METHOD

This American methodology marks a minor return in the history of language teaching to a bi-lingual methodology. The origins of the method go back to the Army Specialized Training Program (A.S.T.P.) and in may respects it resembles the Palmer Hornby materials. This method involves an intensive oral approach combined with materials based on a careful comparison of the

linguistic structure of the learner's language with those of the foreign language. Fries and later Lado supported the theory and were concerned to identify areas where the mother tongue and foreign language were different, hypothesizing that where there were differences there would be learning difficulties. Conversely where the foreign language and the native language were structurally similar, learners would be able to proceed rapidly and without difficulty.

The learning theory was based on behaviourist psychology which viewed the acquisition of language as the learning of appropriate linguistic responses to specific stimuli. This model was later falsified convincingly (Chomsky, 1959) and the idea that language difference necessarily equalled learning difficulty was criticised in the work of Dulay and Burt (1974). The experimental work of Dulay and Burt has itself been criticised (see Odlin, 1989) however the simplistic equation of language difference with learning difficulty has lost its influence.

What is interesting about this method is that for a while the monolingual principle in language teaching was questioned and the idea that the first language has a role to play in the acquisition of the second was re-affirmed and of course still has its supporters (Odlin,1989). Although the first language does not affect the learning of a second in the automatic way suggested by the early contrastivists, there is evidence to show that along with other factors it does play a part. Knowledge gained through acquisition of the first language remains

available to learners and it obviously makes sense to present new knowledge so that it connects with what learners already know. To attempt to disregard this knowledge or forbid access to it based on a misinformed view that this will lead to semantic interference is a view based on a misconception of how what is already known is used in the process of new learning.

2.11 COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

In the next chapter I intend to look in some detail at communicative competence and in chapter 6 communicative language teaching methodology in order to discuss the role of translating within the framework of developments in this area. Therefore to avoid duplication of material I will therefore confine myself to presenting here a brief outline of the main features of this approach.

By the sixties language teachers in both Britain and America were becoming disillusioned with structuralist approaches in its various guises ie Audiolingualism in America, Situational Language Teaching in Britain and Audio Visual courses in France. It was becoming clear that language could not be simply predicated on situations alone. Chomsky contributed to this general dissatisfaction with Structuralism by pointing out that this theory alone could not account for the essentially creative nature of language (Chomsky 1957).

Perhaps as a reaction to structuralism the communicative approach

has tended to stress performance features of language almost to the detriment of the formal systems of language. More recently it has been criticised precisely because it is maintained that learners using this method, though fluent and skilled in the pragmatics of language use are nonetheless inaccurate in their use of the formal features of language. It seems as though in succeeding in producing learners with fluency it has done so sadly at the expense of accuracy. What is now needed is an approach which will re-introduce practice of the formal features of language in the service of communicative goals, or put differently, a methodology which marries the grammatical with the functional.

Translating as an activity concerned with the pragmatic features of language yet necessarily involved with the formal is ideally adapted to fill this role within a more broadly defined communicative approach. Because of the nature of translating it must always remain firmly linked with the grammatical features of language yet uses these features for pragmatic ends.

A number of different strands combined to form this approach not all of them exclusively linguistic. The British functional movement starting with Malinowski and Firth continued to develop under Halliday and others into a concern with the functional and communicative potential of language. Early projects like the Scope materials produced in 1966 realized this concern by attempting to integrate language with language use in activities designed for primary school immigrant children to learn English.

This attention to the communicative value of language rather than a preoccupation with mastery of the structures of a language was complimented by the work of Hymes who has himself acknowledged his debt to the work of Malinowski and Firth.

Hymes was critical of Chomsky's view of linguistic competence with its concern for the abstract idealized knowledge of the native speaker/hearer. The relegation of performance to a category of no interest to serious linguists prompted Hymes to stress the importance of a communicative view of language learning which he termed communicative competence in deliberate contrast to Chomsky's linguistic competence.

Another major contributor was Widdowson who called for a discourse approach to language teaching which would incorporate the rhetorical or communicative acts employed by language users such as `predictions, qualifications, descriptions reports etc.' (Widdowson 1978) It is significant that Widdowson felt that translation would have a role to play in presenting semantic and pragmatic universals (Widdowson 1974) and this is something I will be investigating more closely in the next chapter.

The idea of semantic universals is present in the work of Jespersen as far back as 1924 in his work "The Philosophy of Grammar":

> We are led to recognize that beside, or above or behind, the syntactic categories which depend on the structure of each language as it is actually found, there are some extralingual categories which are independent of the

more or less accidental facts of
existing languages; they are universal
in so far as they are applicable to all
languages, though rarely expressed in
them in a clear and unmistakable way.

It was this idea which Wilkins used for the basis of an
influential document prepared for the Council of Europe's
syllabus for the fundamental common core required by all
learners. Wilkin's document "Linguistic and Situational Content
of the Common Core in a Unit/ Credit System". (1972) specifies
the common core in applied linguistic terms whereas Van Ek's
document "The 'Threshold Level' in a unit/credit system (1973)
attempts to describe the limits of the common core. Trim (1973)
provided a political rationale for the movement:

The major developments of the last
thirty years have progressively weakened
the self-sufficiency of national
cultures, even in day-to-day living.
Mass travel for business and pleasure
over continental motorway networks and
air routes, electronic media, mass
movements of immigrant labour and at
managerial level in multinational
corporations, supranational economic,
cultural and political institutions,
interdependence of imports/exports in an
increasingly unified market, all
conspire to render hard national
frontiers increasingly obsolete.

Wilkins suggested that the traditional grammatical categories of
a structural syllabus might well be replaced with notional
semantic categories of which he recognizes three:

(1) semantico-grammatical categories such as past, future,
location etc., (2) modal categories like necessity, possibility
and obligation etc.' and (3) communicative functions like

requesting, asking for information, persuading etc. These ideas have been very influential though not without their critics. Brumfit has made the point that whereas the traditional grammatical categories are systematic until we can say with some degree of certainty that x is a notion and y is not it is difficult to be precise about notional categories and more difficult to present them systematically. (Brumfit 1980:98-106)

At the present there seem to be two versions of Communicative Language Teaching which Howatt has distinguished:

> There is, in a sense, a `strong' version of the communicative approach and a `weak' version. The weak version which has become more or less standard practice in the last ten years, stresses the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use their English for communicative purposes and, characteristically, attempts to integrate such activities into a wider programme of language teaching.... The `strong' version of communicative teaching, on the other hand, advances the claim that language is acquired through communication, so that it is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge of the language, but of stimulating the development of the language system itself. If the former could be described as `learning to use' English,. the latter entails `using English to learn it.' (Howatt 1984:279)

There has been little written on the role of translating within a Communicative Approach which has in large part continued the monolingual tradition inherited from the Direct Method. However as mentioned above an early and influential paper of

Widdowson,s (1974) perceived a role for translating and Brumfit suggests an accuracy role for translating (1984:83) noting that translating unlike controlled writing exercises demands the use of interesting texts. Stern has suggested that translating be added to Brumfit's list of communicative abilities (Brumfit ibid.:142 note 6) arguing that in many bilingual countries such as Canada the ability to produce an immediate translation within ordinary conversation is required of many learners. I would extend this argument to many countries where learners need to be able to help monolingual colleagues by producing quick skim translations of letters, technical instructions and assist foreigners in day to day communicative situation in shops, with taxi drivers etc. The ability to translate is not required solely for a highly educated elite; for many it is an extremely important and valuable day to day skill. I hope that in the next chapter I will be able to develop the argument for including translating amongst communicative abilities and for its inclusion as a technique within a Communicative Approach.

2.12 ALTERNATIVE METHODS FROM THE 1960'S

A number of perhaps less well known methodologies have emerged since the 1960's which largely have in common a return to a bi-lingual approach, endorsing the principle that if anxiety levels in learners are lowered, learning will be facilitated. It appears that the use of the mother tongue and the practice of translating facilitate the lowering of anxiety. If learners, particularly beginners, are entirely cut of from their only

source of knowledge about language it is inevitable that anxiety will be increased. Learners, however who are allowed to use their mother tongue and are allowed access to the foreign language through translation feel more relaxed about the learning process. I have certainly noticed this with my own learners and others have reported similar observations (Lim, 1968, and Mackey, 1972).

The only one of these fringe methods to continue to avoid translating is the Natural Method (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). This not so surprising considering the number of features it shares with the Direct Method, principally the idea that second language acquisition is equivalent to first language acquisition and proceeds in the same way according to a fixed morpheme sequence without reference to the first language.

Although these methods have been rightly criticized for being atheoretical or based on dubious principles, they all strive to be sensitive to the communicative intent of the learner and all take seriously the damaging affects of anxiety. All these methods, with the exception of the Natural Method, employ an essentially bi-lingual approach with translating featuring strongly as a way of lowering learners' anxiety levels and enabling them to profit from the store of language knowledge which learners already have in the shape of their mother tongue.

One such method is that of Total Physical Response which aims to

teach language through the co-ordination of speech and action. This method revives certain ideas put forward by Palmer and his daughter in "English Through Actions" (Palmer and Palmer, 1925/59) with some reference to updated psychological theories notable the trace theory of memory (Katona) which states that the more often a memory connection is traced the stronger the memory association becomes. Consequently the method stresses verbal retracing through repetition and rote-learning in association with motor activity. This view of language learning is predicated on the belief that foreign language acquisition mirrors first language acquisition processes.

The approach is essentially structuralist with most of the grammatical structure being taught through skilful use of the imperative which forms the central linguistic motif around which language learning is organized. The learning theory is essentially that of Behaviourial psychology with a gamelike methodology exploited to lower stress.

The Silent Way approach combines a number of educational ideas present in other methods with a particular emphasis on teacher silence. The teacher's role is to resist any urge to remodel or assist or in any way direct learner' responses rather it is to teach, test and be supportive and uninvolved. The learning hypothesis is that learning is facilitated if the learner is allowed to discover and create rather than merely remember and repeat. As with Commenius learning is mediated through physical objects and use of problem- solving material is a major part of

the lesson.

The use of coloured rods and colour coded pronunciation charts is a central feature of the method providing physical foci for student learning. Learners are required to influence each others learning and to work cooperatively rather than competitively. They are expected to develop autonomy and responsibility and to depend on their own resources. The originator of the method, Caleb Gattegno is sceptical of linguistic theory and views language "as a substitute for experience, so experience is what gives meaning to language". (Gattegno 1972:8) and for this reason the rods, tokens and charts are provided to simulate experience.

The theory of learning behind the method asserts that the first language learning process provides the basis that the learner needs and therefore the learner should attempt to return to the state of mind that characterizes a baby's learning. Silence is regarded as the best vehicle for learning and in silence students concentrate on the language task to be accomplished "Mastery of linguistic skills are seen in the light of an emotional inner peace resulting from the sense of power and control brought about by new levels of awareness". (Richards and Rogers 1986:103)

The method is not exclusively monolingual and learners should use their knowledge of their mother tongue or use, as Stevick puts it, "the knowledge of their own language to open up some things in a new language" (1980:42) Presumably this could be extended

to translating within the language class.

A method which extends the concern with lowering affective factors even further than Silent Way is that of Community Language Learning; a method based on the psychology of counselling. The method views the relationship between the teacher and learner (or knower and learner) as essentially similar to that between counsellor and client in psychology. The method is also interesting in that it specifically requires the knower translating for the learner and a bi-lingual methodology is central.

The primary insights of the method are derived from Rogerian Counselling with the counsellor assuming,

> "in so far as he is able the internal frame of reference [of the client], perceiving the world as that person sees it and communicating something of this empathetic understanding". (Rogers 1951)

The details of this bi-lingual method are of interest and a typical lesson involves a group of learners sitting in a circle with the teacher sitting outside the circle. One student will whisper a message in the native language which the teacher then translates into the foreign language. The student then repeats the translated message into a cassette recorder. The students continue to compose further messages in the foreign language with the help of the knower who translates them. Mackey and Lim have reported the success of alternation procedures in several bi-

lingual education settings (Lim 1968, Mackey 1972) and Richard and Rogers (op.cit.:115) suggest that this may account for the successes of Community Language Learning.

The language theory on which the method is based is again basic structuralist grammatical patterns and so this is not in any way innovative. However the unique features of Community Language Learning are its sensitivity to learners' communicative intent as it is constrained by other members of the group together with the central position of translating. The method does make quite unusual demands on the teacher requiring a familiarity with the student's mother tongue and with the role of a psychological counsellor. In addition the teacher must be able to resist `teaching' in the traditional sense and be much less directive. There are no conventional materials as the student topics are used to shape and motivate the class. All this plus an unusual cultural sensitivity mean that teachers usually require specialist training to use the method.

Another of the more recent methods which actively involves the use of translating is Suggestopedia developed by the Bulgarian psychologist Georgi Lozanov which he derived from Suggestology a "science ......concerned with the systematic study of the non rational and/ or nonconscious influences" (Stevick 1976:42) to which humans are constantly responding. The aim of the method is to harness these influences and re-direct them for learning purposes. In addition to translating other important features of the method are the furnishings of the room, the lay out of the

classroom, Baroque music and a particularly authoritative mode of teacher presentation.

Lozanov makes some strong claims for his method,

> "Memorization in learning by the suggestopedic method seems to be accelerated 25 times over that in learning by conventional methods".
> (Lozanov ibid.:27)

Other influences are yoga and Soviet psychology which are drawn on in the attempt to alter the learner's state of consciousness and concentration largely through the use of deep and rhythmic breathing in the belief that optimal learning takes place in a relaxed but aware state. Music plays a central role and slow movements from Baroque music are thought to give the best results. The teacher remains silent during the first four beats of the music and then recites the material with a particular intonation during the second four beats. Reducing the heart beat through the music is thought to improve the efficiency of learning. Attempts to substitute Wagner were reported to have disastrous results.

The method seems to have no central theory of language other than perhaps sharing with the Natural Method (see below) a concern with the importance of lexis. The main feature of the learning theory is that the learner's memory banks should be unloaded and then reloaded with the desired memories. One of the ways in

which this is achieved is through the use of a "ritual placebo system" (Losanov, ibid.:267). Just as in certain situations patients are cured by taking pills which contain no active ingredients so the use of scientific language can be used to persuade learners that the Suggestopedic method will teach them a language. The teacher then has to find which current ritual placebo will carry most authority with the learners and clearly this will change with time. Lozanov claims that placebos work and there may well be something in this aspect of the method though one might quarrel with the somewhat cynical way it is put into practice. However there is clearly a need in certain situations to get beyond the learner's own psychological barriers to language learning. Such psychological barriers are particularly acute in countries with a monolingual fixation like Britain where language learning is at times regarded as an intellectual feat beyond the capabilities of ordinary mortals. It may well be that having a translation of the student's texts printed in the textbook, as is the case with this method, goes a long way to helping to remove some of these barriers. Learners can see at once that there is a connection between what they are hearing and their own language and this must help to make familiar and less threatening what would otherwise seem so strange.

An actual lesson is described by Lozanov (ibid.:272) in which participants sit in a circle and in the first part of the lesson discuss the new material to be studied by looking over a dialogue with its accompanying translation and picking up points of

grammar and vocabulary. The teacher conducts this part of the lesson in the foreign language but learners are free to use either their mother tongue or the foreign language. The next part of the lesson is the concert, or seance where after listening to some music the teacher begins to read the text with a special modulated voice whilst students follow the text in the textbook which has each lesson translated into the mother tongue. After more silence the students close their books and listen to the teacher read through again finally leaving the room silently.

The only method to emerge since the sixties which remains solidly monolingual and specifically anti- translation is that most closely associated with Krashen and Terrell (Krashen and Terrell 1983) and known as The Natural Approach. The method attempts to conform to the principles of naturalistic language learning in young children and lays great emphasis on exposure to the right kind of input and in common with other methods seeks to lower stress levels by having a prolonged hearing period before speaking. Comprehension plays a central role in the methodology.

In keeping with other communicative approaches communication is held to be the primary function of language. There appears to be little attention paid to a theory of language other than that as in Suggestopedia the importance of lexis is stressed at the expense of grammar which is seen as inconsequential. Krashen and Terrell maintain that "acquisition can take place only when

people understand messages in the target language" (ibid.:19) with mastery of structure coming through stages when the learner is exposed to input which is slightly beyond his present level or what Krashen calls "I+1".

The theory of learning is based on Krashen's views of language acquisition and in particular the acquisition/learning hypothesis, the monitor theory and the natural order hypothesis. Krahsen claims that there are two ways of acquiring language through acquisition which is the natural way and parallels first language acquisition and is therefore an unconscious process involving naturalistic development of language proficiency through comprehension of language and using it for meaningful communication. The second way of acquiring language is through learning and involves the development of conscious rules about language and requires a knowledge of linguistic form and an ability to talk about this knowledge. Krashen asserts that learning cannot lead to acquisition.

The monitor theory maintains that conscious learning can only function as a kind of check or monitor to what has already been acquired. The monitor is limited by three conditions the first being time as there has to be sufficient time available for the learner to call up and use the rule. A second condition is that the learner must be focused on the form of the message rather than on its content. Finally the learner must obviously know the relevant rule before it can be applied. Krashen and others (see Dulay and Burt 1974, 1975) claim that just as there appears

to be an natural order in the acquisition of morphemes in a first language (Brown 1973, and de Villiers & de Villiers 1973) so in second language acquisition there exists a similar order which holds despite the mother tongue of the learner. It is this aspect of the theory which accounts for the insistence on a monolingual approach. If the mother tongue of the learner can be shown to have no influence on the way the second language is acquired then clearly there can be no language transfer from the first language consequently attempts by contrastive linguists to look at potential areas of conflict in the structures of the two languages are of no use (See Dulay and Burt 1974). Similarly if second language acquisition proceeds according to a relatively fixed natural order regardless of the mother tongue teachers should aim to construct their syllabus in such a way as to follow this order and their is little point in a bi-lingual approach which seeks to move from the known to the unknown if the mother tongue plays no part in the acquisition of the second language. However the experimental evidence on which Dulay and Burt based their claim has been seriously questioned (see Odlin 1989) and their are strong arguments for ascribing a role to the first language in the acquisition of a second.

A theory which connects Krashen and Terrell's work to other 'natural' methods is that of the affective filter which basically claims that anxiety and stress act as a block to learning and that lowering this filter will enable learning to take place more efficiently. Krashen argues that learners with a low affective filter seek more input and interact more and are therefore more

receptive.

The natural method is based on observations drawn from language learning in non-formal settings. The central focus is on comprehension and meaningful communication and therefore it is stressed that comprehensible input must be provided. Its originality lies in its emphasis on comprehensible and meaningful practice activities rather than on insisting on the production of grammatically accurate sentences.

2.13 CONCLUSION

This review I believe demonstrates what is perhaps not so obvious, though with hindsight it is difficult to perceive why it should not be so, and that is the straight forward fact that the history of foreign language teaching is in the main a history of bi-lingual methodologies heavily reliant on the practice of translating. This bi-lingual movement becomes increasingly monolingual from the period of the Reform movement. Significantly members of the Reform movement were not themselves against translating within language teaching. What they sought to redress in the excesses of the Grammar Translation method were problems of cross association and the obsessive focus on grammatical structure to the neglect of other features of language.

The real opponents of translating are the proponents of the Direct Method or to be more accurate the Berlitz version of the

Direct Method. When one considers how anti-theoretical their approach was it is puzzling to try and account for the influence their ban on translating had. Possibly the commercial success of the movement has more than a little to do with this. It is also interesting to note how little influence Palmer's vindication of translating had particularly in the light of the cogency of his arguments (see above) compared to those of Berlitz'. Again perhaps the answer to this has more to do with commercial success than the relative merits of the theoretical argument. Another aspect which should not be lost sight of here is the support which the Berlitz argument gives to the employment of native speaker teachers. Non native speakers are obviously a cheaper and more viable proposition for countries requiring foreign language education and so an argument which supports the exporting of native speakers has certain obvious attractions for interested parties.

The central argument against translating is that it promotes cross association and prevents direct association between the foreign language item and its referent. The arguments against this are, I think, perfectly well put by Sweet (see above) and in addition it is clear that the associationist model of psychology like the behaviourist model is inappropriate to first or second language acquisition and has been convincingly falsified by Chomsky (1959) and others.

There are signs that the twentieth century attachment to monolingual language teaching is fading and this is perhaps more

obvious in the more 'fringe' methods like Silent Way,and
Suggestopedia. On this possibility it is interesting to quote
Howatt:

> Finally, the monolingual principle, the
> unique contribution of the twentieth
> century to classroom language teaching,
> remains the bedrock notion from which
> the others ultimately derive. If there
> is another 'language teaching
> revolution' round the corner, it will
> have to assemble a convincing set of
> arguments to support some alternative
> (bilingual?) principle of equal
> power.(ibid.:289)

There is some evidence that this return to a bilingual principle
has now begun (see for example Titford/Hieke (eds) 1985) and it
is clear that translating is to form a major part of this
principle. I would like to conclude this part of the argument
with some remarks of Palmer's which I think sum up why
translating in language teaching was so severely criticized and
abandoned:

> The misunderstanding was natural enough;
> logicians would quote it as an example
> of the fallacy of the False Cause. The
> process of grammatical construction was
> carried out by means of a vicious form
> of translation exercise, and the result
> was utterly bad. Two important reforms
> might have been effected: in the first
> place, **the vicious form of translation
> might have been replaced by a beneficial
> form; and secondly, new and more worthy
> uses of translation might have been
> found.** But the act of translation
> itself (nay, the mere use of the mother
> tongue) was made the scapegoat and so
> paid the penalty. It is now time for a
> second band of reformers to attack and
> destroy the original cause of
> unsuccessful language-study,viz.

> grammatical construction, or at any rate
> to limit it to special cases and to
> appropriate occasions. **It is time too,**
> **to rehabilitate in some measure the**
> **character of the comparatively innocent**
> **process of translation, and to remove**
> **the stigma attached to those who still**
> **use the mother tongue as a vehicular**
> **language, and by so doing proceed**
> **naturally enough from the known to the**
> **unknown.** (Palmer 1917/1964 my emphasis)

If the 'second band of reformers' could be identified as those

responsible for the Communicative Approach then the next stage

in Palmer's programme would be to rehabilitate 'beneficial' forms

of translating within this approach. This is what I hope to do

in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSLATING AND COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one after looking in some detail at translation theory, it became clear that translating is essentially concerned with pragmatic features of language. In the last chapter however, after reviewing the role of translating within language teaching, it emerged that translating fell into disrepute because of its association with an excessive focus on decontextualized linguistic structure. Some members of the Reform Movement and also those who practised the Berlitz version of the Direct Method were afraid that translating would lead to semantic interference from the mother tongue. This concern persists in current language teaching methodology and is responsible for the absence of any use of translating within a Communicative Approach. The review of translation theory in chapter one makes it clear that translating is about far more than semantic and formal features of language and centrally concerns pragmatics, consequently translating should have a role to play in a broader communicative approach. The argument against translating based on the cross associationist view of language acquisition, like behaviourist views, has been convincingly falsified by Chomsky (1959).

It is significant to remember that even at the point in history where translating came under its heaviest criticisms, there were those with sufficient perception to realize that it was not translating itself which was the culprit but rather the methodology with which it was most closely associated ie. the

Grammar Translation method (see Sweet and Palmer, ch.2). It is ironic now to reflect that the Grammar-Translation method had itself been introduced as a way of contextualizing linguistic form (Howatt, 1984).

I believe that the time is now ripe for pedagogical approaches which exploit the learner's mother tongue to be re- assessed and I include translating amongst such bi-lingual approaches. Consequently in this chapter I want to re-examine the role which translating might play as a pedagogical resource within a communicative methodology. This movement like most is one which has changed and developed over time in response to changes in the perceived needs of learners and in the theories which underpin it. Therefore, before I can adequately discuss how translating fits into the overall scheme of communicative competence, I will need to look at the central concept which informs this methodology and the recent developments and debates surrounding it and leading to its reformulation. This central concept is the notion of communicative competence.

3.2 COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Central to communicative methodology is the notion of communicative competence; a notion which has been the focus of considerable debate recently. The role translating might play within a communicative approach has then to be clarified in terms of this debate.

The concept was developed by Hymes (1966) in response to Chomksy's influential discussion of competence and performance. Essentially, Hymes was objecting to the view that competence was synonymous with knowledge of grammar. It was an attack on the hegemony of grammar which reflected the dissatisfaction of many applied linguists and language teachers with the perceived failure of structural methods to take account of the use aspect of language. Students might have an ample grasp of grammatical structures at an abstract level yet for some reason they were often unable to realize this knowledge in the shape of genuine language behaviour. Consequently Hymes' call for a more communicative approach to language teaching received an enthusiastic response from those concerned with finding alternatives to the drilling of grammatical structures.

The question has recently been raised as to how legitimate Hymes' interpretation of Chomsky's competence notion is. Taylor (1988) and Widdowson (1989) have both noted that Chomsky had never in fact denied the importance of the performance aspect in language but being a linguist interested in solving the question of the innateness of human language he chose to concern himself with characterizing one kind of knowledge which native speakers have about their language. He views this knowledge as an abstract state rather than an ability and is intent on separating this state from its actual use. It is this abstract state which Chomsky designates as competence reserving the term performance for the use of this knowledge.

> For purposes of enquiry and exposition, we may proceed
> to distinguish `grammatical competence' from
> `pragmatic competence', restricting the first to the
> knowledge of form and meaning and the second to the
> knowledge of conditions and manner of appropriate use,
> in conformity with various purposes. Thus we may
> think of language as an instrument that can be put to
> use. The grammar of the language characterizes the
> instrument, determining intrinsic physical and
> semantic properties of every sentence. The grammar
> thus expresses grammatical competence. A system of
> rules and principles constituting pragmatic competence
> determines how the tool can effectively be put to use
> (Chomsky 1980:224)

In order to get at this competence Chomsky idealizes his data and removes such features of performance as hesitations, slips of the tongue, reiterations etc. as being of no real interest to him in his search for competence, that is that knowledge that native speaker-hearers have of their own language. It is precisely this process of idealization with which Hymes wishes to take issue. For Hymes many of the most important features of language, certainly in so far as its users are concerned are lost through this process of idealization. Hymes is then striving in his article to reinstate the importance of a communicative view of language. Just as Sweet's arithmetical fallacy wryly pointed out the need for more in language use than grammatical accuracy (see ch.2 and Sweet, 1899) so Hymes stresses the importance of feasibility, the limits our human processing powers place on language, appropriacy, - language users have a developed sense of what is appropriate to a context- and finally whether in fact the language in question would ever occur. So that for Hymes feasibility, appropriacy and actual occurrence are at least as important as whether or not something is grammatically or formally possible.

Whether or not Hymes has misconstrued Chomsky's original definitions of performance and competence the now historical fact is that many applied linguists saw in Hymes' call for a communicative view of language the answer to the problems posed by structuralism. By changing the focus of their attention from purely linguistic concerns to what can be termed the pragmatic features of language a new optimism emerged in what became known as the communicative approach.

Chomsky's original use of competence was intended to refer to an absolute state of knowledge conceived of as a cognitive structure. He clearly does not use it to refer to a skill or an ability but rather the knowledge which underlies such an ability. The term performance is reserved to cover the idea of ability. The following quotation makes clear that no connotation of ability was intended by Chomsky in his use of the term competence.

> We thus make a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker-hearer,s knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations). (Chomsky 1965:4 original italics)

Chomsky views competence as a part of biology like having blue eyes and brown hair and this of course fits in closely with his views on the innateness of human language and the idea of language being species specific. Chomsky's interest in performance is as data which can be used to investigate the underlying human phenomenon of competence, he is not dismissing

performance   rather he is claiming a different sphere of

interest.

> To avoid what has been a continuing
> misunderstanding, it is perhaps worth
> while to reiterate that a generative
> grammar is not a model for a speaker or
> a hearer. It attempts to characterize
> in the most neutral possible terms the
> knowledge of the language that provides
> the basis for actual use of language by
> a speaker-hearer. When we speak of a
> grammar as generating a sentence with a
> certain structural description, we mean
> simply that the grammar assigns this
> structural description to the sentence.
> When we say that a sentence has a
> certain derivation with respect to a
> particular generative grammar, we say
> nothing about how the speaker or hearer
> might proceed, in some practical or
> efficient way, to construct such a
> derivation. These questions belong to
> the theory of language use - the theory
> of performance. (Chomsky 1965:9)

According to Taylor (1988) Hymes and a number of applied

linguists have wrongly extended Chomsky's original term to

include the idea of ability. It is easy to see how such a

semantic slippage could occur as ordinary dictionary definitions

of competence include some idea of ability in their definitions.

Hymes has rightly pointed out that performance also has a

systematic and rule governed base (Hymes 1971) and more recently

Chomsky has acknowledged this (Chomsky 1980:224).

Hymes has, by extending Chomsky's term competence to include the

idea of ability, introduced confusion into the debate. Taylor

refers to Hymes' 1972 article where Hymes discusses `competence

in production' (1972:275) and "the specification of ability for

use as part of competence" (1972:283).   Clearly such an

interpretation of competence is far removed from the abstract state of knowledge which concerns Chomsky. Taylor is able to demonstrate convincingly that following on from Hymes a number of writers concerned with applied linguistics, notably Greene (1972), Munby (1968), Canale and Swaine (1980) have perpetuated this confusion of competence with the idea of ability.

Taylor praises Widdowson (1978) for pursuing a pedagogical perspective with his introduction of the terms **use** and **usage** and later (1983:8) with the idea of **capacity** however he still feels that the place and status of performance remains unclear.

> One clearly needs at times to distinguish between what a speaker knows and what he does, between his knowledge and his proficiency in using that knowledge, between what is individual and what is social. (Taylor 1988:166).

Taylor suggests that we abandon the term communicative competence as it has become too over-generalized and lacking in precision. He proposes that we keep competence in Chomsky's original sense as an absolute term and that we use proficiency to refer to the relative ability to make use of competence; performance would then be available to refer to what happens when proficiency is put to use. Communicative competence would then be replaced by the term communicative proficiency and would comprise grammatical competence and grammatical proficiency, pragmatic competence and pragmatic proficiency and, provided that strategies could be defined precisely enough, strategic competence and strategic proficiency.

Building on Taylor's redefinition of competence, I propose now to look at the possibility of a role for translating within the areas of grammatical competence, pragmatic competence and strategic competence.

3.3 TRANSLATING AND GRAMMATICAL COMPETENCE

Grammatical competence has traditionally referred to the syntactic and morphological systems of language. So called form words were felt to be of more potential benefit to the learner than full lexical words as they enabled the learner to manipulate the syntactic systems of the language. In recent years however, there has been a marked resurgence of interest in lexis (see Gairns and Redman, 1986; Carter and McCarthy 1988). New research has shown that the distinction between form words and lexical words is not as absolute as was at first thought; although it is fair to point out that Halliday has for a long time argued that there existed a complementary role between lexical and grammatical units, and that any distinctions which are apparent can best be thought of as distinctions of `delicacy' with lexical relations best thought of as most delicate grammar (Halliday, 1961 & 1966).

One major difficulty in discussing the role of lexis is the initial one of determining what counts as a lexical unit. Peters (1983) has made the important point that what literate adults conceive of as lexical units is different to the concept as used by linguists for analysis and both of these are distinct from the

concept as it is used by children acquiring language. Children acquire larger chunks of language than are usually associated with words and regard phrases like `look at that', `what's that', and `pick it up', as unitary lexical wholes. It appears that children acquire and store such unanalyzed chunks in their mental lexicon as wholes. Later on they are analyzed syntactically into smaller elements for creative re-combination and there is evidence that such chunks are stored both as prefabricated routines and as the separate analyzed elements of such routines. This dual storage means that in certain situations prefabricated routines can be accessed and produced holistically and that in situations which demand creativity, the various individual elements can be accessed and re-combined with others as demanded by the context.

Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985) have drawn attention to the need for learners to be able to both analyze and access language. Producing holistic phrases in appropriate situations is an important part of competence but learners also need to analyze such phrases into their component parts so that they can be freed up for re-combination. Language exercises have to be devised which enable students to both memorize useful formulae and at the same time enable learners to break such formulae down into elements which can be re-used. Widdowson (1989) has argued that the structural movement in language teaching enabled learners to analyze language and the communicative movement has taught learners to make use of formulae particularly through the teaching of notions and functions. What is now needed are

exercises which enable students to combine both ability to produce appropriate pre-fabricated speech and to analyze its parts. I hope to show in this section how translating can play a part in developing these two abilities, but I would first like to look at further theoretical aspects of formulae.

One such aspect concerns knowing the limits of analysability; learners must know that what Pawley and Syder (1983) refer to as lexicalized sentence stems, may not admit analysis. Phrases like "A stitch in time saves nine" or "Look before you leap" cannot be altered to "A stitch in time saves eight" or "Look before you jump" and that any creativity introduced into such formulae immediately marks the speaker as non native. Consequently part of a native speaker's competence involves knowing the limits of creativity (see Widdowson 1989: and Pawley and Syder,1983:193).

Such a view of the limits of creativity takes us back to a pre-Chomskian position. Chomsky stressed the creative power of a limited set of syntactic rules; an argument which he presented as a counter to the too mechanistic view of language held by the behaviourists.

> The most striking aspect of linguistic competence is what we may call the `creativity of language', that is, the speaker's ability to produce new sentences, sentences that are immediately understood by other speakers although they bear no physical resemblance to sentences which are `familiar'. The fundamental importance of this creative aspect of normal language use has been recognized since the seventeenth century at least, and it was at the core of Humboldtian general linguistics. Modern linguistics,

however, is at serious fault in its
failure to come to grips with this
central problem. In fact, even to speak
of the hearer's `familiarity with
sentences' is an absurdity. **Normal use
of language involves the production and
interpretation of sentences that are
similar to sentences that have been
heard before only in that they are
generated by the rules of the same
grammar,** and thus the only sentences
that can in any serious sense be called
`familiar' are cliches or fixed formula
of one sort or another. (Chomsky,
1971:8, my emphasis)

Normal language use for Chomsky then is the creative generation

of sentences on the basis of syntactic rules. The interesting

question is just how creative language is and what proportion of

it is fixed and what proportion formulaic?   A Canadian study

(Sorhus 1977)   claimed that five per cent of language was

formulaic whereas Pawley and Syder argue that native speakers

are not nearly as creative as Chomsky believes:

The problem we are addressing is that
native speakers do <u>not</u> exercise the
creative potential of syntactic rules to
anything like their full extent, and
that, indeed, if they did do so they
would not be accepted as exhibiting
nativelike control of the language. The
fact is that only a small proportion of
the total set of grammatical sentences
are nativelike in form - in the sense of
being readily acceptable to native
informants as ordinary, natural forms of
expression, in contrast to expressions
that are grammatical but judged to be
'unidiomatic', 'odd' or 'foreignisms'.
(Pawley and Syder 1983:193, original
emphasis)

Native speakers clearly have a great deal more to deal with when

communicating than simply generating grammatically well- formed

strings from a set of syntactic rules. They have to be sensitive

to their interlocutors, know what has gone before and plan ahead, attend to supra segmental and paralinguistic features of language and remain attentive to appropriacy. There is in fact a great deal which the native speaker must attend to other than grammatical rules. A speaker who merely produced grammatically well-formed sentences would risk being thought psychologically disturbed (see Brumfit and Johnson, 1979:14).

Prefabricated speech clearly has an important role to play in providing speakers with sufficient time to attend to other higher level cognitive processes such as forward planning of discourse. Lesser and Erman (1977:794) have aptly named their use "islands of reliability" because of their central importance for language learners whose planning needs are so much greater than native speakers.

In order to mark a change in topic, retain a turn at talk or appoint a new speaker routines such as `by the way', `wait a moment', `listen' and `what do you think of that'? are regularly employed. Such routines generally have standard equivalents in the mother tongue for example in the case of Arabic على فكرة   ala fikra) أسمع , لحظة   (isma , lahsza) and شو رأيك بهذا   (shuu raik bilhadha?). These routines perform an essential function in enabling a speaker to manage discourse and also create an impression of fluency which in turn will maintain communication input and facilitate progress. A student who sounds too hesitant or lacking in fluency may find it difficult to maintain contact for any length of time with native speakers. This is

particularly true for native speakers of English who have to compete everywhere with foreign users of English; any hesitancy on the part of such a learner may result in continuing the conversation in English.

Other formulae which are clearly needed by learners are those which assist students to manage their learning eg. "Would you please repeat that", "Please speak more slowly", "What does x mean in Arabic" etc. Armed with the translation equivalents of such units, learners can quickly build up a body of formulaic speech which will give them confidence and enable them to manage both discourse planning and the learning process more successfully.

Formulaic language is also important as a means for giving learners insight into the importance which a particular culture attaches to certain values. In cultures where religion still plays an influential role many more religious formulae are in active use as is the case in modern Arab culture. Ferguson (1981) drew attention to the formulae نعيما , (nai man, literally be smooth - plus the idea of blessed by God) and its root echoic response (الله ينعم عليك allah yin'am alayak, God, bless-make you smooth); he noted that it was only found in the isogloss where the Roman/Turkish bath culture had formerly existed and not in those Gulf Arab countries where such a culture never took root.

There are many examples in Arabic where a speaker in a particular

situation will use a formulae which the addressee is expected to echo with a fixed routine eg. السلام عليكم assalaam alaykum (literally the peace be upon you) which is invariably replied to by the root echoic response وعليكم السلام (wa 'alaykum assalaam - literally 'and the peace be upon you'). Such formulae admit no variation or creativity and learners must know the response and importantly that they are not free to vary it. Arabic uses many such formulae for fixed contexts eg. for congratulating someone on the passing of an exam, their new car, or new clothing etc. مبروك (mabruk - literally for a blessing) to which the reply would be البركة بعمرك (albarak bi 'umrak - literally the blessing be on your life).

Wierzbicka (1985) in a contrastive view of Polish and Anglo Saxon routines claims that having such set expressions for particular occasions releases the speaker from the difficulty and embarrassment of trying to be creative, with the attendant risk of producing an infelicitous effect. Some cultures express sympathy in the event of death formulaicly whereas others, Anglo Saxon for example, feel a need to express condolence
with creative language. In Arabic a set formulae exits for this situation (الله يرحمه 'allah yirhamu' May God have compassion on him) which avoids any problem of misinterpretation, and would not be perceived by an addressee as lacking in support or sympathy, as what was expected in the situation has been adequately performed by the formulae.

In such situations learners coming from Anglo Saxon cultural

backgrounds may feel that the use of formulae is insincere and inadequate and may try to use more creative language thinking that this would show more consideration for the bereaved. The result is likely to be serious cross-cultural pragmatic failure. Learners need to know the limits of creative use in the foreign language, as not only will appropriate formulae make their task easier it will guard against producing infelicitous results.

Granting that the importance of lexical sentence stems is established the question naturally arises of how we present and teach them? Why suggest translating as the means surely there are other ways which enable such language to be taught through the medium of the foreign language itself and thus avoiding confusion and over dependence on the mother tongue? I have already argued (see ch.1) that the use of the mother tongue is in fact use of relevant knowledge to acquire and relate new knowledge to old and later on in chapter seven I have set out in detail the pedagogical applications of translating. However I think it would be useful at this point to outline the main arguments for the use of translating in the teaching of this particular aspect of grammatical competence.

If lexical sentence stems are in most respects essentially the same as ordinary lexical units then it would seem reasonable to teach them in a similar way. Sweet and Palmer (see ch.2) both argued against the use of using the foreign language, mime or pictures in teaching new lexis because these relied on learners' hypotheses which could go wrong. Their argument was that

nothing useful was served by avoiding the mother tongue; that mistakes occurred and that learners would in any case resort to translating themselves. How much more reasonable to have a translation which has been produced and checked by the teacher than to encourage less reliable unofficial versions?

If one accepts the virtues of these arguments in the case of lexis then it would seem logical to extend them to lexical sentence stems which are essentially similar phenomena. Given the importance for learners of such material and the need to build up a stock as quickly as possible there would seem little point in not teaching them in association with their mother tongue equivalents. As in many cases close equivalents exist for such language, learners will in most cases assimilate them easily and quickly.

Earlier I reiterated the arguments put forward elsewhere (Widdowson 1989:& 1990, Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985) for materials which would encourage the dual development of access and analysis. Suitable texts containing a mixture of prefabricated and creative language could be exploited in ways which would develop the skills of access and analysis in parallel. Observation of practising translators reveals that they have built up a stock of ready made equivalents for source language formulae and can quickly slot these into place building up and adapting them to the creative language which links them. Guided translating will assist learners to develop these skills.

At the level of syntax a number of writers have looked at ways in which translating can be used to present and practise syntax (Anastos 1979, Butzkamm 1985 and Snell-Hornby, 1983). At this point I simply want to argue that translating has an important role in helping learners in their acquisition of syntax. Very often the use of literal translating makes transparent syntactic structures like French reflexive verbs, the present tense and the passe compose (see Anastos 1979 and discussion ch.7). When translating the elements of form semantically learners can go on to develop a sense of how the form functions and in this case semantics leads into grammar. Modal verbs in Arabic indicating necessity and possibility can successfully be presented in this way. It is often difficult for learners to acquire and use these structures if they are only provided with the pragmatic equivalents. Learners seem to need to understand the mechanics of the expression through a more transparent semantic translation before going on to use it pragmatically. They often ask for the core semantic meaning of the structure and how this extends into the pragmatic use. A further problem is that when denied the help of such a translation aid learners tend to operate with their own unofficial versions which may not always lead to correct usage.

Translating as mentioned above has always been recognized for its potential in the teaching of linguistic competence and with a number of new suggestions for its deployment in language

teaching there are now clearly good reasons for re-instating it within a communicative methodology.

3.4 TRANSLATING AND PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

The review of translation theories in chapter one demonstrates that translators draw on pragmatic knowledge and what is particularly relevant for language teaching is that they do so without ignoring the grammatical features of language. The communicative approach to language teaching has been criticised recently (Widdowson, 1989) for its failure to provide attention to the formal linguistic features of language. Just as the structuralists focused on form at the expense of communicative features of language, so the communicative methodologists have attended to the pragmatic in language at the expense of the grammatical. Translating, however by its nature must always remain concerned with the formal and the pragmatic and it is this aspect of its nature which makes it such an ideal exercise.

The role of translating in developing competence is a promising one, though it has to be said that there are some problems in defining the exact domain of pragmatics. Leech (1983) outlines the various positions of researchers, describing those who would subsume all meaning phenomena under semantics as semanticists and those who would see all meaning phenomena as covered by pragmatics as pragmaticists. His own position is that of a `complementarist' ie. one who believes that certain phenomena are best treated within the realm of semantics and that others can best be understood if viewed from the perspective of pragmatics.

Certain aspects of language, however do not seem to fit neatly into either discipline and require an interactive approach drawing on both semantics and pragmatics; two such areas are presupposition and deixis (see Levinson 1983 ch.2).

In attempting to define pragmatics Levinson (1983:ch.1) investigates a number of proposals rejecting each one in turn as being ultimately unsatisfactory. The theory which Levinson feels comes closest to offering a satisfactory definition of pragmatics is that put forward by Gazdar (1979) claiming that pragmatics equals meaning minus truth conditions. Under this definition pragmatics would cover all areas of meaning except those concerned with defining truth conditions which would remain the sole province of semantics.

However pragmatics is defined the importance of the subject for both pure and applied linguistics is accepted by most researchers, though as mentioned above there are some who would disagree. I have certainly not come across any researcher working in the area of applied linguistics or language teaching who would deny the importance of pragmatics. My intention then in this chapter is to look at various areas of pragmatics as they relate specifically to language learning and teaching and to suggest ways in which translating could be used to develop pragmatic competence.

A problem which many language students face in developing pragmatic competence and performance is that of cross cultural pragmatic failure, a notion which has been clearly outlined by

Thomas (1983). Pragmatic failure is subdivided by Thomas into two areas 1.pragmalinguistic failure and 2. socio-pragmatic failure. Pragmalinguistic failure occurs when the pragmatic force mapped onto the utterance by the speaker differs from the force which a native speaker would usually attribute to that utterance and would include the inappropriate transfer of speech act strategies (see 4.2.1.below). Socio-pragmatic failure concerns judgements about the social conditions placed on language in use, it includes decisions concerning the size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance and relative rights and obligations of speakers and addressees (see Gofmann, 1967). These two areas are not absolutely distinct but rather form a continuum.

Although there are a number of areas of pragmatics which I could have discussed with reference to translating, a few seem to lend themselves more easily to investigation and because of the necessary limitations on this theses I have chosen to look closely at three areas: speech act realisation, in particular as it is realised cross culturally, contrastive rhetoric and cultural schema interference.

3.4.1 SPEECH ACT REALISATION AND CROSS CULTURAL PROBLEMS

Since the important contributions of Austin (1962), and Wittgenstein (1958) who had earlier in his Philosophical Investigations argued that meaning was use, the study of the functional aspect of language within Speech Act theory has developed steadily and has contributed in a major way to

pragmatics as an important area of linguistic inquiry. Austin argued powerfully against the beliefs of the logical positivists (see Ayer 1936) who insisted that unless a sentence could be shown to be true or false then that sentence was meaningless. Such a view of language sounds odd at the present time but it is salutary to remember that prior to the work of Austin and Wittgenstein such a position on language was the dominant one.

Austin's work is characterised by moves which deliberately and progressively deconstruct his own argument. He begins his work (1962) by making a distinction between sentences which perform actions, which he terms performatives, and those which make statements, or assertions which he designates constatives. An example of a performative might be "I bet you five pounds" or "I declare you man and wife": such sentences actually perform the action named by the performative verb (ie. betting, marrying etc.) A constative simply makes a statement such as "Salt equals NaCl". In trying to clarify the form of a performative Austin gradually erodes the distinction between performatives and constatives.

Initially Austin felt that a performative should contain a first person active verb eg. "I suggest" but later realised that in certain instances performatives could be formed without the first person as in "Guilty" pronounced by a judge or "Penalty" uttered by a referee. Similarly the verb need not be an active as for example in "Trespassers will be prosecuted". At this point Austin came up against the central problem in pragmatics, that

is how to demonstrate the link between form and function; how to account for the fact that a limited set of linguistic forms can come to realise an infinite number of functions. Austin's way out of this dilemma was to suggest a distinction between an explicit performative, which would contain a first person form of the verb and implicit performatives, which would be expandable or reducible to such a verb form. In other words expressions like "Guilty" are in fact elliptical for something like "I declare her guilty".

This move in the argument means that all language can be used to perform actions, including constatives, as they can be expanded or reduced in such a way as to make explicit the action they are performing.

Austin isolates three basic acts which are being enacted when one performs an action by saying something.

1. A **locution**, ie. the sense and reference of the utterance.

2. An **illocution** which is the force, intention or function of the utterance.

3. A **perlocution**: this refers to the affect of the utterance which may coincide with the illocutionary force or may be quite distinct from it eg. in saying "Shoot her" the illocutionary force may be that someone orders or advises the addressee to fire a gun and the perlocutionary force could be that the onlookers become afraid, which may or may not have been an intended part of the utterance.

Austin outlined the conditions which he felt were necessary for a performative to be successful or felicitous; what is interesting for this thesis is that such felicity conditions are clearly culturally bound. For a performative to be successful a tradition must exist within the culture for the action which is being performed. There would be no point in gay men attempting to get married in most cultures, although in some others this would be a possibility. Attempting to divorce a married partner by repeating a formula three times is a possibility in certain muslim cultures yet not so in western cultures.

In addition to the existence of a tradition the participants must be qualified in certain specific ways to carry out the action. In Britain clergymen, civil registrars and captains of ships may perform marriages but not grocers,linguists or telephone engineers. That such felicity conditions are to some degree flexible is evident from the fact that at one point in history blacksmiths (at Gretna Green) were permitted to perform marriages but for some reason no longer can practise this function.

The participants must intend to fulfil the action sincerely and completely so that if a person utters a promise but does not intend to keep it such a promise has not been made felicitously. These conditions have been elaborated on by Searle whose major contribution to the theory has been in the delineation of

regulative rules which help distinguish between various performatives eg. a request and a warning (see Searle 1979)

There are problems with speech act theory (see Levinson 1983:263) largely centred around the literal force hypothesis (LFH) which maintains that explicit performatives have the force named by the performative verb, otherwise the force of the three major English sentence types (declarative, imperative, interrogative) comes into play ie.stating, ordering or requesting and questioning respectively. Given the LFH any sentence which neither has the force of the performative verb nor that traditionally associated with the declarative, imperative or interrogative is a problematic exception. A way round this problem is to claim that the sentence has the rule associated force as its literal force but that in addition it has an indirect force which is to be inferred. The problem with this solution is that most utterances are indirect. The imperative for example is very rarely used to give orders or make requests and the normal way to express such functions is with indirect utterances eg. "Would you close the door". The diversity of actual usage then constitutes a serious problem for the LFH.

In spite of the problems attached to speech act theory the contribution made by the theory to the development of pragmatics has been considerable. In addition the theory has contributed to literary theory, anthropology and child language acquisition. Whereas more recent research has moved towards more empirically verifiable methods such as discourse analysis and conversation

analysis some work has been undertaken which looks at the ways in which speech acts are realised in different languages and by different cultures. The work of Shoshana Blum-Kulka and Elite Olshtain is a good example of such work (1984).

3.4.1.2 THE CROSS CULTURAL SPEECH ACT REALISATION PROJECT (CCSARP)

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) set up a project to investigate the ways in which Speech Acts are realised cross -culturally. The project looked at the ways in which two Speech Acts, apologies and requests were realised across a number of languages. Initially the project compared native speakers of Hebrew with non native speakers of Hebrew whose mother tongue was English. Another study compared differences between Hebrew, Russian and English (Cohen and Olshtain 1981, Olshtain 1983), Thomas (1983) comments on Russian examples and Kasper (1981) refers to the same phenomena in German.

The hypothesis which motivates these studies is that learners are likely to transfer features of mother tongue speech acts to the speech acts of the foreign language and that in some instances this may lead to cross cultural pragmatic failure. The methodology of the C.C.S.A.R.P. involved the use of questionnaires and participants were asked to formulate requests which had been contextually framed within the text of the questionnaire. Participant roles were described eg. "You are a policeman asking a woman driver to move her car parked in an

emergency exit during a fire. What do you say to her"?

Clearly there are problems attached to using a written questionnaire to investigate oral phenomena such as speech acts. Written language is a good deal more than merely speech written down and has its own features and peculiar characteristics, consequently what a subject elects to write does not necessarily correspond to what they would say in a given situation under the constraints of time and context. A written questionnaire imposes on the data an element of premeditation which is quite out of keeping with spontaneous spoken acts.

The problem of investigating speech acts through written data is one that has been seriously overlooked for some time and is a drawback with the work of both Austin and Searle. The results of this project should certainly be tested with oral studies of naturally occurring speech acts and can only be considered as suggestive until such studies confirm or refute their findings.

Notwithstanding such reservations however, the evidence produced by the project is I believe both valuable and suggestive in that it supports intuitions. One of the findings was that the non native speakers of Hebrew often made requests which were not direct enough when measured against native speaker norms. The English politeness scale appears to have influenced the non native speakers to transfer modals eg. can to the foreign language which are not required in Hebrew. Thomas (1983) produces evidence from Russian speakers who use direct unmitigated

requests even with strangers so that "Give me a cigarette" would be an acceptable request in Russian. House and Kasper (1981) provide evidence that in German the level of directness for requests is much greater than in English. My own work in Arabic (1989) suggests that where the cost of imposition is low, Arab speakers are more direct than English native speakers. As an example in 1975 in Saudi Arabia neighbours and friends would ask to borrow my car with the following form of request "Steve, give me your car keys". If such a speech act form were be used in an English speaking context one could predict interesting results.

English learners of Hebrew, German, Russian and Arabic may well experience problems in producing requests which appear to them to be over direct or rude and this is clearly related to differences in politeness scales (see Brown and Levinson,1978). Conversely learners of English may have difficulty in adjusting to requests which require of them greater syntactical complexity eg. "Excuse me, I wonder if you would mind closing the window". compared with "Open the window". A sensible learner strategy is to opt for the simplest syntactic structure available in any given context but unless they are made aware of the pragmatic consequences of their choice they risk appearing rude. In addition they will have the problem of accommodating to a different politeness scale which of itself is a major adjustment.

The project also looked at cross-linguistic and pragmatic variation in the realisation of apologies. Two major differences

appear in this connection, one relating to the overall frequency of apologies, and the second to the relation between apologies and other speech acts. In an earlier comparison of the frequency of apologies in the speech of speakers of Hebrew, Russian and English (Cohen and Olshtain 1981; Olshtain 1983) conducted through role-playing tasks the tendency was for English speakers to use apologies the most frequently, with Hebrew speakers using them the least and Russians being somewhere in the middle. The evidence further suggested that native speakers of English tended to use apologies when speaking Hebrew more frequently than native speakers and that conversely, native speakers of Hebrew tended to use apologies in English less frequently than English native speakers.

Borkin and Reinhart (1978) claim that differences in the relation of apologies and other speech acts can lead to inappropriate uses and that for example Thai and Japanese ESL students use Excuse me_and I'm sorry inappropriately because of this difference. Borkin and Reinhart quote as an example a Japanese student who responded "I'm sorry " to an American who had complained "I have so much homework to do".

Coulmas (1981) has investigated the relations between the speech acts of apologising and expressing gratitude. Coulmas has noted that in English, French and German an expression of thanks and an apology can elicit identical responses. The underlying similarity of apologies and expressions of thanks can lead to particular difficulty for some learners.

A: Thank you so much.   A: Excuse me,please.

B: That's all right.   B: That's all right.

A: Merci Monsieur.   A: Excusez- moi.

B: De rien.   B: De rien.

A: Danke schon.   A: Verzeihung.

B: Bitte.   B: Bitte.

(Coulmas,1981)

In Japanese the relation between thanks and apologies is more
obvious so that expression of thanks are often formulated in
words which in other languages would be reserved exclusively for
apologies.   Expressions which serve for both the function of
thanks and apology cause problems for Westerners eg. O-jama
itashimashita ("I have intruded on you") however Coulmas offers
this explanation:

> In Japan, the smallest favor makes the
> receiver a debtor. Social relations can be
> regarded, to a large extent, as forming a
> reticulum of mutual responsibilities and
> debts. Not every favor can be repaid, and
> if circumstances do not allow proper
> repayment, Japanese tend to apologize. They
> acknowledge the burden of the debt and their
> own internal discomfort about it.   (Coulmas
> 1981:88)

There is then a body of growing evidence which indicates that
differences in speech acts between mother tongue and foreign
language will create difficulties for learners (Coulmas, 1981;
Loveday, 1982; Odlin, 1989). One important result of the work

on Japanese speakers is that research on pragmatic transfer in speech acts must look into entire systems of speech acts and not be content with contrasting the way individual speech acts are realised in any two languages.

In chapter 7 I want to look at the pedagogical implications of translating for language learning and there I will report on a pilot study carried out with undergraduates learning Arabic at Salford University. In this small scale study English learners of Arabic were given work sheets containing several requests with a number of alternative translation equivalents. They were then asked to discuss in groups and select the most appropriate translation equivalent for each request. A final plenary session with the teacher guiding the discussion made a final selection of the most appropriate equivalents.

The purpose of the study was to see how useful translating might be as a means of achieving raised consciousness (see Rutherford & Sharwood-Smith 1985) with regard to differences between the realisation of speech acts in the mother tongue and the foreign language and to see if such raised consciousness would lead to a more appropriate use of the foreign language speech acts. It is of course the intention of this thesis to argue that the use of translating as part of language teaching methodology will help lead to an improvement in appropriate use.

3.4.2 CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC

The study of speech acts deals with the function or illocutionary force of individual acts. One of the concern of rhetoric is the way these individual acts are concatenated to form discourses. We might have an act which describes, another which classifies, and yet another which states a rule; rhetoric would deal with how these acts might combine to form a scientific discourse.

The study of rhetoric has its roots in classical antiquity. It had its proponents in ancient Greece and Rome and was also studied by Arab rhetoricians. Although ignored by linguists until relatively recently the study of rhetoric represents one of the first attempts to study language as discourse. The aim of classical rhetoricians was to isolate the categories and criteria for effective communication and then employ these to provide practical guidelines for a particular group of language users; the public speaker.

Marcus Fabius Quintilian, a first century Roman orator isolated five parts to the art of speaking which he outlined in his book on the art of public speaking: (Quintillian 1920, Loeb library)

1. inventio: the choice of subject matter.

2. dispositio: the ordering and arrangement of the material.

3. elocutio: the style of presentation.

4. memoria: techniques for memorisation.

5. pronunciatio: the mode of delivery.

Quintilian describes three types of rhetoric as characterised by three groups of professionals:

1. The deliberate and persuasive discourse of the politician.

2. The forensic discourse of the attorney.

3. The epideictic ceremonial discourse of the preacher.

Interestingly the five parts to the art of speaking foreshadow more recent work on the sociolinguistic variables of discourse, whereas the types of discourse have been followed up by work on the notion of genres and stylistics. Though the effort may now seem embryonic, it is the first attempt to list and try to understand the components of the communication process ie. the speaker and audience, the topic and the shape of the message itself.

More recent studies of rhetoric have sought to identify rhetorical rules as the rules of use which a language user must know in order to communicate effectively:

> Rules of use are rhetorical rules:
> communicative competence is the language
> user's knowledge of rhetoric.
> (Widdowson, 1979)

What is significant for this thesis is that such rhetorical rules are clearly not universal as the study of discourse strategies in cross-cultural communication shows (see Smith, 1987). Unfortunately most language learners assume such a universality to exist until the opposite has been pointed out to them. Just as it comes as something of a shock to find out that physical

gestures such as nodding or shaking the head may have a contrary meaning in a different culture (compare Sri Lankan where the British negative head shake is used for positive affirmation) so most learners find it difficult to grasp that rhetorical conventions used in their own language may have an opposite effect to the one they desire to achieve.

It is my claim that translating is a process which can underline this lack of universality amongst rhetorical conventions through a careful and guided study of how rhetorical equivalence can be achieved across languages. Through translating the learner can be made aware that for example a rhetorical device like repetition in Arabic which adds force to an argument is more likely in English to weaken that same argument if translated as it stands. Similarly retaining a succession of paratactic clauses linked by `and' may create incoherence if carried over literally to the English target text. By looking at equivalence in the sense of equivalent rhetorical force, rather than equivalent surface form learners become aware of the rhetorical devices of the foreign language and how these contrast with those in their mother tongue. With this awareness further work on translating enables learners to use these rhetorical devices purposefully and successfully in the foreign language.

One of the earliest attempts to look at problems engendered by the transfer of mother tongue rhetorical devices and strategies to the foreign language was that of Kaplan (Kaplan, 1966). Through his teaching of non native pre- university students

Kaplan became aware of general writing problems exhibited by his students which could not be attributed to problems of grammatical accuracy. The problems were largely to do with coherence of paragraph structure and the sequential development of a topic which violated the expectations of a native speaker/reader. Kaplan hypothesised that such problems were caused by a conflict between the thought patterns of English and the students' native language.

Kaplan suggests that anglo-saxon thought patterns have developed from a pattern based on that of the Platonic/Aristotelian sequence which is essentially linear and can be represented by the following diagram.

Other culturally based structures are:

(2) Semitic, (Hebrew and Arabic) parallel constructions, where the first idea is echoed and completed in the second part.
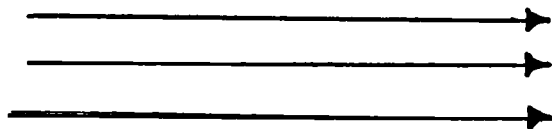
(3) Oriental circularity (Korean and Japanese), where the topic is viewed from various angles.
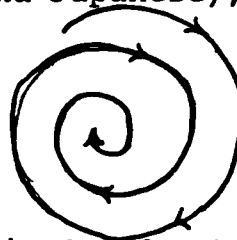
(4) Romance languages, where there is freedom to digress and add 'extraneous' material.
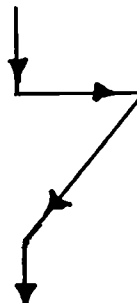
(5) Similar to Romance but with varying lengths, expanded digressions and an abrupt stop.
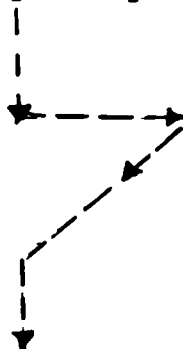
(Kaplan, 1966)

Kaplan is careful to point out that he is not advocating a form of cultural imperialism; he is not insisting that there is one superior cultural pattern ie. the anglo-saxon and that non native writers must conform to it. Rather that by importing a thought structure to English which is based on that of a different culture, students will unwittingly produce text which is out of focus and appears incoherent to native readers.

Further work in this area by Clyne (Clyne, 1987) suggests that the influence of culture is stronger than that of language family type. By comparing the way meetings are organised in Germany and Australia Clyne claims to have found a powerful influence on the way discourse is organised. Trade unions, parent-teacher organisations, and clubs in anglo-saxon cultures tend to follow the structures of Westminster, with only one motion allowed before the chair at any time, whereas those in German speaking countries allow for a much greater degree of digression. The linearity of discourse in anglo saxon meetings in Australia is alienating to many German immigrants who are disturbed by the idea that knowledge is somehow less acceptable because of the way

it is presented.

On the question of whether discourse structure is affected by culture or linguistic family my own experience with Arabic would suggest that it was the interaction of both factors. At this point in history it is difficult to unravel the separate strands but certainly in Arabic rhetorical devices like repetition are inherent in both the linguistic structure (see Jabouri 1984) and the rhetoric.

Kaplan's views on a Semitic thought pattern were tested by Bar-Lev (1986). Students with a number of different mother tongues were tested using a retelling approach. A narrative and an expository text were translated into the various languages of the students and then recorded. The students listened to the recordings and then retold them in their own language. The students' retellings were then analyzed in the hope that they would reveal the preferred rhetorical pattern of their mother tongue. Bar-Lev's conclusions provide some empirical support for Kaplan's suggestions, though in the case of Semitic structure Bar-Lev thought that a preference for a flat, serial,clausal connection using connectors like `and', and `so' was more central than parallelism.

In summary the value which cultures attach to specific rhetorical figures is something which language learners need to become first conscious of and then able themselves to put to effective use. It is possible that a few gifted students will be able to work this value out for themselves and then perhaps employ it to their advantage but the likelihood is that the vast majority will remain unconscious of the source of their problems and as a consequence be unable to write in ways which are deemed coherent and effective by native standards. Through translating texts which are rhetorically different and culturally strange, with the emphasis on pragmatic appropriacy and not formal accuracy, learners can be brought to see that what one employs to strengthen an argument in one language would be avoided in another. To take a more concrete example Arabic argumentative text achieves persuasive force through the rhetorical device of repetition when translating this into English, a language where repetition is regarded as stylistically weak learners will have to cut out the redundancy in the Arabic in order to achieve the same persuasive force. Through exercises such as these learners can be brought to understand that the use and value of rhetorical devices is not universal and is dependent on language and culture.

By carefully selecting and presenting texts for translating which exemplify rhetorical differences between the learners' mother tongue and the foreign language, teachers can raise their students' consciousness and develop their rhetorical skill in the foreign language. Initial texts should not contain too many

problems and work should be in groups with the teacher providing guidance. If one member of each group writes the group translation down on an overhead projector transparency then fruitful discussion and comparison of the various group translations can take place later in the lesson. Translating as a language learning activity is best undertaken as a group activity with teacher guidance. Translating on an individual basis in isolation is a rather boring and time consuming activity which is less likely to enable learners to discover the differences in rhetorical figures and patterning which will provide them with the key to using the foreign language effectively and coherently. (see ch.7 for more detail on the pedagogical application of translating).

3.4.3 TRANSLATING AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE SCHEMA.

In looking at the ways in which translating might help language learners to acquire the rhetorical structure of the foreign language, I was in fact, considering formal schemata which concern background knowledge of the formal, rhetorical organizational structures of different types of texts. In this section I want to extend the argument into the area of content schemata ie. background knowledge of the content area of a text (Carrell 1983b). The fact that content schemata are affected by cultural differences in eg. religious ceremonies, local customs, traditions about medicine etc means that they can create problems for language learners particularly when the mother tongue and

foreign language are culturally distant. The problem for the learner in such a case is how to develop culturally appropriate schemata as an essential background for understanding both written and spoken foreign language text. I want to argue here that translating exercises based on texts which are selected for their cultural and schematic difference can be used to help learners develop relevant schemata. By comparing and contrasting schematic difference through discussion centred around translating learners can be sensitized to such differences and enabled to acquire schemata appropriate to the foreign language.

Part of a translator's task is being an efficient reader in both the source and target language. In relatively recent approaches to reading, an interactive view of the process has come to predominate (Carrell, Devine and Eskey, 1988). The term interactive has several extensions, that is to say it refers to the readers interaction with the text in terms of decoding the language and thought of the writer through a psychologically complex process. It can also refer to the interaction which the text has with other texts, or what de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) refer to as intertextuality. When a text consciously echoes a phrase or sentence from another text it binds itself to a tradition or genre of texts. De Beaugrande and Dressler claim that universal text types, expository, argumentative narrative gradually evolved through a process of intertextuality. The final sense in which interactive is used refers to the ways in which elements of the text interact with each other: macro with micro elements and vice versa (van Dijk, 1977).

Reading is then a complex psycholinguistic process which starts with a surface linguistic representation encoded by a writer and ends with reader constructed meaning. The essential interaction in reading is between language and thought: the writer encodes thought as langauge and the reader decodes language as thought. In order to carry out this decoding process readers have to make use of their own background experience. I mentioned in chapter two that the essential problem in machine translation is how to program into a computer pragmatic knowledge; this will probably remain the single most effective advantage which human translators have over the machine ie. the ability to relate the text to their own world knowledge.

The idea that readers are much more than mere tabula raza and can actively call up relevant areas of their experience when processing text is hardly new. Kant (1781) claimed that new information, ideas and concepts could only have meaning in relation to what the individual already knows. More recently Barthes has stressed the importance of what the reader brings to the text, and Goodman (1967) and Smith (1971) have been very influential in insisting that reading programmes take account of this dimension.

One way of characterising this perspective on reading is the top-down or macro view and broadly stated claims that readers rely on existing syntactic and semantic knowledge structures and minimize reliance on graphic display and knowledge of the sounds associated with graphemes. Goodman gives the following

definition:

> Reading is a receptive language process.
> It is a psycholinguistic process in that
> it starts with a linguistic surface
> representation encoded by a writer and
> ends with meaning which the reader
> constructs. There is thus an essential
> interaction between language and thought
> in reading. The writer encodes thought
> as language and the reader decodes
> language as thought. Further,
> proficient readers are both efficient
> and effective. They are effective in
> constructing a meaning that they can
> assimilate or accommodate and which
> bears some level of agreement with the
> original meaning of the author. And
> readers are efficient in using the least
> amount of effort to achieve
> effectiveness. To accomplish this
> efficiency readers maintain constant
> focus on constructing the meaning
> throughout the process, always seeking
> the most direct path to meaning always
> using strategies for reducing
> uncertainty, always being selective
> about the use of the cues available and
> drawing deeply on prior conceptual and
> linguistic competence. Efficient
> readers minimize dependence on visual
> detail. Any reader's proficiency is a
> variable depending on the semantic
> background brought by the reader to any
> given reading task. (Goodman, 1967:12)

In top-down processing readers place reliance on their background

knowledge and ability to make predictions based on this knowledge

which can then be regularly tested and adapted by reference to

the text. In bottom-up processing readers work from the minimal

units of text (phonemes, graphemes, words) and build meaning from

small to larger units of text,then background knowledge and

current prediction about the text can be modified on the basis

of information encountered in the text.

Problems can arise when readers place too much trust on one or

other of these processes. Too much reliance on bottom-up processing leads to text boundedness (Carrell 1988) whereas too much reliance on top-down processing produces knowledge-biased processing or schema interference (Carrell,op.cit.). Good readers are thought to use both top-down and bottom up processes interactively.

Steffensen has looked at the problem of schema interference across cultures (Steffensen, 1986). Her concern was the way people coming from different cultures would interpret the same text; her hypothesis being that readers who share the same culture as the writer will access schema appropriate to the text whereas those reading the text and coming from a different culture will have difficulty relating the details of the text to any known schema and that this will lead to a breakdown in the process of comprehension.

Steffensen has conducted a number of experiments which provide useful support for her hypothesis. In one experiment adults from the United States and India were given two letters one describing an American wedding, the other an Indian wedding. They were then asked to complete a short task the purpose of which was to inhibit short term memory. Finally they were asked to recall the details of both letters. Steffenson noted several effects of cultural interference; subjects read the native passages more rapidly than the foreign passages and recalled far more of the native passages, they also produced more errors in the recall of the foreign text.

A similar experiment was conducted with American and Australian Aboriginal women. The subjects listened to two texts read aloud, one concerning illness and treatment in the West and the other giving an Australian Aboriginal perspective on the same subject. They were then asked to give short personal histories to inhibit short term memory and after this to recall both texts. The results of this experiment were similar to the first and confirmed its results.

Steffenson has also noted that cultures do not need to be particularly distant for the effects of schema interference to arise. The theme of Amis' "Lucky Jim" concerns the attempt of a post war generation to break free from the bonds of traditional British class structure. American readers whom Steffenson interviewed regularly interpreted the story as being concerned with a rather unpleasant young lecturer attempting to secure tenure through the publication of articles. Her explanation for this is that the schema of 'tenure securement' is upper most in the minds of American readers and that this acts as a block to understanding the central theme of class conflict. The main protagonist Jim speaks with a working class accent and this keys the British reader in to the appropriate schema of class conflict within a university setting.

What emerges from Steffenson's experiments is the clear influence that culture has on the comprehension of text. Even speakers of the same broad language group such as Americans and British can occasionally engage the wrong schema and fail to comprehend. The

research also shows the relevance of content schemata as an important factor in reading comprehension. Thus the relevant schema for an Indian wedding or discussion of Aboriginal medicine can not readily be adapted for their British or American counterparts and vice versa without considerable re-adjustment. How then are we to enable our learners to reconstruct or recreate schemata appropriate to the foreign language and culture? No doubt over a number of years of exposure to the foreign culture, by living, mixing and speaking with the users of the culture learners may acquire such culturally determined content schemata but what is needed are ways of providing learners with appropriate schemata quickly and effectively.

By careful selection of texts which demonstrate differences in schema, teachers can provide learners with such an effective short cut to acquisition. Learners would first have to read the texts in groups and note down any difficulties. Oral translations could then be suggested by the groups and then the relative merits of the various suggested alternatives could be discussed with the guidance of the teacher. As an example appendix (I) contains a text which presents certain cultural problems for the translator. These problems are what Catford (1965) has described as cultural, as opposed to linguistic, untranslatability. It is my belief that by discussing the alternative solutions to such problems of cultural untranslatability with teacher guidance that learners will come to grips with, and develop relevant culturally based content schemata. Such pilot studies as I have carried out (see ch.7

for details) support such a belief, though it is of course extremely difficult to provide convincing empirical evidence in such a case.

The principle behind my approach is rather a simple one ie. exposure to and discussion of areas where marked cultural difference and distance occur between the mother tongue and the foreign language, focused by means of translating, will facilitate the acquisition of appropriate schemata for dealing with such differences. One of the key features of translating being that it is a process which holds together within a comparative framework the mother tongue and foreign language.

Although, as stated above, it is difficult to obtain empirical backing for such a hypothesis it is not too far removed from what is held to be the case in other areas of second language acquisition that is to say through exposure and use within the problem area learners are able to develop with guidance appropriate strategies for dealing with the problem.

3.5 TRANSLATING AND STRATEGIC COMPETENCE

There has been considerable debate as to whether or not language teachers should teach strategies. Some have argued that learners, left to themselves, will develop their own strategies without pedagogic intervention. Brumfit (Davies, Criper, and Howatt, 1984) has pointed out that a necessary preliminary to teaching strategies is the ability to identify them accurately.

Taylor (1988) noted that strategic competence needs to be defined more rigorously before it can be fully integrated into a communicative methodology. The research of Poulisse et al (1990) also casts some doubt on the psychological validity of the strategy concept (Thomas, 1991). The description of inter-judge reliability reveals that there were problems in identifying strategies: "Of the 541 CpS (compensatory strategies) identified by judge 1 only 49.7% were identified as such by judge 2. Of the 324 CpS identified by judge 2 83% were also identifies by judge 1". They point out that after a number of months judge 1 redid some data and increased the number of strategies recognized. If however,judges have to work at developing perceptions in order to recognize strategies it does raise the question of how psychologically real strategies actually are.

In spite of these problems my own view is that sufficient research now exists to validate the strategy concept in general and consequently if teachers can offer learners help in developing strategic competence then clearly they should. Levinson, Blum-Kulka (1978) and Varadi (1980) have all noted that translators like other language users employ strategies to important effect. I believe that the process of translating confronts the learner with an early need to develop strategies in a systematic and effective way. Translating classes can be used to highlight those parts of a text which require strategic language use. Having identified these areas of the text teachers and learners can examine the various strategies such as paraphrase, circumlocution, semantic contiguity etc. which might

be relevant and then go on to select and try them out to determine their appropriacy. In this way learners can be introduced to the range of strategic possibilities and can develop a sense of which ones are most likely to be effective and in what circumstances. The generally less successful effect of L1 based strategies can be demonstrated as well as the obvious dangers involved in transferring lexical sentence stems from the L1 automatically. At the same time learners can be shown through translating exercises that L1 transfer can sometimes work and that the best approach is a cautious one were this strategy is concerned.

Given the present state of understanding of strategic competence caution needs to be exercised in the way strategies are identified and taught, however as I argued earlier there is now sufficient evidence available to indicate that strategic competence is a part of all language users' competence and that learners cannot simply be left to fend for themselves in this area of communicative competence.

In the next chapter I shall look into a number of interim systems: first and second language acquisition, pidgins and creoles and translator and learner strategies. I shall demonstrate that all these systems employ common strategies which are necessary for their development. I hope to be able to show that far from causing semantic interference, translating encourages the learner to use strategies based in the second language and thus encourages development along the interlanguage

continuum.

In ch.5 I will present a small scale empirical experiment which I believe lends support to the argument that translating fosters strategic proficiency. Finally in ch. 7 I will show with specific examples how translating can be put to use to develop strategic competence.

3.6 CONCLUSION

I have now looked into several cross cultural areas where I believe that translating can help foreign learners develop grammatical, pragmatic and strategic competence. My central thesis is that difference and language distance make it difficult or inappropriate for learners to transfer relevant knowledge and experience form the mother tongue to the foreign language. Learners need a means whereby initially they can become aware of this difference and distance; in other words they need to have their consciousness of the problem raised (Sharwood-Smith, 1981, Rutherford, & Sharwood-Smith, 1985). What I am suggesting here is that learners can acquire knowledge more easily if their attention is drawn to it through calculated exposure to crucial pre-selected data and that this can be achieved through what Sharwood-Smith and Rutherford call degrees of elaboration (op.cit.)

Translating essentially involves selection, that is translators regularly choose from among a range of possible expressions the one which they feel to be most appropriate to a particular

context.   It is for this reason that translating as a classroom
exercise can be used to facilitate consciousness raising about
differences between the mother tongue and the foreign language
and can be used as a discovery procedure for finding and
acquiring the necessary foreign language equivalents which will
enable learners to function in cross-culturally problematic
areas.   In chapter seven I want to look in more detail at
particular pedagogical applications of translating.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIC COMPETENCE AND TRANSLATING

In chapter one I pointed out that more recent models of Machine Translation which require an interlingual component support the view that translating like language learning involves an intermediate stage. It appears from Artificial Intelligence (A.I.) and Natural Language Understanding (N.L.U.) research into the human processes in translating that either an interlingual or transfer stage is needed in Machine Translation models and indeed second generation models have such an interlingual or transfer component(see ch1:34). Similarly linguistic models of translation like those of Nida (1964) and Frawley (1984) support the claim that translating be regarded as the development of an intermediate system drawing on the Source and Target codes yet developing an independence with its own internal dynamic.

For some years now learner language has been regarded in a comparable light to translating in that it too, though reliant to some extent on elements of the mother tongue, and other languages acquired, and though inevitably constrained by the parameters of the foreign language to be learnt nevertheless does develop an internal impetus of its own. Such a view of learner language has come to be termed interlanguage and owes much to the pioneer work of Corder (1981), Selinker (1972), Nemser (1971), and others. As far as I am aware, however the parallel between translating and learner language has not been discussed or researched, though Levenston and Blum-Kulka do point out that the

process of lexical simplification can be observed in the output of language learners and translators (1978, 1983)

Pidgins and Creoles together form another interesting manifestation of simplified or reduced codes which take up a mediating position between the substrate and superstrate languages which form their basis. It is however, important to note that such language phenomena very quickly develop a vitality and a character of their own which owes little to the initial influences which brought it into existence (see Romaine 1988:13). It is in fact important to view these phenomena as independent entities and not merely as the sum of their own parts otherwise an accurate understanding of the processes which underlie them will be difficult to reach.

In this chapter I want to look at the processes which are at work in the development of pidgins, creoles, and interlanguages and compare these with the processes underlying translating and the transfer and interlingual stage in machine translating, arguing that they are all surface realizations of deeper universal language processes. I also want to argue that these processes involve the use of strategies and that these too are essentially similar to all the language phenomena under discussion. Finally I want to suggest that as the strategies of learners and translators are so closely parallel, and I would argue are manifestations of the same processes, that translating might be one way of encouraging learners to develop appropriate interlanguage strategies and that certainly the possibility

ought to be researched.

4.1 INTERLANGUAGE

Much of the early structuralist writing on learner language was informed by a behaviourist theory of language acquisition, regarding first and second language acquisition as the formation of correct habits through imitation. The view of learners' errors at that time was that they were manifestations of faulty learning practices, imperfect memorisation on the part of the learner, perhaps incorrect teaching practices or the influence of the mother tongue. It was believed that a contrastive analysis of the learners' mother tongue and the foreign language would be sufficient to predict learner difficulty and error. However with Chomsky's dismissal of the behaviourist language learning paradigm (Chomsky, 1959), and a shift towards a mentalist, cognitive view of language acquisition, learners' errors came to be regarded as important evidence for what Corder termed the learners' `transitional competence'. Corder clearly intended to echo Chomsky's term `competence' (Corder, 1967, 1981:10) thereby suggesting that unlike native speakers, learner's competence was in a transitional phase, constantly in flux and beginning with many features of the learners' mother tongue but gradually approximating towards the target language.

I have mentioned the influence that Chomsky had on the development of interlanguage theory but another important influence was from research into first language acquisition (see

Brown, R.1973). It was noted that though children regularly made errors, these errors were of a systematic nature such as for example overgeneralizing English -ed past tense forms to produce *`goed'. Children appeared to be forming hypotheses about grammatical rules and then testing them out in their own utterances and then adjusting future utterances in line with the feedback they received. It was suggested then that progress towards native speaker norms was not through imitation and memorization, as had been believed, but through a gradually approximation process which included the formation and testing of hypotheses about those norms.

Corder (1976 and 1971) claimed that there was evidence to show that the interlanguage of second language learners with different mother tongues showed similarities and that the interlanguage of first and second language learners showed overall similarities particularly where second language learning takes place in naturalistic, non-formal settings. From here it was a short step to suggest that there might be a natural in-built syllabus which was responsible for the parallels between first and second language learners.

> The problem is to determine whether there exists such a built-in syllabus and to describe it. It is in such an investigation that the study of learners' errors would assume the role it already plays in the study of child language acquisition since, as has been pointed out, the key concept in both cases is that the learner is using a definite system of language at every point in his development, although it is not the adult system in the one case, nor that of the second language in the other. The learners' errors are evidence of this system and are themselves systematic. (Corder

1967,in Corder 1981:9,10)

Corder claims here that the learner's system is independent of the mother tongue and of the second language and the focus of attention is now on the emergent interlanguage which is described as both independent in some degree and systematic.

In another early contribution to the debate Nemser (1971) supports the idea of viewing learner's utterances as distinct and systematic ie. "the patterned product of a linguistic system La,distinct from Ls and Lt and internally structured". (Nemser 1971 in Richards 1974:56). Here La refers to an approximative system, Ls to the source language and Lt to the target language. Nemser stresses the need to study the characteristics of learner's speech as something essentially different and separate from the mother tongue and foreign language.

> The speech of a learner, according to the assumption, is structurally organized, manifesting the order and cohesiveness of a system, although one frequently changing with atypical rapidity and subject to radical reorganization through the massive intrusion of new elements as learning proceeds. As such, learner speech should be studied not only by reference to Ls and Lt but in its own terms as well.
> (Nemser, 1971 in Richards, 1974:56)

Similarly Selinker in discussing the differences between the utterances produced by second language learners and native speakers of that language argues that the second language learner operates with a separate linguistic system; separate that is from the learners native language and the second language.

> This set of utterances for most learners of a second language is not identical to the hypothesized corresponding set of utterances which would have been produced by a native

> speaker of the TL had he attempted to
> express the same meaning as the learner.
> Since we can observe that these two sets of
> utterances are not identical, then in the
> making of constructs relevant to a theory of
> second language learning, one would be
> completely justified in hypothesizing,
> perhaps even compelled to hypothesize, the
> existence of a separate linguistic system
> based on the observable output which results
> from a learner's attempted production of a
> TL norm. This linguistic system we will
> call 'interlanguage' (IL).
>> (Selinker, 1972 in Richards, 1974:35, original
>> emphasis)

Pioneer work in interlanguage studies sought to introduce a more process oriented approach to the study of learners' utterances and to focus attention on the developing system of the learner as something worthy of research in itself, distinct that is from the influences of second and native languages. This approach is one which continues to be pursued in interlanguage and related strategy research (see eg. Davies, Criper, Howatt, 1984 and Poulisse, 1990:4). Another area of research where similar processes are at work is that of pidgins and creoles, it was Jespersen (1922) who first noted the parallels with language learning, though Corder (1977) and others have since researched the area.

4.2 PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Jespersen originally drew attention to the similarities between the processes underlying second language acquisition, first language acquisition, pidgins and creoles and language loss attributing the parallels to the "same mental factor.........imperfect mastery of a language". (Jespersen 1922). He based his conclusions on observations of Bislama, a

variety of pidgin English spoken in Vanuata which he described
as:

> English learnt imperfectly, in consequence
> partly of the difficulties always inherent
> in learning a totally different language,
> partly of the obstacles put in the way of
> learning by the linguistic behaviour of the
> English speaking people themselves.
> (Jespersen, 1922:233)

Whatever the[6] origins of such linguistic phenomena their
importance for contemporary linguists is considerable for the
light they may eventually shed on the question of linguistic
universals. Bickerton (1981) has written extensively on this
question and claims that creolization is the realization of what
he refers to as a bioprogram which he suggests is partly
attributable to species specific cognition structures and partly
the result of processes inherent in the linear expansion of
language.

In the next section I want to look at the similarities between
first and second language acquisition, pidgins and creoles and
translating and look at the arguments for claiming that these
processes are different surface realizations of universal
language processes.

4.2.1. SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Bickerton (1981) maintains that there are twelve features[7] which
are characteristic of creoles. Some of these features can also
be identified in language acquisition, learners' interlanguage
and are, I believe, used operationally by translators when

shifting from source to target language.

As stated above my concern with the similarities between language acquisition, pidginization and translating is to investigate the argument that these processes are different surface realizations of universal language processes, (cf. Corder, 81:79). The similarities manifested by these interim systems reveal that they all abstract from incoming data to produce a reduced code. The child acquiring a first language filters out from incoming language the language required for his/her needs in accordance with ability. Similarly second language users form a reduced code from received input reducing grammatical redundancy and making it more readily processable[8]. In my opinion translators have to break down the source language text into a reduced form before they reformulate it in the target language. This process has been modelled in Machine Translation systems and in these systems, unlike their human counterparts, the reduction of the incoming source language is transparent. Linguists' models of the human translation process also claim that the translator operates with an interim system before producing a target language text.

As mentioned in chapter one Nida's linguistic model (Nida & Taber,1969:33) of translating and Frawley's semiotic model (1984) both view the translating process as requiring an intermediate phase in which influences from the source language text and the parameters of the target language play a role, but where the internal dynamic of the translation itself exerts its own

particular force. Nida and Taber (1969:33) discuss two models of the translating process. In the first a series of rules are set up to be applied in order, which are intended to specify what should be done with each word or combination of words in the source language so that an appropriate corresponding form can be found in the target language. He notes that many linguists favour the idea that translating requires an intermediate universal linguistic structure. He diagrams the model as follows:

$$A \longrightarrow (X) \longrightarrow B$$
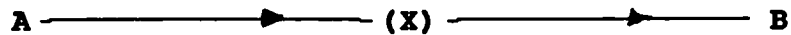
(Nida & Taber 1969:33)

A represents the source language, x the intermediate universal structure and B the target language.

The second model of translating represents the process with a three stage model:

(i) analysis where the surface structure is analyzed in terms of grammatical and semantic relationships

(ii) transfer - the analyzed material is transferred in the mind of the translator from language A to language B

(iii) restructuring where the transferred material is restructured so that the final message accords with target language norms.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Nida and Taber 1969:33)

Here again Nida proposes an intermediate universal structure.
Frawley's model of the translating process also requires an
intermediate phase (Frawley 1984:159 ff.) Frawley's discussion
of his proposed semiotic model of the translating process begins
by dismissing traditional ways of representing this process as
a uni-directional flow from Source to Target language.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Frawley, 1984:161)

Frawley correctly notes that such a one way flow of information
fails to recognize the influence which target language parameters
have on the process. There is then a need to see a bi-lateral
movement between the matrix and target codes.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Frawley, 1984:168)

I would therefore argue that translating at the operational level
is a similar interim system to pidginization and language
acquisition. In order to support my argument I intend to take
three of Bickerton's twelve features which have been researched
by Romaine (1988), Schumann (1978), Gass (1983) and Andersen

(1981), and compare the way they are realized in pidgins/creoles, language acquisition and translating. The particular features I wish to examine are possession, unmarked verb forms and relativization. I have selected these three features because of the availability of other research and because my own translating data allows comparison of these features.

4.2.2 POSSESSION

Possession in pidgins is frequently realized as N + N eg **the king food**. Anderson (1981:189) in a discussion of Bickerton's data notes that seven out of the total nine constructions were of the juxtaposed **N + N** type (ie. possessor + possessed) and omitted the standard English possessive **s** marker.

Schumann's longitudinal study of the natural second language acquisition of Alberto (an adult native speaker of Spanish) provides data for a number of features including possessive constructions. The following table from Andersen's discussion (1981:189) summarizes Alberto's use of possessive constructions.

Table Second Language Acquisition Possessive Constructions.

	Type	No	Example
Spanish order	N N	20	food king
English order	N N	4	the king food
	N	9	this fat man [= fat man's]
	Ns N	4	animal's big neck
	N of N	8	school of you wife
	N de N	1	the brother de Kennedy

From a comparison of Bickerton and Schumann's data, both the Hawaiian pidgins speakers and the second language speaker Alberto prefer to juxtapose two nouns to indicate the possessive construction. However in the case of Alberto there appears to be additional language transfer influence on word order.

In my own translating data (discussed in ch.6) there is one possessive construction which is in fact a genitive or Arabic idhafa construction formed by changing the ending of the first word of the construction (feminine in gender) from **ha** to **at** and in the event of case endings being used[9] the inclusion of a genitive case vowel. The Arabic construction is thus a variant of the N + N juxtaposition with an inclusive vowel change.

If we take a look at the problem of the Arab's weakness in the use of the Classical Language. (See Appendix for full text).

إن نظرة فاحصة إلى مشكلة ضعف الغالبية العظمى من العرب في استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى.

The majority of subjects preferred to translate the possessive construction here using **of** ie. N of N.

the problem of the weakness of the arabs.

fewer preferred the translation N + N :

the problem of the arab weakness.

and rarely Ns N.

the problem of the arab's weakness.

However, as I have noted before, it is difficult to discern the translating process from its products. It may be, as I would want to argue, that in keeping with Nida and Frawley's linguistic models during the transfer phase and prior to what Frawley refers to as the development of the third code, translators break the source language text down into N + N and then during the restructuring phase add on the possessive s to form Ns + N. This is certainly the way the processes is modelled in machine translation.

As I mentioned above Machine translation is based on findings from Artificial Intelligence and Natural Language Understanding models of language and as such attempts to model the way human translators go about processing the source language text and restructuring the target language text. It is, therefore illuminating to look at specific examples from Machine Translation data and compare them with Bickerton's examples from Hawaiian pidgin and Schumann's second language examples. The attraction of Machine Translation data is that its processes are transparent to the observer, unlike those of the human translator.

The early models of Machine Translation (see ch.one) followed a procedure known as the brute force method which simply looked up source language words sequentially in bilingual dictionaries and consequently examples from this period are of little value. Later researchers however began to pursue the possibility of an interlingual approach which would initially represent the source language in an interlingual format before synthesis in the target language. The stimulus for such interlingual approaches came form Chomsky's transformational generative model (Chomsky,1957,1965). The basic logic behind interlingual approaches was that although languages differ at the surface syntactic level they share common deep structure representations which can be thought of as forms of universal semantic representations. It was reasoned that if a source language could be represented in an intermediate phase as a deep structure representation then a number of different target language surface structures could be generated from this deep structure and this was particularly attractive to projects like Eurotra which required to generate translations into all the community languages.

```
                                              TL1
                                            TL2
                                          TL3
SL————————Deep Structure              TL4
                                          TL5
```
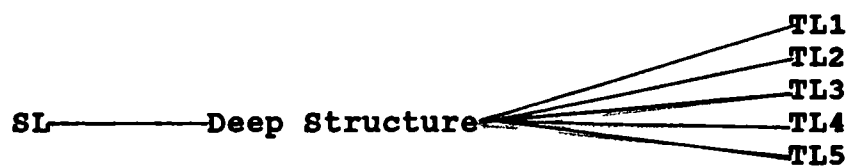
It is useful then to look at samples taken from interlingual models of Machine Translation. Two such interlingual models are C.E.T.A. (Centre d'Étude pour la Traduction Automatique) and L.R.C. (Linguistic Research Centre, University of Texas). The interlingual representations take the form of abstract formulae

in terms of logical predicates and arguments. Neither system attempts to break down the lexical items into their semantic primitives and therefore they are best described as interlingual syntactically but not semantically[1]

The initial stage in the L.R.C. system is analysis including morphological analysis, dictionary look-up with finally the surface sentence being converted to a standard string by a surface grammar. The second stage involves testing the tentative standard strings against a standard grammar for well-formedness and if found acceptable they are then given phrase structure representations as standard trees. The following example from Hutchins 1986 contains the possessive construction **Mary's dog**.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Hutchins,1986:198,fig.18)

The possessive is represented as N + N **Mary Dog** a form found

regularly in Hawaiian pidgin and in Alberto's interlanguage.

From the standard tree the following normal form is derived:

TIME

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Hutchins 1986:198 fig.19)

Note again that the possessive is represented as Poss N + N.

4.2.3. UNMARKED TENSE FORMS

Bickerton and Schumann's data also note absence of past tense

markers as a regular feature in pidgins and interlanguage.

Alberto fails to mark past tense forms approximately half the

time whereas Bickerton's data shows that in the case of Japanese

pidgin speakers past tense markers are absent 78 per cent of the

time and though the exact figure is not given for Filipino pidgin

users, Bickerton mentions that they use tense and aspect markers

slightly more frequently than the Japanese.

> It has generally been reported of pidgins
> that they use markers of tense and aspect
> sparingly if at all. This certainly seems
> to be true of the Japanese pidgin speakers.
> In the creole system.....there is a wide
> variety of tense and aspect markers,
> including **bin,** an anterior marker, **stei,** a
> nonpunctual marker and **go,** an irrealis
> marker. These markers may also be combined
> in several ways. Japanese pidgin speakers,
> however, have no combined forms of these
> particles and indeed very few single
> occurrences of the particles themselves.
> (Bickerton and Odo 1976:147)

Brown (1973) and others have noticed that children acquiring

their first language also pass through a phase where verbs are

used without tense or aspect markers, in fact in an elicitation

test, (Berko, 1958) some pre-school children aged between four

and five years scored as low as 32 per cent on past tense

morphemes.

As far as my own translation data is concerned there are a number

of examples where past tense markers are missing. I would argue

that it is plausible that operationally translators move through

a stage in the translating process where verbs are called to mind

in an unmarked form and subsequently in the restructuring of the

Target language appropriate tense and/ or aspect markers are

added. (cf Nida's transfer phase). Here again, I feel that one

can turn to examples from Machine Translation on the grounds

that if they mirror the same processes used by human translators

one can take their interlingual phase as being probably similar

to that of human translators. The example quoted from L.R.C.

above has no past tense markers

D Aux An old man in green suit <u>look at</u> Mary DPoss Dog

Similarly the derived standard tree produces

<u>View</u> in man old suit green Poss Mary Dog

The C.E.T.A. model also produces translation samples which support the view that human translators employ an interlingual phase in their operations which mirrors pidginization and language acquisition processes. C.E.T.A. employs a two stage syntactic analysis, in the first stage the source language text is analyzed into its phrase structure. The following sentence from Vauquois (Vauquois, 1971) exemplifies this stage, **"Le remplacement des tramsways par des autobus a permis un developpment rapide de la circulation dans les rues de la ville"**.
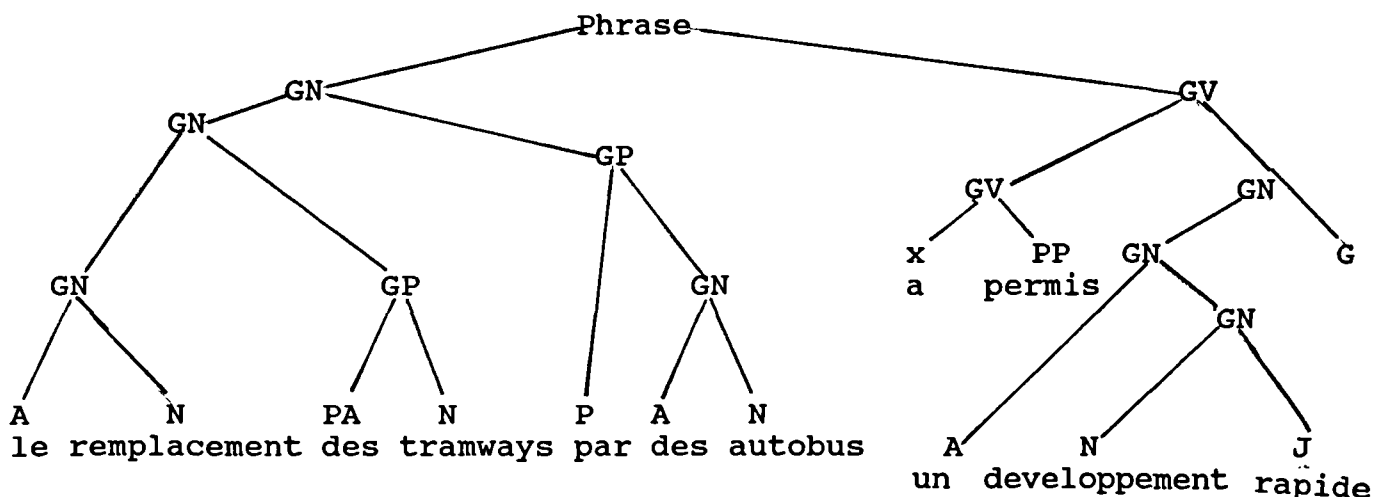
as governor and the noun as dependent. The transfer stage converts this augmented phrase structure to a pivot language in propositional logic form consisting of predicates and arguments. The following diagram shows the resulting abstract tree representation.

permettre

ACT1   ACT2

remplacer   développer

ACT1   ACT2   ACT3   ACT1   ACT2   EPITHETE

0   tramways   autobus   circuler   (circuler)   rapide

CIRCONSTANT

dans   ACT1

ACT1   (développer)

rue

DETERMINATIF   (CETA 'pivot language'

ville   representation. Vauquois
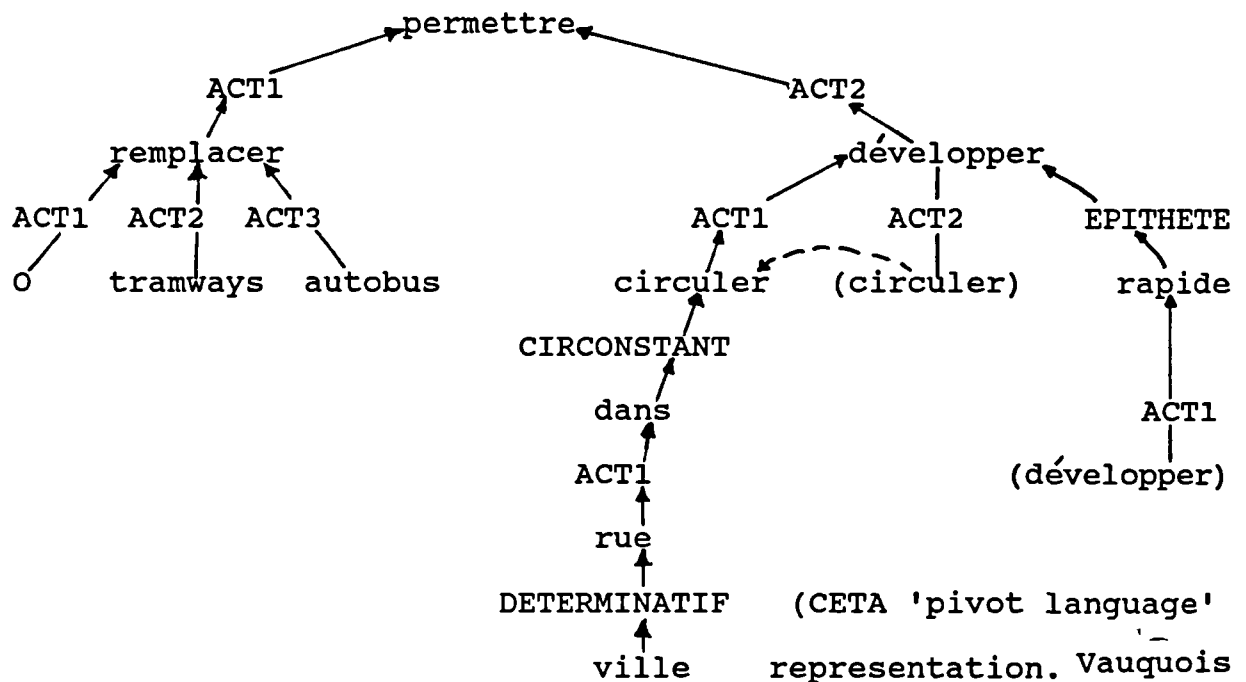
1971, cited in Hutchins, 1986:192

In this example again the lack of articles, inflection, noun verb agreement shows parallels with the kind of language produced in first and second language acquisition, pidgins and creoles.

Though transfer models of machine translation do not use specific interlingual representations they do analyze and represent the source language text as an interface structure prior to the transfer phase. This interface structure displays many of the features at issue in this discussion. The EUROTRA model of

machine translation is a transfer system and it is clear from descriptions of the model that intermediate representations are an essential feature of the model.

> We start from the assumption that a direct
> approach is ultimately doomed to failure and
> that any modern MT system will incorporate
> an analysis and generation phase yielding
> intermediate representations of some sort.
> (Allegranza et al 1991:19)

In the EUROTRA model transfer takes place between representations known as Interface structures and below this level are other levels of representation ie. Eurotra Normalized Text (ENT), Eurotra Morphological Structure (EMS), Eurotra Constituent Structure (ECS) and Eurotra Relational Structure (ERS) as detailed in the diagram below.
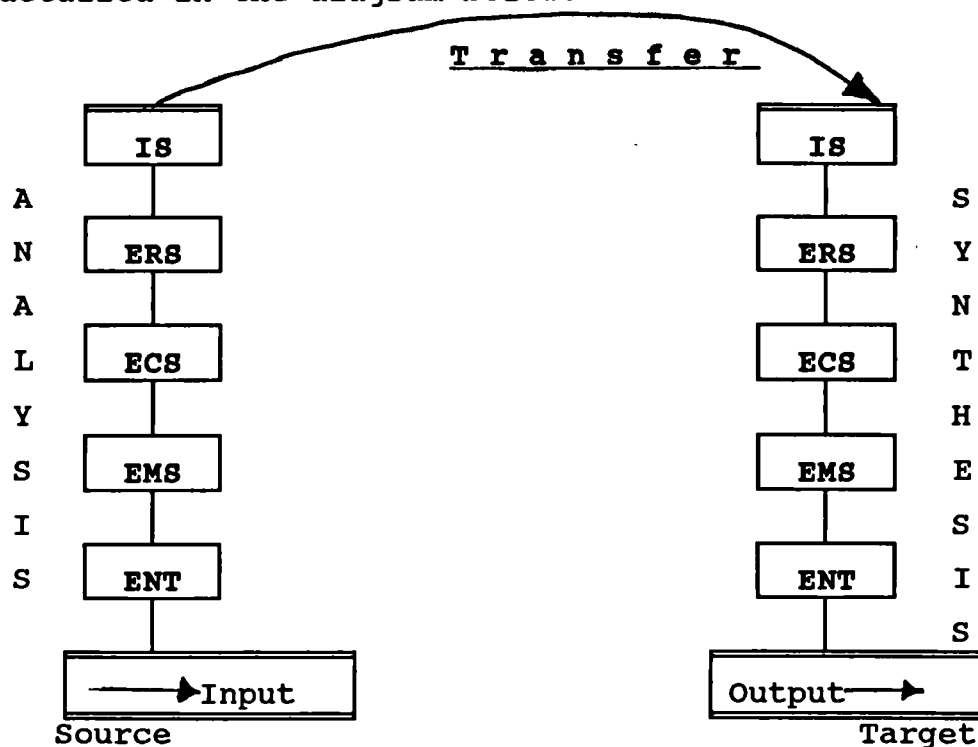
(from Allegranza et al 1991:19)

I believe it is instructive to look at the form such interface structures take, bearing in mind the processes under discussion.

I find it particularly striking that such structures are centrally lexical in character which is also a feature of language acquisition and pidginization. Compare for example the interface structure representations for the following two sentences:

La decision depend du budget.

The decision depends on the budget.

The representations for these two sentences are identical apart from the lexical units.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

lu= lexical unit   (Allegranza et al,1991:32)

The closeness to other language phenomena is more noticeable if we write out the representations as sentences.

EN: Depend decision budget.

FR: Dépendre décision budget.

The absence of articles or inflection calls to mind similar structures found in pidgins, creoles second and first language acquisition; that is, as noted above, it is essentially lexical

structures found in pidgins, creoles second and first language acquisition; that is, as noted above, it is essentially lexical in character with syntax and morphology playing a secondary role.

4.2.4 RELATIVIZATION

Relativization like tense/ aspect markers, possession and other features is an area which has been studied closely in language acquisition and pidginization for the evidence it provides in linking shared developmental routes across these reduced interim systems. Romaine (1988:229) has investigated similarities in the development of relativization in first language acquisition, pidgins and creoles.

Relativization in English is realized by **Wh** pronouns, **that** and also through deletion or the zero relative. Pidgin syntax, on the other hand is generally undeveloped lacking rules for embedding and marking of relative clauses. This marking of relative clauses is something which emerges in the later stabilization phase of pidgins or in the process of creolisation.

In Romaine's work with Edinburgh children (1984:ch3) she noted that children begin by using a conjoining strategy and then develop object focus relativization. Later, between the ages of six and eight, the children in Romaine's study began to make a switch from object to subject focus relativization.

Romaine (1988:241 ff.) believes that there are important links between children's acquisition of relative clauses and their

distinguish between true embedding and conjoining. The use of the personal pronoun instead of a **wh** word for relativization appears to be an intermediate stage between zero forms and the full range of English relative pronouns. Zero marking in subject position gives way to overt relativization by **wh** or **that** and a copy pronoun in the subject slot of the matrix clause following the relative clause is deleted.

Romaine (1984:229 ff) notes from her Edinburgh data a similar developmental route in children's acquisition of relative clauses. In the early stage no attempt is made at embedding and the evidence suggests tha⁺ children do not possess strategies for syntactic incorporation of one clause within another. It seems that children rely on prosodic and pragmatic features to interpret one another. The first stage is then a discourse pragmatic strategy which gives way in the second stage to grammatical and syntactic constraints on relativization.

Stage I: Conjunction of independent clauses

there is a big alarm bell   and   that goes off
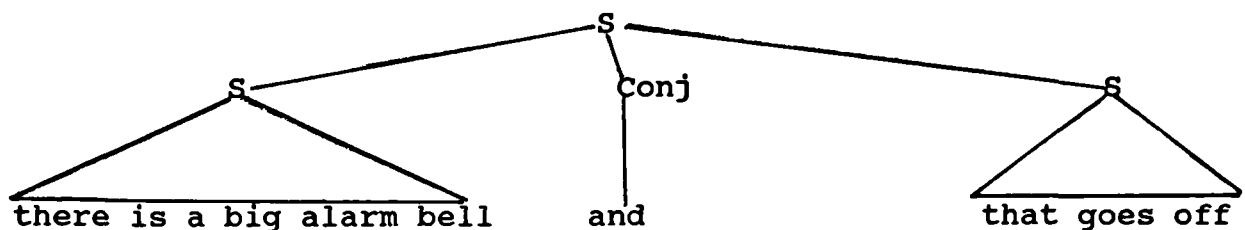
(taken from Romaine 1988:244)

Gass (1983) studied seventeen adult learners of English with various mother tongues and concluded that their acquisition of relative clauses was primarily governed by universal principles though language specific effects contributed to the overall developmental progression. She believes that these learners followed the constraints of the Kennan and Comrie accessibility hierarchy (Keenen & Comrie 1977) regardless of their original language background. In other words speakers of all languages produced more correct responses to subject than to object relativization following the predictions of the accessibility hierarchy.

Cook (1973) has also tested the comprehension of English relative clauses by adults and compared these results with children's acquisition of these clauses. He concludes that children and

adults make similar errors (compare Ioup and Krase 1977 for a similar conclusion).

The translation data I studied was based on a text (see appendix) which contained four relative clauses. All of the examples are object focus relatives and in such cases Arabic includes a copy pronoun as eg. 1 **the languages which he speaks it.**

1.

In order to learn the colloquial language <u>which he speaks it</u>

2.

To realize the amount of energy and practice <u>which he needs (it)</u>

3.

If we compare these thousand of hours with the number of hours <u>which we practise (it)</u> the use of the classical language.

4.

This also explains the linguistic fluency <u>which many acquire (it)</u>

The majority of the translators in my study in fact chose to delete the relative pronoun together with the copy pronoun expressing the idea in the target text by means of zero relativization.

5 (i). in order to learn the colloquial accent he speaks

(ii) to learn the colloquial language he speaks

(iii) in order to learn the local dialect he speaks

6. (i) to realize how much activity and practice to be needed

(ii) to realize the extent of activity and drill one needs

(iii) to realizes (sic) the amount of practice and activity the person needs

7. (i) If we compare these hours with the number of hours we drill to use (sic) Classical Arabic correctly

(ii) If we make a comparison between these thousands of hours and the hours of actually using the Arabic language in the correct way

(iii) If we compare these thousands of hours and the few hours we actually spend on using Standard Arabic (correctly).

8. (i) This is why we find that men of letters, radio announcers and orators more fluent.

(ii) This explains the difference of language between writers, speakers, rhetoricians (sic).

(iii) That is why we find a difference between good writers, radio broadcasters and orators' language.

There were a few examples where a Wh relative was used but these were rare and interestingly less successful:

9 (i) To learn the colloquial language in which he talks

(ii) To learn his colloquial dialect with which he speaks

There were also a few examples where that was used:

10 (i)   **To learn the colocial (sic) language that he talks it**

In this last example the copy pronoun in Arabic has been literally translated (it) which is a common transfer mistake among Arab beginners.

It appears then from our limited sample that translators prefer zero relativization at least as far as the examples in the source language text was concerned. This strategy of relativization corresponds to the first stage of pidginization noted by Bickerton in his Hawaiian pidgin study and to the earliest stage in Romaine's data from Edinburgh children. I must acknowledge that my sample is too small to draw any firm conclusions, however it does accord with my experience in marking many translations written by native speakers of Arabic. My intuition is that they initially try a zero relativization strategy and only if they then perceive this to be awkward attempt a **wh** or **that** relative. Such a hypothesis does of course require confirmation from a larger data base and needs further empirical support.

In summary there is a growing body of evidence which points to a common developmental route for first and second language acquisition, pidgins and creoles particularly in the syntactic areas of possession, tense markers and relativization. One explanation is that these language phenomena are in fact different surface manifestations of the same underlying processes (cf. Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis 1984 and Bialystok's views on cognitive language processes discussed below, Bialystok,

1990). Romaine (1988:290) is cautious about such a conclusion and feels that more evidence needs to be examined before we can be confident that such an explanation is correct.

From a necessarily cursory look at the way pidginization, language acquisition and translating deal with three of Bickerton's 12 features ie. possession, tense marking and relativization it does appear that there are parallels and I believe this lends support to my view that they are similar interim systems. They are similar in that they are all reduced systems, though in the case of translating the product may not always reveal this. They are also holding positions which form a buffer, a third point which is necessarily transitional. In the case of language acquisition the holding position gives way to more and more native-like forms whereas in pidginization the holding position continues until a fully fledged creole emerges with its own native speakers or the social constraints which brought it into existence change or disappear leading to its eventual extinction. 'Translating exhibits these same features of reduction and is itself a third point or holding position. With novice translators the final product betrays this fact thought with expert translators it may be more difficult to uncover these processes from the finished work. What then underlies these three products? What goes on at the psycholinguistic level to give rise to such phenomena? One answer to these questions can be found within artificial intelligence research and information processing theory. This research argues that two cognitive processes underlie the ability

to communicate: the cognitive processes of analysis and control.

4.3 LANGUAGE PROCESSING

As discussed above, the ability to communicate is not an isolated cognitive phenomena but is thought to come about through two underlying processing components. They are the cognitive processes of analysis and control. Like Machine Translation, the idea of cognitive processes which act on mental representations, has developed from information processing theory and computational theories of mind (Fodor,1974, Fodor and Pylyshyn,1988). Also, in common with Machine Translation, it derives some theories from Artificial Intelligence (see Boden 1977). The strong version of the theory claims that the model has psychological validity whereas the weak version merely claims that it provides a model for the ways in which problems are solved by the human mind.

Bialystok (1990) accepts that a complete account of language processing would require more than two processing components, notably `fast processes' (Jackendoff, 1987) and `automatic processes' (Schneider and Shiffrin, 1977), however her argument ultimately ignores these other processes in favour of a binary classification. I wonder if these other processes might not underlie some of the strategies which Bialystok and others (cf. Poulisse et al 1990) want to dismiss. This is certainly an open question and needs to be answered empirically if at all possible.

The two major processing components felt by Bialystok to be

responsible for language processing are analysis of linguistic knowledge and control of linguistic knowledge. Both are felt to work independently and in concert when required. Neither is thought to be sufficient by itself and both are felt to develop in children at approximately the same time, though certain circumstances might enhance or inhibit development in either one.

Analysis of linguistic knowledge refers to the way meanings are structured mentally. How representations of language organized at the semantic level are structured at the level of symbol. In other words how we as language users move from semantic mental representations to syḿbolic or form representations. In Saussaurean terms it would be moving from the signifié (concept) to the signifiant (sound image), (de Saussure, 1959, 1974:67). What is required is an explanation of how language is organized at the semantic level (signifié); how it is organized at the level of symbol or form (signifiant); and importantly how language users move from one representation to another.

As mentioned earlier, young children can understand language implicitly without possessing a detailed knowledge of the forms and structures which enable its use. When a child can represent these forms and structures independently or, to return to de Saussure can comprehend the arbitrary nature of the sign, then his or her knowledge of language has become symbolic. With this symbolic, explicit knowledge certain uses of language become possible, notably learning to read.

> The behaviourial outcome of high levels of analysis is the ability to articulate

> structural principles of organization for
> the domain. The functional consequence of
> analysis is that certain uses of language
> become possible with greater levels of
> analysis. (Bialystok, 1990:119)

Learning to read relies on explicit knowledge and children can only read when they understand the symbolic relation between letters and sounds, and between written words and the meanings they can convey.

Three factors have been identified which enable analysis to progress (Bialystok,1990:124) and these are firstly self-reflection or introspection which can lead to the organization of knowledge following on from recognition of the principles on which it is structured. Secondly the important role of instruction in literacy which facilitates children's metalinguistic insights. Finally, the role of instruction which presents rules and structures as organizing principles. This last factor militates against pedagogic theories such as Krashen's (1981) which discourages the presenting of grammatical rules.

The second processing component is the control of linguistic processing ie. the ability to give attention to those aspects of language or the communicative situation which are most relevant and to integrate them in real time. The most important feature of this attention is that it is selective. The theory is reminiscent of Sperber and Wilson's view of relevance and similarly involves filtering out those stimuli which are distracting and irrelevant and focusing on those which are

essential and required for understanding. Sperber and Wilson (1986) consider that an organism's ability to survive will depend on its capacity to sort out relevant from irrelevant stimuli. Bialystok believes this ability is central to language processing.

> Language presents multiple sources of information both linguistic and non linguistic and part of effective language processing is being able to attend to the required information without being distracted by irrelevant or misleading cues. (Bialystok, 1990:125)

Fluency in language use requires high levels of control and the ability to focus attention skilfully and selectively creates the impression of an automatic performance. Conversation and Reading make different demands and require different levels of control. In conversation the central focus is on meanings, on making sense of and monitoring the discourse. Reading requires higher levels of control with graphemes adding to the quantity of information which must be selectively dealt with.

A number of empirical studies have looked at control in language processing (cf. Kogan, 1983, Piaget 1929, Inhelder and Piaget, 1964) and noted that control is something which develops gradually in children. Scribner and Cole (1981) have studied differences between schooled literate, unschooled literate and unschooled illiterate adults in Liberia. They were able to identify a set of problems which were solved more efficiently by schooled subjects than unschooled subjects irrespective of literacy. These problems were all of a type which required high levels of control.

Two studies report that bilingualism promotes the development of control of processing in children (Vihman and McLaughlin, 1982 and Bialystok, 1988b). The results of these studies revealed that even at the age of two bilingual children are able to recognize which language is being used, what certain objects will be referred to in either language and which people would understand which language. Such concepts represent difficult control procedures and bilingual children appear to have more control in these areas than monolingual children. Bilingual children seem able to grasp the arbitrary nature of language probably because they regularly hear at least two forms for the same concept and this seems to enable them to separate form from meaning at a much earlier age than monolingual children.

Translating is essentially a bilingual language activity and I would argue that it consequently helps develop control of language processing in the same way that use of two languages by bilingual children helps them to develop this process. Translating, by providing a framework for comparing two languages, enables the learner to perceive that there are alternative syntactic, semantic and pragmatic ways of realizing the same mental representations thus facilitating the development of control of processing. It would be an interesting field of research to try and investigate this question empirically. Do learners who use translating as a pedagogic device develop more control than learners exposed only to monolingual techniques? The evidence from bilingual children would strongly suggest that it does though this is clearly a research question which should

be looked into in more detail than I have space for here.

Analysis and control are then the cognitive processes which are thought to underlie language phenomena including the ability to communicate, language acquisition, pidginization and translating. Bialystok (1990:129) also believes that analysis and control are reflected in some binary taxonomies of communicative strategies which have been proposed. Before looking at the way these cognitive processes are realized in strategy use and consequently how translating might be employed to encourage learners to develop appropriate strategy use the research area of interlanguage strategies needs to looked at in some detail.

4.4 LANGUAGE STRATEGIES

Passing a chemists whilst on holiday in Spain my wife asked me to go in and buy her some saccharin tablets. I did not know the required lexical item and had no access to a dictionary however it occurred to me that medical words are often similar in European languages so I gathered my courage and asked "Tienes sacarina por favor"? I was pleasantly surprised to find that adding a vowel to the English word had seemed to work. I had used a communicative strategy to help me with a lexical gap in my second language lexicon. Since 1973 such strategies have become an increasing focus of attention for researchers. Scholars have asked how we can identify such strategies, what processes underlie them, whether they are related to other language phenomena and perhaps most importantly whether or not

it is beneficial to teach strategies to language learners.

4.4.1 DEFINITIONS OF STRATEGIES

An early stage in this research was the attempt to try and define

what actually constitutes a strategy.   Corder's definition

specifically relates to productive communicative strategies:

> Communicative strategies..............are a
> systematic technique employed by a speaker
> to express his meaning when faced with some
> difficulty. (Corder 1978, 1981:103)

Rubin's definition relates to strategies for learning:

> ..the techniques or devices which a learner
> may use to acquire language. (Rubin, 1975:)

Tarone focuses on the interactional aspect of strategy use:

> the term relates to a mutual attempt of two
> interlocutors to agree on a meaning in
> situations where requisite meaning
> structures do not seem to be shared.
> (Tarone, 1981, in Faerch & Kasper,eds.
> 1983:65)

Faerch and Kasper draw attention to the criteria of consciousness

and problematicity.

> communicative strategies are potentially
> conscious plans for solving what to an
> individual presents itself as a problem in
> reaching a particular communicative goal.
> Faerch & Kasper, 1983:36).

Stern's definition places strategy use firmly within the second

language domain: something I will argue against in this chapter.

> techniques of coping with difficulties in
> communicating in an imperfectly known second
> language. (Stern, 1983:)

Canale and Swain's characterization situates communicative

strategy use within their model of communicative competence which

comprises strategic competence, grammatical competence and sociolinguistic competence (see ch.3).

> Strategies that speakers employ to handle breakdowns in communication: for example, how to deal with false starts, hesitations, and other performance factors, how to avoid grammatical forms that have not been mastered fully, how to address strangers when unaware of their social status - in short, how to cope in an authentic communicative situation and how to keep the communicative channel open. (Canale and Swain, 1980:25)

The Nijmegen project (see Poulisse, 1990) limits its research to a subset of communicative strategies: those that deal with the way learners solve linguistic problems through expansion of their linguistic resources rather than the avoidance of problems through reduction strategies.

> Compensatory strategies are strategies which a language user employs in order to achieve his intended meaning on becoming aware of problems arising during the planning phase of an utterance due to his own linguistic shortcomings. (Poulisse, Bongaerts & Kellerman 1984:72)

4.4.2 CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFICATION OF STRATEGIES

The definitions given above point to three criteria which might be useful in identifying strategies namely, problematicity and consciousness (Faerch and Kasper, 1983) and intentionality. Several of the definitions make oblique reference to the fact that the learner intends to use a strategy (cf. especially Corder, 1977 ....a systematic technique). Bialystok takes issue with all these definition criteria (Bialystok, 1990). On the issue of problematicity my own data supports Bialystok's

view as it is clear that strategies are being used even when the outcome is successful and where no obvious problem has motivated the use of a particular strategy (see ch.5:). Selinker (1984) has also argued that it may be a mistake to link interlanguage strategies with problematicity as much interlanguage development takes place through the use of strategies when no problems are involved. In spite of these arguments the Nijmegen project has used problematicity as a major criterion and heuristic for locating strategy use.

Bialystok (1990) argues that it is not self evident that speakers are aware that their utterances are strategic and because she wishes to widen the scope of strategy research to other areas she is concerned not to limit the study only to those capable of conscious reflection thereby excluding children in first language acquisition. However Faerch and Kasper do write about "potential consciousness" and Bialystok herself admits that there are different levels of consciousness. Consequently a child can construct utterances of the type **'Mary hit John'** without being conscious that this is an NP + VP + NP structure. In my opinion, bearing in mind the different levels of consciousness present in speaker/hearers, this criterion is still useful, indeed the Nijmegen project makes use of learners' retrospective data which clearly relies entirely on consciousness.

The third criterion of intentionality implies that learners have control over a repertoire of strategies and can deliberately select particular strategies in order to achieve specific

effects. Bialystok (1990) argues that if this were true we could expect to find systematic links between the type and proficiency of the learner, the communicative situation and the strategy selected. She concludes that there is little evidence from available research to support such a systematic relationship. However in her own earlier research (Bialystok, 1983) she noted a connection between strategy and learner proficiency that is beginners used more L1 type strategies and advanced learners used more L2 type strategies. This is supported by my own data in ch.6 where novice translators used more L1 type strategies and more professional translators used L2 type strategies. In fact such a relationship is natural and intuitive; learners cannot use L2 type strategies until their command of the foreign language has sufficiently developed to enable them to do this.

Clearly there are still difficulties within the research area in finding adequate criteria for identifying strategies though I feel that Bialystok has been unnecessarily pessimistic. However it remains true that little real progress can be possible until criteria are available which will allow one to say with some degree of certainty that x is a particular strategy and y is not.

4.4.3 TAXONOMIES

The idea of classifying or labelling phenomena in order to study and better understand them is a part of a scientific methodology which goes back to Aristotle. As a technique it is clearly very useful, but one which has a distinct danger namely that the labels or classifications which the researcher applies can begin

to take on the authority of reality and even become more important than the phenomena they are intended to represent. This is a problem which has troubled strategy research. There are now over fifty identified strategies, though many of them are in fact different names for the same item. Researchers opting for delicacy and detail produce classifications with a large number of strategies with the consequence that few useful generalizations emerge. Researchers who have opted for overarching categories run the risk of overlooking important distinctions between strategy types. Whatever approach is taken it is important to constantly bear in mind the status of such categories and the fact that they do not necessarily reflect psychological validity.

Another question central to this area of research is the extent of strategy use. Is all language use strategic? When language is not strategic what is in control? One attempt to answer these questions does so on the basis of making a distinction between strategy and process.

> Process is generally used in psychology to refer to the mental steps taken to carry out a cognitive activity. Processes can be completely unconscious and inaccessible to the individual, such as the visual processes that allow us to recognize faces, judge distances and read text. (Bialystok 1990:15)

A process would then be the automatic mental activity of the linguistic system carried out by some control structure which is in charge of all language performance. A strategy would only occur when the learner needed to take over from this automatic system because of some difficulty . A strategy would thus be an

additional construct needed for specific purposes. The following diagram is an attempt to model this system.

Language Performance

Process   Strategy

            Productive   Receptive

    Communicative Learning   Communicative Learning

Message Expansion Message Reduction

Compensatory

Individual Strategy Types (Circumlocution, Paraphrase, Transfer etc.)
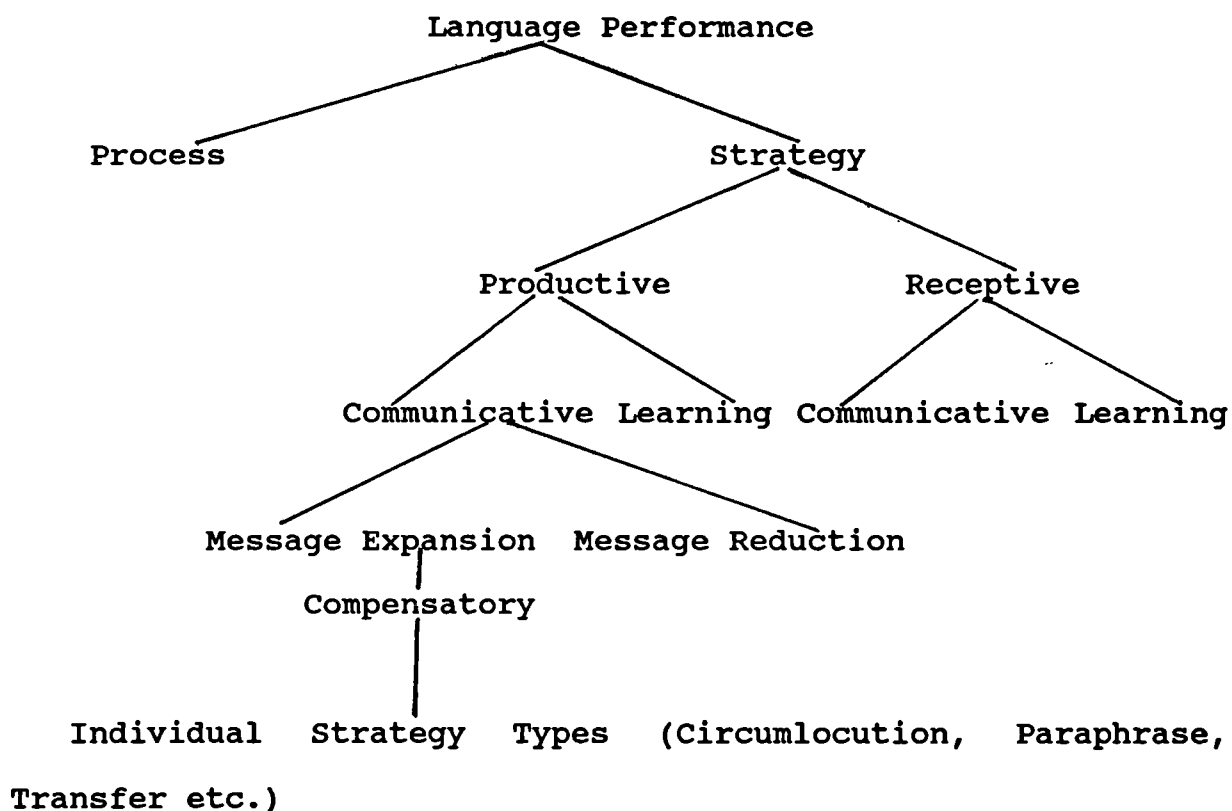
Most work on strategy use has concentrated on the more easily observable productive strategies. Faerch and Kasper (1983) have drawn attention to the imbalance in research but unfortunately there is little work other than their own which attempts to look at receptive strategies. Like receptive strategies, productive strategies can either be directed at learning or communicating. This binary classification however obscures the fact that a language learner may learn by communicating and, perhaps less

frequently, communicate whilst learning. Communicative strategies are usually grouped into those which deal with problems by reducing the message eg. topic avoidance, message abandonment and those which expand the message eg. circumlocution, paraphrase etc. (see Corder 1983). Faerch and Kasper (1983) refer to these as reduction strategies (sub-divided into formal reduction strategies and functional reduction strategies) and achievement strategies. The latter have been thoroughly and rigorously investigated by the Nijmegen project (Poulisse et al 1990) for their pedagogic usefulness.

Though the idea of language production as a speaker's efforts to tailor their linguistic resources to their intended meaning is a useful way of classifying communicative strategies there is little agreement on how these classifications should be applied. It is true that there are striking similarities between the existing taxonomies and it is argued that this must reflect an underlying reality, however I wonder how much this is a function of researchers building upon the work of others in the field and how much these similarities confirm the existence of underlying mental processes. The problem is a familiar one in linguistics and applied linguistics: how to work back from surface linguistic forms to the mental processes which produce them.

Bialystok (1990:81) identifies two fallacies which she believes misinform current research applying a taxonomic methodology to language strategies. The first of these fallacies, the uniqueness fallacy refers to the belief that strategy use is confined to second language learners and that it has no connections with other language users eg. children acquiring their first language. The second, the modularity fallacy, alludes to the dangers inherent in relying too heavily on surface linguistic structures as indicators of a speaker's processes or intentions.

I agree with Bialystok's views on the uniqueness fallacy, indeed this chapter is essentially about the view that strategy use is to be found in a number of language domains notably translating and in the next chapter I shall demonstrate this. The work of Brown (Brown, 1980 and Brown et al, 1983) indicates that readers use strategies and earlier on I argued that pidgin and creole speakers use strategies. As one small example compare the following pidgin expressions with the communicative strategy of paraphrase or circumlocution:

PARAPHRASE/CIRCUMLOCUTION	TOK PISIN	ENGLISH
clothes-maker (taylor)	gras	grass
ja,its green and uh, you	mausgras	moustache
usually uh,eat it with potatoes.	gras bilong fes	beard
(spinach)	gras bilong hed	hair
airball (balloon)	gras bilong pisin	feather
line for drying wet clothes	gras ontap long ai	eyebrow
(clothes-line)	gras nogut	weed
	han	hand/arm
	han bilong diwai	branch of tree
	han bilong pisin	wing of bird
(Faerch & Kasper, 1983)	(Romaine, 1988:33,35)	

Bialystok (1990:84 ff.) has looked at children's strategies in some detail and concluded that they are manifestations of the same underlying processes found in adult native speakers, second language learners and others.

To return to Bialystok's second fallacy, ie. the modularity fallacy, which relates to a too heavy reliance on surface linguistic forms as indicators of speaker's processes, she maintains that most of the taxonomies produced lack psychological plausibility. According to Bialystok this fallacy claims that communicative strategies form a module which is psychologically distinct from other forms of language use. Faerch and Kasper's work is in fact an exception to this criticism as they place strategic language use within a general framework of language processing. Bialystok wants to view strategy use within the same framework which encompasses language use in other situations such as non-problematic language use, reading, writing and listening. I would argue that translating should belong in the this list and I will produce empirical evidence for this claim in ch.6.

Bialystok's answer to these two fallacies (Bialystok, 1990:116 ff) is to view communicative strategies from the perspective of the two cognitive processes of analysis and control discussed above. She notes that several researchers have opted for a binary classification system which reflects these processes.

4.4.4 BINARY TAXONOMIES

One of the earliest binary classifications of strategies was that presented by Corder (1983:17) which distinguishes between message adjustment strategies and resource expansion strategies. A message adjustment strategy represents an attempt by the learner to alter the intended message in some way and bring it into line with available means for expressing it. A resource expansion strategy would be an attempt to modify the means of expression leaving the message intact. Corder claimed that these two strategies exhaust the options available to a learner or indeed a native speaker who is constrained by the same need to maintain a balance between these two options.

Jackobson (1960) proposed a similar binary classification distinguishing between vertical language forming acts concerned with selecting and horizontal language forming acts concerned with combining. The idea is essentially the same as found in systemic linguistics (Halliday, 1985:252 ff.) relating the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of language.

The Nijmegen project has also worked with a binary classification system: the conceptual strategy, the manipulation of a concept by description of certain of its features or by comparison with a similar concept and the code strategy, which refers to the choice of linguistic system.

Bialystok (1990:132) argues that these binary taxonomies reflect the binary division of language processing into analysis and

control. A problem I find with this argument is that as noted
by Bialystok herself and as discussed above there are other
processes which have been left out of the discussion, notably
`fast processes' and `automatic processes' It is conceivable
that these other processes underlie other strategies noted in
other taxonomies. I would agree with the general thesis that
individual strategies mentioned in different taxonomies are in
fact surface linguistic realizations of underlying cognitive
language processes however it is too early to be certain of
exactly how many such processes there may be.

In Corder's description Bialystok would map manipulation of the
intended concept onto the analysis based strategy and
manipulation of the intended form onto the control based
strategy. Jakobson's vertical process is seen as a realization
of analysis, as it reflects analysis of knowledge, whereas the
horizontal process more or less corresponds to control of
processing. In the Nijmegen project the conceptual strategy
demands analysis of the concept whereas the code strategy
requires control to switch to another linguistic system.

As mentioned above the distilling of numerous strategies down
into overarching categories runs the risk of losing sight of
important distinctions. However according to the principle of
parsimony, if the same phenomena can be explained by fewer
classifications there is a consequent gain in explanatory power.
An empirical investigation of communication strategies which has
relied on such classification is the Nijmegen project. For

reasons stated earlier I am not convinced that a binary classification system is the best or most suitable. Consequently in the empirical work reported in ch.6 I have opted for an earlier taxonomy suggested by the same researchers (Kellerman et al 1987) which I feel is more appropriate to the translation data I was analyzing.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed a number of language phenomena which I believe show interesting parallels and similarities which I suggest are not fortuitous but are different manifestations of the same underlying processes. The language phenomena discussed included language acquisition both first and second, pidgins and creoles, models of the translating process including certain aspects of Machine Translation. I have also argued that language strategies reflect these processes. I have looked at the arguments for positing the underlying cognitive processes of analysis of knowledge and control of processing as being at the heart of all these phenomena.

Following on from this argument I would like to hypothesize that translators, like language learners and other language users, make use of strategies: strategies that is which manifest these cognitive processes. Unlike Bialystok I have argued that there are links between certain types of strategy use and different learners. It seems clear to me, both from experience gained working with translators and from the results of my experiments,

that novice learners and translators use strategies which are L1 based and that as they progress they use more and more strategies related to the L2. I would argue that such a progression is a necessary part of interlanguage development. I would also argue that translating enables learners to progress along the interlanguage continuum by encouraging progressively more L2 based strategies. In the next chapter I hope to test these hypotheses.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five dealt with the interconnections between first and second language acquisition, pidgins and creoles, translating and machine translation and the processes responsible for their parallels and similarities. I maintained that all language users used strategies for communicating and learning both productively and receptively. In this chapter I want to look more closely at two of these language phenomena; translators and learners' strategies and to try and justify the claim made in chapter four that the practice of translating would foster development along the interlanguage continuum.

In chapter two the reasons why translating was removed from language teaching were isolated. Translating was thought to promote an unhealthy dependence on the mother tongue and to cause semantic interference. In this chapter I want to demonstrate through an experiment that in fact translating encourages reliance on L2 based strategies and leads to a gradual development away from L1 type strategies.

Language learning must be concerned with moving learners away from a dependence on the mother tongue towards a closer approximation with the foreign language. If translating facilitates this movement towards the L2 then it can be shown that translating can make an important contribution to language learning. Therefore the experimental material presented in this chapter aims to disprove the claim that translating fosters an unhealthy reliance on the L1 and shows that in fact translating performs a quite reverse function in language learning.

There are then four basic hypotheses to test:

1.Good language learners and good translators use more L2 based strategies than L1 based.

2.Translators use more L2 based strategies than learners.

3.Learners use more L1 based strategies than translators.

4.Translators use strategies more successfully than learners.

5.2 EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

In order to test my hypotheses I felt that I would need to compare and contrast two groups in the way they dealt with the same task ie. the translation of a text from the source language (in this case the Mother Tongue) into the foreign language. The first group would be language learners who had not had any translation training nor any translating practice as part of their language teaching. This group would be, in other words, naive with respect to the practice of translating. The second group would be made up of trained experienced professional

translators. The comparison would then be of the professionals versus the amateurs type with translating ability as the key feature of comparison.

5.3 SUBJECTS

As a teacher of translating at Salford University I was able to tap into our M.A. course in translating for native speakers of Arabic, all of whom had spent some years as practical translators and had studied both theoretical and practical aspects of translating at the university for two terms. After contacting Heriot-Watt University I was also able to obtain the same data from native speaking translators of Arabic on their similar M.Sc. course in translating. The ages of the students ranged from approximately 20 to 40 years representing most Arab countries. The groups were mixed men and women, though with a preponderance of men.

The second group of language learners presented more of a problem. I required learners whose mother tongue was Arabic and who were engaged in learning English without translating as a part of the methodology. The difficulty was in finding students naive as far as the practice of translating was concerned yet sufficiently advanced in language to cope with the translating task. It was clear that the task would be too difficult to give to students in secondary school and so I decided to approach first year University students of English in Arab universities. After making some inquiries I was told that students of English at the Universities of Alexandria in Egypt and Jordan and Yarmuk

had been taught by a predominantly communicative methodology without translating. The age of the students ranged between 18 and 25 and contained a mixture of men and women, though with women being slightly in the majority. It is usually the case for women to be in the majority in Arts Faculties in Arab countries.

The variables in this experiment have not been controlled as rigorously as they should have been. There are however a number of problems which face researchers in this area dealing with this particular language pair (ie. Arabic/English). It is not easy to find sufficient numbers of professional translators with Arabic as a mother tongue to be able to draw any statistically valid conclusions. Another problem I faced was finding language learners with sufficient skills to attempt a translation which would be appropriate as a task for professional translators. Finally, in spite of the much vaunted success of the communicative method and the opprobrium with which translating is supposed to be held within teaching circles, many teachers in Arab countries do use it as a pedagogic device, though no doubt in secret and racked with guilt.

5.4 TASKS USED IN EXPERIMENT

Both groups were asked to complete two tasks;first an English language test to establish comparative levels and secondly a translating task from Arabic into English. The passage, which is about the disparity in ability between Classical and Colloquial Arabic which native speakers possess, is supplied in Appendix one together with a relatively semantic translation.

I do realize that there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes 'a relatively semantic translation' and there can scarcely be a translation in existence which cannot be questioned, however acknowledging this I have provided a translation in the hope that it will enable a reader not familiar with Arabic to follow my argument.

5.5 PROCESSING THE DATA

The next stage was to process the data and compare numbers and types of strategies. Here of course there are a number of problems. Which taxonomy of strategies should be used? As I pointed out in chapter four there are a number of different taxonomies in existence (cf.Tarone 1977,Faerch and Kasper,1980, Bialystok,1983 and Poulisse et al 1987,1990). Approximately fifty different strategies have been identified though sadly many of them are simply different names for the same process.

More recently researchers have attempted to condense the number of strategies into overarching macro categories (see discussion in ch.5). Bialystok (1990) has suggested that a binary classification reflecting the underlying cognitive processes of analysis and control would be most suitable. However, as I argued in ch.5 this taxonomy seems to me over restrictive and ignores the possibility of other processes (eg. fast processing and automatic processing) being realized by different strategies. Kellerman (Kellerman et al 1987) proposed an economic taxonomy of three macro categories ie. approximation, analytic and

linguistic. This reduced taxonomy is, I believe convincing,it fulfils the criterion of parsimony whereby the fewer laws which adequately account for a phenomena the more powerful the laws, and certainly makes empirical work much simpler. For this reason I opted to follow their taxonomy, though I did find some examples which did not appear to fit, probably because of the nature of the translating task; I will discuss these later in the chapter (5.10).

Because criticisms of translating are aimed against written translation tasks (see ch. 2) and as I am concerned to vindicate translating as an exercise within communicative language teaching, I have examined the strategies used by learners and professional translators found in written translation. Due however, to the nature of the task, ie. written translation, it is difficult to test receptive or learning strategies. To look at these types of strategies requires recourse to participants' retrospection through interviews. Unfortunately I was not able to interview the subjects and so I have opted to look at compensatory strategies.

Compensatory strategies are a small sub set of strategies which fall within the overall category of communicative strategies (see diagram ch.4). They are used in referential communication when the learner faces a lexical void. Referential communication is defined by Glucksberg, Krauss and Higgins as taking place in

> situations in which the participant's task
> is to construct a message that enables
> someone else to know what that message
> refers to. (Glucksberg et al 1975:305)

It might be objected that in the case of translating the participant cannot be said to be constructing a message but rather recoding one that has been constructed by someone else. However I would maintain that translating, although dependent to some extent on a prior message, nevertheless does require the use of all the skills necessary for the construction of messages. As discussed in chapter one Frawley (1984) and others have been at pains to point out that the process of translating is not merely mimetic but rather calls on the active use of skills in the creation of text.

It should be admitted from the outset that the populations involved in the experiment are small, though statistically valid. It would have been preferable to have used a much larger population. The total number of professional translators, combining Heriot-Watt and Salford is fifteen and the total number of language learners also fifteen. This is a small population but the logistics of finding sufficient numbers of experienced translators with this particular L1 are such that without the generous co-operation of Heriot-Watt and Salford even this number would have been impossible.

Another problem faced was processing time. On average it took about three hours to analyze one translation and each translation contained an average of sixty strategies. Consequently, though one only has a total population of 30 this involved analyzing 1852 strategies.

5.6 IDENTIFICATION OF STRATEGIES

As discussed in ch.4.6.3. the difficulty of finding appropriate criteria for identifying strategies is one which troubles current research (cf. Bialystok, 1990:ch.2). Previous studies have evolved various ways of detecting the presence of strategies, but unfortunately these all involved spoken data and for that reason were not appropriate. The issue of strategy use in written data is one which I believe has been seriously neglected and apart from the work on strategy use in reading by Brown (Brown, 1980, and Brown et al, 1983) I have not been able to find any research which deals with written data. This is clearly an area of research in itself and deserves thorough investigation.

Dechert (1982) noticed that planning processes in communication were indicated by pauses, hesitation phenomena etc. consequently strategies are likely to be bounded by such pauses. Similarly the use of a questioning intonation might be evidence for the presence of a strategy. Paralinguistic features such as shrugging of the shoulders or lifting the hands have also been suggested as indicators (Poulisse, N. et al 1984), though one has to be careful not to confuse such gestures with non-motivated movement eg. change of posture. The only method of identification which is mentioned in the literature which would have been suitable for my purposes is consulting with the student immediately after the task and introspecting on what took place. Asking the student for example if a particular element in the communication actually reflected what they had wanted to say. Poulisse et al recommend that the student's mother tongue is used

for this purpose in order to achieve a relaxed atmosphere and to ensure that the student's intention is accurately conveyed. Unfortunately, although I might have used this method I was unable to do so as it is necessary to interview the students immediately after the task due to problems of memory etc. Because of pressures of time and place I was unable to set the task individually with time for a subsequent interview.

Dealing with thirty versions of the same translation, analyzing them closely does mean that the analyst is likely to become aware of most, if not all of the available alternatives. This kind of awareness I would argue does give one fairly strong intuitions about the presence or absence of a strategy. One thing which emerges from comparing my results with that of other discussions of learner strategies is that in that in almost all other studies strategies are always located at the site of an error. Bialystok (1990) has discussed this tendency in the research and it relates to using problematicity as a criterion for strategy identification. As discussed in chapter four, (4:31) I agree with Bialystok (also Selinker, 1984) in not wanting to use problematicity as a defining criterion for strategy use. According to most researchers it does not seem to be possible to use a strategy and get something right. However it is quite clear from the translating data that strategies are used with positive results. Where an error does occur and the language of the translation follows that of the arabic source text word for word semantically, this I believe is a strong indication that the Mother Tongue has been used to overcome a problem. In other

words linguistic transfer appears to take place.

Although there are no paralinguistic features or hesitation phenomena used in translating such as appeals for assistance, mime, gesture, backtracking etc. there are orthographic signals which I would maintain serve the same purpose. Occasionally the translator will write an Arabic word or phrase above the English text thereby indicating uncertainty. Another example is the providing of an alternative word in brackets immediately after the first choice, or writing notes of explanation in the margins. Similarly interpolations, crossings out with alternatives written in above or below the line all point to a conscious attempt to deal with difficulty. It is not possible to develop these ideas here but research into the use of strategies in written language is a potentially rich area of research.

Sometimes a word is translated correctly and then at a different point in the passage another equivalent is used which gives an incorrect sense. One can only assume that the writer has not got things wrong on the second occasion due to lack of knowledge otherwise the earlier occurrence would have been translated incorrectly as well. I would maintain that this indicates the conscious use of a strategy:choosing a different word to achieve a different effect.

The translation is often expanded or reduced to achieve effects like coherence or concision. Again I would want to argue that if words which do not directly relate to material in the Source

Language Text are added or, others are removed then clearly some conscious planning process must account for this.

Very often the polarity of the original will be in some way reversed. Affirmative sentences become negative and vice versa as do passive and active sentences. Words are re-ordered, as are clauses and even at times sentences. Again such a deliberate choice would to my mind indicate conscious planning and not be the result of accident.

There are then a number of ways in which translation strategies can be identified. Once a strategy had been identified it was then classified according to the criteria suggested by Kellerman et al (87) into one of three archistrategies ie. approximative, analytic and linguistic.

Approximative Strategies

Here the learner uses a substitute lexical item for the missing target item even though the learner realizes that it may not be linguistically accurate. The word or words chosen will share enough features with the target item to enable an interlocutor, or in our case a reader, to decipher the intended meaning. Poulisse et al (1984) describe this strategy as holistic as it requires the listener to determine what reference x is like by inferring its attribute from a conceptually related referent y. Approximation covers such strategies in other taxonomies as Generalization and Exemplification.

Analytic Strategies

Here the learner communicates the referent by referring to one or more of its attributes. He refers to one or more of the conceptual, functional or perceptual attributes of the required target item. The intention is that the interlocutor will be able to build up a picture of the target item from the given description. This category covers strategies termed in earlier taxonomies Paraphrase and Circumlocution. Attributes of the reference are selected so that the interlocutor can reconstruct the referent from a series of clues. For example if the referent were a knife the focus might be on its function as a cutting instrument, though this will depend on constraints of context.

Linguistic Strategies

These are also referred to by Poulisse et al (1984) as interlingual and rely on solutions from other languages, though most usually the L1. Strategies from other taxonomies which fall into this category are Borrowing, Foreignizing, Transliteration Transfer and Code Switching.

Poulisse et al. note that strategies are sometimes embedded within other strategies and I certainly noticed this when looking at translators' strategies. Indeed Bialystok (1990:70) feels that the fact that strategies are embedded within each other suggests that taxonomic structures do not capture the level of the decision made by language users. Very often I found that a phrase would contain two or more strategies embedded within each other. It is difficult to say with any confidence what this

means for strategy research at the present moment until more is known about the processes which underlie strategies. It certainly means, I think, that we can no longer rely on surface linguistic forms without considering the cognitive processes which inform them.

5.7 THE ANALYSIS

In addition to analyzing the data in terms of the three archistrategies (approximative, analytic and linguistic) I also noted which strategies were successful and those which were not. This was necessarily an intuitive process nevertheless I felt it would be useful as a further correlate. In addition I also noted the number of strategies which were L1 based as against those which were L2 or interlanguage based. This was necessary to test the earlier hypothesis that good translators would use less L1 and more L2 interlanguage base strategies than the group of learners. Both groups had completed an English Language Test and on the basis of this test I determined which learners were good and which poor. Finally three judges were asked to rank order the translations of both groups in terms of accuracy, appropriacy, concision and fluency of language. The three judges are all experienced translators carrying out research in this area. They were also asked to give the translations a mark from 1 to 10.

5.8 THE RESULTS

The raw data of the analysis is presented below in table 1 and is hopefully self explanatory.

Table 1. **RAW DATA OF STRATEGY TYPES USED BY TRANSLATORS AND LEARNERS**

TRANSLATORS

	L1/BASED	L2/INTER-LANGUAGE	SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL
H1	2	10	5	7	12
H2	2	28	16	14	30
H3	1	10	5	6	11
H4	6	35	22	19	41
H5	6	43	35	14	49
H6	10	57	24	43	67
H7	5	52	33	24	57
H8	9	41	29	21	50
S1	2	61	33	30	63
S2	1	71	47	25	72
S3	2	58	29	31	60
S4	10	60	25	45	70
S5	12	46	31	27	58
S6	3	62	22	43	65
S7	8	66	30	44	74
TOTAL	79	700	386	393	779
N	15				
MEANS	5.267	46.67	25.73	23.31	
S.D	3.751	19.03	11.01	13.18	

LEARNERS

	L1/BASED	L2/INTER-LANGUAGE	SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL	TOTAL
A1	12	61	26	47	73
A2	21	68	24	65	89
A3	30	79	17	92	109
A4	9	31	14	26	40
A5	11	36	12	35	47
A6	17	68	19	66	85
A7	8	23	7	24	31
Y1	13	52	27	38	65
Y2	2	55	39	18	57
Y3	3	6ก	27	36	63
Y4	14	63	24	55	79
Y5	8	60	26	42	68
Y6	16	78	22	72	94
Y7	19	65	21	53	74
Y8	31	70	14	87	101
TOTAL	204	869	555	756	1073
N	15				
MEANS	13.60	57.93	37.00	50.4	
S.D	8.48	16.39	21.63	22.43	

The first hypothesis which I referred to earlier was that the translator group would use more L2/interlanguage based strategies than the group of learners. Table 2 shows the contingency table for L1 and L2 type strategies with the results of a chi-square test.

The result is sufficiently strong to support the hypothesis.

Table 2. CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR STRATEGY TYPES USED BY TRANSLATORS AND LEARNERS.

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES

	L1 TYPE	L2/INTERLANGUAGE	ROW TOTAL
TRANSLATORS	79	700	779
LEARNERS	204	869	1073
TOTAL	283	1569	1852

EXPECTED FREQUENCIES

	L1 TYPE	L2/INTERLANGUAGE
TRANSLATORS	119.04	659.96

CHI-SQUARE = 13.466 + 2.42 + 9.777 + 1.763 = 27.435
DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 1   value of 10.8 for p.of 0.1

The results of this can be seen clearly in the following bar graphs.
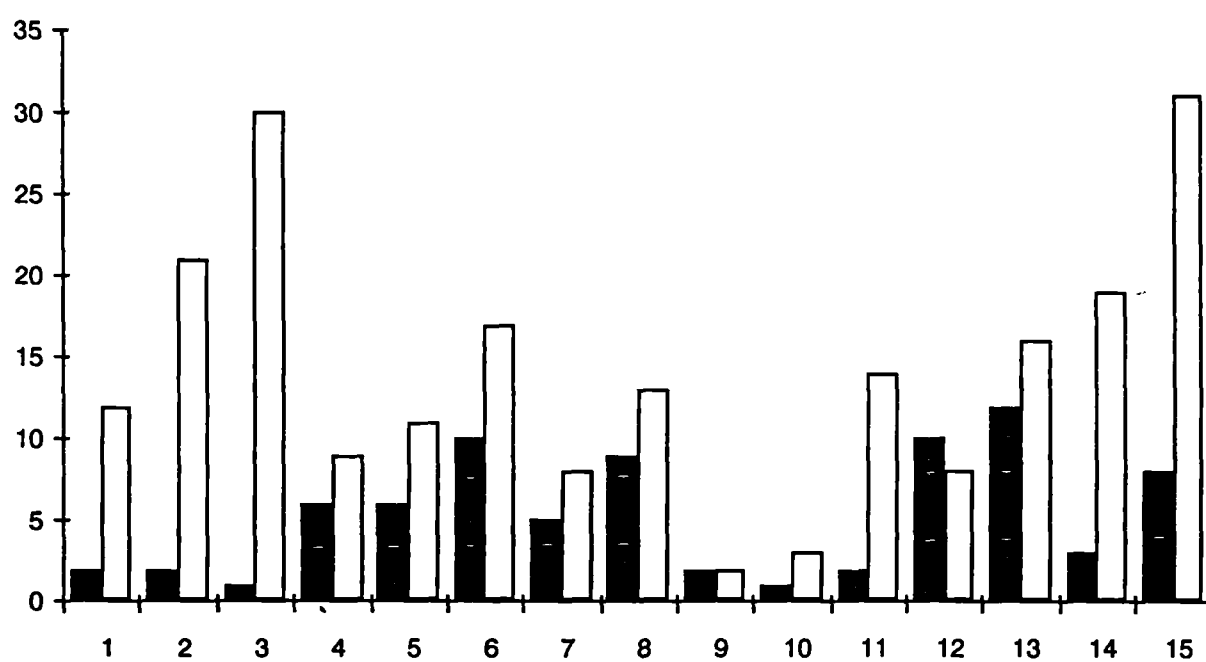
Number of L1 Based Strategies

☐   Learners

■   Translators

Number of Interlanguage Strategies
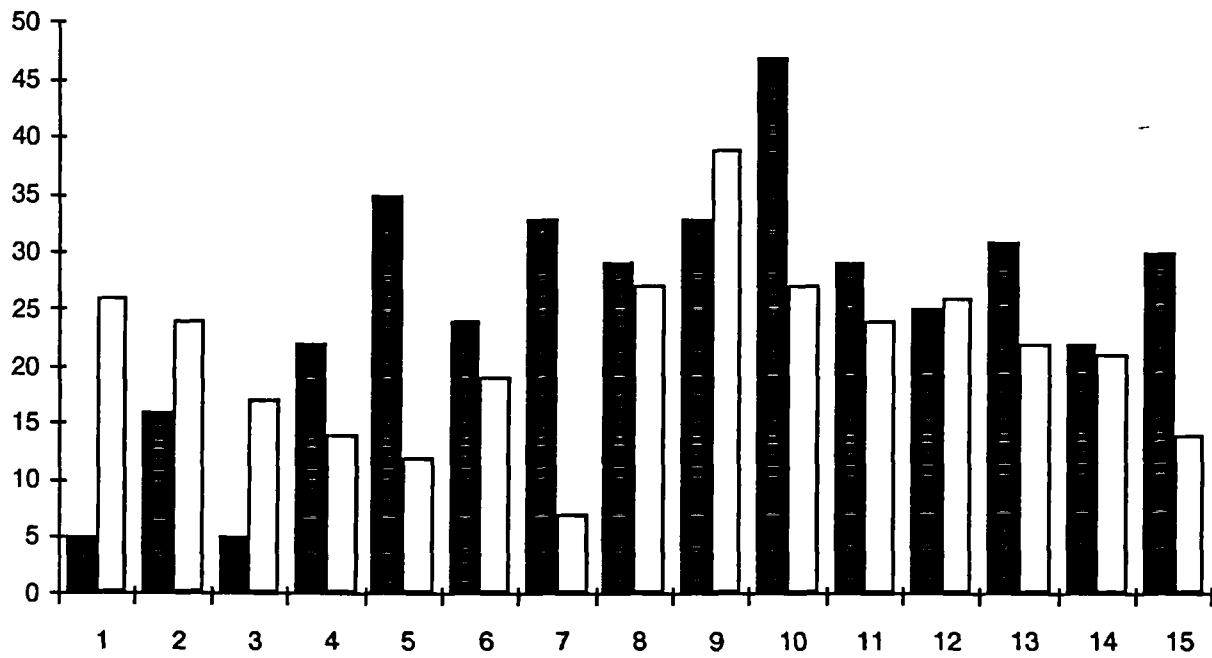
☐ Learners

■ Translators

Successful Strategies

] Learners
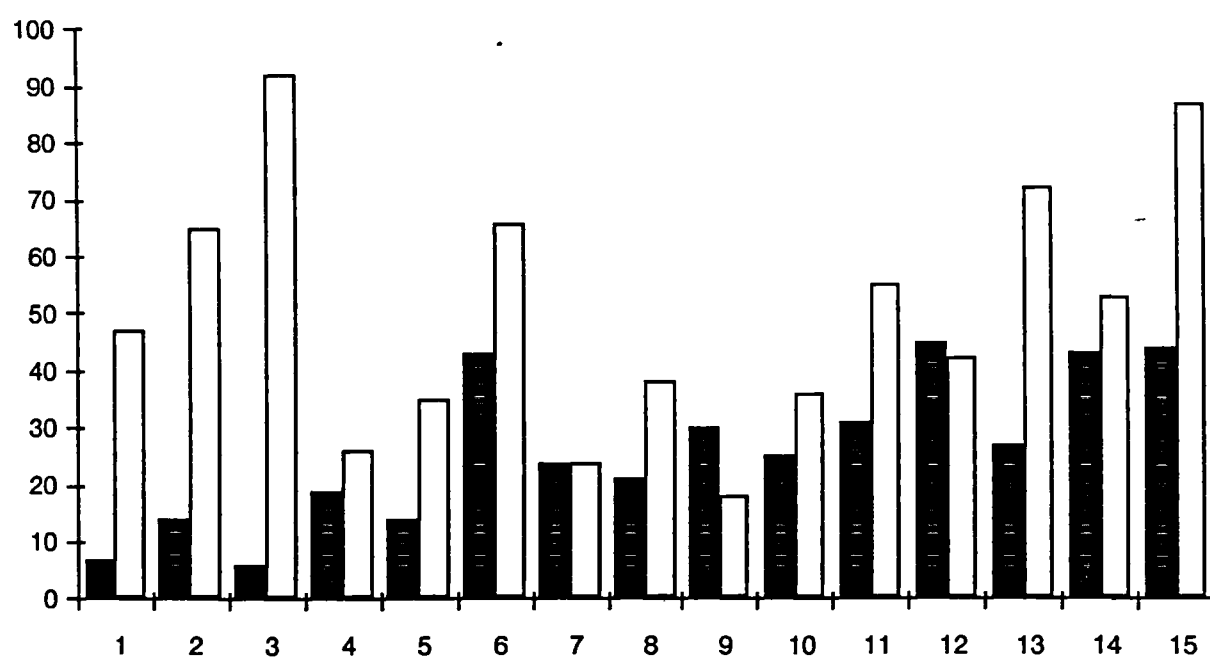
▌Translators

Unsuccessful Strategies

| Learners
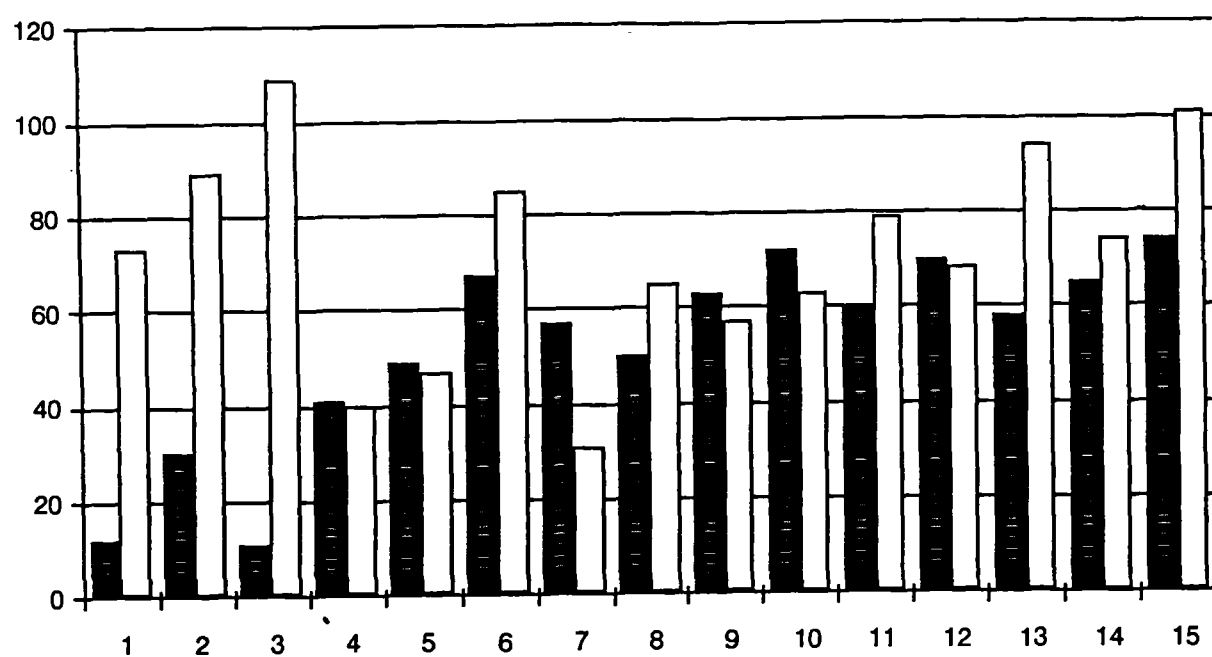
| Translators

Total Number of Strategies Used

☐   Learners

■   Translators

Table three gives details of various t-tests which I ran. The first test shows fairly convincingly that the translators use considerably less L1 based strategies than the learners. The second test seeks to look at the difference between the groups in terms of the number of L2/interlanguage type strategies. Here again the null hypothesis can be rejected and there is a demonst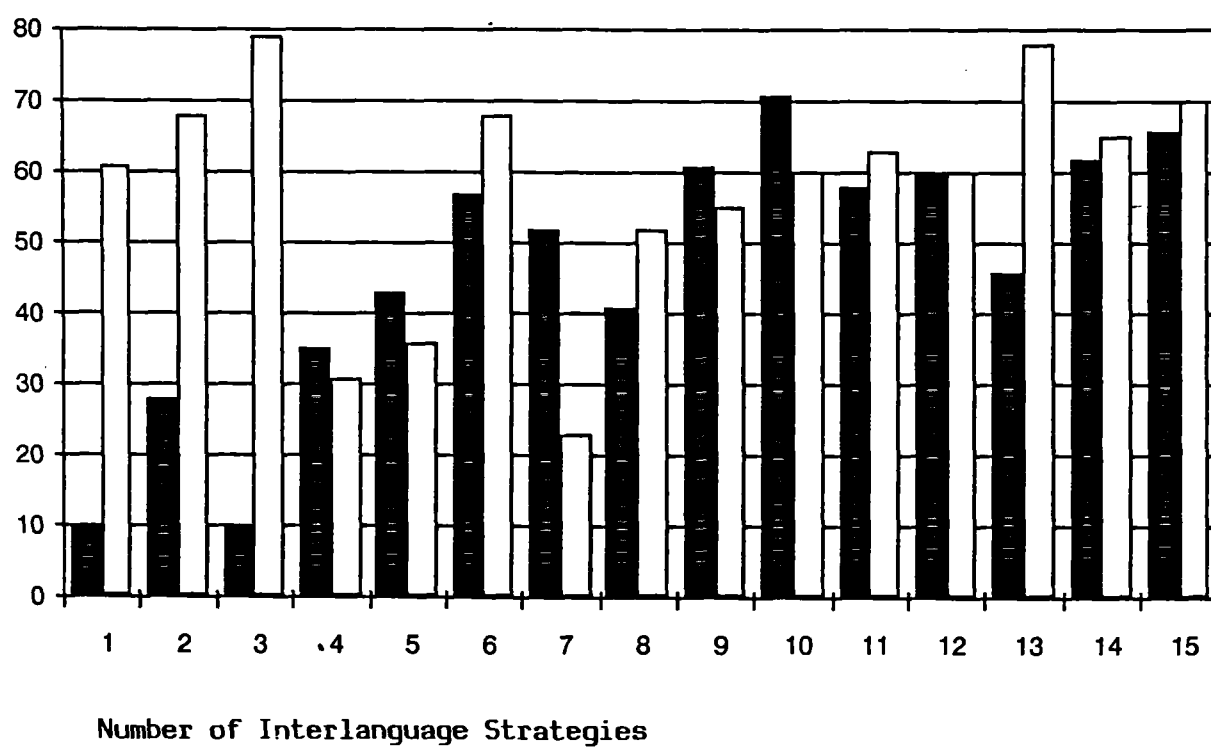rable difference in the two populations. The third test compares the total number of strategies used by each group and clearly the translators use less strategies overall than the group of learners.

Table 3 RESULTS OF T TESTS PERFORMED ON TRANSLATION/LEARNER STRATEGY DATA.

T test of translators L1 based strategies and learners L1 based strategies. T = -3.48   P = 0.0025   95% confidence interval (-13.34,- 3.3).

T test of translators L2/interlanguage based strategies and learners L2/interlanguage based strategies. T = -1.74 P=0.094 95% confidence interval (-24.6, 2.0).

T test of the total number of strategies used by translators and learners. T = -2.54 P = 0.017   95% confidence interval (-35.7, -3.8).

There is another way of looking at the data. In the above t-tests I compared frequency of use in the translation by each individual of each strategy type ie. how many strategies of a given sort were used by each translator per text translated. One could also examine the data by considering each person's frequency of use of a given compensatory strategy in relation to all the strategies used by that person. In table 4 learner 1 has 12 native language strategies out of a total of 73 strategies used therefore his score for native language strategies as a percentage of strategies used is 16.44%. Using a T test to compare learners and translators the result is p = .0046 (ie. less than .01) and therefore one can be confident that a significant difference exists. Comparing the mean for learners with translators, learners use an average of 8% more native language strategies than translators relative to the total number of compensatory strategies they use.

Finally, using the rank order of the translations provided by the judges and the number of L1 type strategies used, I performed a Spearman's rho calculation. The result (r at 0.555) shows that good translators use less L1 type strategies than learners.

5.9 CONCLUSION

I do not want to press the results of this experiment too far, not least because I am not myself easily convinced by the dominant mythology of our age -`statistics'. As mentioned earlier it has not been possible to control all the variables as

closely as they should have been. In fact I wonder if it ever is possible to do this when dealing with something so volatile as a language learner or a translator. Human beings are not comparable to chemicals in a test tube and cannot be expected to behave in ways which are entirely susceptible to mathematical models. However where statistical results lend support to what are after all not unreasonable intuitions perhaps one should at least begin to think about taking such intuitions seriously. It is not then unreasonable to claim that the practice of translating may actually promote language learning. At least the claim that translating prevents people from thinking in a language, whatever that objection actually means, must be seriously questioned. If translators do not think in the language they are using why would they use more L2/interlanguage strategies than learners who are presumably encouraged to avoid using L1/mother tongue strategies? The suggestion then, that translating encourages an unhealthy dependence on the L1 or that it promotes semantic interference cannot be maintained. If professional translators employ successful strategies which are L2 based, then the regular practice of translation cannot inevitably lead to an overuse of L1 type strategies.

I have tried to suggest that the practice of translating rather than hinder progress along the interlanguage continuum, is in fact more than likely to encourage it. The experimental evidence and inferential statistics presented above lend support to that claim.

5.10   GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON TYPES OF STRATEGIES USED BY TRANSLATORS

I mentioned above that not all strategies used by the translators in this study were identical to those found to have been used by learners. This is scarcely surprising given the differences in tasks.   I will try to describe some of the strategies which appear to be particular to translators.

If we look at the text of the translation (appendix I) there are a number of places where the writer intrudes into the argument in a direct way eg. 1.2, "..........**one of the most important factors which I think leads to this weakness"**.   and 1.3, **" Language as we have stated ...."** and again 1.16, **"To clarify this we would like to point out.........."** etc.   There were two major strategies for dealing with this, one was to rephrase the text in such a way as to make it impersonal by deleting personal pronouns.   The second way of dealing with such parts of the text was simply to transfer this personal intervention as it stood in the source language text.   Although both strategies seem to work, interestingly those translations which were judged to be most successful overall opted to depersonalize the target language text by removing personal pronouns.   It appears from the data that more successful translators are prepared to take more risks with the text and move further away from the purely semantic meaning of the source text.

Those translations which were judged to be less successful showed a preference for using a greater variety of strategies. This is most clearly shown by the students from the University of Alexandria. This data has examples where alternatives are included in parentheses eg. 1.5,& 6 "training (practising)" for the one word in the source text تدريب . There are numerous examples where two strategies are embedded eg. linguistic and approximative 1.6, "so much attempts" for محاولات متكررة and translating علماء النفس as "psychologist" 1.4 correctly and then in 1.14 as   literally "scientists of the soul" (literal transfer). There are also examples of code switching where arabic is written into the text eg. 1.10 & 11, "He does the هو نفسه ", and also word coinage 1.6 "the expertance" for Arabic المهارة   (skill).

Bialystok's view of these products would be that they were a result of the cognitive process of control which she believes underlies strategies which rely on changing the linguistic code. The more successful translators relied on strategies which are based in the foreign language and which require recourse to the access process. (Bialystok 1990:ch7).

The translations which were judged to be the most successful ie. the Salford and Heriot-Watt groups, and to a lesser extent the Yarmouk University group, used a smaller set of strategies and used them rather more consistently than other groups. One strategy regularly used by the more successful groups was that of using a full form to replace an original pro-form eg. 1.2,&

3, "This factor" أهم العوامل . Another strategy peculiar to this
group was adding a feminine pronoun where a masculine pronoun
alone was used in the source language text eg. 1.17, "to learn
the colloquial language which he/she speaks".

لكي يتعلم اللهجة العامية التي يتكلمها   where in the source
text the arabic in fact has only the masculine pronoun which is
regularly used for both sexes. This interesting ideological
strategy was only found in the Salford and Heriot-Watt groups,
perhaps because they had had more exposure to Western views on
gender in writing.

In general there was more sensitivity to English writing
conventions and more attempts to reduce the repetition of the
source text, although this is a permissable rhetorical device
in Arabic (see ch.4:20 ff.) compare for example 1.4,5, 'skill and
habit' which inverts the order of العادات والمهارات (habit and skill)
used in 1.4. This group tended to make much more confident
changes to the literal wording of the source text and these
changes were on the whole successful. Examples of such changes
were expansions to the SLT. giving it a more appropriate tone in
keeping with the overall text type (ie. argumentative) and bold
changes in punctuation. In one instance the rhetorical question
in 1.30 "كيف نستطيع أن نزيد فرصة التدريب على استعمال اللغة الفصحى بالنسبة لعامة الناس"
"How can we increase the opportunities for
practising the correct use of the classical language...." has
been transformed into a statement "Undoubtedly there are many
means of increasing the opportunities of training in the proper
use......". The function of the statement is not different to

that of the rhetorical question in the source text and the outcome is quite successful.

This brings me to another general observation about differences between the two groups. The more successful translators clearly translated more pragmatically being careful to preserve the functions of the original yet not worrying too much about preserving its strict semantic sense. Conversely the weaker group adopted a strategy I have noticed frequently amongst novice translators of sticking very closely to the literal semantic sense of the source language text rarely straying from the word order of the original. I have made the point earlier (ch.3) that translating is a pragmatic exercise and can be used to develop in learners pragmatic competence. The two groups in this experiment indicate that translators, like language learners, progress along a continuum which begins with a strategy of adhering to a fixed semantic sense and progresses to a gradually freer use of language which concerns itself more with preserving the pragmatic functions of the source text. Novice translators prefer strategies which in Bialystok's terms (1990) rely on the cognitive process of control whereas more experienced translators prefer the process of access. This I believe points clearly to the usefulness of translating as a pedagogical device for developing more pragmatically appropriate language amongst learners. I shall be looking at ways of exploiting translating pedagogically for this purpose and others in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SIX TRANSLATING AND COMMUNICATIVE PEDAGOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last two chapters I argued that translating would enable learners to develop strategies which would allow them to develop along the interlanguage continuum, that is to progress from strategies based in the mother tongue to second language based strategies. In this chapter I want to turn to more general issues of communicative pedagogy and the role which translating might play within it.

6.2 SYNTHETIC AND ANALYTIC SYLLABUS

In recent years one of the central debates in communicative pedagogy has concerned the relative merits and demerits of a synthetic versus an analytic syllabus. A synthetic syllabus is one which isolates discrete items of language, grades them and presents them to be drilled, practised and stored for later use as communication. It was of course never the aim of a synthetic syllabus that learners should stop at the internalization of these discrete items, rather it was hoped that they would eventually go on to realize them as communicative behaviour.

Following Newmark (1966) and Johnson (1971) this additive view of a syllabus has been questioned. It has been suggested that language is not learned in a lock step fashion but rather a whole act at a time. A number of researchers (Peters 1983,Pawley and Syder 1983, Vihman 1982) have noted that learners of both first

and second languages in fact learn whole chunks of unanalysed language which they store and use either as entire blocks or as creatively reconstructed language reassembled from the analyzed components of such blocks. Such a view of the language learning process requires that a syllabus be analytic rather than synthetic in its structure. In an analytic syllabus there would be a clear role for translating in the acquisition and analysis of formulae. I have already discussed how translating could be exploited to enable learners to acquire formulaic language in chapter three. Translators clearly use formulaic language a great deal in practice and such skills as simultaneous interpreting which rely on a time lag of approximately one utterance between speaker and interpreter would not be feasible unless the interpreter had a rich store of equivalent formulaic language. Given the time constraints of the interpreting task it would not be possible for an interpreter to creatively construct original forms of language.

Wilkins (1976) has suggested that a syllabus constructed around the categories of notions and functions would be a move to an analytic type of syllabus. However as others have noted (Brumfit 1980, Widdowson, 1990) merely changing the components of which the syllabus is constructed does not of itself change its essentially additive nature.

The question which must concern this thesis is to what extent translating belongs to either a synthetic or analytic type of syllabus. This is a similar question to that discussed in

chapter one concerning the semantic or pragmatic nature of translating. I maintained in chapter one that translating was concerned with both the semantic and the pragmatic features of language and it is my view that translating could equally play a role in either a synthetic or an analytic type of syllabus. In effect the grammar translation methodology was the use of translating within a synthetic syllabus. Translating has however, an important role to play within an analytic syllabus.

If it is accepted that a syllabus should be based on an analytic principle the question arises as to what form such a syllabus would take. Prabhu (1985) has argued that a syllabus should be based on tasks graded by virtue of their cognitive complexity. The learners would then acquire language unconsciously as a by-product of interacting with such tasks and attempting to achieve certain predefined goals. He is against any kind of overt presentation or practice of grammatical structures arguing that our knowledge of linguistic form is too impoverished to warrant building a syllabus on so flimsy a foundation.

It is easy to look on Transformational-Generative Grammar as being limited in scope to 'linguistic competence'. The fact is that even such sophisticated instruments of analysis have not been able to provide anything like a full account of linguistic competence, while every successful instance of language acquisition in the world represents an unconscious mastery of it. Perhaps the most powerful message for language pedagogy from Chomskyan linguistics is a realization of how much more complex language structure is than we had thought in the past, how little we know about it still – and, by the same token, how much more than

we thought is known unconsciously to every
language user. (Prabhu, 1985:166)

I think that there is much to recommend the idea of a task based
syllabus however the claim that it should avoid all overt
presentation of grammatical structure strikes me as rash.
Although there are undoubtedly areas of linguistic form which
remain poorly understood, to abandon all reference to the formal
aspects of language would be to throw away most of the important
gains achieved by the structuralists and others.   There is
another significant argument to be made in favour of retaining
a syllabus based on grammatical items. Although very little is
known of learning theory what is known indicates that learners
are better able to acquire the systematic as opposed to the
unsystematic. A grammatical syllabus lends itself to systematic
grading in a way that a notional functional syllabus does not.
Grammatical items can be isolated in a way that notions and
functions cannot. Until such time as a taxonomy of items like
notions and functions can be defined with the same degree of
precision as grammatical items, it makes good sense to retain a
grammatical core as the syllabus, possibly supplemented with a
list of notions and functions serving as a check list.

What is needed then are tasks which engage the problem solving
faculties of learners involving them with the linguistic system
as a means to achieving their communicative intentions. Such
tasks must contain genuine information gaps. If a task contains
no information which is new to be transferred from addresser to
addressee then there is no possibility of actual communication

taking place. For genuine communication to happen requires that what is unknown is made known to at least one of the interactants. Put differently communication requires the genuine transfer of information.

Translating can involve such an authentic exchange of information and is a task which confronts literally millions of people on a daily basis. One does not have to be a professional translator to be called upon to use translation skills by a colleague who needs a quick skim translation of a letter or to be asked to help a monolingual cope in an airport, with a taxi driver, or with the thousand and one problems inherent in multilingual situations. It is arguable that translating is a part of everyone's communicative competence; certainly most users of a foreign language will be called upon at one time or another to translate and given this fact it surely makes sense to prepare them for the task.

To return to the nature of translating as a problem solving task; translating includes all the features required of a communicative task. A genuine information gap exists between the person who produces the message and the person wanting to understand it. The cognitive complexity of the task can be controlled so as to allow gradual exposure to linguistic or pragmatic features of language. Translating tasks enable linguistic elements to be presented and practised in relation to communicative outcomes.

In other words the relation between form and function can be demonstrated to learners. In such translation tasks linguistic elements would not be drilled in isolation from communicative behaviour, nor would functions of language be taught apart from their linguistic exponents. A further advantage to the use of translating tasks is that they allow a bilingual methodology and as I have argued earlier such a methodology more effectively enables learners to connect new knowledge with old.

In summary communicative pedagogy requires a more analytic type of syllabus which will allow learners to acquire language as unanalysed chunks. I have argued that translating has a role to play in such a syllabus in the shape of genuine communicative tasks which focus the learner on linguistic form in the service of communicative intentions.

6.3 THE PRAGMATIC SEMANTIC POLARITY IN TRANSLATING AND LANGUAGE TEACHING PEDAGOGY

It emerged from the review of the history of language teaching (chapter two) that there were two fundamental and competing views. One viewed language learning as being concerned with pragmatic features of language and advocated that language should be learnt in relation to its context. Hence the double dialogues of the sixteenth and seventeenth century concentrated on relating language to its context of situation and relied on translating as the means whereby the learner could gain access to the language system. The other view of language regarded it as being essentially about semantics and as a consequence the grammar-

translation method abandoned the dialogue approach in order to centre the learner's attention on formal features of language as encapsulated in decontextualized sentences. The Direct Method continued this focus on the semantic and syntactic features of language, though abandoning the practice of translating because of a fear that it would lead to semantic interference. In more recent times there has been a return to a pragmatic approach to pedagogy with attention centred on developing the learner's ability to negotiate meaning rather than internalize elements of the linguistic system.

This semantic/ pragmatic dichotomy in language teaching pedagogy has been noted by a number of scholars in particular Brumfit, who refers to the polarities of accuracy and fluency (1984), arguing that too much insistence on accuracy will lead to prescriptivism which relies too heavily on a necessarily idealized descriptive linguistic model and tends to stress the written word at the expense of the spoken. I believe we can augment this framework by relating accuracy to a focus on linguistic equivalence in translating and fluency to a similar focus on pragmatic equivalence.

Historically, any use of translating has been associated with a strict accuracy tradition (see chapter 2). In fact the possibility of using translating as a fluency type exercise seems not to have been considered until relatively recently (see Titford and Heike eds 1985 and ch.7 for discussion). This

assumption however is quite unjustified and translating can in fact be used very effectively in language fluency work.

Provided that teachers select texts which do not stretch the linguistic proficiences of their learners too much then the activity can be fluency based. It is not necessary to judge the translation product entirely in terms of accuracy in fact to do so would be to neglect most of what has been achieved by the translator. In much the same way that teachers can evaluate a piece of extended writing created without recourse to a dictionary or grammar in terms of its expressiveness and to what degree it fulfils its avowed intentions, so too they can evaluate translations. Put differently it is just as easy to employ translating as a fluency exercise as it would be to use it as a means of developing accuracy in learners.

Widdowson has distinguished between use and usage (1978) and more recently has talked of a medium versus a mediation approach to pedagogy:

> An approach to pedagogy informed by the medium view will focus attention on the syntactic and semantic properties of the language itself and look for ways of manipulating them for the purposes of transmission. Learner activity will be directed at increasing receptivity. They will be involved in activities which are designed to facilitate the internalization of units of meaning so that they are put in store, so to speak, ready for use when required. Such activities will typically be exercises for the provision of practice. An approach informed by the mediation view will focus attention on creating conditions for negotiation. The learners will be engaged in activities designed to achieve purposeful outcomes by means of language. The

> activities here will be typically <u>tasks</u> for
> problem solving. (Widdowson 1990:119)

However one views this polarisation two important questions are raised with reference to this thesis. Is this dichotomy necessarily an exclusive one? Secondly, how does translating as a pedagogical activity relate to these poles? The second question has to some extent already been answered in chapter three. Translating because of its nature has to be about the semantic and the pragmatic features of language. As translating is a form of communication it must be concerned with the pragmatic features of language and yet it has to remain concerned with the semantic and syntactic. Translating by virtue of the kind of activity it is employs the formal features of language in the service of communicative goals. The first question raised above however, is less straight forward.

Whilst it is now indisputable that language learning pedagogy has to be concerned with communication it is also true that learners can only achieve their communicative purposes through recourse to the linguistic systems of the language. Without knowledge of the formal systems of the language, however adept at negotiating meaning learners may be, they cannot communicate adequately. Learners require formal linguistic knowledge which they can then employ to achieve their communicative intentions. To return to the first question raised above concerning the mutual exclusiveness of the semantic pragmatic polarities in language teaching the answer has to be that the relationship needs to be inclusive. Knowledge of semantics without pragmatics will lead to knowledgable learners who are unable to activate their

knowledge, whereas knowledge of pragmatics in isolation from the formal features of language will lead to learners who at best operate with frozen pidginized forms which can never approximate towards full second language norms.

Language teaching pedagogy has then to break out of the dichotomy of an exclusively semantic versus pragmatic view of language. Language learners need an approach which will enable them to absorb the formal features of language and allow them to employ these in the service of their own communicative goals.

How then should a programme which aims to implement such an approach be organized? If one accepts the argument that semantic and pragmatic features of language need to be taught together in a way that relates them together naturally then a further question follows. Should the teaching of these features of language be necessarily monolingual, or would it be beneficial to relate knowledge in the mother tongue to new knowledge about the foreign language through a bilingual approach? I have already argued (chapter 3) that in my view the process of relating features of the foreign language, whether semantic or pragmatic, to the mother tongue is an instance of relating new knowledge with old and familiar knowledge. The strange can be made familiar through its association with what is already known (Sperber and Wilson, 1986) and far from creating interference is a necessary part of the process of acquiring new knowledge.

6.4 THE ROLE OF TRANSLATING WITHIN A DEMOCRATICALLY NEGOTIATED SYLLABUS

In recent years the syllabus has been rejected by some (Candlin 1985, Breen 1987) as an instrument of autocracy in the classroom. The idea of the autonomy of the learner and the concomitant tyranny of the syllabus has emerged along with the view that learners should be responsible for their own learning rather than be mere passive recipients of knowledge transmitted to them by an `expert'. Some have suggested that learners should be free to negotiate the meanings that they wish possibly constrained by a series of graded tasks similar to the ones discussed above.

There a number of problems related to this approach to a syllabus. To return to the relative autocratic democratic dimension of the syllabus; it is argued that as the communication process is itself based on the negotiation of meaning between the intention of the addresser and the acceptance of the addressee, then autocratic teachers must resist imposing their own will on the direction learning takes and should accept a more democratic role which allows learners to become jointly responsible for their own learning. Learners who are allowed such a joint responsibility will develop the necessary skills to manage their learning and thereby make more effective progress.

Essentially I am sympathetic to such an approach and I believe it has much to recommend it, however I think there are covert dangers entailed in such a theory. Language learners join courses because they hope teachers will be able to export some

of the linguistic chaos they feel threatens to confound them in their attempt to achieve linguistic and pragmatic competence and proficiency. I doubt very much that they want to be left entirely to their own devices in their efforts to learn to use a foreign language. If this were really what they wanted why join a course at all? Why not rather expose oneself to the jungle of natural language occurrences and hope to fight through to success? It has to be admitted that some people are able to do this very successfully but they are the fortunate few who do not need teachers or classrooms. Language teaching pedagogy however, has to be concerned with providing efficient routes to learning for those who cannot progress unaided. Thus whilst it seems to me that learners should be encouraged to take some responsibility for their learning in negotiating what it is they learn and how they set about learning it, this is a freedom which necessarily has to be within limits.

Where then does the pedagogical application of translating figure in this debate? Essentially translating is entirely neutral in this regard. It would be possible to employ translating within a completely autocratic methodology with individual learners translating in isolation under the rigid guidance of a teacher. This in essence was the methodology of the grammar translation method. Translating was applied as an instrument for the autocratic transmission of formal semantic and syntactic features of language, yet it could just as easily be employed to call

attention to the pragmatic features of language in a way which would allow the learner maximum independence.

Learners need not be compelled to translate as individuals in isolation, in fact this is a particularly sterile way to approach translating. Translating in groups with pauses for discussion and one member recording the text for display on an overhead projector followed by further plenary discussion is a much more fruitful approach. In such groups learners can weigh alternative equivalents against one another in context and are thus able to learn from each others' suggestions (see chapter 7 for more detailed discussion). In the event of a need to constrain learners more closely texts could be selected and graded by teachers and the whole translating process monitored more cautiously. In sum translating is entirely flexible and can be employed in either democratic or autocratic methodologies.

6.5 ALLOWING FOR THE UNPREDICTABLE IN LANGUAGE

Language which learners must inevitably come to terms with in its natural environment will always retain unpredictable elements. Learners need to be prepared to take part in communicative activities yet if the syllabus remains too inflexible and predictable it cannot prepare learners adequately for the ability of language to confront the learner with the unexpected. Consequently, though a syllabus must be systematic it must also be flexible enough to provide learners with practice in dealing with the unpredictable in language.

Skelton and Richards (1989) have referred to this problem in syllabus design as Johnson's paradox (Johnson 1979,1982). This relates to the need to structure and grade a syllabus in a systematic way so as to enable learning and yet at the same time allow for the unpredictable element of language or what Skelton and Richards describe as the ability of language to deliver unexpected goods. If a syllabus is constructed along lines which become too predictable to its learners it cannot provide them with opportunities to develop strategies for coping with the unexpected in language. What is needed then is a way of structuring a syllabus which itself admits the possibility of the unknown and the unstructured. The syllabus therefore, has to be structured in such a way as to allow real choices in language; it has to contain elements of the unpredictable. At the same time the object of a syllabus is in some way to limit the unpredictability of language in order to allow the learner a foothold and not be overwhelmed by its diversity. There is then a tension between a need to constrain language in such a way as not to overwhelm the learner with too much conflicting input which could not therefore be analyzed and internalized and the need to provide opportunities for dealing with the unexpected in language; a situation learners will inevitably have to confront.

A communicative syllabus thus needs to allow for some elements of the unpredictable. The question relevant to this thesis is whether or not the use of translating within language teaching can help learners develop strategies for dealing with the

unexpected goods inherent in language use? At first sight it might appear that a translation is entirely predictable, the text being fixed and as it were immutable and not therefore suitable as a means for learning to deal with unpredictable language.

It is a common experience however, amongst those who teach translation that if there are x number of people translating the same text, at the end of the exercise there will be x number of target language texts. They may all be reasonably similar but there will still be significant differences between them. How is that this can come about? The Hermeneutic view of translating (see ch.1) offers an explanation for this phenomenon. This view of the text regards it not as an object but rather a co-subject, one which as it were speaks to the reader yet not always with the same message. To interpret a text according to a hermeneutic perspective is to enter into a dialogue with it and to pose new questions to which the text gives ever new answers. In Gadamer's view (1960,1975) understanding can only take place when what is expressed in the text can find voice in the interpreter's own language. For the hermeneutic translator understanding is not about re-creating someone else's past intention but mediating past meaning into the present something which will always differ from translator to translator as understanding of the source language text is always relative to the translator's own giveness.

Learners then are not constrained by a predictable text which will produce entirely predictable target language texts, on the

contrary the text will be a different experience for each reader/translator. Added to this the text is selected by someone else and is unfamiliar, containing a range of unfamiliar lexis and structures which will have to be transformed into equivalent lexis and structure in the target language, something which will differ from translator to translator because of the reasons discussed above.

6.6 TRANSLATING AND CULTURAL AWARENESS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Definitions of culture have shifted quite sharply in recent years away from the idea of a solid entity to that of something which is constantly in a state of flux, constantly being redefined as new groups of people interact with each other. Street (BAAL presentation 1991) has suggested that the static, monolithic view of culture has come about as a result of anthropologists doing field work on remote islands. The tribe has always been something of a fiction as there have always been intermarriages, groups splitting off to form new allegiances etc. The myth of a static, unchanging culture is similar to de Saussure's diachronic, synchronic division; it is a useful fiction. One can choose to look at a slice of language as it were separated off at a moment of time and this can be extremely useful methodologically providing one remembers that language change is a continuous process which in fact can never be halted however much the researcher may wish it. The same fact affects work into culture; researchers may find it useful to identify and analyze what they may identify as Arab or British culture provided that they realize the endlessly transient nature of what the are

examining and its plurality. Culture is perhaps best regarded as cultures which are in fact processes rather than products; things which people use to structure their identity and which like languages in turn structure the individual.

Street again has claimed that culture and language should be viewed as an isomorphic nexus and one cannot look into one without examining the other. I find this idea difficult. Whereas it is not problematic to see the two as interrelated and interacting, to say that one can never view one without the other seem to me to be a re-statement of the strong Sapir/Whorf hypothesis. If one could never use language without being confined by ones own culture communication between peoples of different cultures would be impossible and so indeed would the act of translating. The very fact of cross-cultural communication, however imperfect and fraught with difficulty, must demonstrate that we can to some extent separate language and culture.

However, though it may be useful for pedagogical reasons to view language apart from culture, as with the separation of linguistic levels, there has to be a renewal of connection. Teachers have to find ways of integrating language and culture if language teaching is be truly educational and not merely follow a functional view which merely focuses on first person transactional needs.

A number of researchers have begun to react against a purely functional view of language teaching and some have seen functionalism itself as a convenient means of control; I refer here to the language and power debate (cf.Fairclough, N. 1989). Others feel that if language teaching is to be a part of education in its widest sense then it has to do more than simply equip the learner to carry out a set of essentially self serving and self seeking functions (Byram, M. 1989, Byram and Esarte-Sarries, 1991).

Language studies fall into three broad strands: language awareness, language use and culture studies. As mentioned above, it has been argued that for pedagogical purposes language use can be separated from culture, and there is a sense in which it is useful to be able to do this. However if language teaching is to be truly educational it must have wider aims and must seek to give students a positive view of the language learning community whose language they are learning. It must also give students the tools to displace their own language and culture and by making them strange come to view them more dispassionately and lucidly. Such educational aims are particularly relevant to a society which sets out to be overtly multicultural. Language learning should be a sensitising experience and should educate the learner to a positive appreciation of cultural otherness which the experience of being monoglot might not provide.

Without wishing to espouse a strong Whorfian view of language and culture I would maintain that the meaning of a particular

language has to be related to particular social groups. Consequently for learners to fully comprehend that language they need to analyze and comprehend the culture to which it belongs. It is reasonable and pedagogically justifiable to separate language from culture as language can be viewed standing alone. However treating language in the classroom as entirely divorced from culture is neither justifiable nor salutary. Byram expresses this elegantly:

> Although the warp of language can be teased
> out from the weft of culture, the learner
> needs to see the web of the whole, and this
> has methodological implications (Byram,
> 1989:49)

I have mentioned above the importance of transfer in language learning and it is transfer which makes clear the fact that language learning and culture are interwoven. When a learner begins to learn a foreign language word it will inevitably become associated with a mother tongue meaning, consequently a foreign language word is employed to refer to a mother tongue cultural phenomenon. This then is cultural transfer and demonstrates that when we learn languages we learn cultures and when we teach languages we teach cultures.

It is pertinent to ask what model of culture language teachers should work with and the model which I feel comes closest to being acceptable is that proposed by Geertz. Culture is for Geertz:

> an historically transmitted pattern of
> meanings embodied in symbols, a system of
> inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic
> form by means of which men (sic)

> communicate, perpetuate and develop their
> knowledge about and attitudes towards
> life.(1975:89)

Apart from the sexist language the model is useful in that teaching foreign culture in this sense would mean bringing learners into association with new meaning systems and the associated symbols used to express them. This would give them new competencies and would enable them to reflect on their own culture and cultural competence. Teaching based on this model would aim to avoid the dangers of what Geertz has termed 'speciation' which results from people regarding their own culture as universal and leading them to regard differences as indicative of members of a pseudo species which it is all right to massacre.

From an educational perspective if language teaching can claim that by introducing students to new cultures it can initiate a process leading to a reassessment and re-evaluation of their behaviour it can clearly play an important role in their education. The act of examining a foreign culture begins by viewing it as strange and then seeks to make it familiar. If we can view a foreign culture as strange, it is only a short step to transpose this process and make our own culture strange for the purpose of viewing it more objectively and dispassionately.

Barthes (1969) maintained that the best way to provide access to culture was not by focusing on different cultures as isolated from each other but by noting that they are in contact with one

another. It is at these points of contact or boundaries that cultural phenomena are emphasised in order to strengthen the concept of separateness. In other words the boundaries which divide separate cultures are the areas where cultural dichotomies are likely to be most sharply defined. In order for people on either side of this border to understand one another's cultural differences they need a translator who is able to transfer the system of meanings belonging to one culture and make them accessible to the other. Who is best fitted to translate these systems of meanings? The task has to be entrusted to the foreign language teacher who has first to stimulate pupils into perceiving the 'strangeness' of the Frenchman, the Arab or Japanese and then hopefully move on to the stage of tolerance and understanding. Muscovici has captured this strange otherness most strikingly:

> The mentally handicapped or people belonging
> to other cultures are disturbing, because
> they are like us, and yet not like us; so we
> may say they are `uncultural', `barbarian',
> `irrational' and so on. (Muscovici, 1984:25)

Not only then has the task of translating cultures to be entrusted to the language teacher but I would argue that the process of translating is the best process available to enable this task to be performed successfully. The ethnographer's approach to cultural awareness in trying to understand and explain it to others is insufficient for pedagogic purposes; what is required is a comparative approach. Byram has concisely formulated this requirement:

> In the process of comparison from two
> viewpoints there lies the possibility of
> attaining an archimedean leverage on both
> cultures, and thereby acquiring new schemata
> and an intercultural competence. (Byram,
> 1989:143)

Translating is just such a comparative process which draws on both native and foreign language in an integrated way. As such it allows the student to draw on concepts formed in the mother tongue and attempt to match them with `strange' or distant concepts in the foreign language. Translation allows the student to begin examining such concepts as strange and gradually make them familiar particularly when translating from a foreign language source text into a mother tongue target text. Conversely when translating in the opposite direction (from mother tongue into the foreign language) the familiar is made strange and hopefully this will allow the student to develop the facility for viewing his own culture from the view point of the speaker of the foreign language which they are translating. I cannot of course insist that the process would invariably follow such a simplistic uni-directional path, language and culture are far too complex for this to be the case. I would however want to maintain that this would be largely true and that in any case translating is precisely the kind of comparative process so essential to the pedagogical development of cultural awareness.

6.7 TRANSLATING AS PART OF A DISCOURSE APPROACH TO PEDAGOGY

One other important element in a communicative pedagogy is a discourse based approach to language. Widdowson has argued for

a discourse approach maintaining that different varieties of language can best be characterized by the way they concatenate different rhetorical acts. In scientific language for example different acts like defining, classifying, generalizing and qualifying combine together to form scientific text. Widdowson opposed this view of discourse with that proposed by Zellig Harris:

> a collection of formal objects held
> together by patterns of equivalences or
> frequencies or by cohesive devices"
> (Harris, 1952)

Widdowson prefers to see discourse as the use of language to perform communicative acts which in turn make up other larger communicative units. The pattern displayed in such a larger unit characterizes that piece of language as a kind of communication. This type of approach is distinct from the quantifying methods employed in register analysis (see Harris 1952, Hallliday, Macintosh and Strevens 1964, Crystal and Davy 1969).

The question of whether translating has a part to play in a discourse approach to language teaching has already been answered in some detail by Widdowson (1974). The idea that translating might be used as a means for getting at the deep structure of rhetorical acts was in fact suggested by Widdowson. His argument centres around the different types of equivalence which can be found between two languages. Just as there is equivalence at the surface structural level there is also equivalence between sentences which though having different surface realizations in two languages are nonetheless equivalent at the abstract semantic

level of deep structure. A third kind of equivalence proposed by Widdowson is at the level of function or what he terms pragmatic equivalence. Sentences are often structurally equivalent across two languages and yet functionally distinct. Conversely sentences can be different at surface and deep structure level and yet they can still be equivalent in terms of their function as utterances ie. they can have the same illocutionary force. Widdowson, therefore, proposes three kinds of equivalence:

1. structural equivalence relating to the equivalence of surface forms.

2. semantic equivalence which refers to equivalence at the abstract underlying deep structure level and which represents their basic interpersonal and ideational elements.

3. pragmatic equivalence which relates the surface forms to their basic function as utterances. This form of equivalence must necessarily be defined by reference to context.

What has happened here is that the Transformational Generative grammarians' division of sentences into surface form and underlying deep structural representation has been extended by Widdowson to include a pragmatic level. He has proposed two deep structures, a semantic deep structure and a pragmatic or rhetorical deep structure which is to be formulated,

> "...as a set of conditions defining a
> particular communicative act such as Searle

and   Labov   have   made   familiar."
(op.cit.p.107)

Widdowson suggests that there are two basic objections to the use
of translating as a pedagogical device one being that it leads
learners to the belief that there is a one to one correspondence
between the surface forms of the mother tongue and the foreign
language and the other being that it encourages the learner to
focus on the formal properties of the Target Language to the
detriment of contextual meaning. By exploiting translating with
reference to the grammatical deep structure the idea of a one to
one structural correspondence can be avoided and by focusing on
the rhetorical deep structure learners can be steered away from
too much reliance on the formal aspects of the foreign language.

The aim in using translating is to present categories of
grammatical and rhetorical deep structure, what Wilkins has
called `notional categories' (Wilkins,1972) in such a way that
learners are able to connect up their existing knowledge of the
mother tongue with what has to be learnt in the foreign language.
This differs from Wilkin's approach which attempts to employ a
notional taxonomy as a principle of selection.

> ".....translation would invoke them as a
> principle of presentation. To do this would
> be   to   provide   the   learner   with   a
> representation of his existing knowledge and
> through this representation to link up what
> he already knows to what he has yet to
> learn."   (op.cit. p.108)

In the same paper Widdowson suggest that translating could be
particularly useful in teaching language for special purposes.
He makes the important point that there is often more in common

between certain varieties in different languages than between different varieties within the same language. Put differently translating the same variety interlingually might be easier than translating that variety intralingually (see ch.1 for inter v intra translating). To take a concrete example, scientific texts form a particular variety which cuts across languages so that it might well be easier to provide a translation for scientists from different language backgrounds than it would be to provide a simplification of that scientific text for a popular readership.

The search for universals underlying language has been made in the area of idealized abstract systems. The very possibility of translating suggests that such universals do exist though Widdowson believes the search so far has been made in the wrong place. For him such universals are much more likely to be found within the area of actual language use in particular universes of discourse and which will manifest themselves as features which distinguish such universes of discourse in ways which are quite independent of the various language systems. The universals are then of a communicative kind and are independent of particular linguistic systems. In the case of science such communicative universals might be rhetorical categories like description, classification, labelling, explanation etc.

Widdowson would use both semantic translating and pragmatic translating within a teaching methodology. Semantic and pragmatic translating would serve to show how the TL and SL

surface forms were alternate realizations of the same concepts

and methods of enquiry and how they made up the grammatical and

rhetorical deep structure of the particular universe of

discourse, be it scientific or some other domain. Widdowson

sees translating as a key to presenting language to learners not

as new knowledge but as ".......an extension or alternative

realization of what the learner already knows "(op.cit.p.71).

In addition he believes that in associating language learning

with particular areas of use, which are by their nature

interlingual and intercultural, language learning is more likely

to be successful.

Certain areas of special purpose language teaching have insisted

that learner language be constrained as much as possible in

either grammatical or functional terms (see Munby, 1968). In

other words they have focused on linguistic equivalence between

the learner's intention and its surface structure realization.

Such a special purpose approach has tended to foster the

impression amongst learners that form and function are isometric.

This view leads to what Brumfit (1979,1984) has referred to as

a new form of prescriptivism that is a belief that certain forms

have to be learnt in order for particular functions to be

realized. However very early on in the study of pragmatic

features of language (Austin,1962) it was realized that there was

no exact form function correlation, essentially any form is

potentially capable of realizing any function. Brumfit has

warned against such prescriptivism.

> If `communication' involves simply the
> substitution of one mechanical metaphor for

> another, it has nothing to offer. But it
> could mean that the machine is dead:
> language teaching is not packaged _for_
> learners, it is made _by_ them. Language is
> whole people. (Brumfit 1979:190 original
> italics)

In order for language to be created by learners they have to know
that their pragmatic intentions can be realized through a rich
variety of forms. The practice of guided translating can help
learners to arrive at an understanding of this insight. By
focusing on pragmatic equivalence learners see how the source
language text may be realized through non equivalent surface
structures in the target language text which nevertheless capture
equivalent pragmatic meaning. This is not to say that learners
should be encouraged to be endlessly creative with form they have
to know that there are limits to this creativity and that native
speakers will not use all and every available structure. This
point relates to my earlier discussion of formulae and native-
like selection in chapter three (Pawley and Syder,1983).

I have now discussed a number of parameters which affect in
various ways a communicative pedagogy. In doing so I have tried
to see how translating relates to these aspects of pedagogy. In
terms of the synthetic versus the analytic dimension of the
syllabus translating fits in well with an analytic syllabus
needed in a communicative pedagogy. It encourages learaners to
acquire blocks of language which can be stored either to be
reproduced in their entirety or as creatively reconstructed
utterances.

I have also looked at how translating keys in with a number of major polarities in language teaching pedagogy. It was demonstrated that translating can fit in with all these polarities; the semantic or the pragmatic, an accuracy or a fluency based approach, and an autocratic or democratic view of the learning process. Translating can provide a communicative task which provides a genuine information gap allowing the learners to focus on linguistic form in service of communicative goals. Because of the essentially creative nature of translating it allows for exposure to the unpredictable elements in language. In addition to all these positive advantages, translating enables teachers to return to a principled exploitation of a bilingual methodology making it possible for learners to relate their new experiences in the foreign language with familiar knowledge in the mother tongue. In short there are sound reasons for including translating within a communicative pedagogy and in the next chapter I shall look at the practical ways in which translating can be employed in the service of the various aspects of language teaching.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATION OF TRANSLATING IN SECOND LANGUAGE AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters of this thesis I presented theoretical arguments and empirical evidence for rehabilitating the use of translating within language teaching pedagogy; in this chapter I want to present practical ways of using translating pedagogically. In setting out these suggestions I want to follow Taylor's proposed redefinition of communicative competence into linguistic competence, pragmatic competence and strategic competence together with their concomitant proficiencies (Taylor, 1988, Widdowson, 1989) (see ch.3 for discussion).

The historical survey in chapter two revealed that translating within language teaching was condemned because of its association with a methodology which exploited decontextualized linguistic structure. Translating as I have argued elsewhere (chapters 3 and 4) is about more than linguistic structure: I would argue that the ability to translate demands the ability to use linguistic knowledge in the service of pragmatic knowledge. A translation which captures the linguistic and semantic elements of a text but fails to encapsulate the cultural and pragmatic features will make little if any sense, consequently in order for translators to embody pragmatic and linguistic features of a source text into a target text they have to give that text the

closest of readings and place linguistic knowledge at the service of pragmatic.

My central argument is essentially that translating as a pedagogic device allows attention to be focused on the three areas of knowledge which learners to need to internalize ie. linguistic, pragmatic and strategic knowledge. In the case of linguistic and pragmatic knowledge translating demands that learners introspect on how both these aspects of language can be integrated in the realization of a target language text. The central problem with teaching strategic knowledge is finding ways of raising unconscious knowledge about strategies to surface level. Strategic knowledge, though possessed by all language users is difficult to develop because of a lack of conscious awareness. In fact it is lack of conscious awareness that provides the major obstacle in the acquisition of these three aspects of language.

The problem with the strong version of the communicative approach is that it tends to be content to leave language use at the unconscious level. Howatt (1984,279) has discussed both the strong and the weak version of the communicative approach. The weak version entails learning to use language, whereas the strong version insists that learners have to communicate in order to learn. There is a sense in which the weak version is not far removed from a structuralist approach where learners concentrate on learning the grammatical system as a preparation for using it in communicative situations at a later stage, usually after

the course has been completed. The practice and knowledge of the linguistic system is seen as a necessary precursor to communication. The strong version on the other hand claims that it is only through communication that the linguistic system can be internalized.

The problem with the claim of the strong version of the communicative approach is that as I discussed earlier so much of knowledge about language is unconscious. When learners and language users in general are communicating their attention is focused on higher order aspects of language such as forward discourse planning, attending to turn-taking procedures etc. the so called lower order language skills are pushed down to an automatic level. It is for this reason that though native speakers have an expert knowledge of their language and its systems for the vast majority this knowledge remains unconscious as it were known yet not seen. For the same reason though all language users rely on strategies their use is for the most part unconscious. Many native speakers have an almost encyclopedic knowledge of their own culture and yet for the most part their application of this knowledge in performance does not require a conscious focus.

In order then for learners to acquire and put to use linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence they need a means of raising them to the conscious level. As noted in chapter five the cognitive processes of analysis and control can be developed in

learners through reflection and introspection. My argument is that translating as a pedagogical device is able to provide learners with an opportunity to reflect on these three aspects of language and thereby raise them to a conscious level. The exercise material in this chapter is intended precisely to achieve this raising of consciousness.

A further important feature of translating is its power to integrate linguistic and pragmatic knowledge; to place linguistic knowledge at the service of pragmatic knowledge. Providing a monolingual with a translation of a text from which otherwise they would remain excluded is a vitally important communicative task which requires integration of all aspects of language competence. In order to perform the task learners have to decode the linguistic and pragmatic elements of the source text through close attention. It is this close attention to linguistic and pragmatic detail which is often absent from communicative exercises. This is the aspect of the task which is most valuable for without this degree of attention to the linguistic and pragmatic elements of language they will never be analyzed sufficiently to be stored for creative recombination in future communicative acts.

The learners next task is to restructure the decoded elements as equivalent target language elements according to the linguistic and pragmatic conventions of that code. In the case of translation into the mother tongue learners proceed from new knowledge to a comparison with known familiar knowledge, whereas

in the case of translation into the foreign language the polarity is reversed. Here again the task demands close attention to linguistic and pragmatic elements in the source and target languages and provides a framework which allows careful comparison of both systems. This framework serves a dual purpose in that it provides a nexus for careful attention and at the same time allows the learner to relate the mother tongue to the foreign language in a systematic way. Both these aspects of translating are beneficial to the learning process as they provide a focus for attention on relevant language elements in the service of a communicative task and allow old knowledge to be related to new. It is these two necessary features of learning which are absent from many communicative activities simply because learners are not consciously attending to what is systematic in language.

To recapitulate the arguments set out above the following exercise material aims to draw the learners conscious attention to linguistic, pragmatic and strategic features of language. It aims to do this in a bilingual comparative framework which allows the learner to make systematic comparisons between old and new knowledge. This aspect of the theory is supported by Bialystok's evidence that bilinguals develop superior cognitive control processes (1990) : translating being a bilingual process. I would argue that by raising the learners consciousness through these translating tasks learners will more successfully acquire competence and performance ability in the linguistic, pragmatic and strategic areas.

The examples of material offered here are intended for advanced learners. I have given one example intended to show how the material could be adapted for English learners of Arabic (Worksheet One) and a second illustrating how it could be used for Arab learners of English (Worksheet Two).

7.2 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

The history of language teaching (see ch.2) shows that translating has never been criticised as a practice which lacked value as a means of developing linguistic competence. In fact teaching has until relatively recently been a bi-lingual activity heavily reliant on translating with the exception of one brief period dating from the Reform movement. However, as I have discussed earlier, what members of the Reform movement objected to in applying translating to language teaching was the obsessive stress laid on grammatical structure to the neglect of other language features. (see Palmer, 1917, 1964, Sweet, 1989, 1964). Translating then, has never been opposed in the classroom as a means of teaching linguistic competence, on the contrary the only serious objection to it was predicated on its close association with a certain type of grammatical structure teaching which presented such structures as decontextualized sentences. In the following sections grammatical structures will be embedded in context and I hope to show how translating them in such contexts can be used to teach linguistic competence. An important part of linguistic competence concerns lexis and it is to this area of linguistics that I now turn.

7.2.1 THE TEACHING OF LEXIS

Lexis has been described by Halliday as 'most delicate grammar' (Halliday,1966) and has recently returned as a focus of interest and research in applied linguistics and language teaching (Meara, 1980, Carter and McCarthy, 1988). I have already discussed arguments for and against presenting lexis in the mother tongue in chapter two. To briefly recapitulate those arguments, proponents of the Direct Method insisted on using either pictures or mime in order to avoid the psychological problem of associationism, however this inevitably lead to learners translating amongst themselves often inaccurately. Sweet and Palmer (Palmer,1917,1964,Sweet,1989,1964) pointed out that teachers cannot hope to erase the strong impression of mother tongue associations simply by using mime or pictures and might therefore use translating. Sperber and Wilson (1986) have convincingly argued that new knowledge is best learnt in the context of old and that being able to relate the two, far from being harmful,is an essential part of cognition.

Banning the mother tongue in the classroom by implication devalues the native language and culture and may lead to the setting up of affective barriers to learning and resistance to the dominant host culture which may come to be perceived as an instrument of power and domination. I would argue that explanations for new lexis, certainly in the early stages, should be in the form of mother tongue translations provided that teachers make clear that different contexts may lead to different

translations and avoid giving learners the impression that mother tongue and foreign lexis are always isomorphic.

Explaining new lexis as it arises in various classroom activities does not however constitute the teaching of lexis. How should teachers then go about presenting and teaching new lexis, given that this is now recognized to be an important element in language teaching? Before I attempt to show how I think lexis could be practised and learnt through translating I would like to reiterate an argument put forward earlier (ch 3.) that formulae, or lexical sentence stems be viewed and treated as extensions of lexis. Simply put the argument is that given the way children perceive word boundaries and given the fixedness of certain prefabricated units and the way they behave they can usefully be regarded in the same way as lexical units. Usefully, in that from the point of view of learning they are best learnt as wholes and not as groups of smaller elements as evidence suggests that they are learnt holistically in first language acquisition (Peters 1983). The learner will need to break down such chunks into their component parts to allow for creative re-composition. However what evidence there is (Peters, 1983) suggests that this kind of formulaic language is stored primarily en block and then after analysis is stored a second time as the individual elements of such formulae.

If lexis is only ever taught as individual lexical units it will be difficult for learners to access appropriate formulae when needed. Presumably they will first have to assemble them from

their elements. Learning lexical units holistically will not present problems when it comes to extracting its parts for re-deployment provided appropriate techniques are employed to enable learners to analyze these chunks. If at the same time we are following a procedure which mirrors natural first language acquisition there would seem to be good prospects for success.

I have set out below examples of translating material which I have used to teach and practise firstly lexis and then formulae. The material aims to demonstrate the obvious but essential point that lexical problems in a text cannot always be solved by reference to a dictionary; words may used ironically or with a different force to the canonical sense which is recorded in the dictionary. Initially students learn lexis either divorced from context or limited to one context, they then need to extend this sense to a wide number of references which is potentially infinite. In this movement from sense to reference meaning can shift substantially and this creates a problem which translators and learners initially find difficult to come to terms with.

7.2.2 INDIVIDUAL LEXICAL ITEMS

The preparation for this lesson involves selecting two or three short passages containing useful lexical items. Initially teachers will want to cover lexis which occurs most commonly in the language perhaps from the first three thousand words using one of the available word frequency lists (Sinclair et al 1992). They may also be guided by the particular needs, interests or requirements of the class. The texts will contain underlined

lexical items which the students must try and translate. There must be enough worksheets to allow students to work in pairs or groups of three.

The teacher must make clear to the students that this activity is not concerned with silent translating but involves active discussion of as many viable alternatives to fit the underlined items as possible given the constraints of the context. The point of the activity is to raise to conscious level as many lexical items as possible and in order to achieve this teachers must stress that translating crucially involves selection from among alternatives using the criteria of appropriacy and context. In this way it is hoped to stimulate the students' passive and active vocabulary allowing them to learn from each other through co-operation on an information gap task. For this reason it is better to try this exercise without the aid of dictionaries. This implements what I discussed earlier regarding the task based nature of translating (see ch.3) and the importance of translating as a process which holds both the native and foreign language together in a common framework.

SAMPLE MATERIAL

WORKSHEET ONE

Discuss in groups possible translation equivalents for the underlined words in texts. When you have thought of as many possible alternatives as you can list them in order of preference bearing in mind appropriacy and context.

English Text

Jet travel makes a twisted <u>nonsense</u> of geography. In time Bahrain is a good deal closer to London than Aberystwyth is, and that seemingly <u>motionless</u> speed of the Boeing 747 renders all the small,crucial distinctions of climate, culture and topography <u>illegible.</u> (Johnathan Raban 1979 :27)

Possible translation equivalents.

English			
nonsense	لا معنى لها	بدون معنى	هراء
motionless	بدون شعور	عديم الشعور – دون إحساس	
illegible	غير واضح	مبهم غامض	

Arabic Text

للمجتمع العربي كغيره من المجتمعات <u>عادات</u> وتقاليد تتصل بحياة الناس الإجتماعية وأعيادهم. فيبدأ المواطن عمله اليومي في ساعة <u>مبكرة</u> من النهار، سواء كان في المصنع أو الحقل، أو المحلات التجارية أو الدوائر الحكومية والشركات، ويستمرُّ في عمله ست ساعات إن كان من الموظفين الحكوميين، وقد <u>يستمرُّ</u> حتى الساعة الخامسة مساءً في الأعمال الاخرى. ومن المعتاد أن يستريح الناس في بيوتهم بعد إنتهائهم من أعمالهم حوالي الساعة الثانية أو الثالثة بعد الظهر، وتناول طعام الغداء الذي يكون وجبة الطعام الرئيسية في العالم العربي.

Possible equivalents:

English		
Society	البيئة للمجتمع	–
Customs	تقاليد عادات	
Early	باكراً – يصحو مع الفجر مُبكرة	
Continue	يستمر – يظل – يبقى – يستمرُّ	

It might be argued that the above exercises are not strictly speaking translating however as others have pointed out (Tudor 1989, Heike 1985) translating need not necessarily be about dealing with whole texts. The nature of the activity is not changed if the scope of translating is limited to lexical units, formulae or elements of structure. The students are still actively concerned with finding target language equivalents for source language elements and this is the central issue in translating for many translation theorists. (Catford,1965)

In order to stress the importance of appropriacy to contexts students are asked to order their choices in terms of their appropriacy ie. from most to least appropriate. After completing the first text students should then exchange worksheets with another group and continue working. In plenary, the teacher can guide discussion between groups, writing alternative suggestions on an overhead projector (O.H.P). and helping in the choice of the most appropriate lexis. An alternative version of this exercise for beginners is to supply a list of translation equivalents for the underlined words requiring students to discuss them and list them in order of preference.

7.2.3. LEXICAL SENTENCE STEMS

The next work sheet is intended to present and practise larger lexical units. Such units have been variously called formulae,(Ferguson 1981), prefabricated speech (Peters,1983) and lexical sentence stems,(Pawley and Syder, 1983)(see ch.3 for

theoretical discussion). The preparation for this exercise involves selecting short texts containing frequently used formulae (Pawley & Syder 1983:206) which are underlined. The students discuss the texts in groups and suggest translation equivalents for the underlined formulae. They should be encouraged to note all the alternative translations they produce and order them according to their preference bearing in mind context and appropriacy. At lower ability levels students can be supplied with several alternatives for the underlined expressions and then asked to order them in order of preference.

The students should work in groups of two or three and should exchange worksheets with another group after making their selections. As a plenary activity the teacher writes up the different suggestions made by each group on an O.H.P and guides the discussion pointing out which expressions are native like and which unacceptable to native speakers. The point needs to be made that grammatical accuracy alone is not sufficient to ensure native speaker selection (Pawley & Syder 1983).

WORKSHEET ONE

Read the passage below then discuss with your group the most appropriate translation for the underlined expressions. If you

have more than one alternative for the expression place them in order of preference.

THE WRONG CHOICE

<u>As I see it</u>, turning over my files, the notes of conversations, the statements of various characters, it would have been still possible, at this moment, for Rollo Martins to have left Vienna safely. He had <u>shown an unhealthy curiosity</u>, but the disease had been checked at every point. Nobody <u>had given anything away</u>. The smooth wall of deception had as yet shown no real crack to his roaming fingers. When Rollo Martins left Dr. Winkler's <u>he was in no danger.</u> He could have gone home to bed at Sacher's and <u>slept with a quiet mind.</u> He could even have visited Cooler at this stage without trouble. No one was seriously disturbed.

(Graham Greene, The Third Man)

Possible Translations.

To show an unhealthy curiosity.	حشرية غير صحية
To give something away.	إفشاء السر
To be in danger.	حالة الخطر
To sleep with a quiet mind.	ينام مطمئن البال

WORKSHEET TWO

وهو يمكنه الآن أن يستمرّ يحيا <u>حياة الممزّقة الكئيبة</u>، وهو يمكن أن يرتبط بها إرتباطا أسخف من ارتباطه بلفائف الدخان... وحاول عبثا أن ينام... كانت غرفته شديدة الحر لا تُطاق، وكان يمكنه أن يخرج إلى الطرقات <u>يذرعها</u> لولا أنها ليست أقل لهيباً، فالقيظ يندلع في كل مكان، وعبّ كل ما في المنزل من مياه باردة حتى سبح في بحر من العرق فاضطرّ أن يخلع كل ملابسه وينام عريانا... ومع ذاك فقد ظلّ ساهراً وهو يذكر أنه عدّ في تلك الليلة مائة نجم فقدها فجأة فبدأ يعدّ من جديد ...

وفي الصباح التالي أخذ الجو يعتدل... <u>فبدأ يغفو قليلاً</u> بينما فتح محمود دكان ومضى يرقب

Possible equivalents

حياة الممزّقة الكئيبة

His torn and tattered life

His ruined existence.

To take a walk. To go for a stroll. يَذرعُها

Until he was swimming in a sea of sweat. حتى سبح في بحر من العرق

7.2.4 SYNTAX

In the area of syntax I believe translating can be employed selectively to underline and sensitise students to areas where mother tongue and foreign language differ. I do not want to merely repeat simplistic arguments put forward in the early days of contrastive analysis (Lado,1957) equating language difficulty with distance or attempt to predict errors on the basis of difference alone. I accept that there are processes at work in language acquisition other than the cross linguistic. However it is a salient fact that after nearly forty years of debate regarding the relative influence of mother tongue transfer (cf. Dulay and Burt, 1972) there is still considerable evidence which points to its influence in second and foreign language acquisition.

> Despite the counter arguments, however, there is a large and growing body of research that indicates that transfer is indeed a very important factor in second language acquisition. (Odlin,1989:3,4,)

Several researchers have begun to look into ways of teaching syntax through translating. Anastos (1979) has used translating to present and practise French syntax to English native speakers who experienced difficulty using the present tense, reflexive verbs and the passe compose tense. Anastos believes that his students were in fact translating themselves on a word for word basis from English into French and that this led them to produce the wrong syntactic patterns. He decided to exploit his students natural tendency to translate English structural patterns into

French syntax and employed structure sheets leading the students gradually to make the correct transition to French syntax. By working through the student's familiarity and intuitions about English Anastos believed he was able to lead his students to an understanding of the foreign language. In addition Anastos did some empirical work contrasting the results of two groups one taught using an audiolingual methodology and the other through translating exercises. He concluded that in the area of syntax tested the translating group were superior.

Butzkamm (1985) also supports the use of translating to help learners understand foreign language syntax claiming that understanding the meaning of an utterance leads to an understanding of its internal structure ie. "semantics leads to grammar" (Butzkamm,1985:87). As mentioned above children and second language learners begin by understanding the pragmatic force of language chunks as a whole without understanding the individual components. Butzkamm and others have suggested that the use of literal translating will speed up understanding of the individual elements and free them for creative recombination in other contexts. This relates to the discussion in chapter 5 of the two cognitive language processes, analysis and control (discussed by Bialystok 1985). Bialystok has maintained (Bialystok, 1982, 1985, 1990) that language which has been analyzed into its individual parts is of more potential use than langauge stored in unanalyzed holistic form. Widdowson (1989) has drawn attention to one failure of the communicative movement namely that in certain cases it has led to pragmatic ability

without grammatical ability ie the ability which comes from having analyzed phrases into their constituent parts.

The idea of using translating to present analyzed grammatical forms is of course far from new and tourist phrase books have for a long time used this method of reformulating foreign language expressions in the mother tongue using semantic translations.

One problem with this methodology as Butzkamm points out (1985) is that it makes no allowances for the progress of the learner, however as an initial technique to help learners analyze phrases into their constituent structures it is in fact highly successful.

A similar methodology was once employed for teaching classical languages. The foreign text was interspersed with a semantic translation in the mother tongue on alternate lines. Such texts were known as interlinear texts. This type of presentation enabled learners to see the foreign text broken down into its parts represented in the mother tongue. The reader then needed to reconstruct the pragmatic meaning of the text with the guidance of a teacher. A progression from such interlinear texts for readers were parallel texts such as the Loeb editions of the classics (cf. also Penguin Parallel Text, French Short Stories, Lyon, 1966) which presented one page of foreign language text with a facing page containing a pragmatic translation. Notes were added to the foreign text to explain particular difficulties. The abandonment of such reading techniques has I

believe more to do with their association with a discredited

methodology (ie. Grammar-Translation) than with any real short

comings in their effectiveness.

Turning to more advanced language teaching Snell-Hornby (1985)

has argued that advanced language teaching, language description

and contrastive linguistics can all be presented in a unified way

through translating. In order to illustrate this point Snell-

Hornby uses a German passage to illustrate the principles of end

weight and end focus in English.

> Die Schweiz -amtlich heibt sie
> Schweizeirsche Eidgenossenschaft -ist eines
> der führenden Reiseländer der Erde. Dazu
> haben ihre günstige geographische Lage im
> Herzen Europas, die sprichwörtliche
> Gastfreundschaft der Bewohner, die sich
> schon früh auf den Fremdenverkehr
> eingestellt hatten, und der besondere Reiz
> ihrer landwirtschaftlichen Schönheiten
> beigetragen (a) ....Ein dichtes, gut
> ausgebautes Netz von Bahnlinien und Straben
> überzieht das Land (b).
> (Snell-Hornby, 1985:22)

The structures which Snell Hornby wishes to draw attention to are

(a) Dazu haben..........beigetragen.

(b)......überzieht das Land.

In both examples the subject is longer and syntactically more

complex than the predicate and students tend to produce

translations which violate the principle of end-weight in English

where the final position is reserved for the more complex part

of a clause or sentence. This principle does not need to apply

in German and although **beigetragen** and **überzieht das Land** are in

final position they are unstressed. In addition the English

principle of end focus requires new information to be placed at

the end of the clause. In order to achieve end-weight and end focus if the two structures are placed in initial position ie. that reserved for "given" information the principles of English can be realized.

> (a) This is mainly due to its favourable geographical position in the heart of Europe, the proverbial hospitality of its inhabitants, who soon adapted to tourism, and the special charm of its scenic attractions.
> (b) The country is served by a well-developed network of railways and roads.
> (Snell-Hornby,1985:23)

The feedback which Snell-Hornby has received from students regarding use of translating in the classroom to discuss aspects of advanced language teaching has been particularly positive.

> A translation course which seriously analyses the possible choices of words for transferring meaning from one language to another is an invaluable tributary to the understanding of the linguistic structures of both languages. I find such courses enormously helpful in understanding both my native tongue-in this case English - and a second language -in this case German (in Snell-Hornby,1985:26)

Anastos, Butzkamm and Snell-Hornby have demonstrated that translating can be successfully applied to most areas of syntax. In the following worksheets I have tried to show how translating could be applied to mood and in particular the passive voice.

Sufficient worksheets to allow students to work in pairs or groups of three need to be prepared in advance. Passages should be selected which contain examples of the passive voice including impersonal constructions eg. **it is felt that, it is believed to be,** etc.

Begin with a short introductory activity asking students to translate signs and public notices, asking where possible for the actual wording used in the students' own native language eg.

Trespassers will be prosecuted.

A receipt will not be issued unless requested.

Swimming in the canal is absolutely forbidden.

Cigarettes will not be sold to anyone who is, or appears to be, under 16.

To be taken three times a day after meals.

This product is approved under the control of Pesticides Regulations 1986.

Do not apply to surfaces on which food is stored, prepared or eaten.

By reference to pragmatic equivalents in the students' own language make the point that the formal structures in the source language do not necessarily have to be translated by the same formal structure in the target language and that in fact some other rhetorical structure is likely to be more successful (cf.Widdowson, 1974 and discussion chapter 6).

WORKSHEET ONE

Michelle: accused man is acquitted

The man accused of attempting to murder 15 - year old Michelle Booth was yesterday acquitted on the direction of the judge at the Old Bailey. Michelle, now 16, who spent days in a coma after being flung by her attacker from a suburban train last March, broke down when she heard of the verdict. (Daily Mirror 5-12-78, in Allemano, 1986)

Possible equivalents

accused

كان بريئا — جاني — متهم   المدعى عليه

was acquitted

كان بريئا   برأت ذمته — أعلنت براءته — كان بريئا

after being flung

ألقاها — رماها — طرحها لذلها

WORKSHEET TWO

يوم الحادث <u>أوقف</u> أخي. جاءت الخالة لتبيت مع زوجة أخي. حقائق بسيطة غير ملتبسة. ثم تسلل إلى الدار عشيق القتيلة. لا ندري متى. وعند منتصف الليل أو بعده بقليل بدأ شرف العائلة <u>يُثلم ويُثلم</u>. وهدأ الجميع حتى الفجر، وقت إعداد الفطور والخبز. أنذاك إنكشفت الأمور المخزية دفعة واحدة. القتيلة فرحة كانت تمارس الفحشاء طوال الليل، وهي بعد ذلك لا تتعب وتنام، بل تستيقظ قبل شروق الشمس كأنها لم تفعل شيئا، ثم تأتي لتسترق النظر على الاخرين. لأن الجريمة لا تنام في نفسها، ولقد أيقظتنا من رقادنا وهي ملتمعة العينين، ثائرة الشعر، لتخبرنا بأن الأولى بها أن تنتحر من أن ترى الفحشاء تدخل إلى هذه الديار. عند ذاك أجابتها حليمة بأنها قد شاهدتها جيداً مع عشيقها عاريين يمارسان الزنى طوال الليل، <u>فصُعقت</u>. أذهلتها الحقيقة المُرّة والتبس عليها، ثم خرجت هاربة تضع يدها على فمها. لم يبق لي إذن بعد كل هذا إلاَّ أن أزيل وصمة عارنا بدمها. هكذا يمسح العار في ديارنا يا سادتي الحكام.

Possible equivalents

was informed, was told   أوقف

Be defiled, be dishonoured, be sullied, lose/one,s reputation.   يُثلم

Be struck dumb, be stunned, stupified, lose consciousness.   فصُعقت

Initially students should discuss in groups oral translation equivalents for the underlined passive constructions noting down their preferred alternatives. Groups should then exchange worksheets and continue as before. In plenary discussion, in addition to guiding selection of the most appropriate equivalent offered teachers should try to draw out the main functions of the passive in the source language and compare these with any

differences or similarities in the target language eg. in English
the passive largely functions as a way of avoiding mentioning the
agent or of focusing attention on the action rather than the
agent. In this particular exercise translating provides an
interesting task which exposes the student to the unpredictable
element within language and at the same time provides a framework
for comparing the mother tongue with the foreign language and
thus enables old knowledge to be related to new in a relevant
context.

7.2.5 COHESION

The final area of linguistic competence I wish to explore in
relation to pedagogical applications of translating is that of
cohesion. Cohesion is a part of the textual function of language
and texture is realized through cohesive items (Halliday and
Hasan, 1976). These devices are relations in meaning and bring
about semantic continuity. There are five devices which play a
part in the creation of texture ie. reference, substitution and
ellipsis, junction and lexical cohesion. Reference items form
semantic relations whereas substitution, ellipsis and junction
are formal relations.

I have discussed elsewhere (Thomas, 1981) the importance of
learners appreciating the differences which exist between the
ways in which cohesion is realized in the foreign language and
in the native langauge. Snell-Hornby believes that translating
can prove an effective way of analyzing problems of lexical
cohesion and gives as examples the following German texts.

(c) Heinrich Mann betrachtete seine beiden
kleinen Söhne, den ersten, <u>nachdenklichen</u>
und ein wenig <u>verschlossenen</u> Heinrich, der
schon zur Schule ging, und den um vier Jahre
jüngeren, nicht minder <u>nachdenklichen</u>,aber
<u>lustigen</u> und <u>spabigen</u> Tommy, und er machte
einen Plan.
(d) "Mein Vater", schrieb Heinrich, "ware
damals ein schöner und stolzer, junger Mann.
Ob <u>heiter</u>, ob <u>zornig</u>, immer schien er mir
auf der Höhe des Lebens".   (Snell-Hornby,
1985:23)

The adjectives in italics appearing in pairs either indicate

similarity (joined by **und**) or contrast (joined by **aber**). They

are all human in scope though those in (c) are particularly

indicative of small boys whereas those in (d) specific to male

adult.   **Schon** and **Stolz** are used as positive assessments of

characteristics but the two antonyms **heiter** and **zornig** refer to

temporary moods and are not intended critically. These features

of lexical cohesion have to be carried over into the translated

text if the same cohesive texture is to be achieved.   Snell-

Hornby offers the following translation as a way of taking into

account the same lexical cohesive properties.

(c) Heinrich Mann contemplated his two small sons, the
elder one, Heinrich, <u>pensive</u> and a little <u>reserved</u>,
who already went to school, and Tommy, four years
younger, no less <u>pensive</u>, but <u>lively</u> and <u>full of fun</u>,
and he made a plan.
(d)"My father", wrote Heinrich,"was then a <u>handsome</u>
and <u>proud</u> young man. Whether <u>cheerful</u> or <u>angry</u>, he
always seemed to me to be in the prime of his life".
(Snell-Hornby, 1985:24)

One aspect of cohesion which creates central problems for English

learners of Arabic and Arab learners of English is reference and

in particular use of articles. It is difficult to pin point why

articles should present such a problem although one probable

source of difficulty is the fact that indefiniteness in Arabic

has no specific marker and thus a word is indefinite if there is no definite article present. In other words, unlike English, indefiniteness is not marked by a specific morpheme. Providing material for presenting and practising the use of the definite article is therefore an important aspect of teaching English to Arab students and Arabic to English students.

To prepare material to present and practise definite articles select a number of film or book titles some of which contain the definite articles others of which remain indefinite. Each worksheet should contain between fifteen and twenty titles and there should be sufficient worksheets to allow students to work in pairs or groups of three.

Tell the students that the books involved have been translated and that publishers want effective titles which will make them saleable in Britain. They should not therefore feel too constrained by the source language wording but rather attempt to capture the spirit of the original. This may mean omitting the definite article in some instances or introducing one where it does not exist in others.

As an introduction to this activity ask the class for the titles of films they have recently seen and discuss with the students possible ways of translating the titles noting particularly what happens to the definite article.

WORKSHEET ONE

Discuss the following book titles together and suggest possible translations for them. Pay particular attention to the use of the articles. The examples below include the definite article, the indefinite article and zero article. Translate them in whatever way seems most natural and effective to you. You may decide to omit or add an article or use an adjectival expression instead eg. The dark of noon - Darkness at noon.

1	Heart of the Night	قلب الليل	١
2	The Beginning and the End	بداية ونهاية	٢
3	New Cairo	القاهرة الجديدة	٣
4	Old Egypt	مصر القديمة	٤
5	The Thief and the Dog	اللص والكلب	٥
6	Gossip on the Nile	ثرثرة فوق النيل	٦
7	The Black Cat Inn	خمارة القط الأسود	٧
8	Love Under the Rain	الحب تحت المطر	٨
9	Stories from our Neighbourhood	حكايات حارتنا	٩
10	Love on Pyramid Hill	الحب فوق هضبة النيل	١٠

The students should exchange worksheets with another group and continue discussing and translating. Towards the end of the class the teacher should ask the groups for their suggestions and guide the class towards choice of the most appropriate translations again noting how the two systems make different use of the articles.

The above then are ideas for developing linguistic competence through translating they are all ways of tapping into the rich knowledge resource available to learners through their mother

tongue. Features of the foreign language linguistic system are raised to consciousness through a comparison of those features with the way they operate in the mother tongue and this knowledge can then be applied, extended or adapted to the foreign language. Unlike certain communicative tasks which centre the learner's attention on problem solving and hope that learners will unconsciously acquire linguistic competence and proficiency, the above exercises deliberately draw attention to form and to the way it is realized in the first and foreign language. There is no attempt here to set up a foreign language system which operates in an entirely autonomous fashion divorced from the mother tongue. Recent research into parallel distributed processing (McClelland, Rumelhart et al 1986) strongly supports the interdependent role of knowledge, that is the more connections we can establish between acquired knowledge and that which is to be acquired the easier the task will become. Except in extreme cases of first language loss it is not possible to remove the traces left by the first language with a second and more importantly it is not desirable.

Philosophical and Machine Translation approaches to translating however show that translating has an important pragmatic dimension (see ch.1 and ch.4) and is not, as some critics of the Grammar Translation approach believed limited to linguistic competence. The effectiveness and accuracy of translating is as much dependent on how well pragmatic features of the source language text are dealt with as is its linguistic features. There is then no a priori reason why translating should not be

used as an effective way of teaching and learning the pragmatic features of language.

7.3 PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

I have already discussed in some detail (ch.3) arguments for using translating to teach various aspects of pragmatics including the different rhetorical conventions in learners' mother tongue and foreign language, the way speech acts may be differently realized and problems arising from unfamiliar schemata. In this section I will try to exemplify how these different aspects of pragmatic competence might be taught and practised.

7.3.1 SPEECH ACTS

I mentioned in ch.3 a pilot study for teaching the speech acts of requests through translating. Below I have set out in more detail how this material might be prepared and presented.

Prepare worksheets containing requests embedded in short texts which set the parameters of context. Ask students in pairs or groups of three to translate the underlined requests in the texts. They should work orally discussing which alternatives they feel would be most appropriate given the context. After discussion they should note down the most appropriate formulations. After completing their worksheet they should exchange with another group. The teacher should circulate amongst the groups to provide help and encouragement and to

prevent the activity turning into one of silent individual translating.

WORKSHEET ONE

Read through the following texts, then discuss in groups possible translations for the underlined requests. List your alternatives in order of preference.

A woman is parked at the exit of an ambulance station. You are a hospital official and have to request her to move.

"Excuse me madam, I'm sorry but I must ask you to move. We have to keep this exit clear for the ambulances in case of an emergency".

You need to borrow a book from a friend in order to complete an assignment. You have already borrowed the book last week and kept it longer than you should have done.

I'm sorry to bother you again John but I have to complete an essay by tomorrow morning could I borrow that book you lent me last week. I'll let you have it back tomorrow morning".

WORKSHEET TWO

١ أنت ذاهب في إجازتك السنوية، أطلب من جارك أن ينتبه لبيتك أثناء غيابك.

ـ ممكن تنتبه للبيت أثناء غيابي من فضلك ؟

٢ قبل أن تترك المكتب، لاحظت أن فلوسك لا تكفي لأجرة النقليات، أطلب من أحد أصدقائك في العمل أن يسلفك جنيها.

ـ لا يوجد معي الآن فلوس كفاية لأجرة النقليات، ممكن تسلفني جنيها من فضلك؟

7.3.2 RHETORIC

I have discussed in chapter three ways in which translating might be applied to teach different rhetorical conventions preferred in the native and foreign language. I gave examples of how texts illustrating repetition and parallelism could be translated in such a way as to draw out the different uses of such rhetorical devices in English and Arabic. Widdowson (1979 discussed in chapter six) has also argued that translating could be exploited to draw out the distinctions between what he calls deep pragmatic/rhetorical equivalence, deep semantic/grammatical equivalence and surface structural equivalence.

To briefly summarize that discussion, Widdowson's argument turns on the fact that Transformational Generative Grammar assigns two sentences to the same deep structure despite the fact that they may have different functions. Conversely sentences with the same rhetorical function might be assigned different deep structures by the grammar. From this Widdowson proposed that there must exist not only a deep grammatical/semantic structure but also a deep rhetorical/pragmatic structure.

The idea that equivalence between languages can exist at a deep rhetorical level leads to a possible way of teaching varieties

which are shared by languages. Science would be an example of such a variety and Widdowson maintained (1979) that scientific varieties probably have more in common interlingually than intralingually (see ch.1 for discussion of interlingual and intralingual translation). Consequently a scientific text in French could have more in common with a scientific text in English than with other French texts belonging to other varieties. Widdowson claims that for this reason translating between the same varieties is easier than simplification within the same language which involves making a text accessible to readers belonging to a different group than that originally envisaged.

Tudor (1987) has taken up Widdowson's suggestions for using translating as a means of transferring the same rhetorical intentions across languages. In effect the variety of English required by Tudor's learners (German native speakers) had already been formulated by them in accordance with the rhetorical conventions of German. The students needed to be able to interact with English speakers and communicate information to them which had already been coded in German texts. Consequently the specific type of interactive skill required by them was cross-lingual transfer of information. Such a set of learning circumstances is not of course unusual in that very often people set about learning a language in order to communicate information with which they are already expert in the native language. One might press this point further and claim that in most cases, certainly of adult learners, the learner hopes to be able to

transfer his/her world experience to the foreign language regardless of whether such experience could be termed 'expert' or not.

The following is an account of a translating activity piloted by Tudor (1987). Initially the students were asked to give an oral presentation in English based on native language texts; this activity was broken down into three stages:

1. Work on the texts at home using bilingual dictionaries.

2. Discussion with the teacher.

3. Plenary pulling together of the material in groups prior to actual presentation.

In a second activity students studied one journalistic text in German and another on the same current affairs topic in English. Three tasks were associated with this activity:

1. Students prepared a rough oral translation (what Tudor calls 'skim translation') from the German material into English. They were encouraged to make notes on areas of difficulty at home using dictionaries.

2. Students made a written summary translation of the source text (a 1,500 word text would be summarised into 200 words)

3. Students were asked to prepare for class discussion based on the topic of the texts.

In all the above activities the learners were encouraged to use their second language English texts as an aid.

Tudor noted that the effect of the German L1 material was to define more precisely the communicative goals of L2 production and that these goals encouraged the learners to acquire new L2 resources and encouraged achievement rather than reduction strategies (Corder,1981:105). The effect of the L1 input was to expand the productive abilities of the L2 resources in a constrained manner. Tudor concluded that the translation tasks provided the explicit learning that this particular group of specialists learners required. The L1 input text created a 'perceived resource gap............ie. the explicit recognition of the need for L2 input and therefore a receptive attitude for acquisition of new elements". Tudor also makes the point that translation as cross linguistic communication is an eminently communicative activity.

There is now a considerable body of evidence to support the theory that bringing learners' prior knowledge to bear on the learning task is more successful than presenting foreign language learning as entirely divorced from previous learner' experience. We also have some evidence to suggest that translating is one efficient way of integrating in a holistic manner relevant prior knowledge with the new learning task or presenting language "not as the acquisition of new knowledge or experience, but as an extension or alternative realization of what the learner already knows". (Widdowson 1979:111)

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7.3.3 SCHEMATA

I have discussed the importance of learners acquiring culturally appropriate schemata in order to deal adequately with foreign language texts. There I suggested that learners could acquire such schemata by translating texts in groups which were culturally distant, thereby gradually accustoming themselves to both distance and difference. Another way of dealing with this problem has been suggested by Mohammed (1990) namely the use of parallel texts.

Hartmann (1980) views parallel texts as interlingual phenomena which he has classified into three groups as in the following diagram.

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Hartmann 1980:37)

Durmusoglu (1983) divides parallel texts into two main categories namely translated texts and texts that are contextually similar. Parallel texts have been used as a methodology to uncover similarities and differences between the foreign and native languages. Mage (1976) has used this methodology to uncover similarities and differences at the "conceptual paragraph" level in English and Spanish for science and technology. Mage claimed to be able to illustrate the rhetorical patterns in Spanish and English scientific texts using parallel texts from both languages and maintained that his pedagogical results were good. Theil (1985) has also seriously attempted to use parallel texts in second language teaching using the following framework:

1) Students analyze the source and target texts at the level of content, expression and intentionality.

2) The results are compared noting the way the above three levels are realized in both languages.

3) The students use the information gleaned to produce a third parallel text.

Thiel's suggestion are useful but the method ignores a number of factors which determine text such as cohesion, coherence and other pragmatic factors. Nevertheless the idea is potentially valuable and the following sample material based on this work would, I believe, be of help in developing appropriate schemata in learners.

In order to prepare materials for this exercise teachers need to select texts which deal with similar events in both cultures but where these events are realized differently in schematic terms.

Examples of such events might be weddings, birthday greetings, obituaries etc.

There should be sufficient texts to allow groups of two or three to read and discuss amongst themselves. After reading the texts co-operatively students should then discuss the following questions:

Where would you expect to find the text?

Who are the participants?

What is the intention of the text producer?

What level of formality/informality is being expressed?

How do weddings, birthdays, etc. differ in your culture from that expressed in the text? Can you find evidence in the text to support your view?

ARABIC TEXT

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يسرنا أن نتقدم بأسمى التبريكات

وأحرّ التهاني بمناسبة عيد ميلادكم   كل سنة وأنت طيب

ونسأل الله تعالى أن يعيده عليكم   ألف مبروك

بالأفراح والمسرّات وأنه نِعم المولى

ونِعم النصير

ENGLISH TEXT

Best Wishes on Your	There couldn't be
	a better time
BIRTHDAY	To wish you all the best
	than on this
	very special day
	That stands out from the rest
	HAPPY BIRTHDAY

(Taken and adapted from Mohammed F.Mohammed 1990:200,202)

After comparing and discussing the way the events expressed in the text differ in source and target language cultures students should translate the foreign language text into their mother tongue as a homework exercise. During class discussion the teacher should act as guide,circulating from group to group to ensure that key differences in the schemata of the two cultures are drawn out. The teacher could usefully draw together these key features from the different groups in a plenary session perhaps using an O.H.P.

This exercise, and others in this section, being about pragmatic competence naturally involves the cultural aspect of language. The pragmatic level is arguably that level of language most closely interrelated with culture. The notion of culture and its interaction with language is notoriously difficult to define and explain. I will in the next section attempt to offer a

definition of culture and discuss its role in language and language teaching.

7.3.4 CULTURAL AWARENESS

In the last chapter I discussed the importance of including a cultural component within language teaching pedagogy how then can translating be used to help orientate learners to the foreign language culture? There are a number of possibilities and the following material is just one attempt which I have myself tried.

In order to prepare for this task the teacher needs to select in advance texts in the foreign language which are culturally strange,distant or in some way marked relative to the native language and culture of the learners. The students should then read and discuss the texts in groups noting anything they find odd or distant about the texts. The students should be asked to try and identify and explain what particular aspects of the texts they find unusual. Students then prepare group translations of the texts and if there is time exchange texts with other groups.

Leave enough time to look at the texts in a plenary session using an O.H.P. to look at and compare group translations of the same texts asking the class as a whole to select the most successful alternatives to those parts of the text which create the most difficulty from a cultural point of view. The teacher should ask the students to try and articulate why certain alternatives seem to work better than others and which translations make the text seem less strange to the general English reader.

WORKSHEET ONE

Read and discuss with your group the following text noting
anything about it which you feel seems odd or culturally distant
as far as your own culture is concerned. Try to identify which
elements of the text seem most strange and to try to explain why.
Then translate the text as a group paying particular attention
to those aspects of the text which you identified as culturally
difficult. If your group has more than one alternative to offer
for a difficult area of the text note them down in order of
preference.

SPEECH FROM KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN

```
?ayyuha  lqa:bidu:n Cala  jamar  ili:ma:n wa      rra:fidu:n
 Oh      the-holders of  flame the-belief and the-rejectors
madhallat ilwatan, assa:diqu:n assadiqu:n fi ?intima:?ikum
shame     the-nation the-believers the true in belonging-your
Caqlan wa qalban muntalaqa:tin wa ?ahda:fan fikran wa sulu:kan
mind   and heart aspirations    and aims      thought and conduct
```

Partial Translation:

Oh carriers of the flame of belief and those who refuse the
nations' humiliation those who believe and are faithful in your
alliegance in your minds your hearts your aspirations and your
aims your thoughts and deeds

```
laqad   hamalna mas?u:liyyatana nahwa Curu:batina       wa
Verily bore-we responsibility-our towards Arabness-our and
?isla:mina wa   nahwa l?amn wa ssala:m ilCalamiyyaini
Islam-our  and  towards the-security and the-peace the-world
mundhu lbida:yati wa badhalna kulla juhdin mumkinin fi
since  the-start  and made-we every effort possible in
 sabi:liha wa la   yu?limna ?abadan ?an taku:na lmuka:fa:tu
 way-its   and not hurt-us   ever   that be     the-reward
lana  Cuqu:ba:tin mutala:hiqatan Cala baladina    wa  šaCbina
to-us penalties   imposed         on  country-our and people-our
bal    ?anna    ha:dhihi alCuqu:ba:ti kašafat lilCa:lami
rather that     these     the-penalties exposed to-the-world
kullihi ?annaha   aththaman ulladhi yajibu ?an  nadfaCahu
all-it  that-they the-price which   must    that we-pay-it
 li?annana ha:walna manCa   lka:rithati   llati   dubbira
 for-we    tried    prevent the-catastrophe which  was-planned
```

Partial translation:
We have borne our responsibility to our Arabic identity and to
Islam and to world security and peace since the beginning and we
have made every possible effort on its behalf and it hurts us not
at all that our reward for this is sanctions imposed on our
country and our people but rather these sanctions have revealed
to the whole world that they are the price we have to pay because
we tried to avert catastrophe.

7.4. STRATEGIC COMPETENCE

In chapter five and six I argued that translators like language learners and other language users do use strategies. I also suggested (following Bialystok, 1983) that good learners and good translators used more second language based strategies than first language based and that beginners were characterized by an over dependence on first language based strategies notably transfer and language switch. My belief is then that translating does foster development away from first language based strategies towards more effective use of second language strategies. In Bialystok's cognitive framework (1990) this would mean a move away from control based strategies, involving switching to another language to more analytic based strategies requiring analysis of the concept itself.

Learners need to be made conscious of the resources available to them for dealing with lexical problems and also which resources are likely to be most successful. One way of presenting and evaluating these resources is through translating exercises.

The teacher should select texts of from ten to fifteen lines containing two or three lexical problems embedded in them which are known to create problems. Enough worksheets should be available to allow learners to work in pairs or groups of three. As a warm up activity the teacher can show a sample text using an O.H.P. and ask the students not for a translation equivalent but for a paraphrase or circumlocution of the difficult items. It should be pointed out to students that use of paraphrase or circumlocutions are likely to be more successful than switching languages,using mime or direct transfer. Transfer should not be entirely ruled out especially if the native and foreign languages are cognate languages. Students however, must be encouraged to monitor the situation as closely as possible to make sure the intended point has been successfully made. In other words the teacher should find ways to point out that linguistic strategies are potentially riskier than analytic or approximative strategies and therefore less likely to be successful.

In the plenary session the teacher can compare those L1 strategies which emerge with L2 based strategies for the same item, thereby hopefully making it clear that L2 based strategies are likely to give more chance of success.

WORKSHEET ONE

Read the following texts together in your group and note the difficult words which have been underlined. Try to think of a paraphrase or circumlocution which you could use in place of the

difficult word.   If you can think of more than one paraphrase
note them down in order of preference.

أسباب الضعف في اللغة العربية

رددت الجرائد والمجلات الشكوى من ضعف الطلبة وخريجي الجامعة في اللغة العربية ـ ولا شك أنها
مسألة لا يصح أن تمر من غير أن يتداولها الكتاب بالشرح والتعليل، ويقلبوها على وجوهها المختلفة
حتى يصلوا إلى علاج حاسم. أما أن الطلبة ضعاف جداً في اللغة العربية فأمر لا يحتاج إلى برهان،
فأكثرهم لا يحسن أن يكتب أسطرا ولا أن يقرأ أسطراً من غير لحن فظيع يكاد يكون بعدد
الكلمات التي يكتبها أو يقرؤها، وهم إذا خطبوا أو قرءوا أو كتبوا أو أدوا امتحانا رأيت وسمعت ما
يثير العجب ويبعث الأسف. وأما أن الضعف في اللغة العربية نكبة على البلاد فذلك أيضا أمر في
منتهى الوضوح، لا لأن اللغة العربية لغة البلاد، والضعف فيها ضعف في القومية فقط، بل لأنها
اللغة التي يعتمد عليها جمهور الأمة في ثقافتهم وتكون عقليتهم، فاللغة الأجنبية التي يتعلمها طلاب
المدارس الثانوية والعالية ليست هي عماد الثقافة للبلاد، وليست هي التي تكوّن أكبر جزء في
عقليتنا، إنما الذي يقوم بهذا كله هو اللغة العربية التي نتعلمها في الكتاتيب ورياض الأطفال، وندرس
بها العلوم المختلفة في المدارس الابتدائية والثانوية والعالية. فالضعف في اللغة العربية ضعف في الوسيلة
والنتيجة معا، على حين أن الضعف في اللغة الأجنبية في كثير من الأحيان ضعف في الوسيلة فقط،
ولهذا أعتقد أن معلم اللغة العربية في المدارس على اختلاف أنواعها عليه أكبر واجب وأخطر تبعة،
وبمقدار قوته وضعفه تتكون ـ إلى حد كبير ـ عقلية الأمة.
وبعد، فما هي الأسباب التي نشأ عنها هذا الضعف؟
عندي أن الأسباب ترجع إلى أمور ثلاثة : طبيعة اللغة العربية نفسها، والمعلم الذي يعلمها، والمكتبة
العربية.

فأما طبيعة اللغة فهي صعبة عسرة إذا قيست ـ مثلا ـ باللغة الإنجليزية أو الفرنسية. ويكفي
للتدليل على صعوبتها ذكر بعض عوارضها : فهي ـ مثلا ـ لغة معربة، تتعاور أواخرها الحركات من
رفع ونصب وجر وجزم حسب العوامل المختلفة، ولا شك أن اللغة المعربة أصعب من اللغة الموقوتة،
أعني التي يلتزم آخرها شكلا واحدا في جميع المواضع ومع جميع العوامل، كاللغة الإنجليزية
والفرنسية.

7.5 TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING AS COMMUNICATIVE SKILLS

Although it is true that people learn languages in order to be able to communicate with others who speak these languages directly, they also learn them in order to enable others who cannot communicate directly to communicate through them. In other words people need to be able to translate and interpret for others who otherwise would not be able to communicate. Such situations are far from rare and as such translating within such a context is clearly a communicative activity. Klein-Braley and Smith (1985) believe that certain kinds of activity involving translating deserve a place in the communicative classroom. The intention would be to use activities which would occur in an authentic setting and so the functional rather than grammatical/semantic aspect of translating would be emphasized. Examples given by Klein-Braley are 'cueing' where the learner would be given cues in the L1 which specify the content of the L2 utterance eg.

"You are at the ticket office at a railway station in France. Your teacher is the employee.

    a) ask for a single ticket to Rouen

    b) ask what time the train leaves

    c) ask what platform the train leaves from.

    d) ask where the left luggage office is.

WRITTEN TRANSLATION

You are writing a short not to explain you delay to the French family you are going to visit. Tell them in French.

    a) you are in Dijon

    b) your scooter has broken down

c) you are spending two nights at a hotel

d) you will arrive at their house on Saturday evening.

(Klein-Braley & Smith, 1985:163)

The idea that learners may be called upon to act as interpreters between monolinguals seems to have gained acceptance in language teaching, certainly more recent textbooks provide material aimed at practising and developing this skill. An example of such an activity might be a passer-by called upon by a taxi driver to help interpret directions from a passenger. The passer-by needs to concentrate on the functional aspect of the message and success may be assessed on whether or not the monolingual taxi driver would be able to follow the directions given or not rather than on exact replication of linguistic elements. If such interpretation tasks were to be used for testing clearly for assessment purposes the important factor is whether and to what degree the task is successfully solved. If the learner has to use re-formulations or extend the discourse by asking further questions for clarification this should not be judged as failure rather the ultimate satisfaction of the monolinguals involved should be the ultimate criteria for success.

Below I have set out materials which I have used for liaison interpreting which I feel are valid as "communicative exercises in their own right and particularly as preparation for tasks which many language learners will be called upon to perform.

Liaison interpreting requires ideally two teachers, one native speaker for each language being used. In university teaching

this usually involves one member of staff and a lector who is a native speaker of the foreign language. The number of learners should be kept to a maximum of around ten to allow each learner sufficient turns at interpreting. The situation for interpreting needs to be carefully scripted out in full before the lesson and the script serves as a check on what is actually being interpreted. I have found that when teachers speak ad lib it is difficult to check whether the learner has interpreted what has been said accurately or not if there is no available written record. This does not mean that teachers need to be too rigid in their delivery; they should attempt to speak in a natural spoken mode. If the interpreter/learner gets things wrong the teachers should continue to base their replies on what the learner has told them rather than act as though they knew what the learner should have said. In other words teachers should try to behave as though they were monolinguals and not able to understand both languages.

WORKSHEET

Situation: A customer is negotiating with a taxi driver outside his hotel through an interpreter. He/she wants to visit the pyramids for the day and would like to return that evening.

Customer: Would you please ask him if he could take me to the pyramids for the day?

Taxi driver: ماشي..... وعايز يرجع امتى؟

(حيرجع امتى؟)

Customer: Could he bring me back this evening to the hotel at about 6 pm.

Taxi driver:

عاوز يروح امتى؟

Customer: I want to go in about an hour's time- but I need to pack some things first.

Taxi driver:

من حيحتاج حاجة معاه. أحسن لنا نِروّح دِلوقتِ لأنه يمكن يجيلي شغل في الساعة.دي، ومن ضامن أرجع (في الميعاد).

Customer: I'm sorry but I need a shower and I want to buy a film for my camera. Tell him I'll pay him for the hour he has to wait. How much does he/she want?

Taxi driver:

كله على بعضه ١٥٠ جنيه (اليوم كله + الساعة إنتظار ١٥٠ جنيه).

Customer: That's a lot but I'd be prepared to pay 100.

Taxi driver:

آخر كلام ١٢٠ جنيه.

Customer: OK. I'll accept that. Would he be prepared to take me to the nearest bank first please?

Taxi driver:

لو معاه إسترليني أو دولارات (شيكات سياحية)
أنا ممكن ادّيله سعر كويس قوي ... أحسن من البنك !

Customer: Tell him no offence - but I'd rather do it through a bank - if he/she doesn't mind.

Taxi driver:
<div dir="rtl">

ماشي ... لكنه هو الخسران

(على راحته\اللي يريحه\على كيفه)

</div>

In the case of the material above the English native speaker selects a student, explains the situation and speaker roles and then asks that student to interpret for him/her one turn of the dialogue to the Arab native speaker. The Arab native speaker gives a reply based solely on what the student interpreter has said and this in turn is interpreted back to the English native speaker. Teachers need to note down problems as they occur and give feed back immediately the turn has been completed. This is best done if native speakers evaluate the interpreting into their own native language ie. Arab native speaker evaluates English into Arabic and English native speaker evaluates Arabic into English. Another student is then selected to interpret and so on.

In conclusion there are many ways in which the various processes and products of translating can be exploited within language teaching pedagogy. The above examples are only a few suggestions for exploiting translating for the presenting and practising of

linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence and proficiency.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1 CONCLUSION

I began this these as a result of my own gradual involvement in translating and out of a desire to understand why translating had almost disappeared within language teaching when my own experiences told me that translating led to an improvement in language skills and not to confusion and interference from the mother tongue as had been suggested. Looking at the various translation theories demonstrated that translating had to be centrally concerned with pragmatics.

Linguistic models have developed from a view of translating which regarded the process as limited to the transmission of linguistic codes to more recent[12] models which account for translating in pragmatic terms. Similarly early Machine Translation failed essentially because of a lack of a pragmatic component a failure which is now being corrected essentially through work in natural language understanding and artificial intelligence. Literary approaches to translating stress the creative nature of the process and the relevance of current research on reading and writing to translating. Philosophical research strengthens the argument for the importance of the role of pragmatics for translators. The overwhelming message to emerge from a study of translation theories is that they endorse the central importance of pragmatics. Recent research into on translating confirms

these findings (Hatim and Mason 1990, Berk-Seligson 1990, Bell 1991, Gutt 1991).

It is ironic then to find in chapter two that translating was abandoned within language teaching largely because it was felt to be a purely semantic exercise solely about the transmission of linguistic codes. Certain members of the nineteenth century Reform Movement and more particularly exponents of the direct method claimed that translating would lead to semantic interference from the mother tongue and would prevent the direct association of objects in the real world with their foreign language equivalents. Significantly Sweet (1899,1964), Jespersen (1904) and later Palmer (1917) noted that it was the way translating had been employed within the grammar translation method which had led to such unhelpful results not the process of translating itself.

There is then, no reason why translating should not be rehabilitated within a broader communicative approach to language and with this in mind I examined the relationship of translating to the concept of communicative competence and in particular to its reformulation by Taylor (1988) as linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence. This investigation enabled me to conclude that translating does have a positive role to play in the development of communicative competence.

In chapter four I returned to the idea of translating as an interim language process first discussed in chapter one in relation to Machine Translation. I compared translating with other holding positions in language; pidgins, creoles, first and second language acquisition and the transfer and interlingual components within Machine Translation. I concluded that translating like these other processes was an interim system, or holding position forming a buffer between the mother tongue and the foreign language and that contrary to earlier criticisms, translating would enable learners to develop strategies and progress along the interlanguage continuum. Chapter five discussed an experiment which provides empirical support for the claim that translating enables learners to develop strategies based in the foreign language and encourages a transition from mother tongue type strategies to foreign language based strategies.

I looked at the relationship of translating and communicative pedagogy and its role was seen to be entirely compatible with a task based analytic type of syllabus. Translating was seen to be neutral as regards the relative authority of the teacher and the autonomy of learners. Similarly in respect of the poles of accuracy and fluency I concluded that translating could be used to support an emphasis on either end of the continuum. More importantly I demonstrated that translating allowed focus on linguistic form and was therefore an essential element in a communicative pedagogy. Finally I gave practical examples of

translating can be pressed into service to present and practice linguistic, pragmatic and strategic competence and proficiency.

The thesis began with a consideration of Howatt's thoughts on the practice of translation (Howatt 1984) and the need for the profession to take another look at its role in language teaching. Howatt wondered if it was really translating which the reformers had objected to or the way in which it was used. I can now state that the objections to translating were based on the way it was used. This thesis demonstrates that translating can be used in a way which is entirely compatible with the development of communicative competence and proficiency.

8.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Translating, as I have stated elsewhere, is part of a general bilingual approach to language teaching and in this area there is considerable scope for research. I have discussed some of this work such as the discussion of the use of parallel texts (Mohammad 1990). A similar area of which needs investigation is the use of interlinear readers (see chapter 7) in the teaching of reading in the early stages, perhaps progressing through parallel texts to full foreign language texts.

The area of culture and its interaction with language is one which has recently begun to capture the interests of scholars (BAAL conference 1991 Language and Culture, forthcoming publication). If culture and language teaching are to be re-

integrated, and I think it makes good sense that they should, to do so relying on an entirely monolingual approach, however convenient for some publishers and methodologists is misdirected. The fact is that translating is about language and culture and to ignore it and its role in the transmission of culture is to ignore a very significant area of the subject.

Byram and Esarte-Sarries (1991) have looked into the use of ethnographic techniques for teaching cultural awareness and I think it would be potentially rewarding to investigate ways in which translating might be drawn into such work. Literature can be used as a focal point for discussing culture and I have used the short stories of Naguib Mahfouz with translating exercises as a way into discussion and appreciation of contemporary Egyptian culture (eg. the role of women in society).

More research needs to be carried out into the precise relationship which translating has with culture both as a transmitter and transposer. The more accurately the nature of the relationship can be defined the more likely we are to be able to apply translating to problems of pragmatic failure and schema failure.

Bialystok (1991) has mentioned that bilingual children have more cognitive control than monolingual children. A question which arises from this is whether or not bilingual approaches to language teaching including translating, develop more cognitive control in learners than learners exposed solely to monolingual

approaches. The empirical work presented in chapter five goes some way to supporting the hypothesis that translating helps develop more cognitive control in learners but the question requires more detailed research.

A further question to surface in chapter five was that of strategy use in other channels than the spoken. The translators in the empirical work discussed used a number of obvious strategies such as writing interpolations above the line, making notes in the margin etc. (see chapter five). More work however, is needed into the types of strategies used by writers, readers and translators of foreign and native language texts. We need to know if these strategies are similar to those found in spoken interlanguage and if not in what ways they differ?

Unfortunately strategy research still suffers from a lack of precision, particularly in the area of developing objective criteria for the identification of strategies. Until an acceptable framework is produced which will allow different researchers to analyze the same data and come up with the same number and type of strategies we will remain stuck in a quagmire of imprecision.

Berk-Seligson has drawn attention to the dangers resulting from pragmatic alterations made by court interpreters eg. making replies more or less polite, excessively formal etc. Interpreter and translator training has concentrated for too long on syntactical problems with the result that trainees tend to feel

that if they know the right vocabulary and concentrate on being grammatically accurate all will be well. There is a need to look into ways of sensitizing learners to pragmatic features of language and to the multiple ways that this can affect addressees.

A number of disciplines like Comparative Literature rely on the products of translating and yet students of these disciplines often remain ignorant of precisely what kind of product translating is. It has always struck me as odd that students and teachers could compare Dostoevsky with Dickens and yet not have any knowledge of the translation process. Translating plays an increasing role in many areas of language use and one important aspect of language awareness must be to understand what kind of process it is and what exactly we can expect from its products. There is a clear need for more research in this area and into ways of raising consciousness about the translating process.

This thesis has been essentially interdisciplinary and has used findings from the areas of Translation Theory, Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. Others have noted (Bell,1991) what a pity it is that applied linguists, linguists and translation theorists do not co-operate more to exploit the common ground which exists between them. The wheel might not have to be rediscovered so frequently if discipline boundaries were not so hard and fast.

I began this thesis in the tentative hope that I could find ways of re-evaluating translating and restoring it to its rightful

place within a broad communicative methodology. Since that time a number of researchers have added their arguments and there is now a considerable body of work which points to the conclusion that for too long we have neglected and left out of our methodology a practice which is perhaps as old as language itself. It seems clear to me that the reasons for neglecting indeed banning the use of translating within our language classrooms were based on a mistaken view of language itself and of the ways in which we learn. To repeat a central tenet of my argument, new learning does not proceed by abandoning old but rather by building on it, making connections with passed ideas and reshaping old and new concepts alongside one another.

NOTES

Chapter One

1. The Georgetown Automatic Translation (G.A.T.) system begun in 1952 is an example of a direct translation model and was used to translate from Russian into English. The influence of the cold war was clearly a factor in the funding and motivation behind Machine Translation at this time.

2. METAL — a system for German -English translation which was introduced in 1989 by the German electronics company Siemens of Munich. The research on this system stretches back to the mid 1960s and is essentially a transfer approach which relies on global scope. It uses the Lisp programming language and is one of the most advanced operational MT systems currently in use.

3. CETA (Centre d'Etudes de la Traduction Automatique) is an example of an interlingual approach to Machine Translation.

4. The TAUM project (Traduction Automatique de l' Universite de Montreal) and the EUROTRA system are both examples of the transfer approach. TAUM METEO has been fully integrated into the Canadian Meterological Centre's weather communications network since 1977. This system has been translating daily English weather reports directly into French for fifteen years. It owes much of its success to the restricted domain of the language used, and as a consequence research is now going on into

sub languages so that similar systems can be set up for other restricted domains.

Chapter Two

5 Kelly (1969) gives the history of language teaching from 500 B.C. to 1969 although the amount of information on this early period is disappointingly thin. Translating as a process clearly dates back to at least the time of the earliest inscriptions and appears to have been used in language teaching pedagogy throughout the major part of its history. Kelly claims that translating makes its first appearance in the elementary class of the Greek communities of the Roman empire during the third century, though he gives no source for this. Although there is no concrete evidence I believe translating may well have been used in language classroom from much earlier periods.

Chapter Four

6. There has been some debate about the origins of pidgins and creoles, the major theories being baby talk, foreigner talk and nautical jargon (see Romaine 1988:71ff.). Some have argued for monogenesis (DeCamp 1971) claiming that European based pidgins are all relexified versions of a single fifteenth century Portuguese pidgin which was itself related to Sabir; the Mediterranean lingua franca.

7.Bickerton (1981) maintains that the following twelve features are characteristic of creoles:

(i) Movement rules

(ii) Articles

(iii) Tense -modality -aspect systems

(iv) Realized and unrealized complements

(v) Relativization and subject copying

(vi) Negation

(vii) Existential and possessive

(viii) Copula

(ix) Adjectives as verbs

(x) Questions

(xi) Questions words

(xii) Passive equivalents (Bickerton 1981: ch.2)

8. Hudson (1980:63) offers a social explanation for the reduction and simplification inherent in pidgins. He believes that inflectional morphology is an unnatural means for expressing semantic and syntactic distinctions. The finer details of language are often those which are used as social diagnostics and Hudson suggests that as no one uses a pidgin for group identification there is no imperative to maintain inefficient inflectional elements. This accords with Givon's view (1979) that languages move from a more pragmatic iconic mode of communication to a more syntactic abstract one. The pressures for such a move being sociolinguistic.

9. Arabic text is optionally written with full case endings and vowel marks for certain domains (eg. religious texts, radio and television news broadcasts) but appears in most texts without vowels or case. It is a matter of debate as to how much of part

case actually plays in reading competence as the majority of educated readers would be unsure about their use.

10. Mel'chuk 1963 did attempt a fully interlingual system which included semantics - see Hutchins 1986:190 for details of these systems.

Chapter Eight

11. Berk-Seligson (1990) has recently shown how vital the pragmatic dimension of interpreting is to the outcome of the courtroom and her research strongly supports the importance of pragmatics in interpreting.

12. Gutt (1991) argues that translating is an instance of ostensive -inferential communication.

عندما اذهب إلى عمارة فيها بعض أكبر أطباء مصر أجد المصاعد واقفة، والانوار مطفأة، والجدران مخربة، والسلالم مكسرة، وبلاط الارض مليء بالحفر والنقر، والسقف مزروع بالعنكبوت، ومن الغريب انني لم اجد في هذه العمارة طبيب عظام يعالج الكسور والجروح، ولا جمعية إسعاف تنجد الذين يختنقون من رائحة القمامة التي تنبعث من منور العمارة!

وبعض هؤلاء الاطباء يربح مئات الجنيهات في اليوم ويدفع جنيهات معدودة في الايجار الشهري، ولم ينكر هؤلاء الاطباء الكبار أن يتعاونوا جميعا لاصلاح المصاعد المعطلة، ولا لترميم الجدران المشققة. ولا لطلاء المدخل، ولا لوضع مصابيح كهربائية بدل المصابيح التي احترقت وكساها الغبار. والغريب ان بعض هؤلاء الاطباء يداوون الفقراء مجانا، ويساعدون المشروعات الخيرية، ويدفعون من جيوبهم ثمن الدواء، ومع ذلك يستكثرون ان يحولوا عياداتهم الى أمكنة مريحة نظيفة. تدخل بعض العيادات فتجد المقاعد مكسورة، والارائك محطمة، والتراب يغطي الجدران بدلا من الطلاء، وتتساءل عن سبب هذه الظاهرة العجيبة الغريبة فلا نعرف سببا. ربما أن هؤلاء الاطباء يخشون الحسد، فيهملون مظهر عياداتهم حتى يضعوا عودا في عين الحسود، او ربما المقصود ايهام مصلحة الضرائب انهم يسكنون خرابة وانهم لا يربحون ولا يكسبون.

وادخل عمارة اخرى فاجد عيادات فاخرة فيها اثاث انيق، وديكور جميل، ونظافة تشرح الصدر، واتعجب على هذا التناقض العجيب! وكان من عادة كبار الاطباء في الماضي ان يحتفظوا بأول عيادة فتحوها في عمارات مهجورة وفي شقق اكل عليها الدهر وشرب. وكنت اعرف طبيبا مشهورا من هؤلاء، كانت عيادته عبارة عن ثلاث غرف كلها مخصصة للكشف على المرضى ويجلس المنتظرون على درجات السلم او فوق رصيف الشارع. ويدخل الطبيب الكبير الغرفة الاولى ويقول للمريض اقلع هدومك! ولا يتركه حتى يقلع هدومه بل يذهب الى الغرفة الثانية ويقول للمريض اقلع هدومك، ثم يدخل الى الغرفة الثالثة ويقول للمريض اقلع هدومك. فلا وقت عنده للانتظار ويعود الى الغرفة الاولى ويضع السماعة على بطن المريض ثم يطلب منه ان يرتدي ملابسه ويتركه الى المريض الثاني والمريض الثالث وينعل الشيء نفسه ويعود للمريض الاول ويكتب له الروشتة وهكذا!

وذات يوم ذهب للمريض الاول وقال له اقلع هدومك، وتركه ثم عاد اليه فوجده لم يقلع هدومه، فصرخ فيه: قلت لك اقلع هدومك، واتجه الى الغرفة الثانية ثم عاد الى الغرفة ووجد المريض لا يزال مرتديا ملابسه فصرخ فيه وهو يقول: هل انت اطرش؟ قلت اقلع هدومك! قال الرجل: اصل...

اصل انا عامل التلغراف جايب لسعادتك تلغراف.

APPENDIX ONE

When I go to a building in which there are number of Egypt's famous doctors, l find the lift out of order, the lights out, the walls falling down, the stairs broken, the floor tiles full of chips and cracks and the ceiling covered with cobwebs. The strange thing is I never find an orthopaedic doctor in this building curing those with broken bones and injuries, nor a body of first aiders assisting those who are choking from the stench of rubbish issuing from the buildings skylight.

Some of these doctors earn hundreds of pounds in a day and yet only pay a few pounds a month in rent. However these eminent doctors never think of co-operating with one another and fixing the out of service lift, repairing the cracked walls, painting the entrance, replacing the burnt out light bulbs or getting rid of the dust. What is stranger still is that some of these doctors treat the poor for nothing and take part in charitable schemes paying the cost of the medicine from their own pockets. In spite of this they consider it too expensive to renovate their clinics into clean and comfortable places. On entering some clinics you find the chairs broken, the benches smashed and the walls covered with dirt instead of paint. When we wonder what the reason is for this bizarre and astonishing scene we cannot find an answer. Perhaps these doctors are afraid of the evil eye and neglect the appearance of their clinics in order to deflect the evil

back into the eye of the perpetrator, or perhaps their intention is to deceive the Inland Revenue into believing that they live in destitute surroundings and neither earn a penny nor make any profit.

APPENDIX TWO

تطوير العادات اللغوية السليمة

إن نظرة فاحصة إلى مشكلة ضعف الغالبية العظمى من العرب في استعمال اللغة العربية الفصحى ليدلنا على عامل أظنه من أهم العوامل المؤدية إلى هذا الضعف، ألا وهو قلة فرص التمرن على الاستعمال الصحيح للغة، فاللغة كما ذكرنا وكما يرى كثير من علمائها وعلماء النفس عادة ومهارة، وهى لا تختلف في صورتها العامة عن أي عادة أو مهارة، كقيادة السيارة أو حتى المشي، والعادات والمهارات لا تكتسب إلا بالتدريب المستمر، فالطفل يبدأ إكتساب مهارة المشي بخطوات مترددة ومحاولات متكررة يساعده فيها والداه أو سواهما، وتنجح هذه أحيانا وتفشل أحيانا أخرى حتى تتعود قدماه وعضلات المشي لديه على هذه الخبرة الجديدة (هذا بالطبع بالإضافة إلى الظروف البدنية والصحية) وكذلك الحال مع السائق الجديد فإنه يبدأ تعلم هذه المهارة بمحاولات متكررة يساعده فيها مدربه ويقوم هو نفسه بالحركات المختلفة بيديه وقدميه وعينه وعقله، يقوم بهذه الأنشطة بإرادة ووعي كاملين حتى إذا حصل على نصيب كاف من المران نجد هذا السائق نفسه يقوم بعملية القيادة بطريقة آلية دون حاجة الى بذل مجهود فكري موجه نحو كل حركة يقوم بها كما كان يفعل في مراحل تمرينه الأولى، ويرى كثير من علماء النفس أن تعلم اللغة إكتساب مهارة وعادة، وهي تجود بطول الممارسة وزيادة المران، ومشكلة العرب عامة في استعمالهم اللغة الفصحى يتمثل في عدم تدريبهم على ذلك بدرجة كافية. ولتوضيح ذلك نود أن نذكر أن الطفل العربي يحتاج إلى آلاف الساعات من المجهود المتواصل والتدريب لكي يتعلم اللهجة العامية التي يتكلمها، نعم إنه يتدرب تقريبا طيلة ساعات يقظته على الفهم والتحدث بهذه اللغة الام (وهو بمعدل ١٤ ساعة على الأقل يوميا ولمدة لا تقل عن ثلاث أو أربع، وللقاريء أن يضرب عدد أيام هذه السنوات في عدد الساعات اليومية ليدرك مدى النشاط والمران الذي يحتاجه المرء منا ليتعلم اللهجة العامية، ونحن إذا قارنا هذه الآلاف من الساعات بعدد الساعات التي نتمرن فيها فعلا على استعمال اللغة الفصحى بطريقة صحيحة (وأؤكد على كلمة صحيحة) نجد أن الكفة راجحة بلا شك في صالح اللهجة العامية، وهذا يؤدي بدوره إلى قدرة العربي في استعماله للعامية وعجزه النسبي في استخدام الفصحى، ولا يمكننا أن نبدأ في ترجيح كفة الميزان لصالح الفصحى، إلا بزيادة فرص التدريب عليها ولذلك نجد الفرق بين لغة الأدباء والمذيعين والخطباء المجيدين ولغة عامة المثقفين في المجتمع العربي. فالمجموعة الأولى بحكم مهنها تجد الفرص الأكثر للتدريب على الاستعمال الصحيح للغة الفصحى قراءة وكتابة (وهذا

أيضا قد يفسر لنا السلاسة اللغوية التي يكتسبها الكثيرون ممن يحفظون القرآن الكريم أو يكثرون من تلاوته بصوت مسموع). أما كيف نستطيع أن نزيد فرص التدريب على استعمال اللغة الصحيحة بالنسبة لعامة الناس فهناك ولا شك وسائل عدة.

APPENDIX TWO

DEVELOPING SOUND LANGUAGE HABITS

If we take a searching look at the problem of weakness which the vast majority of arabs have in using classical Arabic, this will reveal one of the most important factors which I think leads to this weakness. That is the lack of opportunity for practising the correct use of the language. Language, as we have stated, and as many linguists and psychologists believe, is a habit and a skill and does not differ in general from any other habit or skill such as driving a car or even walking. Habits and skills cannot be acquired without constant practice. The child begins acquiring the skill of walking, with hesitant steps and repeated attempts, assisted by his parents or someone else. Sometimes this is successful and at others it fails, until his feet and walking muscles become accustomed to this new experience (in addition of course, to circumstances related to the body and health). Similarly a learner driver begins learning this skill with repeated attempts assisted by his instructor and he begins to carry out the various movements with his hands, feet, eyes and brain. He carries out these activities both consciously and coolly until when he has received sufficient practice we find this same driver carrying out the process of driving automatically without having to exert mental effort for each movement as he had to do in the first stages of his training. Many linguists and psychologists see the learning of a language as the acquisition of a habit and a skill which improves with lang practice and exercise. The general problem of the Arabs in using the classical language is due to the lack of sufficient

practice. To clarify this we would like to point out that the Arab child requires thousands of hours of continuous effort and practice to learn to speak the colloquial language. Indeed he practices almost all his waking hours to understand and speak this mother tongue (that is an average of 14 hours per day at least for a period of not less than three or four years*). The reader should multiply the number of theses days by the number daily hours in order to realise the amount of activity and practice a person requires to learn the colloquial language. If we compare these thousands of hours with the number of hours we actually practise the use of the classical language correctly (I stress here the word correctly) we find without doubt that the balance tips in favour of the colloquial. This in turn points to the reason why the Arab is capable of using the colloquial yet and relative unable to use the classical. We cannot begin to return the balance in favour of the classical language unless we increase the opportunities for practising it. It is for this reason that we find such a big difference between the language of writers, broadcasters and public speakers and that of the generally educated in arab society. The first group by virtue of their profession find more opportunities for practising and using the classical language correctly both in reading and writing (this also may explain the linguistic fluency of the majority of those who memorise the holy koran or recite it aloud). How then can we increase the opportunities for training in the use of the correct language amongst the general public? No doubt there are a number of ways.

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